



Myriad Faces

The myriad faces of war:
1917 and its legacy

Myriad Faces of War: 1917 and its Legacy Symposium, 2017

Abstracts

Associate Professor Maartje Abbenhuis University of Auckland

Requiem: 1917 and the end of the nineteenth-century world

In 1917, the German Ivan Goll published a powerful poem entitled 'Requiem for the Dead of Europe'. The poem, published in neutral Switzerland, spoke despairingly about the war then raging for three years. In Goll's view, the war, that 'carnival of death', permeated Europe and the world. It crossed oceans, islands and mountain peaks. It paved roads, invaded ports and embraced the very fibre of humanity. Its devastation was inescapable.

The timing of Goll's requiem could not have been more apt, for in 1917, the strain of global total war reached a disastrous crescendo. The publication of the poem in a neutral country, was also apt. For by 1917, no neutral, however far removed from the waging of military conflict, could escape the impact of the First World War.

This paper takes as its starting point the congruence of global events in 1917 and argues, looking backwards, that this singular year was pivotal to disintegrating the dynamics of the world order that shaped the 'long' nineteenth century (1815 – 1914). That order was based on the balance of European power, the avoidance of great power conflict, the hegemony of Europe's industrial empires and the rise of mass politics. The year 1914 ended the balance of power and brought Europe's empires to war. In 1917, the remaining vestiges of the

nineteenth-century political and economic system collapsed completely. With it came an extraordinary amount of reflection: how might the post-war world be shaped?

In the Roman Catholic tradition, a requiem mass offers mourners moments of despair and exultation. For contemporaries, the events of 1917 did too.

Profile:

Maartje Abbenhuis is Associate Professor in Modern European History at The University of Auckland. She specialises in the history of war, neutrality and internationalism, with a specific focus on the 1815 - 1918 period. She has published widely on the history of neutrality, including of the Netherlands in the First World War. Among other things, she is currently working on an overview history of the war entitled *Global War, Global Catastrophe: Neutrals, Belligerents and the Transformation of the First World War, 1914 - 1918* (Bloomsbury, forthcoming).

Mr Bryce Abraham

University of Newcastle, Australia

Recruiting with heroes: VC winners, propaganda and the legacy of military celebrity in Australia

Afghanistan veteran Ben Roberts-Smith is one of the most well-known faces of modern conflict in contemporary Australia. The Victoria Cross recipient is frequently at the forefront of the Australian War Memorial's commemorative initiatives, has become a spokesman for health and sport and is popularly portrayed as the embodiment of the modern 'Anzac'. But Roberts-Smith's social currency as a hero is not a recent phenomenon. It has its origins in 1917, when decorated soldiers were first used to advertise the war effort. This was a tumultuous year for Australians deeply embroiled in the First World War. A failed conscription referendum—and another looming—a crackdown on 'disloyal' elements of society and increasing devastation on the battlefield had led to a growing sense of war weariness. Amidst this discontent, the State Parliamentary Recruiting Committee of Victoria launched the 'Sportsmen's 1000', an army recruitment initiative designed to encourage the enlistment of athletic men. The posters released for the campaign featured a portrait of a fit, young uniformed man – Lieutenant Albert Jacka VC, an accomplished sportsman and decorated war veteran – and were the first government-sanctioned propaganda in Australia to feature a Victoria Cross recipient. The 'Sportsmen's 1000' used Jacka to invoke the connection between masculinity and heroism by suggesting that talent on the sports field would translate to prowess on the field of battle, just as it had for Jacka. This paper explores how 'heroes' like Jacka were increasingly used in Australian war propaganda from 1917 onwards to inspire enlistment and promote a sense of loyalty to the war effort, and argues

that the success of these propaganda initiatives in 1917 set the scene for the similar use of 'heroic' men throughout later conflicts, creating a legacy of the promotion of martial heroism and military celebrity that is reflected in Roberts-Smith's status today.

Profile:

Bryce Abraham is a PhD candidate in history at the University of Newcastle, Australia. His research is focused on the shifting constructions of Australian military heroism from Sudan to Afghanistan (1885–2015), with an emphasis on the associated constructs of masculinity and the award (and non-award) of the Victoria Cross. Bryce was a 2015 Summer Scholar at the Australian War Memorial, and has received grants from the Menzies Centre for Australian Studies at King's College London and the Royal Historical Society (UK).

Professor Kingsley Baird

Massey University

“The past we harvest that was yours”: The rhetoric of national identity and the legacy of the Unknown Warrior in New Zealand memory

In 1917 the Imperial War Graves Commission (IWGC) was established to care for the graves of the “fallen” of the Empire's military and naval forces. It's “duty” was not only to honour and perpetuate “the memory of their common sacrifice”, but also to “keep alive the ideals for [...] which they have laid down their lives”. Eighty-seven years later, one of their number – buried in the Commonwealth War Graves Commission Caterpillar Valley Cemetery in France, beneath a headstone that bore the words, “A New Zealand soldier of the Great War Known unto God” — was again enlisted in the service of his nation.

During her address at the Unknown Warrior's funeral in Wellington on 11 November 2004, Prime Minister Helen Clark observed,

“[He] has now been called back to serve his country once more. It is perhaps a mark of the journey we have taken as a nation since then that we are finally welcoming home our own unknown warrior.”

Later, at the Warrior's interment ceremony, Governor-General Dame Sylvia Cartwright spoke of the nation's debt: “Because of him, home is a better place.”

Both speeches revealed the return of “Our Boy” was more than simply the homecoming of the mortal remains of one soldier representing all New Zealand servicemen and women who have died in overseas wars. “He – like each of them – was one of us”, asserted the Governor-General. While both politicians suggested vaguely that the warrior's return represented progress, allusion was also made to the nation's coming of age and the common identity of

its people. Against the backdrop of the IWGC's founding principles, this paper explores the rhetoric of the official public ceremonies on the occasion of the Unknown Warrior's return, and his apparent mobilisation and co-option in the construction of New Zealand's distinctive, contemporary national identity.

Profile:

Kingsley Baird is a visual artist whose longstanding research into memory and war commemoration is expressed through sculpture and the written word. Major international and national examples of his practice-based work in this field are: *Stela* (Militärhistorisches Museum der Bundeswehr, Dresden, Germany, 2014); *Tomb* (Historial de la Grande Guerre, Péronne, France, 2013); *Serve: a new recipe for sacrifice* (National Army Museum, Waiouru, New Zealand, 2010-11); *Diary Dagboek* (In Flanders Fields Museum in Ieper, Belgium, 2007); *The Cloak of Peace Te Korowai Rangimarie* (Nagasaki Peace Park, Japan, 2006); *The Tomb of the Unknown Warrior Te Toma o Te Toa Matangaro* (Wellington, New Zealand, 2004); *The New Zealand Memorial* (Canberra, Australia, 2001, with Studio of Pacific Architecture).

Kingsley is chair of The Memory Waka Research Group and WHAM (War History Heritage Art and Memory Research Network).

Mr Chris Barber

University of Auckland

“Some sort of international organization”: International arbitration and internationalist discourse during the First World War.

In August 1917, Pope Benedict XV issued his note for peace. In it, he called on nations to establish a court of arbitration in order to prevent the type of barbarism Europe was embroiled in at the time. Benedict's plea for peace and arbitration was certainly not new in nature. The argument that arbitration and adjudication was a civilized way of resolving interstate disputes was a common theme in internationalist discourse prior to 1914. However, the fratricidal strife of the First World War had brought about a general metamorphosis in internationalist sensibilities. Writers such as Leonard Sidney Woolf for example derided how the war had effectively swept away the elaborate progress of nineteenth-century advancements in international law. In its wake, Woolf argued that only an international government could prevent war and save civilization. By the latter half of the First World War, Woolf's proposal was by no means radical. President Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points was in many ways representative of a particular sensibility that sought to recapture the internationalism of the previous century into a more formalized set of agendas.

This paper considers the formative impact the First World War had on the transitioning of international politics from an ad hoc statist system towards a more institutionalized system with the League of Nations and the Permanent Court of International Justice. In particular, it focuses internationalist discourse on arbitration and adjudication during the First World War. It considers how legalists, peace advocates, and politicians came to terms with the radical rupture of the war and viewed the future prospects for the cause of international arbitration and adjudication.

Profile:

Chris Barber is a doctoral candidate in history at the University of Auckland. His research focuses on international history. His thesis, entitled 'The evolution of arbitration in global politics, 1794-1914' is due for completion in late 2017. He has published several journal articles. He was awarded a 2014 University of Auckland Doctoral Scholarship. He has previously taught history courses at the University of Auckland and the University of Otago.

Mr Martin Bayer

Wartist, Germany

1917 – A turning point in the arts about the First World War

The focus of remembering the First World War often lies on its outbreak and on events such as the Battle of Gallipoli or the various matériel battles of 1916. However, 1917 was an important year for this global event, in socio-economic, socio-political and military terms. Some may argue that in 1917, the Great War became a truly global conflict with countries such as the USA, China and Brazil joining in. Hope for peace or victory, and disillusionment about the results of the protracted war were often close to each other.

For the arts, 1917 became a turning point, too. The definition of art was challenged, with Dada that began in 1916, and Marcel Duchamp's "Fountain"; not by mere chance, Alfred Stieglitz presented the ready-made in front of Marsden Hartley's painting "The Warriors". Many of the Futurists who had openly welcomed war had already been killed on the battlefields. British painters such as C. R. W. Nevinson turned away from Vorticism and towards realism, to better reflect the grim realities of war.

By 1917, heroic art in Germany was basically reduced to official propaganda works, for example to advertise for war bonds. But even posters such as "Helft uns siegen" ("Help us to win") by Fritz Epler managed to depict a more realistic view of battle, devoid of any romantic naïveté. German artists such as Ernst Barlach (today known for his pacifist stance, but in 1914 a staunch supporter of the war) had changed their opinion: now, their works presented war as a massive rupture in civilisation and senseless loss of lives. Expressionism was

strikingly used to reveal the artists' experience of war. Together with the post-war works of Otto Dix and others, the German perception of the First World War continues to be shaped by artworks from this period.

Profile:

Martin Bayer (* 1971) completed a vocational education as photographer (Lette-Verein Berlin, 1994), a BA in War Studies (King's College London, 2003) and a Master of Peace and Security Policy Studies (IFSH/University of Hamburg, 2004). His main issues as publicist and curator are the cultural dimensions of war including the cultures of commemoration. Since 2008, he runs the bilingual blog www.wartist.org and organises art exhibitions, e.g. at the Bavarian Army Museum Ingolstadt. The Great War is one of his main subjects, including the centenary study "Not just in Flanders Fields – The First World War as Topic of in German and International Politics of Memory" with political recommendations for the German Foreign Office, an Australian-German academic exchange programme and a forthcoming PhD at Freie Universität Berlin on the contemporary cultures of commemoration. He lives and works in Berlin, Germany.

Professor Annette Becker **KEYNOTE**

Université Paris Ouest Nanterre La Défense

"Writers and Artists, between War, Trauma and Memory."

In his poem *Il y a*, Guillaume Apollinaire gave the Great War a remarkable definition, poetic and spatial disorder.

Il y a des Hindous qui regardent avec étonnement les campagnes occidentales
There are Hindus watching the western style of campaigns with astonishment

Ils pensent avec mélancolie à ceux dont ils se demandent s'ils les reverront
They think with sadness about those they wonder if they'll see again

Car on a poussé très loin durant cette guerre l'art de l'invisibilité
For in this war we have pushed to great lengths the art of invisibility

What was he meaning by invisibility? How, war has been perceived, rewritten, redesigned by writers and artists? Could the experience of photography, operation of revelation, be also transmitted to other forms of representation? Images and texts, traces of life in a world of death, offered a "here and now" coming from all the fronts: military ones, home fronts, occupation fronts, etc., ... where men and women, young and older, suffered, from separation to wounds to trauma and grief. War has been building and destroying at the

same time, since, “All sorrows can be borne if you put them into a story or tell a story about them”. Grief, said Karen Blixen, but it could be any element of the war, mobilizations, demobilizations, remobilizations, which lived on in the memories: it is what writers and artists did put into their stories. But, in History, there is only chaos and chance. To the historian to give back life to these human beings caught in the war, through wounds, trauma, death, mourning, especially on this year 1917, so rich of transformations.

Profile:

Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur, is one of France's leading social and cultural historians of the First World War, Professor of Contemporary History at Université Paris Ouest Nanterre La Défense and a senior member of the Institut Universitaire de France. Annette Becker has written extensively on the Two World Wars and the extreme violence they nurture, with an emphasis on military occupations and the two genocides, against the Armenians and the Holocaust. She has devoted research to humanitarian politics, trauma and memories, particularly among intellectuals and artists.

Dr Heather Benbow

University of Melbourne

German experiences of food and hunger in 1917

Taking the year 1917 as a snapshot, this paper examines the political, social and emotional dimensions of German experiences of food, drink and hunger. While important research exists on the political and social dimensions of the food crisis on the home front in Central Powers nations (e.g. Davis, Healy, Hofer, Teuteberg), food and hunger as similarly defining experiences of German soldiers and internees in Germany have hardly been examined. This paper therefore considers home front, fighting front and internment together in the context of the First World War food crisis in Germany, a crisis that had matured to a catastrophic degree by 1917. Beginning with the “turnip winter” and ending as the war entered its fourth winter, the year 1917 saw an intensification of the blockade as the USA entered the war.

Due to the desperate scarcity of food by 1917, food and hunger acquire a highly political role. In the earlier years of the war, food had been central to the bonds between soldiers at the front and between soldiers and their families at home. Soldiers’ correspondence with their families reveals a desperate concern for the food situation of the other. The ability to navigate the privations of the blockade was the German housewife’s contribution to the war effort. As the blockade worsened in 1917, the food situation became pivotal to the collapse of support for the war on both fronts and the end of the *Burgfrieden* (the broad political support of the government during the war). Food scarcity and poor quality on home and fighting fronts contributed to animosities against Jews, foreigners, capitalists and the military leadership. Meanwhile, in the German internment camps, internees complained

bitterly about the poor food, which was understood to represent the brutality of their German captors. In reality, those in German internment camps in 1917 often ate better than German civilians. Due to their access to food aid, internees in Germany, unlike German soldiers and civilians, were able to continue to use food to foster camaraderie.

This paper contributes to First World War “history from below”, drawing on primary sources from the year 1917 including soldiers’ letters, diaries and memoirs, trench journals and magazines, internee memoirs and newspapers (*Lagerzeitungen*) as well as home front memoirs, letters and propaganda. A focus on food – a universal concern of all who experienced World War I – provides a uniquely revealing perspective on the conflagration. German hunger, of course, did not end with armistice and the privations of the blockade continued until Germany signed the Treaty of Versailles. Whereas the death toll due to starvation in 1917 and beyond is disputed, it is clear that the miseries endured by soldier and civilian populations were to have a lasting impact on the social, political and emotional life of Germany and the German people.

Profile:

Heather Merle Benbow is senior lecturer in German Studies at the University of Melbourne and convenor of European Studies. She has researched on questions of food and intercultural encounter for several years now, with a recent focus on food in wartime. She has published books, journal articles and popular articles for the media on related topics.

Ms Darise Bennington

Duncan Cotterill Lawyers

The "Rules of Engagement": the Great War's legacy on law and order

This paper will look at New Zealand laws that framed the First World War, and which evolved out of a need to bring order to society at a time of world-wide chaos.

It will consider the leading legal cases of 1917 that helped determine the legality of New Zealand’s role in the War, and the cases that determined the extent of the Government’s right to make laws committing New Zealand to conflicts outside its three mile limits, and to deal with issues such as sedition and alcohol which challenged the Government's ability to maintain law and order. It will also look at how those laws and decisions were mirrored in the Commonwealth, and beyond.

It will also consider the ongoing legacies of those laws, how long they continued to be used as a means to control society after the War had ended, and whether there are aspects of those laws which have continued to have effect in law and on society up to the present day.

Profile:

Darise Bennington is a barrister and solicitor of the High Court of New Zealand. She is a litigation lawyer in Duncan Cotterill, a large national law firm, which first hung up its shingle in 1857. Prior to her return to the law in 2013, Darise was the Managing Editor of NZ Lawyer magazine, where her focus was on advances in the law, legal history, and human rights cases.

Professor Linda Bryder

University of Auckland

“The race marches forward on the feet of little children”: The 1917 Save the Babies Week.

This conference recognises that ‘1917 was a seminal year in the history of the modern world’. Rightly highlighted are events such as the Russian Revolution, the Balfour Declaration, and activities relating to suffragettes and conscientious objectors, among other significant issues arising from the First World War. I would like to suggest another landmark of 1917, the Save the Babies Week, which occurred in Britain in July and in New Zealand in November that same year. This paper will consider the background and wider significance of this event which was staged in the midst of total war. I will show how it arose out of a western-world-wide movement originating in the early twentieth century for ‘national efficiency’, or concern for the physical and fighting strength of the nation and empire. This was translated into concern for the health of the next generation, which was heightened in the context of the First World War, resulting in time, energy and money being infused into health and welfare. Some historians have argued that the movement impacted negatively on the lives of women, who were forced to take heed of medical experts in the interests of the nation’s future. I argue, however, that women embraced the situation to attract funding and support for an issue which they claimed as their own. Most significantly, the concerns coming out of war had long-term influence on social policy and practice. The war gave the child welfare movement enormous ammunition, with the public being told during the British campaign that ‘It is more dangerous to be a baby in England than to be a soldier in France’, and in the New Zealand campaign that, ‘The race marches forward on the feet of little children’.

Profile:

Linda Bryder is Professor and Head of History at the University of Auckland. She teaches and researches in the social history of health and medicine in the twentieth century, focussing primarily on Britain and New Zealand. Her research interests include tuberculosis, infant and child health, childbirth and reproductive health.

Mrs Carolyn Carr

New Zealand Defence Force

1917 in the 'Chronicles of the NZEF'

The Chronicles of the New Zealand Expeditionary Forces, as an example of the soldiers' press, was founded and edited by Trooper Clutha Mackenzie after he was blinded at Gallipoli. The Chronicles ran from 16 August 1916 until the end of the war. The editor intended that the Chronicles would be a record of events experienced by the NZEF in World War I, for servicemen, and family and friends back in New Zealand.

As well as editorials, Mackenzie also wrote articles for the magazines. During 1917 the New Zealand war correspondent Malcolm Ross and British war correspondent Philip Gibbs both had reports published in the Chronicles. The troops in the field were constantly encouraged to contribute and their accounts were also included throughout that year. All this writing included observations of the fighting on the Western Front in 1917, including Messines and Passchendaele after 3 and 12 October.

In the Chronicles the style of reporting changed during the course of 1917. In 1916 accounts of the war were full of patriotic clichés of noble devotion to duty and sacrifice. From May to September 1917 Mackenzie had returned to New Zealand and he was concerned about what was being reported in contemporary newspapers. He argued that people were not properly informed about the war and he was determined to publish a more accurate account in the Chronicles. In December 1917, he visited Ypres and was able to gain his own impression of the front line.

By the end of the year all the contributors, including the editor, the war correspondents and the troops were writing very frankly about the battlefield conditions and the difficulties encountered. This is significant because the magazines had a wider readership than the NZEF, including a large circulation at home.

Profile:

Carolyn Carr is the Chief Librarian for the New Zealand Defence Force. She holds an MA (Canterbury University) and an MPhil (Massey University). Carolyn is currently working on her PhD through the Australian Defence Force Academy.

Piet Chielens **KEYNOTE**

In Flanders Fields Museum, Ypres

1917 in Flanders Fields: The seeds for the commemorative war-landscape in Belgian Flanders

Today the city of Ypres and the surrounding former battlefields of the First World War in Flanders (Belgium) are among the most visited places on the planet where the First World War is commemorated. In 2014 this relatively small area known as “Flanders Fields” received some 790,000 visitors, who expressed their main interest for visiting being the history of the First World War. They visited on average three different sites each including museums, monuments and cemeteries. For the summer of 2017 visitor numbers are expected to increase again. A century after the conflict, what makes this part of the world so fit as a commemorative war-landscape?

At least three events of 1917 helped to shape today’s commemoration landscape. Firstly, the military events in the Ypres Salient made this one of the most terrible and international battlefields of the war. The battles of 1917 – including the so-called Third Battle of Ypres – were the most costly in human lives. That after the Somme and Verdun such massive waste of human lives was still possible, created the image of Flanders as the supreme killing field of a seemingly endless and senseless war.

Secondly, in July 1917 the architect, Edwin Lutyens, visited the battlefields of Flanders and France. He had been asked by the newly-constituted Imperial War Graves Commission to advise on how the commemoration should be organised after the war. The decision to rebury the dead as close as possible to where they were originally interred is a principle that has shaped the present day war-landscapes of Flanders and Northern France and maintained the (sense of) history of the battles that caused the graves.

Thirdly, while the founding myths of New Zealand, Canada, Australia associated with the First World War are well-recognised, international reflections on the legacy of the war often overlook Flanders also found its myth of emancipation on the battlefields of 1914 to 1918. The Flemish language problems and independence claims were present in Belgium long before the war, but actions in the spring and summer of 1917 in the Belgian Army on the Yser front helped to turn to turn this largely intellectual movement into a mass movement and a political force that has shaped the political structure of Belgium to this day. An equally overlooked and interesting by-product of this legacy is the constant effort to re-actualise and re-interpret the commemoration of the war.

A historical reason to commemorate a former war-landscape that still bears numerous important traces, and a population that has an on-going interest in the matter, has created a

commemorative war-landscape of worldwide importance. Most seeds for this seem to have been sown in 1917.

Profile:

Director of the In Flanders Fields Museum in Ypres (Belgium). From 1992 to 2007 he was artistic director of Peaceconcerts Passendale which created annually international concerts about the shared heritage of WW1. Since 1996 he has been general co-ordinator of IFFM, which was redeveloped in 2012 to international acclaim. With the small team of the museum he is looking for a constant renewal of the memory of the Great War in Flanders. Special attention is given to the ways in which micro (personal, family) and macro (cultures, nations, the world) history can be linked. As an institute with a large historical collection and specialized knowledge, the IFFM also sees an important role for artistic interpretations of our attitudes and concerns about war and peace.

Dr Douglas Craig

Australian National University

"A World War, Europe's War, or America's War? The meanings of April 6 1917 for the United States' involvement in and remembrance of the Great War"

When President Wilson asked Congress to declare war on Germany he relied on notions of international rights and morality. Rather than explaining to Americans the geostrategic necessity of ensuring that the Allies won the war, Wilson's rationale for entering it was that the United States' right to trade unmolested by Germany was part of a wider struggle to create a new order of global diplomacy and governance based on democracy and justice.

Even before the Declaration of War some commentators, led by Walter Lippmann from one side and Theodore Roosevelt and Elihu Root from another, argued that the most powerful argument for intervention was not the principle of neutral rights or the idealism of making the world safe for democracy, but rather the United States' national security imperative that the eastern shores of the Atlantic Ocean should be in friendly hands. By April 1917 the outcome of the War had become uncertain, so U.S. national interest required intervention to tip the scales toward the Allies.

By obscuring national interest with idealism, Wilson placed U.S. intervention in the Great War on shaky ground. Reluctantly persuaded into accepting war in April 1917, and denied a clear statement as to why fighting it served specifically American interests, many Americans turned against it soon after the Armistice as victory spawned disputes at home and abroad. Then, as now, Americans were left unclear as to whether the Great War was a World War, a

European War, or an American War. Consequently, Americans were and still are unclear as to how to fight the war, even what to call it, and later how to remember it.

Profile:

Douglas Craig is a Reader in History at the Australian National University. He researches and teaches twentieth century American political history and is the author of *After Wilson: The Struggle for the Democratic Party, 1920-1934* (University of North Carolina Press, 1992), *Fireside Politics: Radio and Political Culture in the United States, 1920-1940* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001) and *Progressives at War: William G. McAdoo and Newton D. Baker, 1863-1941* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013). He is currently working on a book project on the politics of the (American) Great War between 1918 and 1941

Mr John Crawford

New Zealand Defence Force

Having a good war during a bad year: Herbert Hart in 1917

Herbert Hart was in 1914 a 31-year old lawyer in the small town of Carterton. After the outbreak of the First World War he was appointed a major in the Wellington Infantry Battalion of the New Zealand Expeditionary Force. He proved to be a charismatic and effective leader who was by the end of the war a highly decorated brigadier-general.

At the start of 1917 Hart was for the first time given temporary command of an infantry brigade. Later in the year he was promoted to brigadier-general and given the task of raising a new brigade, which he led successfully in operations at Messines and Passchendaele. There is no doubt that Hart had 'a good war' and that 1917 was a pivotal period in his military career. In this paper, I will examine what it meant to have 'a good war', and discuss some of the ways in which the experience of more senior officers on the Western Front differed from that of rank and file soldiers. The second part of the paper will look at how his military service transformed the trajectory of Hart's life, laying the basis for a successful post-war public service career, and how his wartime experiences changed his outlook.

Profile:

John Crawford has published widely on the history of the New Zealand Armed Forces and related subjects.

Professor Dr Michael Epkenhans

Centre for Military History and Social Sciences of the German Armed Forces

Germany at the crossroads? – Discussions about peace, victory, and domestic reform in Imperial Germany in 1917

On 1 February 1917 Germany again started a new submarine campaign. This time Germany's leadership unanimously hoped to win the war by bringing Britain, Germany's most dangerous enemy, to her knees within six months by sinking all vessels – whether allied or neutral – without warning.

However, while this campaign was still going on, the political situation began to change. In March 1917, the Russian Revolution raised hopes that eventually Germany might be able to beat its enemies militarily or simply collapse due to domestic strife.

The ideas of the Russian Revolution soon began to spread and finally reached Germany. The poignant slogan of the Russian revolutionaries "peace without annexations and contribution" soon became very popular in Germany. Already suffering heavily from the hardships of war, food shortages, and increasing war-weariness, more and more people demanded peace the earlier the better. This demand coincided with increasing disappointment over the results of the so-called "fortress-truce" (Burgfriede). As a result, contrary to 1916, 1917 became a year, in which many became politically aware of the need for a fundamental change: the demand for peace and reform – soon became inseparable. The promise of a reform of the Prussian three-class franchise as well as the passing of a – at first glance – far-reaching peace resolution by a majority in the Reichstag are the most well-known results of this change in German politics. On the other hand, the rise of this movement soon led to the founding of a new right-wing political movement, the German Fatherland Party, which tried to rally old and new conservatives behind its programme.

It soon proved an irony of history that the Bolshevik Revolution and the virtual end of the war in the East strengthened those who advocated victory and not peace.

Profile:

Since 2009: Director of Research and deputy commander of the Centre for Military History and Social Sciences of the German Armed Forces, Potsdam: Professor of Modern History at Potsdam University

Publications:

Preussen, Aufstieg und Fall einer Großmacht (Stuttgart 2011)

Geschichte Deutschlands (1648-2008), Stuttgart: Theiss 2008.

Grand Admiral Alfred von Tirpitz. A Biography. New York: Brassey 2008.

„Mein lieber Schatz!“ Kriegsbriefe von Admiral Reinhard Scheer an seine Frau, August bis November 1918, Bochum: Winkler 2006, pp. 196.

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Jutland – World War I greatest Battle (together with Jörg Hillmann and Frank Nägler), Louisville: Kentucky 2015. Centre for Military History and Social Sciences of the German Armed Forces

Dr John ETTY

Auckland Grammar School

1917 remembered in Soviet Cartoons

This paper explores political cartoons published in various journals in 1917, and investigates the legacy of that year's graphic satire. As many previous works have noted, the revolutions of 1917 brought struggles for the meaning of signs, and in political cartoons there were marked changes in subject matter and visual vocabulary. While previous studies have interpreted these developments as illustrations of political revolution, it will be argued here that the fundamental shift that began in 1917 was towards a kind of visual satirical discourse that possessed performative power. Proposing a new conceptual framework for analysis based on theories of performativity, the theoretical contribution of this paper will be to show how graphic satire reveals the performative force of cartoons, by arguing that Soviet and post-Soviet graphic satire's aesthetic invites readers' critical engagement with contemporary discourses, a vision that derives from the political cartoons of 1917.

Profile:

Dr John ETTY is Head of History at Auckland Grammar School. His research interests lie in the visual culture of modernity and post-modernity, political imagery, graphic satire, and political cartoons. His PhD investigates the Soviet magazine Krokodil (The Crocodile) in the period 1954-1964, exploring the nature of the journal's graphic satire, particularly its political cartoons. The methodology synthesizes theories of carnivalesque humour and satire, transmedia, and co-creative production techniques and performativity. His publications related to this topic have appeared in *Russian Aviation, Space Flight and Visual Culture* (Routledge, 2016), pp.89-115; and in *Russian Culture in the Era of Globalisation*

(Routledge, forthcoming 2017). He has also published a number of articles and chapters in secondary school texts on history.

Dr John Etty and Auckland Grammar School Students

Auckland Grammar School

The impact of war on Auckland Grammar School, 1917

World War One had a bigger impact on Auckland Grammar School in 1917 than in any other year. More Old Boys and ex-Masters died, from Belgium to Basra, on active service in that year than in any other. Nine Grammar men died at Passchendaele on a single day in December 1917. These deaths were keenly felt in Auckland—the Headmaster read aloud casualty lists in daily Assembly, and the school's termly publication ('The Chronicle') included obituaries, as well as letters and testimonies from the front. 'The Chronicle' from 1917 includes descriptions of being torpedoed, aerial combat, and life as a prisoner of war, and poems inspired by wartime experiences.

Presented jointly by a teacher and some History students, this paper is the outcome of a research project by senior History students at Auckland Grammar School, who, over the last two years, have researched the stories of Old Boys who died on active service. Using 'The Chronicle' as the primary source of information on the impact of the war on Auckland Grammar School, students have considered the impact of the war on a range of aspects of the life of the school, many of which will be represented in the paper. As will be shown, 'The Chronicle' reveals that life at Grammar in 1917 reflected broader social changes, and the impact of significant events in the wider world were manifested in life of the school. 'The Chronicle' from 1917 shows how Auckland Grammar School contributed to the Allied war effort; it also allows us to investigate staff and student responses to economic concerns and international events; and it reveals how the school has remembered its war dead.

Profile:

Theo Burnard, Henry Chignell, Taiji Endo, Jacob Lerner, Kevin Lin, and David Zhu are senior History students at Auckland Grammar School. This paper is the outcome of a research project on the impact of the First World War on Grammar, with a particular focus on the year 1917.

Professor Trish FitzSimons and Ms Madelyn Shaw

Griffith University and Smithsonian Institute

Wool, paper, dye: Australasian wool, American preparedness, British Dominion and the race for synthetics in 1917 and beyond.

In the Great War, wool was as essential to success as steel and gunpowder. The subject of negotiation, intrigue, and anxiety, it was a linchpin in Allied planning in 1917: how could the US possibly enter the war as quickly as Britain needed, its troops suitably attired for Europe's trenches?

All combatant nations tried to ensure continuing supplies of this vital resource, but none so successfully as Britain. Australia's position at the centre of the global wool trade was mightily disrupted by the war, and as early as 1915 New Zealand's woollen mills came under government control. As the war stretched on and the armed forces grew, Britain was forced to focus on clothing its military — and preventing enemies from doing the same. From the 1916-1917 season Britain insisted on purchasing its Empire's entire wool clip. Disturbed by the possibility that America's textile industries might supply Germany, Britain did its best to keep raw wool out of the hands of its friends as well as its enemies. Contracts to supply blankets and uniform cloth to the allied armies, and in 1917 to meet America's own preparedness needs, boosted American production but also revealed supply chain weaknesses. Manufacturers conserved wool by withholding it from civilians: Americans replaced it with silk, while a shortage of German dyes created a vogue for black and white.

This talk first addresses the complexities of British control of the Australasian wool clip during World War I. We then look at how this led the American textile industry to seek substitutes—shoddy (recycled wool), Peruvian cotton, paper yarns, synthesized fibres. It took several decades for wool to lose its primacy in war, but war hastened that end. 1917 was a pivotal year: its problems and actions affected global textiles in ways that still resonate today.

Profile:

Trish FitzSimons is a Professor and Acting Head of the Griffith Film School, Griffith University. She is a documentary filmmaker, social historian and exhibition curator. Recent work includes *Navigating Norman Creek* (2015) and *Australian Documentary: History, Practices, Genres* (Cambridge Uni Press, 2011).

Madelyn Shaw is the Curator of Textiles at the National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC. Recent work includes the book and traveling exhibition *Homefront & Battlefield: Quilts & Context in the Civil War*, (2012-2015); *Slave Cloth and Clothing Slaves: Craftsmanship, Commerce, and Industry*" (JESDA Fall 2012), and "H. R. Mallinson & Company" in *American Silk: Entrepreneurs & Artifacts, 1830-1930* (2007),

winner of the Millia Davenport Publication Award. She was a Visiting Fellow at Griffith University in 2015, working with Trish FitzSimons on a project titled *The Fabric of War*.

Professor Paul Gough

RMIT University

'That huge, haunted solitude': representing the walking and waking dead in the work of Will Longstaff, Stanley Spencer, and Jeff Wall

" The scene that followed was the most remarkable that I have ever witnessed. At one moment, there was an intense and nerve shattering struggle with death screaming through the air. Then, as if with the wave of a magic wand, all was changed; all over 'No Man's Land' troops came out of the trenches, or rose from the ground where they had been lying."

In 1917 the British government banned the depiction of the corpses of British and Allied troops in official war art. It was an important shift in the authority once owned by painters to represent the actualities of war. In the haunted decade after the war, painters, film-makers, photographers attempted to bring the war dead, the disappeared and the dying back into figurative life. In 1927, ten years after the government's edict, Australian painter Will Longstaff exhibited his memorable canvas 'Menin Gate at Midnight' which showed a host of phantom soldiers emerging from the soil of the Flanders battlegrounds and marching towards Herbert Baker's immense memorial archway. The image was said to be inspired by seeing the work of British artist and war veteran Stanley Spencer. His vast panorama of post-battle exhumation *The Resurrection of the Soldiers*, begun also in 1927, was painted as vast tracts of despoiled land in France and Belgium were being recovered, repaired, and planted with thousands of gravestones and military cemeteries. As salvage parties recovered thousands of corpses, concentrating them into designated burial places, Spencer painted his powerful image of recovery and reconciliation. This illustrated paper will locate this period of re-remembering in the context of such artists as Will Dyson, Otto Dix, and the French film-maker Abel Gance. However, unlike the ghastly 'undead' depicted in Gance's 1919 film *J'Accuse*, Longstaff's 'ghost army' and Spencer's reborn battalion are intact, pure and unsullied by warfare.

Reflecting on the 1917 requirement to censor the war dead, the paper will conclude with a reflection on Jeff Wall's epic photographic battle-scape of 1992 'Dead Troops Talk'. Gough will explore a number of overlapping themes and draw some comparisons between the government's 1917 edict, Longstaff's ontology of reconciliation, and Wall's bleaker montage of debacle and despair.

Profile:

Professor Paul Gough is Pro Vice-Chancellor and Vice-President of RMIT University, Melbourne, Australia. He has exhibited internationally and is represented in the permanent collection of the Imperial War Museum, London; the Canadian War Museum, Ottawa; the National War Memorial, New Zealand. His published work includes a monograph on Stanley Spencer: Journey to Burghclere (2006); A Terrible Beauty: British Artists in the First World War (2010), and Your Loving Friend, the edited correspondence between Stanley Spencer and Desmond Chute (2011). Books on the street artist Banksy were published in 2012, and on John and Paul Nash (2014).

Dr. Gerhard P. Groß

Centre for Military History and Social Sciences of the German Armed Forces

Can a change of strategy in 1917 bring victory for Germany? The German strategy in 1917

Although Germany had survived all the military crises of 1916, the Supreme Army Command (OHL) was aware that the country's operational and strategic concepts for the war were in urgent need of change due to the deterioration in the supply situation as a consequence of the British naval blockade and the severe losses suffered by the German forces. It, therefore, decided on a mix of an operational defensive and a strategic offensive for 1917. On land, it ordered the forces to go onto the defensive, while, at sea, it mounted a strategic offensive as an unrestricted submarine war was launched. Simultaneously, it continued the efforts to destabilize Russia by military and political means in order to force it to seek a peace agreement. Immediately after the ceasefire with Russia was achieved, the preparations began for the decisive offensive on the Western Front that was planned for the spring of 1918.

The victory over the Russian army, which had been achieved with only a fraction of the German troops, and the resulting feeling of superiority of the young German captains of 1917/18 caused generals of the Wehrmacht to completely underestimate the Soviet forces in World War II.

Furthermore, the military leadership repeatedly attempted to address Germany's strategic dilemma with operational solutions, which would compensate for the vulnerability of the country's central geographic position and its relative inferiority in manpower and resources. In the process, they analysed carefully the lessons learned from previous wars, like World War I, and modified the technological and tactical–operational methods to address anticipated future warfare. The continuous efforts to improve efficiency resulted in the system of modern operational mobile warfare. The dynamics of this process can be seen

clearly in the framework of the planning and the conduct of operations up to World War II and today.

Profile:

Dr. Gerhard P. Groß is a colonel at the Bundeswehr Centre of Military History and Social Sciences (ZMSBw) in Potsdam, Germany. From 1988 – 1996 he was lecturer for military history at the army military academy, Hannover. Since 1996 he has been working as a military historian at Military Research Institute, Potsdam. He was chief of research section “First World War” and is now Head of the department “German Military history to 1945”. He is author of a number of books and articles dealing with imperial German army and navy. For example: *The Schlieffen Plan: International Perspectives on the German Strategy for World War I*, edited with Hans Ehlert, Michael Epkenhans (Lexington 2014); *The Myth and Reality of German Warfare: Operational Thinking from Moltke the Elder to Heusinger* (Lexington 2016)

Professor Glyn Harper **KEYNOTE**

Massey University

New Zealand and 'the catastrophic year 1917'

'It is much more than a military history, rather an invocation which summons from out of the depths of the past the catastrophic year 1917 - the progenitor of the age in which we live.' Major General J.F.C. Fuller's Introduction to *In Flanders Fields* by Leon Wolff.

There is little doubt that 1917 was the worst year of the war for the allies. In 1917 the Germans achieved victory on the Eastern Front while the allies floundered in all their main theatres of war. At the end of 1917, in the words of military analyst and historian J.F.C. Fuller:

'the British were bled white, the French were morally exhausted, the Italians nearly out of the war, and the Americans not yet sufficiently involved to make good a fraction of the enormous losses sustained'.

This paper outlines what happened on the battlefields of 1917 and why their military plans went awry for the allies. It focuses primarily on the fortunes of the New Zealand Division which was involved in some of the critical military actions of 1917.

The Australian historians Robin Prior and Trevor Wilson have written that the outcome of the military events of 1917 'brought dire consequences' for the allies. The paper will analyse what these dire consequences were and suggest that the experience of 1917 left an enduring legacy for New Zealand. This legacy will be examined in the concluding section of the paper.

Profile:

Glyn Harper is Professor of War Studies at Massey University in Palmerston North. He is Massey's Team Leader for the Centenary History of New Zealand and the First World War project and is wrote one of the first volumes. A former teacher, he joined the Australian Army in 1988 and after eight years transferred to the New Zealand Army, where he rose to the rank of lieutenant colonel. Glyn was the army's official historian for the deployment to East Timor and is the author of fourteen books for adults. These include *Kippenberger: An Inspired New Zealand Commander*; *In the Face of the Enemy: The complete history of the Victoria Cross and New Zealand*; *Dark Journey: Three Key Battles of the Western Front*; *Images of War: World War One: A Photographic Record of New Zealanders at War 1914-1918*, *Letters from Gallipoli: New Zealand Soldiers Write Home*, *The Battles of Monte Cassino. The campaign and its controversies* and his most recent being *Johnny Enzed: The New Zealand soldier in the First World War 1914-18*. Glyn also enjoys writing books for children. Some of his children's books include *The Donkey Man*, *My Grandfather's War* and *Le Quesnoy. The Town New Zealand Saved*. Glyn's latest book for children, *Gladys goes to War*, was released in March 2016.

Mr Matthew Haultain-Gall

University of New South Wales

Perishable memories: Remembering and forgetting the Anzacs in Belgium, 1917

'The year 1917 had been one of disaster for our arms in all save the Messines attack' wrote ex-serviceman G.D. Mitchell in *Backs to the Wall* (1937). Few Australians, if they had known the extent of the Anzacs' efforts that year, would disagree. On the Western Front, the Australian Imperial Force (AIF) played a substantial role in fierce struggles for the French village of Bullecourt, a limited, but nonetheless costly, success at Messines Ridge and, finally the infamous third battle of Ypres (Passchendaele). Their involvement in these engagements came at a high price. 1917 was the AIF's bloodiest year and the exceptionally brutal third Ypres campaign killed and maimed more than thirty-eight thousand Australians alone. The heavy losses ruined plans to form a sixth AIF infantry division and triggered a bitterly fought conscription referendum back home, the second in as many years. Yet, in spite of these far-reaching consequences for individuals and the young commonwealth, 1917 has come to occupy an ambiguous place in the Australian collective memory of the war. Although many studies have charted the evolution of the dominant Great War narrative in Australia, the Anzac legend, such work has tended to focus on how the Gallipoli campaign, as well as other battles in which the AIF was involved in 1916 and 1918, such as Fromelles and Villers-

Bretonneux, have been remembered and commemorated. This paper will take a different approach; exploring the politics of memory making in Australia over the last century, it will interrogate the actions of various official and non-official agents in order to consider why the AIF's 1917 battles in Belgium – Messines and third Ypres – have been relegated to the periphery of the Anzac legend.

Profile:

Matthew Haultain-Gall is a PhD candidate in the School of Humanities and Languages at the University of New South Wales, Sydney. Originally interested in the little known 'war exit' (sortie de guerre) of the Australian 1st Division in Wallonia (Belgium) during the winter of 1918-19, he has turned his attention to the cultural memory of Australia's First World War experience in Belgium. He is the recipient of several grants and awards, including the Ken Inglis Prize for a paper on Charles Bean's war correspondence and his subsequent Official History chapters concerning the third battle of Ypres.

Miss Annalise Higgins

University of Cambridge

Guardians of an 'artificial neutral sea' or oceanic 'gatekeepers'? The implications of 1917 for the Panama Canal and international treatments of transoceanic waterways

After opening in August 1914, the Panama Canal operated as a neutral waterway in a world at war. The 1901 Hay-Pauncefote Treaty appointed the United States of America sole guarantor of the canal's status as an 'artificial neutral sea'. The April 1917 American entry into the war thus placed the canal's neutrality under the exclusive protection of a belligerent power. Woodrow Wilson promptly issued a proclamation of rules avowedly protecting the canal and its neutrality by prohibiting all enemy belligerent vessels from the canal without the American-controlled Canal Authorities' consent. Almost simultaneously, the United States established a bombardment squadron to defend the canal. As recent scholarship has demonstrated, the war elicited debates, challenges and renegotiations of ideas about international law and conduct at sea. This paper examines similar questions, raised by American belligerency, in relation to the Panama Canal as a man-made transoceanic waterway. It considers how legacies of the canal's wartime experience influenced conceptualisations of its place in a globalised world throughout the twentieth century. Despite its significance as a link between the world's two largest oceans, the questions raised by its wartime political management as an international waterway have garnered relatively little historiographical attention. Nevertheless, such questions are pertinent given that the waterway's neutrality was reconfirmed under the Torrijos-Carter Treaties in 1977,

long after neutrality's decline as a prominent feature of international diplomacy. This paper therefore examines how the Panama Canal's management and attempts to renegotiate its international status over the course of the century were problematised by intersections between its strategic and commercial significance and the idea that, as a connection between the world's two largest oceans, the canal could be imagined as an environmental construct which should remain open for all nations' ships.

Profile:

In 2016, Annalise Higgins completed an MA in History at the University of Auckland Te Whare Wānanga o Tāmaki Makaurau. In fall 2016, she joined the University of Cambridge as a Gates Scholar to pursue a PhD in environmental diplomatic history. Her research interests lie in histories of ideas, international law, diplomacy, petitioning, and the environment. She has worked on public attitudes towards and understandings of international law and, particularly, British public petitioning in support of the 1899 Hague Peace Conference. She is currently editing, alongside Maartje Abbenhuis and Christopher Barber, a collection entitled *War, Peace and International Order? The Legacies of the Hague conferences of 1899 and 1907* (forthcoming, Routledge).

Associate Professor Kate Hunter

Victoria University of Wellington

"You will find us much altered": Manliness and intimacy in soldiers' writings

Collections of Great War soldiers' letters and diaries are much more than archives of war. At their core, personal writings were men's attempts to sustain their emotional relationships. Through these attempts to mitigate separation from family, friends and lovers, men revealed a great deal about their understandings of themselves as men in these relationships. By 1917 the myriad faces of war included men whose correspondence with lovers (and would-be-lovers) had been lengthy: 'I haven't seen you in over two years' bemoaned Eric Dark's fiancée in June. Men's letters were also 'very blue' in 1917 and sparse because, as Thomas Dale wrote to Emma, 'we have had a little work to do'. Yet, men continued to struggle to articulate their masculine identities and remain active in relationships. They did so under remarkable circumstances that allowed them to observe other men from a range of ethnicities, classes and cultures, as well as reflect on their own responses to enormous stress. The vast and rich archives of men's writings allow us to move beyond discussions of representations and prescriptions of masculinity in the early twentieth century, to an analysis of the dynamism of masculine identity in these years.

Profile:

Kate Hunter has taught social and cultural histories of the Great War at Victoria University for 15 years. She has published in several journals including *First World War Studies*, *Gender & History*, and *War in History*. Her most recent book was co-authored with Te Papa curator Kirstie Ross, using objects from around the country to re-tell the history of New Zealand's experiences of the Great War.

Dr David Littlewood

Massey University

'Won't you meet us half-way?': The New Zealand Military Service Boards and conscientious objectors in 1917

The treatment of conscientious objectors is one of the biggest blots on New Zealand's First World War record. Ostracized by society and deprived of their civil rights, individuals who resisted conscription into the army were forced to undergo many trying experiences. Previous studies have identified the Military Service Boards as playing a significant role in this persecution. Labelled as over-zealous and ignorant jingoists, the Boards' members are said to have been far more concerned with ridiculing conscientious objectors than with assessing their appeals for exemption.

This paper evaluates such assertions by reference to the exemption hearings that took place during 1917. While conscription was first implemented in late 1916, and continued for the remainder of the war, 1917 was the year in which government policies towards conscientious objectors came to be defined, and in which the Boards formulated the approach that would guide them throughout their operations.

While not denying that the Boards' questioning of conscientious objectors was provocative, or sometimes unsavoury, this paper asserts that matters were rather more nuanced than the historiography suggests. Despite the tightly worded provisions of the Military Service Act, the appeal bodies did at least try to keep most conscientious objectors out of prison by offering them non-combatant service in the Medical Corps. Moreover, the Boards focused the majority of their efforts not on delivering indignant tirades, but on implementing a collective and measured approach that was designed to achieve an equality of sacrifice.

Profile:

David Littlewood is a Lecturer in History at Massey University's Palmerston North campus. His research focuses on the impact of the First World War on British and New Zealand society, with particular reference to the introduction of conscription. Dr Littlewood has been

published in *War in History* and the *New Zealand Journal of History*, and recently co-edited *Experience of a Lifetime: People Personalities and Leaders in the First World War* with John Crawford and James Watson. He is currently writing a book based on his PhD Thesis, which examines the operations of the British Military Service Tribunals and New Zealand Military Service Boards between 1916 and 1918.

Dr Caroline Lord

Independent Scholar

Constructing official images: how New Zealand's war artists commemorated 1917 for the National War Museum

Despite the efforts of historians, visual clichés still dominate the portrayal of the First World War in the modern popular imagination. Within this lexicon, 1917 is synonymous with the mud-clogged battlefield of the Passchendaele Offensive. Even though the New Zealand Division participated in many successful operations that year, it is the vision of 845 bodies tangled in barbed wire or drowned in the quagmire of Bellevue Spur that is embedded in New Zealand's national psyche. Alongside the Gallipoli Campaign, New Zealand's great military tragedy of 12 October 1917 has become a key symbolic moment in the country's commemorative rituals. Yet, in the immediate aftermath of the conflict, neither the disaster of Passchendaele nor the triumph of Messines were considered worthy of the official artworks commissioned for New Zealand's National Memorial War Museum. Instead, most of these works focus on the sector of the Ypres Salient held by the New Zealand Division throughout the miserable winter of 1917–1918, during which no major conflict took place. The stalled development of the war museum and the declining fortunes of the official war art programme in the early 1920s could be blamed for this apparent oversight, however, there is little evidence to suggest that this thematic emphasis was not deliberate. This paper will explore how New Zealand's official commemorative portrayal of 1917 both conforms to and defies the general perception of New Zealand's contribution to this critical year on the Western Front.

Profile:

Dr Caroline Lord holds qualifications in Art History (PhD, 2015; BA Hons 2006) and Painting (BFA, 2005) from the University of Canterbury and a Postgraduate Certificate in Art Conservation Studies, (1st Class Hons, 2007) from the University of Melbourne. Lord's research explores how traumatic events can influence culture and shape national identities. She is currently preparing a series of publications, based on her doctoral thesis, which will contextualise New Zealand official First World War art programme within the wider visual

history of the Great War. Alongside her academic career, Lord works as a professional researcher and historical consultant. She has contributed to various projects related to New Zealand's First World War Centenary Commemorations, including the production of the Ministry for Culture and Heritage's landmark publication *New Zealand and the First World War* (Penguin, 2013); the development of Sir Peter Jackson's 'Great War Exhibition' (opened April 2015) and the creation of the National Anzac Centre in Albany, Western Australia (opened November 2014). She has also been an art tutor, a corporate art consultant and a private art historical tour guide at the Vatican Museums, Rome. At present, Lord is employed as the project manager and heritage advisor on the high-profile restoration of Sydney Street Substation, a 1925 Arts and Crafts apartment in central Wellington

Dr Laura Macaluso

Independent Scholar (USA)

The Spirit of 1776/1917: Town and gown prepares for war

In the summer of 1917 Americans began preparing to enter the European War. Cantonments and camps sprang up around the country, making doughboys out of farm hands, clerks, factory workers — and college students.

New Haven, Connecticut was one such place: the site of the Winchester Repeating Arms Company, makers of the Enfield and BAR rifles, home to Yale University and campsite of the 102nd Regiment of the Yankee Division. New Haven had a sometimes productive, sometimes difficult relationship with the Ivy League school over the course of 300 years. The World War helped to break down social and political barriers that had developed during the nineteenth century, when the city was becoming ever more ethnic, and the university was becoming ever more elitist.

In 1917, soldiers made their first camp on the grounds of the Yale Bowl, Yale students and professors enlisted in the Yankee Division along with New Haveners and New Englanders, and Yale's great dining hall became the workroom of the New Haven chapter of the American Red Cross. Together, the New Haven Green and the Yale Campus became the centre for overt war-time preparations and both town and gown called upon the figure of Nathan Hale — America's first "spy" — to instil a local and national sense of identity dating back to the American Revolution in 1776. The bronze Nathan Hale monument had been installed only four years earlier on Yale's Old Campus, but the figure of a Connecticut farm boy/university student/soldier-spy remains a focal point of university life even today, although few remember the ways in which the "Spirit of 1776" was revived during World War I. This paper examines the relationship between town and gown in 1917, as both prepared to enter wartime Europe.

Profile:

Laura A. Macaluso, Ph.D. is an independent scholar who specializes in visual and material culture, with a focus on museum collections, murals, and monuments. Her most recent published work is the book *Art of the Amistad and the Portrait of Cinqué* (American Association of State and Local History/Rowman & Littlefield, March 2016) and an article in the peer reviewed journal *Material Culture, the Journal of the International Society for Landscape, Place, & Material Culture* (Fall 2016). She has degrees in art history and the humanities from Southern Connecticut State University, Syracuse University and Salve Regina University. She was a Fulbright Scholar in Swaziland (2008-2010), and was the curator of the exhibit “An Artist at War: Deane Keller, New Haven’s Monuments Man (2014-2015) covered in the NY Times and NEH Magazine.

Mr Alexander Mayhew

London School of Economics and Political Science

‘Mud, blood and not so much poppycock: “Myth” formation and the British Army in Late 1917.’

This paper will place 1917 at the heart of the popular ‘myths’ of the Great War in British popular memory. Gordon Corrigan’s desire to counter trends in the popular encapsulation of the First World War led him to overlook the fact that myths frequently have their origin in fact. It is undeniable that the memory of the First World War – particularly in Britain – has been clouded by misinterpretation and hyperbole. However, we should ask where these popular ideas have come from. Why is that visions of muddy and shell-torn battlefields, fruitless and costly attacks, inept and single-minded generals and increasingly hopeless soldiers became so preponderant? While scholars such as Dan Todman and Jay Winter have persuasively demonstrated how and why memories of the First World War altered over the course of the twentieth century, this paper will demonstrate how soldiers’ experiences in 1917 lie at the heart of the now embedded assumptions about the experience of the Western Front. It will investigate soldiers’ reactions to unseasonably heavy rainfall, a waterlogged battlefield and the early onset of winter and demonstrate how this ensured that their physiological and psychological state was poor. The unsuccessful campaigning around Passchendaele and the heavy fighting encountered there provided fuel for negative perceptions of their commanders and their increasingly pessimistic views of the future and peace. Furthermore, stories and rumours of the war’s progress outside of the Western theatre – the collapse of Russia and Italian rout at Caporetto – ensured that victory and peace became an increasingly distant prospect. These problems, when combined, solidified to leave many soldiers at a critical point of dejection. By tracing these issues it is possible to

see how the central pillars of the First World's War's 'myths' are, in fact, embedded in the reality of late 1917.

Profile:

Alex Mayhew is a PhD student in the Department of International History at the London School of Economics. Having graduated with a First Class Honours and the Brewer Prize for Modern History from King's College London in 2013, he was offered a scholarship to undertake his DPhil under the supervision of Dr Heather Jones. In his second year at the LSE he also benefitted from the secondary supervision of Professor David Stevenson. His research focuses on the relationship between English soldiers' perceptions and their morale on the Western Front. The thesis ultimately looks to understand men's resilience but also investigates the 'experience' of morale and how issues affecting soldiers' motivations changed over the course of the war.

Dr Joseph McBrinn

Ulster University

The Disabled Soldiers' Embroidery Industry casket in the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa

On the 15 November 1917, the English artist and actor Ernest Thesiger wrote to the Ministry of Pensions with what must have seemed a somewhat eccentric proposal that they establish an embroidery workshop to provide training and employment for disabled combatants returning from the war. Thesiger suggested the men could initially "copy and mend old needlework" but eventually they should make and sell their own designs. The London War Pensions Committee quickly rejected Thesiger's proposal – a decision which he maintained reflected prevailing ideas that embroidery was too "effeminate [an] occupation for ex-soldiers." However, soon after the Government's rejection Thesiger's proposed workshop did in fact become operative, under the auspices of a charity, as the Disabled Soldiers' Embroidery Industry. Within a decade it had become one of the most celebrated and successful luxury textile workshops in Britain making a critical contribution to the renaissance of embroidery during the twentieth century. In 1927 at an exhibition of the Disabled Soldiers' Embroidery Industry's work in London's fashionable Belgravia, at the home of the politician, industrialist, art collector and founder of the Imperial War Museum, Sir Alfred Mond, Queen Mary was presented with a gift of "an exquisite little casket in black and gold Spanish work on a white silk background inspired by the embroideries brought to England by Queen Catherine of Aragon" made by a man "who had lost both legs" in combat. In 1946 Queen Mary presented this casket to the people of New Zealand in remembrance of the war. This paper offers an interrogation of this unique object (on display at the Museum

of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa) as a means to uncover how modern ideas about masculinity, disability and craft were transformed by the First World War.

Profile:

Joseph McBrinn is a cultural historian, critic and curator currently based in Northern Ireland. Born in 1971 he was educated and has worked in the Ireland, Scotland and France. He has held teaching positions at the National College of Art and Design in Dublin, in the Republic of Ireland, and, currently, at the Belfast School of Art, Ulster University, in Northern Ireland. He has written articles and reviews for *Embroidery*, *Selvedge*, *Textile: The Journal of Cloth and Culture*, *Homes Cultures*, *Fashion Theory*, *Art History*, *The Journal of Modern Craft*, *Journal of Design History* and *Oxford Art Journal*. His current research is focused on masculinity and design. His book, *Queering the Subversive Stitch: Men and the Culture of Needlework*, is forthcoming from Bloomsbury.

Dr Michael McKinley

Australian National University

The US Entry into World War I: The origins, evolution and critique of alliance strategy and warfare

This paper argues that the United States decision to declare war on Germany in April 1917 established the basis for what became alliance warfare throughout the twentieth century and into the twenty-first century to this point. Although Great Britain and the Empire did not foresee it at the time, the US was to become, first, the “indispensable nation” in their major wars, and subsequently, the determinant of the wars fought by Australia and New Zealand. As the ANZUS Treaty and its wider relationship replaced the imperial defence connection, a mind-set evolved in Wellington and Canberra which regarded following the US into wars as the *quid pro quo* for the manifold benefits which were claimed to flow from the overall arrangement regardless of whether the war in question was thought to be wise in the first place, or whether the strategies being employed were likely to achieve the declared objectives. Thus, even when it was realised that the United States could not necessarily be relied upon to automatically come to the aid of its subordinate partners, an argument supporting the alliance – “the sophisticated case” – was articulated which claimed that being in receipt of an ongoing schedule of benefits, which included intelligence and influence, were of such a magnitude that they rendered marginal the question of whether Australia and New Zealand, in extremis, would receive combat assistance. This claim, a century after the US commitment to the Great War in Europe, is now a form of conventional wisdom so powerful that without exaggeration, it is something more: an article of faith. Since no later than the Vietnam war, it has proven impervious to a full spectrum of challenges – strategic,

military, and empirical – and now exists in a privileged realm beyond political accountability and responsibility.

Profile:

Michael McKinley's teaching, research, and writing encompass global political economy, international terrorism, security issues in the Australian and New Zealand strategic environment, ANZUS, strategic theory, and philosophies of war and peace. He held defence and foreign policy positions with the Opposition Advisory Secretariat in the Parliament of New Zealand (1973-1975); was a consultant on ANZUS to the Legislative Research Service, Parliament of Australia (1984-1985); a consultant on defence policy to the state government of Western Australia (1985-1986), and several of his works - on the Indian Ocean region, APEC, and the state of contemporary universities under neo-liberal regimes - have been submitted as testimony to Senate inquiries. He has an extensive record of publication as well as consultation in the areas of his specialisations by both the electronic and print media in Australia and internationally.

Dr Jeff McNeill

Massey University

Lost Victory: the New Zealand Division in the Battle of Messines, June 1917.

The Battle of Messines is New Zealand's lost victory of the First World War. Celebrated at the time with newspaper headlines of 'New Zealanders' Splendid Work' and a 'Great Day for New Zealand', the battle of June 1917 was the New Zealand troops' first decisive and complete victory since the war had begun. It is bookended with the Battle of the Somme in September 1916 and the horror of Passchendaele in October 1917. New Zealand's participation in these two battles chime with the wider narratives, confirming the popular perception of First World War warfare and fighting in Flanders, in particular, as grinding continual trench warfare fought in the mud. Brave men were thrown in the meat mincer by château generals, bunglers and incompetents all, to failure and disaster. Winning the war somehow seemed incomprehensible.

Inconveniently, the 1917 Battle of Messines was fought in hot spring days and although bloody, the New Zealanders' casualties were unexpectedly light. It was well-planned and executed, drawing on state of the art doctrine and technology. This was a victory that everyone at the time wanted to be associated with and politicians forty years later sought to claim association. Yet New Zealand has subsequently lost this victory from its collective memory, preferring defeat. The Battle of Messines was also a victory lost in the wider military sense; the failure to follow up the Messines attack condemned the British to the

drawn-out Passchendaele offensive, a lost opportunity. Although forgotten in the Antipodes, the Battle of Messines is well known to military historians as a textbook example of siege warfare with the near simultaneous detonation of 19 mines that marked its start and exemplary planning and execution of a 'bite and hold' tactics that proved irresistible to the Germans. The New Zealand Division's participation provides a case-study of how mid-war Western Front warfare was engaged to explore the value and application of doctrine, technology, training and leadership. A hundred years on from the battle, it is appropriate for Antipodeans to rediscover the battle and explore how it was executed.

Profile:

Dr Jeff McNeill is a senior lecturer in environmental policy and planning at Massey University, with a PhD in Politics, and Masters Degrees in Geography and Public Policy. He is completing a book on the ANZAC Corps and opposing German units' participation in the Battle of Messines 1917. He was first attracted to this topic when researching his grandfather's involvement in the First World War and with the opportunity to visit the battlefield while working in the European Parliament; he quickly realised that this battle has largely been lost in New Zealand's war narrative. The Battle of Messines and the New Zealand Division's involvement provide an excellent case-study for wider understanding of mid-War warfare. Dr. McNeill's research has taken him to the German war archives in Munich and Dresden as well as the battlefield itself where he has guided visits and will give a lecture as part of the June 2017 centennial commemorations there.

Dr John Milnes

University of Otago, New Zealand

'Onward Christian Soldiers': The churches' response to Conscription

In 1916 New Zealand's expanding military commitment necessitated the introduction of conscription. The Government's decision to introduce the Military Service Bill led to conscription becoming law from 1 August 1916. However, it was not until November that the dearth of volunteers required the first conscription ballot. Consequently, the full impact of what conscription meant was not experienced until 1917.

The three main Christian churches (Anglican, Presbyterian and Roman Catholic), nominally representing 78.9% of New Zealanders, had largely been in favour of conscription during 1915 and 1916, yet their attitudes underwent considerable modification during 1917. This change could be traced to two issues: the lack of exemption for clergy within the Military Service Act and the moral implications of forcing committed religious and conscientious objectors to fight or be imprisoned.

This paper will examine the reasons why the churches advocated for conscription and their very different reactions to its imposition in late 1916 and 1917. It will argue that there was considerable cross-denominational support for conscription's introduction, but that this support quickly fractured during 1917 when ballots became more frequent and its implications were better understood. It will highlight the different reasons for this fracturing as well as demonstrating the limits of generalising each denomination. It will take a nuanced approach, demonstrating how each denomination had a variety of views. It will show that the views expressed within each denomination were found outside of that denomination, indicating that the churches were reflecting the concerns and opinions of wider New Zealand society.

The paper will also examine how the churches' attitudes towards conscription, the peace movement and wartime service developed during the interwar period. It will address how they reacted to conscription's imposition in 1940, why they supported this and active involvement in the war and, at the same time, demonstrated greater acceptance within each churches' membership of dissent and conscientious and religious objection when compared to World War One.

Profile:

Dr John Milnes has a special research interest in First World War history. He graduated with a Doctorate in 2015 from the University of Otago, examining the role of the Anglican, Presbyterian and Roman Catholic churches in Dunedin during World War One. He completed a Master of Arts from the same university, examining the New Zealand Mounted Rifles Brigade in Sinai and Palestine 1916-1919, graduating in 2000. He has published and presented many conference papers on the intersection of religion and society during World War One. He currently works in Research and Enterprise, University of Otago.

Dr David Monger

University of Canterbury

'Patriotic Pence' and 'Can You Use a Spade?': British propaganda and tangible patriotism in 1917

1917 was the year the British state got serious about domestic propaganda. With questionable battlefield progress, revolution in Russia, strikes in Britain and official concerns about the resolve of the British public, multiple official organisations sought to instruct British civilians in their patriotic obligations. Exploring propaganda and official papers from organisations including the National War Savings Committee, the Ministry of National Service and the National War Aims Committee, this paper extends suggestions previously made by Paul Ward and in my own work that historians should pay greater attention to

everyday contributions. While propaganda bodies attempted to organise grand set pieces and to inspire the public with stories of German bestiality or the civilised values of Britain and its allies, a substantial part of Britain's domestic propaganda message also involved appeals for small individual patriotic contributions. These calls for personal patriotism suggested each civilian – woman, man or child – could make meaningful, tangible contributions to national well-being, whether through war work, investments or simply 'good conduct'. Attention to everyday citizenship presented a less challenging and more plausible appeal to public service than the bolder narrative of civilisation versus barbarism that has often appeared the crux of wartime propaganda, and need to be examined with similar thoroughness.

Profile:

David Monger is Senior Lecturer in History at the University of Canterbury. He is the author of *Patriotism and Propaganda in First World War Britain: The National War Aims Committee and Civilian Morale* (2012), and co-edited *Endurance and the First World War: Experiences and Legacies in New Zealand and Australia* (2014). His research focuses on British official propaganda during the war. *Patriotism and Propaganda* reconceptualised patriotic propaganda, highlighting the narrative purposes of propaganda content and its roots in longer-standing British patriotic language. He has also published articles on the representations of home, sport and leisure in propaganda to servicemen, the discussion of women's patriotic citizenship and the ritual aspects of public propaganda. He is currently working on a larger history of British wartime propaganda, and exploring James Bryce and Arnold Toynbee's wartime report on the Armenian Genocide.

Katherine Moody

Christchurch City Libraries

Not such a strange meeting: the literary legacy of the meeting of Wilfred Owen and Siegfried Sassoon in 1917

It was in 1917 that Wilfred Owen and Siegfried Sassoon met at Craiglockhart War Hospital in Scotland. Owen was suffering from shell-shock and Sassoon had been sent to the hospital following his protest against the conduct of the war earlier that year. As well as going on to produce some of the influential poetry of the twentieth century this meeting has also been immortalised in other literary works. Stephen MacDonald's 1987 play *Not About Heroes* is a duologue which follows the course of their friendship, while Pat Barker's *Regeneration Trilogy* features their initial meeting as part of a wider narrative which mixes real and fictional elements.

This paper will demonstrate how in both works, in contrasting ways, the meeting is used as a framework in which to explore masculinity in the First World War. As evidenced by Sassoon's statement of protest dated July 1917, by this time soldiers were under serious pressure and their suffering was causing a range of issues which both MacDonald and Barker explore. Homoeroticism and the stigma of shell-shock are strong themes in *Not About Heroes*, whereas Barker considers issues around class, sexuality, mental illness and pacifism. Indeed, Barker argues that masculinity is a restrictive cultural construct which has begun to fracture under the stresses and strains of modern warfare.

It is intended to show that a meeting which had an influence on modern poetry also influenced the portrayal of masculinity in modern fiction and theatre, and as such is another important legacy of 1917.

Profile:

Katherine Moody BA(Hons), MA, RLIANZA graduated from University College London with a Masters degree in Museum Studies and in the UK worked for the Department of Research and Information Services at the RAF Museum, and the respective Departments of Printed Books at the National Army Museum and Imperial War Museum. After working briefly at the Macmillan Brown Library and Canterbury Museum she now works at Christchurch City Libraries.

Simon Moody

Air Force Museum of New Zealand

Beyond the legacy – Re-evaluating the Canterbury Aviation Company, 1916-1918

The brain child of entrepreneur, politician and aviation visionary, Henry Francis Wigram, the Canterbury Aviation Company at Sockburn, just outside Christchurch created a flying school which began operations in 1917 on the first proper aerodrome in New Zealand. During its life, over 150 pilots from across New Zealand were trained for service overseas, though only a few saw operational service. Relatively little in-depth original research or historical examination has been done on how the school functioned or the experiences of those who trained and worked there. Researchers have often simply relied on the company's own neatly packaged propaganda produced as a brochure entitled *The First Hundred Pilots* in 1918. Drawing on primary written and visual materials held in a number of archives, this presentation explores the kōrero and taonga of this innovative enterprise and reveals some remarkable insights of how the school functioned at both a commercial and social level within First World War Canterbury and New Zealand. It examines who trained there and why, what the methods were and how some of the solutions to the often-considerable

problems of flying training in a remote part of the Empire were overcome in typically New Zealand style. The school also became part of the local social milieu; its activities recorded in the media and created its own esprit de corps and culture. An objective assessment of the value of this training in the context of the supply of pilots to the Imperial Forces is also long overdue, with many completing just a few hours and being effectively retrained by the RAF on arrival in Europe or the Middle East. Finally, the paper places the legacy of the Company within the pantheon of subsequent memorialisation of New Zealand's role in the war.

Profile:

Simon Moody was born in Dorset, England and studied history, archaeology and archive management at the Universities of Leicester, York and UCL. Since 1996, he has worked with the archives at the RAF Museum and National Army Museum in the UK. With a life-long research interest in the First World War, he published (with Alan Wakefield) *Under the Devil's Eye: Britain's Forgotten Army at Salonika* in 2004. He moved to New Zealand with his wife in 2009 to become Research Curator at the Air Force Museum of New Zealand at Wigram, Christchurch and is responsible for overseeing the archives and research there. During the First World War Centenary, he has researched and contributed content on the Balkans and aviation to the NZ History website for MCH, chaired the Canterbury 100 Project and contributed a paper to the Experience of a Lifetime Conference in 2014 and the associated book.

Dr Marcus Moore

Massey University

Of 1917 time and space: appreciating Marcel Duchamp's *Fountain* beyond ready-made

In 1917 Marcel Duchamp (1887-1968) submitted an upturned male urinal, 'a common piece of American plumbing', to the Society of Independents Exhibition, New York. Though the work had a title, a signature R. Mutt, and a date, the jurors of the exhibition rejected it. *Fountain* is the most notorious of Duchamp's ready-mades, undertaken four years after his first *Bicycle Wheel* (1913, Paris). This paper situates *Fountain*, together with other ready-mades in the period 1913-1919, to demonstrate how in evading the climate of war, Duchamp unleashed a radical force upon the art world of its time and a gesture that forever changed the course of modern art. But not to think of the readymade only as an iconoclastic gesture of 'solid' mass-produced form, the paper will highlight the unstable nature of the ready-made as an object that, together with its creator, seemingly explored new avenues for the expression and perception of time-space at a very moment when the inventions of warfare also forever altered ideas of time and space (death, destruction, physics of the

known everyday world). In many respects the ready-made was a dissent not just of the prevailing traditions in artistic traditions in Europe at that time, but also under the conditions of a desire to remove oneself. In becoming different by escaping the agendas of conflict it was to imagine, wonder and invent new perceptions of the stable/unstable world.

Profile:

Marcus Moore is a creative artist, writer and curator. He holds a PhD in art history from Victoria University and curated the large historical exhibition *Peripheral Relations--Marcel Duchamp and New Zealand Art (2012)* based on this research. This is becoming a book. He contributes articles to scholarly and other journals in New Zealand and other international centres. He has interests in post-humanism and his pet dog named Plato is wise and loves tennis balls.

Mr Thomas Munro

University of Auckland

The ideas of The Hague Peace Conferences and the United States declaration of war in 1917

The United States declaration of war against Germany in 1917 would profoundly change the dynamics of the First World War and the United States role in international politics. Throughout the war neutrals and belligerents had publicly defined what they believed their nation's role in the conflict to be and what they hoped the post-war world would look like. The United States' dramatic shift from neutrality to belligerency in 1917 necessitated a re-definition of their role in the war. The public discussion in the United States about entry into the war drew on a discourse about the nation's role in world affairs that The Hague Peace Conferences of 1899 and 1907 had significantly shaped. The conferences dealt with a range of issues, such as disarmament, the laws of war, and the development of international organisations and provided the opportunity for these ideas to be debated in a more public manner than ever before. The debate in the United States differed from other countries as the nature of what was discussed at the conferences reinforced the idea of American uniqueness. Because armaments and the threat of war were perceived to be European problems, the American press was able to position the country as something different and, to a degree, something better. A number of Americans claimed that The Hague conventions symbolised the victory of civilisation over barbarity and that the United States was largely responsible for this achievement. This paper examines the manner in which ideas of The Hague shaped the public discussion about the United States entry into the war in 1917 and what consequences this had for American engagement with the post-war world.

Profile:

Thomas Munro is a doctoral candidate in history at the University of Auckland. His main research interests are the First World War and international relations during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. His thesis examines how the multitude of ideas that developed out of the Hague Peace Conferences of 1899 and 1907, relating to war, peace, international law and organisation, remained relevant through the course of the First World War and in its aftermath.

Dr Kerry Neale

Australian War Memorial

Faces of war: facial wounds and the legacy of the Queen's Hospital, Sidcup

"On August 18, 1917, we moved into Queen's Hospital at Sidcup, and our arrival was simultaneous with a flood of casualties. We literally put down our suitcases and picked up our needle-holders." - Harold Gillies, surgeon

The Great War changed the lives of thousands of men through disfiguring facial wounds. For many British and Dominion facial wound cases, their treatment would take place at the Queen's Hospital, Sidcup. Between the hospital's opening in 1917 and its closure in 1925, the surgeons treated over 5,000 servicemen and carried out more than 11,000 major operations.

100 years on, the medical innovations made by Gillies and his team still serve as the foundations for facial reconstructive surgery. How did these innovations come about? What was life like at the hospital? I will also explore the relationship between art and surgery, as a number of artists were attached to the hospital over the years and produced stunning portraits of patients. How do these contribute to the broader representation of war's brutality, or does society still shy away from such images?

While their wounds are highly visible, this group of men have been largely unseen in histories of the Great War until recent years; their stories hidden behind the more 'acceptable' wounds of amputee or shell-shocked veterans. Why has this been the case, and what were their lives like after they left the relative security of the hospital wards? The release in Australia of Great War pension files provides new insights into the post-war lives of the disfigured.

Up to 25% of wounded military personnel from Iraq and Afghanistan present with face and neck wounds – almost double the percentage of facial wounds sustained by servicemen during the Great War. The centenary of the Queen's Hospital's opening provides an

opportunity to question and confront the social stigma still surrounding wartime facial wounds, and to recognise the remarkable legacy of the patients and staff of the Queen's.

Profile:

Dr Kerry Neale is a curator at the Australian War Memorial in Canberra. She completed her doctorate at the University of New South Wales, examining the experiences of British and Dominion Great War soldiers who suffered facial wounds, as well as the men and women who treated them. She is currently working on the publication of her thesis, and has a particular interest in the social history of war, medicine and disability. Dr Neale has been the recipient of several awards including an Australian Bicentennial Scholarship from the Menzies Centre for Australian Studies, King's College, London, and grants from the Australian Army History Unit, the Wellcome Trust in London and the International Council for Canadian Studies. She graduated with First Class Honours and the University Medal in History from the Australian National University.

Professor Michael Neiberg **KEYNOTE SPEAKER**

U.S. Army War College

The path to war: America, 1914-1917

This talk will explore one of the most important events of 1917: the entry of the United States of America into the war. For far too long we have been content with a simplistic narrative that keeps a focus on President Woodrow Wilson and posits a strict American neutrality from 1914 to 1917. This focus diverts attention from the myriad connections between the United States and the war in Europe from its first days. This paper will move away from the White House in order to explore the impacts of the war on the American people at the economic, cultural, and political levels.

The conventional narrative of American entry into the war, largely written by admirers of Wilson, has gone largely unchallenged by scholars. It implies that the American people did not support the war and that Wilson had to lead them into a global crusade. A more dispassionate analysis shows that by spring 1917 the American people had concluded that their years of neutrality had made them less safe, not more. They were, as a group, willing to fight a European war in order to remove the threat Germany posed, but they had little interest in their president's grand schemes for a New World Order. Thus, when the Germans signed an armistice on November 11, 1918 the American people thought their war was over. Their president disagreed, setting up debates over the role the United States should have in the postwar world. This paper will conclude with some thoughts on the immediate postwar years and the legacy that the war left for the American people.

Profile:

Professor of History in the Department of National Security and Strategy at the U.S. Army War College. He has also taught at the U.S. Air Force Academy and the University of Southern Mississippi. With backgrounds in social history, military history, French history, and American history, Neiberg has published widely on the theme of war in the world, especially in the era of the two world wars. His most recent books are *Dance of the Furies: Europe and the Outbreak of World War I* (2011) and *The Blood of Free Men: The Liberation of Paris, 1944* (2012).

Dr Steven Paget

University of Portsmouth

Frozen out: The Royal Navy's Baltic submarine flotilla and the Russian Revolution

The causes and consequences of the Russian Revolution have been extensively studied and widely debated. However, the consequences for the Royal Navy (RN) Baltic Submarine Flotilla have often been overlooked. Relations with elements of the Imperial Russian Navy were always frosty and RN submariners often found themselves marginalised by their allies. However, the relationship became much more precarious in 1917. The Russian Revolution prompted mutinies, eradicated the rank structure, led to increased inefficiency and precipitated violence within the Russian navy. Measures were instituted to separate British and Russian sailors and to preserve the lives of the Russian liaison officers that worked with RN crews, but some of those men were amongst the Tsarist officers killed. What followed was a period of occasional danger and despair. After the Bolshevik seizure of power, plans were made to prevent the submarines falling into German hands, which resulted in the flotilla being scuttled in 1918. In the same year, Captain Francis Cromie, who had commanded the flotilla and later served as Naval Attaché at the British Embassy at Petrograd, was killed. This paper will examine both the flotilla's professional experience of operating with an ally in disarray and the personal consequences for the sailors. It will also consider the implications of the experience on broader British-Russian relations in the wake of the Revolution.

Although some of the officers, particularly Max Horton, would eventually rise to prominence, the experiences of the Baltic Submarine Flotilla have been overshadowed by other more notorious RN operations, especially the Battle of Jutland. The limited scholarship on the flotilla is unfortunate as not only did it achieve disproportionate success (relative to the number of submarines involved), but the sailors were embroiled in one of the pivotal moments of history.

Profile:

Dr Steven Paget is a Senior Teaching Fellow in Strategy with the University of Portsmouth at Royal Air Force College, Cranwell. Prior to that, he was a Lecturer in Strategy and Operations with the New Zealand Defence Force and an NZDF Teaching Fellow at Massey University. He has also taught at the Australian National University and the University of Canberra. His work focuses on multinational naval operations in the 20th and 21st century and has been published in Australia, the UK and the US.

Dr Catriona Pennell **KEYNOTE SPEAKER**

Exeter University

Brothers in arms? The Irish war effort in the aftermath of the Rising

On 11 November 1998, Queen Elizabeth II and the then Irish President Mary McAleese gathered at Messines Ridge in Belgium – site of the June 1917 battle when the largely Protestant soldiers from the 36th Ulster Division fought alongside southern Catholics of the 16th Irish Division – to unveil a tower in memory of those Irishmen who gave their lives during the First World War. Their presence together was widely seen as carrying as much symbolic significance for the present day as for the past. The inauguration of the Island of Ireland Peace Park was the first public event undertaken jointly by a British monarch and the president of Ireland. The park – conceived of by the Unionist activist Glenn Barr and Fine Gael politician, Paddy Harte – centred upon the notion that historical war remembrance, specifically of shared experience, could contribute to the healing of present-day divisions between loyalist and nationalist communities in Ireland. It was a ground-breaking moment in the history of commemoration in Ireland that has set the tone for the official commemorations of the centenary of the First World War in Ireland, north and south. Emphasis has been placed on the war being a moment of common, unifying experience; the central narrative is that Irishmen fought in the war and shared similar experiences regardless of political persuasion.

Taking the Battle of Messines Ridge as its jumping off point, this paper seeks to examine three key questions:

Firstly, to what degree can we understand the Battle of Messines in June 1917 as an exemplary example of ‘brothers in arms’? Did the men of the 36th and 16th divisions frame their motivations for fighting in the war solely along partisan lines? Were men at the time conscious of the political implications of this shared experience that has gained currency in the language of the Northern Ireland peace process since the 1990s? How was the Battle

(and the two divisions' participation in it) understood at the time amongst communities across the north and south of Ireland?

Secondly, how does this experience of cooperation abroad compare with the trajectory of domestic politics in Ireland in 1917? The Battle of Messines Ridge happened just over twelve months after the Easter Rising, an armed insurrection battling against British rule in Ireland. What was life in Ireland like in the aftermath of rebellion? How did the Rising transform public opinion both in Ireland and the UK? What efforts were made to re-orientate British policy towards Ireland in 1917 and to what extent was public support already persuaded by republican nationalism? What implications were there for the Irish war effort?

Finally, how do these two issues come together in the centenary year of 2017? What is the legacy of both Messines and the Easter Rising and how have the governments of the UK, the Republic of Ireland and the devolved authority in Northern Ireland sought to traverse this tightrope of competing, and often contradictory, political, military and cultural significance? Is a moment of shared experience on the battlefield the most appropriate commemorative touchstone amid the historical complexity of a post-Rising Ireland?

Profile:

Catriona Pennell is a Senior Lecturer in History at the University of Exeter, UK. She specialises in the history of 19th and 20th century Britain and Ireland with a particular focus on the relationship between war, experience, and memory. Recent research projects have examined these issues firstly, from the perspectives of two Irish divisions on the Somme in 1916 and 1918 (funded by the British Academy) and secondly, by an interdisciplinary analysis of the ways the First World War is taught in secondary schools in England (funded by the AHRC). She is currently the Academic Lead on a collaborative project with the Institute of Education, investigating pupil responses to the UK government-funded [FWW Battlefield Centenary Tours Programme](#) between 2015 and 2019. Her publications include *A Kingdom United: Popular Responses to the Outbreak of the First World War in Britain and Ireland* (OUP, 2012; 2014), 'Presenting the War in Ireland, 1914-1918', in Troy R.E. Paddock (ed.) *World War I and Propaganda* (Brill, 2014), and 'Learning Lessons from War? Inclusions and Exclusions in Teaching First World War History in English Secondary Schools', *History and Memory*, 28:1 (2016), pp. 36-71.

Dr Jock Phillips **Keynote**

Passchendaele - remembering and forgetting

Almost 1800 New Zealanders lost their lives in the operations at Passchendaele in October 1917. By comparison some 2700 lost their lives in the nine months of the Gallipoli campaign of 1915. Yet Gallipoli became a name much remembered and treasured by later generations in New Zealand, while until recently Passchendaele was forgotten by all but a few. This paper will explore how the losses at Passchendaele were received in New Zealand immediately after the battles, and then how they were recalled in the years after the Great War. It will try to explain why for so long there was considerable amnesia about the human tragedy of the battle. The sources used will range from the official reports, such as war diaries, formal histories and newspaper accounts, through to informal memories as reflected in letters, diaries and soldiers' reminiscences, and will also include visual records such as cartoons and eventually war memorials.

Profile:

Dr Jock Phillips is a public historian based in Wellington. He completed his PhD at Harvard University and taught American and New Zealand history at Victoria University of Wellington (1973 to 1989) where he established the Stout Research Centre for New Zealand Studies. He was the country's Chief Historian for 14 years (1989-2002) overseeing major historical projects such as the New Zealand Historical Atlas. He was a Conceptual Leader at Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa and initiated the position of and became General Editor, Te Ara: the Encyclopedia of New Zealand (2002-2011), and then Senior Editor in charge of the content (2011-14). He has published extensively on various aspects of New Zealand's history including New Zealand's involvement in World War I.

Dr Gorch Pieken **KEYNOTE**

Militärhistorisches Museum der Bundeswehr

The forgotten break in history: World War I and the year 1917 in German commemorative culture

As a commemorative year, 2014 was full of exhibitions, conferences and publications that brought World War I back to the centre of public attention in Germany. In all the other years, however, the German memory of World War I is usually eclipsed by that of World War II. World War I has only once been the subject of relevant historico-political debates in West Germany: in 1961, historian Fritz Fischer came to the conclusion that much of the blame for the war lay with the German Empire. In the official history of East Germany, World War I was

an inevitable consequence of capitalism and imperialism, and hence just another step on the ladder to world revolution.

Being mass media with a far-reaching influence, museums have a considerable and lasting effect on the collective memory of European societies. The three major museums in Germany representing World War I in their exhibitions are the Bavarian Army Museum in Ingolstadt, the German Historical Museum in Berlin and the Bundeswehr Museum of Military History in Dresden. Which narratives do these exhibitions employ for World War I? How much store do these narratives set by the year 1917, a year that ranks among the worst of mankind and is perceived as having a much wider significance than just the developments of World War I?

In 1953, German historian Hans Rothfels coined the expression of the "epochal year of 1917" and chose this year as the starting point for research on contemporary history. Historian Ernst Nolte described 1917 as the beginning of the "European civil war", a theory that caused the second quarrel among German historians (*Historikerstreit*) in 1986. According to Evan Luard, the world entered the Age of Ideologies in 1917, an era that ended only in 1989. All three historians agree that 1917 with its "physiognomy" has had a significant influence on the developments of the twentieth century. Even the festivities celebrating the fourth centenary of Luther's Reformation were much more warlike in 1917 than they will be for the 500th anniversary in 2017. In Germany, hundreds of exhibitions, books and film projects have been planned on this occasion, which will completely absorb the wider public's interest in historical exhibitions and publications in 2017.

Profile:

Studied history, art history, and Dutch philology in Cologne. From 1995 to 2005 he was curator and head of the multimedia department in the German Historical Museum, Berlin. In this position he was responsible for all electronic media for the permanent and all temporary exhibitions of the German Historical Museum. In that time, he also worked as author and producer of several documentary films for German and French television. In 2006 Gorch Pieken became project director of the new permanent exhibition of the Militärhistorisches Museum der Bundeswehr (Military History Museum of the Armed Forces). In 2010 he became Academic Director and Director of Exhibitions, Collections and Research in the Military History Museum.

Euan Robertson

Massey University

Touching a nerve: Bridging the gap between real and imagined regarding the everyday of New Zealand's Great War soldiers.

100 years on from 1917, the hyperbole, the societal worship or civil religion surrounding the myths associated with Anzac troops is alive and well. Contemporary media continue to reiterate similar rhetoric to that reported during and post 1917, especially leading up to and including Anzac Day commemorations. With the centennial commemorations in full swing has the New Zealand public moved on from the tropes of heroism, courage and duty; has the media succeeded in their patriotic rhetoric when regarding myth making to further embed notions relating to soldier clichés? Are contemporary New Zealanders any more informed or connected to the far-reaching impact of the war or their descendant's roles during the war?

This paper explores the Anzac soldier stereotypes and analyses myth-making and contemporary civil religion in Australia and New Zealand. Through the auto-ethnographic lens of performance-based practice, the paper investigates how fusing live music and imagery, juxtaposed with texts from soldier's diaries and letters, can better engage with an audience, to touch a nerve, to connect them with the everyday of those who fought during the Great War. The paper will begin with a short performance and projection piece to contextualise the investigation and includes audience responses to the work relevant to the everyday of New Zealand troops 1914-18.

Profile:

Euan Robertson has worked as a creative director, art director and graphic designer for over 25 years before joining Massey University. His research is scholarly and practice/performance focusing on constructed gender stereotypes and the resulting media representations that impact upon perceptions and performances of masculinity. Robertson is currently investigating the ramifications of societal expectations of New Zealand men as a result of the Great War through the lens of multiple projections linking footage and soldier's quotes. His teaching practices involve creative, advertising and strategic thinking and have been recognised by various teaching awards.

Kirstie Ross

The Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa

‘Fittingly displayed’: The acquisition and exhibition of photographs of New Zealand’s Great War medal winners at the Dominion Museum, Wellington

In 1917, the Director of the Dominion Museum in Wellington, New Zealand sent his first form letter to the next-of-kin of New Zealanders awarded medals during the Great War. The Director wrote to families, asking them for photographs of their decorated kin, and any other artefacts, ‘in readiness for the time when they can be fittingly displayed’. The outcome of this massive effort was 71 photographic display boards, now held at Archives New Zealand along with the correspondence associated with the acquisition, reproduction and display of the photographs. The heroic, commemorative function of the images featured on these boards was just one of many ways in which photographic technology was utilised during and immediately after the war. However, as Sandy Callister notes in her 2008 book, *The Face of War: New Zealand’s Great War Photography*: ‘[t]oo often, the multiplicity of ways in which New Zealanders produced and consumed photographs during the war years is overlooked’. With this in mind, this paper considers the nature of war, photography, museums, and public remembrance, through the close examination of the correspondence related to the Great War medal winners’ photographic display boards. By doing so, this paper amplifies the work of Australian historians Anne-Marie Condé and Tanja Luckins, who have examined the motivations behind the donation and sale of Great War soldiers’ diaries and letters to the Australian War Memorial and Mitchell Library in Sydney. But as this case study demonstrates, we see that photographic prints, because of their capacity to be copied, existed simultaneously both in private and in public, and conveyed different but also overlapping meanings in each of these two spheres.

Profile:

Kirstie Ross has been a history curator at the Museum of New Zealand since 2004. In that time, she has curated numerous permanent and temporary social history and cross-disciplinary exhibitions. Most recently she was the lead curator on Te Papa’s commemorative project, Gallipoli: The scale of our war, as well as two smaller war-related exhibitions, Road to Recovery: Disabled Soldiers of World War I and The Berry Boys: Naming the Kiwi Faces of World War I. Interested in material histories, and material culture as an historical source, she co-wrote with Dr Kate Hunter Holding on to Home: New Zealand Stories and Objects of the First World War, which was published by Te Papa Press in 2014. She is currently History Content Lead on Te Papa’s exhibition renewal project.

Dr Galina Rylkova **KEYNOTE**

University of Florida

From *Cursed Days* to “Sunstroke”: Ivan Bunin’s reflections on the Bolshevik revolution (1917-1925) and their cinematographic appropriation in Nikita Mikhalkov’s “Sunstroke” (2014).

Cursed Days is a unique document that offered Bunin a much-needed outlet for his disgust with and disapproval of the unfolding social and cultural events in 1917-1921. First written as a diary, it was later developed into a public statement, serialized in 1925 by the Russian émigré newspaper “*Vozrozhdenie*.” In *Cursed Days* Bunin tried to make sense of virtually inexplicable events by comparing them to the French revolution and Russian peasant uprisings. As hard as he tried, Bunin was not a historian, but a passionate and emotional observer. To make a definitive statement about the role of World War I and the subsequent revolutions in the lives of ordinary people, he had to invent his narrative of loss, which is often structured as a life-changing event due to its characters’ loss of loved ones. The characters often do not know immediately what they have lost but become aware of their predicament shortly after the event. The time frames of these stories are the supposedly happy times before 1917. Bunin rarely crosses this watershed, but readers are made aware that these very private episodes are somehow related to a gigantic loss that the Russian people experienced in 1917 and in the years to come. A younger writer, Vladimir Nabokov, adopted a similar approach of privatizing the revolutionary developments in his first novel *Mary* (1926).

For his film about the reasons for the Bolsheviks’ astounding victory, Mikhalkov chose to combine *Cursed Days* with Bunin’s best-known story “Sunstroke.” He reverses the logic of Bunin’s literary development by making the events of “Sunstroke” (a one-night stand that quickly turns into the best and unforgettable moment in the characters’ lives) serve as a precursor of the future Bolshevik terror. The male character’s irresponsible behaviour is shown to lead directly to his execution several years later. While Bunin opted for distilled and, to a certain extent, “falsified” accounts of the losses and traumas inflicted by the Bolsheviks, Mikhalkov decided to restore the “apparent” logic and placed Bunin’s cart before his horse. The result is a rather forced attempt at dotting all the i’s and crossing all the t’s in a narrative which Bunin intentionally left vague and open to interpretations. I will also talk about the futility and ultimate impossibility of the Mikhalkov-like attempts at determining the exact site of “the original sin.” In best-case scenarios, such attempts lead to ingenious distortions and falsifications as we can find in Bunin’s prose following *Cursed Days*.

Profile:

Associate Professor of Russian/Slavic Studies at the University of Florida. She was born in Moscow, Russia, and received her M.A. in Romance-Germanic languages and literatures from Moscow State University. She received her Ph. D. from the University of Toronto in Slavic Languages and Literatures. Her teaching and research have been focused on Russian and European Modernism; Anton Chekhov; Memory and Cultural Studies. She has published articles on a wide range of topics, including cultural memory about the Russian Silver Age, and the writings of Chekhov, Tolstoy, Dostoevsky, Nabokov, Pil'niak, and Pasternak. She is the author of *The Archaeology of Anxiety: The Russian Silver Age and Its Legacy*, (University of Pittsburgh Press) in which she discusses how Russian writers, intellectuals and the public at large coped with the existential anxieties unleashed by the Bolshevik Revolution, Stalinist Terror, Khrushchev's Thaw and Gorbachev's perestroika in 20th-century Russia.

Professor Bruce Scates

Monash University

The long reach of war: Passchendaele, Australia and the aftermath of 1917

Hew Strachan has argued that battles, by their very nature, are 'bound in time and space'; paradoxically they defy any register of linear time and their effects 'spill into the future'. The paper will consider the impact of 1917, in particular the Third Battle of Ypres, and the lasting effect it had on communities of the bereaved, the culture of commemoration, the post-war life soldiers who survived the fighting and the families they came home to. It will focus on three Australian case studies: an Australian officer whose intimate correspondence with his wife negotiates a complex shift from 'warrior' to 'nurturer' and whose papers embody a complex register of love and loss; an Indigenous 'Anzac' who 'vanished' on the Salient but whose memory is honoured and replenished by his community today; and a soldier who survived the fighting at Messines only to end his own life (and that of his young family) ten years later. Diverse as these cases are, these myriad faces of 1917 raise important themes about how families and individuals struggled to come to terms with the effects of war and how they came to remember it. They demonstrate the way that a single year, 1917, changed the lives of a generation and raise difficult questions about how and why Australians commemorate the Great War today.

Profile:

Professor Bruce Scates is the Director of the National Centre for Australian Studies at Monash University and leads the 100 Stories project, a digital, online narrative contesting

the character of state-sanctioned commemoration. He is the author of numerous studies of the Great War including *Return to Gallipoli*; *A Place to Remember* and *On Dangerous Ground*, an 'imagined history' exploring the fraught nature of remembrance today. He is also the lead author of *Anzac Journey*, a collaborative study of pilgrimage to the memory sites of World War Two, and *The Last Battle*, the first substantial study of repatriation files in the post war period. Bruce served on the Anzac Centenary Advisory Board, advocating for the digitisation of archives and other educational initiatives. His biographical study of the Great War, *World War One: A History in 100 Stories* was co-authored with early career researchers Rebecca Wheatley and Laura James.

Mr Thomas Schmutz

University of Newcastle

Revolutions, visions and diplomacy

The implications of the Russian revolutions on the German-Ottoman alliance

The Ottoman world seems often forgotten in the historiography of the First World War. The war led to the death of two empires and established a new order in the Middle East. Focusing on the total war between Tiflis and Cairo brings in a new perspective of the mostly Eurocentric perception of the global war. The seminal change came in the year 1917, when the Russian revolutions ended the Russian war effort. Russian troops were closer to Istanbul than ever before, but the unexpected turn relieved the Ottomans from their strongest counterpart in the ongoing war. This had major implications on the diplomacy, war aims and military operations of the German-Ottoman war alliance.

Interestingly, the Young Turk leaders and the German diplomats had quite different war aims at the outbreak of the war, but needed each other in order to fulfil their desire for regional and global power. Germany did not intervene when the persecution of Ottoman Christians turned into annihilation. Ottoman leaders wanted to create a homogenized Turkish homeland in Anatolia since the Balkan Wars. With regard to Ottoman Jews and Palestine, German and Ottoman argued about the possibility of a post-war Jewish homeland. However, the British victories in Palestine made this vision unrealistic. The Balfour Declaration in November 1917 showed the continuation of the Sykes-Picot planning and the post-war concepts for the Middle East. The scramble of the Ottoman Empire was once again for London and Paris only a question of time. The seminal change came in the year 1917, when revolutions in Russia enabled war minister Enver Pasha to try a second advance into Central Asia and to dream of a pan-Turkish empire. The year 1917 was decisive for the German-Ottoman conduct of war and the last visions of empire and post-war order.

Profile:

Thomas Schmutz studied History, Political Science and German Literature at the University of Zurich and Paris Diderot 7. He is interested in transnational history, global history, the history of violence and the end of the Ottoman Empire. He is a PhD candidate at the Centre for the History of Violence in Newcastle, Australia, and at the University of Zurich. His doctoral thesis concentrates on the Western diplomacy in Asia before and during the First World War with regard to violence, intervention and reform. His research focuses on the relationship between Western diplomacy and Asian Christians and Jews. One major aspect is the interaction and perception of Western diplomats with regard to Ottoman Christians before and during the First World War, when different concepts of intervention, reform and violence were formulated.

Professor Radhika Singha

Jawaharlal Nehru University

“Infructuous hoards’: war finance, propaganda and dissent in India, 1917-1921”

1917 introduced many firsts to India’s financial history. In March 1917 the Government of India announced the “free gift” of 100 million pounds towards Britain’s war expenses and to this end it launched the first Indian War Loan. Public loans had been floated in India but for revenue-generating projects such as irrigation works or railway construction. “The First Indian War Loan” was a staggeringly more ambitious exercise, oriented to a more intangible object, the winning of the war. The even more ubiquitous reminder of the Government’s war-time relationship of debt to its subjects was the increased volume of paper currency in circulation, representing as it did a claim on falling specie reserves. This essay explores the propaganda dilemmas which the state faced in negotiating its role as debtor to its subject population. The paper examines public debates about the war loan and currency issue as they wove around three archetypal figures: vernacular newspapers focussed on the modest consumer; the government counted on plutocratic contributors to the war loan, but spoke of educating the small investor. What really haunted the colonial regime, however, was the reaction of the small producer if paper currency could no longer be kept convertible to silver-based rupee coin. In early 1918, far from deathly struggles on the battlefield, the Government of India confronted the danger of its war effort being strangled by the secession of millions of peasant and producer households from the market in goods, labour and services.

Profile:

Radhika Singha is currently completing a monograph on Indian labour in the First World War. Her other intersecting research interests include social histories of crime and criminal law, colonial governmentality, and identification and policing of mobile populations.

Dr Monty Soutar **KEYNOTE**

Ngāti Porou, Ngāti Awa, Ngai Tai; Ministry for Culture and Heritage

The Māori war effort at home and abroad

This paper invites the audience to contemplate the development of three processes and their results during 1917, so that they may understand the Māori situation after the First World War. The first is the reaction of Māori leaders to the New Zealand Pioneer Battalion's casualties, which led them to focus more sharply on financial support for returning soldiers. Fundraising towards a Māori soldiers' war fund took on new meaning. The amount raised in 1917, £20,000 (around \$2 million in 2016 terms) and a total of more than £50,000 by War's end, was impressive. Moreover, the development of the modern action-song was accelerated as a consequence of their fund-raising activities.

In parallel, after valuable work as a mixed-race battalion (i.e. Māori, Pakeha and Pacific Islanders) at Messines, the Pioneers had a name change and became known as the Māori Battalion. By the end of the year the unit had morphed into an almost wholly Māori organisation. What were the implications of becoming the Māori Battalion and how did this impact on the perception of those involved, on recruitment, and on Māori representation in the Second World War?

A third process, perhaps the most important in 1917, the Military Service Act was extended to include the conscription of Māori, "especially the Waikato tribe," who the Minister of Defence claimed, "had not answered the call to enlist voluntarily." This move had long-lasting consequences that dominated political activities after the war and led to the investigation of Māori grievances that, as one politician put it, "had arisen from unfulfilled promises, arbitrary acts of Government land-purchase officers or, most serious of all, from the punitively excessive confiscation of Māori land."

Profile:

Dr Monty Soutar, ONZM (Ngāti Porou, Ngāti Awa, Ngai Tai), is a historian with the Ministry for Culture and Heritage and World War One Historian-in-Residence at the Auckland War Memorial Museum. He specialises in Maori history. He has worked widely with iwi and Maori communities as demonstrated by his book *Nga Tama Toa* (Bateman, 2008), which told the story of the 28th Maori Battalion in the Second World War through letters, diaries and

oral testimonies from over a hundred veterans and their wives. Next year he will publish *Whitiki*, another major work about Maori in the Great War. Currently, he is leading a digital project on Treaty of Waitangi Settlements in New Zealand. He has been a teacher, soldier and lecturer and has held a number of appointments on national advisory boards, including the First World War Centenary Panel and the Waitangi Tribunal.

Professor Peter Stanley **KEYNOTE**

University of New South Wales

Temporary sahibs at war: Terriers in India in 1917

In 1914 British regular battalions were withdrawn from India to serve on Gallipoli and the Western Front. Some fifty thousand British Territorial troops replaced them, serving as British India's garrison for the rest of the war and beyond. All but three of forty-one battalions came southern England. Many Territorial units moved on to active theatres, especially Mesopotamia and Palestine, and some went to Singapore, Sydney, and even Siberia, but many Territorials remained in India, some battalions serving in frontier campaigns or the Third Anglo-Afghan war in 1919. Astonishingly, in the century since, their encounters with India have never been explored or analysed, but their experiences as soldiers and sahibs-for-the-duration will now be understood. Drawing on a huge lode of contemporary evidence, including letters, diaries, memoirs and not least photograph albums held in regimental museums and county archives across southern England, and field work in India, the story of the Terriers in India can at last be told. Their story suggests how even a century on, untold stories remain from the Great War, revealing how it changed the lives of those caught up in it. This paper will deal on how Territorials responded to and recorded India and Indians, focusing on 1917 as a key year in India's experience of war.

Profile:

Research Professor at the Australian Centre for the Study of Armed Conflict and Society, University of New South Wales is a leading and forthright Australian military-social historian. He was Head of the Centre for Historical Research at the National Museum of Australia from 2007-13. Between 1980 and 2007 he was an historian and curator at the Australian War Memorial, including as head of the Historical Research Section and Principal Historian from 1987. He has written several books about Australia and the Great War since 2005 (*Quinn's Post*, *Anzac*, *Gallipoli*, *Men of Mont St Quentin*, *Bad Characters* and *Digger Smith and Australia's Great War*, with others in train). Peter Stanley was the recipient of the Prime Minister's Prize for Australian history in 2011.

Dr María Inés Tato

CONICET; University of Buenos Aires

1917 in Latin America: Between Pan-Americanism and anti-imperialism

1917 was a decisive year in diverse scenes of the First World War, contributing to the globalization of the conflict. Although that date tends to be automatically identified with the Russian Revolution, the impact of this outstanding event was neither immediate nor direct everywhere. The dynamics of different spaces of the world were determined by many other factors happening simultaneously, the influence of which on local experiences of the war differed from one latitude to another.

In Latin America, the entry of the United States into the conflict was the more significant event, which triggered important developments in the diplomatic, economic, political and cultural fields. The United States displayed an active campaign to align the countries of the subcontinent behind her foreign policy, led under the motto of Pan-Americanism. As a result, most Latin American states severed diplomatic relationships with or declared war against the German Empire, in the context of rough internal debates.

This paper aims to analyse the impact of the United States' entry into the war on the Latin American intellectual field. It will tackle with two main reactions unleashed by that event. On the one hand, it led many intellectuals to support the notion of continental unity under the American leadership, reinforced later by the so called "Wilsonian moment". On the other hand, it also gave rise to the contestation of the American interferences in the subcontinent's domestic affairs; to the revival of anti-imperialism, a vigorous ideological trend appeared after the Spanish-American War of 1898; and to the proposal of Latin American unity.

Profile:

María Inés Tato holds a PhD from the University of Buenos Aires (UBA). She is researcher of the National Scientific and Technical Research Council – Argentina (CONICET); Professor at the UBA; and Coordinator of the Group of Historical War Studies at the "Dr. Emilio Ravignani Institute of Argentine and Latin American History", CONICET-UBA. Her research focuses on the social, cultural and political impact of the Great War on Argentina and Latin America. Dr Tato is co-editor of *Las grandes guerras del siglo XX y la comunidad española de Buenos Aires* (Buenos Aires, 2015, with Nadia de Cristóforis) and *América Latina y la Primera Guerra Mundial* (Mexico, forthcoming, with Olivier Compagnon, Camille Foulard and Guillemette Martin), and author of many articles on the subject published in Argentine and international journals, and of chapters included in collective books published in Argentina and abroad.

Mr Paul Turner

Massey University

Singing from the same song sheet: Patriotism in the 1917 classroom

In 1917, following a recommendation from the National Efficiency Board, flag ceremonies became commonplace in New Zealand schools. This initiative was supported by a wide range of private and public sector groups and justified on the premise that children would come to regard themselves as an integral part of wartime society. This paper will explore how songs composed by New Zealanders in response to the First World War were used in public schools in 1917 to promote patriotism and express support for this country's commitment to the Allied Powers. To set the scene a review of educational policy and practice that was influenced by the outbreak of war will be undertaken. This will be followed by consideration of the type of song that became part of the school experience for students. There were hundreds of songs and tunes composed between 1914 -1918. Not all of these specifically referenced the First World War but the majority were patriotic and as such considered appropriate for use in the school setting. Occasions such as Anzac Day and Declaration Day created new school traditions giving legitimacy to patriotic ideologies. Musical performance and appreciation was a significant component of these events. New compositions were encouraged and festivals of New Zealand music were established during this time. In 1917, the Minister of Education, J. A. Hanan, in a letter to the organiser of the festival of New Zealand composers said 'no more noble aspiration could inspire poet and composer than to hand down to posterity some memorials of the great and heroic deeds of soldiers.' He also supported introducing officially into public schools songs composed by New Zealanders. Finally an assessment will be made of how attempts to develop a sense of patriotism through the use of contemporary compositions were received in the 1917 classroom.

Profile:

Paul Turner teaches at the Institute of Education, Massey University. He has taught music education papers in both primary and secondary initial teacher education programmes. His main research interest is focused on the songs composed by New Zealanders that were produced in response to the First World War. As a musician, he has twice been invited to perform at commemoration events in Belgium. He has also composed, arranged and produced several First World War themed songs with the group Ceol Manawatu.

Dr James Watson

Massey University

1917: A year of crisis on the New Zealand 'home front'

As in so many other combatant countries, 1917 was a crisis year on the New Zealand 'home front'. The renewal of rapid increases in the cost of living at the same time as rises in wage-rates remained modest put great strain on industrial relations and engendered widespread public frustration over what was seen as a failure to stamp out 'profiteering'. This was compounded by the absence of so much of the workforce, which put additional strain on those left in New Zealand. On top of this, the movement towards conscripting the mostly married men of the Second Division struck at some very fundamental values in New Zealand society. It proved difficult to justify in light of the entry of the United States into the war and the refusal of Australian voters to accept even the conscription of single men. Several MPs advocated a reduction in New Zealand's reinforcement rate and there was strong criticism of Defence Minister Allen and of General Godley. Finally, while the heavy casualties suffered during the triumphs of the northern summer were challenging, those encountered in what was increasingly recognised as the defeat at Passchendaele proved much harder to endure as the long-promised victorious ending to the war was yet again postponed.

The legacy of the crisis of 1917 in New Zealand was greatly increased alienation from the country's existing leadership, especially amongst much of the working class. It thus gave the newly-formed and rather struggling Labour Party the opportunity to secure a large bloc of voters. More profoundly, the crisis at home contributed to a disillusionment with war that was to make many New Zealanders reluctant to confront Nazi Germany militarily in 1939.

Profile:

Dr James Watson is Associate-Professor in History at the Palmerston North Campus of Massey University. His most recent book was *W.F. Massey: New Zealand in the Haus Makers of the Modern World* series on the Paris Peace Conference (London, 2010). He also co-edited, with Lachy Paterson, *A Great New Zealand Prime Minister: Reappraising William Ferguson Massey* (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2011). He is currently writing a book on the 'home front' in New Zealand during the First World War.

Earlier books were *Along the Hills*, which gained a J.M. Sherrard Award in New Zealand Regional History, and *Links: A History of Transport and New Zealand Society*. His article in *Agricultural History*, 'The Significance of Mr. Richard Buckley's Exploding Trousers: Reflections on an Aspect of Technological Change in New Zealand Farming between the World Wars' was awarded an IgNobel Prize.

Mr Steve Watters

Ministry for Culture and Heritage

"He died for us". The challenge of applying critical thinking at Pukeahu National War Memorial Park

With the centenary of the 1917 battles of Messines and Passchendaele looming, Pukeahu National War Memorial Park will again be the focus of national commemorations. How do we ensure this is not 'Anzac Day writ large' and prevent the ongoing commemorations associated with the centenary of the First World War becoming, 'repetitive, sterile and boring'? In 2015 more than 10,000 New Zealand school children participated in the new education programme at Pukeahu, including the Great War Exhibition. This unique site combines a dedicated place of remembrance with a museum-type experience. It has raised many questions as to the form and function of commemoration. As Jay Winter once noted, we as historians (and citizens) 'are part of a stream of commemorations we didn't ever create'. Commemoration of the 'the fallen' is steeped in traditions few today examine or question. This has been a particular challenge in the development of an education programme at Pukeahu National War Memorial Park. Students of all ages as they have gathered round the Tomb of the Unknown Warrior tell us that this was a person who 'died for us' or even that this person was 'a hero'. It is not uncommon for teachers and adults accompanying classes to weep with emotion, highlighting how easy it is – albeit unintentionally – to push emotional buttons that seem to override any deeper thinking about what they are participating in and why. How can sites such as Pukeahu help visitors to examine the form and function of commemoration during a period where we are at risk of remembrance overload? How can young New Zealanders especially be encouraged to think critically about the purpose of such commemoration and the bigger messages that sit behind it so as to make it relevant to their lives today?

Profile:

Steve Watters is a member of the Research and Publishing Team at the Ministry for Culture and Heritage. As a member of the WW100 Programme Office he has taken the lead role in developing an education strategy to support the First World War commemorations including the highly successful school programme Walking with an Anzac. He has led the ministry's work in establishing an education programme at Pukeahu National War Memorial Park including the Great War Exhibition which has as of the middle of 2016 involved more than 15,000 onsite visitors.

Mr John Williams

University of Texas

A line in the sand: The birth of modern Iraq in post-World War I, Middle East and the advent of a century long geopolitical quagmire

This paper examines the direct and devastating impact the First World War had on the nations, states and societies of the Middle East. More specifically, it examines a series of key events that took place in the Middle East in 1917 that would not only lead to the creation of the nation of Iraq, but also alter relations between the Western Powers and those countries of the former Ottoman Empire in the immediate aftermath, as well as its legacies that continue to be felt today in political, economic, social, cultural, scientific, and technological spheres.

This paper will serve four purposes: first, to examine the role petroleum played during the First World War in altering geopolitical relations between European powers and emerging nationalities in the Middle East; second, to analyse the role the Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1917 played both directly and indirectly in promoting sectarian divisions between Sunni and Shia in the Kingdom of Iraq; finally, to discuss the San Remo Mandate and its contribution to furthering Muslim animosities towards Western powers that ultimately contributed to the Arab Revolt of 1920.

Profile:

John P. Williams is a doctoral candidate in the Arts and Humanities program at the University of Texas at Dallas. John's fields of study are: The First World War and the Lost Generation, Nazi Germany and the Holocaust, and European Immigration to America (1654-1924). His educational background includes an A.A. degree in Paralegal Studies, a B.A degree in History, Masters of Arts in Teaching, and a Masters in Liberal Arts. In addition to his studies, John teaches American history adjunct at Collin College, Plano, Texas.

Professor Nick Wilson

University of Otago and Massey University

The worst year of the War: Patterns of death amongst New Zealand military forces in 1917

The study aimed to describe the epidemiology of mortality in New Zealand Expeditionary Force military personnel in 1917 by statistically analysing an electronic version of the NZEF Roll-of-Honour. Relevant literature was considered to provide context for the patterns observed.

In 1917 there were more deaths among NZEF personnel than any other year of the war and of these injury deaths predominated. In terms of distinct battles, the death toll was largely driven by the battle of Passchendaele which involved days with very high mortality peaks (e.g., two days with over 450 deaths per day). One of these peaks reflected a failed offensive due to heavy rain and the inability of the artillery to destroy barbed wire and German defensive boarders.

The proportion of those who died of wounds in 1917 was similar to the preceding year which suggests that trends towards saving lives via greater use of steel helmets, better battlefield evacuation and improved medical treatment were occurring at a fairly slow pace (or were largely counteracted by trends such as the greater use of artillery).

This paper discusses the conclusions of the study investigating why more New Zealand military personnel died in 1917 than any other year of the First World War including the impact of decisions made by military commanders at the Battle of Passchendaele.

Profile:

Nick Wilson is a Professor of Public Health at the University of Otago, Wellington. His past historical research interests have covered the history of tobacco control, environmental health hazards (e.g., leaded petrol), the 1918 influenza pandemic, and First World War-related health issues. Regarding the latter these included 10 publications on: pandemic influenza in NZ Expeditionary Force (NZEF) military personnel in WWI, life expectancy of NZEF personnel, nutritional deficiencies in NZEF personnel at Gallipoli, art and WWI health issues, and injury epidemiology of NZEF personnel. Five of these publications have been co-authored with Professor Glyn Harper, Massey University.

Professor Jay Winter **KEYNOTE**

Yale University, United States and Monash University, Australia

1917: The turning of the tide

The Great War of 1914-18 divided into two parts. The first was marked by the ascendancy of the Central Powers, which created an unassailable defensive posture in 1914-16, and thereby had the better of the stalemate in the first two years of the war. The great battles of 1916 ended the stalemate, and from 1917 on, the balance of power shifted in the Allies' direction, based in part on the immense material advantages the Allies had, advantages which increased when Russia left the war and the United States joined as an associated power. In 1917, it was possible to see, dimly, that the Allies would win the war because of their ability to distribute human and material resources successfully as between civilian and military claimants. The Central Powers' defeat also took shape in 1917, when the first military-industrial complex in history took full control of the war, leading to disaster at home and defeat in the field within a year.

Profile:

The Charles J. Stille Professor of History at Yale, is a specialist on World War I and its impact on the 20th century. His other interests include remembrance of war in the 20th century, such as memorial and mourning sites, European population decline, the causes and institutions of war, British popular culture in the era of the Great War and the Armenian genocide of 1915. He is co-director of the project on Capital Cities at War: Paris, London, Berlin 1914-1919, which has produced two volumes, the first on social and economic history, published by Cambridge University in 1997, and the second published by Cambridge in 2007. Jay Winter was co-producer, co-writer and chief historian for the PBS series *The Great War and the Shaping of the 20th Century*, which won an Emmy Award, a Peabody Award and a Producers Guild of America Award for best television documentary in 1997. He was the editor of *The Cambridge History of the First World War* (3 volumes, 2014).