Birth of One Nation?

Maori identification and New Zealand national identification in the First World War

Figure 1: Members of the Pioneer Battalion performing a haka for ministers Massey and Ward, Bois-de-Warnimont, France. Source: Ref: 1/2-013283-G. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington (NZ).

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Abstract

This thesis questions the academic assumption that during the First World War New Zealand started to perceive itself as a nation. The assumption is based on the contemporary importance of the Anzac spirit/legend, which came into being after the landing on Gallipoli (in present-day Turkey) on 25 April 1915, for a New Zealand identity. Two main arguments support the hypothesis that, despite the emergence of the Anzac spirit, New Zealand's war effort created new problems which divided the New Zealand society. Firstly, the relation between the Empire and the Dominion, both on a governmental level as well as society's enthusiasm for the Empire, made it impossible to speak of New Zealand as an independent nation. Secondly, various internal divisions emerged, were rediscovered or widened in the war.

The thesis draws upon four carefully selected New Zealand newspapers to analyse the negotiated relation between the war front and the home front. The newspapers created a narrative of the war, which proved problematic when soldiers arrived home and told a different story. Not only text from these newspapers is used, but images too, which showed the known and prevalent imaginations of the war to the home front.

This research contests an academic assumption and shows that there is another way of looking at the importance of the Anzac spirit during the war and how much it influenced New Zealand identity. This research can be used as a stepping stone for further research into when the Anzac spirit did become the foundation of the New Zealand identification process.

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Abbreviations

A.N.Z.A.C.	Australia and New Zealand Army Corps
ANZAC	Australia and New Zealand Army Corps
BEF	British Expeditionary Force
MP	Member of Parliament
NZ	New Zealand
NZEF	New Zealand Expeditionary Force
NZRSA	New Zealand Returned Soldiers' Association
RSA	Returned Soldiers' Association
WWI	World War One

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Introduction

On April 25, Australia and New Zealand 'celebrate' Anzac Day. They commemorate the landing of the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps (A.N.Z.A.C.) on the beaches of Gallipoli (in present-day Turkey) and the perseverance, courage, comradeship, and fighting spirit the Anzac troops showed in the battles they fought – and lost – there.[1] The Anzac troops took pride in the traits which, supposedly, came to the fore front at Gallipoli. Ever since they have been the basis of national identification in Australia and New Zealand. The Gallipoli experience gave rise to the memory of the courage shown by those troops and their character becoming known as the 'Anzac Spirit' and, more recently, the 'Anzac legend'.[2]

Nevertheless, throughout the past century the legend and its role in the process of national identification has become a matter of discussion and controversy. The myth served as a foundation for a national identity, but the boundaries of the idea of a nation were problematic, as the means to identify with this identity heavily relied on notions such as 'race' and 'empire'.[3] Scholars, Australians and New Zealanders, suggested that the legend assumed white, pro-imperial identification boundaries since Australia and New Zealand still belonged to, and felt part of, the British Empire. The 'white' identifier was justified by a strong emphasis on British descent and thus superior to other 'colonial' troops.[4] The Anzac

[1] Peter Stanley, 'He Was Black, He Was a White Man, and a Dinkum Aussie: Race and Empire in Revisiting the Anzac Legend', in *Race, Empire and First World War Writing*, ed. Santanu Das (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 124.
[2] Graham Seal, *Inventing Anzac: The Digger and National Mythology* (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 2004).
[3] Stanley, 'He Was Black, He Was a White Man, and a Dinkum Aussie: Race and Empire in Revisiting the Anzac Legend', 216.
[4] Clemence Due, '"Lest We Forget": Creating an Australian National Identity from Memories of War', *Melbourne Historical Journal* 36, no. 1 (2008): 39; Charles Ferrall and Harry Ricketts, eds., *How We Remember: New Zealanders and the First World War* (Victoria University Press, 2014), 91; John Crawford and Ian McGibbon, eds., *New Zealand's Great War: New Zealand, the Allies and the First World War* (Titirangi, Auckland: Exisle Publishing Limited, 2007); Nicholas Boyack and Jane Tolerton, *In the Shadow of War: New Zealand Soldiers Talk about World War One and Their Lives* (London: Penguin Books, 1990); Bruce Scates, Rebecca Wheatley, and Laura James, *World War One: A History in 100 Stories* (Penguin Group (Australia), 2015).

troops, however, did not consist of only white males of British descent. Maori, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island individuals enlisted, and they were part of the battle at Gallipoli, but they are often erased or presented one-dimensionally in the narratives that helped build Australian and New Zealand national identities.[5] This leads to the question how the Anzac legend fitted into the narratives on national identity in New Zealand in the First World War and in the first years following the signing of the Armistice on 11 November 1918. And how does it encompass or exclude the Maori population?

This thesis opens the debate to find an answer to the problems posed by the 'racial and imperial' Anzac legend and how this influenced New Zealand identification as a single nation. The previous paragraph presented the legend as problematic because it creates a clear-cut dichotomy between 'white' and 'non-white', which makes the legend mainly a racial issue. This is, however, only a part of what this thesis sets out to do. My examination questions the prevalent (academic) assumption that during the First World War New Zealand developed a national notion of its own, independent from the Empire. The following discussion offers two challenges to this assumption: it takes seriously the continuing imperial loyalty of the New Zealand Dominion throughout the war, and it investigates the process that supposedly led the various inhabitants of New Zealand to identify themselves as a nation.

The continuing strength of the Dominion's loyalty was essential to the New Zealand war effort. The New Zealand army force was an army of volunteers and throughout the war the

[5] During the war, Niue and Rarotongan enlisted as well and contributed to the New Zealand war effort, but this happened after the Battle of Gallipoli as initial reinforcements for the Maori Contingent.

widespread reason for enlistment was to fight 'For King and Empire'.[6] The ties between Empire and Dominion remained strong; the Empire's censorship affected the news that reached New Zealand, and the New Zealanders believed they could obtain a stronger position in the imperial hierarchy by participating in the war. The Dominion did not have a homogenous population. Immigrants came mostly from Great Britain and Ireland, but some had emigrated from Scandinavia and Germany, as well as the populations of Chinese descent, whose ancestors first arrived during the gold rush. The racial and national variety of the population at home resulted in different attitudes towards and opinions on the war. Once the repatriation of troops started, an entire new perspective on the experience of war entered the Dominion. The perception of war and the heterogeneity of the population all created different war experiences and as a result multiple narratives about it.

The time period under examination in the following narrative encompasses the First World War (1914 – 1918), as the Anzac spirit came into being during the war. As a Dominion, New Zealand was officially at war with Germany the moment Britain declared war. Thus, although New Zealand took a couple of days to offer a New Zealand expeditionary force to contribute to the British war effort, the war started for the Dominion on 4 August 1914. The war officially ended with the signing of the Armistice on 11 November 1918, while the New Zealand troops were still in Europe. The troops were repatriated in 1919, and the country had to deal with resettling the soldiers. This connected the soldier front directly with the home front on a more extensive scale which led to a new situation, especially for the notion of national identification. The problems and developments sparked by a crisis like the First

[6] A lot of New Zealand soldiers also volunteered with a sense of adventure, but the main argument remained the imperial duty. Volunteer character of the army dwindled after 10 June 1916 with the passing of the Military Service Bill and the enactment of conscription which resulted in a peak in voluntary enlistments at first as it was seen as 'cowardice' if you had to be called to arms due to conscription instead of enlist as a volunteer; see Crawford and McGibbon, *New Zealand's Great War: New Zealand, the Allies and the First World War*, 519.

World War did not end with the signing of a document. The period shortly after the signing of the Armistice is included because of the social influences and the 'confrontations' at home as a result of the repatriated troops.

Academic studies on New Zealand's nation-building process and the struggle to achieve equality by Maori are an evolving field. Ground-breaking work in this field is conducted by New Zealand historians, like Dr. Monty Soutar, the New Zealand senior Maori historian at the Ministry for Culture and Heritage. My work brings some questions raised by scholars together and it examines how this nation-building process and supposed Maori equality were represented in the First World War. Moreover, by specifically looking at the Anzac spirit and the importance of it for New Zealand, this research sets out to contribute to work on the Anzac narrative and its representations by historians like the Australian Peter Stanley and New Zealander Christopher Pugsley. The Anzac legend is often perceived as a heavily Australian dominated narrative, and New Zealand's part of the acronym, the 'NZ', is frequently overshadowed in academia.[7] The representations and imaginations of the Maori during the war years at home and in the army, both by Pakeha (as 'white' inhabitants of New Zealand are known) and Maori, has not been treated extensively yet.[8] Furthermore, discussions and discourses on 'race', 'nationalism', 'imperialism', and how these entwine are topical. Seemingly equal racial and social legislation in New Zealand before, during, and right after the First World War, make it an interesting case-study for these developments. The participation of minorities in crises, especially those who are afterwards left without

[7] Ibid., 394; Due, '"Lest We Forget": Creating an Australian National Identity from Memories of War', 23–25.
[8] Monty Soutar, 'Te Hokowhitu-a-Tu: The Maori Pioneer Battalion', 2014; Christopher Pugsley, *Te Hokowhitu A Tu: The Maori Pioneer Battalion in the First World War* (Birkenhead: Reed Books, 1995).

recognition or valued concordantly in heritage or national identification processes, is another reason to conduct research on it.

This study is based on extensive research of the Anzac legend and of the impact of the war on New Zealand soldiers and the home front. Although my work focusses on New Zealand and its identification with the Anzac legend, it is impossible to exclude Australia from an analysis of what the legend is about. There is a large body of academic literature on the Australian version of the Anzac legend which helps to understand the characteristics and importance of the legend.

The Anzac legend's inventor, for both the Australians and the New Zealanders, was the Australian First World War correspondent C.E.W. Bean. His work during and after the war led to the idea of certain traits and characteristics to be inherently Anzac, or more precisely Australian.[9] The British-Australian historian Graham Seal states that the current prevalent legend is a mash-up of two traditions; the digger tradition as part of the Anzac tradition.[10] The digger tradition consists of nineteenth-century notions of the bushman and the omnipresent dichotomy of city-bush, which are both considered the foundation of Australian cultural consciousness. According to Seal, this tradition creates the image of the Anzac soldier as a volunteer civilian soldier but naturally capable by its lifestyle.[11] These traditions become entwined during the war to represent the Anzac soldier as a unique volunteer soldier

[9] Henry Reynolds, 'Are Nations Really Made in War?', in *What's Wrong With Anzac?: The Militarisation of Australian History*, ed. Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds (University of New South Wales Press, 2010), 36; C.E.W. Bean, *The Anzac Book: Written and Illustrated in Gallipoli by the Men of Anzac* (London, New York, Toronto and Melbourne: Cassell and Company, Ltd, 1916); Due, '"Lest We Forget": Creating an Australian National Identity from Memories of War', 23; Stanley, 'He Was Black, He Was a White Man, and a Dinkum Aussie: Race and Empire in Revisiting the Anzac Legend', 213–14; Crawford and McGibbon, *New Zealand's Great War: New Zealand, the Allies and the First World War*, 144–54.
[10] Seal, *Inventing Anzac: The Digger and National Mythology*, 1.
[11] Ibid., 3.

with his own vocabulary, customs and beliefs, which connect him to the army he feels part of because of the shared ties to the home country.[12]

The afore mentioned dichotomy of the Anzac and digger tradition is recognised, and their mutual characteristics are further explored by the British-Australian historian Peter Stanley. His article 'He was black, He was a White man, and a dinkum Aussie' is highly influential on this thesis because of the multi-perspective scope. Stanley states that the Anzac traits are as Charles Bean wrote: 'Anzac stood, and still stands, for reckless valour in a good cause, for enterprise, resourcefulness, fidelity, comradeship, and endurance that will never own defeat'.[13] Although Stanley quotes Bean on the importance of these traits, he strongly argues them throughout his article as being solely focussed on Australia, or more specifically, a 'white' Australia.[14] Stanley's disagreement with Bean (and all those who agree with Bean on the Australian emphasis) is visible in his work on showcasing the Aboriginal participation in the Australian war effort, and in his contributions to look at the comparisons and differences of how New Zealand and Australia perceive the legend, themselves and the other.[15] The national appropriation of the Anzac legend, both in New Zealand as in Australia, is problematic according to Stanley, as they both leave out the 'indigenous' troops that are part of the war effort of both countries and thus have an equal claim to these traits and characteristics.[16] The Australian psychologist Clemence Due agrees with Stanley on these discrepancies and sees the narrative regarding the Anzac legend changing due to lack of

[12] Ibid., 1–3.
[13] Stanley, 'He Was Black, He Was a White Man, and a Dinkum Aussie: Race and Empire in Revisiting the Anzac Legend', 213.
[14] Stanley, 'He Was Black, He Was a White Man, and a Dinkum Aussie: Race and Empire in Revisiting the Anzac Legend'; Scates, Wheatley, and James, *World War One: A History in 100 Stories*, viii.
[15] Crawford and McGibbon, *New Zealand's Great War: New Zealand, the Allies and the First World War*, 193.
[16] The word 'indigenous' is written in between apostrophes because of the problematic nature of the categorisation of people based on colour, ethnicity, race or otherwise, and group them together without contextualising the ones grouped together.

recognition. The 'first war fought by Australians' leaves out everybody who cannot identify themselves as 'Australian' and erases all the battles fought on (behalf of) Australia and others who should be included in the Anzac legend.[17]

This radical approach of the creation of a 'white Australian'-focussed legend is more nuanced in New Zealand as the Australian historian Mark McKenna states by citing the former New Zealand Prime Minister Helen Clark. She views the Anzac legend as 'a defining stage in the evolution of NZ as a nation' … and an important piece, she said, 'in the mosaic that makes up the picture the world sees when it thinks of NZ'.[18] McKenna agrees with Clark on this statement, as he sees Waitangi Day as an important alternative founding moment.[19] Waitangi Day commemorates the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi on 6 February 1840 which made the Maori official and legal citizens under the British Crown. More important, this is a moment that strongly includes the indigenous population of New Zealand.[20] For Australia the landing on the beaches of Gallipoli on 25 April 1915, and the demonstrated courage, valour, perseverance and other 'typical' Anzac characteristics, is the start of a conclusive chapter in the foundation of a nation apart from the British Empire. The traits and the combination of the digger and Anzac traditions are important for New Zealand too, and hence proven by the legislation regarding the official commemoration of Anzac Day directly after the war.[21] After this general view on the legend and what it encompasses, how does it

[17] Due, '"Lest We Forget": Creating an Australian National Identity from Memories of War', 30; Scates, Wheatley, and James, *World War One: A History in 100 Stories*, 12.
[18] Mark McKenna, '"History and Australia: A Foundational Past?" At the Annual History Lecture', 2012, 13.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Waitangi Day is celebrated (as an official holiday since 1960) on 6 February. It commemorates the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi on 6 February 1840 by a delegation of Maori representatives who acted as a legal body opposing the British government. The Treaty made Maori official inhabitants and citizens of New Zealand and thus the British Empire.; see Timothy Charles Winegard, *Indigenous Peoples of the British Dominions and the First World War* (Cambridge - New York - Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 27; Nan Seuffert, 'Contract, Consent and Imperialism in New Zealand's Founding Narrative', *Law&history* 31, no. 1 (2015): 19–24.
[21] Ferrall and Ricketts, *How We Remember: New Zealanders and the First World War*, 233.

fit the New Zealand narrative and what is New Zealand academic's interest in the legend? From here on, the traits seen as Anzac traits are considered representative for New Zealand and Australia will not be used in comparison.

New Zealand, although holding the legal status of Dominion since 1907, was very eager on participating in the war as part of the Empire.[22] As the New Zealand historian Christopher Pugsley puts it by the words of the British military historian Shelford Bidwell:

> They were young men confident of their ability to fight for the Empire. It was a view shared by the New Zealand public: 'The average New Zealander … especially the young New Zealander who lives in the country is half a soldier before he is enrolled. He is physically strong, intellectually keen, anxious to be led though being what he is, he will not brook being driven a single inch. Quick to learn his drill, easily adapted to the conditions of life in camp since camping usually is his pastime and very loyal to his leaders when those leaders know their job.'[23]

Besides the eagerness of the New Zealanders to look their best for the glory of the Empire and in the face of their King, this citation also shows the claim that there were 'natural fighter' traits inherent to being New Zealander. I will argue that these traits are incorporated in the New Zealand war effort and are important to the identification of Maori and Pakeha as New Zealander. British historian Anna Maguire emphasises the British ancestry prevalent in New Zealand troops' consciousness. Her work on colonial and dominion soldiers' experiences on leave in London showcases the complex relationship between the Dominion and Empire and how the troops consider New Zealand more of a 'hinterland' to the metropolis rather than its periphery'.[24] This ambiguous status of being foreign, yet not so

[22] Christopher Pugsley, *On the Fringe of Hell: New Zealanders and Military Discipline in the First World War* (Auckland: Hodder & Stoughton, 1991), 9; Jock Phillips, Nicholas Boyack, and E.P. Malone, eds., *The Great Adventure: New Zealand Soldiers Describe the Great War* (Wellington (New Zealand): Allen and Unwin, 1988); Jock Phillips, 'The Quiet Western Front: The First World War and New Zealand Memory', in *Race, Empire and First World War Writing*, ed. Santanu Das (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 51; Crawford and McGibbon, *New Zealand's Great War: New Zealand, the Allies and the First World War*, 239.
[23] Pugsley, *On the Fringe of Hell: New Zealanders and Military Discipline in the First World War*, 9.
[24] Anna Maguire, 'Looking for Home? New Zealand Soldiers Visiting London during the First World War', *The London Journal* 41, no. 3 (2016): 283.

foreign, is in the first place present in the experiences of Pakeha, but as the diary by 'half-caste' Maori soldier Rikihana Carkeek shows, the experience of all New Zealand troops when confronted with the British 'homeland' was one of 'coming home, although being abroad'.[25] Although the connection between Dominion and Empire remained a strong one throughout the war and even directly after, New Zealand scholars, like C.K. Stead, Charles Ferrall, Harry Ricketts and Andrew Macdonald, do not necessarily see the landing on the beaches of Gallipoli, and thus a single event of the war, as the moment of national coming of age. Rather, they argue that somewhere between the landing of 25 April 1915 and the August offensive of 1918 the New Zealand soldiers started to perceive themselves as different from the British.[26] This difference was based on the traits and characteristics earlier described as 'Anzac', something which made them more connected, but more importantly, it gave them the idea they were not inferior to the British and the Empire.

Shrouded in a remarkable 'battle' of inclusivity and exclusivity, the Maori participation in the war is interesting but often difficult to interpret. The Maori are constantly valued differently. They are defined and identified by, respectively, the Empire, New Zealand government, and military leadership (both New Zealand and British) and in their own communities. As a result, few scholars have tried to part with the mere factual representation of the Maori war effort and look at the cultural relations and notions underlying the Maori presence in the New Zealand forces during the war. The work of Monty Soutar, Anna Maguire, Christopher Pugsley and the Canadian historian Timothy Winegard brings

[25] Mixed marriages (Maori and Pakeha) were not that rare in New Zealand, yet children of these marriages are mostly referred to as 'half-castes', often resulting in a 'lesser' social status than full Maori or Pakeha.; Cybèle Locke, 'Solidarity Across the "Colour" Line?: Maori Representation in the Maoriland Worker, 1910-1914', *New Zealand Journal of History* 48, no. 2 (2014): 52; Rikihana Carkeek, *Home Little Maori Home: A Memoir of the Maori Contingent 1914-1916* (Wellington (New Zealand): Totika Publications, 2003).
[26] Ferrall and Ricketts, *How We Remember: New Zealanders and the First World War*, 11; Crawford and McGibbon, *New Zealand's Great War: New Zealand, the Allies and the First World War*, 249.

interesting insights regarding the cultural and social consequences the war had for the Maori. The Maori were denied participation at first by the Empire on behalf of imperial policy because 'no native race should be used in hostilities between European races.'[27] Winegard demonstrates a first discrepancy between the Empire and New Zealand here by quoting the New Zealand Expeditionary Force General Alexander Godley on his fear that outside New Zealand people would not understand that in New Zealand the Maori, 'despite' being coloured, were treated on exactly the same footing as the white.[28] Pugsley agrees with this idea of equality, because, based on army listings, he sees many Maori mixed in regular/Pakeha units 'with names like Bird, Black, Skerret and Grace.'[29] According to Pugsley this happened without 'race consciousness'.[30] Here is chosen for 'race' instead of 'ethnicity' as Pugsley's argument was based on the idea of Maori wanting to participate alongside Pakeha as they felt connected to the New Zealand cause, just like the Pakeha volunteers did. A reading of citations used in books or articles by Pugsley, but also by Soutar, Winegard and Maguire, show, however, that race consciousness was persistent on every occasion of Maori presence and Maori/Pakeha encounters. This is argued by Christopher Pugsley himself in his chapter 'Images of Te Hokowhitu A Tu in the First World War' in Santanu Das' book *Race, Empire and First World War Writing*. In this chapter, Pugsley argues that the Maori are cinematographically portrayed as New Zealand representatives, but in doing so they are becoming showpieces for the alleged equality in Pakeha/Maori

[27] James Cowan, *The Maoris in the Great War: A History of the New Zelaand Native Contingent and Pioneer Battalion: Gallipoli 1915, France and Flanders 1916-1918* (Christchurch: Willson Scott Publishing, 1926), 22; Christopher Pugsley, 'Images of Te Hokowhitu A Tu in the First World War', in *Race, Empire and First World War Writing*, ed. Santanu Das (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 196–97.
[28] Winegard, *Indigenous Peoples of the British Dominions and the First World War*, 87.
[29] Pugsley, *Te Hokowhitu A Tu: The Maori Pioneer Battalion in the First World War*, 36.
[30] Matthew Pratt Guterl, 'The New Race Consciousness: Race, Nation, and Empire in American Culture, 1910-1925', *Journal of World History* 10, no. 2 (1999); Charles E. Hurst, 'Race, Class, and Consciousness', *American Sociological Review* 37, no. 6 (1972); James P. Pitts, 'The Study of Race Consciousness: Comments on New Directions', *American Journal of Sociology* 80, no. 3 (1974); W.O. Brown, 'The Nature of Race Consciousness', *Social Forces* 10, no. 1 (1931); Gary Peller, 'Race Consciousness', *Duke Law Journal* 1990, no. 4 (1990).

relations.[31] The chapters of the second section further explore what forms this equality took. In that chapter I illustrate how these relations seemingly promote a sense of equality, but that Maori and Pakeha are worlds apart despite their joint war effort.

The previous paragraphs already showed difficulties in describing and analysing the relation between Maori and Pakeha, Pakeha and British, and Maori and British. Even these three categories (Maori, Pakeha, British) are at some point crossing, entwining, blurring, and thus problematising the use of fixed notions of these categories. In his book *The Meaning of Race*, the Indian-born British journalist and researcher of philosophy of science Kenan Malik maps the rise of the conceptualisation of 'race' and for a great deal its corollary 'identity'. These two categories are often used as being solid, fixed categories encompassing certain characteristics and both used to group together individuals. Malik cites the British sociologist Robert Miles on the usage of race: 'The definition is (necessarily) circular: a "race" is a group of people defined by "their race": this formulation assumes and legitimates as a reality that each human being "belongs" to a "race".'[32] The assumption of race as a usable category is conceptually difficult, but referring to the three alleged categories mentioned earlier, the problem grows as 'race' is not a fixed category when it comes to Maori. According to late-nineteenth century theories, the Maori shared an Aryan origin with European races. Colour was no demarcation for being a different race, as the Maori proved to be more resistant to European illness than other indigenous people, had the abilities to adapt to European institutions and get a foothold in them, and were considered to live in some sort of a proto-European civilizational state as the first Europeans arrived in New Zealand.[33] Malik's

[31] Pugsley, 'Images of Te Hokowhitu A Tu in the First World War', 195.
[32] Kenan Malik, *The Meaning of Race: Race, History and Culture in Western Society* (Palgrave, 1996), 3.
[33] Steven Loveridge, 'A German Is Always a German?: Representations of Enemies, Germans and Race in New Zealand c. 1890-1918', *New Zealand Journal of History* 48, no. 1 (2014): 59; Anna Maguire, 'Colonial Encounters during the First World War: The Experience of Troops from New Zealand, South Africa and the West Indies' 2017, 36–37; Richard P. Boast, 'The Native Land Court and the Writing of New Zealand

problem with a singular conceptualisation and use of 'race' is shared by the Indian-British academic of English literature Santanu Das. Das and Malik both emphasise the fluidity of 'race' as a category in identity markers, various cases and hierarchic listings.[34] The problem with this fluidity is the reason for the American sociologist Rogers Brubaker and historian Frederick Cooper to bring a workable theory in order to lose the social and political *practice* shrouding these categories and only use the social and political *analysis*.[35] Their theoretical framework will be used to understand the categories Maori, Pakeha, British and see whether they are able to encompass the fluidity of individual experiences and identification. According to Brubaker and Cooper there are 'three clusters of terms to analyse specific aspects of the strong notions of identities' (personal, as a group, and unaware, i.e. external).[36]

The first cluster is that of 'identification and categorization'. Who identifies with who or what must be specified in order to understand what makes the identity, is it relational or categorical? It is important to see that not only oneself can be identified, but also the relation to another. Secondly, 'self-understanding and social location' is a cluster that tries to grasp the social possibilities and awareness of the individual and how the individual is situated in society. The last cluster 'commonality, connectedness, groupness' denotes the existence of essentialist attributes or fixed 'groupness'. The three concepts together might lead to a strongly bounded sense of groupness, but by taking them apart, each of the concepts brings an aspect of what we see as the non-analytical fixed collectivities such as group identities to the fore.[37] These three clusters are used to show this fluidity in New Zealand and to analyse

History', *Law&history* 4, no. 1 (2017); Winegard, *Indigenous Peoples of the British Dominions and the First World War*, 37–40; Cowan, *The Maoris in the Great War: A History of the New Zelaand Native Contingent and Pioneer Battalion: Gallipoli 1915, France and Flanders 1916-1918*, 16.

[34] Santanu Das, ed., *Race, Empire and First World War Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 10–13, 178; Malik, *The Meaning of Race: Race, History and Culture in Western Society*.

[35] Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, 'Beyond "Identity"', *Theory and Society* 29, no. 1 (2000): 3.

[36] Ibid., 9–20.

[37] Ibid., 14–20.

the various identifiable groups and how they perceive one and another, but more importantly themselves from time to time. The terminology will be structurally used throughout the thesis, and when problematic statements on how certain categories were presented as being fixed or static during the First World War occur, this will be shown and thoroughly contextualised in order to deconstruct notions like 'identity', 'race', and 'nation'.

The book *Nationalism and War* by the American sociologist John A. Hall and Croatian sociologist Sinisa Malesevic will provide a theoretical framework from time to time, in order to understand these clusters when it comes to the New Zealand/British Empire dichotomy. The chapters on nationalism, or rather national awareness/identification, in an empire show how, since the 1960s, self-awareness and the identification as a nation in war time were increasingly regarded 'historical novelty, geographical contingency and sociological necessity'.[38] This encompasses all the clusters Brubaker and Cooper traced as well. *Nationalism and War* addresses the question how participating in a war can spark a process of national identification. From various angles, this question is analysed and problematised. Although Sinisa Malesevic writes in one of his own chapters that 'violent conflicts are seen as the crucible of cultural and political identity: they sharpen group boundaries, externalize social divides, heighten the polarization of in-groups and out-groups, and internally mobilize social action', this necessity is nuanced by putting *Nationalism and War* and Brubaker and Cooper's theory in dialogue.[39] The 'logical causality' of violence and the creation of an identity or nationalism is problematised throughout my research.

[38] John A. Hall and Sinisa Malesevic, eds., *Nationalism and War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 3.
[39] Ibid., 259.

This thesis is based on two kinds of primary sources. On the one hand, there are sources that intend to reflect a more personal experience of the war. The diary by the Maori soldier Rikihana Carkeek, *The Anzac Book* of 1916 by C.E.W. Bean, Alexander Aitken's memoires of his time in the New Zealand Expeditionary Force, and the stories of the veterans as interviewed by New Zealand journalist Nicholas Boyack and writer Jane Tolerton are studied extensively to trace the traits considered to be inherent Anzac, or to show how social and cultural relations and identification processes have been experienced first-hand.[40] In addition, contemporary representations of the war experiences will be resorted to, like John Masefield's *Gallipoli* and James Cowan's Maori war history of 1926. These primary sources are a rich source of personal interactions, but as they are drawn up respectively as a propagandistic text or after the war in order to give the Maori an official war history, they have to be treated cautiously to avoid embellishment of the war.[41]

Secondly, the New Zealand digital primary source archive, Papers Past, is used to illustrate, map, and analyse various questions in this thesis.[42] I selected carefully from the abundance of newspapers in this archive. The *New Zealand Truth* (national spread and published weekly), the *Dominion* (Wellington based and published daily), the *New Zealand Herald* (Auckland based and published daily) and the *King Country Chronicle* (Waikato based and published semiweekly) are used because of their different perspectives on the war. The *New Zealand Truth* was anti-militarist and against conscription, the *Dominion* was pro-

[40] Alexander Aitken, *Gallipoli to the Somme: Recollections of a New Zealand Infantryman* (Wellington & Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1963); Carkeek, *Home Little Maori Home: A Memoir of the Maori Contingent 1914-1916*; Bean, *The Anzac Book: Written and Illustrated in Gallipoli by the Men of Anzac*; Boyack and Tolerton, *In the Shadow of War: New Zealand Soldiers Talk about World War One and Their Lives*.

[41] John Masefield, *Gallipoli* (London: William Heinemann, 1916); Cowan, *The Maoris in the Great War: A History of the New Zelaand Native Contingent and Pioneer Battalion: Gallipoli 1915, France and Flanders 1916-1918*.

[42] My research cites a number of articles, but often these articles (with the same text) were printed in other New Zealand newspapers as well. The representations cited are wider spread than a singular article.

government, the *New Zealand Herald* did not have a clear political position, and the *King Country Chronicle* is selected as the Waikato province, and especially the Maori living in this province, played a distinguished role in the war with a strong Maori anti-conscription and anti-war movement.[43] The publishing frequency and the political stance of the newspapers are important for this research. The New Zealand government and the Empire's military apparatus censored the news between the front and New Zealand. The spread of news in the newspapers and what they reported varies per newspaper. My research does not consider the influences this had on the geographical location of the newspapers spread.

A second methodological decision I made was to pinpoint three specific dates or events, to focus on, within the broader period I study. Based on the earlier mentioned statement that New Zealand became a nation somewhere between the landing at Gallipoli in 1915 and the August offensive of 1918, there are three markers in history picked to illustrate and analyse the questions in this thesis (Gallipoli; 25 April to 7 December 1915, Somme; 1 July to 18 November 1916, Passchendaele; 31 July to 12 November 1917) as the New Zealand forces were most severely affected by these three military campaigns.[44] Articles on these campaigns in the selected newspapers were researched qualitatively in the form of close-reading (what do they write and what traces of Anzac, the legend, and nationalism are reported?). For the second section of this thesis, the selection of markers in history to research is expanded by also looking at 20 February 1916 as this is the date of creation of the New Zealand Pioneer Battalion (which resulted in the end of a solely Maori unit in the New Zealand Expeditionary Force, or NZEF) and September 1917 because from this moment on the full Maori Pioneer

[43] Ferrall and Ricketts, *How We Remember: New Zealanders and the First World War*, 150–53; Pugsley, *Te Hokowhitu A Tu: The Maori Pioneer Battalion in the First World War*.
[44] Koen Koch, *Een Kleine Geschiedenis van de Grote Oorlog, 1914-1918* (Antwerpen: Ambo/Manteau, 2010), 449–52; F. Debyser, *Chronologie de La Guerre Mondiale. De Serajevo a Versailles (28 Juin 1914 - 28 Juin 1919)* (Paris: Payot, 1938).

Battalion (known as the New Zealand (Maori) Pioneer Battalion) came into being and contributed to the New Zealand war effort.

The questions raised by the theoretical framework combined with the previous research on the Anzac legend result in the hypothesis that, despite the emergence of the Anzac legend, there was no strong and unifying national identification in New Zealand after the First World War. My research will pay special attention to the relation between the 'white' New Zealanders (or *Pakeha*, as known in New Zealand) and the Maori. The following examination explores this contention in two sections. The first deals with the emergence of the Anzac legend and the start of national identification, while the second considers the question of national identification and the Maori. The questions are intertwined. However, to understand the importance of the Anzac legend and its traits for New Zealand, it is essential to understand how this national identification based on the legend works for the Maori. The first section mostly concentrates on the Pakeha and the front/home front-dichotomy, whereas the second section focusses on the place of the Maori in the New Zealand national narrative.

The first section starts with a small prologue followed by two chapters. The prologue portrays the place of New Zealand in the British Empire at the eve of the First World War. It also introduces some important dates and events from New Zealand history to understand the next chapters. Chapter one 'Anzacs at the Front' talks about the Gallipoli Campaign (1915), the Battle of the Somme (1916), and the Battle of Passchendaele (1917) and how the Anzac spirit and traits were traceable in these three battles. Were the Anzac traits something the soldiers often referred to? How did they perceive and identify themselves and what made them New Zealand soldiers? As said before, the front/home front-dichotomy will be the main

problem in section one, which will become clearer in the second chapter, ‘Anzac travels Home’. What role played newspapers in informing the New Zealanders on the island, i.e. what did they hear from the front? This chapter talks about the resistance against the war effort, conscription and how the home front perceived the Empire and New Zealand as they were very much dependent on news that was controlled by governmental censorship. Resistance against participation in the war was something which united several Maori *iwi* (tribes). The eager contribution of most of the *iwi* is nuanced in this chapter by the organised resistance of some prominent Maori.

The second section contains three chapters which are concluded by an epilogue providing some hints on the first years after the war in New Zealand (after 1919). Chapter three ‘Maori in the War’ tells the history of the Maori war effort. It traces the various problems they encountered, like the creation, break-up, and again creation (in a different role) of a Maori-only unit. The chapter also analyses whether the depiction of the Maori in newspapers changed throughout the war. Chapter four ‘Maori, Pakeha, or New Zealander’ is the chapter where the findings from section one and section two are combined. The various traits, problems, and ideas of the three ‘categories’ in this title’s chapter are mapped out in the previous chapters. How problematic are these categories? Are they used throughout the war by the various groups to identify themselves and are they changeable? Are identification criteria starting to blur? The final chapter ‘Repatriation and Equality’ is on the ‘aftermath’ of war. The troops returned home, New Zealand society had to re-invent itself, but how big were the changes compared to the start of war? What happened to the imperial ‘racial’ and ‘social’ categories?

Section One: The Anzac Spirit and National Identification

Prologue

New Zealanders started the twentieth century by identifying themselves as being 'not-Australian'. These ideas were based on various characteristics and traits in which Australians did not resemble New Zealanders and vice versa, but another important argument was the idea of race prevalent in both countries. This prologue sets the stage for New Zealand's war effort, introduces some concepts that helped shape this war effort, and briefly addresses the triangular relation of Maori, Pakeha and Empire at the eve of war.

New Zealand's eagerness to participate in the war with a New Zealand expeditionary force was not that remarkable looking at the years preceding the war. At the end of the nineteenth century and the start of the twentieth, the six Australian colonies united in a federal system. New Zealand was supposed to join in the same union, but geographical distance, and imperial and internal opposition to the plan cut this idea short. The New Zealand government feared that New Zealand would be a mere part of Australia without individual significance.[45] This plain 'no' was clear from the moment New Zealand parliament was informed about the Australian federation plans. However, in 1901, on the eve of Australian unification, a New Zealand commission was looking at the benefits of a potential participation. New Zealand historian and journalist Ron Palenski studied the interviews conducted by the parliamentary commission. All the interviews showed a resemblance in the answers given and in the opinions of those interviewed; New Zealanders were different from Australians and the interviewees considered an Australian federation with New Zealand as seventh province inconceivable.[46] Although Australia and New Zealand had similar views on race, they differed significantly because of the place of Maori in New Zealand society. Notional Maori

[45] Ron Palenski, 'New Zealand for the New Zealanders', in *Making of New Zealanders*, 2012, 165–67.
[46] Ibid., 186–91.

equality, based on the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi, signed by Maori and the British crown, had, and has long lasting effects. One of these was the instigation of a parliamentary debate on Maori suffrage rights in the event of a federation.[47] New Zealand did not join the Australian federation of 1901 and became a Dominion on its own in 1907.[48]

During the Second Boer War (1899 – 1902), the New Zealanders participated as part of the British imperial forces. This was a major event in New Zealand's (military) history since the colony contributed to the Empire's battles overseas for the first time. A few important 'battles' were fought during this war. The Maori offered their help as well, but this was denied by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Joseph Chamberlain, as natives should not fight other natives, something he regretted for the Maori as he thought 'if they had sent them without asking and mixed up with others, no one would have known the difference.'[49] Chamberlain's 'others' the Maori should have been mixed up with, were the Pakeha soldiers that enlisted, which showcased how the Secretary of State for the Colonies thought of the (biological) relation between Pakeha and Maori. The 'racial' stereotype of Maori as a 'superior native race' had reached Great Britain's parliament as well. The other important 'battle' was the proof of the characteristic differences between New Zealanders and Australian which blocked the Australian-New Zealand federation. This was further explored by the 'colonial' or inferior role the New Zealanders had to play in imperial command in the war.[50] These events created the idea of a distinguished New Zealand character, resulting in the willingness to become a Dominion (which gave New Zealand a great deal of autonomy

[47] Ibid., 190–91.
[48] Dominiek Dendooven and Piet Chielens, *Wereldoorlog I: Vijf Continenten in Vlaanderen* (Tielt: Lannoo, 2008), 17.
[49] Ron Palenski, 'For God, for Queen and for (Which?) Country', in *Making of New Zealanders*, 2012, 205; Winegard, *Indigenous Peoples of the British Dominions and the First World War*, 55–56.
[50] M.R. Wicksteed, *The New Zealand Army: A History from the 1840s to the 1980s* (Wellington (New Zealand), 1982), 2, 7; Palenski, 'New Zealand for the New Zealanders', 195; Palenski, 'For God, for Queen and for (Which?) Country', 198–200.

in the Empire), but still a strong sense of connection with the imperial homeland, mother Britain.[51] This ambiguous experience of distinction and reflection was first experienced in the Boer War but would be taken to greater heights during the years to come.

Chapter One: Anzacs at the Front

The term 'Anzac' can be functional as well as symbolic. It can refer to the acronym for the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps (mostly written as 'A.N.Z.A.C.' or 'A.& N.Z.A.C.'), the landing beach on the Gallipoli Peninsula known as 'Anzac Cove', or an individual soldier of the A.N.Z.A.C.[52] The symbolic meaning exists alongside of these. The associated 'Anzac spirit' expresses the ideals that the singular Anzac embodies, yet of the 100,444 New Zealanders that served overseas, only 8,556 of them saw the beaches of Gallipoli.[53] This poses the question whether the Anzac traits are associated with only the Dardanelles Campaign or are representative for every British campaign in which the New Zealanders played a major role. This chapter examines the emergence of the Anzac legend, and it traces descriptions of an identification with additional traits in three large New Zealand campaigns of the First World War. It investigates if they are (re-)presenting the Anzac spirit too.[54]

[51] Palenski, 'For God, for Queen and for (Which?) Country', 197.
[52] Stanley, 'He Was Black, He Was a White Man, and a Dinkum Aussie: Race and Empire in Revisiting the Anzac Legend', 213–14.
[53] Maguire, 'Colonial Encounters during the First World War: The Experience of Troops from New Zealand, South Africa and the West Indies', 33; Ferrall and Ricketts, *How We Remember: New Zealanders and the First World War*, 91.
[54] The Gallipoli Campaign, 25 April – 7 December 1915; The Battle of the Somme, 1 July – 18 November 1916; The Battle of Passchendaele/Third Battle of Ypres, 31 July – 12 November 1917.

This chapter argues how the rise of the New Zealand Division as a distinctive military force depended on factors beyond the so-called Anzac spirit.[55] The New Zealand voluntary army changed during the war. The New Zealanders transformed from an expeditionary force with basic training in 1914 and 1915 into the New Zealand Division that became known as one of the strongest, most disciplined army contingents in the British Expeditionary Force (BEF). Secondly, this chapter analyses whether the Anzac spirit and the transformation of the New Zealand army contributed to the soldiers' perception and identification of themselves as 'New Zealanders'. It contests the idea that New Zealand suddenly emerged on the world map as a 'country' through the 'baptism of fire'.[56]

On 7 December 1915, the British parliament decided the Gallipoli Campaign was a disaster and the troops had to be evacuated from the peninsula.[57] Veteran Alexander Aitken wrote in his memoires of 1963 that he left Turkey on 23 December and the troops were brought back to Egypt where three months of training followed. He never fought in Gallipoli, as he arrived late 1915. The reinforcements from New Zealand were added to the NZEF Main Body and reorganised to create an all New Zealand Division.[58] The *New Zealand Herald* reports on this retreat on 22 December 1915:

> Nobody will pretend that the withdrawal from Anzac and Suvla is in any way gratifying to New Zealanders and Australians. From the first successful accomplishment of an "impossible" landing to the last successful storming of the Sari Bair ridge, which could not be held, our colonial contingents had set their hearts on driving the Turks from Gallipoli, displaying a courage, a devotion and a resource which deserved, though they did not secure, victory. If contempt for death and unfaltering obedience to duty could have won. (…) If our losses were heavy our men took still heavier toll. Turkey will feel throughout the war the blows struck at her

[55] Crawford and McGibbon, *New Zealand's Great War: New Zealand, the Allies and the First World War*, 47.
[56] Das, *Race, Empire and First World War Writing*, 13; Ferrall and Ricketts, *How We Remember: New Zealanders and the First World War*, 91; Crawford and McGibbon, *New Zealand's Great War: New Zealand, the Allies and the First World War*, 517.
[57] Koch, *Een Kleine Geschiedenis van de Grote Oorlog, 1914-1918*, 450.
[58] Aitken, *Gallipoli to the Somme: Recollections of a New Zealand Infantryman*, 44.; There were not enough New Zealanders at the start of the war to create a sole New Zealand Division, thus the division was reinforced with Australian troops.

> in Gallipoli and no troops in the world will ever again underestimate the soldierly qualities of British colonial brigades. (…) For this great adventure at the Dardanelles, whatever may be said of its conception or of its management, has been glorified by the wonderful courage, ready discipline, and uncomplaining endurance of colonial soldiers, who had gone straight from civilian life into the most trying fighting of this great world war.[59]

Justifying the Gallipoli effort was one thing, but the *Herald* unknowingly listed the characteristics on which the newly appointed Major-General Sir Andrew Russell would build the reputation and identity of the New Zealand Division: courage, discipline, and endurance.[60] He had a demanding task. The civilian/volunteer status of the troops that were sent to Gallipoli proved them inadequate as real soldiers and a system of training was introduced in which reinforcements received ten months of training prior to front line experiences.[61] The amateurism of the Gallipoli Campaign was considered to be the British command's fault but was also used as an argument to reform the New Zealand army along the lines of the alleged Anzac spirit. But what did the New Zealanders learn about themselves that they considered inherently New Zealander and therefore identified as 'Anzac (spirit)' during and after Gallipoli?

The 'fighting spirit' of New Zealand troops had an ambivalent position in the rhetoric of the New Zealand war effort. On the one hand, it was considered as part of the archetypal New Zealand soldier. The skills necessary for being a good soldier were developed 'naturally' according to this archetype because of the soldiers' pioneering lifestyle in New Zealand.[62] On the other hand, the fighting spirit was a remnant of the British descent of the New

[59] 'Anzac and Suvla', *New Zealand Herald*, 22 December 1915.
[60] 'An Impossible Task', *Dominion*, 22 December 1915; Pugsley, *On the Fringe of Hell: New Zealanders and Military Discipline in the First World War*, 52–53; Crawford and McGibbon, *New Zealand's Great War: New Zealand, the Allies and the First World War*, 47.
[61] Christopher Pugsley, *The ANZAC Experience: New Zealand, Australia and Empire in the First World War* (Auckland: Reed, 2004), 3; 'The New Training Plan', *Dominion*, 7 August 1915; Pugsley, *On the Fringe of Hell: New Zealanders and Military Discipline in the First World War*, 218.
[62] Steven Loveridge, '"Soldiers and Shirkers": Modernity and New Zealand Masculinity during the Great War', *New Zealand Journal of History* 47, no. 1 (2013): 64; 'The Anzac Touch', *New Zealand Herald*, 29 September 1916; Ferrall and Ricketts, *How We Remember: New Zealanders and the First World War*, 228.

Zealanders in this rhetoric.[63] The socio-biological explanation of New Zealand's superiority in battle was also based on comparisons of New Zealanders with other troops. They were often taller and more muscular than the average British soldier. This resulted in the idea that British descent was inferior to whatever made the New Zealand soldier stand out.[64] Biological explanations were employed alongside arguments about character.[65] A mix of stoic disdain and fearlessness lead to egalitarianism, which was considered typical of the New Zealand soldier. The *King Country Chronicle* wrote on 12 May 1915: 'An eye-witness of the recent fighting on the Gallipoli Peninsula states that the heaviest losses were borne by the New Zealanders and Australians, whose one fault is their complete disdain of cover. Their bravery and dash are amazing.'[66] And on 29 May, reported on the same fearlessness:

> 'In many cases the colonials, catch Turkish hand grenades and immediately fling them back, so that they explode in the Turkish trenches.
> The Australasians are continually playing tricks. One filled a jam tin with cotton wool soaked in oil, set it alight, and flung it into the enemy's trench. The Turks scattered in all directions amid cheers from the colonials.'[67]

As this quotation shows, the New Zealand soldiers knew no fear, according to believers in the Anzac spirit.[68] But not only bold recklessness, as the previous examples demonstrated, made the New Zealand Division a solid war machine. The fearlessness was also visible in the determination of the New Zealand troops to achieve the goals set by command. Both the *Dominion* and the *NZ Truth* report on typical Anzac tactics during the Battle of the Somme that matched the stoic determination with disdain for death. The *Truth* published on one of

[63] 'New Zealand Troops in Action', *Dominion*, 30 April 1915; 'New Zealanders at War', *New Zealand Herald*, 1 May 1915.
[64] 'Expeditioners in Egypt', *NZ Truth*, 22 May 1915; 'Special Order by the King to Anzacs in England', *New Zealand Herald*, 30 September 1916; Loveridge, '"Soldiers and Shirkers": Modernity and New Zealand Masculinity during the Great War', 64.
[65] New Zealand's age of enlistment was officially set at 21 years of age and at the start of war they upheld quite strict physical regulations of height and weight. The 'boyish' British soldiers were smaller than the New Zealanders because they, often, were a few years younger than the New Zealand soldiers.
[66] 'Colonials' Amazing Dash', *King Country Chronicle*, 12 May 1915.
[67] 'In the Dardanelles', *King Country Chronicle*, 29 May 1915.
[68] Masefield, *Gallipoli*, 62–63.

the first actions how 'Our boys in France, in Anzac style' accomplished their goals.[69] This 'Anzac style' was storming a trench and capturing it according to this particular article, but a week later the *Truth* reported how 'The Anzacs have introduced a new style of warfare in France, which consists of making night raids on the German trenches in small parties'.[70] These raids, or as the *Dominion* called them 'rush-and-take', were appropriated in various newspapers as Anzac tactics and thus New Zealand tactics.[71] Lastly, the distinguishable force of the New Zealand Division was due to the fact that all British Expeditionary Force divisions had to be reorganised and there were fewer battalions in their infantry division. The New Zealanders (and the Canadians) managed to retain twelve battalions per division, which resulted in a significantly stronger force than the British and other Dominion's divisions.[72]

When the New Zealand Division travelled from the Dardanelles to the Western Front, the soldiers confronted the legacy of Anzac. The New Zealand Division at the Western front had to deal with the trauma that was Gallipoli.[73] Aitken wrote how the experiences of the campaign itself were rarely a topic, but the lessons from Gallipoli made the division stronger. Typical 'Anzac tactics' were introduced at the Western Front, but what was 'Anzac' about the New Zealand Division after being transferred? How did the perceived Anzac spirit continue in the Western theatre of war in the minds of the participating New Zealanders although most of them had never set a foot on Gallipoli?

[69] 'The Anzac's Prize', *NZ Truth*, 15 July 1916.
[70] 'An Anzac Apparition', *NZ Truth*, 22 July 1916.
[71] 'The Great Battle of the Somme', *Dominion*, 5 July 1916; Bean, *The Anzac Book: Written and Illustrated in Gallipoli by the Men of Anzac*, 74.
[72] Crawford and McGibbon, *New Zealand's Great War: New Zealand, the Allies and the First World War*, 268; Pugsley, *On the Fringe of Hell: New Zealanders and Military Discipline in the First World War*, 259.
[73] Aitken, *Gallipoli to the Somme: Recollections of a New Zealand Infantryman*, 62; Pugsley, *The ANZAC Experience: New Zealand, Australia and Empire in the First World War*, 117–18.

At the start of 1916, the theatre of war changed for the New Zealand soldiers. They were sent from Gallipoli to the Western front. The Anzacs were strongly reinforced with new soldiers. The veterans of Gallipoli and the young, enthusiastic volunteers who travelled across the world to share in the glory of the Dardanelles campaign were deeply divided by experience as they set foot in Europe. Alexander Aitken wrote how the battle-hardened men in the ranks of the NZEF did not share stories of their time in Turkey. Aitken called Gallipoli a 'taboo' amongst the troops.[74] The heroism of the Anzacs at Gallipoli was not a subject of conversation at the front line. The battles of the Somme and Passchendaele seemed, surprisingly, more formative in creating a single New Zealand force in Europe than the Dardanelles Campaign could unify the soldiers.[75]

The newspapers reflected the discrepancy between coverage of the Gallipoli experience (the real Anzac experience) and the Western front too.[76] The emergence, importance and heroic notion of the term 'Anzac' was prevalent in the newspapers reporting on the Gallipoli Campaign. The *New Zealand Herald*, the *Dominion* and the *King Country Chronicle* all described the supposed success of the Gallipoli campaign.[77] It was in these articles that every bit of information coming from Turkey was cheered on and reported with great enthusiasm emphasising the courage, the 'fighting qualities', and 'valour and determination' of the New Zealanders.[78] This led to a surge in recruitment and the adoption of the landing on Gallipoli on 25 April as New Zealand's coming of age by large parts of the home community and the

[74] Aitken, *Gallipoli to the Somme: Recollections of a New Zealand Infantryman*, 9.
[75] Ferrall and Ricketts, *How We Remember: New Zealanders and the First World War*, 229–30.
[76] In the introduction, I explained the publishing frequency and political stance of the newspapers, and how this influenced their readership.
[77] 'Progress of the War', *Dominion*, 3 May 1915; 'Nine Months of War', *Dominion*, 4 May 1915; 'New Zealanders at the Dardanelles', *New Zealand Herald*, 30 April 1915; 'New Zealanders at War'; 'Colonials' Amazing Dash'.
[78] 'Progress of the War', 3 May 1915.

New Zealand government.[79] The shock of the first deaths in the *Dominion* on 5 May 1915 was exemplified by the article's title "Our first real blow", but still showed a strong sense of pride: 'they [His Majesty, the Secretary of State, and the Admiralty] all testify to the splendid and heroic work done in Turkey by our boys and those of Australia during their baptism of fire.'[80] The *NZ Truth* was less ecstatic and did not publish any war report between 25 April and 20 December 1915, but mainly focussed on criticising the Empire and New Zealand government for the need of 'Men, More Men' and attacking the censorship of cables and news.[81]

The diminishing emphasis on the Gallipoli campaign was visible in articles published by the newspapers mentioning the word 'Anzac' during the Battle of the Somme and the Battle of Passchendaele. As the Battle of the Somme raged in Europe, the Gallipoli veterans and the new reinforcements fought together as the New Zealand Division. In this battle they 'pass[ed] into the unrelieved attrition of trench warfare', and the newspaper reports changed as the following table and numbers show (see Figure 2).[82]

[79] Ferrall and Ricketts, *How We Remember: New Zealanders and the First World War*, 91.
[80] '"Our First Real Blow"', *Dominion*, 5 May 1915.
[81] 'Men, More Men', *NZ Truth*, 1 May 1915; 'The Critic', *NZ Truth*, 8 May 1915.
[82] Felicity Barnes, 'Bill Massey's Tourists in the Big Smoke: Rethinking the First World War's Role in New Zealand's National Identity', *Journal of New Zealand Literature (JNZL)*, no. 33, Part 2: New Zealand and the First World War (2015): 90.

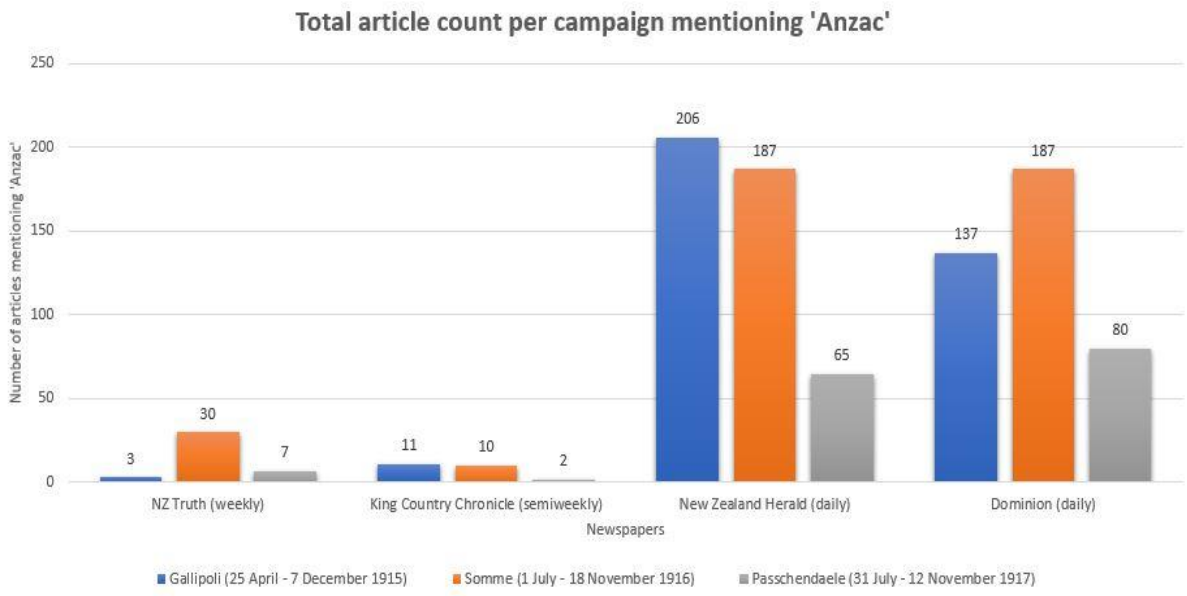


Figure 2: Total article count per campaign mentioning 'Anzac'.

The *NZ Truth* had 30 articles mentioning ‘Anzac’, the *Dominion* (which was a daily newspaper) had 137 articles, the *New Zealand Herald* (also a daily newspaper) 187 articles, and the *King Country Chronicle* mentioned ‘Anzac’ between 1 July and 18 November 1916 merely in 10 articles. These numbers dropped even further during the Battle of Passchendaele in which the New Zealanders formed part of the second phase in the push from the Ypres Salient to the city of Passchendaele. The *NZ Truth* reported on the Anzacs in 7 articles, the *Dominion* in 80, the *New Zealand Herald* in 65 articles, and the Waikato *King Country Chronicle* in 2. For all newspapers these numbers are articles in which the word ‘Anzac’ was mentioned, but not necessarily related to the war or the Anzac traits, legend or spirit. The degeneration of the importance of the term ‘Anzac’ might have been a result of the emphasis of the Anzac connotation to the Gallipoli Campaign, the use of the term ‘New Zealanders’ rather than ‘Anzac’, or the dramatic results of the Battle of the Somme and the Battle of Passchendaele.

Although the newspapers mentioned ‘Anzac’ less during the Battle of the Somme and the Battle of Passchendaele, this did not fit the use of ‘Anzac’ for the newspapers once you would look per month in the three campaigns (see Figure 3).

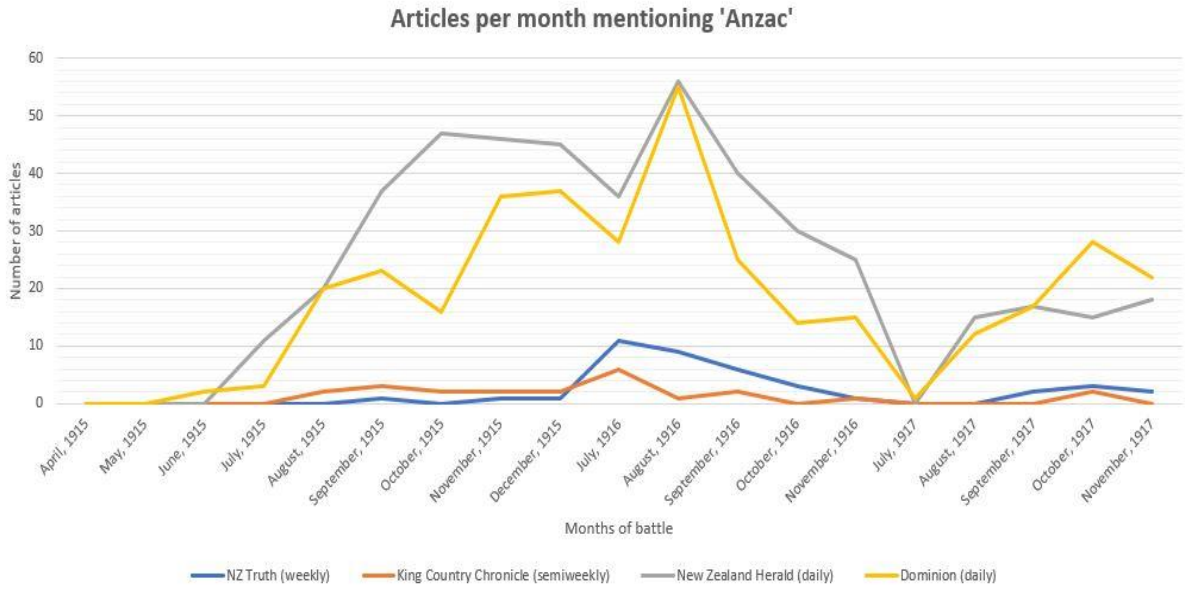


Figure 3: Articles per month mentioning 'Anzac'.

The *Dominion* and the *New Zealand Herald* published most articles mentioning ‘Anzac’ during the second month of the Battle of the Somme. The importance of ‘Anzac’ during the Battle of the Somme was also visible in the *NZ Truth* and the *King Country Chronicle*. The four newspapers more frequently used the word ‘Anzac’ in the first months of a new campaign. An interesting ‘dip’ occurred in the first month of the Battle of Passchendaele, when none of the newspapers wrote a report mentioning ‘Anzac’. As the battle progressed, the daily newspapers picked up the term again, but often this was not related to the soldiers fighting at that time, but to refer to the Gallipoli Campaign, to address parliamentary matters on the creation of a badge for Gallipoli veterans, or veteran funds with ‘Anzac’ in their title.

The Battle of the Somme had some highlights for the New Zealand Division, as the New Zealanders established themselves as ‘one of the finest on the Western Front’, as they ‘stormed more enemy-held ground than any other, reached all its objectives and helped to

defend the village of Flers.'[83] This success was in sharp contrast with the problems the New Zealand Division encountered in the mud of the Ypres Salient during the Battle of Passchendaele in 1917. Tormented by friendly cannon fire and German barbed wire that had not been destroyed by British artillery, the perseverance and determination that made the Anzacs heroes at Gallipoli could not help them there. But what made the New Zealand soldiers change from Anzacs (thus entwined with the Australian war effort) to the New Zealand Division that was 'one of the finest on the Western Front'?

The first blood for the New Zealanders turned into a trauma. The soldiers in the New Zealand Division rarely discussed the New Zealanders' contribution in Gallipoli. Paradoxically, it was a connecting factor nevertheless. Starting the war as 'true sons of the Empire', there was a strong emphasis at the Western Front on upholding the Anzac reputation.[84] This reputation was completely congruent with the Anzac spirit and the traits that were considered to be typically Anzac. In his article ''Soldiers and Shirkers': Modernity and New Zealand Masculinity during the Great War' New Zealand historian Steven Loveridge describes the ideal New Zealand soldier as follows:

> 'The New Zealand version of the ideal soldier is apparent in Anzac mythology which intertwines heroic and, allegedly, typical masculine qualities. The character profile gives prominence to physical prowess, mental toughness, courage, a laconic yet humorous spirit, a natural propensity for egalitarianism and a talent for ingenuity.'[85]

Some of these traits, like the physical prowess, mental toughness and courage, have been traced in the distinguishable fighting style of the New Zealand Division. The 'laconic yet humorous spirit' of the New Zealanders was often part of the disdain of death and

[83] Crawford and McGibbon, *New Zealand's Great War: New Zealand, the Allies and the First World War*, 227.
[84] 'Progress of the War', *Dominion*, 27 July 1916; 'Heroes of Pozieres Cheered', *Dominion*, 28 July 1916; 'The Anzac Touch'; 'Special Order by the King to Anzacs in England'; Pugsley, *On the Fringe of Hell: New Zealanders and Military Discipline in the First World War*, 21; Bean, *The Anzac Book: Written and Illustrated in Gallipoli by the Men of Anzac*, ix, 155.
[85] Loveridge, '"Soldiers and Shirkers": Modernity and New Zealand Masculinity during the Great War', 59.

fearlessness of the soldiers, but also when it came to black humour when wounded or as part of the alleged egalitarian nature of the New Zealander.

Plenty of sources reported on New Zealand (or Australasian) soldiers who mocked wounds.[86] The *NZ Truth*'s recurring 'column' 'The Anzac Spirit' reported on 28 October 1916 that 'The wounded Anzacs are famous for their cheerfulness' as the Anzac soldier 'meets misfortune with a laugh, and danger with a grin'.[87] The wounded Anzac's cheerfulness was reported on in the *NZ Truth* again on 6 October 1917:

> "Wot's it like out there in front?" shouted an Anzac to one of his cobbers being taken back, wounded, to the base.
> "Best place in the world to get a quick rise," said the wounded man, "I walked out a couple of hours ago carryin' me swag, an' now I'm goin' back like a toff; in a motor car with a cushion."[88]

A 'toff' was a name for a fancy upper class person. The soldier made a joke about having to march up to the front line, but that after he was wounded, he received a fancier treatment than he could imagine. Soldiers considered the treatment of the wounded as a luxury in these kinds of jokes. This was visible in trench journals too. These small newspapers, that were written by soldiers in the trenches, ridiculed medical history sheets.[89] In the trench journal *Te Huia* not a single question addressed the medical history of the soldier, but questions as 'Why did you marry?', 'Explain reason why you were born', 'Do you require more than Service pay?', 'What do you think of the Kaiser?' and 'Have you ever committed suicide?', showed the laconic banter that was made of these sheets. The questions on the *Te Huia* sheet would not help to examine a soldier's medical history but reflected the soldier's thoughts of the medical exams and the importance of the questions on the sheet. The New Zealand

[86] Reynolds, 'Are Nations Really Made in War?', 38–39.
[87] 'The Anzac Spirit', *NZ Truth*, 28 October 1916.
[88] A 'toff' is a fancy upper class person.; 'The Critic', *NZ Truth*, 6 October 1917.
[89] Graham Seal, *The Soldiers' Press: Trench Journals in the First World War* (Houndmills, Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan, 2013), 40–41.

soldiers used the jokes to deal with the horrors of the war, but they also showed the paradox of medical treatment in a war. The soldiers criticised the treatment of wounded, because the treatment was that good to get the soldier quicker to the front line again. The wounded had to be nursed back to health to keep enough soldiers fighting. This paradox was ridiculed and showed the New Zealand soldier's attitude towards wounds, but also his attitude towards the institutions of medical treatment and military command in the war.

British poet John Masefield's book *Gallipoli* showed a picture of two Australian soldiers (see Figure 4).

Figure 4: 'Australians at Anzac' in John Masefield's *Gallipoli*. Source: In Flanders Fields Museum Library, Ypres (B).

The explanation added to the photograph was: 'An Australian bringing in a wounded comrade to hospital. The men were cracking jokes as they made their way down from the

front.'[90] Another target of the soldiers' famed laconic wit was British command. Not only wounds and the wounded fell victim to the irony and parody.[91] British command was often ridiculed, which fitted the Anzac traits of egalitarianism and alleged lack of discipline.

Until 1 August 1916, the New Zealand army was an all-volunteer army, which meant that officers and privates started the war all on the same level as everyone had to volunteer to be in the army, and even the introduction of conscription did not change this perception of classless equality.[92] The egalitarianism of the New Zealand Division resulted in two phenomena: a lack of discipline and mateship. Since they were volunteers, privates and officers were commonly regarded as equals. The New Zealanders had an ambivalent attitude towards authority, which was fuelled by poor, distant, and failing British command.[93] The lack of discipline must be nuanced according to historians Christopher Pugsley and Steven Loveridge. Pugsley argues that Gallipoli was not the best example of a disciplined New Zealand army but after Major-General Russell took over command and the reinforcements were better trained, and discipline became one of the main features of the New Zealand Division.[94] Loveridge agrees with Pugsley, making the distinction that the New Zealand soldier was 'very loyal to his leaders when those leaders [knew] their job.'[95]

Secondly, the concept of 'mateship'.[96] The atrocities of war, both on the Turkish peninsula as the muddy trenches of France and Belgium, created a strong bond between men.

[90] Masefield, *Gallipoli*, 65.
[91] Seal, *The Soldiers' Press: Trench Journals in the First World War*, 123.
[92] Pugsley, *On the Fringe of Hell: New Zealanders and Military Discipline in the First World War*, 16, 62, 219.
[93] Seal, *Inventing Anzac: The Digger and National Mythology*, 80–88.
[94] Pugsley, *On the Fringe of Hell: New Zealanders and Military Discipline in the First World War*.
[95] Loveridge, '"Soldiers and Shirkers": Modernity and New Zealand Masculinity during the Great War', 64.
[96] Due, '"Lest We Forget": Creating an Australian National Identity from Memories of War', 29; Stanley, 'He Was Black, He Was a White Man, and a Dinkum Aussie: Race and Empire in Revisiting the Anzac Legend', 213–14; Ferrall and Ricketts, *How We Remember: New Zealanders and the First World War*, 229–30; Seal, *Inventing Anzac: The Digger and National Mythology*, 65–80.

According to the British historian Graham Seal mateship exceeded the trenches and made the individual's war experience a group experience and even extrapolated the individual's identity to be a member of a national group.[97] Mateship encompassed the soft side of the war experience in which a soldier started to become increasingly connected to his fellow soldiers and started to become aware of his own position in the broader event of things. Pugsley argues how 'pride in one's unit grew to encompass pride in one's brigade and then pride in being a member of the New Zealand Expeditionary Force and then pride in country – not just being British, but now pride in being a New Zealander.'[98] Mateship and egalitarianism in the New Zealand Division influenced each other. The volunteer or civilian status of the New Zealand soldier brought the idea of egalitarianism, but it was not a necessity to give rise to mateship. Fighting side by side resulted in a strong reliance on and trust in your fellow soldier, which in turn grew in a form of friendship that had no resemblance to friendships without war.

The rise of the New Zealand soldier from volunteer/amateur to one of the finest in the BEF, was strongly connected to what became known as the Anzac spirit. The various traits that came to the fore on Gallipoli were present in the rise of the New Zealand Division and thus the division that fought in the Battle of the Somme and the Battle of Passchendaele became known as a worthy descendant of the Gallipoli veterans. The efforts of the New Zealanders at Flers and Pozieres were called 'typically Anzac' in the newspapers. But these newspapers also showed a different development. Although the soldiers in Europe fought in the spirit of the soldiers at Gallipoli, the newspapers used the term 'Anzac' less to point to the essence of the New Zealand soldiers. The term was mostly used to refer to New Zealand or Australian

[97] Seal, *Inventing Anzac: The Digger and National Mythology*, 80.
[98] Pugsley, *On the Fringe of Hell: New Zealanders and Military Discipline in the First World War*, 21.

soldiers. Whether this diminishing use of the term 'Anzac' is exemplary for the New Zealand soldier's identification as New Zealanders is questionable, as the experiences of war drew various demarcations. The gap between a Gallipoli experience and the Western Front was undeniable, but the equal status as volunteers and the shared experience after Gallipoli and the growing mateship among soldiers could have led to a soldier community that was aware of the fact that the New Zealand Division was full of the New Zealand fighting spirit.

Chapter Two: Anzac travels Home

While soldiers fought far away in unknown places, people on the home front anxiously waited for news, scanned the newspapers for rolls of honour, and questioned what they might do for 'their boys'. News was often delayed, fiercely censored, and scarce. This meant communities in New Zealand placed a strong emphasis on the little news they had.[99] But as more and more news came in, editors had to select what to read, what to publish in the newspapers, and what to feature prominently. British war correspondents, like Ellis Ashmead-Bartlett, had a strong influence as they were representatives of the Empire for which New Zealand fought.[100] This chapter looks at the home front's engagement to the war and questions how the war was represented by the newspapers and, because of the newspapers' representations, present in New Zealand society. The Anzac spirit identified in the previous chapter impact this representation. This can be seen in newspaper reports. The following discussion shows how they invoked British recognition and patriotism, how various minorities were treated because of the war and what the institution of conscription on 1 August 1915 meant for New Zealand. These common themes in newspaper reportage

[99] Scott Worthy, 'A Debt of Honour. New Zealanders' First Anzac Days', *New Zealand Journal of History* 36, no. 2 (2002): 185–87.
[100] Phillips, 'The Quiet Western Front: The First World War and New Zealand Memory', 240.

– which was read widely in New Zealand during the war – showed how on the one hand New Zealand's home front started to identify itself as a nation, sparked through the baptism of fire, but on the other hand divided society along new fault lines by denying parts of society access to this identification process.

In 1911 there were 193 newspapers (67 dailies and 68 weeklies) in New Zealand.[101] Between 1914 and 1919 these often had one or more pages exclusively reporting on the war and its progress. Newspapers were the mass media to keep the population up-to-date, but the other main sources were letters and diaries by soldiers and soldiers that travelled home after being wounded and deemed unfit for battle.[102] This created two different narratives. The British Empire, through its military or state apparatus, and the New Zealand government, through its wartime censorship measures, influenced the news to ensured it presented the actions and behaviour of the New Zealand soldiers as praiseworthy and heroic. Both governments feared a decrease in volunteer enlistments if the reality of war hit New Zealand.[103] The first casualty lists proved this a justifiable fear. Newspapers tried to mask the horrors of war by praising the soldiers for their willingness to sacrifice themselves for 'King and Empire'.[104] The narrative created by the returned soldiers, however, and what became clear from the letters, was filled with criticism of the British officers.[105] Aitken wrote in the middle of the Battle of the Somme, that 'There was the lurking suspicion that the Staff (but which Staff – Army,

[101] Ferrall and Ricketts, *How We Remember: New Zealanders and the First World War*, 150.
[102] Seal, *Inventing Anzac: The Digger and National Mythology*, 86; Phillips, 'The Quiet Western Front: The First World War and New Zealand Memory', 36; Ferrall and Ricketts, *How We Remember: New Zealanders and the First World War*, 150–55.
[103] 'Men, More Men'; Ferrall and Ricketts, *How We Remember: New Zealanders and the First World War*, 155.
[104] '"Our First Real Blow"'; 'An Impossible Task'.
[105] Crawford and McGibbon, *New Zealand's Great War: New Zealand, the Allies and the First World War*, 271; Phillips, 'The Quiet Western Front: The First World War and New Zealand Memory', 239–40.

Army Corps, or Division?) were counting on our making a flying dash and capturing Gird Trench by luck.'[106]

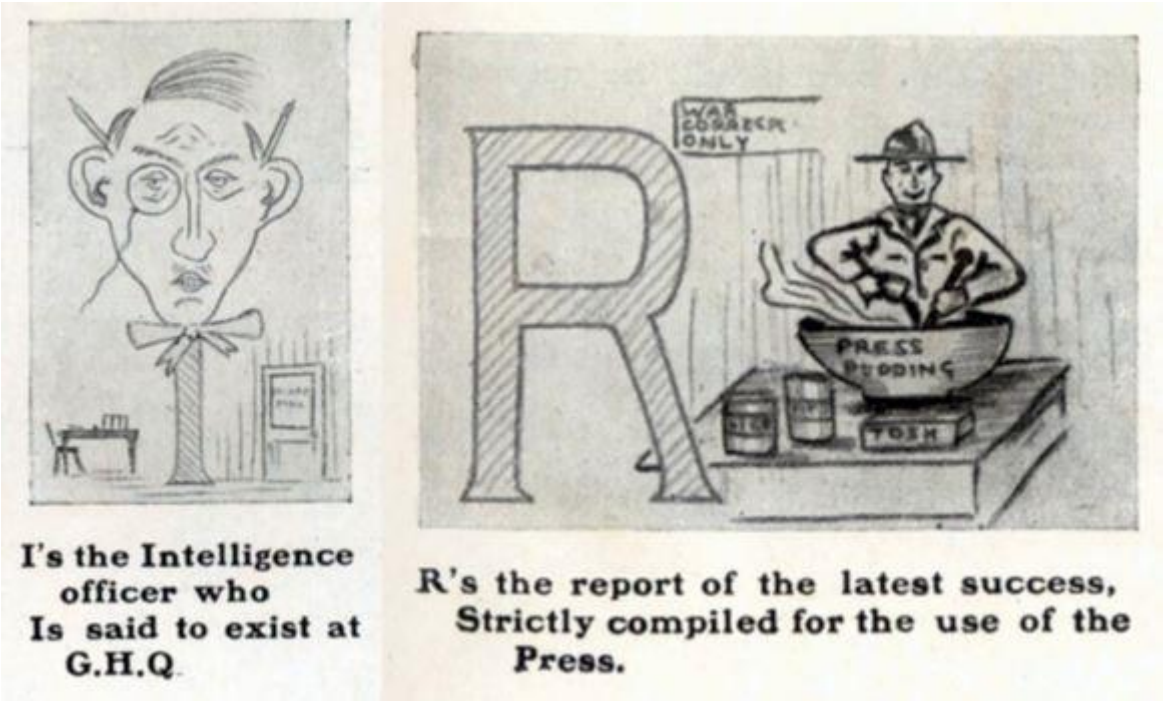


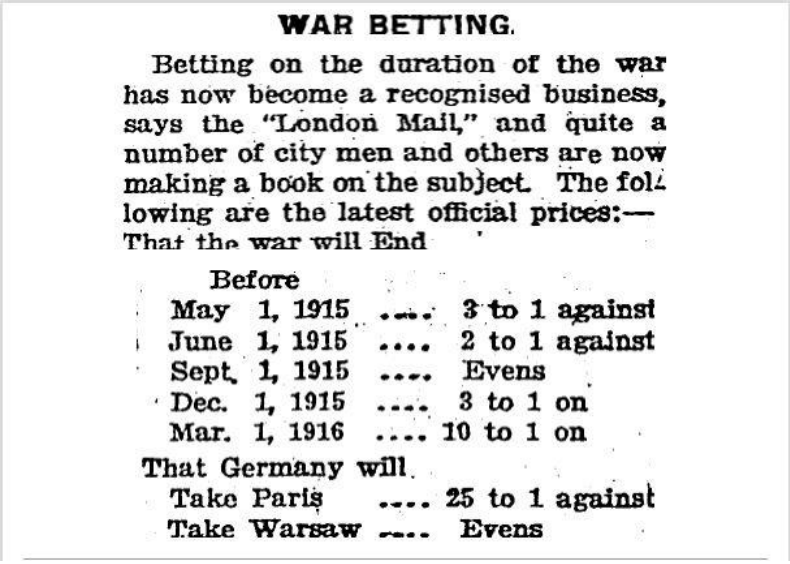
Figure 5: Two letters from J.W.S. Henderson's 'An Anzac Alphabet' in *The Anzac Book*. Source: In Flanders Fields Museum Library, Ypres (B).

J.W.S. Henderson's 'An Anzac Alphabet' criticised British command in some letters of the alphabet (see Figure 5). The 'I' was 'the Intelligence officer who [i]s said to exist at G.H.Q.', the 'M' was for 'the Major observing from latitudes [t]ending to strained and discomforting attitudes.', and the 'R' was for 'the report of the latest success, [s]trictly compiled for the use of the Press.'.[107] Although this second narrative was initially disseminated on a personal level, it quickly became widespread which gave rise to a more critical attitude towards the British command, but, surprisingly, not towards the Empire.[108]

The severity of war was not felt at home. War painters who went along with the troops to capture the heroism were ordered to paint only the beautiful side of war and 'not [to] paint

[106] Aitken, *Gallipoli to the Somme: Recollections of a New Zealand Infantryman*, 167.
[107] Bean, *The Anzac Book: Written and Illustrated in Gallipoli by the Men of Anzac*, 114–15.
[108] 'The Critic', 8 May 1915; 'Spurious Socialism', *NZ Truth*, 15 May 1915; 'Men, More Men'.

dead bodies'.[109] The *NZ Truth*, which was highly critical of the war, the New Zealand government and the Empire at first, published a seemingly innocent overview of the prizes to win in betting on the duration of the war (see Figure 6).[110] The optimistic odds of the list showed the minimal knowledge of the size of the war. Despite the existence of two difference narratives, most of the New Zealanders were informed by the censored newspapers and as a result believed in an embellished image of the war filled with heroism but without a correct idea of the hardships and losses the soldiers encountered. The article showed how the newspaper followed the 'London Mail' and the 'big winner' was the one who thought that the war would end before 1 March 1916. 'A number of city men and others' had apparently no idea of what the war was like at the front line. The war became a way of winning a sum of money for some at home.



WAR BETTING.

Betting on the duration of the war has now become a recognised business, says the "London Mail," and quite a number of city men and others are now making a book on the subject. The following are the latest official prices:—

That the war will End

Before

May 1, 1915	3 to 1 against
June 1, 1915	2 to 1 against
Sept. 1, 1915	Evens
Dec. 1, 1915	3 to 1 on
Mar. 1, 1916	10 to 1 on

That Germany will

Take Paris	25 to 1 against
Take Warsaw	Evens

Figure 6: 'War betting' in *NZ Truth* of 15 May 1915.

Censorship gave the British authorities a top-down impact on the creation of an image of the New Zealand war effort, and the New Zealand audience highly valued the news brought to

[109] Ferrall and Ricketts, *How We Remember: New Zealanders and the First World War*, 204.
[110] 'War Betting', *NZ Truth*, 15 May 1915.

them by British correspondents, like Ellis Ashmead-Bartlett.[111] As a result, they were fully aware of the Anzac spirit and the role 'their boys' or 'their New Zealanders' played overseas, but this was also linked to and expressed in imperialist patriotism.[112] The Empire's censors kept control over the press and compiled the articles and books that were deemed fit for publishing in New Zealand. Articles and books on the harsh conditions the soldiers faced, always framed these stories with a narrative of the soldiers conquering over both the conditions and their enemies with great courage and valour. These narratives were prevalent in the media and the New Zealand population bought the books and newspapers in great numbers. C.E.W. Bean's *The Anzac Book* was made by soldiers and included both narratives. On the one hand, it was highly critical of the war, as Henderson's alphabet showed. On the other hand, it showed imagery that fit the censored and embellished take on the war and the Anzacs (see Figure 7). George R.I.'s image of the heroic Anzacs portrayed a New Zealand soldier (on the left, recognisable by the typical lemon-squeezer hat) and an Australian soldier (on the right, recognisable by the slouch hat). Both soldiers are too unscathed and too clean to fit other stories in the book. The book was bought by a numerous part of the Australian and New Zealand home population, which showed that they were accustomed to both narratives.

[111] Phillips, 'The Quiet Western Front: The First World War and New Zealand Memory', 243; Worthy, 'A Debt of Honour. New Zealanders' First Anzac Days', 187; Ferrall and Ricketts, *How We Remember: New Zealanders and the First World War*, 88–94.
[112] '"Queen" Patriotic Carnival', *NZ Truth*, 22 May 1915; 'Progress of the War', 3 May 1915; 'New Zealand's Part', *Dominion*, 6 May 1915; 'New Zealanders at War'; '"Spirit of Anzac"', *New Zealand Herald*, 14 December 1915; 'The Anzac's Prize'; 'Mr. Massey and Sir Joseph Ward', *Dominion*, 14 October 1916; '"Our First Real Blow"'.

Figure 7: George R.I.'s depiction of the Australian and New Zealand soldiers in *The Anzac Book*. Source: In Flanders Fields Museum Library, Ypres (B).

On 14 December 1915, a week after British Parliament decided to put an end to the Dardanelles Campaign, the *New Zealand Herald* published an article called 'Spirit of Anzac'. The New Zealand public read how 'the spirit of Anzac has percolated through both Australia and New Zealand, changing their fibre' and how they have 'became busy, too, with visions of a new Australianism, and a new Imperialism, and, for the first time, became conscious of their place in the troubled orbit of the conflicting nations.'[113] This identification of the home front with the war front was often stressed through the importance of contribution in every possible way. The New Zealand government and the newspapers stressed the natural spirit that was now known as 'Anzac'. The *NZ Truth* showed this Anzac emphasis on 22 May 1915: 'We have already seen the noble work of the New Zealanders, and that should inspire the people to enthusiasm. If there are some who cannot sacrifice their

[113] '"Spirit of Anzac"'.

life's blood, they can still make sacrifices.'[114] These sacrifices referred to, included the making of generous donations to a wounded soldiers fund. The New Zealand society was mobilised to do whatever was necessary to keep the New Zealand, and thus the Empire's, war machine working.[115]

Partaking in the war sparked both a national identification process as well as a renewed patriotism as the identification of the home front with the New Zealand soldiers abroad through the ideal of Anzac, was entwined with a strong sense of Empire and patriotism. The *Dominion* reported on a speech given by the New Zealand Minister of Defence James Allen on 6 May 1915 that toasts and praise to 'our boys' were constantly accompanied by songs of praise to the Empire, like the singing of the 'Red, White, and Blue' or 'Soldiers of the King'.[116] The Empire's national anthem was sung on public occasions, emphasising the position of New Zealand in the Empire, something which was also prevalent in the first Anzac Day commemorations in 1916.[117] Archbishop Averill spoke at the Auckland Town Hall at Anzac Day in 1916 and told his audience that:

> [W]e know enough to refute the foolish idea that our boys died in vain. (Applause) They represented New Zealand's sense of honour and gratitude. New Zealand's loyalty to King and Empire and by giving their lives they have helped to weld the Empire in imperishable bonds. They have proved the worthiness of the nation to take its place in the great family of free nations in the Empire. (Applause)[118]

Patriotism and the search for British recognition were prevalent throughout the war, as the reaction to a telegram showed, stating that 'New Zealand was not doing all it could for the imperial war effort' and 'there was already significant concern within the government that

[114] '"Queen" Patriotic Carnival'.
[115] Crawford and McGibbon, *New Zealand's Great War: New Zealand, the Allies and the First World War*, 517–19.
[116] 'New Zealand's Part'.
[117] Ferrall and Ricketts, *How We Remember: New Zealanders and the First World War*, 91, 234; Worthy, 'A Debt of Honour. New Zealanders' First Anzac Days', 189; Phillips, 'The Quiet Western Front: The First World War and New Zealand Memory', 240.
[118] Worthy, 'A Debt of Honour. New Zealanders' First Anzac Days', 189.

New Zealand's contribution was not sufficiently appreciated in London'.[119] This fervent initial attitude of national identification and patriotism also had a darker side which surfaced in the minority treatment and debates on conscription in the First World War.

Minority treatment in New Zealand was not only based on racial identifications that were an integral part of British-New Zealand society. The population was a melting pot of various 'racial' and 'ethnic' groups, but the majority of New Zealanders was of British descent. The New Zealanders of German or Austrian descent and immigrants from Asian countries proved to be a rising problem during the war.[120] New Zealand's racial discourse considered the Maori to be 'brown Europeans' or 'honorary whites' and proved no threat to 'the notion of New Zealand as a paradise of racial harmony', which 'paradoxically incorporated' the Maori in society.[121]

In Gallipoli and Europe, the German, frequently referred to as 'the Hun', was the enemy.[122] New Zealand historian Graham Hucker describes how in the Taranaki region 337 Germans and 36 Austrians feared the results of the New Zealand participation in the war. On 7 August, despite being considered 'excellent neighbours and fellow settlers' by the Taranaki population, the New Plymouth police instructed the German and Austrian New Zealanders 'not to leave the country' and 'that any movements they wish[ed] to make must first be

[119] Crawford and McGibbon, *New Zealand's Great War: New Zealand, the Allies and the First World War*, 251.
[120] Loveridge, 'A German Is Always a German?: Representations of Enemies, Germans and Race in New Zealand c. 1890-1918'; Graham Hucker, '"The Great Wave of Enthusiasm". New Zealand Reactions to the First World War in August 1914 - A Reassessment', *New Zealand Journal of History* 43, no. 1 (2009): 70; Dominic Alessio, 'Promoting Paradise: Utopianism and National Identity in New Zealand, 1870-1930', *New Zealand Journal of History* 42, no. 1 (2008): 32; Gary Osmond, '"Honolulu Maori": Racial Dimensions of Duke Kahanamoku's Tour of Australia and New Zealand, 1914-1915', *New Zealand Journal of History* 44, no. 1 (2010): 22; Das, *Race, Empire and First World War Writing*, 178.
[121] Alessio, 'Promoting Paradise: Utopianism and National Identity in New Zealand, 1870-1930', 32–33.
[122] Phillips, Boyack, and Malone, *The Great Adventure: New Zealand Soldiers Describe the Great War*, 90, 94.

communicated to the Police'.[123] Travel restrictions or obligatory reports to authorities about their whereabouts were a mere nuisance compared to the fate of other German descendants. On 22 May 1915, the *NZ Truth* published an article on anti-Germanism in New Zealand and on 7 August 1915 it named and shamed a hotel owner who was an alleged German, and to whose hotel returned soldiers were sent to stay the night. The *NZ Truth* denounced this action and the hotel owner had to defend his allegiance to New Zealand.[124] The real dark page was a rally that escalated and led to the destruction of several German-owned stores in 1915: 'The culminating scene was witnessed when a Territorial in uniform climbed on to the veranda above the street and hoisted the Union Jack, amidst great excitement, the crowd singing the National Anthem and patriotic songs.'[125] Identifying yourself as a loyal New Zealander was not enough if others thought of you as a German.

Fear of the 'Chinaman' rose during the war. Sending working men abroad was leaving a vacuum in the need of labour forces, and this resulted in a growing flow of immigrants from Asian countries. This collided with the idea of keeping New Zealand 'white', both in character as in reliance on labour forces.[126] The feared take-over of Asian, especially Japanese, people resulted in protectionist laws on immigration and resulted in the rise of women in the New Zealand labour force.[127]

New Zealand minorities were not asked whether they felt part of New Zealand society, even when society itself felt they were 'excellent neighbours'. The patriotic war effort excluded people who could have felt New Zealander but were identified otherwise.

[123] Hucker, '"The Great Wave of Enthusiasm". New Zealand Reactions to the First World War in August 1914 - A Reassessment', 70.
[124] 'Wild Times at Wanganui', *NZ Truth*, 22 May 1915; 'Returned Soldiers', *NZ Truth*, 7 August 1915.
[125] Ferrall and Ricketts, *How We Remember: New Zealanders and the First World War*, 135.
[126] Locke, 'Solidarity Across the "Colour" Line?: Maori Representation in the Maoriland Worker, 1910-1914', 59–60.
[127] Loveridge, 'A German Is Always a German?: Representations of Enemies, Germans and Race in New Zealand c. 1890-1918', 60–63.

The sense that everybody should participate in the war depending on possibilities and whatever the costs was a mantra in New Zealand during the war.[128] The *NZ Truth* wrote on 21 August 1915 an article in which it blamed the 'day-lies' of accusing all the 'youths of New Zealand who were not lucky enough to get away with the first batches to the Dardanelles, are a lot of cowardly skunks.'[129] This statement critiqued the idea that serving in the army was the 'best' one could do, and talks of conscription and anti-militarism were seen as 'cowardice'.[130] The anti-militarist attitude of the *NZ Truth* surfaced in this article by denouncing these ideas and blaming the daily newspapers of using patriotism to recruit new volunteers. Conscription turned out to divide New Zealand along different lines.

Not enlisting in the first months after the start of the war, was 'not answering the call'.[131] This was not a major issue, if you did it after the call was heard again. Conscientious objectors, pacifists, and those who did not feel like it, were 'shirkers' and presented as 'a physical degenerate who lacked moral fibre'. [132] Anti-militarist movements had formed leagues and held conferences during the years preceding the war. It was a widespread movement that was quickly quelled when the war started; suspending public work, retreating in the private sphere, and dissolving.[133] The New Zealand government introduced conscription in two phases; the National Registration Act of November 1915 had all able-bodied New Zealand men register and the Military Service Bill of 10 June 1916 brought compulsory military participation to parts of society (those parts who had not wilfully

[128] 'The Dardanelles Campaign', *Dominion*, 21 August 1915.
[129] 'Tirade from the Trenches', *NZ Truth*, 21 August 1915.
[130] Loveridge, '"Soldiers and Shirkers": Modernity and New Zealand Masculinity during the Great War', 59.
[131] 'The Dardanelles Campaign'.
[132] Loveridge, '"Soldiers and Shirkers": Modernity and New Zealand Masculinity during the Great War', 59.
[133] Hucker, '"The Great Wave of Enthusiasm". New Zealand Reactions to the First World War in August 1914 - A Reassessment', 62–63.

enlisted were now forced).[134] This was relatively silently accepted, as society was supportive of the idea that it was a crime against the boys abroad to object, but still hundreds of conscientious objectors were imprisoned.[135]

Although Maori from all tribes rallied to answer the call of the Empire, they also found the strongest objectors against participation in their midst. The main reason for the Maori anti-war movement were the Maori wars of the 1860s in which significant chunks of land were taken from the Waikato and King Country *iwi*. Similar grievances were found with the Taranaki and Ureweras.[136] Another reason for Maori objection was the Treaty of Waitangi, which prohibited the Maori from enlisting according to various local chiefs.[137] The Treaty, written in 1840 in Maori and English, was often debated, because, due to translation, the two versions did not read the same text. One of the articles in the Treaty, supposedly, excluded the Maori from any form of military service, but this was contradicted by Maori and Pakeha. However, James Allen and the Maori representative Dr. Maui Pomare frequently stressed the importance of full Maori participation in the war.[138] Pomare lobbied parliament to extend legislation to Pomare's district (Waikato, Taranaki and King Country) before conscription started. This resulted in hostilities towards Pomare in some Maori gatherings (*marae*) in 1917-1918 and none of the balloted Maori ever showed up for military service.[139] The Maori

[134] Crawford and McGibbon, *New Zealand's Great War: New Zealand, the Allies and the First World War,* 519.
[135] Loveridge, '"Soldiers and Shirkers": Modernity and New Zealand Masculinity during the Great War', 73.
[136] Maguire, 'Colonial Encounters during the First World War: The Experience of Troops from New Zealand, South Africa and the West Indies', 39–40.
[137] 'Conscription of Maoris', *New Zealand Herald,* 8 December 1915.
[138] 'Our Second Maori Contingent', *Dominion*, 1915; 'The Maori's Opportunity', *New Zealand Herald,* 26 May 1915; 'Maoris and Service', *New Zealand Herald,* 14 September 1917; Winegard, *Indigenous Peoples of the British Dominions and the First World War,* 156–59.
[139] Charlotte Macdonald, 'The First World War and the Making of Colonial Memory', *Journal of New Zealand Literature (JNZL),* no. 33, Part 2: New Zealand and the First World War (2015): 23; Winegard, *Indigenous Peoples of the British Dominions and the First World War,* 99.

king Te Rata was accused of rallying the Maori to an anti-militarist gathering, but he repeatedly withheld himself from taking a stand in the Maori conscription debate.[140]

Eventually, the institution of conscription, first for Pakeha, later for Maori, boosted volunteer enlistments because of the supposed cowardice that was part of compulsory service through conscription. Conscription was more divisive than unifying for New Zealand society.[141]

For the home front participating in the New Zealand and Empire's war effort in one way or another seemed to be the highest goal. Society was mobilised by censored news, the reports on Anzac heroism and the spirit of 'our boys'. The Anzac spirit that changed New Zealand's fibre was an ideal to live up to, but the war also posed new problems for New Zealand society. The Anzac spirit was projecting virtues of national identification as patriotism. Contributing for 'King and Country' overseas made the home front proud as proven by newspapers articles which emphasise on heroism, and the value of the British voice in praising the New Zealand effort. The division in New Zealand by the Anzac spirit was most evident in the issues of minority treatment and conscription. British descent, being an inhabitant of New Zealand, and in both the readiness to act upon patriotism divided New Zealand society as much as these helped to unify it. Alleged German-sympathies or anti-militarism (both as conscientious objection as pacifism) had no place. Where Anzac bound one part of society together, it had to cut out another part of society as it did not embody the New Zealand spirit as the majority of New Zealand felt they did.

[140] 'Maoris and the War', *New Zealand Herald*, 12 May 1915.
[141] Hall and Malesevic, *Nationalism and War*, 48; Crawford and McGibbon, *New Zealand's Great War: New Zealand, the Allies and the First World War*, 91, 101–2, 519; Loveridge, '"Soldiers and Shirkers": Modernity and New Zealand Masculinity during the Great War', 73.

Section Two: Maori and the 'New Zealander'

Chapter Three: Maori in the War

When the New Zealand government introduced the 1909 Defence Act and compulsory military training for all men aged 18 to 25, Maori were included – or, at least not explicitly excluded. Many Maori volunteered in the Territorial Force, which resulted in several distinct Maori sections or platoons in the regions with large Maori populations.[142] This fits the idea of the Welsh-Canadian historian Dominic Alessio that New Zealand society 'paradoxically incorporated' Maori.[143] The First World War showed again how the Maori fitted in New Zealand society and it reinforced their place in the Empire. As early as 11 August 1914 the Department of Defence had to deny the Maori the opportunity to serve in the war, but on 6 September 1914 the Maori offer was accepted.[144] In comparison to indigenous peoples in other Dominions the Maori historically had a unique place in the New Zealand society. This place was secured by the Treaty of Waitangi, which made them, officially, equals to the British Crown, and other legislative measures, as the existence of four Maori MPs in the New Zealand Parliament and the Maori's right to vote. The Maori's contribution to the war exemplified the uniqueness of their social position. This was visible in their work as a combatant unit, as part of the New Zealand Division, and at home regarding the institutional privileges and legislative power they had to shape the Maori participation in the New Zealand army, through the Maori MPs, and the existence of a Maori War Management Committee.[145] Still, despite the privileged place the Maori had in New Zealand society, this is mostly privileged in comparison to other 'native' peoples in other Dominions, as racial

[142] Winegard, *Indigenous Peoples of the British Dominions and the First World War*, 61–62.
[143] Alessio, 'Promoting Paradise: Utopianism and National Identity in New Zealand, 1870-1930', 32.
[144] Winegard, *Indigenous Peoples of the British Dominions and the First World War*, 80–81.
[145] Pugsley, *On the Fringe of Hell: New Zealanders and Military Discipline in the First World War*, 30; Das, *Race, Empire and First World War Writing*, 13; Bean, *The Anzac Book: Written and Illustrated in Gallipoli by the Men of Anzac*, 130; Ferrall and Ricketts, *How We Remember: New Zealanders and the First World War*, 49, 76–77; Alessio, 'Promoting Paradise: Utopianism and National Identity in New Zealand, 1870-1930', 32–33; Winegard, *Indigenous Peoples of the British Dominions and the First World War*, 70–96.

stereotypes ('positive' and 'negative') were prevalent in the Empire and in New Zealand discourse.[146]

This chapter examines the role the Maori played in the New Zealand war effort. It examines the Maori's willingness to contribute on the one hand, but how, on the other hand, parts of Maori society felt this was not their war. Secondly, this chapter argues that Pakeha and the British Empire represented the Maori and negotiated them as racial equal to justify their participation. These analyses question a growing Maori identification as New Zealanders, since the Maori's motives – regardless of participation, objection, or anything in between – and experiences were not like those of 'their Pakeha brethren'.

War was declared on 4 August 1914, and as soon as New Zealand started to create the NZEF, Maori were eager to take part. Some did not wait until a full-Maori contingent was formed and as a result an unknown number enlisted with 'their Pakeha mates' in provincial units.[147] Most Maori fought and worked in *Te Hokowhitu A Tu*, the 'Maori Contingent'.[148] A total of 31 Maori Contingents travelled from New Zealand to the war and a total of 2,227 Maori and 485 Pacific Islanders served in 'the Maori Contingent'.[149] 336 of their number died in service

[146] Masefield, *Gallipoli*, 126; Cowan, *The Maoris in the Great War: A History of the New Zelaand Native Contingent and Pioneer Battalion: Gallipoli 1915, France and Flanders 1916-1918*; Pugsley, 'Images of Te Hokowhitu A Tu in the First World War', 195; Maguire, 'Colonial Encounters during the First World War: The Experience of Troops from New Zealand, South Africa and the West Indies'; Dan Morrow, '"Maori and Pakeha - Two Peoples or One"?: Ralph Piddington and "Symbiosis" in Mid-Twentieth-Century New Zealand', *New Zealand Journal of History* 47, no. 2 (2013): 196; Osmond, '"Honolulu Maori": Racial Dimensions of Duke Kahanamoku's Tour of Australia and New Zealand, 1914-1915', 22; Bean, *The Anzac Book: Written and Illustrated in Gallipoli by the Men of Anzac*.
[147] Pugsley, 'Images of Te Hokowhitu A Tu in the First World War', 194.
[148] Literally 'The Seventy Twice-told Warriors of the War God', or 140. This is taken from Maori mythology and the official number of a Maori war company.; Cowan, *The Maoris in the Great War: A History of the New Zelaand Native Contingent and Pioneer Battalion: Gallipoli 1915, France and Flanders 1916-1918*, 10.
[149] The Maori counted in 1914 a population of 63,000. From this population, 3,53% served in the war.

and 734 were wounded (15% died and 33% was wounded).[150] The New Zealand government deemed the Maori unfit to be a combatant unit. They feared that the Maori could not bring enough reinforcements after every battle. The Maori were sent on garrison duty in Samoa and Egypt, due to racial ideas prevalent in the British and New Zealand military command and governments.[151] Garrison duty as two separate units was later changed under pressure of the Maori War Management Committee to send the Maori as a single unit with the NZEF.[152] The Maori Committee strongly influenced the build-up of the Contingent. They were responsible for Maori enlistment rallies, medical examinations, and to keep up the stream of Maori volunteers.[153] These responsibilities and the creation of a single unit were the first victories for the Maori. The British command decided to send the Maori to Egypt with the rest of the NZEF, which gave the Maori Contingent the chance to see the front line. The Maori Committee applauded this decision and told potential recruits they could do their duty for the Crown, New Zealand and their race.[154]

The Maori went to war to represent the Crown, New Zealand and their race, but which was prioritised is still open for debate. James Cowan, the New Zealand historian who wrote the 'official Maori war history', suggested that the Maori primarily enlisted to represent their race.[155] Monty Soutar partially agrees with Cowan; the Maori wanted to honour 'their proud

[150] Crawford and McGibbon, *New Zealand's Great War: New Zealand, the Allies and the First World War*, 99; Pugsley, 'Images of Te Hokowhitu A Tu in the First World War', 194; Ferrall and Ricketts, *How We Remember: New Zealanders and the First World War*, 23.
[151] Winegard, *Indigenous Peoples of the British Dominions and the First World War*, 83.
[152] Cowan, *The Maoris in the Great War: A History of the New Zelaand Native Contingent and Pioneer Battalion: Gallipoli 1915, France and Flanders 1916-1918*, 24–25.
[153] Carkeek, *Home Little Maori Home: A Memoir of the Maori Contingent 1914-1916*, 14; Cowan, *The Maoris in the Great War: A History of the New Zelaand Native Contingent and Pioneer Battalion: Gallipoli 1915, France and Flanders 1916-1918*, 24–25; Pugsley, 'Images of Te Hokowhitu A Tu in the First World War', 197; Winegard, *Indigenous Peoples of the British Dominions and the First World War*, 82.
[154] 'Maoris and the War'; 'The Maori's Opportunity'.
[155] Cowan, *The Maoris in the Great War: A History of the New Zelaand Native Contingent and Pioneer Battalion: Gallipoli 1915, France and Flanders 1916-1918*, 23–24.

warrior ancestry, their spirituality and a developing sense of patriotism.'[156] Soutar nuances this idea by arguing how allegiances differed per *iwi*, but that it was clear for all Maori that the First World War would change social relations in New Zealand.[157] The sacrifice of the Maori for 'King and Country' was intertwined with the promise of a change in social relations. The primary reason for enlistment varied for every *iwi* and the real reason for his enlistment was known to the single Maori. The Maori Rikihana Carkeek thought at first that Maori participation was prohibited to them by the Treaty of Waitangi, but later saw his people's eagerness as a 'desire to do something for the Empire'.[158] This desire was getting to the front line and not remain hidden in a camp on garrison duty. Carkeek notes in his diary how on 3 April 1915, Captain Peter Buck/Te Rangi Hiroa 'gave an impressive speech, urging the general [General Maxwell] to allow the Maori to go to the 'firing line' as it meant disgrace for a fighting race to do mere garrison duty.'[159]

The Maori Contingent was eventually shipped from Egypt to Gallipoli to see active service. It is questionable whether Captain Buck's speech, the influence of the Maori War Management Committee, the prevalent ideas of the Maori as a superior martial race, or General Alexander Godley's wish to bring the Maori with him to Gallipoli resulted in this decision.[160] Carkeek wrote on 3 July 1915: 'Real war at last and dinkum war conditions. Good luck!'[161] 'Real war' had to wait for the Maori until the August offensive of 1915, but they were close. The offensive showed the Contingent's main problem. Upholding a steady flow of reinforcements to remain a self-standing unit proved difficult. The military command

[156] Crawford and McGibbon, *New Zealand's Great War: New Zealand, the Allies and the First World War*, 96.
[157] Ibid., 99–102.
[158] Carkeek, *Home Little Maori Home: A Memoir of the Maori Contingent 1914-1916*, 12–13.
[159] Ibid., 32.
[160] Winegard, *Indigenous Peoples of the British Dominions and the First World War*, 100–102; Pugsley, 'Images of Te Hokowhitu A Tu in the First World War', 195.
[161] Carkeek, *Home Little Maori Home: A Memoir of the Maori Contingent 1914-1916*, 60.

decided to split up the Maori temporarily and to attach them to several Pakeha units to avoid the decimation of the Contingent. The August offensive was the first 'real war' the Maori Contingent saw. Reporters wrote about it as if the Maori had risen to mythic proportions and proved themselves worthy of their martial reputation.[162] The *Dominion* reported on 26 August 1915 on the 'Great Night Attack by the New Zealanders' and how the 'Maoris entered into the charge with great dash, making the darkness hideous with their wild war cries, and striking terror into the Turks with the awful vigour of their bayonet thrusts and rifle-butt blows.'[163]

The Maori Contingent was virtually destroyed as a combatant unit during the August offensive. Godley decided to split up the remains of the Contingent and divided them across the Pakeha units. Godley argued that this would promote equality (Maori and Pakeha, brethren fighting alongside each other) and that it was for the sake of the Maori race.[164]

The Maori War Management Committee and the four Maori MPs successfully lobbied the New Zealand government and General Godley, despite his supposedly noble idea of helping the Maori by placing them alongside their 'Pakeha mates', created the New Zealand Pioneer Battalion on 20 February 1917.[165] The *New Zealand Herald*'s 'own correspondent' reported

[162] Pugsley, *Te Hokowhitu A Tu: The Maori Pioneer Battalion in the First World War*, 20–35; 'Our Second Maori Contingent'; Ferrall and Ricketts, *How We Remember: New Zealanders and the First World War*, 49; Crawford and McGibbon, *New Zealand's Great War: New Zealand, the Allies and the First World War*, 98; Cowan, *The Maoris in the Great War: A History of the New Zelaand Native Contingent and Pioneer Battalion: Gallipoli 1915, France and Flanders 1916-1918*, 42; Bean, *The Anzac Book: Written and Illustrated in Gallipoli by the Men of Anzac*, 130.
[163] 'Great Night Attack by the New Zealanders', *Dominion*, 26 August 1915.
[164] 'Maoris and the War'; Ferrall and Ricketts, *How We Remember: New Zealanders and the First World War*, 55–57; 'Our Second Maori Contingent'; Cowan, *The Maoris in the Great War: A History of the New Zelaand Native Contingent and Pioneer Battalion: Gallipoli 1915, France and Flanders 1916-1918*, 66; Winegard, *Indigenous Peoples of the British Dominions and the First World War*, 105; Crawford and McGibbon, *New Zealand's Great War: New Zealand, the Allies and the First World War*, 98.
[165] Ferrall and Ricketts, *How We Remember: New Zealanders and the First World War*, 76–77; Pugsley, *Te Hokowhitu A Tu: The Maori Pioneer Battalion in the First World War*, 52; Winegard, *Indigenous Peoples of the British Dominions and the First World War*, 105.

on 29 February 1916 on the feared 'loss of identity' when the Maori became part of Pakeha battalions: 'The suggestion has been made that the Maori contingent and the reinforcements that have followed it have been merged with the New Zealand main body in such a way as to obliterate the identity of the Maori force.'[166] The identity of the Maori Contingent was partially restored with the creation of the pioneer battalion, although half of the battalion consisted of Maori and the other half of the remains of the Otago Mounted Rifles (a Pakeha contingent). The Pioneer Battalion encompassed these two military units until 1 September 1917. The force was then reinstituted as a full-Maori battalion, officially named New Zealand Maori Pioneer Battalion by Major-General Andrew Russell, and the badge of *Te Hokowhitu A Tu* was re-adopted.[167] This was another victory for the Maori, accomplished through the lobbying work of the Maori Committee and the enthusiastic stream of Maori volunteers.

The New Zealand Pioneer Battalion went to France with the New Zealand Division under command of Russell.[168] Although the Maori were still disappointed of not being a combatant unit, their role as a pioneering unit was not without danger either and they were highly praised for their work.[169] Two remarkable 'events' took place. Firstly, the Maori proved themselves to be a real challenge to the 'white man' in their work as pioneers. The *King Country Chronicle* reported on 15 July 1916 that there were lumbering contests held in France (see Figure 8).

[166] 'The Maori Contingent', *New Zealand Herald*, 29 February 1916.
[167] Ferrall and Ricketts, *How We Remember: New Zealanders and the First World War*, 76–77; Pugsley, *Te Hokowhitu A Tu: The Maori Pioneer Battalion in the First World War*, 52; Carkeek, *Home Little Maori Home: A Memoir of the Maori Contingent 1914-1916*, 110.
[168] This is the combined Pioneer Battalion, consisting of the Maori and the Otago Mounted Rifles.
[169] Ferrall and Ricketts, *How We Remember: New Zealanders and the First World War*, 76–77; Cowan, *The Maoris in the Great War: A History of the New Zelaand Native Contingent and Pioneer Battalion: Gallipoli 1915, France and Flanders 1916-1918*, 103; Winegard, *Indigenous Peoples of the British Dominions and the First World War*, 105–12.

Figure 8: The wood chopping competition at the New Zealand Base Depot Sports, Etaples. Source: Royal New Zealand Returned and Services' Association: New Zealand official negatives in the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington (NZ).[170]

'A native New Zealander' (mind the choice of words) was winning competitions in cutting down trees in various styles. The chopping contests were mostly won by Maori, as the newspaper reported.[171] Secondly, Maori reached an equal status in the New Zealand Division. Russell's praise resulted in an equal treatment of the Pioneer Battalion as an infantry battalion after 3 October 1916. The Pioneer Battalion was awarded an equal number of honorary awards. According to Pugsley:

> It was in France that many New Zealanders saw the Maori not only as a soldier but also as an individual person for the first time. It was a long way to come for such a lesson. The two Pakeha companies of the Pioneers and the infantry battalions now realised that Maori were more than figures of curiosity and amusement, which is how they were usually portrayed in the New Zealand press. On the Somme the Pioneers were held in awe for the work they did. It seems ironic that New Zealanders had to go to Gallipoli and France to find out about themselves and each other.[172]

[170] Official citation: The wood chopping competition at the New Zealand Base Depot Sports, Etaples. Royal New Zealand Returned and Services' Association: New Zealand official negatives, World War 1914-1918. Ref: 1/2-013429-G. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. /records/22747792
[171] 'News from the Front', *King Country Chronicle*, 15 July 1916; Pugsley, *Te Hokowhitu A Tu: The Maori Pioneer Battalion in the First World War*, 50; Cowan, *The Maoris in the Great War: A History of the New Zelaand Native Contingent and Pioneer Battalion: Gallipoli 1915, France and Flanders 1916-1918*, 82.
[172] Pugsley, *Te Hokowhitu A Tu: The Maori Pioneer Battalion in the First World War*, 58–59.

Interactions between Maori and Pakeha were quite common in New Zealand, although they were mostly absent from mainstream of public life according to New Zealand historian Ian McGibbon. However, the new forms of interaction between Maori and Pakeha in the NZEF during the war were something different.[173] The Pakeha had to rely on the Maori's pioneering work and started to view the Maori 'not only as a soldier but also as an individual person'. The personal ties that led to wartime mateship (as argued in chapter one), now encompassed the relations between Maori and Pakeha too. Pugsley calls this ironic, because the spatial and social relation of encounters changed (wartime, trench duty, and both soldiers), but the people did not. The Maori achieved through their pioneering work what was not possible in New Zealand society.

This equality was also visible in the rolls of honour and casualty lists in newspapers. Maori were listed, just as Pakeha soldiers, under their contingent or battalion and thus everybody at home saw the role the Maori played in the New Zealand war effort. The Pioneers' efforts were also praised by British units, which called them the 'Digging Battalion'. The name 'digger' was adopted by the New Zealand Division in 1916 showing their shared praise for the Pioneers.[174]

The Maori's time in Egypt and Gallipoli might be considered a 'cultural shock' for the other armies they encountered. They arrived in Egypt with the third reinforcements for the NZEF. The *Dominion* published an article on 11 August 1915 in which 'A joke about the Maoris' was made by General Godley:

[173] Locke, 'Solidarity Across the "Colour" Line?: Maori Representation in the Maoriland Worker, 1910-1914', 55; Crawford and McGibbon, *New Zealand's Great War: New Zealand, the Allies and the First World War,* 52; Maguire, 'Colonial Encounters during the First World War: The Experience of Troops from New Zealand, South Africa and the West Indies', 36–37.
[174] Pugsley, *Te Hokowhitu A Tu: The Maori Pioneer Battalion in the First World War,* 55.

> I am glad to say that the Maoris are coming here. I had a communication the other day asking for their strength, and if they required any special diet. I replied officially as regards the latter question that I hoped that during their stay here there would be sufficient Turks taken prisoner or killed to go round, which amused Sir Ian Hamilton when it reached him. It is still noticeable that there are a good many people who do not know the difference between Australians and New Zealanders, and who think that the Maoris are savages.[175]

Godley joked that the Maori were savage cannibals. He made fun of the Maori being savages and cannibals, although he also stated that 'people' were ignorant of the status of the Maori and that they were not savages. The article showed Godley's ambiguous attitude towards the Maori. The idea of the 'savage Maori' resonated in the *King Country Chronicle* of 11 August 1915 as well. The newspaper's article 'Maori War Haka' was based on a Turkish military report which stated: 'First time in the history of the straits they had had to endure an attack by cannibals.'[176] The military command and the newspapers blamed people who were not from New Zealand to misunderstand the status of the Maori. This accusation was problematic because New Zealand society often saw the Maori just the same. The military savagery of the Maori became a well-known image in the New Zealand newspapers, in text but also in cartoon (see Figure 9). The *New Zealand Free Lance* printed the drawing of two Maori storming and taking a Turkish trench on 23 December 1915. The drawing's title read 'The Maoris at Gallipoli. How Wiremu and Tamihana, of Waikanae, all on their own captured a Turkish trench at Gallipoli.' The cartoonist Walter Armiger Bowring emphasised the military prowess and the alleged savagery of the Maori. Firstly, they stormed and captured a Turkish trench 'all on their own'. The scared Turks greatly outnumbered the two Maori, but as the first Maori jumped in the trench, the Turks raised the white flag to surrender. The Maori, nor the Turks, wore an outfit appropriate for warfare; the Maori were depicted barefooted, without a helmet and did not seem to use their rifle's bayonet, while the Turks all wore a fez and sandals. The cartoon showed the savagery of the Maori in this

[175] 'With the N.Z. Troops', *Dominion*, 11 August 1915.
[176] 'Maori War Haka', *King Country Chronicle*, 11 August 1915.

natural warrior state. By printing this image in a newspaper, the unorthodox outfit and the Maori's 'savage haka'-face, with bulging eyeballs and their tongue stuck out, became known depictions of how Maori fought the Turks.

Figure 9: 'The Maoris At Gallipoli' by Walter Armiger Bowring in the *New Zealand Free Lance*. Source: Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington (NZ).[177]

Anna Maguire argues in her work on colonial encounters during the war, how the relations between Pakeha and Maori were not always understood outside New Zealand.[178] Soldiers

[177] Official citation: Bowring, Walter Armiger, 1874-1931. Bowring, Walter Armiger, 1874-1931: The Maoris at Gallipoli. New Zealand Free Lance, 23 December 1915. Ref: A-312-5-001. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. /records/22748237

[178] Maguire, 'Looking for Home? New Zealand Soldiers Visiting London during the First World War'; Maguire, 'Colonial Encounters during the First World War: The Experience of Troops from New Zealand, South Africa and the West Indies'.

often made reports and remarks of misunderstandings by 'other' groups regarding the treatment of Maori or the social status of Maori in New Zealand. The take on Maori could be divided in two general categories: 'personal' ideas and experiences and 'policy' i.e. identification of the Maori soldier on racial grounds.

The personal encounters with Maori were mostly described by Pakeha soldiers who understood the social status of Maori, as the newspaper articles already pointed out. Godley knew the Maori and noticed how most people still did not understand that Maori were not savages and feared people outside of New Zealand would not comprehend the equal footing of Maori and Pakeha.[179] Godley doubted the equality Maori experienced as well. He split up the Maori Contingent after the August offensive in Gallipoli and this was framed as a 'chance' for the Maori race. However, Godley thought the Maori needed Pakeha command in order to function properly.[180] According to Monty Soutar, this scepticism of the Maori's commanding skills resulted in the sending home of four Maori officers and a small scandal in New Zealand.[181]

It was in personal contacts, that the alleged equality between Maori and Pakeha was clearly visible. In one of the interviews with New Zealand veterans of the First World War, conducted by the New Zealand journalists/writers Nicholas Boyack and Jane Tolerton, a veteran remembered a curious event. Bertram Oliver Stokes told of an incident in Durban (South Africa):

> We had an official march up the street to be welcomed by the Mayor and so on. And we were headed by the Maoris [sic], then the artillery and then the infantry. So we lined up in front

[179] 'With the N.Z. Troops'.
[180] Ferrall and Ricketts, *How We Remember: New Zealanders and the First World War*, 55–65; Winegard, *Indigenous Peoples of the British Dominions and the First World War*, 105.
[181] Crawford and McGibbon, *New Zealand's Great War: New Zealand, the Allies and the First World War*, 98; Ferrall and Ricketts, *How We Remember: New Zealanders and the First World War*, 49–78.

> of the town hall and were welcomed by the mayor. Then we marched around to the back to a big lawn where the ladies of Durban had morning tea for us. Well, we were all lined up. The Maoris were up this end and we were next to them. And we saw that the Maoris were not getting anything. So we said to one of the ladies, 'What about our friends here?' 'Oh, we can't serve *them*.' So we had to go and get the tea and cakes and take it to the Maoris.[182]

Pakeha soldiers apparently considered the Maori to be 'friends'. They were aware of the fact that, outside New Zealand, the Maori would be racially identified by people who were unaware of the Maori's status in New Zealand. The New Zealand soldiers in Stokes' anecdote were surprised by the Durban ladies' action. The soldiers wanted the Maori to be treated as persons and receive equal treatment. A soldier wrote down a personal approach to racial identification in *The Anzac Book.* Various Anzacs (mostly Australians) contributed by writing or drawing a part in this book and it represented the general thoughts of the Anzacs. This soldier called the Maori: those 'who showed themselves worthy descendants of the warriors of the Gate Pah'.[183] Maori were not 'regular' members of the NZEF in the eyes of this soldier, since the soldier had to mention their different descent. They represented a history from before the settlers came to New Zealand. Racial identification of the Maori was often 'exotic' but not too exotic, as the same book showed: 'a Maori of that gallant, reckless band whose "Komaté! Komaté!" rang along those hills in August – well-born and well-educated, in physique strong and solid, but with movements as quick and sure as a cat's. In this tanned army only the full lips and the slightly flattened nose betrayed his origin.'[184] The writer emphasised the Maori's physique. The Maori stood out in the army, according to this depiction since he embodied the natural warrior. Surprisingly, the physicality of the Maori was not too distinct, because 'only the full lips and the slightly flattened nose betrayed his origin'.

[182] Boyack and Tolerton, *In the Shadow of War: New Zealand Soldiers Talk about World War One and Their Lives*, 225.
[183] Bean, *The Anzac Book: Written and Illustrated in Gallipoli by the Men of Anzac*, 84.
[184] Loveridge, '"Soldiers and Shirkers": Modernity and New Zealand Masculinity during the Great War', 66; Bean, *The Anzac Book: Written and Illustrated in Gallipoli by the Men of Anzac*, 130.

The fierce warrior spirit of the Maori on the one hand and the adaptation to 'European' civilisation was exactly the line on which 'policy' encounters were build.[185] Since Edward Tregear published his book *The Aryan Maori* (1892), the 'White Maori' idea became prevalent in British racial conceptualisation of the Maori.[186] The Maori were 'culturally or racially similar to the British [and] they were 'Honorary Members of the White Tribe', according to Steven Loveridge. This strongly influenced the imperial policy on the Maori during the war. The newspaper *Kahiti* published in September 1915 an article on the Maori Contingent's efforts. This article must have been in line with the ideas of the British Empire and New Zealand government, otherwise it would not have passed the censor. The official translation to English contained lines such as 'The Maori Race of Te Aotearoa [Land of the Long White Cloud] and Te Waipounamu [The Waters of Greenstone] had a reputation for bravery in his fights of ancient days and also during the wars against the White Race', 'We must not forget that our Maori friends are our equals in the sight of the law', and 'You might even turn out better soldiers than your Pakeha brothers if you chose'.[187] British reports repeatedly emphasised the martial superiority and racial equality of the Maori soldier. This connected the Maori with the Pakeha and British soldiers as they fought side-by-side.[188] According to Anna Maguire, it is in this light that we should see the cultural encounters between Maori soldiers and British. She considers the necessity to arm 'non-white' men,

[185] Toeolesulusulu D. Salesa, 'Half-Castes between the Wars. Colonial Categories in New Zealand and Samoa', *New Zealand Journal of History* 34, no. 1 (2000): 105.
[186] Loveridge, 'A German Is Always a German?: Representations of Enemies, Germans and Race in New Zealand c. 1890-1918', 59; Alessio, 'Promoting Paradise: Utopianism and National Identity in New Zealand, 1870-1930', 33.
[187] Pugsley, *Te Hokowhitu A Tu: The Maori Pioneer Battalion in the First World War*, 20–25.
[188] Winegard, *Indigenous Peoples of the British Dominions and the First World War*, 70–87; Morrow, '"Maori and Pakeha - Two Peoples or One"?: Ralph Piddington and "Symbiosis" in Mid-Twentieth-Century New Zealand', 196; Locke, 'Solidarity Across the "Colour" Line?: Maori Representation in the Maoriland Worker, 1910-1914', 53; Pugsley, 'Images of Te Hokowhitu A Tu in the First World War', 198; Maguire, 'Colonial Encounters during the First World War: The Experience of Troops from New Zealand, South Africa and the West Indies', 36–37.

like the Maori, undermining imperial policy.[189] The British government tried to protect the fighting prowess of the 'white race' during the war. This resulted in protective measures which fit the problematic racial identification. For example, Carkeek described in his memoires the assimilation of the Maori in British life. This was one measure to keep control over the Maori. They were guided through London and Britain and could not wander around on their own. The second measure kept the Maori 'predominantly restricted to labour duties on the Western Front'.[190] Both measures partially incorporated the Maori in the 'white man's war'. Whether official policy regarding the Maori in the war was recognition for their equality or their proven worth in battle and as pioneers was questionable. The protection of 'white superiority', as New Zealanders and British policy makers saw it, was not opposed by, but reflected in 'equalising measurements' such as giving the Maori the same uniforms, training and financial arrangements.[191] The need for new soldiers resulted in the alleged equality of Maori in the eyes of the British army and parliament, since almost all accounts of Maori presence make a distinct identification between Maori and Pakeha. Policy still drew a line between the two and listed Maori and Pakeha as being present in the New Zealand Expeditionary Force and later in the New Zealand Division.[192]

Participation in the war ended quite suddenly for the Maori and other 'indigenous' people in the New Zealand Division. After the signing of the Armistice on 11 November 1918, the New Zealand Maori Pioneer Battalion was on its way to Germany with the New Zealand

[189] Maguire, 'Colonial Encounters during the First World War: The Experience of Troops from New Zealand, South Africa and the West Indies', 84.
[190] Carkeek, *Home Little Maori Home: A Memoir of the Maori Contingent 1914-1916*, 117–32.
[191] Winegard, *Indigenous Peoples of the British Dominions and the First World War*, 87.
[192] 'The Maori's Opportunity'; 'Wives of Maori Soldiers', *New Zealand Herald*, 21 July 1915; Winegard, *Indigenous Peoples of the British Dominions and the First World War*, 98; 'Great Night Attack by the New Zealanders'; 'Our Second Maori Contingent'; 'Maoris and the War'; 'News from the Front'; Maguire, 'Colonial Encounters during the First World War: The Experience of Troops from New Zealand, South Africa and the West Indies', 93–94.

Division for garrison duty. This was deemed inappropriate. Russell told the battalion on 24 December 1919, as indigenous troops should not garrison a European country. The return of this unit (as first full war experienced unit) was applauded in New Zealand and they were enthusiastically greeted back home.[193]

Te Rangi Hiroa (Peter Buck) wrote after Gallipoli that the Maori had achieved 'full fellowship and equality' in the eyes of the New Zealanders.[194] According to Soutar, by the words of Apirana Ngata, a Maori politician and lawyer, this was not true. The Maori served most of the First World War not as a combatant unit but as pioneers.[195] Te Rangi Hiroa thought the Maori had achieved recognition. This was not true, as the Maori only briefly 'really' served and were excluded from fighting for the rest of the war. The dominant racial identification criteria that existed before the war (martial superiority and the Aryan descent of the Maori) were prevalent in New Zealand and the British Empire. These concepts became visible once again in the Maori war effort but did not change their role. New Zealand Pakeha soldiers and their officers considered the Maori 'different' from other races and did not understand why they were not treated as being 'New Zealander' by other people they encountered. However, on the other hand, Pakeha constantly identified the Maori as Maori and not as New Zealander themselves. The hopes of the Maori to become 'New Zealander' were minimal, they wanted recognition for being 'Maori' in the eyes of the Empire and New Zealand government and society. The development of a coherent identity between Maori

[193] Pugsley, *On the Fringe of Hell: New Zealanders and Military Discipline in the First World War*, 289; Cowan, *The Maoris in the Great War: A History of the New Zelaand Native Contingent and Pioneer Battalion: Gallipoli 1915, France and Flanders 1916-1918*, 157; Pugsley, 'Images of Te Hokowhitu A Tu in the First World War', 207.
[194] Maguire, 'Colonial Encounters during the First World War: The Experience of Troops from New Zealand, South Africa and the West Indies', 237.
[195] Winegard, *Indigenous Peoples of the British Dominions and the First World War,* 261; Maguire, 'Colonial Encounters during the First World War: The Experience of Troops from New Zealand, South Africa and the West Indies', 237; Ferrall and Ricketts, *How We Remember: New Zealanders and the First World War*, 76–77.

and Pakeha was never the goal of the Maori war contribution, but whether they felt more united in their place in the Empire, was yet to be answered.

Chapter Four: Maori, Pakeha, or New Zealander?

'I was examined by the doctor and recommended for Blighty. What a blessing. It's better than all the tonics and physics to see good old England at last.'[196] These words, written by Maori infantryman Rikihana Carkeek on Sunday 28 May 1916, showed his eagerness to see the country he felt so connected to. 'Good old England' was a place for all soldiers of the BEF to feel at 'home' from time to time. The phrase 'Good old England' and the sense of relief evident in Carkeek's letter, suggested that he, and others like him, felt a strong sense of connection between the Empire and its Dominions.[197] The First World War made the NZEF a melting pot for nascent forms of identification. Most Maori and Pakeha saw 'Blighty' for the first time. The idea emerged that they were different from the British.[198] Maori and Pakeha constantly defined themselves and the other. The most important terms for the identification of the New Zealand troops were not bound to one of these groups but became visible in a triangular relation. Three identification categories were traceable in this identification process: Maori, Pakeha, and British. These three categories were entwined, as we saw in the 'racial assimilation' of the Aryan Maori and the 'British descent' of the New Zealand soldier. This chapter argues how the blurring lines of these categories made room for the emergence of a new category of identification: The New Zealander. Although the

[196] Carkeek, *Home Little Maori Home: A Memoir of the Maori Contingent 1914-1916*, 117.
[197] Barnes, 'Bill Massey's Tourists in the Big Smoke: Rethinking the First World War's Role in New Zealand's National Identity', 91–95; Maguire, 'Looking for Home? New Zealand Soldiers Visiting London during the First World War'; Maguire, 'Colonial Encounters during the First World War: The Experience of Troops from New Zealand, South Africa and the West Indies'.
[198] 'Blighty' was the name the soldiers gave Great-Britain during the war.; Pugsley, *On the Fringe of Hell: New Zealanders and Military Discipline in the First World War*, 21, 56; Maguire, 'Colonial Encounters during the First World War: The Experience of Troops from New Zealand, South Africa and the West Indies', 70–71.

distinction between Maori and Pakeha remained important, the emerging category 'New Zealander' encompassed these two groups when they identified themselves in relation to peoples who were not from New Zealand.

The triangle 'Maori, Pakeha, British' was constantly negotiated during the First World War and was heavily relying on what Brubaker and Cooper called 'social location'.[199] Social location refers to the arena of identification. A person identifies itself and others by particular attributes such as race, ethnicity and gender. At the same time, 'others' identify this person via the same particular attributes. As a result, social space shapes social and political action. The identifier and the identified interact in a social and spatial relation. This interactional relation influences self-understanding and as a result the identification of the self and the other, and vice versa. Every social location leads to a new process of identification. Anna Maguire argues that this process worked as follows: She looked at the 'Britishness' of Maori and Pakeha soldiers, and concluded that Pakeha 'easily slipped into and reconfirmed the dominant racist culture of the Empire' upon encountering other racial groups.[200] Pakeha identified themselves as racially superior to the 'natives' of Colombo (Sri Lanka), Egypt, and on certain occasions even the British.[201] Carkeek showed a similar idea of racial superiority, as a result of the British/Pakeha idea of the Maori as a 'better breed of indigene'. Maori soldiers acted out this hierarchy in relation to the indigenous population of Colombo and Egypt as the Pakeha.[202]

[199] Brubaker and Cooper, 'Beyond "Identity"', 17.
[200] Maguire, 'Colonial Encounters during the First World War: The Experience of Troops from New Zealand, South Africa and the West Indies', 70.
[201] Crawford and McGibbon, *New Zealand's Great War: New Zealand, the Allies and the First World War*, 271; Carkeek, *Home Little Maori Home: A Memoir of the Maori Contingent 1914-1916*, 24; Maguire, 'Colonial Encounters during the First World War: The Experience of Troops from New Zealand, South Africa and the West Indies', 72, 108, 182–83, 236; Maguire, 'Looking for Home? New Zealand Soldiers Visiting London during the First World War', 285; Pugsley, *On the Fringe of Hell: New Zealanders and Military Discipline in the First World War*, 21.
[202] Carkeek, *Home Little Maori Home: A Memoir of the Maori Contingent 1914-1916*, 24.

Social location turned out to be crucial in the Britishness of 'New Zealanders' and not necessarily physical and racial attributes, as these changed depending on whether one wore a uniform, the social surroundings, and 'racial conceptualisation'. The 'colonial' soldier stood out in London, regardless of being Maori or Pakeha, because he wore a 'non-British' uniform.[203] Carkeek travelled through London and its surroundings seemingly without restrictions, as he was guided by British friends.[204] The surroundings of the New Zealand soldier negotiated his relation to the British. Encounters between British citizens and Pakeha soldiers 'problematised' the Britishness of the Pakeha soldiers. Citizens in London were surprised that Pakeha were white or thought that their 'skin complexity' was more like that of the Maori. Pakeha were considered 'racially' different by British citizens. London was transformed to be more reflective of 'New Zealand' since there were differences between the British and Pakeha and the soldiers had to feel at home.[205] The racial conceptualisation and identification of 'New Zealanders' – Maori and Pakeha – was a product of Empire, as British historian John Darwin argues:

> If empire and ethnicity were not polar opposites and if indigenous forms of ethnicity could be fashioned in concert with the agents of empire, perhaps empire itself could (under certain conditions) become the prime source of an *ethnic* identity. […] The argument here is that empire created distinctive kinds of ethnicity, not just by promoting a "tame" indigeneity, but by subsuming local sources of meaning in a new supra-local identity. […] Here "British connection" (the contemporary phrase) served as the keystone of provincial identities and lent them some (though not all) of their ethnic characteristics. While the most striking examples can be seen in the migrant societies of the so-called "white dominions" (Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and

[203] Barnes, 'Bill Massey's Tourists in the Big Smoke: Rethinking the First World War's Role in New Zealand's National Identity', 92–95; Maguire, 'Looking for Home? New Zealand Soldiers Visiting London during the First World War', 285; Crawford and McGibbon, *New Zealand's Great War: New Zealand, the Allies and the First World War*, 197–203; Maguire, 'Colonial Encounters during the First World War: The Experience of Troops from New Zealand, South Africa and the West Indies', 173.
[204] Carkeek, *Home Little Maori Home: A Memoir of the Maori Contingent 1914-1916*, 117–32; Maguire, 'Looking for Home? New Zealand Soldiers Visiting London during the First World War', 293.
[205] Boyack and Tolerton, *In the Shadow of War: New Zealand Soldiers Talk about World War One and Their Lives*, 58; Barnes, 'Bill Massey's Tourists in the Big Smoke: Rethinking the First World War's Role in New Zealand's National Identity'; Maguire, 'Colonial Encounters during the First World War: The Experience of Troops from New Zealand, South Africa and the West Indies', 93–94; Maguire, 'Looking for Home? New Zealand Soldiers Visiting London during the First World War', 290.

> – with some qualifications – South Africa), imperial ethnicities emerged among non-British and non-white peoples as well.[206]

The Empire, by representing Britishness, negotiated part of the identification of the colonial 'New Zealand' soldier. The identification of the Maori as racial equal according to British racial ideology created the opportunity for a dichotomy (British versus New Zealander). Surprisingly, the New Zealand soldiers upheld their own dichotomy (Maori or Pakeha). Although Pakeha soldiers thought well of their Maori counterparts and on multiple occasions the two parts of the New Zealand army acted as a united force without any difference, reality proved to be otherwise. Both sides kept making the distinction whether they talked about Pakeha or Maori. Former military chaplain and historian Frank Glen wrote about Edmund Robert Bowler, a Pakeha soldier, that Bowler made 'no distinction between the cultural characteristics of the Anzac partners: they were one Caucasian antipodean family. Maori had their place within this demography.'[207] Articles in the *Dominion*, the *New Zealand Herald* and the *King Country Chronicle* reported on 'Maori' or 'native New Zealanders'.[208]

Upon leaving his battalion for London, Carkeek wrote how he 'chummed up with another New Zealand chap', and he constantly referred to himself and others as 'New Zealanders', but as he returned to the New Zealand Division, he once again distinguished between Pakeha and Maori.[209] All sources made the distinction between Maori and Pakeha. The term 'New Zealander' referred to both Maori and Pakeha but had to be further contextualised. Maori and Pakeha felt the need to identify New Zealanders as Maori or Pakeha.

[206] Hall and Malesevic, *Nationalism and War*, 150.
[207] Crawford and McGibbon, *New Zealand's Great War: New Zealand, the Allies and the First World War*, 197.
[208] 'Great Night Attack by the New Zealanders'; 'Our Second Maori Contingent'; 'The Maori's Opportunity'; 'News from the Front'; 'Maoris and Service'.
[209] Carkeek, *Home Little Maori Home: A Memoir of the Maori Contingent 1914-1916*, 117–32.

Jane Tolerton asked Gallipoli veterans whether 'they felt more like New Zealanders, as opposed to British, after Gallipoli' and how 'They gave us the clear response that they were New Zealanders already'.[210] The question 'opposed to British' is the important part here, as being New Zealander was indeed 'opposed to British'. New Zealand historians Giselle Byrnes and Catharine Coleborne argue how the 'seemingly innocent terms 'New Zealand' and 'New Zealand identity' are 'discursive constructions' as they assume a singular shared identity.[211] The triangle 'Maori, Pakeha, British' seemingly created a dichotomy, but that is only part of the story. Creating and negotiating the existence of a 'New Zealander' proved to be difficult. Nevertheless, the Maori and Pakeha were united in their common opposition to 'Britishness'. The New Zealander existed in the First World War by identifying what a New Zealander was not.

Pakeha and Maori encountered many other cultural groups during the war. As a result, they started to adopt a mutual image which transcended their individual cultural and social identification through 'national' symbols. Signifiers, imagery, and cultural phenomena were increasingly used to negotiate a distinct 'New Zealand identity' in the eyes of the others such as the Australians and the British.[212] The New Zealand trench journal *The Kiwi* was named after the flightless, walking bird that is endemic to New Zealand.[213] This became a typical New Zealand symbol and was adopted as the name and symbol for the soldiers. It formed a counterweight to 'ANZAC' which included the Australians.[214] Another name for the New

[210] Ferrall and Ricketts, *How We Remember: New Zealanders and the First World War*, 243.
[211] Giselle Byrnes and Catharine Coleborne, 'The Utility and Futility of "The Nation" in Histories of Aotearoa New Zealand', *New Zealand Journal of History* 45, no. 1 (2011): 4.
[212] Morrow, '"Maori and Pakeha - Two Peoples or One"?: Ralph Piddington and "Symbiosis" in Mid-Twentieth-Century New Zealand', 185–96; Pugsley, 'Images of Te Hokowhitu A Tu in the First World War', 195; Seal, *The Soldiers' Press: Trench Journals in the First World War*, 15; Pugsley, *On the Fringe of Hell: New Zealanders and Military Discipline in the First World War*, 21–22; Maguire, 'Colonial Encounters during the First World War: The Experience of Troops from New Zealand, South Africa and the West Indies', 39–40.
[213] Seal, *The Soldiers' Press: Trench Journals in the First World War*, 15.
[214] Dendooven and Chielens, *Wereldoorlog I: Vijf Continenten in Vlaanderen*, 103, 105.

Zealand troops was ‘fern leaf’, a New Zealand national symbol which is still visible in contemporary New Zealand iconography.[215]

Other symbols or traditions were Maori in origin, but ‘appropriated’ by Pakeha soldiers and became part of the soldiers’ identification as ‘New Zealanders’. In 1914, Pakeha soldier C. Pocock wrote in his diary: ‘When passing one of their [English] transports a voice called out “Where from?”. A reply from our boys rang back. “New Zealand and proud of it too.” Where upon a burst of cheering and merriment greeted us and they asked for a “War Cry” and they were rewarded with a Maori war [w]hoop which seemed to please them immensely.’[216] The war hoop/whoop and the Maori ‘haka’ were cultural representations of the martial traits embodied by the Maori (for example, see Figure 10).

NEW ZEALAND BOYS ABOUT TO PERFORM A MAORI HAKA.
This unique Maori dance was performed before the inmates of No. 27 General Hospital at Abbassia.

Figure 10: New Zealand boys about to perform a Maori Haka. Source: *The Otago Witness*, 7 March 1917.

[215] Scates, Wheatley, and James, *World War One: A History in 100 Stories*, 314.
[216] Pugsley, *On the Fringe of Hell: New Zealanders and Military Discipline in the First World War*, 21–22.

The adoption of the war whoop and haka as 'New Zealand' symbols and the physical identification as 'brown like Maori' by Pakeha soldiers showed recognition or appropriation of shared martial traits.[217] Pakeha soldiers thought of the Maori as superior fighters and as 'New Zealanders' they shared this fighting spirit. On the one hand, this was recognition for the Maori's war history, on the other hand, Pakeha incorporated this idea to identify themselves as more related to Maori. It is questionable whether this primarily happened when Pakeha identified themselves in relation to other peoples or showed the emergence of the New Zealander. Pakeha did not only adopt Maori 'symbols', but Maori soldiers used their people's traditions to honour Pakeha from time to time. An example is the burial of Lieutenant-Colonel George King on the 14 October 1917 (see Figure 11). King, a former commanding officer of the Pioneer Battalion, was killed in the Battle for Passchendaele and his Maori friends/soldiers attended his funeral and honoured him with a 'Maori lament for a fallen chief'. The Pakeha officer rose to the status of 'chief' in the eyes of the Maori.[218] The Maori acknowledged King's work and status and their cultural traditions encompassed Pakeha when they deemed it fit.

[217] Pugsley, *Te Hokowhitu A Tu: The Maori Pioneer Battalion in the First World War*, 71; Maguire, 'Colonial Encounters during the First World War: The Experience of Troops from New Zealand, South Africa and the West Indies', 93–94, 114; Pugsley, 'Images of Te Hokowhitu A Tu in the First World War', 206–7.
[218] Pugsley, *Te Hokowhitu A Tu: The Maori Pioneer Battalion in the First World War*, 67–69.

MAORI SOLDIERS ON THE WESTERN FRONT SINGING AT THE GRAVESIDE OF LIEUT.-COL. G. KING, D.S.O., THEIR BELOVED LEADER.
"Pihe Nei te Matenga": (When our heads are bowed with woe).

Figure 11: The Maori lament for a fallen chief. Source: *The Otago Witness*, 13 March 1918.

From Pakeha soldiers identifying themselves as New Zealanders through embracing Maori cultural forms, and participating in them, to Maori accepting officers as Maori chiefs by honouring them with Maori ceremonial laments, the First World War brought Maori and Pakeha together in new ways. American sociologist Richard Lachmann argues that:

> Service in a national army brought soldiers together with men from elsewhere in the polity, creating intense feelings of membership in a collectivity, the "sense of a deep, horizontal comradeship" that Benedict Anderson writes about, which extended far beyond the lineages, occupational groups, religious communities, and localities that were the limits of almost all humans' feelings of solidarity until the American and French revolutions.[219]

Lachmann's idea fits the concept of mateship that was considered typically Anzac, and thus New Zealand. Maori and Pakeha fought together at Gallipoli (albeit briefly), but the Maori

[219] Hall and Malesevic, *Nationalism and War*, 48.

war effort as pioneers was recognised by their Pakeha fellow soldiers too.[220] As Winegard describes it: 'Pioneers were armed, trained in infantry tactics and employed in combat roles when not performing minor engineering tasks, such as installing communication wire, building trenches and erecting defensive obstacles.'[221] The Maori and Pakeha bonds were tightened as the Maori built the defences the main body of the New Zealand Division used. The mutual use of the 'digger'-name showed their bond. Maori and Pakeha, apart from official news and politics, referred to each other as 'brothers', 'mates', and 'comrades'.[222] According to Lachman, fighting or serving in war together creates a bond, and this bond transcends the platoon or company, as 'they also saw themselves as soldiers for their country and expected to be recognized as such by their government and fellow citizens.'[223] Mateship represented their mutual respect, despite the necessity of pointing out whether one was Pakeha or Maori. According to Lachman's idea, this should result in a sense of identification on a national level because every individual fought for the sake of the Empire and New Zealand.

Brubaker and Cooper's theory argues that there is internal and external identification. 'Others' identified the Maori and Pakeha in the war more as separate groups instead of as 'New Zealander'. The term 'New Zealander' emerged in foreign discourses but with a different connotation than it had for Maori and Pakeha. Racial identification of the Maori was prevalent in British/imperial discourse. Steven Loveridge sets this into a broader perspective. He argues that 'European conceptions of the indigenous Maori as being worthy

[220] Pugsley, *Te Hokowhitu A Tu: The Maori Pioneer Battalion in the First World War*, 78.
[221] Winegard, *Indigenous Peoples of the British Dominions and the First World War*, 103–4.
[222] Bean, *The Anzac Book: Written and Illustrated in Gallipoli by the Men of Anzac*, 130; Phillips, Boyack, and Malone, *The Great Adventure: New Zealand Soldiers Describe the Great War*, 101–2; 'Maoriland or New Zealand?', *Dominion*, 1 November 1917; Pugsley, *Te Hokowhitu A Tu: The Maori Pioneer Battalion in the First World War*, 55; Carkeek, *Home Little Maori Home: A Memoir of the Maori Contingent 1914-1916*, 14, 24, 103, 110, 123; Seal, *The Soldiers' Press: Trench Journals in the First World War*, 186.
[223] Hall and Malesevic, *Nationalism and War*, 51.

to bear the rights and obligations of British civilization often drew on assessments that Maori were culturally or racially similar to the British, that they were 'Honorary Members of the White Tribe'.[224] The Maori are externally identified as 'brown', 'savage', and 'martial', despite their theoretically equal racial status.[225] The tea 'incident' in Durban (South-Africa), when the South-African (white) women refused to give the Maori tea, showed their lack of knowledge of the Maori's status. The tea ladies identified the Maori as 'brown' and thus similar to the indigenous population of South-Africa.[226] Bill Elder, an eye-witness in one of the interviews conducted by Jane Tolerton, recalled another 'incident' in Durban. Elder told how he had to reassure frightened women that the Maori, doing a haka, were not savages or threatening.[227] The Turks in the trenches of Gallipoli reported the same fears of savagery and cannibalism on hearing the Maori haka.[228] Godley's fear that outside New Zealand people would not understand the equal footing of the Maori proved to be right.[229]

People were often puzzled by Pakeha soldiers since they were 'white'. This surprised them as they considered the Pakeha as 'colonial'. Alexander Aitken wrote an anecdote in his memoires in which a 'young and charmingly and most courteously inquisitive *dame de la Croix Rouge* was puzzled by an anomaly, that (to translate) 'you call yourselves New Zealanders and yet you seem to be white'.[230] According to Maguire, the newspapers in Britain were puzzled as well, because identification by 'colour' did not fit their prejudice.

[224] Loveridge, 'A German Is Always a German?: Representations of Enemies, Germans and Race in New Zealand c. 1890-1918', 59; Maguire, 'Colonial Encounters during the First World War: The Experience of Troops from New Zealand, South Africa and the West Indies', 93.
[225] Boyack and Tolerton, *In the Shadow of War: New Zealand Soldiers Talk about World War One and Their Lives*, 225; Maguire, 'Colonial Encounters during the First World War: The Experience of Troops from New Zealand, South Africa and the West Indies', 71, 186.
[226] Boyack and Tolerton, *In the Shadow of War: New Zealand Soldiers Talk about World War One and Their Lives*, 225.
[227] Maguire, 'Colonial Encounters during the First World War: The Experience of Troops from New Zealand, South Africa and the West Indies', 71.
[228] 'Maori War Haka'.
[229] Winegard, *Indigenous Peoples of the British Dominions and the First World War*, 87.
[230] Aitken, *Gallipoli to the Somme: Recollections of a New Zealand Infantryman*, 57.

They reported how the Pakeha soldiers' 'complexions are as bright as the red in their hats' and they were 'presented as red, rather than white'.[231] The soldier outfit - primarily the lemon-squeezer hat - and their identification as 'New Zealanders' due to the 'racial marker' of skin complexity, made the Pakeha soldier stand out as 'colonial'. Identifying as 'colonial' remained in place throughout the war and set the Pakeha apart from the British.[232]

The term 'New Zealander' was mostly employed to refer to Pakeha soldiers. This was primarily due to racial conceptualisations and identification. Bean's *The Anzac Book* exemplified this. Instead of the categories 'Maori' and 'Pakeha', the book mentioned the presence of 'New Zealanders' and 'Maori'.[233] These two categories were rarely mixed. 'Maori' were represented as 'Maori', but in the eyes of British and Australian soldiers and civilians the terms 'New Zealander' and 'Pakeha' became exchangeable. British citizens, soldiers and newspapers identified the 'New Zealander' as 'colonial' and due to this colonial status in some way 'racially different'.

Maori and Pakeha soldiers encountered each other on a different level during the war. Internal identification of the 'New Zealander' still made it necessary for Maori and Pakeha to identify themselves with one of these two groups. Traits and characteristics that were identified and considered to be part of one of these two categories were adopted by the other, like the concept of 'Britishness' and various 'national' symbols showed. Although certain Maori or Pakeha traits transcended these two categories to become 'New Zealand', it was only in comparison to other cultural groups that Maori and Pakeha felt 'New Zealander'.

[231] Maguire, 'Looking for Home? New Zealand Soldiers Visiting London during the First World War', 290.
[232] Loveridge, '"Soldiers and Shirkers": Modernity and New Zealand Masculinity during the Great War', 60–64; Barnes, 'Bill Massey's Tourists in the Big Smoke: Rethinking the First World War's Role in New Zealand's National Identity', 91–92; Boyack and Tolerton, *In the Shadow of War: New Zealand Soldiers Talk about World War One and Their Lives*, 58.
[233] Bean, *The Anzac Book: Written and Illustrated in Gallipoli by the Men of Anzac*, 152–55.

External identification of the 'New Zealander' by British soldiers and citizens led to an interchangeability of the terms 'Pakeha' and 'New Zealander', but this did not include the Maori. Maori were identified as embodying various 'European' or 'Aryan' characteristics but remained different from their Pakeha comrades according to the 'British'. The characteristics of the categories 'Maori', 'Pakeha', and 'New Zealander' depended on the social location of the individuals. New encounters between individuals or groups were renegotiated in social and spatial relation to each other. The war created a sense of the 'New Zealander', but who or what this embodied was decided in every social encounter.

Chapter Five: Repatriation and Equality

The New Zealand demobilisation officially started in January 1919, and soldiers returned home.[234] From this moment forward, the New Zealand society encountered the real stories of the war on a large scale. Soldiers had been repatriated during the war when they were too severely wounded to serve anymore, if they were court martialled, or otherwise deemed unfit for service and this had already started the building of a 'repatriation infrastructure' which led to the emergence of the Wounded Soldier Funds, the Returned Soldiers' Associations (RSA), and land reservations for returned soldiers to live on.[235] But when the 'heroes' of the First World War returned home they created new dimensions in the identification questions of New Zealand. The home front and the battle front were now connected on a broader scale and it quickly became apparent that experiences of war had been nothing like the newspapers reported.[236] It also changed the relation between the Empire and the New Zealand Dominion,

[234] Pugsley, *On the Fringe of Hell: New Zealanders and Military Discipline in the First World War*, 289.
[235] Crawford and McGibbon, *New Zealand's Great War: New Zealand, the Allies and the First World War*, 157–80; '"Queen" Patriotic Carnival'; 'For Our Soldiers', *Dominion*, 1 May 1915; 'For Maori Soldiers', *Dominion*, 5 October 1916; 'A Maori Appeal', *Dominion*, 31 August 1917.
[236] Boyack and Tolerton, *In the Shadow of War: New Zealand Soldiers Talk about World War One and Their Lives*, 25–47, 245–54.

since the Dominion started to perceive itself as an equal to the Mother Country.[237] This chapter argues how the repatriation of soldiers and their veteran status divided the inhabitants of the New Zealand, both Maori and Pakeha. This posed new problems to the assumption that the war started a unifying identification process in New Zealand. The second argument in this chapter problematises the alleged 'independence' of the Dominion from the Empire at the end of the war. The New Zealand government's attitude towards the Empire changed due to their war efforts and the government entered the Paris Peace Talks with a distinct New Zealand - not imperial – agenda for instance. However, this was, surprisingly, not widespread and the post-war New Zealand society remained largely patriotic.

Returned soldiers brought the war back with them. They were wounded and needed assistance and support. This was recognised by the New Zealand government through legislation, although this legislation was poorly executed.[238] A volunteer organisation, the New Zealand Returned Soldiers' Association (NZRSA), the main association beside numerous local versions, was officially recognised and registered in January 1917.[239] Soldiers returned and formed their own RSAs on a local level in the two years preceding the governmental recognition and registration. They needed a place to share their stories of the war and their grievances. These soldiers felt left alone by New Zealand society and by Prime Minister W.F. Massey's administration.[240] The soldiers considered it their government's job to support veterans and returned soldiers, and the help and recognition by the Massey administration inadequate. The RSA served multiple goals; giving the veterans a place

[237] 'Mr. Massey and Sir Joseph Ward'; 'Empire Problems', *King Country Chronicle*, 28 April 1915; Ferrall and Ricketts, *How We Remember: New Zealanders and the First World War*, 228–43; Crawford and McGibbon, *New Zealand's Great War: New Zealand, the Allies and the First World War*, 123–41, 517, 563.
[238] Kent Fedorowich, *Unfit for Heroes. Reconstruction and Soldier Settlement in the Empire between the Wars* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 177–82.
[239] Crawford and McGibbon, *New Zealand's Great War: New Zealand, the Allies and the First World War*, 160.
[240] Ibid., 158–60.

outside New Zealand society to comprehend what they had been through together, serving as a union for veterans, and guarding the values of Anzac Day since 1916. The organisation therefore (perhaps unintentionally) resulted in the formation of two new 'battlegrounds' which did not contribute to unity in New Zealand.

Firstly, RSAs intended to bring all veterans together. There had been talks about separate Maori RSAs in the formative years of the NZRSA, but these were silenced as the veterans' general stance was that Maori and Pakeha had fought together. That Maori were at least partially accepted by veterans was apparent in one of the NZRSA's presidential elections. Captain William Tutepuaki Pitt, a former Maori officer, was elected president. The shared 'digger' identity of all New Zealand veterans exceeded Maori and Pakeha identifications.[241] What did not surpass individual experiences of the war, and thus posed a problem to the RSAs, was the difference between Gallipoli veterans and those who had joined the force after 1915.[242]

Secondly, the legislative influence of the various RSAs often brought them in conflict with the government. The NZRSA sometimes worked with local labour unions which made it increasingly political. This, in turn, generated positive and negative reactions, which in turn resulted in the rise of other veteran interest groups.[243] The unity of veterans broke on issues of settlement, especially concerning the Maori veterans. The Maori veterans set up the Maori Patriotic Committee in 1917 to organise private funds for Maori because, according to them, the government did not provide sufficient aid for Maori veterans; and the Auckland RSA

[241] Ibid., 160.
[242] Phillips, Boyack, and Malone, *The Great Adventure: New Zealand Soldiers Describe the Great War*, 130; Boyack and Tolerton, *In the Shadow of War: New Zealand Soldiers Talk about World War One and Their Lives*, 47.
[243] Winegard, *Indigenous Peoples of the British Dominions and the First World War*, 219, 252; Crawford and McGibbon, *New Zealand's Great War: New Zealand, the Allies and the First World War*, 164–65.

called in July 1919 for a 'white New Zealand'-policy in veteran settlement in which they emphasised the need for the takeover of (unoccupied) Maori lands.[244] The NZRSA acted more as a unity to change the nature and content of Anzac Day. The New Zealand government envisioned the first anniversary of the Gallipoli landing in 1916 with a series of commemorative church services and recruiting rallies, but the returned soldiers deemed a 'front line' memorial service, i.e. a soldier's burial and the associated customs, more appropriate.[245]

Both issues were occasionally a divisive force in the NZRSA and local RSAs. Along various lines the unity of veterans was tested, despite their similar goals such as equal settlement and a respectful commemoration of the war effort and of those who went abroad to serve. The major question that emerged, but had no clear answer, was the legitimacy of the NZRSA, since a lot of veterans did not feel represented, did not want to talk about the war, and had no interest in the NZRSA or local RSAs to represent them.[246]

The NZRSA tried to create a New Zealand veteran community, which proved difficult as the previous paragraph showed, and New Zealand society posed a new challenge to this unity. The home front shaped public memory or public memories of the Dardanelles Campaign and in doing so, created new divisions between the soldiers, veterans and those who had not left New Zealand. Although veterans shared similar experiences of the war, this public memory divided them in two groups: on the one hand those who fought in Gallipoli and on

[244] Winegard, *Indigenous Peoples of the British Dominions and the First World War*, 219; Crawford and McGibbon, *New Zealand's Great War: New Zealand, the Allies and the First World War*, 164–65.
[245] Crawford and McGibbon, *New Zealand's Great War: New Zealand, the Allies and the First World War*, 175.
[246] Ibid., 180, 252.

the other hand those who had not. On 2 August 1917 (during the Battle of Passchendaele), the *Dominion* published an article that showed this discrepancy in public memory:

> Mr. C.J. Parr (Eden) asked the Minister of Defence why the men of the Main Body and the first bodies of reinforcements who endured the horrors and hardships of the Gallipoli campaign were not permitted to wear some special badge, as was done with the Australian Anzacs, who, it was understood, by army regulation were all allowed to wear the special letter "A" (connotating Anzac) on the shoulder-strap; and whether he did not think that some recognition in this shape of the heroic and special work of the New Zealand Anzacs should not be made, and so bring New Zealand into line with Australia?[247]

A few months later, on 30 November 1917, the *New Zealand Herald* elaborated on this idea. The *Herald* reported that the King had to approve a special riband and star for Gallipoli veterans and that legislation regarding who was a 'Gallipoli veteran' was taking shape (they must have sailed in 1914 and have fought in Gallipoli).[248] This emphasis on the importance of 'Anzac' and the Dardanelles Campaign overshadowed the battles, war efforts and recognition of veterans who joined the frontline troops after Gallipoli.[249] The renewed 'Anzac emphasis' shaped public memory. This new public memory became heavily influenced by symbols like the badge on the shoulder-strap, or the riband and star commemorating the Anzac effort in the Great War. The best example of the neglect of the Western Front and the glorification of Gallipoli in public memory was (and is) Anzac Day. Since 1916, this day specifically commemorated the Dardanelles Campaign, the alleged heroism of the Anzacs and the importance of fighting the Turks to relieve the Western Front.[250] On 25 April 1916 the first 'Anzac Cross' was placed in the township Tinui on the

[247] 'A Badge for Anzacs', *Dominion*, 2 August 1917.
[248] 'The Anzac Star', *New Zealand Herald*, 30 November 1917.
[249] Phillips, 'The Quiet Western Front: The First World War and New Zealand Memory', 239–40; Boyack and Tolerton, *In the Shadow of War: New Zealand Soldiers Talk about World War One and Their Lives*, 47.
[250] Mark McKenna, 'Anzac Day: How Did It Become Australia's National Day?', in *What's Wrong With Anzac?: The Militarisation of Australian History*, ed. Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds (University of New South Wales Press, 2010), 130; McKenna, '"History and Australia: A Foundational Past?" At the Annual History Lecture', 14; Bean, *The Anzac Book: Written and Illustrated in Gallipoli by the Men of Anzac*, 95, 152–55; Macdonald, 'The First World War and the Making of Colonial Memory', 17; Phillips, 'The Quiet Western Front: The First World War and New Zealand Memory', 239–40; Boyack and Tolerton, *In the Shadow of War: New Zealand Soldiers Talk about World War One and Their Lives*, 16, 47, 245–54.

Tinui Taipo (Mt Maunsell). New Zealand historian Charlotte Macdonald considers this as a signifier of growing importance of 'Gallipoli' instead of 'the war' as a whole.[251] Macdonald's valid point can be extended. It was unnecessary to call it an 'Anzac Cross' because the New Zealand society and government already knew the New Zealand soldiers were transferred to the Western Front and the New Zealand war effort would become bigger than 'Anzac'. By solidifying the Anzac importance in a statue, the New Zealand society assumed Gallipoli was and would stay their biggest 'achievement'. If they would decide to expand the commemoration at this cross by adding other New Zealand soldiers or battles, it would always remain 'Anzac' plus the 'expansions'. Although Anzac Day commemorated all the dead of the war during the war, Gallipoli became the marker in public memory of what the New Zealand war effort was about. This happened by erecting special statues and monuments, and by the growing call for Anzac Day as the official day of commemoration as early as 1917.[252] The ceremony itself resembled, or was modelled on, a wartime burial at the front, something which was not typical of the Dardanelles Campaign or any other battle during the First World War for the New Zealanders.[253] This made the ceremony more inclusive of the New Zealand war dead and not only the dead Anzacs.

New Zealand society, charmed by the stories of the Anzacs and their heroism, was shaken when soldiers returned. Nothing of their heroic image remained as they were sent back to work, posed problems through excessive drinking and fighting, and found it difficult to reintegrate into society. Memories and images of the horrors of war were not (entirely) known to society, which resulted in a gap of consciousness of the war between the

[251] Macdonald, 'The First World War and the Making of Colonial Memory', 17.
[252] Worthy, 'A Debt of Honour. New Zealanders' First Anzac Days', 187; Macdonald, 'The First World War and the Making of Colonial Memory', 17; Ferrall and Ricketts, *How We Remember: New Zealanders and the First World War*, 234; Phillips, 'The Quiet Western Front: The First World War and New Zealand Memory', 239–40.
[253] Phillips, 'The Quiet Western Front: The First World War and New Zealand Memory', 239–40.

soldiers/veterans and New Zealand society.[254] Veteran Stan Stanfield recalled how he had the chance to get a farm as a veteran but declined because of his 'quarrelsome' nature and instability at that time. This was his only chance, because 'by the time another couple of years had passed, the glamour had all worn off, returned heroes and all this sort of bull had worn off, and [he] never got the opportunity again.'[255] When Boyack and Tolerton asked Stanfield whether he felt that people in New Zealand understood what the soldiers had been through, he answered:

> I don't think that they did. I'm almost certain that they didn't. Mind you, for the first few weeks on the street you'd be welcomed home by people that you'd never met before. They'd stop you on the streets and pat you on the back and welcome you home, glad to see you back and ail this sort of thing.
>
> At on period, the jury system, if you wore an RSA badge they'd immediately chuck you out, they wouldn't have you on the jury. (…) The church people didn't like us very much on account of our drinking and our general dissipated way of living.[256]

Stanfield showed how society's attitude changed when the heroism wore off. They became outcasts in a way and a veteran status was no longer a privilege but a burden. The heroes of Anzac turned out to be traumatised and less heroic than expected upon arriving home.

Instead of resulting in an identification as a unity or a nation, New Zealand's war effort posed new problems to New Zealand. After interviewing veterans, Nicholas Boyack and Jane Tolerton conclude their book with the conclusion that the treatment of veterans in New Zealand was abysmal:

> But while New Zealand society poured money and energy into putting up hundreds of expensive war memorials by which to remember the dead soldiers, the live ones largely became the

[254] Scates, Wheatley, and James, *World War One: A History in 100 Stories*, 86–87; Phillips, 'The Quiet Western Front: The First World War and New Zealand Memory', 232, 240; Ferrall and Ricketts, *How We Remember: New Zealanders and the First World War*, 229–30; Boyack and Tolerton, *In the Shadow of War: New Zealand Soldiers Talk about World War One and Their Lives*, 32–47, 245.
[255] Boyack and Tolerton, *In the Shadow of War: New Zealand Soldiers Talk about World War One and Their Lives*, 42–43.
[256] Ibid., 44.

> forgotten victims of the war in the years that followed. The story of the World War One veteran in New Zealand is one of betrayal.[257]

New Zealand society was too busy commemorating the soldiers who fought and died, that it forgot the soldiers who fought and returned. An interesting problem, since the returned soldiers saw what society organised for their fallen comrades and how the veterans were neglected. This discrepancy in treatment by society between a dead soldier and a returned soldier created a gap between the veterans and the New Zealand society. Boyack and Tolerton focus on Pakeha veterans in this book. The Maori veterans of war returned home in March 1919 and were welcomed by Pakeha and Maori citizens.[258] Pugsley argues that the cinematic attention for this return was still based on the idea of Maori as 'curiosity pieces'.[259] New Zealand's veterans were not identified by veterans as one heterogenous group, nor did the New Zealand government or society do so. Although the NZRSA valued the Maori war contribution and considered the Maori to be their soldierly peers, the home front had a different perception of the Maori veterans.

Twenty-eight committees of Maori women, of which the best known was 'Lady Liverpool & Mrs Pomare's Maori Soldiers' Fund', were founded during the war to support the Maori Contingent.[260] Maori citizens were anxious to do something for 'their' returning veterans, as the *Dominion* reported on 5 October 1916 and 31 August 1917. The Tuwharetoa *iwi* donated 25,301 acres of land for returning Maori, 'irrespective of the tribe or tribes they may belong', and a separate Maori repatriation fund was created in Wellington in 1917.[261] The earlier mentioned Maori Patriotic Committee raised funds solely for Maori. The unequal treatment,

[257] Ibid., 245.
[258] Cowan, *The Maoris in the Great War: A History of the New Zelaand Native Contingent and Pioneer Battalion: Gallipoli 1915, France and Flanders 1916-1918,* 157.
[259] Pugsley, 'Images of Te Hokowhitu A Tu in the First World War', 207.
[260] Kate Hunter, 'Women's Mobilization for War (New Zealand)', *1914-1918-Online. International Encyclopedia of the First World War* (Freie Universität Berlin, 2015).
[261] 'For Maori Soldiers'; 'A Maori Appeal'.

or anticipated unequal treatment, of Maori veterans was not an unfounded fear. Pakeha called for the takeover of unoccupied Maori lands for settlement for veterans, and Maori were not acknowledgement as 'full-veterans' since they had not been a combatant unit in the eyes of the government and society.[262] On the other hand, Maori veterans were not waiting for an inclusive treatment, and even 'denied' equal treatment with Pakeha soldiers, as Winegard argues. New Zealand's governmental equality policy since 28 March 1916 showed a low number of land grants to Maori as veterans preferred to return to their respective *iwi* and community than to move to a secluded piece of land which was assigned to them due to their veteran status.[263] This also showed the government's lack of understanding as they failed to fit their policy and settlement arrangements to these wishes.

By participating in the war, proving their value for the Empire, and fulfilling the expectations of the Maori as martial race and 'brown Britons', the Maori encountered a different problem. Officials, Maori and Pakeha, argued for an assimilation of Pakeha and Maori, biologically and culturally.[264] Samoan New Zealand historian Damon Salesa argues how Sir Peter Buck/Te Rangi Hiroa, captain in the First Maori Contingent, in the spirit of these ideas of racial identification, thought that mixing Pakeha and Maori would be 'the stepping stone to the evolution of a future type of New-Zealander in which we hope the best features of the Maori race will be perpetuated for ever.'[265] Despite legislative changes, the Maori were not

[262] Maguire, 'Colonial Encounters during the First World War: The Experience of Troops from New Zealand, South Africa and the West Indies', 237; Crawford and McGibbon, *New Zealand's Great War: New Zealand, the Allies and the First World War*, 164–65.
[263] Winegard, *Indigenous Peoples of the British Dominions and the First World War*, 252.
[264] Salesa, 'Half-Castes between the Wars. Colonial Categories in New Zealand and Samoa', 107; Locke, 'Solidarity Across the "Colour" Line?: Maori Representation in the Maoriland Worker, 1910-1914', 58; Cowan, *The Maoris in the Great War: A History of the New Zelaand Native Contingent and Pioneer Battalion: Gallipoli 1915, France and Flanders 1916-1918*, 16; Maguire, 'Colonial Encounters during the First World War: The Experience of Troops from New Zealand, South Africa and the West Indies', 182–83.
[265] Salesa, 'Half-Castes between the Wars. Colonial Categories in New Zealand and Samoa', 107.

treated equally to Pakeha after the war as racial ideas – and the discriminatory practices that followed from these ideas - remained prevalent in New Zealand.

The New Zealand war effort was strongly entwined with patriotism and the idea of 'doing their duty' for the Empire, but the war changed the relation between the Dominion and the Empire and shaped the Dominion's own foreign policy.[266] In its returning article 'Empire problems', the *King Country Chronicle* reported and analysed problems in the relation between the Dominion and the Empire. On 28 April 1915, the newspaper criticised and put out a juridical statement on the problem that the Dominions were not represented in the imperial government.[267] This changed in the spring of 1917, as David Lloyd-George included the Dominion's prime ministers in his Imperial War Cabinet which resulted in Resolution IX. This resolution gave the Dominions a status as 'autonomous nations of an Imperial Commonwealth [with a] right … to an adequate voice in foreign policy and foreign relations'.[268] New Zealand was invited to the Paris Peace Conference in 1918-1919 and pursued its own goals.[269] New Zealand historian Richard Kay argues that New Zealand's self-awareness was nascent, but in line with imperial awareness, not contradictory.[270] Prime minister William Massey pursued a distinctive New Zealand political course, in order to see Germany punished and New Zealand rewarded. As Kay argues: 'For Massey, the Peace

[266] Annamaria Motrescu, 'Private Australia: Re-Imagined Nationhood in Inter-War Colonial Home Movies', *Journal of Australian Studies* 34, no. 3 (2010): 320; Maguire, 'Colonial Encounters during the First World War: The Experience of Troops from New Zealand, South Africa and the West Indies', 236; Crawford and McGibbon, *New Zealand's Great War: New Zealand, the Allies and the First World War*, 52, 123–41; Winegard, *Indigenous Peoples of the British Dominions and the First World War*, 3; Ferrall and Ricketts, *How We Remember: New Zealanders and the First World War*, 164.
[267] 'Empire Problems'.
[268] Winegard, *Indigenous Peoples of the British Dominions and the First World War*, 3.
[269] Crawford and McGibbon, *New Zealand's Great War: New Zealand, the Allies and the First World War*, 125.
[270] Ibid.

Conference demonstrated that New Zealand's interests could not be totally safeguarded within the imperial framework.'[271]

As official policy, coming from the government, New Zealand placed itself in an autonomous position supporting and opposing the Empire and other major powers in the new 'post-WWI' world. During the Peace Conference, Massey agreed on the principle of racial equality, but the imperial racial ideas that remained part of New Zealand thought resulted in 1920 in the Immigration Restriction Amendment Act to 'keep New Zealand white'.[272] Governmental foreign policy was opportunist, but New Zealand society remained patriotist. Graham Hucker argues how 'a distinctly 'British', *not* New Zealand, minded community in Taranaki celebrated the cessation of hostilities in 1918' and national heroes were British leaders, not New Zealanders.[273] Emphasising the imperial nature of the war effort is visible in the memorials erected during and immediately after the war, as New Zealand historian Jock Phillips argues. The term 'New Zealand' appeared on three memorials, 'Empire' on thirty-one, and the Union Jack was hoisted as much as the New Zealand flag.[274] New Zealand society commemorated the war as a national as much as an imperial war.

Ironically, the repatriation of soldiers on a large scale at the end of war, brought the war back to New Zealand and subsequently posed new problems to New Zealand society. Alleged Anzac heroism was shattered as traumatised soldiers had different perceptions of war than those who had stayed at home. Maori and Pakeha veterans were not understood, were treated

[271] Ibid., 141.
[272] Ibid., 132.
[273] Ibid., 582.
[274] Phillips, 'The Quiet Western Front: The First World War and New Zealand Memory', 239.

abysmally, and settlement legislation proved to be inadequate or did not respect individual wishes of soldiers. The hero status of veterans quickly dwindled, and society had trouble valuing what veterans had experienced and achieved. Veterans saw each other as 'comrades', but even the war drew different demarcations in their group of which the most striking was between Gallipoli veterans and those who served in the battles after Gallipoli (emphasised on by governmental and societal treatment of the two groups). Patriotism did not decrease in society, but the war gave the government a chance to introduce a distinct 'New Zealand voice' in international policy. The fault lines drawn by the government and society created a gap between the veterans, the Maori, and the home front which was difficult to overcome. The seemingly homogenous 'New Zealand' face that was presented to the international theatre after the war, was one of policy and legislation, but was far from being an authentic representation of New Zealand society. Veterans became a minority in the New Zealand war experience, despite having been the motor of it.

Epilogue

When the Armistice was signed on 11 November 1918, it ended the fighting, but World War One was not over. In New Zealand, the aftermath of the war had the effects of continuing patriotism, it introduced a fatal pandemic, and it resulted in a way of dealing with the war's legacy through Anzac Day.

The growing importance of Anzac Day did not show a form of national identification that expressed anti-British sentiments. On the contrary, Anzac Day commemorations after the war were commemorations in which the New Zealand war effort, the casualties, and other victims were remembered as sacrifices for the loyal service to the Empire.[275] The strong patriotism of New Zealand society did not suffer from the war. The 'baptism of war' was the start of a national identification in the Empire, not outside of it.[276] The Empire defeated the Germans and New Zealand had helped the Mother Country to do so. It achieved, or upheld, its autonomous status in the Empire as a result of this contribution.[277] The ties between the Empire and the Dominion were strengthened due to the war. The spatial adaptation of 'New Zealand' in London, which turned the city in a place for the New Zealand soldiers at leave to feel at home, but also the rise in British immigration numbers to New Zealand after the war showed these strengthened bonds.[278] The New Zealand government decided in 1921 to officially 'sundayise' Anzac Day by law. 'Sundayising' Anzac Day meant that 25 April became a national day on which shops were closed, festivities were held, and

[275] Ferrall and Ricketts, *How We Remember: New Zealanders and the First World War*, 234.
[276] Phillips, 'The Quiet Western Front: The First World War and New Zealand Memory', 239–40.
[277] Crawford and McGibbon, *New Zealand's Great War: New Zealand, the Allies and the First World War*, 123–41.
[278] Barnes, 'Bill Massey's Tourists in the Big Smoke: Rethinking the First World War's Role in New Zealand's National Identity', 89–107; Maguire, 'Looking for Home? New Zealand Soldiers Visiting London during the First World War'; Maguire, 'Colonial Encounters during the First World War: The Experience of Troops from New Zealand, South Africa and the West Indies'; Fedorowich, *Unfit for Heroes. Reconstruction and Soldier Settlement in the Empire between the Wars*, 25–45, 177–90.

the public services were symbols of the men that had died for a higher cause and not in vain.[279] An earlier law in 1916 already prohibited the use of the term 'Anzac' for commercial use.[280] The term 'Anzac' was only allowed in association with the military or commemoration. This law left funds in a grey area as they were not necessarily commercial, but more commemorative. The traumatic experience that was carried by veterans had lost to the (alleged) enthusiasm that shaped the first months of New Zealand's participation in the war.[281]

The end of the war did not automatically result in picking up daily life in New Zealand. In 1918 the pneumonic influenza virus created a new problem. The murderous epidemic disturbed the repatriation and settlement of soldiers and killed around 9000 New Zealanders.[282] Returning soldiers probably brought the flu virus back home. The Spanish flu, as it later was called, first started in the United States, then reached Europe, and later in New Zealand.[283] New Zealand society neglected how much the epidemic disrupted public life and the repatriation process to forget that the epidemic happened. However, the biggest damage this neglect and the will to forget did, was that the horrors of war were overshadowed by the size of the pandemic.[284]

[279] Ferrall and Ricketts, *How We Remember: New Zealanders and the First World War*, 233.
[280] 'Returned Soldiers', *Dominion*, 3 August 1916.
[281] Ferrall and Ricketts, *How We Remember: New Zealanders and the First World War*, 233.
[282] Geoffrey W. Rice, *Black November: The 1918 Influenza Pandemic in New Zealand* (Christchurch: Canterbury University Press, 2005).
[283] Ibid.
[284] Ibid.

Conclusion

My research set out to analyse the 'racial and imperial' Anzac spirit and its influences on the identification of Maori and Pakeha as members of a single nation - New Zealanders. It focused on the assumption that at the end of the First World War the 'New Zealander' had come into place. I challenged this assumption on two grounds: the prevalent imperial loyalty and the relation between the Empire and the Dominion, and the internal division of New Zealand along various fault lines. Additionally, this research showed an argument for the idea of a New Zealand identity, but this identity only surfaced when 'New Zealanders' identified themselves in comparison to other peoples and vice versa. The five chapters covered these three main arguments, and each analysed a part of the prevalent assumption.

Since this thesis could not cover all the questions that came to mind during research and writing, I will pose some questions for further research in this conclusion. Secondly, I will bring the three arguments to the fore and show how the idea of New Zealand as a nation at the end of the First World War should be evaluated critically as there are other ways of looking at this identification process.

The selection of newspapers automatically questions what the results would be if the scope was broadened. The graphics of the first chapter showed the decline in the use of the term 'Anzac'. Further research could look at other newspapers and use datamining to question whether my selection of newspapers is exemplary for other newspapers. The extended graphics could show more of what the four newspapers showed in this thesis or how other newspapers contradict the argument that the use of the term 'Anzac' decreased. Furthermore, my research mainly focussed on institutional ways of representing the war in newspapers and primary historiographies, contextualised by the primary sources such as memoires.

These institutional ways could be further contextualised in future research by including other primary sources. Soldier letters and other personal manuscripts dating from the war would add to the arguments in this thesis and could solidify or contradict the claims in this research. My initial idea to research the questions on national identification and identity in comparison was too ambitious for this master's thesis. The Anzac spirit/legend is important to New Zealand and Australia. I assume that the answers would be different, as these two countries differ in their take on the Anzac legend and even more in their treatment of the indigenous people. A study with similar questions as in this thesis but focussed on Australia is interesting and a comparative research would place the Anzac legend in a new perspective.

New Zealand automatically became part of the First World War due to their Dominion status when the British Empire declared war on the German Empire on 4 August 1914. The relation between the Dominion and the Empire was present throughout the war. Thousands of New Zealand men enlisted not only for the adventure, but also out of patriotic motivations. Patriotism remained an important argument for the New Zealand war effort. Singing the British national anthem or songs in praise of the King at public meetings and enlistment rallies emphasised the relation with the Empire. New Zealand society and its government maintained close ties with the Empire, which was exemplified in the propaganda and censorship by the British military apparatus and Parliament. Articles that made it through the censor praised the New Zealand soldiers, and stressed their British descent. Letters that got past shifted the image of the war in New Zealand. Returned soldiers contradicted the prevalent heroic image and the imperial narrative. As a result, New Zealand society was confronted with two different narratives, but instead of critiquing the Empire's grip on the New Zealand society and government, they critiqued the British soldiers and military command.

The exclusionary and prejudiced concepts of race, prevalent in the Empire at the eve of war, slightly changed in the course of war and as a result indigenous people participated in their country's war efforts. However, the imperial concepts were used again at the end of war when the Maori, for instance, were sent home instead of occupying a part of Germany with the rest of the New Zealand Division. The British Wartime government included the Dominions' governments in an Imperial War Cabinet, but the very fact it had the power to make this decision illustrates the power imbalance, and the continued domination of the British metropole over the Dominions. This War Cabinet could join in the Paris peace talks. Although this was seen by other countries as 'extra votes for the British cause', It was at the same time the beginning of the creation of a New Zealand foreign policy. This was just a start, as the Empire's decisions strongly influenced the Dominion's policies. At the end of the war, the Dominion's patriotism and strong ties with the Empire made it difficult to speak of an independent nation.

More factors problematised the identification of New Zealand's inhabitants as a single nation, not only the relation between the Dominion and the Empire. Various groups experienced the war differently and even these groups were divided internally. The soldiers, both Pakeha and Maori, fought or worked in the war together and learned to appreciate and validate each other, but those ties loosened upon repatriation. The main problem was that both the New Zealand government and the home front had a different experience of the war, and as a result they did not value the Maori's effort as much as the Pakeha soldiers' effort. The fault lines between Maori and Pakeha in New Zealand society were deepened on certain occasions during and in the years after the war. The institution of conscription was initially focussed on Pakeha but extended to certain Maori *iwi* after Maori representatives lobbied in

the government. Although soldiers thought of Maori and Pakeha veterans as equal in the RSAs, this was not the general perception of their relationship. The government did not see the Maori as a combatant unit and the compensation measures for veterans varied between Maori and Pakeha, despite legislation prohibiting this inequality.

On the other hand, Maori distrusted the government and parts of Pakeha society and started their own veteran funds and many Maori veterans preferred to return to their *iwi* or home regions than to be treated as 'New Zealand veterans'. The alleged heroism that was prevalent in the home front's imagination of the Anzac spirit quickly died out as veterans did not embody this ideal. Veterans proved difficult to reintegrate in society and did not recognise themselves in the praiseworthy news articles or other stories of 'the heroic Anzac'. The war had scarred the men in a way New Zealand society could not comprehend, and as a result society could not cope with this discrepancy. Internal divisions drew demarcations in society that were not present before the war and the image of 'the New Zealander that fought in the war' divided New Zealand during and after the war.

Lastly, you could say that the First World War gave birth to the 'New Zealander' in some way. The war created chances for New Zealand to distinguish itself. The soldiers were internationally applauded for their perseverance and discipline, and the government was invited to the Paris peace talks. It was the first time that New Zealand acted on an international theatre as a (somewhat) separate entity. The size of the war and the weight of it on New Zealand society, made them aware of the fact that New Zealand could claim a place in the international order as an independent nation. This was mainly exemplified in the relation between the New Zealand soldiers, Maori and Pakeha, and other armies. Rikihana Carkeek's memoires showed how it remained important to distinguish between Maori and

Pakeha in a group with only New Zealand soldiers. This distinction faded when the New Zealand soldiers identified themselves in comparison to other soldiers or citizens.

It is interesting that this also worked the other way around. Maori and Pakeha were identified as two racial groups by British and Australian troops and citizens, but during the war, this also started to fade. British and French citizens were puzzled when they encountered Pakeha soldiers, because of their 'skin complexity'. *The Anzac Book* showed how the Maori were interchangeable with their Pakeha brothers since only slight traits gave away their difference. Maori and Pakeha started to be identified as one people during the war. The two groups were externally identified as one group. This contributed to a stronger internal identification process. Pakeha soldiers reported on the often-misunderstood status of Maori outside New Zealand and how they attempted to rectify this. Another expression of a starting internal identification process was the adaptation of mutual symbols. Maori symbols and cultural elements became part of the New Zealand Division's imagery to show other armies that they encountered New Zealanders. However, it was also visible in the Maori's use of cultural expressions or Maori nicknames for Pakeha soldiers or officers. These cultural exchanges showed the group's identification as New Zealand Division, with emphasis on 'New Zealand'. Both internally and externally the army became unified identified. Surprisingly, this idea was not that widespread in New Zealand, as we saw at the end of war when the pre-war demarcations between Maori and Pakeha still divided New Zealand society.

A national identity or identification process often starts when people find out what binds them together, especially by finding out what they are not. On the one hand, this worked for the New Zealand Expeditionary Force's experiences at Gallipoli, which gave birth to the Anzac spirit. This percolated into New Zealand's home front through the newspapers and in

enlistment rallies. The New Zealand Division proved worthy descendants of the Anzacs and their alleged superiority in Europe separated them from the other armies. On the other hand, everything that bound or could bind New Zealand together during the war drew new fault lines. The war front's and the home front's experiences of the war diverged significantly. Pakeha and Maori discovered each other in new ways and soldier mateship made them 'war brothers'. As a side effect, the war also showed the (racial) gaps between Maori and Pakeha.

The Anzac spirit and legend remains important for New Zealand's identity up to the present. However, it did not create the New Zealand unity in the First World War as is often assumed. Quite the reverse, the group identification process of the New Zealanders might have had its kick-off in the First World War, but the match had just begun.

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