

NETWORKS

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THE FIRST WORLD War was a conflict underpinned by vast global supply chains and communication networks. Placing the individual soldier's perspective into its wider context in *J'ai tué* ('I have killed') in 1918, Blaise Cendrars (1887–1961) catalogued the material and logistical components of the 'huge war machine' that the combatant nations had assembled to fight the conflict. Supply networks stretched over 'the whole length and breadth of the earth', conveying the products of farms, mines and factories to the Western Front. 'Steamships cross the high seas [. . .] Trains run. Whole caravans of trucks hit the roads', while the civilian population was pacified, entertained and informed by cinema and mass-circulation newspapers.¹ The battles and theatres of the First World War depended on technical network infrastructure – roads, railways and shipping routes – for movement and supply. Running alongside this was the communications network infrastructure that the fighting forces relied upon for information, consisting of overground and submarine telegraph cables, telephone lines and postal services.² In the decades before 1914, it had become commonplace to observe the shrinkage of time and space brought about by railways and telegraph systems, which were often represented as a network of nerves or sinews binding nations and continents together into markets and empires.³ Cendrars, in *J'ai tué*, indicates his awareness of how this unprecedentedly networked state of affairs – the sinews of global commerce and communication – provided the conditions of possibility for global war. Beyond these networks lay a range of other obligations, ties and affiliations – less tangible, but no less instrumental in generating consent, labour and fighting manpower. Imperial political and economic networks enabled combatant powers to recruit – or conscript – labour forces from their colonies, while the affective ties of 'imperial belonging' encouraged, for instance, metropolitan-born settlers in colonies and dominions to enlist, at least initially, in greater proportions than their locally born compatriots.⁴

Social network theorists Stephen P. Borgatti and Daniel S. Halgin define a network as 'a set of actors or nodes along with a set of ties of a specified type [. . .] that link them'.⁵ However, the complexity of networked relationships during the First World War – with their interlinked ties between human agents and non-human *matériel*, infrastructure, landscape and conceptual elements – could also be understood in terms of actor-network theory, which similarly defines a network as a set of relationships but conceptualises 'actors' in a broader way.⁶ Interpreted in this way, the events of the First World War appear as what Dave Elder-Vass calls 'assemblages'; that is, 'contingent bundle[s] of interactions between elements [. . .] specific to a particular time and place', reliant for their existence on their 'many ties'.⁷ Viewed in actor-network terms, every artillery shell and bullet fired during the conflict not only travelled along its own ballistic trajectory but

simultaneously represented an intersection point between miners, metallurgists and munitions workers, shipping routes, soldiers and their commanders, army staff strategists, and the curves and contours of the battlefield landscape itself. Each element resolves upon closer inspection into a bundle of ties and associations, the interactions between human and non-human participants in the network densely interwoven.⁸

Whether conceived of as products of what Friedrich Kittler terms ‘discourse networks’ or what Robert Darnton describes as a ‘communication circuit’, the periodicals that appeared during the First World War were governed by similarly networked logics of production, distribution, contingency and association. Defining the stages of the ‘discourse networks’ that written texts rely on for their existence, Kittler draws attention to the media conditions under which texts are produced, stored and received.⁹ Darnton’s ‘communication circuit’ produces a similarly networked understanding of the agents involved in textual production, dissemination and reception.¹⁰ Described as a communication circuit, the periodical industry connects authors, editors and readers via the intermediary technologies and supply chains of the printing trade. In peacetime, journals are typically issued by publishers, who liaise with printers to do the manufacturing, distributors to warehouse and transport printed copies, and subscription agents and booksellers to handle the retail side of the business.¹¹ Due to the circumstances of wartime, however, the networks that produced First World War periodicals functioned very differently. Paper shortages, censorship and sudden deaths all influenced the workings of the press. At the same time, new ties were formed, resulting in alternative ‘discourse networks’.

Trench journals provide an especially striking case study for understanding how printing, distribution and reading networks operated during the First World War. These kinds of publications were particularly susceptible to the contingencies of supply chain constraints and disruptions, as well as the more directly existential threats posed by wartime violence. Their editors often had to radically simplify the ‘communication circuit’ by improvising different production and distribution strategies, sometimes from one issue to the next. Interactions between human agencies and the non-human (in the form, for instance, of shellfire that might obliterate type and printing equipment before an issue could be published) posed especially immediate and existential threats to this kind of publication. Yet at the same time, these periodicals could also be foci for collective identity, particularly on the small scale of the individual unit or camp. This chapter focuses its attention largely on trench and unit periodicals, though it also draws on examples from hospital magazines, soldier newspapers, nursing journals, and prisoner-of-war and internee publications. It examines how editors established and maintained print networks to bring wartime journals into existence. It maps the variety of distribution and sales strategies they employed to place their publications in the hands of readers. Finally, it describes how wartime journals acted as information and social networks for their contributors and readers across the home and fighting fronts.

Printing Networks

In October 1917 Gunner Alan Dilnot (1891–1946) of the 53rd Anti-Aircraft Battery, Royal Field Artillery, wrote a rueful account of his attempts to edit a journal while on active service in France.¹² Buoyed by the success of the first issues of the *Anti-Aircraft Spasm* (1916), which he assembled copy for and sent to Britain to be typed up, Dilnot’s

1 plans became more ambitious. Knowing that there were two experienced compositors
2 in his section, he ordered a second-hand printing press from Britain and attempted
3 to have it freighted to France. Subscribers were found among the battery's personnel
4 to underwrite the cost. However, the press failed to arrive and Dilnot was eventually
5 informed that it had been delivered to the docks in boxes too heavy to be shipped
6 further under army regulations. The press was returned to Britain and repackaged in
7 different boxes. Meanwhile, Dilnot's subscribers had started to ask for their money
8 back. One of the compositors left the unit. Finally, in April 1917, the first trays of type
9 arrived, and Dilnot and the remaining compositor began the work of typesetting the
10 next issue. The concussion from nearby exploding shells soon pied the type. Finally,
11 before the remaining equipment arrived, Dilnot's billet came under German shellfire,
12 much of the type was 'obliterated', and Dilnot and his colleagues 'abandoned [their]
13 ambitious project'.¹³

14 Dilnot may have been unusual in describing how his periodical came to an end
15 (many simply ceased publication without explanation), but the difficulties he outlines
16 in his article must have been shared by other trench periodicals. The publishing career
17 of the *Wipers Times* (August 1916–December 1918) follows a similar trajectory, albeit
18 one with more longevity. Editor F. J. Roberts (1882–1964) and his colleagues discovered
19 an abandoned printing press in a partially collapsed print-shop in Ypres, with its
20 associated type 'all over the country-side'.¹⁴ The editorial team subsequently carried
21 their press with them wherever they moved until the *Wipers Times* suffered a similar
22 fate as the *Anti-Aircraft Spasm*.¹⁵ In a passage that mirrors his account of the 'discovery'
23 of the original printing press in 1915, Roberts describes its eventual destruction
24 by German shellfire in 1917, 'press and type broken up and sheets scattered in all
25 directions'.¹⁶

26 Both Dilnot's and Roberts's accounts depict trench journalism as a fight against
27 increasingly overwhelming odds. Read against the grain, however, they also reveal
28 information about the underlying logistical and social networks on which trench peri-
29 odicals relied. The printing press and type used to produce the *Wipers Times* and its
30 successor titles weighed three tons. Moving it required the logistical support of trans-
31 port units – truck drivers, for instance, who could be informally 'persuaded' to carry
32 printing equipment to new postings.¹⁷ These origin stories also indicate the importance
33 of social networks to the formation of First World War periodicals – the happenstance,
34 often temporary proximity of service personnel with the skills, opportunity and shared
35 motivation to establish and operate a trench journal. Reviewing the trench press in
36 1918, H. R. Macdonald speculated that the large-scale diaspora of journalists into
37 temporary military service explained why so many soldiers' journals existed: 'Where-
38 ever the pressman goes – or is taken', he wrote, 'his first thought on settling down is
39 to start a paper.'¹⁸ While this theory certainly does not apply in every case, it does for
40 Dilnot, a freelance journalist in civilian life who wrote regularly for the *Daily Mir-
41 ror*.¹⁹ It is unlikely, on the other hand, that more than a small minority of printing
42 industry employees who joined the services ever had the opportunity to participate
43 in trench journalism.²⁰ However, as the *Spasm* and the *Wipers Times* show, under the
44 right conditions, the presence of former compositors in units could occasionally be a
45 spur to the creation of journals, a networking effect that could also apply to literary
46 authors, as the case of Apollinaire (considered below) indicates. Trench journal staff
47 and printing equipment could also be slotted into more formal military networks as

occasion required. The *Brazier* (February 1916–April 1917, 16th Battalion, Canadian Scottish Regiment) was typeset and printed by trained personnel drawn from the battalion ranks. According to their former managing editor, these experienced printers were ‘given a considerable amount of job work’ by the Canadian Expeditionary Force, primarily printing army forms, while in the lines.²¹

A less materially risky form of publication involved sending copy written in the field to printers on the home front or in back areas. The journal of the 6th Battalion Durham Light Infantry, the *Whizz-Bang* (January–July 1916), for instance, which was subtitled ‘A Monthly Journal from the Front, Written and Edited in the Trenches’, was printed in Darlington by the North of England Newspaper Company (which also owned the *Northern Echo*).²² The *Direct Hit* (September 1916–July 1917, journal of the 58th London Division) and the *Dud* (November 1916–January 1918, 14th Battalion, Princess Louise’s, Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders) were printed in London by W. H. Smith.²³ The firm, in turn, supported the *Direct Hit* by placing advertising in its pages.²⁴ Copy for the *Buzzer* (November 1915–December 1917, Signals Section, 49th [West Riding] Division) was written in France, the journal was printed in England, and copies were mailed to the editors in seven-pound parcels for distribution in France.²⁵ Troopship journals might be professionally printed when ships were in port or otherwise produced on the small, jobbing printing presses that passenger vessels carried during the pre-war period for printing menus and leaflets.²⁶ Other unit journals forged improvised print networks closer to the areas in which the units were stationed. Both the 63rd (Royal Naval) Division’s *Mudhook* (September 1917–January 1919) and the West Lancashire Division magazine *Sub Rosa* (June 1917–June 1918) were published by the printing firm Imprimeries Réunies in Boulogne-sur-Mer, whose equipment and expertise enabled *Sub Rosa* to include several sophisticated, sexually provocative illustrations in its June 1917 issue.²⁷ The *5th East Surrey Magazine* (April–September 1915) was printed in the battalion’s wartime station of Kanpur in India by the locally based Job Press. As with the *Direct Hit*, the financial relationship between the journal and its printer was reflected in advertising, with the Job Press placing advertisements for fountain pens in its pages under the heading ‘Job Press (Printers to the Magazine), Printers & Stationers’.²⁸

Liaising with local print networks involved negotiations across linguistic as well as cultural boundaries. Writing in the *Camp Magazine* (April 1915–November 1918), which served members of the First Royal Naval Brigade interned in the Netherlands, the journal’s Dutch printer, H. N. Werkman, alluded to the ‘difficulties which are attached to the printing of an English Magazine in a Dutch printing works’, apologising for any typographical errors that arose from transcribing English copy.²⁹ Nevertheless, he wrote, setting type in English enabled him to feel a kinship with the camp’s linguistic community, claiming that he absorbed something of their ‘cheerfulness’ and ‘calm confidence’ along with the language itself.³⁰ Military authorities could also act as intermediaries between the local printing industry and trench journals, particularly those located near base depots or other well-connected areas.³¹ The March 1918 issue of *Aussie* (January 1918–April 1919) was printed on paper salvaged from a ruined French printworks, purchased for the journal via the ‘French Mission’ attached to the Australian Corps.³² In other cases, however, relationships between editors and local printers were more fraught or difficult to establish. The editors of the *Mudhook* wrote

1 that their first attempt to do business with a French *imprimerie* failed utterly and they
 2 'retired crestfallen'.³³ The editorial to the first issue of *Barrak* (July–September 1917),
 3 the Egypt-printed journal of the Imperial Camel Corps, then operating in the Sinai
 4 Desert, suggested that the paper had only appeared after 'sundry troubles' with 'native
 5 compositors, and other aids to modern journalism', although the deliberate vagueness
 6 of this phrasing makes it difficult to parse for any specific information other than its
 7 note of racial condescension.³⁴

8 9 10 Distribution and Sales Strategies

11 Trench and hospital journals printed on the home front could take advantage of local
 12 print networks for retail sales and distribution. A select number of journals – usually the
 13 more polished and professional productions – were sold via mainstream retail outlets.
 14 The Canadian Expeditionary Force magazine, the *Maple Leaf* (June 1916–December
 15 1918), advertised itself as 'on sale at all W. H. Smith's & Sons Bookstalls' in Britain, as
 16 did the 17th (Service) Battalion, Highland Light Infantry's paper, the *Outpost* (February
 17 1915–May 1919).³⁵ Others had commercial arrangements with particular retail outlets
 18 or specialist shops (such as military tailors or outfitters) or were stocked by bookshops
 19 near their home bases.³⁶ The revived Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers magazine, the *Sprig*
 20 *of Shillelagh* (November 1914–June 1968), could be purchased at several shops in
 21 Londonderry, as well as from the bookstall of Londonderry's Great Northern Railway
 22 station.³⁷ *With the Wounded*, published between November 1915 and March 1918
 23 at the Brondesbury Park Military Hospital in north-west London, was stocked in the
 24 nearby Finchley Road branch of W. H. Smiths.³⁸ The Manchester Regiment's *Periscope*
 25 (October 1916–January 1919) could be purchased in Manchester from regimental insti-
 26 tutes and Territorial Force depots, as well as 'Local Newsagents and Railway Book-
 27 stalls'.³⁹ The more formally printed soldiers' magazines and newspapers could usually be
 28 acquired via subscription, although the bulk of copies were probably shipped directly to
 29 their editorial staff for distribution within units.⁴⁰ Individual soldier subscriptions were
 30 especially important for German soldier newspapers, accounting for the vast majority
 31 of revenue, although copies were also sold in military bookshops.⁴¹ Some soldiers' news-
 32 papers and unit journals could be purchased in canteens and refreshment huts behind
 33 the lines. In 1916, for instance, the journal of the 7th Canadian Infantry Battalion
 34 (1st British Columbia Regiment), the *Listening Post* (August 1915–December 1918),
 35 recorded that it was stocked in battalion canteens, as well as in YMCA and church huts
 36 in the Canadian Corps area.⁴²

37 For less sophisticated operations, distribution and sales pathways were more dif-
 38 ficult. At its most basic, a trench or troopship publication might consist of a handwrit-
 39 ten sheet of paper (or perhaps a single drawing or cartoon) passed from hand to hand
 40 or pinned up in a communal area for shared reading.⁴³ Cyclostyle or Roneo machines,
 41 commonly used by French army unit publications, enabled soldier-editors to produce
 42 slightly more sophisticated unit journals relatively easily. Typically using handwritten
 43 or typewriter-produced sheets as their base copy, these duplicators could (under ideal
 44 conditions) produce upwards of 1,000 copies at a time.⁴⁴ The colophon to the Novem-
 45 ber 1915 issue of the single-sheet *L'Echo du Ravin* of the 41st Battalion of Chasseurs,
 46 French Army (April 1915–June 1916) indicated that it had been printed 'au Cyclostyle –
 47 et à l'huile de coude' ('via Cyclostyle – and elbow grease').⁴⁵ The cyclostyle-produced

Fag-Ends (published by the Signal Company, Royal Naval Division Engineers, between June 1915 and April 1916) sardonically claimed to be ‘on sale at all Smith’s bookstalls on the [Gallipoli] Peninsula’.⁴⁶ Subsequent editorials indicate how difficult it was to successfully produce and distribute a trench journal under the conditions in which the Gallipoli campaign was fought. Distributed informally within the Signal Company and bypassing the monetary economy entirely, *Fag-Ends* was initially produced in only four copies. Noting that some of these had been absent-mindedly discarded in dugouts by their first readers, the editorial to the second issue made ‘an appeal to readers to circulate the paper as much as possible [. . .] When one has read it if he will pass it on to someone else we hope to reach all members of the Signal Company.’⁴⁷ This editorial also thanked two members of the unit for ‘gifts of paper’ on which to print the second number.⁴⁸ Later in the campaign, after its profile had increased by word of mouth, *Fag-Ends* was given an order for 100 copies but found it impossible to supply it ‘owing to our limited printing facilities’.⁴⁹ The first issues of *Tranchman’s Echo* (1915), the trench journal edited by the poet Guillaume Apollinaire (1880–1918) for his battery of the 38th Artillery Regiment, French Army, existed only in manuscript or in a few, imperfectly polycopied sheets. To increase its circulation, however, it was ‘read aloud, shared, and handed down, first to the officers, then to those in rank and operating the battery, and finally to the drivers’.⁵⁰

Some soldier newspapers and unit journals ultimately achieved high circulation figures. The newspaper of the German Third Army, the *Champagne-Kamerad* (December 1915–October 1918), was printing between 20,000 and 50,000 copies of each issue by August 1916. ‘In 1916–17’, according to Robert L. Nelson, ‘at least 1.1 million’ German soldier newspapers were being distributed each month on the Western Front, with a further 2 million on the Eastern Front.⁵¹ Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau estimates that between 75,000 and 132,000 French trench journals were printed each month by mid-1916.⁵² The French army’s 108th Infantry Regiment paper, *Le Poilu* (December 1914–July 1920), produced forty-eight issues and was ‘read across France’, reaching a peak circulation of 30,000 copies per issue.⁵³ Elsewhere in the fighting areas, the Canadian army’s *Listening Post* was selling upwards of 15,000 copies twice monthly by mid-1916. Its editors ultimately decided to invest in their own printing plant to meet an estimated demand of 20,000 copies per issue.⁵⁴ By its second number, the *Switchboard* (August 1916–January 1917, 32nd Division, British Expeditionary Force) was already anticipating sales of 5,000 copies.⁵⁵ *Barrak* (the Imperial Camel Corps magazine), meanwhile, claimed to have sold more than 3,000 copies of its first issue, which it guessed might be ‘the record for any magazine produced in enemy country this War’.⁵⁶

For many unit journals, however, casual sales and subscriptions did not cover the costs of production. These financial challenges were compounded by the rising price of paper over the course of the war, as warring states sought to limit imports and enemy action disrupted trade.⁵⁷ Journals responded by increasing cover prices, reducing issue sizes, or (in some cases) ceasing publication altogether.⁵⁸ By mid-1918 the *Kent Fencible*, the magazine of the Volunteer Units in the County of Kent (July 1915–March 1919), had been forced to double its price and cancel its August issue due to the ‘difficulties of securing paper and a firm of printers to undertake its publication’.⁵⁹ Justifying the higher cost and imploring readers to take out a two-shilling annual subscription, the editor noted that ‘printing and paper, and publication generally, is three times greater [in cost] than it was two years ago’.⁶⁰ Some unit publications could fall back on the

1 patronage of their officers. In January 1918 the *Highland Light Infantry Chronicle*
 2 (January 1893–December 1958) was selling single copies at four pence and annual sub-
 3 scriptions at one shilling and sixpence. Officers, however, were charged five shillings for
 4 their annual subscriptions, and the paper noted that this higher rate had partially offset
 5 ‘the heavy increase in printing and postage’.⁶¹ ‘It is only the Officers’ subscription’, the
 6 editors wrote, that made the *Chronicle* ‘financially possible’.⁶² Many editors, however,
 7 must have ended up subsidising their magazines out of their own pockets.⁶³ By February
 8 1917 the *Fifth Glo’ster Gazette* (April 1915–January 1919) was running at a loss of
 9 between £4 and £5 per issue. Such was the discrepancy between income and outgoings
 10 that the editor jokingly referred to subscriptions to the *Gazette* as ‘donations’.⁶⁴

11 The idea that trench journals could be clearing houses for information and rumour
 12 was widespread in the First World War, with many publications establishing regular
 13 columns under generic headings such as ‘Things We Want to Know’.⁶⁵ For the edi-
 14 tors of the Royal Leicestershire Regiment’s *Green Tiger* (November 1917–October
 15 1918), the purpose of the magazine was to create an information network. With the
 16 regiment ‘scattered in many parts’, the *Green Tiger* was to be ‘the means of keeping
 17 the many battalions in touch with one another regularly and systematically’.⁶⁶ Wide-
 18 spread readership would also, they hoped, encourage unit members to submit their
 19 own material, thus renewing in reciprocal fashion the textual content on which the
 20 network relied.⁶⁷ Professionally focused periodicals, such as nursing journals, could
 21 become venues both for reporting news and sharing advice and best practice. The let-
 22 ters column of *Kai Tiaki: The Journal of the Nurses of New Zealand* (1908–) carried
 23 updates on the overseas hospitals and hospital ships to which New Zealand nurses were
 24 attached. It also reported on wartime nursing practice, such as ward management, as
 25 well as nurses’ first-hand experiences treating dysentery and influenza among evacu-
 26 ated troops.⁶⁸ Other journals reserved space in their issues for the renewal of wartime
 27 social networks. *Aussie*, for instance, established a missed connections-style ‘Informa-
 28 tion Section’, the ‘Aid Post’, to ‘enable cobbers [friends], who have become separated,
 29 to get news of each other’.⁶⁹ Soldiers’ families could also make use of the information
 30 networking function of the wartime journal. In January 1918, for instance, the mother
 31 of a soldier missing since the battle of Arras in April 1917 wrote to the magazine of his
 32 former regiment, the *Highland Light Infantry Chronicle*, for any information about his
 33 fate that readers might have.⁷⁰

34 Circulation – both within units and further afield – was the *raison d’être* behind the
 35 existence of the First World War trench and unit journals. Papers, therefore, adopted
 36 a range of strategies to increase sales and overcome distribution problems. Copies of
 37 a new issue might be taken around unit sections and sold directly. The editors of *On*
 38 *Service*, the journal of the Troop Supply Company, Army Service Corps, British Army
 39 (March–August 1916), claimed to have ‘disposed of’ 150 copies of its first issue ‘in
 40 45 minutes’ by offering them for sale to a neighbouring repair unit.⁷¹ The *Northern*
 41 *Mudguard* (September 1915–January 1918, Northern Cyclist Battalion, British Army)
 42 looked to its NCOs to encourage sales, suggesting that ‘a sergeant might go round the
 43 ranks distributing the “Mudguard” on payday’.⁷² On the Macedonian front, the English-
 44 language *Balkan News* (November 1915–February 1919) was sold directly to the mili-
 45 tary public by newspaper vendors. Describing a visit to Salonika (now Thessaloniki) in
 46 1916, the British traveller Ethelwyn Duckworth wrote that the main streets of the city
 47 were ‘crowded with officers and men of all the Allied armies, seeking whichever side

is in the shade [. . .] Shrill voices of small boys and girls, carrying newspapers, bellow *L'Indépendant*, *L'Opinion*, *Makedonía* in your ear, or thrust the *Balkan News* under your nose, if they see that you are English.⁷³ The *Pavilion 'Blues'*, the magazine of the Royal Pavilion Military Hospital, Brighton (June 1916–February 1920), could be bought from the hospital canteen, but the bulk of copies were sold inside and outside the hospital by a team of female volunteers.⁷⁴ Other home-front hospital journals attracted similarly hybrid readerships. Alice Brumby notes that the *Huddersfield War Hospital Magazine* had a circulation of around 4,000 copies per issue, while the hospital itself generally housed only around 600 military patients. Clearly, she suggests, the bulk of the magazine's readers must have been drawn from the 'local civilian public'.⁷⁵ It is possible, however, that former patients also maintained subscriptions.

A number of wartime magazines made an explicit plea to purchasers not to share their copies with other soldiers when they finished reading. The *Ghain Tuffieha and Garrison Gazette*, published at Ghain Tuffieha Hospital Camp, Malta between November 1916 and April 1917, printed the tagline 'Your Pal can afford to buy his own copy!' prominently on its front page. Explaining their reasoning in a subsequent issue, the editors wrote:

In a camp like this where there are sixteen or more men living under one canvas roof, it is evident that if one man in a marquee buys a copy, and then having read it [. . .] passes it along to the next fellow for him to do likewise, our sales are likely to suffer pretty badly. The Gazette is being run on more or less self-supporting lines and unless we can pay our way, we shall naturally have to close dawn [*sic*].⁷⁶

These admonitions contrasted with the usual norms governing First World War military reading practices, which encouraged soldiers to treat any books, magazines or newspapers that came to hand as common property that could be freely circulated within units or left behind in living spaces for others to read.⁷⁷ As *Fag-Ends* and *Tranchman's Echo* show, this continued to be the norm for free unit publications. Editors of paid journals justified the exception by appealing to the wider interests of unit cohesion and by encouraging soldiers to circulate their copies in ways that would not hinder immediate sales. The *Sphinx* (March 1915–July 1916, 6th Battalion, Manchester Regiment) printed a paragraph in each issue reminding readers that the paper was 'entirely dependent for support on the number of copies sold, and that for one man in a billet to purchase a copy and hand it round is not calculated to carry on the good work'.⁷⁸ Instead, it recommended that purchasers 'send it home' as a souvenir that could be revisited 'after the war is over'.⁷⁹ *Kia Ora* (December 1915–October 1917, HMS *New Zealand*, Royal Navy) instructed sailors on board not to 'wait till one of your mess-mates passes you on a copy', but instead to 'buy one yourself and send it to your people at home, or to the trenches when you have read it'.⁸⁰ When the United States entered the war in 1917, its officially produced troop journals issued similar (though evidently more coordinated) instructions, suggesting that soldiers take out subscriptions for their families so that they could be kept informed when letters from the front 'would be necessarily short'.⁸¹

Trench and unit journals were, then, conscious of addressing multiple reading audiences – personnel within units and a second audience on the home front, made up of family members and a wider public. Wartime periodicals were simultaneously ephemeral

1 expressions of the present moment, souvenirs or keepsakes for a life after the war, and
 2 tokens of ‘authentic’ military experience that could, as Graham Seal puts it, convey the
 3 soldier’s ‘voice’ in a compelling way to the home front.⁸² The imprint of these multiple
 4 reading audiences can be discerned in the commercial networks visible in unit journal
 5 advertising. Justifying the presence of advertising in the magazine, the *Seventh Manches-*
 6 *ter Sentry* (January 1915–July 1916, 7th [Territorial] Battalion, Manchester Regiment)
 7 wrote that ‘[e]very copy of the *Sentry* is avidly read by a large spending community and
 8 it would be no exaggeration to say that its circulation at home is 6 times greater’.⁸³ The
 9 *Periscope* (Manchester Regiment) employed an advertising manager and implored its
 10 readers to ‘do their shopping, &c., amongst those who advertise in our magazine’.⁸⁴ The
 11 *Periscope* carried a diverse range of advertisements, clearly aimed at different categories of
 12 readers. Adverts for Manchester picture theatres and cafés addressed Manchester-based
 13 readers or soldiers from overseas-based elements of the Regiment who would be visit-
 14 ing Manchester on leave. Adverts for perfume, cameras, chocolates, fountain pens or
 15 ‘Evans’ Pastiles [. . .] for preventing the unpleasant effects resulting from trench odours’,
 16 are harder to categorise.⁸⁵ They might have been aimed at regimental members shopping
 17 for gifts (or for themselves), but might have equally targeted family members looking to
 18 send luxuries or apparently helpful consumer items to soldiers on active service.⁸⁶

19 Wartime advertisements for pens, diaries and notebooks – ostensibly targeted at
 20 soldiers – were a transnational phenomenon. Examples in the French press offered
 21 pocket notebook and pen sets to soldiers at discounted prices, while both the German
 22 and British stationery industries produced specially tailored soldiers’ diaries. Each of
 23 these marketing efforts represented the act of recording ‘the incidents of daily life’
 24 on active service as a natural and desirable response to war experience.⁸⁷ Advertisements
 25 for non-standard-issue equipment such as the ‘Chemico Body Shield’, however,
 26 were more likely to target anxious family members than soldiers themselves.⁸⁸ Previous
 27 accounts of advertising in trench journals have analysed spoof advertisements,
 28 or focused on what Paul Fussell calls the ‘absurdity’ of ‘traditional civilian comforts’
 29 when transferred into the ‘odd circumstances’ of trench warfare.⁸⁹ Considered on its
 30 own terms, however, trench journal advertising shows how closely linked soldiers
 31 could be to the wider networks of the commercial economy and how home-front
 32 manufacturers and retailers sought to capitalise on the novel consumer market repre-
 33 sented by wartime personnel and their families.⁹⁰

34 Information and Social Networks

35 The image of the trench journal quickly gained prominence in the mainstream press.⁹¹
 36 Press association articles on the phenomenon were reprinted in a range of civilian
 37 newspapers. One, an unsigned Press Association feature headlined ‘Trench Journal-
 38 ism’ and picked up widely in the international press in early August 1916, claimed that
 39 Canadian forces were the most ‘prolific of trench journalists’ and that British trench
 40 journals were ‘like nothing so much as a public school or University magazine’.⁹²
 41 Name-checking several titles, including the British *Whizz-Bang* and *Iodine Chronicle*
 42 (May 1916–December 1917) and the Canadian *Vic’s Patrol* (June–December 1916)
 43 and *Listening Post*, this article focused propagandistically on the humorous side of the
 44 phenomenon, representing it as evidence of the ‘sound [morale] and high spirits’ of the
 45 Allied armies ‘in the field’.⁹³ A feature of many of these wartime review articles is their
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 47

international and comparative dimension. Writing in the *Times Literary Supplement* in October 1916, E. B. Osborn (1867–1938) suggested that there was ‘a family likeness between all trench journals, whether they be of British or French origin’.⁹⁴ However, he continued, deep-rooted differences in national temperament were still evident. The British soldier resented being identified with a type, ‘Tommy’, and maintained his individuality in print. The French *poilu* journalists, however, Osborn wrote, revelled in role-playing, adopting a self-consciously unified national voice that reflected the French literary heritage of Rabelais and Voltaire.⁹⁵ Reviewing a ‘bundle’ of ‘war journals of the French *poilu*’, the British journalist William Maas similarly commented on their divergence from British practice. As they were often ‘printed and published in the tranquillity of an uninvaded countryside’, British unit periodicals, he wrote, could not hope to match the emotional intensity of French soldiers’ journals, which were ‘intimately connected with the stark actuality of warfare’ on their home soil.⁹⁶

Trench journals reviewed in the mainstream press responded enthusiastically to the attention. The *Direct Hit* (London Division) printed excerpts from the positive press it received from the *London Evening News*, the *Tatler* and the *Field*.⁹⁷ The Duke of Cambridge’s Own Middlesex Regiment magazine, *Fall In* (December 1915–May 1917), likewise informed readers that it had been excerpted in *The Times*, the *Daily Telegraph* and the *Daily Mirror*.⁹⁸ Other journals recorded their pride at being asked to send home issues for inclusion in the developing trench periodical collections of national and university libraries and war museums.⁹⁹ These expressions of gratitude provide a further indication of the trench press’s multiple audiences – its ability to reach (and influence) a home-front and cultural-institutional readership as well as a military or unit-based one, demonstrating the reach and scope of communication circuits and networks during the war.¹⁰⁰ Nevertheless, the trench press was conscious of possessing its own distinct perspective, encompassing both the trench journal phenomenon itself and the mainstream press. Reflecting their editors’ sense of being part of a collective print genre, trench journals both reviewed, and reprinted content from, one another. The *Direct Hit*, for instance, approvingly reviewed the *Fifth Glo’ster Gazette* in its third issue, reprinting (with credit) a poem by F. W. Harvey (1888–1957) that had appeared in the *Gazette*’s pages.¹⁰¹ *The Vic’s Patrol* (published between June and December 1916 by the Victoria Rifles, Canada) republished (also with attribution) a poem that had previously appeared in an issue of the *Snapper* (East Yorkshire Regiment).¹⁰²

Beyond these instances of internal print networking, the trench press was also aware of itself as a *historical* phenomenon, producing its own review articles devoted to tracing the development of the genre. Unlike civilian journalists, the authors of these pieces were able to draw on their own ‘insider’ knowledge, deploying personal anecdotes to imbue their accounts with authenticity.¹⁰³ In a self-mythologising piece entitled ‘ANZAC Journalese’, ‘Auckland’, a contributor to *Si Eda* (the magazine of the ANZAC detachment at Bostall Heath Camp, Abbey Wood, London, published between November 1915 and June 1916), looked back on the improvised trench newsletters produced by ANZAC units at Gallipoli in 1915. ‘The get-up was often weird’, he wrote, ‘and the sole materials used a copying or lead pencil and the backs of a few field forms.’¹⁰⁴ ‘Auckland’ reproduced excerpts from several unidentified newsletters he had evidently collected at Gallipoli, implying that they represented a distinctively Australasian spirit and sense of humour under adversity. The ephemeral ‘effusions’ quoted in accounts such as this functioned as sites of memory. Australian and New Zealand soldiers at

1 Bostall Heath were invited to memorialise the ANZAC experience at Gallipoli by read-
 2 ing (and perhaps putting back into social circulation) the jokes set down in the act of
 3 reprinting.

4 Despite instances of gratitude when individual unit journals received mainstream
 5 recognition, the reception of home-front journalism in the trench press was, to a sig-
 6 nificant extent, critical. Unit publications in a number of armies and theatres employed
 7 similar reprinting, excerpting and satirical practices to critique or ridicule the wartime
 8 civilian press, further illustrating the wartime print communication circuit at work.
 9 One mode was parody. In October 1916 the French trench journal *Le 120 Court* (120th
 10 Battalion of Chasseurs, printed between June 1915 and December 1918) published an
 11 excoriating pastiche of the kind of propagandistic war reporting, or ‘eye-wash’, carried
 12 by mainstream newspapers. In it, French soldiers are ‘full of joy at the approaching
 13 onslaught’, spring ‘forward with smiles on their lips’ as they attack, and finally refuse
 14 to be relieved after reaching their objectives.¹⁰⁵ *Aussie* printed a spoof of Pelmanism
 15 memory-retention advertisements that gestured in a stark (though ostensibly humor-
 16 ous) way towards the psychological problems associated with war experience. Their
 17 imaginary product, ‘Foolmanism’, was a system of memory ‘restraint’ which would
 18 enable purchasers to ‘forget the war’, ‘forget those Whizz-Bangs’ and ‘forget that Wire-
 19 Cutting patrol’.¹⁰⁶ Another technique lay in reprinting news stories accompanied by
 20 critical commentary. *Le 120 Court* reprinted a report claiming that the French trenches
 21 were so well protected that no one was ‘the least afraid’ when shells burst nearby, with
 22 the dismissive remark, ‘Let them spend just twenty-four hours in a corner of the real
 23 front where we currently have the honour to be operating.’¹⁰⁷ Critical acts of reprinting
 24 in unit publications could also be highly focused, aimed at combating misinformation
 25 about particular units and incidents. In 1915 the *5th East Surrey Magazine* published
 26 excerpts from a letter sent home by a private in the regiment which had been subse-
 27 quently printed in the local South London newspaper, the *Streatham News* (1891–).
 28 Clearly feeding an appetite for orientalisng narratives about India on the home front,
 29 the letter-writer claimed that he had shot a local man found stealing property from
 30 the camp and described how a regimental colleague had been eaten by a crocodile.
 31 Addressing both regimental readers and any civilians who might have read the letter in
 32 the *Streatham News*, the magazine wrote that the shooting incident was purely ‘imagi-
 33 nary’ and that there had been no crocodile involved in the other soldier’s death, which
 34 was due to accidental drowning. ‘We would advise the writer of the letter in question’,
 35 the magazine wrote, ‘to refrain from writing home nonsense like this and to stick to the
 36 naked truth. He will not get thanked for making a laughing stock of the regiment.’¹⁰⁸

37 ‘Bricks from the Editor’s Pack’, the *Fifth Glo’ster Gazette’s* regular column excerpt-
 38 ing and commenting on the home-front press, contained occasional commentary on
 39 the absurdities of British war reporting. Reprinting a suggestion in the *Daily Express*
 40 (1900–) that frontline British soldiers were ‘straining at the leash’ to attack the oppos-
 41 ing trenches, it commented drily that ‘[t]here have been, we understand, several cases
 42 of riot and open mutiny amongst units ordered back to rest’.¹⁰⁹ Not all of the material
 43 it reprinted from the mainstream press was treated critically, however. In a column on
 44 Prussian militarism and the treatment of prisoners of war that pieced together excerpts
 45 from *The Times* (1788–), *TLS* (1902–) and *Blackwood’s Magazine* (1817–1980), among
 46 other sources, it directly endorsed anti-German war propaganda. After reprinting a series
 47 of increasingly propagandistic press excerpts, culminating in ‘[t]he German is [. . .] the

wild beast of Europe. He embodies in his thick and portly form the very spirit of evil', it concluded, '[c]ome along, boys, after that, and lets [*sic*] get on towards Berlin'.¹¹⁰

The *Gazette's* willingness to approvingly reprint home-front propaganda may have been somewhat unusual, considering the comparative lack of 'hateful depictions of the enemy' elsewhere in the soldiers' press.¹¹¹ Moreover, the regular excerpting and commentary carried out by the *Gazette* would have been highly labour intensive for its editorial staff. Extensively reprinting the civilian press would, in any case, have been a redundant function for many unit journals, which could assume readers had their own independent supplies of home-front newspapers and magazines to read. By 1915 it is likely that there were at least 150,000–200,000 copies of civilian newspapers reaching the German trenches every week.¹¹² Nicholas Hiley calculates that there was roughly 'one copy of the *Continental Daily Mail* for every fourteen British or Dominion soldiers' in France by the end of 1916, and that the *Mail* probably had greater market saturation in the fighting areas in France than it did in London. In addition to the *Mail*, British soldiers would have been able to purchase other London newspapers at shops and canteens behind the lines.¹¹³ Many soldiers serving in France would also have had subscriptions to local or provincial newspapers or have been sent copies of them in parcels from home.¹¹⁴ These patterns of textual availability could also operate in other theatres of war, depending on relative proximity to railheads and postal depots.¹¹⁵ Writing home to family, Lieutenant William Sorley Brown (1889–1942) recorded that the officers and men of the King's Own Scottish Borderers stationed in Egypt in March 1916 had access via various subscriptions to *John Bull* (1820–1964), the *Illustrated London News* (1842–), the *Bystander* (1903–40), *Sketch* (1893–1959), *Graphic* (1869–), *Truth* (1877–1957) and *Sphere* (1900–64), as well as *The Scotsman* (1817–), *Daily Sketch* (1909–71), *Daily Mirror* (1903–), *Land and Water* (1866–1920) and 'all the Scots Border papers', although he does not mention how long they took to arrive from Britain.¹¹⁶

For more isolated military populations, or those at the end of particularly long supply lines, however, having access to a trench periodical that reprinted other news sources would have played an important social function. Excerpting material from the civilian press was, for example, a feature of unit journals associated with Dominion and imperial expeditionary forces. Publications such as the *Anzac Bulletin* (January 1917–June 1919), *Canadian Daily Record* (January 1917–July 1919) and the *Rising Sun* (December 1916–March 1917) included regular digests of 'home' news – in practice, often a mixture of rural and political reporting, murders and criminal cases, and sporting and racing results.¹¹⁷ The first issue of the *Balkan News*, established in 1915 in Salonika for English-speaking soldiers and civilians stationed there, attributed its creation explicitly to the scarcity of European home-front newspapers in the city:

As newspapers from Western Europe are generally somewhat late in arriving here, and as many of our English guests are unfamiliar with foreign languages, we have thought that it would be useful to meet their demands for the latest news by publishing [. . .] a brief summary of the freshest information as to the progress of military operations on the different fronts, as well as articles on all the most important questions of the day.¹¹⁸

References to trench publications are scarce in soldiers' memoirs and diaries. Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau concludes from this that trench journals were a 'significant phenomenon;

1 but probably no more than that’ and that most soldiers ‘must never had held one in their
 2 hands’.¹¹⁹ There are exceptions to this rule, however, and they tend to occur in the context
 3 of military populations in geographically and linguistically isolated areas. Here, informa-
 4 tion networks were limited, and a single newspaper or journal could play an outsized
 5 ‘nodal’ role in keeping a community informed and providing a sense of collective cohe-
 6 sion. The establishment of a new journal could, for example, be a significant event in the
 7 information-starved environments of prisoner-of-war camps. When the English-language
 8 camp magazine *The Queue* commenced publication at Mainz officers’ prisoner-of-war
 9 camp in July 1918, it was advertised by inmates parading in the camp square dressed as
 10 sandwich men, an event notable enough for Captain Ernest Ambler and Second Lieuten-
 11 ant H. T. Ringham to record it independently in their diaries. Ambler wrote that the sand-
 12 wich men created ‘quite a diversion’, while Ringham observed that the paper had ‘rather
 13 a good name, considering the number of queues we have here’.¹²⁰ The *Balkan News* was
 14 similarly able to exploit the presence of a ‘densely clustered’ community of linguistically
 15 isolated and information-hungry English readers around Salonika, converting them into a
 16 sizeable and loyal readership. The paper became, as Shafquat Towheed writes, ‘a ubiqui-
 17 tous presence in the accounts of those who served on the Macedonian front and its impact
 18 cannot be overestimated’.¹²¹

19 There were more than twenty newspapers operating in Salonika during the war,
 20 publishing in Greek, French, Turkish, Italian and Ladino. However, as *Balkan News*
 21 editor Harry Collinson Owen (1882–1956) wrote in 1919, the *Balkan News* was the
 22 only one printed in English. Its role lay in both relaying ‘fresh’ war news and trans-
 23 lating the rich information culture of this linguistically diverse location into terms an
 24 English reader could understand. The centrality of the position it occupied could be
 25 measured, Owen suggested, from the lengths that readers went to to obtain it. ‘There
 26 are people who used to ride twenty miles a day to get it. It was their only link with
 27 the outside world.’¹²² On 17 September 1916 Second Lieutenant Douglas Harfield
 28 (1890–1970), Hampshire Regiment, recorded reading news of British territorial gains
 29 at the battle of Flers–Courcellette (which had commenced two days earlier) in a copy of
 30 the *Balkan News* brought to him at Summerhill Camp ‘by an aged and malarial driver’
 31 in the Army Service Corps. ‘We’ve broken the line’, Harfield wrote; ‘I wonder, can this
 32 be the beginning of the end at last?’¹²³ V. J. Seligman estimated that around one in three
 33 British soldiers stationed in Salonika were regular readers of the paper. ‘Those who
 34 read it’, he claimed, ‘glance casually through its columns and remark, “Nothing in the
 35 *Balkan News* – never is.” Occasionally we are aroused to greater interest by a humor-
 36 ous article in its columns, and there will be a rush to buy a copy.’¹²⁴

37 38 39 Conclusion

40 Any publishing venture entails risk, and the risks were especially immediate and mate-
 41 rial for the editors, contributors to, and initial readers of First World War periodicals.
 42 Due to market pressures and supply problems, publishing generally was a commer-
 43 cially fraught activity during the First World War. The impact of these pressures can
 44 be measured in, for instance, declines in the numbers of periodical titles published in
 45 civilian markets over the course of the conflict.¹²⁵ However, the war also gave rise to
 46 new periodical phenomena prompted by changing circumstances and newly formed
 47 concentrations and networks of readers and contributors – in hospitals, troopships,

training camps and prisoner-of-war compounds, as well as fighting areas. A network-based approach can help bring these phenomena into focus. The production, distribution and reception of First World War periodicals involved the interactions of a large array of human agents – authors, editors, printers and publishers, along with the postal and logistics workers who conveyed them from place to place. Their appearance in print involved complex associations with non-human agents – supply chains, technical infrastructure, as well as the material embodiment of wartime violence itself, in the form of shrapnel or shellfire. Their reading audiences were not only military, but also extended to a range of home-front readers – families, journalists, casual book-stall browsers and the archivists and librarians who acquired wartime periodicals for national collections. The pages of these journals were also sites of network formation, providing a focus for unit and national identity, a site of information and social exchange, an affective and material link with family and reading audiences on the home front, and a way of immortalising the military experience in personal memory. For those who, as instructed by the journals themselves, sent copies home or kept them as souvenirs after the war, their pages became a means of revisiting past events (and, perhaps, a remembered wartime self).¹²⁶ These acts of archiving in turn have prolonged both the memory and material form of the journals themselves, making them accessible to new generations of readers.

Notes

1. Blaise Cendrars, 'I've Killed', trans. Bertrand Mathieu, *Chicago Review* 25, no. 3 (1973): 32–6, here 35–6.
2. See Lynne Hamill, 'The Social Shaping of British Communications Networks Prior to the First World War', *Historical Social Research* 35, no. 1 (2010): 260–86, here 263–4; Deborah Cowen, *The Deadly Life of Logistics: Mapping Violence in Global Trade* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014), 29; Aimée Fox, "'Thomas Cook's Tourists': The Challenges and Benefits of Inter-Theatre Service in the British Army of the First World War', *Journal of Historical Geography* 58 (2017): 82–91, here 83; and Clem Maginniss, *An Unappreciated Field of Endeavour: Logistics and the British Expeditionary Force on the Western Front 1914–1918* (Warwick: Helion, 2018).
3. D. K. Lahiri Choudhury, 'Sinews of Panic and the Nerves of Empire: The Imagined State's Entanglement with Information Panic, India c. 1880–1912', *Modern Asian Studies* 38, no. 4 (2004): 965–1002, here 969–70; Duncan Bell, *The Idea of Greater Britain: Empire and the Future of World Order, 1860–1900* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 84–7; James Smithies, 'The Trans-Tasman Cable, the Australasian Bridgehead and Imperial History', *History Compass* 6, no. 3 (2008): 691–711, here 691–2.
4. On imperial labour recruitment and conscription in Africa and Asia, see David Killingray, 'Labour Exploitation for Military Campaigns in British Colonial Africa 1870–1945', *Journal of Contemporary History* 24, no. 3 (1989): 483–501; and Santanu Das, 'Introduction', in *Race, Empire and First World War Writing*, ed. Santanu Das (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 1–25, here 4–5. On the proportion of British-born troops in Dominion armies and expeditionary forces, see J. G. Fuller, *Troop Morale and Popular Culture in the British and Dominion Armies, 1914–1918* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990), 171–2; Dale Blair, *Dinkum Diggers: An Australian Battalion at War* (Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, 2001), 33–5; and Jeffrey Grey, 'War and the British World in the Twentieth Century', in *Rediscovering the British World*, ed. Phillip Buckner and R. Douglas Francis (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2005), 233–50, here 239.

- 1 5. Stephen P. Borgatti and Daniel S. Halgin, 'On Network Theory', *Organization Science* 22,
- 2 no. 5 (2011): 1168–81, here 1169.
- 3 6. For a discussion of the relationship between human and non-human participants in actor-
- 4 network theory, see Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-*
- 5 *Network-Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 70–2.
- 6 7. Dave Elder-Vass, 'Disassembling Actor-network Theory', *Philosophy of the Social Sciences*
- 7 45, no. 1 (2015): 100–21, here 106.
- 8 8. For a lucid summary and application of actor-network theory to literary studies, see Rita
- 9 Felski, *The Limits of Critique* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 163–6.
- 10 9. Friedrich A. Kittler, *Discourse Networks, 1800/1900*, trans. Michael Metteer, with Chris
- 11 Cullens (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990).
- 12 10. Robert Darnton, 'What Is the History of Books?', *Daedalus* 111, no. 3 (1982): 65–83.
- 13 11. See John Feather, 'Book Trade Networks and Community Contexts', in *Historical Networks*
- 14 *in the Book Trade*, ed. John Hinks and Catherine Feely (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), 14–28,
- 15 here 16.
- 16 12. For the identity and unit affiliation of Dilnot, see H. R. McDonald, 'Service Journalism',
- 17 *A.A.C.: The Journal of the R.N. Anti-Aircraft Corps*, February 1918, 201–2, here 202. A
- 18 copy of one of the earlier, typed and duplicated editions of the *Anti-Aircraft Spasm*, dated
- 19 August 1916 and identified as 'No. 2. New Series', is in the collections of the Imperial War
- 20 Museum, London, shelf number LBY E.J. 1813.
- 21 13. A.D. [Alan Dilnot], 'A Trench Magazine', *A.A.C.: The Journal of the R.N. Anti-Aircraft*
- 22 *Corps*, 1 October 1917, 127.
- 23 14. F. J. Roberts, 'How It Happened', in *The Wipers Times: A Facsimile Reprint* (London:
- 24 Herbert Jenkins, 1918), v–vii, here v.
- 25 15. For more details about the *Wipers Times*, its history and its printing equipment, see Cedric
- 26 Van Dijck, Marysa Demoor and Sarah Posman, 'Between the Shells: The Production of
- 27 Belgian, British and French Trench Journals in the First World War', *Publishing History* 77
- 28 (2017): 67–89, here 70–3.
- 29 16. F.J.R. [F. J. Roberts], 'For Future Historians of the War', *B.E.F. Times*, August 1917,
- 30 xi–xxviii, here xxvii.
- 31 17. Roberts, 'For Future Historians of the War', xv–xvi.
- 32 18. McDonald, 'Service Journalism', 201.
- 33 19. According to figures collected by Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau, 13 of the 60 French trench
- 34 journal editors whose occupations are known (or just under 22 per cent) were journalists
- 35 before the war. See Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau, *Men at War, 1914–1918: National Sentiment*
- 36 *and Trench Journalism in France during the First World War*, trans. Helen McPhail (Oxford:
- 37 Berg, 1992), 10. For Dilnot's byline, see, for instance, Alan Dilnot, 'The Old Soldier and the
- 38 New', *Daily Mirror*, 27 July 1917, 5.
- 39 20. Writing in 1916 to *With the Colours*, the wartime staff magazine of the Buckinghamshire-
- 40 based printing firm of Hazell, Watson and Viney Ltd, Bugler T. Collings described how
- 41 he and four other employees from the firm were posted together as guards at Feltham
- 42 prisoner-of-war camp and 'sometimes fancy we could make a fair show at print', although
- 43 such a venture was not apparently feasible at Feltham. See 'From the Buckinghamshire
- 44 Boys', *With the Colours: A Record of Service for King and Country at Home and Abroad*
- 45 *by Employees of Hazell, Watson and Viney Ltd.*, December 1916, 104. None of the thumb-
- 46 nail profiles of other staff on active service included in the December 1916 issue of *With the*
- 47 *Colours* suggests that any were involved in trench journalism.
21. P.F.G. [Captain Percy Francis Godenrath], 'C.E.F. Journals Published on Active Service',
- Breath o' the Heather*, April 1917, 9.
22. See *The Whizz-Bang: A Monthly Journal from the Front, Written and Edited in the*
- Trenches*, March 1916, 16.

23. *The Direct Hit: The Journal of the 58th London Division*, October 1916, 40; *The Dud*, July 1916, 16. 1
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24. See 'Books for Your Battalion' (display advert), *The Direct Hit*, December 1916, 43. 3
25. 'The Best-Known Trench Journal', *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 6 October 1930, 4. 4
26. Peter Hoare, 'A Qualitative Content Analysis of the New Zealand Troopship Publications, 1914–1920', unpublished MLIS thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 2001, 9–10. 5
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27. Graham Seal, *The Soldiers' Press: Trench Journals in the First World War* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 204. For details of production, see *The Mudhook*, May 1918, 16, and *Sub Rosa*, June 1918, 3. 7
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28. Advertisement: 'Waterman's Ideal Safety Pen', *5th East Surrey Magazine*, July 1915, 17. 10
29. H. N. Werkman, 'Trial by Printer', *The Camp Magazine: First Royal Naval Brigade, Interned in Holland*, October 1915, 14. 11
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30. Werkman, 'Trial by Printer', 14. 13
31. Seal, *Soldiers' Press*, 31. 14
32. "'Aussie" Advances', *Aussie: The Australian Soldiers' Magazine*, March 1918, 1. 15
33. 'Sub Editorial', *The Mudhook*, November 1917, 3. 16
34. 'Editorial', *Barrak, The Camel Corps Review*, July 1917, 1. On the history and make-up of the Imperial Camel Corps, see Jean Bou and Peter Dennis, *The Australian Imperial Force* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2016), 42–3. 17
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35. *The Maple Leaf: The Magazine of the Canadian Expeditionary Force*, 3 June 1916, 15; *The Outpost*, July 1915, 184. 19
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36. John Pegum, 'British Army Trench Journals and a Geography of Identity', in *Publishing in the First World War: Essays in Book History*, ed. Mary Hammond and Shafquat Towheed (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 129–47, here 130. 21
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37. *The Sprig of Shillelagh: The Journal of the Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers*, January 1916, 9. 24
38. *With the Wounded: Official Organ of Brondesbury Park Military Hospital*, July 1916, 1. 25
39. 'Notice', *The Periscope*, August 1916, 171. 26
40. Pegum, 'British Army Trench Journals', 130. 27
41. Robert L. Nelson, *German Soldier Newspapers of the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 33. 28
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42. *The Listening Post*, 10 August 1916, 118. 30
43. See Blair, *Dinkum Diggers*, 45; Seal, *Soldiers' Press*, 23; and Nathan Wise, *Anzac Labour: Workplace Cultures in the Australian Imperial Force during the First World War* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 81. 31
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44. Audoin-Rouzeau, *Men at War*, 25. 33
45. *L'Echo du Ravin*, November 1915, 2. For further details, see Van Dijck, Demoor and Posman, 'Between the Shells', 75. 34
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46. 'Editorial', *Fag-Ends*, 4 August 1915, 1. 36
47. 'Editorial', *Fag-Ends*, 7 July 1915, 1. 37
48. 'Editorial', *Fag-Ends*, 7 July 1915, 1. 38
49. 'Editorial', *Fag-Ends*, 29 September 1915, 1. 39
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51. Nelson, *German Soldier Newspapers*, 34–5. 42
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54. 'Editorial', *The Listening Post*, 10 August 1916, 118. 45
55. 'Forging Ahead', *The Switchboard*, August 1916, 2. 46
56. 'Editorial', *Barrak, The Camel Corps Review*, September 1917, 1. 47

- 1 57. On the impact of wartime paper shortages on the British periodical publishing industry,
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 4 Einhaus and Katherine Isobel Baxter (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017),
 5 245–60, here 249.
- 6 58. See, for example, 'Odds and Ends: The Price of "Fall In"', *Fall In*, 12 February 1916, 89;
 7 'Our Little Review', *The Switchboard*, January 1917, 4; and 'Editorial', *1st C.B. Royal*
 8 *Fusiliers Chronicle*, October 1917, 3.
- 9 59. 'Editorial Notes', *The Kent Fencible*, September 1918, 1.
- 10 60. 'Editorial Notes', *The Kent Fencible*, September 1918, 1.
- 11 61. "'HLI Chronicle' Accounts", *Highland Light Infantry Chronicle*, January 1918, 13.
- 12 62. "'HLI Chronicle' Accounts", 13.
- 13 63. Audoin-Rouzeau, *Men at War*, 27.
- 14 64. 'The Gazette', *Fifth Glo'ster Gazette*, February 1917, 10.
- 15 65. Seal, *Soldiers' Press*, 82–5.
- 16 66. 'Editorial', *The Green Tiger*, December 1917, 21. For a similar statement of intent, see
 17 Lieutenant Gerald E. Mills, 'Foreword', *A.A.C.: The Journal of the R.N. Anti-Aircraft*
 18 *Corps*, April 1917, 2.
- 19 67. Mills, 'Foreword', 2.
- 20 68. 'Letters from Our Nurses Abroad', *Kai Tiaki: The Journal of the Nurses of New Zealand*,
 21 July 1916, 139–48, here 140–1, 144, 146–7.
- 22 69. "'Aussie"—The Present and the Future', *Aussie: The Australian Soldiers' Magazine*, 4 April,
 23 1918, 1. See 'The Aid Post', *Aussie: The Australian Soldiers' Magazine*, 1 June 1918, 5, for
 24 the form the column took. Although there were some 'missed connection' queries from sol-
 25 diers, the bulk of the first column was occupied by notices from the AIF Records Section and
 26 the Australian Red Cross, soliciting death and burial information for Australian soldiers
 27 who had been posted 'missing'.
- 28 70. *Highland Light Infantry Chronicle*, January 1918, 13.
- 29 71. 'Thank You!', *On Service*, April 1916, 2.
- 30 72. 'Editorial Chatter', *Northern Mudguard*, 27 November 1915, 33.
- 31 73. Ethelwyn Duckworth, 'An Englishwoman in Salonika, 1916', *The Contemporary Review*,
 32 January 1917, 234–41, here 237.
- 33 74. *The Pavilion 'Blues'*, July 1916, 28; 'Things We Should All Know', *The Pavilion 'Blues'*,
 34 September 1917, 53–4, here 54.
- 35 75. Alice Brumby, 'Tommy Talk: War Hospital Magazines and the Literature of Resilience
 36 and Healing', in *The Palgrave Handbook of Artistic and Cultural Responses to War*
 37 *since 1914: The British Isles, the United States and Australasia*, ed. Martin Kerby,
 38 Margaret Baguley and Janet McDonald (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019),
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- 40 76. 'Editorial', *Ghain Tuffieha and Garrison Gazette*, 9 December 1916, 3.
- 41 77. See Shafquat Towheed and Edmund G. C. King, 'Introduction', in *Reading and the First*
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 44 Towheed and Edmund G. C. King, 'Readers and Reading in the First World War', *Yearbook*
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