

Display folk: Second World War posters at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa

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ABSTRACT: This paper examines a significant collection of Second World War posters held by the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (Te Papa). The collection was amassed, distributed and displayed by Wellington manufacturing businessman Cecil Herbert Andrews as part of his war effort, and later donated to the Dominion Museum in 1967. The paper examines his business archive to deduce his motivations, and these are set within the wider context of the distribution and display of war posters throughout New Zealand by government agencies, particularly the Director of Publicity (J.T. Paul), the National War Savings Office and the New Zealand Railways Department. The New Zealand-made posters in the collection provide illuminating glimpses into the government's priorities during the war – particularly the posters created for fund-raising campaigns.

KEYWORDS: poster, propaganda, display, Second World War, New Zealand, Te Papa, National Savings, recruitment, loans.

Introduction

War posters were flashes of intense colour in towns and cities throughout New Zealand during the Second World War (1939–45). They were bold and emotional works of graphic art with a serious purpose – to recruit soldiers and labour, to raise money, to disseminate information and warnings, to increase production, to identify enemy weapons, and to instruct civilians to conserve supplies, recycle and prevent waste. They played an important role as intermediaries between the government and the public, particularly in the early recruitment drives for the armed services, and in the money-raising campaigns that became a regular feature of life until the end of the War. They also 'cheered up' and 'brightened' many a wall, shop window, railway station, theatre lobby, office, factory, school room and mess hall. Their emotionally charged messages and heroic images kept the struggle before the public eye, and these still resonate today.

During the War, hundreds of different posters were

constantly on display throughout New Zealand and thousands of people saw them. Allied governments sent their posters to inspire each other's populations and to share ideas for publicity. Businesses sent war posters across the world to colleagues. Private citizens amassed collections and organised public displays. Schoolchildren decorated their classrooms with them. Soldiers brightened up their mess halls. Shops and businesses devoted valuable street-front windows to patriotic displays. Displaying posters was seen as a way to contribute to the war effort, and for many it helped to create a 'war-like' atmosphere in a country far away from the theatres of war.

The war posters described in this paper represent only a selection of those printed in New Zealand by the government, and are drawn from a collection of international war posters donated to the Dominion Museum in 1967 by Wellington businessman Cecil Herbert Andrews.¹ He collected and distributed them to clients for display as part of his personal war effort. Andrews' activities at a private

level mirrored those at the governmental level, which involved the large-scale distribution and display of war posters by the Director of Publicity, the National War Savings Office and the New Zealand Railways Department.

Posters provide rich pockets for enquiry, as well as colourful and fresh perspectives on the home front environment. Much more could be investigated than is possible to report in this paper. The commissioning, designing, printing, distributing, display, reception and collecting of war posters are all interesting aspects of the life cycle of this particular type of material culture. This paper traces some of these journeys.

Abbreviations used in the text

AA – Andrews Archive, Wellington

AADL – Broadcasting Corporation of New Zealand Head Office, Wellington

ANZ – Archives New Zealand, Wellington

ATL – Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington

EA – External Affairs, Wellington

Posters as propaganda

A poster is usually a piece of printed paper, generally mass-produced, and ‘posted or displayed in a public place as an announcement or advertisement’ (Onions 1973: 1637). The creator of a poster has a message to sell and the target audience must be persuaded to ‘buy’ that message: this transaction takes place within public spaces. Regardless of advances in communication technology, the poster has been an effective tool of publicity and persuasion since the late nineteenth century.

Posters created in support of war are essentially political propaganda, although they may be framed in the language and imagery of commercial or artistic advertising (Barnicoat 1972: 222). Such posters aim to ‘sell attitudes, ideas and ethics, and their primary function is to provoke the viewer to action’. The response depends on the degree to which the viewer identifies with the poster’s proposition (Walton 1998: 146).

Propaganda is an essential part of war and society, and is a process whereby information is communicated in a deliberate and systematic attempt to shape perceptions and direct behaviour (Page 2007). Even though the term is neutral in origin, ‘propaganda’ had gained negative connotations by the Second World War and was usually associated with the enemy. The term ‘information’ was deemed more appropriate by most Allied countries: the British had a ‘Ministry of Information’, the Americans had an ‘Office of War Information’, the Canadians a ‘Wartime Information

Board’ and the Australians a ‘Department of Information’. However, New Zealand’s ‘Director of Publicity’, J.T. Paul, who was appointed to the position in 1939, did not like this alternative term.² He felt that ‘publicity’ had ‘shady’ connotations and was second only to the term propaganda in being misused (Taylor 1986: 938). However, the general distaste for ‘propaganda’ was stronger and is evident in this comment from the Secretary of the National War Savings Office to Paul: ‘To my mind, the absence of direct propaganda in most of your displays is its most commendable feature’ (L. Williams to Paul, 24 March 1943, EA 1, 84/12/12, part 4, ANZ).

Posters were distributed widely in New Zealand during the Second World War but were not considered as effective or influential as the main channels for mass communication, which were radio, film and newspapers. Unlike these media, posters could not contain as much information or keep as up to date with the fast-paced developments of the War. Time had to be allowed for planning a poster campaign, designing the artwork, printing, distributing and pasting up.³ Sometimes, war posters were displayed in competitive environments, where they needed to hold their ground alongside larger commercial advertising (Fig. 1).

But posters had one thing that the other forms of communication (or propaganda) did not: they had colour. (Figs 2 and 3). And they could appear in public spaces where other media couldn’t reach, such as factories, schools, offices and shop windows (National Museum of American History 2006). They were an inescapable feature of everyday life. Their effectiveness relied on their occupation of ‘democratic’ spaces – streets, railway stations, public transport, shops, factories, theatres, cinemas, post offices, banks – and their ability to conduct nationwide campaigns across broad, generally receptive audiences in shared languages of image and text (Hegarty 1998: 231).

The collector

Most of the Second World War posters at Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (Te Papa) were collected by one man, Cecil Herbert Andrews, or ‘C.H. Andrews’ as he was known. He ran a business of the same name in Wellington, designing and manufacturing equipment for the display of retail merchandise.⁴

During the War, Andrews amassed a large collection of posters from government agencies and personal contacts around the world, including from Britain, Canada, the



Fig. 1 Hoardings featuring large commercial posters obscuring the rail yards behind Wellington Railway Station, 1945. These posters were neatly framed to guard against criticisms of visual pollution, and include a Merchant Navy poster and a commercial poster from Petone Woollens tapping into the needs of women undertaking National War Service (photo: by John Dobree Pascoe (1908–72). Pascoe Collection, F 1963 1/4, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington).

United States, Australia and New Zealand. ‘These posters were sent to me personally, by my contemporaries in other countries, and also direct from the Ministry of Information, in England, as a token recognition of the endeavours of my British and American contemporaries, together with my own, in bringing to public notice the value of commercial techniques in display, poster and exhibition art for war purposes’ (Andrews to R.K. Dell, 28 March 1967, MU2, 20/2/0, Box 66, Te Papa). As part of his personal war effort, Andrews distributed these posters to his retail customers in Wellington and throughout New Zealand for display in their windows, including the department stores of McKenzies, James Smith’s and Woolworths (Fig. 4). His activities mirrored those of the Director of Publicity, who distributed war posters on a greater, more systematic scale, as described later.

Andrews had a profound lifelong belief in the power of display, and was deeply impressed by the persuasive power of posters for both war and peaceful purposes. He believed that his collection of war posters demonstrated ‘the contribution of artists in the cause of winning the war’ and he

was keen to share them in public displays (Andrews to N. Silverblatt, 9 August 1962, ‘Overseas Letters: England, USA, Ceylon’, AA).⁵

In October 1941, Andrews organised a window display contest of posters and photographs called ‘Help to Win the War Campaign’ to encourage Wellington retail stores to ‘dramatise the part that industry and commerce are doing towards winning the war’ and to ‘help keep people war conscious’. The best windows were to be photographed and the photos sent to the United Kingdom and United States ‘as an illustration of how New Zealand is helping the war effort and how New Zealand displaymen are contributing’ (September 1941, EA 1, 84/12/12, part 2, ANZ). In June the following year, Andrews organised a large exhibition for the Wellington Metal Trades Employers’ Association and the New Zealand Manufacturers’ Federation in the Social Hall of Parliament House ‘to uplift morale and increase New Zealand’s war effort’ (Anonymous 1967). According to Andrews, the exhibition included about 2000 international war posters and photographs showing war efforts in Australia

and New Zealand, as well as New Zealand-made munitions.⁶ He later recalled that the display 'was a successful attempt to show what New Zealanders were doing for the war effort' and was possibly 'one of the biggest of its kind held in the country during the war' (Anonymous 1967). A hand-painted text panel survives from the exhibition, revealing Andrews' belief in the efficacy of posters:

This Display gives some idea of the important part played by poster and display publicity in other countries, and also the range of subjects covered. Similar posters designed for both inside and outside our factories can do much to improve our morale, increase our production, and show each individual the part he or she is expected to play in our War Effort. ('War Publicity', 1942, probably by C.H. Andrews, GH015517, Te Papa)

Such individual efforts as Andrews' were not unusual during the War, and other like-minded collectors organised exhibitions of posters in New Zealand and overseas. For example, J.W. McKay of South Africa sought New Zealand posters because he intended to display an exhibition of war posters from Allied countries to 'show the world the fine effort our Empire are making as a whole' (McKay to Ministry of Information, 7 April 1943, EA 1, 84/12/12, part 5, ANZ).

In 1967, Andrews donated his war poster collection to the Dominion Museum as a reminder of war.⁷ He observed that the posters were 'designed for emotional impact, to meet current moulding of public thinking. On no account are these posters to be viewed as works of art.... I consider, it is as well to be prudent, and remember the lessons learned from history.' He noted that the posters had been placed on deposit in the museum in the early 1960s 'on the suggestion of the late Mr Charles Lindsay, for safe custody. At the time, it was recognised the historic value of the posters, also the danger of their being destroyed by fire, or their coming into the hands of people who did not appreciate their true worth' (Andrews to Dell, 28 March 1967, MU2, 20/2/0, Box 66, Te Papa).⁸ Andrews' concern regarding fire was valid, as he had experienced damage to his factory from a neighbouring fire in the 1950s.⁹ His other concern about worth was also valid, as Second World War posters had not yet gained the cultural or material value seen in recent years.

In addition to the posters, Andrews left behind a rich archive spanning his time in business until the year of his death (1930s to 1970). Much of his 1940s correspondence was destroyed in the fire but two alternative sources reveal some of his activities and thoughts during the war. Archives



Fig. 2 Poster, 'Lest We Regret..Don't Talk!', November 1941 (artist unknown; possibly New Zealand. One-colour block-printed text with halftone offset lithographic image on paper, 246 x 505 mm. Gift of Mr C.H. Andrews, 1967. GH015179-15183, Te Papa). 'Lest We Regret' posters were displayed widely throughout New Zealand from 3 November 1941 as part of a 'Don't Talk Campaign'. Black and white copies were also published in newspapers (Anonymous 1941).

New Zealand holds letters written by Andrews to the Director of Publicity in the early 1940s about his display ideas, while his own archive holds many reflective letters written to wartime friends and colleagues in the 1960s as he handed over his business affairs to his sons. These letters provide a second chance to discover Andrews' thoughts on display and on the poster collection he so carefully acquired during the War.

Throughout his working life, Andrews had been a prolific correspondent with display businessmen and manufacturers around the world, particularly with the staffs of the American magazine *Display World* and the British magazine *Display*. He wrote that these 'display folk' were united in their belief in 'the power and potential of display work' for the war effort, and shared ideas and resources where possible (Andrews to P.T. Knapp, 20 August 1967, 'Overseas Letters', AA). For example, Ruben C. Kash, editor of *Display World*, sent American and Canadian war posters to Andrews for his exhibition at Parliament House in 1942.¹⁰

Andrews believed that posters were 'peaceful arts' that could be used for either war purposes or to promote peace (Andrews to British High Commissioner, 28 January 1966, 'Simplyfy [sic] Selling', AA). In the early 1960s, he wrote to his wartime colleagues in Britain and America about the possibilities of displaying posters 'to ease the tensions of international misunderstandings', and began to develop a collection of international peace posters to match his war poster collection (Andrews to Silverblatt, 11 January 1961, 'Letters U.S.A.', and 20 April 1961, 'Overseas Letters', AA).



Fig. 3 A ‘Lest We Regret’ poster shares wall space in an office with maps, calendars and black-out instructions, New Zealand, early 1940s (photo: New Zealand Free Lance Collection, G 41098 1/4, Alexander Turnbull Library).

The editor of *Display World* at that time was very supportive and published the following editorial in October 1961:

Many displaymen will recall how, during World War II and the Korean War, display contributed a great deal of space to boosting War Bond drives, scrap metal and paper drives and other patriotic and educational campaigns. The tremendous impact of these displays won for the profession many commendations. In recent months, we have been corresponding with C.H. Andrews, a designer and manufacturer of display equipment in Wellington, New Zealand. He asks the question: Why not international, national and state awards in each country for the best displays fostering international understanding.... I’m sure retailers and institutions will back this movement with the zeal and enthusiasm expressed during wartime years. In actuality, there is just as much at stake now as then. (Knapp 1961)

In 1962, the manager of *Display World* added, ‘The store windows of the world ... offer the effort of complete coverage of the world population and the use of the great display medium cannot and should not be overlooked’ (Silverblatt to Andrews, 27 March 1962, ‘Overseas Letters’, AA).



Fig. 4 Example of the sticker adhered to the back of many of the posters distributed by C.H. Andrews to his customers – note his comfortable use of the term ‘propaganda’ (two-colour block print on paper, 88 x 111 mm. Gift of David Andrews, 2007. TMP004292, Te Papa).

Window display scheme

During the Second World War, this philosophy of window display had been embraced by several Allied countries. In New Zealand, the Director of Publicity, J.T. Paul, was responsible for organising continuous morale-boosting window displays of posters and photographs in shops and business firms throughout the country 'to give people an opportunity of seeing varied aspects of the Allied war effort' (Director of Publicity to L.G. Armstrong, 5 December 1944, EA 1, 84/12/12, part 7, ANZ). The scheme was inspired and supported by the British Ministry of Information, which coordinated fortnightly window displays in the United Kingdom and supplied posters and photographs to allied countries such as New Zealand as part of its role 'to present the national case at home and abroad' (Balfour 1979: 53).

From August 1940, Paul sent sets of British posters and photographs around the country, adding New Zealand-made posters where possible. The displays were initially sent to larger city businesses, then later to smaller businesses in towns with at least 2000 inhabitants (Memorandum, 'Window Displays of Munitions Manufacture', July 1942, EA 1, 84/12/12, part 3, ANZ). They were most commonly seen in the windows of department stores and drapery shops, but also in the windows of chemists, milliners, mercers, shoe shops, clothing and furnishing stores, and business firms such as insurance offices.¹¹ By early 1941, there was a large flow of posters and photographs travelling around the country, on topical subjects such as the Battle of Britain. Paul noted that 'Displays have been used in connection with recruiting drives for the R.N.Z.A.F., patriotic funds, clothing for victims of air raids in Britain, and general publicity purposes. Most of them include three posters published in New Zealand relating to National Savings, recruitment for the Air Force and recruitment for the E.P.S. and Home Guard' (Figs 9, 11 and 12) (Director of Publicity to Hon. W. Nash, 5 August 1941, EA 1, 84/12/12, part 1, ANZ). By March 1942, Paul reported that the continuous flow of photographs and posters 'from Kaikohe to Invercargill' had resulted in 256 window displays (Memorandum, 'Window Displays of Munitions Manufacture', 5 March 1942, EA 1, 84/12/12, part 3, ANZ).

The larger stores, such as Ballantynes in Christchurch, had display managers to arrange the posters and photographs in pleasing and professional displays. Each display lasted one to three weeks, and was then sent on to the next venue by train.¹² The Director of Publicity asked for feedback on how

the displays were received by the public. Generally, this feedback was positive, with many reports of crowds standing at windows absorbed in viewing the photographs and posters. G. Page & Sons of Nelson wrote: 'We had them on display in our window for a fortnight and have caused a great deal of interest and comment. Everyday has seen large crowds inspecting them. Many have expressed their appreciation of the display' (Page & Sons to Director of Publicity, 14 November 1941, EA 1, 84/12/12, part 3, ANZ). Draper and men's outfitters Brown Ewing and Company noted: 'They were splendid pictures and caused immense interest. It was remarkable how attractive they were to the people – who all day long – and during the evenings – had their faces glued to the windows' (Manager to Director of Publicity, 1 September 1941, EA 1, 84/12/12, part 2, ANZ). The manager of Brown Ewing was also keen to point out that 'we do our job properly, giving up one and sometimes 2 windows wholly to whatever display you send down ... we endeavour to get the local paper to send a reporter along ... We keep the displays going for about a fortnight and they invariably attract crowds of people' (Manager to Director of Publicity, 4 August 1943, EA 1, 84/12/12, part 5, ANZ).

Most feedback came from managers, who had a vested interest not only in maintaining attractive and successful window displays, but also in being seen to contribute to the war effort. As there were few direct comments from the general public, it is difficult to measure accurately the impact of the posters themselves. However, there is evidence that some of the displays may have increased local recruitment for the Home Guard. For example, the Wairarapa Farmers' Co-operative Association wished to make a special window display of posters in support of the Masterton Home Guard, 'who desire to obtain new members' (General Manager to Director of Publicity, 24 September 1941, EA 1, 84/12/12, part 2, ANZ). New Plymouth importers Whites Limited wrote: 'We also used the display in our drive for recruits for the Home Guard and are pleased to report a considerable increase as a result' (Whites Limited to Paul, 28 January 1941, EA 1, 84/12/12, part 1, ANZ). Such observations give an indication that the posters were an effective form of communication, but they are rare. As noted by the Secretary of the National War Savings Office to Paul, 'there is no doubt as to the popular appeal of these displays.... There is no way of ascertaining how many people see your displays, but from what I have noticed myself, I should say that in Wellington alone the total must run into thousands' (L. Williams to Paul, 24 March 1943, EA 1, 84/12/12, part 4, ANZ).



Fig. 5 A window display by the Meteorological Office at the Gas Company in Wellington, during the first Victory Loan campaign, September 1944 (photo: by K.H. Shea, Public Works Department. War Effort Collection, I.A.0274, Alexander Turnbull Library). Posters jostle for space with equipment, information panels and flags. Images of such window displays are extremely rare, attesting to the dearth of such photography during the war (John Sullivan, pers. comm., 22 Jun. 2007).

After the very popular Battle of Britain displays had run their course by mid-1942, new displays (or display sets) that had both New Zealand and British content – with titles such as ‘Steel Sinews of War’, ‘Life in a Destroyer’ and ‘How Italy Lost Her Empire’ – were sent around the country (EA 1, 84/12/12, part 5, ANZ). New Zealand content was much desired by retailers, but international posters were also admired as part of the mix. For example, in mid-1942, the Director of Publicity distributed photographs of munitions manufacture in New Zealand along with British and Russian war posters.¹³

The Director also distributed posters for display in a range of other environments upon request, such as schools, factories, army halls, agricultural and pastoral shows, and even camping grounds and bathing sheds.¹⁴ Some felt that posters could help create the ‘right’ environment for productivity, such as clothing manufacturer Harris Langton’s

request for ‘stimulating’ posters to ‘encourage better effort in industry’ (Assistant Manager to Controller, Department of Industries and Commerce, 5 July 1943, EA 1, 84/12/12, part 5, ANZ).

In addition, patriotic organisations in New Zealand and overseas requested posters for display. Paul supplied 500 posters to the Salvation Army for display in its soldiers’ welfare institutions nationwide: ‘The facilities of our Wellington Station Hut, are used by Thousands of men weekly, 25% of whom are Americans, and we feel this would be good publicity in addition to the fact of them brightening our rooms’ (Secretary for War Services to Paul, 20 May 1943, EA 1, 84/12/12, part 5, ANZ). Likewise, the Air Training Corps asked for war posters to decorate their new hall in Dunedin: ‘It is part of our policy to make these quarters attractive, and above all, to create an “Air Force atmosphere”’ (Air Training Corps to De Havilland Company, 18 February 1943, EA 1,

84/12/12, part 4, ANZ). Soldier R.J. McCormick wrote from his camp overseas seeking posters to decorate the camp's cinema hall and provide a reminder of home: 'as we can see plenty of this country without having to look at it during our leisure hours, anything concerning with [sic] our own country would be much more appreciated by all' (McCormick to Director of Publicity, 3 May 1944, EA 1, 84/12/12, part 6, ANZ).

Raurimu District High School went to great lengths to display war posters sent by Paul in 1943: 'The subject matter of the pictures is eminently suitable for secondary pupils. I think perhaps the planes are prime favourites and altogether the pictures have greatly improved the appearance of our room and we are very grateful.' The students carefully mounted each poster onto cardboard with the edges painted black, 'which give it the semblance of a frame and made the gorgeous colours stand out' (A.E. Clark to Director of Publicity, 30 September 1943, EA 1, 84/12/12, part 5, ANZ). However, their desire to encapsulate the displays in cellophane to protect them from damage was thwarted by wartime restrictions of that particular material.

New Zealand's war posters

New Zealand's Second World War posters echoed the thousands being designed and distributed elsewhere in the world by most countries involved in the conflict, but in comparison, the New Zealand government produced few posters of its own. This was partly owing to the constant stream of posters sent from Britain. As Paul noted in 1942: 'many of the excellent posters received from the Ministry of Information serve our purpose admirably' (Paul to J. Calcroft, 11 December 1942, EA 1, 84/12/12, part 4, ANZ). However, many more posters were produced locally than had been the case in the First World War, which had seen New Zealand rely almost exclusively on British posters. New Zealand-made posters had tended to be predominantly typographical appeals to patriotism with the addition of red text for emphasis (Thompson 2005: 48).¹⁵ British-made posters seen in New Zealand during the First World War were also typographical, but many designs featured strongly sentimental, romantic or bellicose images. By the Second World War, such images were considered to be uncomfortable 'propaganda' and had been replaced by ordinary people, emphasising 'information over persuasion' and 'rational appeals over fear' (Crowley 1998: 124).

In general, war posters tended to be single-sheet, with New Zealand's posters being comparatively small in size and in stark contrast to the large, 24-sheet billboard posters used for commercial advertising between the wars. This may have been due to paper shortages, but it may also have been a ploy to gain notice. For example, the Railways Department displayed war posters on independent noticeboards in train stations away from the general hoardings outside its stations. War posters were also seen in a broader range of environments than commercial posters today: they could be mounted as objects in window displays, hung from building façades, taped to tables and stages, and waved from poles (Figs 5, 6, 18, 19 and 20).

The examples in this paper show that New Zealand's Second World War posters were based mainly on hand-drawn or hand-painted illustrations rather than photographs, and were rendered in limited colour palettes. As with posters produced elsewhere, they were 'a visual call to arms', acting on the eye as a shouted command would act on the ear (National Museum of American History 2006). In contrast with the posters of other countries, however, enemies were not directly demonised (as the Japanese were in Australian posters, for example), and New Zealand's leaders and heroes were generally not depicted.¹⁶ Instead, ordinary, wholesome-looking soldiers and citizens of all ages populated poster imagery, exhorting their fellow New Zealanders to fulfil their obligations to the state by participating either financially or physically.

Some posters were displayed for remarkably long periods, either with or without official permission. But most were short-lived, displayed for only a week, then either pasted over or scraped off. Those that lasted longer could fade or become dilapidated from exposure to the elements. The very materiality of posters put them at risk, and many were recycled as paper became increasingly scarce during the war. Out-of-date posters were ripped into letter-sized pages by government clerks so that the backs could be used for carbon copies and cyclostyling (Taylor 1986: 755–756).¹⁷

Regardless of their aesthetic limitations and inherent ephemerality, New Zealand's war posters were considered by some to be collectable as soon as they were printed. The Director of Publicity received many requests for posters from government agencies and private collectors in the United States, Australia, Canada and South Africa, and even from New Zealanders serving overseas. But by April 1941, his stocks of early posters had dwindled and he regretfully could



Fig. 6 'Don't Talk Campaign', Auckland, November 1941 (photo: *Weekly News*. War Effort Collection, I.A.0039, Alexander Turnbull Library). Women's War Service Auxiliary members are seen here standing on a lorry holding multiple copies of the 'Lest We Regret' poster on poles.

not fulfil everyone's requests ('some difficulty is being experienced in obtaining early posters'). He noted that with the introduction of compulsory military service in mid-1940, recruitment posters 'were of course abandoned, and except for a few copies retained for historical purposes no special effort was made to preserve them' (Director of Publicity to C.H. Bateson, 24 April 1941, EA 1, 84/12/12, part 1, ANZ). In late 1943, the Director advised an American collector that 'the demands from outside our country have been large and as a result our stocks are very low' (Paul to H. DeVore, 21 October 1943, EA 1, 84/12/12, part 6, ANZ).

However, many copies of New Zealand's war posters did make their way overseas. For example, in 1941 the Department of Information in Australia asked the Director of Publicity for three copies of every poster relating to recruiting, savings and loans. Paul happily complied, noting that

'experience has shown that exhibitions of posters and photographs are much appreciated by the public and serve a useful purpose' (Bateson to Paul, 18 March 1941, and Paul to Bateson, 24 April 1941, EA 1, 84/12/12, part 1, ANZ).

Recruitment posters

The first posters to be commissioned by the New Zealand government during the Second World War were for recruitment to the armed services. In the first ten months of the war, the Outdoor Advertising Branch of the New Zealand Railways distributed thousands of recruitment posters for display at stations from Invercargill to Dargaville on behalf of the Army Department. The success of these posters can be partly measured by the fact that 38 399 New Zealanders had enlisted voluntarily by the end of May 1940 (Taylor



Fig. 7



Fig. 8



Fig. 9



Fig. 10

Fig. 7 Poster, 'Join The N.Z. Air Training Corps', early 1941 (artist unknown; printed by E.V. Paul, Government Printer, Wellington. Two-colour block-printed text with halftone photolithographic image on paper, 760 x 510 mm. Gift of Mr C.H. Andrews, 1967. GH014038, Te Papa). The Air Training Corps was established in February 1941 for boys aged 16½ to 18 years, to ensure enough skilled technicians and air crew would be available to keep the RNZAF in the air (Ross 1955: 56).

Fig. 8 Poster, 'Duty Calls the Youth of New Zealand', mid-1942 (artist unknown; printed by C.M. Banks Ltd, Wellington. Three-colour block print over halftone offset lithographic image on paper, 755 x 505 mm. Gift of Mr C.H. Andrews, 1967. GH014037, Te Papa). In March 1942, the age limit for the Air Training Corps was lowered by six months to 16 years. An accompanying newspaper advertisement with the same image gave further details and incentives: 'Machines *must* be kept in the air. Only continuous and systematic training can ensure an adequate supply of skilled technicians ... This is an essential War Service that must appeal to every youth who intends later to enter any technical or engineering trade' (Anonymous 1942, 6 July). The Air Department sent 250 copies of this poster to the Railways Department for distribution to stations throughout New Zealand in July 1942 (Air Secretary to General Manager, NZ Railways, 13 July 1942, R 18, W2496, 162, ANZ).

Fig. 9 Poster, 'The Air Force Needs Men!', February 1941 (by Claude Oscar William Wade (1891–1956, England/New Zealand); printed by Wilson & Horton Limited for the Air Department, Wellington. Three-colour block-printed text with photomechanical colour line-block process image on paper, 760 x 505 mm. Gift of Mr C.H. Andrews, 1967. GH014039, Te Papa). Recruiting posters such as this famous example became a common sight, with their evocative images of strong, noble men matched with rousing slogans. Such posters tapped into widely held values of patriotism and loyalty.

Fig. 10 Claude Wade, mid-1920s (reproduced courtesy of Elizabeth and Justine Craig). The 'hero' in Fig. 9 is actually a self-portrait of the artist Claude Wade. He emigrated from Britain after the First World War, and took a position as a commercial artist in Illott Studio, Wellington, where he later became the Art Director from the 1920s to 1940s. He was 'a gentlemanly Englishman of considerable talent, especially in figure drawing ... and a great many clients appreciated his distinctive flair with the pen' (Illott 1985: 161). His daughter remembers him as a happy and 'dashing Englishman', which is nicely in keeping with this image (Elizabeth Craig, pers. comm., 26 August 2005).

1986: 110). However, the need was greater and compulsory military service was introduced in June 1940. At that point the Army's need for recruiting posters was over. On the day voluntary enlistment for the Army ceased (22 July), stationmasters were instructed to remove all such posters and replace them with a poster about the internal labour force, entitled 'Back up the fighting forces', which shifted recruitment to local labour needs – although two years later stationmasters still had to be reminded to remove old posters

relating to Army recruiting (Mathews to District Traffic Managers and Stationmasters, 22 July 1940 and 16 July 1942, R 18, W2496, 162, ANZ).

The other two services remained voluntary. The Air Department continued to produce specific recruiting posters throughout the war for both the Royal New Zealand Air Force (RNZAF) and the Air Training Corps (Figs 7 and 8), and to meet the increasing demands of the Pacific theatre after the entry of Japan into the war in late 1941. 'The Air



Fig. 11 Poster, 'Volunteer For National Service', October 1940 (artist unknown; printed by E.V. Paul, Government Printer, for the National Service Department, Wellington. Two-colour block-printed text with halftone photolithographic image on paper, 760 × 505 mm. Gift of Mr C.H. Andrews, 1967. GH014036, Te Papa).

Force Needs Men!' (Figs 9 and 10) features a stylish pilot gazing skyward as if to his calling.¹⁸ His brow is slightly creased in consternation, possibly after a dangerous mission. Such poster imagery provided striking role models, and many New Zealanders answered the call: 42,000 men and women served in the RNZAF, and 12,078 served in the Royal Air Force (McGibbon 2000: 461 and 15).

Other early war posters were commissioned by the government for National Service and National Savings. 'Volunteer for National Service' (Fig. 11) was an appeal aimed at all civilian men and women to join in the war effort at home. National Service included the Home Guard, the Women's War Service Auxiliary and the Emergency Precautions Scheme (EPS), all of which backed up New Zealand's home defence forces. Many New Zealanders over the age of 16 gave thousands of unpaid hours to these organisations. The visual balance of the man and woman in this poster conceals the social conflicts and political debates behind female involvement in war work. On closer



Fig. 12 Poster, 'War Finance Campaign', October 1940 (artist unknown; printed by E.V. Paul, Government Printer; issued by the New Zealand National Savings Committee, Wellington. Three-colour block print with screened offset lithographic image on paper, 568 × 442 mm. Gift of Mr C.H. Andrews, 1967. GH015509, Te Papa). The Railways Department mounted 496 copies of this poster in its stations throughout the country as soon as the Minister of Finance announced the National Savings scheme on 10 October 1940 (R. Mathews to District Traffic Managers and Stationmasters, 11 October 1940, R 18, W2496, 172, ANZ). As the scheme was considered a war measure, the Railways Department distributed and displayed the posters free of charge (Ashwin to General Manager, NZ Railways, 2 October 1940, R 18, W2496, 172).

inspection, the balance is upset by the woman's prescriptive dress as a nurse, versus the man's neutral suit. It was vital for women to be part of the war effort, but most New Zealanders did not want to see men and women perform the same roles, partly in fear that war would erode femininity and family values (Montgomerie 2001: 41). During the early months of the war, the government and women's war service organisations tried to channel women's efforts through organisations like the Red Cross. However, after strenuous lobbying by prominent women (including the Prime Minister's wife, Janet Fraser) the government established the Women's War Service Auxiliary in August 1940 to coordinate the war efforts of New Zealand women.

The Publicity and Advertising Manager for the Railways Department (Roy C. Mathews) organised the distribution of 299 of these posters in November 1940 to stations around the country.¹⁹ He instructed stationmasters to display them on 'standard notice boards. As they become dilapidated or disfigured the posters are to be removed' (Mathews to

District Traffic Managers and Stationmasters, 4 November 1940, R 18, W2496, 162, ANZ). However, copies of this poster were still on display at stations nearly two years later, even though membership of the EPS and Home Guard had become compulsory in early 1942.

Fund-raising posters

The New Zealand government financed the Second World War from internal resources, raising substantial amounts through taxation, internal loans and savings. Posters played a significant part in the associated fund-raising campaigns, making intense appeals to New Zealanders' sense of patriotism and sacrifice.

The National Savings Act was passed in 1940 to encourage the habit of saving among New Zealanders. The first poster produced in support of the National Savings scheme (Fig. 12) is unusual among New Zealand's war posters for the prominence of the nation's flag.²⁰ The flag represents freedom, but the motto ('Lend to defend the right to be free!') clearly links freedom with the ability to pay for it.

National Savings became a constant feature of everyday life, attracting small weekly investments from a wide cross-section of the public. Contributions could be made either individually or through workplace groups, where employees could authorise their employers to transfer regular amounts from their wages into National Savings accounts (Fig. 14). Savings bonds and accounts bore interest at 3 per cent, and the money invested into National Savings was paid into the War Expenses Account.²¹ The scheme was advertised to the public as a way for everyone to make a contribution, no matter how small, and to encourage saving for the post-war period when goods would become more plentiful. Public support was generally very positive, with most New Zealanders willing to cut back or postpone spending on consumables, and to save more of their incomes (Baker 1965: 390).

Several posters were published and issued by the National Savings Office during the war, and were seen in public places such as post offices, savings banks and railway stations (e.g. Figs 13–16).²² Many of these posters had the potential for long display lives, as the scheme remained at 3 per cent throughout the war.

Hybrid posters were also part of the National Savings campaign. The British Ministry of Information sent a series of posters entitled 'Back Them Up' to New Zealand in late 1941; these had blank spaces that were then overprinted

with National Savings information and distributed around the country. As the Director of Publicity noted, 'generally speaking we have relied in large measure on posters received from the Ministry of Information in London and have adapted them to our own purposes. This has been especially the case in War Savings, many of the posters lending themselves to over-printing' (Director of Publicity to DeVore, 21 October 1943, EA 1, 84/12/12, part 6, ANZ).

The Director of Publicity and the Secretary of the National War Savings Office worked closely together to distribute copies of fund-raising posters. In 1943, the Secretary noted to Paul that 'our displays are intended for one definite object – to educate the public to save money for war purposes – while yours fulfil a no less valuable purpose in informing the public of the trend of events, reminding them of the immensity of the effort in which they too are called upon to participate, and to sustain morale' (L. Williams to Director of Publicity, 24 March 1943, EA 1, 84/12/12, part 4, ANZ).

At the other end of the fund-raising scale were the war loans. Seven loans were floated during the war, with the aim of raising a total of £145 million (Baker 1965: 267). These schemes were huge and dramatic, were held only once or twice a year, and generally attracted larger investments from business firms, public bodies and wealthier individuals. A key intention of the loans was to absorb New Zealanders' private savings, which had increased owing to the paucity of goods and services (which had been diverted to the war effort), thereby offsetting inflation. The emotional premise of the loans was to conscript wealth in the same spirit as the conscription of people, essentially making ordinary citizens shareholders in the war effort. Even though it was acknowledged that money could never equal the loss of life or injury to soldiers, the risks were to be shared between soldiers and civilians, who would be rewarded with pay and interest, respectively.

The first loan in 1940 was compulsory, raising about £10 million, while the rest were raised by voluntary public subscription. Most of the loans were oversubscribed, with about £153 million raised in total, most of which came from larger investors (Baker 1965: 267). Advertising was employed for the first voluntary loan, the 1941 War Loan, with the Reserve Bank organising a 'display of posters at Receiving Offices and other Commercial Houses'. When support lagged in the second week of the loan campaign, the Reserve Bank arranged for the 'display of appropriate posters on the tram-cars in the four main centres' (B.C. Ashwin to



Fig. 13



Fig. 14



Fig. 15



Fig. 16

Fig. 13 Poster, 'Protect New Zealand', June 1942 (artist unknown; issued by the New Zealand National Savings Committee, Wellington. Four-colour block print with offset lithographic image on paper, 487 × 362 mm. Gift of Mr C.H. Andrews, 1967. GH014046, Te Papa). Again, protection and financial contribution are closely entwined in this poster. A battleship sweeps past a highlighted map of New Zealand, literally evoking the idea of protection, but also implying that it must be paid for. This poster replaced the first National Savings poster (Fig. 12) in June 1942, and its imagery tapped into New Zealand's fear of coastal attack by Japan at that time.

Fig. 14 Poster, 'We Can't Win With Bare Hands!', late 1940/early 1941 (by B.E. Pike, New Zealand. Three-colour block print with screenless offset lithographic image on paper, 330 × 510 mm. Gift of Mr C.H. Andrews, 1967. GH014047/1, Te Papa). This small-format poster features an older, careworn man, who, with a distant, glazed look and outstretched hands, beseeches the viewer to join a National Savings Group. His helmet and age indicate that he is either a member of the Home Guard or the Emergency Precautions Scheme. The text and sparse imagery are tightly linked to emphasise the message. Such a poster would have been displayed inside workplaces where savings groups could be formed. By late 1941, over 3700 firms had organised such groups (Memorandum, 'Display of Posters at Stations: National Savings Scheme', 22 June 1942, R 18, W2496, 172, ANZ).

Fig. 15 Poster, 'We can give it', March 1942 (plane silhouette by Gordon Burt (1893–1968, New Zealand) or his studio; issued by the New Zealand National Savings Committee, Wellington. Two-colour block print on paper, 250 × 510 mm. Gift of Mr C.H. Andrews, 1967. GH014047/3, Te Papa). This small-format poster was made for the 'Bonds for Bombers Week', which ran from 23 March to 2 April 1942. The campaign aimed to persuade New Zealanders to invest money in the Royal New Zealand Air Force for more bombers. The 'Bonds for Bombers' scheme offered a 3 per cent return on bonds, payable after the war. The campaign was short and aggressive to ensure a direct link in the public's mind between investment and the end result (i.e. bombing).

Fig. 16 Poster, 'The Rising Sun Must Set', early 1942 (artist unknown; issued by the New Zealand National Savings Committee, Wellington. Two-colour block print with halftone photolithographic image on paper, 700 × 515 mm. Gift of Mr C.H. Andrews, 1967. GH014048, Te Papa). This poster specifies the Pacific theatre of war and the threat of Japanese aggression, which was at its worst in the first nine months of 1942. The image of a depersonalised soldier hunching his shoulders as he strides towards his foe, with his gun aimed at the heart of the Imperial sun flooding the horizon like blood, conveys this fear, but the language of the poster indicates confidence in the ability eventually to overcome the threat. This poster design was also printed in a smaller format to advertise National Savings.



Fig. 17



Mr. C. J. A. McDonald, sub-manager of the A.M.P. Society, handing over a cheque for £200,000 at "Liberty Corner" yesterday, as the company's subscription to the Liberty Loan.

Fig. 18

Fig. 17 Poster, 'Liberty Loan', April 1942 (artist unknown; printed by Whitcombe & Tombs Ltd, Wellington. Screenless offset lithograph on paper, 782 × 531 mm. Gift of Mr C.H. Andrews, 1967. GH015507, Te Papa). This simply designed poster for the first Liberty Loan campaign evokes the Statue of Liberty. It was also printed in a smaller format, possibly for display inside trams or workplaces. Some 496 copies of this poster were displayed at railway stations throughout the country (Memorandum, 'Distribution of Liberty Loan Posters and Stickers – May, 1942.', R 18, W2496, 172, ANZ).

Fig. 18 Liberty Loan posters can be seen decorating a table at the 'Liberty Corner' in Wellington, where businessmen were encouraged to subscribe in public (Anonymous 1942, 4 June). (Photo: N-P 1365-7, Alexander Turnbull Library).

Minister of Finance, 15 August 1941, Treasury (T), series 1, 44/204, ANZ).

The next two loans were floated in 1942. These were called the 'Liberty Loan' and the '2nd Liberty Loan', and aimed to raise £15 million and £10 million, respectively. Posters were used as part of the associated campaigns, and were seen where loan business was transacted (banks, post offices and brokers' offices). The first Liberty Loan campaign ran from 4 May to 2 June 1942, and its advertising posters employed a simple motif of a torch-bearing hand, evoking the Statue of Liberty, either on its own (Fig. 17), or combined with more emotional imagery of a mother and child, which was entitled 'Guard Their Liberty'.

During the 2nd Liberty Loan campaign, which ran from 12 October to 14 November 1942, Prime Minister Peter Fraser declared:

In the stern task that lies ahead there is a part for everyone to play. Some bear arms, others are engaged in war work, but saving and investing in the country's war effort is a weapon which everyone can handle. Those of us who do

not fight with arms cannot ask the soldiers and the airmen and the sailors of New Zealand to give their lives for our freedom, our comfort and our safety unless we at the same time display an equal willingness to make our contributions to the common cause. (Anonymous 1942, 13 October)

The 3rd Liberty Loan, issued from 8 June to 10 July 1943, left the others in its shadows. 'The Biggest War Loan in New Zealand's History' aimed to raise £35 million (Anonymous 1943, 8 June). On 19 April 1943, a working committee was formed to plan the campaign and included representatives from the Office of War Publicity and broadcasting, display and advertising agencies: 'The need was stressed for appealing to the public by every possible means, and the campaign would therefore be more intensive and more far reaching than any previous War Loan drive' (Minutes, National War Loan Committee, 19 April 1943, T 1, 44/210, ANZ). With much urgency, the committee met the next day to make arrangements for the designing of display material, as the 'printing and distribution of such



Fig. 19 Aerial view of Liberty Corner at the corner of Hunter and Featherston streets, Wellington, 18 May 1942. ‘Guard Their Liberty’ posters decorate the front of the stage as the Air Force band entertains the crowd (photo: *Evening Post* Collection, 123876 1/2, Alexander Turnbull Library).

matter requires a period of from five to six weeks’ (‘Report of Working Committee’, 18 May 1943, p. 1, T 1, 44/210, ANZ). They had just enough time.

Nine days later, the committee met to consider the proposed poster designs, and ‘after most careful consideration’ orders were placed with advertising agencies for the printing of display material. A total of 80 800 posters, hoardings and stickers were ordered. Of these, 47 390 were actual posters, which would equate to one poster for every 35 New Zealanders at that time.²³ The order included 20 000 general display posters of five different designs measuring 30 x 20 in (762 x 508 mm) (e.g. Fig. 21), two of which were to be displayed on the outside of trams; 20 000 posterettes of four designs for general display in shops, offices and factories (e.g. Fig. 25); 2000 information posters containing the terms of investment to be displayed at receiving offices (Fig. 27); 5000 strip posters with the words ‘Invest Here’ for display in receiving offices and over selling points; 300 large posters for window display backgrounds (about 1.8 x 1.2 m); and 90 large posters for Railways Department hoardings (‘Report of

Working Committee’, 18 May 1943, p. 1, T 1, 44/210).²⁴ The 300 large posters were to be used by ‘display men’ as backgrounds, ‘together with an attractive selection of other War Loan posters’ and augmented with equipment and other material obtained from the armed services or the Director of Publicity (‘Prospectus’, National War Loan Committee, 21 May 1943, p. 4, Broadcasting Corporation of New Zealand, Head Office (AADL), series 564, 86d, 1/9/24, part 1, ANZ). Even though New Zealand experienced acute shortages of paper during the war, the use of paper for these 3rd Liberty Loan posters was considered minimal and therefore not subject to paper control regulations, but ‘done under a gentlemen’s agreement’ (Factory Controller to Minister of Supply, 21 July 1943, Fraser-P 3, 3, ANZ).

Once printed, the posters were sent directly from the printers to chief postmasters for distribution to postmasters, where they were then picked up by members of local War Loan and National Savings committees. Voluntary organisations such as the Boy Scouts and the Women’s War Service Auxiliary (WWSA) helped distribute the material to indi-

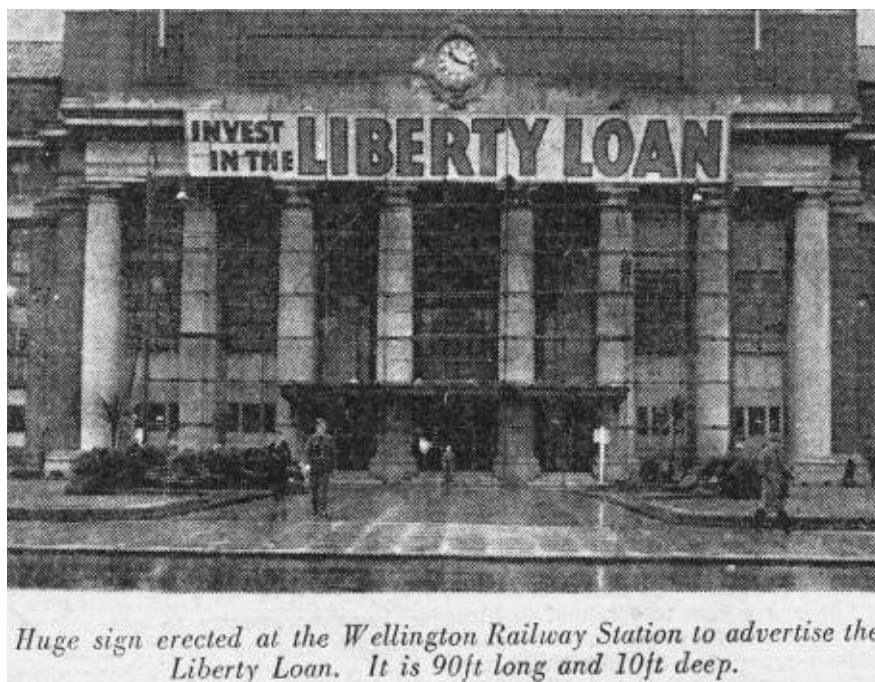


Fig. 20

Huge sign erected at the Wellington Railway Station to advertise the Liberty Loan. It is 90ft long and 10ft deep.



Fig. 21

Fig. 20 Huge poster banners advertised the Liberty Loan from public buildings, such as the Wellington Railway Station (Anonymous 1942, 14 May) (photo: N-P 1364-7, Alexander Turnbull Library).

Fig. 21 Poster, 'He Offers His Life!', June 1943 (artist unknown; printed by C.M. Banks Ltd, Wellington; issued by the National War Savings Office, Wellington. Three-colour block print with photomechanical colour line-block process image on paper, 761 × 507 mm. Gift of Mr C.H. Andrews, 1967. GH014040, Te Papa). With its guilt-invoking message, this poster reminded civilians of the sacrifices that were being made on their behalf by the armed forces overseas, and is a clear example of the basic premise of war loans: that life and money could be considered equivalent contributions to the war effort. It is an excellent visualisation of Prime Minister Peter Fraser's exhortations for the previous year's Liberty Loan: 'New Zealanders have ever been to the fore in the giving of their sons, and they will not now, I am sure, be behindhand in providing the financial support necessary to enable those same sons to win in this fight for liberty' (Anonymous 1942, 26 May). The language also echoes New Zealand-made Liberty Loan posters of the First World War: 'What is a loan of our money compared with the gift of a life?' (Eph-D-WAR-WI-1918-01, ATLL).

vidual shops and businesses.²⁵ However, as noted in the prospectus for the 3rd Liberty Loan, posters were considered very important and only competent people were to paste them up:

Poster exhibition is a side of the campaign that is worthy of very special planning in all centres and, consequently, this important work is commended for your closest attention. ...close thought be given to effective *distribution* and *exhibition* – two essentials for good coverage. As in the past, you will no doubt get the assistance of the W.W.S.A, Boy Scouts and other similar bodies, but it is urged that where possible a competent bill poster or other suitable person be employed to carry out the work of exhibition. ('Prospectus', National War Loan Committee, 21 May 1943, p. 4, AADL 564, 86d, 1/9/24, part 1, ANZ)

These 3rd Liberty Loan posters (Figs 21–28) were seen widely throughout New Zealand, particularly where Liberty Loan booths were erected (including department stores, theatres, hotels, football grounds and racing clubs). Cinemas also played a big part in the success of the loans with their displays of posters, slides and films ('Victory Loan: Report of Working Committee', p. 3, T 1, 44/212, ANZ).

The general display posters were seen for about five weeks, but posters made especially for the Army, Navy and Air Force (Figs 22–24) were intended to be displayed for only one week each. Their distribution was carefully timed according to an intensive six-week campaign plan. The first week was 'of a general character emphasising the National aspect of the Loan and need for everyone to extend their fullest support'



Fig. 22



Fig. 23

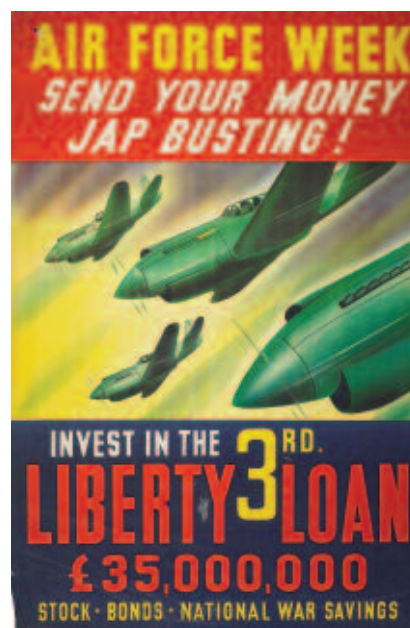


Fig. 24

Fig. 22 Poster, 'Navy Week', June 1943 (artist unknown; issued by the New Zealand National Savings Committee, Wellington. Four-colour block print with halftone lithographic image on paper, 750 × 482 mm. Gift of Mr C.H. Andrews, 1967. GH014041, Te Papa). Patriotic language is employed to pressure all New Zealanders to participate, while the image shows a ship ploughing confidently through the waves.

Fig. 23 Poster, 'Army Week', June 1943 (possibly by Albert James O'Dea (1916–86, New Zealand); issued by the New Zealand National Savings Committee, Wellington. Three-colour block print with halftone offset lithographic image on paper, 761 × 507 mm. Gift of Mr C.H. Andrews, 1967. GH014042, Te Papa). A diagonal composition is a common visual device in war posters, as seen in this dynamic image of a soldier throwing a grenade, which is in perfect harmony with its physical message. A similar American poster of the same year was considered to have 'personal appeal' (Bastedo & Eklund 2001: 13). Often the men in such posters were 'tough, sweaty, yet glamorous Anglo-Saxons' (Paret *et al.* 1992: 192).

Fig. 24 Poster, 'Air Force Week', June 1943 (artist unknown; issued by the National War Savings Office, Wellington. Three-colour block print with photomechanical colour line-block process image on paper, 734 × 485 mm. Gift of Mr C.H. Andrews, 1967. GH015438, Te Papa). Unusually for a New Zealand war poster, the enemy is named and mocked: 'Send Your Money Jap Busting!' The luridly coloured image of fighter planes on a dizzying diagonal flight path foretells impending terror from the skies. It shows the strength of air power, but is impersonal and vicious in its intent: such imagery was common in Second World War posters (Paret *et al.* 1992: 150).

and required the distribution of general display posters ('Report of Working Committee', 13 May 1943, p. 3, T 1, 44/210, ANZ). The second week targeted particular groups, including women (Fig. 25). The government aimed to secure investment from women as they became increasingly significant as wage earners through their war jobs. The third week was 'devoted to emphasising the needs of the Navy' and was to be a 'more aggressive direct appeal', and a special poster was distributed (Fig. 22). The fourth week was 'Army Week', and a special poster was distributed to replace the Navy Week poster (Fig. 23). The fifth week was 'Air Force Week', and again a special poster was distributed (Fig. 24).

The final week was a summary of the campaign, which adopted the principle that 'everyone must be in' (Fig. 28) ('Prospectus', National War Loan Committee, 21 May 1943, p. 3, AADL 564, 86d, 1/9/24, part 1, ANZ). To keep posters as immediate as possible in such a time-based campaign, small strips were printed and pasted onto them indicating when the loan would close. This intensive and carefully planned publicity campaign for the 3rd Liberty Loan bore fruit, with nearly £40 million raised (Baker 1965: 267).

A year later, when the Victory Loan of 1944 was about to be advertised for release, not all were convinced by these forms of publicity. Gisborne District Committee advised



Fig. 25



Fig. 26



Fig. 27



Fig. 28

Fig. 25 Poster, 'Who Me? Yes!', June 1943 (by F.R.A.; printed by C.M. Banks Ltd, Wellington; issued by the National War Savings Office, Wellington. Three-colour block print with screenless offset lithographic image on paper, 517 × 380 mm. Gift of Mr C.H. Andrews, 1967. GH014045, Te Papa). This small poster (or posterette) was probably displayed in workplaces where women were employed. The rhetorical dialogue of this poster aimed to implicate the viewer directly, but newspaper advertisements at the time were much harder hitting. In Wellington's *Evening Post*, a young woman's shame at not contributing enough to the war effort was illustrated with downcast eyes: 'Guilty! I confess – that I'm in a good job and that I'm earning more money than I ever had before ... But – I've been thinking matters over; sort of put myself on trial for not saving more money to back up our boys who are fighting.... I can save and I will save' (Anonymous 1943, 17 June). Even though women were considered a vital part of the war effort, their femininity was important also, as seen in this portrait of a fashionable and pretty young woman.

Fig. 26 Poster, 'Yes! You!', June 1943 (artist unknown; printed by C.M. Banks Ltd, Wellington; issued by the National War Savings Office, Wellington. Two-colour block-printed text with screenless offset lithographic image on paper, 761 × 510 mm. Gift of Mr C.H. Andrews, 1967. GH014044, Te Papa). The language of this poster would literally have shouted out to passers-by, intending to make viewers consider their personal war effort. Men over 46 years old were not conscripted into the armed services, so were reminded to conscript their money instead. This image of an ordinary 'bloke' is in contrast to the more glamorous image of the working woman in Fig. 25.

Fig. 27 Poster, '3rd Liberty Loan', June 1943 (issued by the National War Savings Office, Wellington. Two-colour block-printed text on paper, 504 × 378 mm. Gift of Mr C.H. Andrews, 1967. GH015445, Te Papa). This information poster contains the terms of the investments offered to the public, and would have been seen where loans were received, such as post offices and banks.

Fig. 28 Poster, '3rd Liberty Loan', June 1943 (artist unknown; printed by Whitcombe & Tombs Ltd, Wellington; issued by the National War Savings Office, Wellington. Four-colour block print on paper, 759 × 493 mm. Gift of Mr C.H. Andrews, 1967. GH015436, Te Papa). This simple text-based poster would have been seen at the end of the loan campaign, when the underlying principle of 'we must all be in' was emphasised.

that the 'number of Posters might be reduced' and that the 'most helpful form of advertising' was in fact pertinent letters to the editor of the local newspaper ('District Committee Reports', appended to 'Minutes of Meeting of National War Loan Council held 8th December, 1944', p. 2, T 1, 44/212, ANZ). However, the opposite occurred, with over 150,000 'specially designed and forceful posters', window stickers, grille cards and strips produced in 31 different designs and sizes. These posters were described as 'Campaign Ammunition' and were widely seen in shop and business windows, railway stations, hotel lobbies, post offices, sport gatherings and campaign meetings (Fig. 5). Huge 24-sheet

posters were printed for 200 hoardings, and 250 trams throughout the country carried posters (National War Loan Committee and NZ National War Savings Committee 1944: 4 and 10).²⁶

War expenditure was at its highest in the year of 1943–44. The Victory Loan aimed to raise £40 million over a five-week period from 28 August to 4 October 1944 (Baker 1965: 275). The scale of it required a 'Campaign Handbook', which detailed the importance of posters and how to use them:

Lay that poster down ... make sure that every poster is displayed WHERE IT CAN DO A JOB. Tackle the ordinary

retail shops first but don't forget the side streets and the 'little' shops. Ask retailers to display posters *inside the shop* – using counters and show case as well as windows. Lifts and stairways see plenty of traffic. After the retail shops, turn to business offices, public offices, factories, warehouses, etc. Don't forget to arrange for big banners on buildings in the main streets at points where the main crowds are always found. A few odd suggestions – Sports meetings, wrestling matches, etc., trucks and vans, hairdressing salons (on mirrors), tram waiting sheds, taxis.' (National War Loan Committee and NZ National War Savings Committee 1944: 4)

A second and final Victory Loan was held from May to June 1945, as more money was needed to pay accounts, salaries and allowances, and to bring members of the services home ('Minutes of Meeting Executive Committee National War Loan Council Held 5th April, 1945', p. 2, T 1, 44/219, ANZ). The associated campaign was to be 'conducted with a combination of an appeal to patriotism and sound finance' and would ideally raise £25 million.²⁷ Posters for the upcoming campaign were discussed in detail at the War Loan National Planning Conference held in March 1945. Appeals were to 'embody both the emotional and factual ideas', and pictorial designs were preferred. The meeting considered various design ideas for posters, but noted that in the previous year 'too many various types were used and that this year the types should be restricted to three or four only' and that it was necessary to be prepared with alternative themes in case the war in Europe ended early. After much debate around the types of posters to be printed, a third fewer posters were ordered than in 1944 ('Minutes of 1945 War Loan National Planning Conference, 21–22 March 1945', p. 7, T 1, 44/219, ANZ). This campaign appears to be the last time that the New Zealand government produced posters for the Second World War.

Conclusion

New Zealand-made war posters were valued by enough people during the Second World War, and since, for copies to have survived and made their way into museums, archives and private collections throughout the country and overseas. Although for many years not always considered as high status as other war objects, these posters have recently gained cultural, historical and financial value, possibly as milestone anniversaries of the War are observed, as veterans age and as younger New Zealanders become more interested in the War period. Over the last few years, Second World War posters

have been reappearing in public, particularly in exhibitions and publications.²⁸

The use of war posters by the New Zealand government on a national scale, and by C.H. Andrews on a personal scale, shows an interesting intersection between the propaganda needs of the state and the ideals of an individual. Both believed and invested in the power of display, regardless of a lack of proven efficacy, and went to great lengths to ensure thousands of posters were constantly being displayed throughout the country to keep the war effort visually before the population at all times.

Acknowledgements

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Notes

- 1 The Dominion Museum was a forerunner of Te Papa. Posters were also created in opposition to the war, on a much smaller scale and by private individuals (see the famous photograph of the 'Poster Parade for Peace' led by Ormond Burton in Wellington, about 1940, F-152943-1/2, ATL). For the purposes of this paper, only posters commissioned by the government in support of the war were investigated.
- 2 Throughout the war J.T. Paul was the most prominent person working in censorship in New Zealand, and was directly answerable to the Prime Minister, not Parliament. All written and graphic representations of war had to be submitted to him for approval before publication (Taylor 1986: 886–889).
- 3 In fact, the preparation time required could make a poster obsolete before it was even ready for display, as the British Ministry of Information found out much to its discomfort

- in the early stages of the war. A commercial poster can be prepared in advance without regard to what the news will be when it is pasted up, but a war poster is closely linked with political decisions and military events (Balfour 1979: 57).
- 4 C.H. Andrews was born in Hastings, New Zealand, in 1907 and died in Wellington, New Zealand, in 1970. His business, also called 'C.H. Andrews', was established in 1931 and based in Mt Cook, Wellington. After his death, his sons renamed the business Andrews Display Equipment. It continues to operate today under the management of his sons David and Robin Andrews in Rongotai, Wellington, as Andrews Display Equipment Ltd.
 - 5 The Andrews Archive (AA) is held privately by the Andrews family in Wellington.
 - 6 Munitions included 'trench mortars, tommy guns, automatic rifles, grenades, bombs and the parts of a Bren-gun carrier' (Andrews to President, Wellington Metal Trades Employers Association, 7 October 1968, 'New Zealand letters', AA).
 - 7 In the early 1960s, Andrews noted that he had deposited over 1000 posters in the Dominion Museum (Andrews to Silverblatt, 9 August 1962, 'Overseas Letters', AA). However, by the time he had formally donated the collection in 1967, it appears that he may have kept some aside, as a recent inventory has documented 535 posters. The exact number of posters was not specified in 1967, possibly owing to the lower status attributed to such ephemera at that time in the museum (Accession Schedule, 'War Posters (1939–45)', 24 May 1967, 1967/75, Te Papa). Most of the collection is now accessible through Collections Online on Te Papa's website (www.tepapa.govt.nz).
 - 8 Charles John Lindsay (1902–66) was a taxidermist and collector at the Dominion Museum from 1926 until his death (Anonymous 1966).
 - 9 In hindsight, an additional risk would have been the greasy residue still carried by many of the posters from being stored in Andrews' factory. His son David Andrews remembers 'stacks of posters' in the factory (pers. comm., 14 Sep. 2007).
 - 10 The Director of Publicity also sent New Zealand-made posters to Kash, who hoped to publish them in *Display World* for an international audience (Kash to Paul, 15 July 1942, EA 1, 84/12/12, part 3, ANZ).
 - 11 Larger stores included Milne & Choyce in Auckland, H. & J. Smith in Invercargill, J. Ballantyne & Co. in Christchurch, Collinson & Cunninghame in Palmerston North, and Kirkcaldie & Stains in Wellington.
 - 12 The displays also had to be timed carefully. For example, during sale time it was more important for businesses to display their sale stock in the windows rather than non-commercial war displays (EA 1, 84/12/12, part 3, ANZ).
 - 13 At this stage, the Director of Publicity did not have any American posters to send out. However, C.H. Andrews did have American posters, which he lent to his retail customers for display (Director of Publicity to W.B. Bland, 7 September 1942, EA 1, 84/12/12, part 3, ANZ). The Russian posters were seen widely throughout New Zealand in both towns and cities ('Window Displays of Munitions Manufacture', July 1942, EA 1, 84/12/12, part 3, ANZ).
 - 14 National Savings posters were even displayed in the cattle pens at the Hawke's Bay Agricultural and Pastoral Show (Miss Breen to Director of Publicity, 11 November 1941, EA 1, 84/12/12, part 3, ANZ). The Gisborne Beach Society asked for Army, Navy and Air Force posters 'for publicity work at the camping grounds, tea kiosk, bathing sheds and baths' (R. Morse to Paul, 11 November 1942, EA 1, 84/12/12, part 4, ANZ).
 - 15 Te Papa holds a range of international war posters from the First World War, including a New Zealand-made poster entitled 'ANZAC' (GH014050, Te Papa). Several examples of First World War posters are also held in the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.
 - 16 A portrait of Major-General B.C. Freyberg featured on an early recruitment poster (GH015837, Te Papa). This poster is not part of the Andrews collection.
 - 17 For example, some of the Director of Publicity's 1944 correspondence was carbon-copied onto the backs of ripped-up posters. Mainly British and American posters from around 1942 were used for this purpose, including the famous Churchill poster 'Let Us Go Forward Together' (EA 1, 84/12/12, part 7, ANZ).
 - 18 Four hundred copies of this poster were distributed between April and May 1941 to stations around the country by the Railways Department on behalf of the Air Department (General Manager to District Traffic Manager, 27 February 1941, R 18, W2496, 162, ANZ).
 - 19 A few days earlier, Mathews had received 300 copies from the National Service Director. He kept one for the file (29 October 1940, R 18, W2496, 162, ANZ). There were over 1050 railway stations throughout New Zealand at that time, ranging from large city stations to small rural stops. The posters would have been displayed in the larger stations ('N.Z. Government Railways Advertising Branch. Station-List, North Island/South Island', 1945, R 18, W2496, 162, ANZ).
 - 20 Unlike the many American posters produced during the Second World War that featured the United States flag.
 - 21 Some £40 million were invested in this way by 1946 (Baker 1965: 268).
 - 22 At least one poster for National Savings was printed almost entirely in Te Reo Māori (GH015341, Te Papa). This poster is not part of the Andrews collection.
 - 23 This was an increase on the 56 200 posters and stickers that had been ordered for the 2nd Liberty Loan the year before. However, to put the production of posters into perspective with other forms of information (or propaganda) available at the same time, a household circular entitled 'War Cabinet Speaks to You' had a far higher penetration rate of 388 000 copies ('Report of Working Committee', 18 May 1943, p. 2, T 1, 44/210, ANZ; 'Prospectus', National War Loan Committee, 21 May 1943, AADL 564, 86d, 1/9/24, part 1, ANZ). The population of New Zealand in 1943 was

- 1 642 041, exclusive of Pacific Islanders (Census and Statistics Department 1944: iii).
- 24 Although the 3rd Liberty Loan 'Prospectus' of 21 May 1943 notes that 180 hoardings would be used throughout the country (AADL 564, 86d, 1/9/24, part 1, ANZ).
- 25 Boy Scouts were relied on extensively in the United States for distribution of war posters (Ellis 2005).
- 26 Te Papa's collection holds two Victory Loan posters (TMP005427 and TMP005422). They are not part of the Andrews Collection.
- 27 In fact, it raised about £500,000 more (Baker 1965: 267).
- 28 For example, *Towards the precipice: propaganda posters collected by WB Sutch*, National Library Gallery, from December 2004 to March 2005 (and still on tour at the time of writing); *Duty calls! Posters of World War Two*, Te Papa, August 2005 to February 2006; and *Paste up: a century of New Zealand poster art*, by Hamish Thompson (Auckland: Godwit), 2005.

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