New Zealand Studies Network UK & Ireland

Second Biennial Conference

New Zealand in the First World War

Conference Programme

Birkbeck, University of London, Rooms: MAL B18 & B20,
Torrington Square, London, WC1E 7HX.

George Edmund Butler, ‘Menin Road and Chateau Wood with Ypres in the distance’.
Thursday 3 July 2014

10.00: Welcome, Rod Edmond, & opening Rob Taylor, New Zealand Deputy High Commissioner

10.15 – 11.15: Keynote Lecture. Chair: Anna Davin
Charlotte Macdonald, ‘World War One and the Making of Colonial Memory.’

11.15 - 11.30: Tea/Coffee

11.30 – 1.00: Panel One. Chair: Alex Calder

Harry Ricketts, ‘Donald H Lea and Alfred Clark: Two New Zealand First World War Poets’ [40 mins]

1.00 – 2.00: Lunch

2.00 – 3.15: Panel Two. Chair: Felicity Barnes
Sandra Barkhof, ‘The New Zealand Occupation of Samoa’ [30 mins]

Candan Kirisci, ‘The Face of the “enemy”: The Image of the Adversary in Turkish Literary Works on Gallipoli’ [30 mins]
3.15 – 4.15: Panel Three. Chair: Sarah Shieff

Clare Ashton, ‘Remembering the ANZAC Nursing Sisters: A Centenary Voyage in the Wake of the Nurses Who Cared for the Sick and Injured in the Aegean in 1915’ [20 mins]

Janet Wilson, ‘Maurice Shadbolt’s Once on Chunuk Bair: Birth of a Nation?’ [30 mins]

4.15 – 4.30: Tea

4.30 – 5.45: Panel Four. Chair: Murray Edmond

Caroline Lord, ‘A Forgotten Contribution? New Zealand’s Official First World War Artists’ [40 mins]


6.00: Reception, Short Poetry Reading – Murray Edmond & Kevin Ireland, Dinner.
**Friday 4 July 2014**

**9.30 – 11.00:** Panel Five. Chair: Charlotte Macdonald

Felicity Barnes, ‘Bill Massey’s Tourists in the Big Smoke: Rethinking the Great War and National Identity’ [40 mins]

Rod Edmond ”’It’s Your Submission We Want, Baxter!’: Archibald Baxter’s *We Will Not Cease: The Autobiography of a Conscientious Objector*’ [40 mins]

**11.00 – 11.15:** Tea/Coffee

**11.15 – 12.30:** Panel Six. Chair: Harry Ricketts

Alex Calder, ‘A Head for Numbers: Alexander Aitken at Gallipoli and the Somme’ [30 mins]

Sarah Shieff, ‘Time Out of Mind: Musical Patterning and Retrospective Coherence in Alexander Aitken’s *Gallipoli to the Somme*’ [30 mins]

**12.30 – 1.30:** Lunch

**1.30 – 2.45:** Panel Seven. Chair: Janet Wilson

Michelle Keown, ‘Nga Tangata Toa: Dramatic Representations of Maori and Indigenous Australian Soldiers Involved in World War One’ [30 mins]
Julia Lenders, ‘A Passport to Hell: Reaffirming National Identity and Gender Identities in Post-World War 1 New Zealand Literature’ [30 mins]

2.45 – 3.45: Panel Eight. Chair: Rod Edmond

Ivane Pautler, “The Great War in all its Greatness”: Individual and Collective Experiences of War in the Work of Janet Frame’ [30 mins]

Bruce Harding, title to be announced, paper to be read by Charlotte Bennett (30 mins)

3.45 - 4.00: Tea
Speakers and their Presentations
Clare Ashton, The University of Sydney

‘Remembering the ANZAC Nursing Sisters: a centenary voyage in the wake of the nurses who cared for the sick and injured in the Aegean in 1915’

Abstract: The ANZAC nurses sisters were not immune from the hasty decision-making that characterized the Gallipoli Campaign. New Zealand’s Stationary Hospital was sent to Salonika on the Marquette, a troop ship, making it a legitimate target for the torpedo that sank it. Staff Nurse Hooker of Napier survived but was invalided back to New Zealand in 1916. Sister McMillan of Sydney arrived on the Greek Island of Lemnos on 8 August 1915 to cope with the casualties of the offensive that included the battle for Chanuk Bair. The wounded arrived by the hundred but the hospital’s supplies were delayed by three weeks.

In 1915 Mudros Harbour on Lemnos was a huge open-air hospital for the casualties from Gallipoli. Lemnos is one of the highlights of a forthcoming September 2015 voyage that will reappraise the contribution of the ANZAC nursing sisters to the care of World War I casualties as well as remember the nurses lost in the Eastern Mediterranean in 1915.

Clare Ashton is the main organizer for the voyage mentioned above. She is an Honorary Research Associate at the Sydney Nursing School, University of Sydney. A New Zealand trained nurse and midwife, Clare has nursed in operating theatres, psychiatry, maternity, general practice and on ships at sea. She has always had an interest in history and was co-curator of a national exhibition in 2001 to mark the centenary of nurse registration in New Zealand. Her interest in World War I nursing grew out of researching the history of Karitane Mothercraft in New South Wales, whose founding Director Florence Elizabeth McMillan had served on Lemnos and in France. Clare is working to publish Sister McMillan’s letters from Lemnos.
Sandra Barkhof, Plymouth University

‘The New Zealand occupation of Samoa’

Abstract: In 1914, an occupational force from New Zealand occupied the German colony of German Samoa. In my paper, I would like to discuss and analyse the policies implemented by the new administration, including the transport and subsequent incarceration of German men from Samoa in POW camps in Auckland and Wellington. The paper will also consider the perception of the Germans remaining in Samoa, many of them women and children, in relation to the new administration, particularly taking into account that many of them were briefly interned in Samoa. A study of the New Zealand occupation of Samoa raises interesting points for comparison with the Australian occupation of German New Guinea, as these administrations had rather different policies towards the Germans living in these colonies.

Sandra Barkhof is a Lecturer in Modern History, specialising in German and Japanese History of the nineteenth and twentieth century, and currently Associate Head of School and Subject Leader for History at the University of Plymouth. For the past five years, she has researched the German colonies in the Pacific, and has given papers on the German POW in Japan 1914-1920 (for example at the Asian Conference for Arts and Humanities in Osaka, as well as at the German Studies Association Annual Conference in Oakland, both in 2010; at the War and Displacement Conference in Plymouth in 2012; at the First World War International Conference in London, August 2014). I have recently published an edited volume (with A K Smith) on War and Displacement in the Twentieth Century (New York: Routledge).
Felicity Barnes, The University of Auckland

‘Bill Massey’s Tourists in the Big Smoke: Rethinking the Great War and National Identity’

Abstract: New Zealand’s experiences in World War One have become almost inextricably intertwined with narratives of national identity. In numerous histories, the deadly shores of Gallipoli and the mud of the Western Front are not only scenes of staggering mortality but also of a kind of redemptive rebirth. Away from home, and amongst the British, it is claimed, soldiers found themselves to be something distinct: they had become New Zealanders. In these histories, nascent New Zealandness is formed in opposition to Britishness. But war could forge bonds as well as break them. This paper will re-evaluate our conventional assumptions by examining another important, yet overlooked war time site: London. From 1916, London was the centre for New Zealand’s military command, but for the soldiers themselves, it had a much more important function. It was the main site of leave for soldiers escaping the routine of the main camp in nearby Sling, the boredom of a convalescent hospital or the carnage of the Western Front. As thousands of ‘Bill Massey’s tourists’ hit the streets of London, volunteer organisations like the YMCA and the New Zealand War Contingent Association sprang into action, ready to convert the ‘big smoke’ into a familiar ‘Home away from home’. Drawing on the diaries and letters of soldiers, this paper will examine the effects of this experience on issues of identity, arguing that the old nationalist model of alterity – New Zealand versus British – and even newer interpretations that allow for a continuing sense of Britishness, obscure a much more subtle process of identity formation.

Felicity Barnes is a Lecturer in New Zealand history at the University of Auckland. Her paper draws from her recent book, New Zealand’s London: A Colony and Its Metropolis, published by Auckland University Press in October 2012. A version will be included in the
forthcoming “1914-1918-online” digital encyclopedia on the First World War, an international collaborative project overseen by Freie Universität Berlin (Friedrich-Meinecke-Institut, Center for Digital Systems) in cooperation with the Bavarian State Library and funded by the German Research Foundation. She is currently working on a project exploring the construction of a shared ‘dominion’ cultural identity in Australia, New Zealand and Canada.

**Charlotte Bennett, The University of Oxford**

**Charlotte Bennett** is a DPhil candidate at Wolfson College, University of Oxford. She has a long-standing interest in youth responses to international crises, and her current doctoral project explores children’s experiences of war in New Zealand and Ireland during the 1910s. Her article on New Zealand children during the First World War and the 1918 Influenza Pandemic was recently published in the *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth.*

**Alex Calder, The University of Auckland**

‘A head for numbers: Alexander Aitken at Gallipoli and the Somme’

**Abstract:** In *From Gallipoli to the Somme* (1963), Alexander Aitken often comments on the incapacity of language to represent his experience of war. ‘I once wrote it all down’, he confesses, ‘only to discover that horror, truthfully described, weakens to the merely clinical’. This impasse is shared by all who left distinguished memoirs of the War. But Aitken was a mathematician with astonishing powers of calculation and memory (it took him about 30 seconds to mentally compute the answer to 987654321 multiplied by 123456789). What Kant called the mathematical sublime is high among the things that trouble anyone involved in the discourse of war. What does it mean to say that 20,000 British soldiers were killed on the first day of the battle of the Somme? Or that of the 2,000 New Zealanders killed in that battle, half have no known grave? In this paper, I am interested
in ways in which mathematical ideas come to Aitken’s assistance in describing the indescribable. I explore the way he uses figures figuratively, working both with and against the mathematical sublime, to give his book unusual power as an act of testimony and commemoration.

Alex Calder is Head of English, Drama and Writing Studies at the University of Auckland. His research, for which he has received a Marsden Award, focuses on processes of cultural contact and settlement, particularly with regard to writings from New Zealand, the Pacific, and the United States. His most recent book is The Settler’s Plot: How Stories Take Place in New Zealand (Auckland University Press, 2011).

Murray Edmond, The University of Auckland

‘Whatiwhati taku pene: Three First World War poems from The Penguin Book of New Zealand Verse (1985)’

Abstract: The impact of the First World War on New Zealand culture is generally perceived as significant to the degree of constituting a moment of national identity formation. However the representation of the War in poems in English published in important poetry anthologies has been negligible to the point of invisibility. This paper does not attempt to explain the reason for this surprising lacuna. Rather it addresses the appearance of three First World War poems/waiata in Maori in the 1985 Penguin Book of New Zealand Verse, which was the first important anthology to print modern Maori and modern English poetry side by side. The well-known song ‘Pokarekare ana,’ attributed to Paraire Tomoana, and the waiata ‘E Pari raa,’ definitely authored by Tomoana, and Te Puea Herangi’s ‘E Noho, e Rata’ are each strongly connected to Aotearoa/New Zealand’s First World War experience and each looks through a different lens at that experience. This talk will provide translated
copies of the poems/waiata and also video recordings of each of the songs in performance.

Murray Edmond was born in Hamilton, Aotearoa/New Zealand, 1949. From 1970 to 1985, he worked as an actor, director and writer for various theatre companies, including Half Moon Theatre in London (1974-75). 1997 until the present, Dramaturge for all Indian Ink Theatre’s plays (Krishnan’s Dairy, The Candlestickmaker, The Pickle King, The Dentist’s Chair, The Guru of Chai and Kiss the Fish). His PhD thesis (1997), Old Comrades of the Future, was a cultural history of experimental theatre in Aotearoa/New Zealand 1962-1982. He is now Associate Professor in Drama in the Department of English, Drama and Writing Studies at the University of Auckland. He has published 13 volumes of poetry, most recently Walls to Kick and Hills to Sing From: A Comedy with Interruptions (Auckland University Press, 2010) and Three Travels (Holloway Press, 2012) and edited three anthologies of poetry, including Big Smoke: New Zealand Poems 1960-1975 (with Alan Brunton and Michele Leggott). He edits the on-line critical journal Ka Mate Ka Ora: A New Zealand Journal of Poetry and Poetics; and is also author of a study of the influence of Noh drama on the Western avant-garde, Noh Business (Berkeley: Atelos Press, 2005). A volume of his selected critical writing, Then It Was Now Again, will be published by Atuanui Press in 2014. A volume of fiction, Strait Men and Other Tales, is forthcoming from Steele Roberts in 2014.

Rod Edmond, The University of Kent

“"It’s your submission we want, Baxter!” Archibald Baxter’s We Will Not Cease: The Autobiography of a Conscientious Objector’

Abstract: Archibald Baxter, the father of James K Baxter, was one of fourteen conscientious objectors forcibly taken from New Zealand to Britain and then to the Front Line in 1917. This paper will consider the experiences described in We Will Not Cease (1939), the delayed
reaction which saw a rush of fiction and memoir about the First World War appear from the late 1920s, and ask why in two world wars New Zealand was so intolerant of dissent.

Rod Edmond is Emeritus Professor of Modern Literature and Cultural History at the University of Kent, Canterbury. A New Zealander, he has spent his adult life in Britain. He has published books on Victorian literature, the colonisation of the Pacific, empire and disease, and islands, as well as many essays on Victorian and colonial subjects, and on cricket. *Migrations*, an historical memoir about the journey of his Scottish forebears to the Pacific and New Zealand, was published in 2013.

Bruce Harding, The University of Canterbury, New Zealand

Bruce Harding is Adjunct Professor in the Ngai Tahu Research Centre, University of Canterbury, New Zealand. He has published many articles on Pacific and New Zealand history and literature.

Michelle Keown, The University of Edinburgh

‘Nga Tangata Toa: dramatic representations of Maori and indigenous Australian soldiers involved in World War One’

Abstract: This paper will focus primarily on Maori involvement in the First World War as explored through Hone Kouka’s 1994 play *Nga Tangata Toa*. The play is set in 1919 and opens with the return of war veteran Taneatua and his fellow Maori soldiers who have served with the Pioneer Battalion in Europe. The play dramatises the various and conflicting attitudes towards Maori involvement in the First World War: in particular, there was an ideological clash between Maori who wished to volunteer for service, and those who opposed fighting on behalf of a government that had failed to honour its obligations under the Treaty of Waitangi. Apirana Ngata raised a Maori contingent for the war, initially known as Te-Hokowhitu-a-Tu
(the army of Tumatauenga, Maori god of war) and which saw action in Gallipoli with the ANZAC soldiers. In 1917, the force was reconstituted as the New Zealand (Maori) Pioneer Battalion, and was sent to work on communication trenches and defence lines on the Western Front. To a people with established skills in hand-held weaponry, this relegation to a labouring role was demeaning, and the embarrassment this caused is indexed in Kouka’s play.

In exploring the various attitudes towards Maori involvement in the First World War, this paper will also discuss *Black Diggers*, a play focused on indigenous Australian involvement in the First World War which premiered at the Sydney Festival in January 2014. Like Kouka’s play and Gardiner’s historical study *Te Mura o te Ahi: The Story of the Maori Battalion* (1992), *Black Diggers* (written by Tom Wright and directed by Welsey Enoch) excavates a history of indigenous Pacific involvement in the First World War that has until recently been all but buried within official accounts of this monumental historical event.

**Michelle Keown** was born and raised in New Zealand and is Senior Lecturer in English Literature at the University of Edinburgh. She teaches postcolonial literature and theory, particularly that of the Pacific region, and is the author of *Postcolonial Pacific Writing: Representations of the Body* (Routledge, 2005) and *Pacific Islands Writing: The Postcolonial Literatures of Aotearoa/New Zealand and Oceania* (Oxford University Press, 2007) and co-editor of *Comparing Postcolonial Diasporas* (Palgrave, 2009) and *Discourses of Imperialism in the Pacific* (Routledge, forthcoming 2014).
Candan Kirisci, Bogazici University, Turkey

‘The face of the “enemy”: The image of the adversary in Turkish literary works on Gallipoli’

Abstract: The treatment of Gallipoli in Turkish works of literature revolves around the figure of the heroic soldier. His portrayal as the epitome of courage, loyalty and virtue contrasts sharply with the image of his opponent as a treacherous and monstrous villain. Such negative emphasis, and the frequency with which it comes across, differ greatly from the Anzac side where the figure of the adversary strikes mostly by its absence. It would be possible to explain the phenomenon as a natural component of war literature written from the perspective of a people on defense. This sharp dichotomy set in the early phases of literary response to Gallipoli is still very much in place today, along with the language of hatred and contempt that has often been used to define the opponent. As made increasingly evident in recent works, however, the tone softens somewhat with regard to those who fought in “somebody else’s war”, for whom Turkish works reveal an attitude more sympathetic, and at times patronizing, than derogatory. This paper will try to explain this phenomenon with a focus on the dynamics in the Turkish cultural scene that may have affected the perception of the enemy in literature.

Candan Kirisci holds a PhD from the Department of Western Languages and Literatures at Bogazici University, Istanbul, Turkey. Her dissertation topic was titled ‘Nation-building and Gallipoli: Representations in Turkish, Australian and New Zealand Literatures’. An article based on her research on the Turkish side has recently been published in M.M. Ilhan, Gallipoli: History, Memory and National Imagination (Turkish Historical Society, 1914).
Based on the life story of Douglas “Starkie” Stark, the 1936 novel *A Passport to Hell* by Robin Hyde details a New Zealand soldier’s exploits during the First World War. Douglas Stark’s portrayal as a soldier whose valour and mischievous behaviour earned him a VC as well as frequent martial imprisonment, became an example of the ‘digger’ stereotype of the ANZAC soldier whose bravery and prowess on the battlefields was matched by disregard for authority and a penchant for unruly behaviour. In his treatment of New Zealand masculinities, Jock Phillips links this back to the values of the early colonial times – overtly masculine colonialists had become overtly masculine soldiers. It would pivotally shape the mainstream New Zealand male’s identity. This, in turn, laid the foundation for the post-war period’s emergence of a more distinct New Zealand national identity, apart from the British Empire. Although soldiers were fighting for King, the country they fought for was New Zealand. I will discuss how *A Passport to Hell* provides a prime example for this discourse in the way it portrays Starkie as a true New Zealand man.

**Julia Lenders** earned her Magistra Artium at the Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg, Germany and the University of Auckland, New Zealand. She is currently a first-year PhD student at the University of Edinburgh, Scotland, where she writes on New Zealand War Literature.
‘A Forgotten Contribution? New Zealand’s Official First World War Artists’

Abstract: Nineteen eighteen was already several months old before the New Zealand Expeditionary Force (NZEF) hired its first official war artist, Nugent Welch. Over the next few months the NZEF commissioned several other official artists, the most significant being George Edmund Butler. Welch and Butler produced large quantities of field sketches during their tenure but when the war ended and the NZEF demobilised, funding for the project quickly disappeared. The artists were left with no resources to complete their work and the purpose built museum, meant to house their paintings, was not initiated. New Zealand’s official war art program was essentially a failure as a public commemorative project as it never successfully reached its intended postwar audience.

For over 90 years these artworks were neglected and ignored. As the centenary of the First World War approaches, interest in these paintings is beginning to take hold in New Zealand but their international profile is still virtually non-existent. This paper will help address this oversight by providing an explanation of why these artworks deserve to be recognised as both significant historical documentation of New Zealand’s role in this major conflict but also for their cultural importance as unique visual records of the nation’s burgeoning identity and artistic development in the early years of the twentieth century.

Caroline Lord holds qualifications in Painting, Art History and Art Conservation from the Universities of Canterbury and Melbourne. She is currently working to complete her PhD thesis on New Zealand's official and unofficial First World War artists through the Department of Art History and Theory at the University of Canterbury in Christchurch, New Zealand. Last year she completed a three year...
contract at New Zealand’s Ministry for Culture and Heritage working as the primary image researcher for the bestselling illustrated publication New Zealand and the First World War (Damien Fenton, 2013), part of the New Zealand government’s official First World War Centenary commemorative book series. She has also worked as an art tutor, a corporate art consultant and a private art historical tour guide at the Vatican Museums, Rome.

Charlotte Macdonald, Victoria University of Wellington

‘World War One and the Making of Colonial Memory’

Abstract: World War One has been central in creating New Zealand’s modern memory. Less well known is World War One’s place in creating a colonial memory. By the time war began in Europe in 1914 events to mark the fiftieth anniversary of wars fought in New Zealand between Maori and government troops in the 1860s were already underway. The task of remembering the earlier wars, and those who fought in them, continued through 1914-18, advanced by a number of well-placed individuals and institutions. Concerted efforts were made to collect materials relating to the 1860s wars in New Zealand and in Britain. The imperative to remember an earlier generation of men who served in uniform was sharpened by contemporary controversy surrounding the call-up of a citizen army.

Whereas modern memory projected remembrance into an eternal future (the promise to ‘never forget’) colonial memory sealed remembrance into a past that closed off time. Colonial memory was a marker of the world that had been and was no more. This paper considers the memory provoked during the war years in the wider context of Maori and Pakeha participation and resistance in the war, and in relation to themes of race, empire, colony and loyalty. The 2014 coincidence of the World War One centenary with the 150th commemoration of the 1863-1864 wars will also be touched upon with a brief introduction to a current digital humanities project.
**Charlotte Macdonald** is Professor of History at Victoria University of Wellington. She completed her PhD at the University of Auckland with a period of study at the London School of Economics. Her research interests focus on nineteenth-century New Zealand within the British imperial world and on the cultural history of bodies, sport and spectating. Her publications include *A Woman of Good Character* (1990), *The Book of New Zealand Women/Ko Kui Ma te Kaupapa* (ed with Merimeri Penfold and Bridget Williams, 1991), ‘*My hand will write what my heart dictates*’ (with Frances Porter, 1995) and *Strong, Beautiful and Modern: national fitness in Britain, New Zealand, Australia and Canada* (2011, winner of Ian Wards and ASSH Prizes).

**Ivane Pautler, French Naval Academy, Brittany**

“’The Great War in all its Greatness’: Individual and Collective Experience of War in the Work of Janet Frame’

**Abstract:** Janet Frame, who grew up in New Zealand between two world wars, was deeply marked by her father’s memories of the First World War, which she used in her novel *Intensive Care* (1970). In her autobiography she remembered how the outbreak of the Second World War had revived those memories as well as the cultural myths associated with the First World War, which she had become acquainted with through war songs and poems. This paper will explore the writer’s personal war drama and trauma, as expressed in her autobiography and some of her posthumous publications such as her novel *Towards Another Summer* and her collection of stories *Between My Father and the King*. It will then focus on the collective dimension of war trauma and the threat it poses to humanity as a whole, especially through an analysis of her novel *Intensive Care* and of her poetry.

**Ivane Pautler-Mortelette** teaches English at the French Naval Academy in Brittany. She discovered Janet Frame in the mid-1990s when she translated a selection of her short stories into French for
her Master’s thesis. She went on to complete her PhD, ‘Time and Space in the Works of Janet Frame’, at the University of Paris X-Nanterre under the supervision of Professor Claire Bazin. Since then she has written several papers on Frame, Katherine Mansfield and C. K. Stead, and a book on Frame’s collection of short stories, *The Lagoon and Other Stories*.

**Harry Ricketts, Victoria University of Wellington**

‘Donald H Lea and Alfred Clark: Two New Zealand First World War Poets’

**Abstract**: Think of First World War poets, and Donald H Lea and Alfred Clark are not names which readily come to mind, if at all. Yet, both these English-born New Zealanders who served with the New Zealand Medical Corps wrote distinctive poems about the war. Lea published two volumes of war poems, *Stand-Down!* (1917) and *A Number of Things* (1919); Clark published one volume, *My Erratic Pal* (1918).

Lea’s poems reflect the experience of the rank and file in a range of registers. Some are in Scots dialect, others in a Cockney idiom reminiscent of Kipling’s barrack-room ballads, as in these lines from ‘N.Z.M.C.’:

An’ w’en in some ole corner o’ the map  
A feller’s shot ter pieces in a scrap,  
Then the doctor, save ’is soul, is there be’ind the goal  
Ter put some bolts an’ rivets in a chap.

Clark’s book is more ambitious. Purporting to be the poetic remains of a dead friend with editorial linkage provided by Clark, it tells the exemplary story of a bohemian English immigrant who finds transcendence and meaning through participation in the war.
This paper examines Lea’s and Clark’s claims to be rescued from oblivion in the context of a current configuring of the discourse of war literature in ethical terms. Like the literature of slavery or colonisation, war tends to be approached as a theatre of pathetic curiosity and regard, in which the reader becomes a sympathiser with the unwilling warrior, subject of immoveable forces, human and mechanical. These poems are of interest because of their literariness, their range of poetic influence and shifts of style, register and tone.

**Harry Ricketts** is a Professor in the English Programme at Victoria University of Wellington, where he teaches English literature and creative non-fiction. His many publications include a biography of Kipling, *The Unforgiving Minute; Strange Meetings: The Lives of the Poets of the Great War*, a group biography of a dozen British World War One poets; critical and personal essays and nine collections of poems.

**Sarah Shieff, The University of Waikato**

‘Time out of mind: musical patterning and retrospective coherence in Alexander Aitken’s *Gallipoli to the Somme*’

Abstract:

‘The need to tell our story had taken on for us the character of an immediate and violent impulse, to the point of competing with our other elementary needs’.

(Primo Levi, Author’s Preface, *If This is A Man*, 1958).
‘The first draft of this account was written from memory, aided by a few maps, in Dunedin, New Zealand, between April and September 1917. It was bald and unchaptered...’

(Alexander Aitken, Author’s Note, Gallipoli to the Somme: Recollections of a New Zealand Infantryman, 1963).

Traumatic experience may compel survivors in one of two directions: either towards silence, or towards an urge to bear witness. Both strategies have their dangers: if silence risks repudiating history, an impulse to testify risks the cold shoulder or the uncomprehending stare. To become assimilable, therefore—as commemoration, as testimony, as interior liberation—trauma narratives need to find a shape. Interestingly, both Levi and Aitken put aside their first raw accounts, to revisit their memories in consciously literary terms: Levi turned to Dante’s Inferno; Aitken, a talented amateur violinist as well as a mathematical savant, often turns to music for his literary patterns. This paper explores the implications of that choice. What might a recourse to music add to our map of the horror to which Aiken’s memoir bears witness? And what might thinking through music enable, post-trauma, as an approach to the unapproachable?

Sarah Shieff is an Associate Professor of English at the University of Waikato. Her main teaching and research areas are New Zealand literature and cultural history, Gothic fiction, the literature of trauma, and food writing. Recent publications include Speaking Frankly: The Frank Sargeson Memorial Lectures, 2003-2010 (Cape Catley, 2011), and a scholarly edition of the letters of Frank Sargeson (Random House, 2012). She is currently preparing an edition of Denis Glover’s letters for Otago University Press, and co-editing Options for Teaching Australian and New Zealand Literature, forthcoming from the MLA. She is the editor of The Journal of New Zealand Literature.
Abstract: In New Zealand, along with most of the countries that were part of the British Empire, there was a thriving music industry during World War One. Although there is evidence of songs that illustrate some dissent, usually from serving soldiers, the published songs were generally patriotic to the point of jingoistic and glorified the role of the soldier to those on the home front. Miss Jane Morison (1855-1934), a music teacher from the provincial town of Masterton, was one of those who contributed to the musical legacy of World War One through composition and publication of sheet music. This paper will present some of Jane Morison’s songs and examine the compositional structure and sentiments of those pieces. Jane Morison emigrated from Scotland to New Zealand in 1870. She also researched and wrote about the traditional music of Maori and in some cases this is reflected in her use of Maori words and phrases. Her songs offer a significant and valuable insight into prevailing attitudes towards issues such as allegiance to the British Empire and the commemoration of wartime events.

Paul Turner is a senior tutor in the Institute of Education, Massey University where he teaches music education papers in both the primary and secondary initial teacher education programmes. As a musician he has twice been invited to perform in Flanders, Belgium: in 2007, as part of events surrounding the 95th anniversary of the Battle of Messines; in 2008 he played the lament (solo bagpiping) for the commemoration event at Polygon Wood and for the last post service at the Menin gate, leper. As part of the band ‘Wild Geese’, winners of the 1997 New Zealand folk album of the year award, he recorded two songs related to the World War One experience: ‘Promises to keep’ and ‘Ridge of Messines’. With the musical collective Ceol Manawatu he composed and produced
‘Passchendaele’, based on the New Zealand experience in that battle (http://youtube/osR16hyH9eM) and set a World War One poem, ‘Maunganui Duff’ to music.

Janet Wilson, The University of Northampton

‘Maurice Shadbolt’s Once on Chunuk Bair: Birth of a Nation?’

Abstract: This paper examines Shadbolt’s ‘Homeric’ intentions in writing about the New Zealand Infantry brigade in the disastrous Gallipoli/Dardanelles campaign which culminated in the defeat of the Wellington Battalion on Chunuk Bair on 8 August 1915, to consider the play’s focus on the ANZAC myth propagated by historians such as O.E. Burton in The Silent Division (1935) that this moment in the war created the birth of a nation.

I will examine the historical consciousness built into the dialogue of Once on Chunuk Bair and ask how far this claim -- i.e. the symbolic moment of rupture from the British empire--is argued as a case of dramatic licence, how far a ‘truth’. Shadbolt took the opportunity to revisit and rewrite the myth, introduce the theme of British betrayal, and refer to Australian losses including ‘the loss of innocence’. But the play’s composition and production in 1982 also draws on perspectives of New Zealand’s emerging postcolonial identity that would not consider a myth of masculine heroism as equivalent to a national myth. Can the play be read as a reconstruction of history and society then, reflecting Shadbolt’s belief that the defeat deserved to be recorded in heroic terms, or as a convincing reshaping of the earlier myth of New Zealand’s severance from Britain?

Janet Wilson is Professor of English and Postcolonial Studies at the University of Northampton and Director of Research in its School of the Arts. She has published widely on Australian and New Zealand writing and cinema as well as on the diaspora cultures of white
settler societies. With Gerri Kimber she has co-edited three collections of essays on Mansfield, most recently *Katherine Mansfield and the (Post)colonial* (2013). She represents Northampton as a partner in the Marie Curie-funded Initial Training Network on Diaspora, ‘Constructions of Home and Belonging’ (CoHaB). She is Vice-Chair of the Katherine Mansfield Society and the New Zealand Studies Network (UK and Ireland), as well as co-editor of the *Journal of Postcolonial Writing*. 
Credits

Grateful thanks to the New Zealand World War One Commemoration and Environment and Heritage Committee, and to the New Zealand Society, London, for their generous support.

Front cover image: Grateful thanks to Archives New Zealand for permission to use George Edmund Butler, ‘Menin Road and Chateau Wood with Ypres in the distance’ (Ref. AAA 898, NCWA).

Conference organisers: Rod Edmond and Janet Wilson.

Programme compiled by: Larissa Allwork.

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