Endurance and the First World War

Endurance and the First World War: Experiences and Legacies in New Zealand and Australia

Edited by

David Monger, Sarah Murray and Katie Pickles

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David Monger, Sarah Murray and Katie Pickles
Christchurch, May 2014

INTRODUCTION

DAVID MONGER, SARAH MURRAY AND KATIE PICKLES

Endurance is an important part of the history of the First World War. As a concept, endurance is wide-ranging and susceptible to multiple interpretations. It may be understood as a form of suffering—people endured physical discomfort, risk, injury and death; people endured mental strain, whether caused by exposure to such risks, anxiety over the safety of friends and loved ones or social and cultural pressures to conform to expectations. It may be interpreted as a question of morale and resilience. Servicemen and women and civilians around the British Empire and in France largely maintained their commitment to the war until its conclusion in 1918, despite grief, war-weariness and disillusionment. On the contrary, in Russia, Italy and, ultimately, Germany, resilience and willingness to tolerate the continuing demands of a modern, industrial, "total" war were eventually exhausted. Endurance is not, however, simply a physical, mental or even collective characteristic. How far did ideas and beliefs endure the challenge of the war? Did people, for instance, remain patriotic, and if so was their patriotism rooted in the same soil it had been before the war began? To what extent did wartime innovations, technological, political or social, endure in post-war society? How much did memory and commemoration mean that the war endured in cultures after 1918?

The chapters in this book build on work begun at a November 2012 conference in Christchurch, New Zealand, a city in which endurance has been particularly prominent since the destruction and disruption wrought by major earthquakes since September 2010. The conference brought together researchers from a range of backgrounds: postgraduate and postdoctoral researchers shared their insights with high school teachers, researchers based in museums, libraries, heritage organizations, universities, the New Zealand Ministry for Culture and Heritage and the New Zealand Defence Force. The range of approaches taken to the question of endurance at the conference, and in these chapters, demonstrates the variety and validity of the concept as a means for interpreting the First World War.

The book is divided into five sections, each containing chapters that address, develop and critique a specific theme of the endurance concept that is comprehensively introduced in chapter one. In Section I, which concerns institutional endurance, John Crawford examines the wartime endurance of Sir James Allen, New Zealand's Minister of Defence and Acting Prime Minister from 1914 to 1918, Margaret Tennant turns to the voluntary institutional endurance of the Red Cross and Steven Loveridge discusses the role of sentimentality in public and private institutions. Section II considers aspects of endurance on the home front: resilience in the face of adversity, and the disjuncture between official versions of endurance and the realities of everyday coping. Gwen Parsons discusses and challenges home front myths for soldiers and civilians. Using adolescent writing as her source, Charlotte Bennett examines agency and endurance on the home front, extending her analysis to the disastrous 1918 influenza epidemic. Bart Ziino's chapter reveals the limits of family endurance on the Australian home front.

Section III centres on battlefield endurance in this global war. In a detailed local case study, Paul O'Connor considers promotion in the army as a poisoned chalice for some New Zealand soldiers. Katherine Moody uncovers the story of how and where Antarctic explorers served during the First World War. Ian Lochhead writes about the enduring memories created by Samuel Hurst Seager's battlefield memorials. Section IV concerns the place of racial identities during the First World War. Noah Riseman examines the enduring prejudices surrounding the participation of Australian Aborigines in the war, Jane McCabe reveals the history of a group of Anglo-Indian migrants in military service and beyond and Greg Hynes examines depictions of race in British photographic propaganda. Together, these chapters reveal the importance of strategic and ever-changing politics in the construction of race.

Chapters in the earlier sections touch on the legacy of the First World War, but Section V makes it the focus, particularly in relation to peace celebrations and memorials. Imelda Bargas writes about New Zealand's 1919 peace celebrations in the face of enduring hardship. Drawing upon his personal experience in constructing First World War commemorative monuments, Kingsley Baird considers a diversity of material forms.

This book extends a thriving scholarship relating to the First World War that has already embraced the concept of endurance, if not always identifying it by name.

CHAPTER ONE

ENDURANCE AND FIRST WORLD WAR SCHOLARSHIP

DAVID MONGER

Endurance has occupied a quiet, yet underlying and central place in the historiography of the First World War. Perhaps unsurprisingly, it has been a common theme in histories of soldiers' experiences. As Steven Loveridge's chapter illustrates, decades of research have sought to explain First World War soldiers' capacity to withstand the dangers, terrors and even tedium of the "prolonged drudgery … with fearful moments" experienced in the "troglodyte world" of trench warfare.[1] The range of factors claimed to have kept men going continues to grow with new research. Comradeship has proved a consistent yet changing explanation. In Eric Leed's view, soldiers coped with the pressures of industrial warfare partly through intense relationships with the men around them, to the exclusion of outsiders, including civilians, from whom they were severed by their extreme experiences.[2] For Tony Ashworth, such estrangement partly reflected the establishment of a "live and let live" system in which enemy soldiers informally avoided unnecessary violence towards each other, adding a "cooperative" perspective that civilians lacked.[3] More recent accounts, however, have also highlighted ways in which comradeship, alongside things like unit identity and the social life of the military, helped to enhance soldierly endurance. J.G. Fuller's account of British and Dominion troops made a strong case for the importance of

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[1] J.C. Dunn, *The War the Infantry Knew, 1914–1919: A Chronicle of Service* ([1938] reprint ed., London: Abacus, 1987), v; Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (New York and London: Oxford University Press, 1975), ch. 2.

[2] Eric J. Leed, *No Man's Land: Combat and Identity in World War I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

[3] Tony Ashworth, *Trench Warfare, 1914–1918: The Live and Let Live System* ([1980], London: Pan Macmillan, 2000), 146–47; see also Richard Holmes, *Tommy: The British Soldier on the Western Front, 1914–1918* (London: HarperCollins, 2004), 528–54.

sport and leisure as compensations for the enforced separation from civilian life, while acting as "a refresher course in a set of values … of a sort to bolster compliance, stoicism and even confidence".[4]

Recent works have also emphasized the value of comradeship for the maintenance of endurance. Alexander Watson's study of British and German combat motivation acknowledges that, at times, soldiers simply had no choice other than to fight or die, but notes the efficacy of the "social buffering" and structure provided by comradeship among a small "primary group", while also downplaying the idea of soldiers alienated from civilians and the war itself. Rather, Watson argues, protecting family and home life provided a continuing motivation, despite considerable disillusionment and fatigue.[5] Likewise, in an account of the famous "mutinies" of 1917, Leonard V. Smith stresses the contingency of French soldiers' withholding of service. Though severely antagonized by their conditions, lack of leave and anxieties about home, they were not prepared to push their resistance to combat and military authority to the point of a German victory.[6] For Michael Roper, comradeship and sharing among men provided an essential element in their "emotional survival", alongside the domestic ministrations of junior officers and regular contact from home, particularly from mothers.[7] Joanna Bourke emphasizes soldiers' "bonding", but also notes men's desires to maintain their ties with home, and return to it as soon as possible.[8]

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[4] J.G. Fuller, *Troop Morale and Popular Culture in the British and Dominion Armies, 1914–1918* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), citation at 139. For further arguments about the influence of sport, see J.A. Mangan, *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School: The Emergence and Consolidation of an Educational Ideology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); Eliza Riedi and Tony Mason, "'Leather' and the Fighting Spirit: Sport in the British Army in World War I", *Canadian Journal of History*, 41:8 (2006); David Monger, "Sporting Journalism and the Maintenance of British Servicemen's Ties to Civilian Life in First World War Propaganda", *Sport in History*, 30:3 (2010).

[5] Alexander Watson, *Enduring the Great War: Combat, Morale and Collapse in the German and British Armies, 1914–1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 66–67, 72–84. On the decision to "fight or die", see also John Keegan, *The Face of Battle: A Study of Agincourt, Waterloo and the Somme* ([1976] London: Pimlico, 2004), 277–79.

[6] Leonard V. Smith, *Between Mutiny and Obedience: The Case of the French Fifth Infantry Division during World War I* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).

[7] Michael Roper, *The Secret Battle: Emotional Survival in the Great War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009).

[8] Joanna Bourke, *Dismembering the Male: Men's Bodies, Britain and the Great War* (London: Reaktion Books, 1996), ch. 3; see also Ilana R. Bet-El, *Conscripts:*

Not all soldiers, of course, could or did endure the war. Each sought to cope in his own way, whether through comradeship and military social life, retention of links with home or recourse to humour to see off the worst horrors.[9] Others succumbed, in varying degrees, to the continuing pressures of exposure to combat, privation, mortal risk and "nameless dread". In the most severe—and, arguably, most historically familiar—instances such exposure proved unendurable for thousands of "broken" men, who suffered what was commonly, and inaccurately, labelled in Britain as "shell shock". Despite rapidly being replaced in medical terminology, in modern society the term has taken on a much broader meaning, as a catch-all for immediate psychological incapacity, than it originally had.[10] As the most vivid example of the war's psychological effects, attention to these most extreme cases of mental breakdown arguably masks the more widespread psychological disturbance among those who continued in their combat roles.[11] Roper contends that many soldiers suffered from "nameless dread" in response to the extreme fears and realities they encountered. As the chapters by Gwen Parsons and Jane McCabe in this volume attest, though many soldiers remained in their positions, the strain they endured left its mark, sometimes in fully diagnosed medical or psychological problems, at other times in more private circumstances affecting post-war home life.[12] Despite efforts to provide civilian soldiers with contact with peacetime culture and society, normal standards of decency and propriety were hard to maintain.[13]

Forgotten Men of the Great War (2nd ed., Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2003) esp. chs 6 and 9. For evidence of propagandists' recognition and attempted exploitation of such ideas, see David Monger, "Soldiers, Propaganda and Ideas of Home and Community in First World War Britain", *Cultural and Social History*, 8:3 (2011).

[9] On this last aspect, see discussions in, e.g., Fuller, *Troop Morale*; Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau, *Men at War: National Sentiment and Trench Journalism in France During the First World War* (Oxford: Berg, 1992).

[10] Fiona Reid, *Broken Men: Shell Shock and Recovery in Britain, 1914–1930* (London: Continuum, 2010), 10, 25–29; Christopher Pugsley, *On the Fringe of Hell: New Zealanders and Military Discipline in the First World War* (Auckland: Hodder & Stoughton, 1991), 182–84. On the term's cultural significance, see also Jay Winter, "Shell-shock and the Cultural History of the Great War", *Journal of Contemporary History*, 35:1 (2000).

[11] Roper, *Secret Battle*, 247.

[12] Roper, *Secret Battle*, 318, 284–95. See also Joy Damousi, *The Labour of Loss: Mourning, Memory, and Wartime Bereavement in Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Marina Larsson, *Shattered Anzacs: Living with the Scars of War* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2009).

[13] Bourke, *Dismembering the Male*, 213–16.

Socially reintegrating soldiers who had experienced industrial warfare was not as simple as collecting their uniform and issuing a train ticket. Governments and societies worried about the return of "brutalized" men—in some cases, perhaps, with good cause.[14] However sound of body or mind, veterans needed facilities to help them endure peace.[15] For some, at least, the "duration of the war" was not bounded by diplomatic chronology.

Servicemen's endurance has received most attention, but civilians also faced challenges to their ordinary lives in a war that blurred the distinction between soldier and civilian in several ways.[16] As Katherine Moody's chapter on Antarcticans demonstrates, men brought their particular histories to their wartime experiences. In occupied regions, civilians faced submission to the mixed mercies and justices of their occupiers, in some cases following a brutal and violent invasion.[17] They were sometimes, as in occupied areas of France, forced to live separately from friends and relatives, sometimes in an alien time zone,[18] under the jurisdiction of a hostile and occasionally exploitative enemy.[19] Others coped with divided

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[14] For varied accounts, see George Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991); Jon Lawrence, "Forging a Peaceable Kingdom: War, Violence, and Fear of Brutalization in Post-First World War Britain", *Journal of Modern History,* 75:3 (2003); Robert Gerwarth, "The Central European Counter-revolution: Paramilitary Violence in Austria, Germany and Hungary After the Great War", *Past & Present* 200:1 (2008).

[15] Adam R. Seipp, *The Ordeal of Peace: Demobilization and the Urban Experience in Britain and Germany, 1917–1921* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009). For New Zealand examples, see, e.g., Stephen Clarke, "Return, Repatriation, Remembrance and the Returned Soldiers' Association, 1916–1922" in John Crawford and Ian McGibbon (eds), *New Zealand's Great War: New Zealand, the Allies and the First World War* (Auckland: Exisle, 2007); Gwen A. Parsons, "The Construction of Shell Shock in New Zealand, 1919–1939: A Reassessment", *Social History of Medicine* 26:1 (2013), 56–73.

[16] See Tammy M. Proctor, *Civilians in a World at War, 1914–1918* (New York: New York University Press, 2010) for a broad recent account.

[17] John Horne and Alan Kramer, *German Atrocities, 1914: A History of Denial* (London: Yale University Press, 2001).

[18] People in occupied France lived on "German time" both literally, since the time-zone was changed, and figuratively, as people's days were punctuated by service to the occupiers' requirements: Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau and Annette Becker, *1914–1918: Understanding the Great War* (London: Profile Books, 2002), 57.

[19] For experiences of occupation, see, e.g. Helen McPhail, *The Long Silence: Civilian Life under the German Occupation of Northern France, 1914–1918* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1999); Vejas Liulevicius, *War Land on the Eastern Front:*

loyalties, such as the "German-English-Belgian" Graeffe family in Brussels, who progressed from Belgian affinity, to attempted mediation between their neighbours and the German occupiers, to eventually taking German citizenship.[20] Civilians outside the occupied zones faced increased physical dangers too, as technological advances allowed the shelling or aerial bombing of places supposedly well behind the "home front", while blockades and the disruption of civilian food supplies also took a serious toll.[21] As Section II of this book considers, there was a particular history to the Australasian home front being so far removed from the battlefield.

This toll was not only physical and psychological; it infused many civilian societies and cultures with an ethic of sacrifice, obedience to authority and the endurance of hardships and discomforts as matters of virtually unquestionable duty. Civilians in Freiburg, Germany, found their city progressively stripped of materials, including their church bells, for military uses, while the costs of food rose astronomically and rationed alternatives did not always reach them.[22] Ordinary people in England grew increasingly restive at the failure to adequately limit the costs of essential supplies, denying them the kind of "moral economy" they expected of wartime society.[23] Faced with longer working hours, higher costs of living,

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Culture, National Identity and German Occupation in World War I (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Audoin-Rouzeau and Becker, *1914–1918*, chs 2–3; Lisa Mayerhofer, "Making Friends and Foes: Occupiers and Occupied in First World War Romania, 1916–1918" in Heather Jones, Jennifer O'Brien and Christoph Schmidt-Supprian (eds), *Untold War: New Perspectives in First World War Studies* (Leiden: Brill, 2008).

[20] Sophie de Schaepdrijver (ed.), *"We Who are So Cosmopolitan": The War Diary of Constance Graeffe, 1914–1915* (Brussels: Algemeen Rijksarchief, 2008).

[21] See, e.g. Peter Loewenberg, "Germany, the Home Front (1): The Physical and Psychological Consequences of Home Front Hardship", in Hugh Cecil and Peter Liddle (eds.), *Facing Armageddon: The First World War Experienced* (London: Leo Cooper, 1996); Avner Offer, "The Blockade of Germany and the Strategy of Starvation, 1914–1918: An Agency Perspective", Holger H. Herwig, "Total Rhetoric, Limited War: Germany's U–Boat Campaign, 1917–1918" and Christian Geinitz, "The First Air war Against Noncombatants: Strategic Bombing of German Cities in World War I" all in Roger Chickering and Stig Förster (eds), *Great War, Total War: Combat and Mobilization on the Western Front, 1914–1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Catriona Pennell, *A Kingdom United: Popular Responses to the Outbreak of the First World War in Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), ch. 4.

[22] Roger Chickering, *The Great War and Urban Life in Germany: Freiburg, 1914–1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), esp. ch. 5.

[23] Bernard Waites, *A Class Society at War: England, 1914–1918* (Leamington Spa: Berg, 1987), ch. 6.

concerns about loved ones and the possibility, albeit remote, of direct attack, civilians in Britain and elsewhere endured a censorious culture, particularly in the war's early years, in which leisure, entertainment and sport were criticized as frivolous distractions.[24] Young women, either newly employed in factories or released from the stricter confines of domestic service, found themselves objects of hostility for spending some of their wages in the traditionally male pub, and faced repeated calls to fulfil their biological duty by producing more children to increase the birth-rate.[25] Soldiers' wives were expected to trade their separation allowance for strict conformity to wartime society's moral expectations.[26] Women in many countries endured conflicting demands: to take men's places in the wartime workforce, while remembering their place in the social order as a whole; to maintain war work alongside housework; to "keep the home fires burning", but with a bucket ready to douse the flames.[27]

Religious sanction helped to make the war more than simply a matter of great power rivalries and instead one that pitted civilization/*Kultur*

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[24] See, e.g., John Morton Osborne, "Continuity in British Sport: the Experience of the First World War", in George K. Behlmer and Fred M. Leventhal (eds), *Singular Continuities: Tradition, Nostalgia, and Identity in Modern British Culture* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000); Jan Rüger, "Entertainments", in Jay Winter and Jean-Louis Robert (eds.), *Capital Cities at War: Paris, London, Berlin, 1914–1919*, vol. 2, *A Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Adrian Gregory, *The Last Great War: British Society and the First World War* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2008); Monger, "Sporting Journalism", 376–78.

[25] See, e.g., Stella Moss, "'Wartime Hysterics'? Alcohol, women and the politics of wartime social purity in England", in *Jessica Meyer* (ed.), *British Popular Culture and the First World War* (Leiden: Brill, 2008); Susan R. Grayzel, *Women's Identities at War: Gender, Motherhood and Politics in Britain and France during the First World War* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1999); Ute Daniel, *The War from Within: German Working-Class Women in the First World War*, trans. Margaret Ries (Oxford: Berg, 1997), esp. ch. 4.

[26] Emmanuelle Cronier, "The Street", in Winter and Robert, *Capital Cities at War*, vol. 2, 90–91.

[27] See, e.g., Mathilde Dubesset, Françoise Thébaud and Catherine Vincent, "The Female Munition Workers of the Seine", in Patrick Fridenson (ed.), *The French Home Front, 1914–1918* (Oxford: Berg, 1992); Melanie Nolan, "'Keeping New Zealand Home Fires Burning': Gender, Welfare and the First World War", in Crawford and McGibbon, *New Zealand's Great War*; David Monger, "Nothing Special? Propaganda and women's roles in late First World War Britain", *Women's History Review* (online early, March 2014, and forthcoming in print, 2014).

against barbarism and godlessness.[28] Rejection of or resistance to the war's demands was not only an affront to notions of equal sacrifice, but also to God.[29] Those who resisted the general consensus endured hardships ranging from intense everyday criticism to ostracism, incarceration and, in extreme cases, death. British conscientious objectors could face scorn and hostility from some (though not all) members of appeals tribunals, as well as idiosyncratically varied and shifting application of the rules, particularly before the newly appointed local representatives became familiar with the processes and confident enough to contradict them when an individual case deserved it.[30] Some endured lengthy prison sentences, causing serious health problems and one death from influenza brought on, it was claimed, by the poor prison conditions.[31] Others, from both Britain and New Zealand, were sent to the Western Front and subjected to military discipline including, in some cases, the passage, albeit followed by swift commutation, of death sentences.[32] In Germany, where conscientious objection was not recognized as a viable perspective, men who refused to serve were assessed for signs of insanity.[33] These minorities aside, larger numbers of civilians also found their loyalty questioned. The authorities in several nations felt the need to "remobilize" their civilians by 1917,[34] while political dissidents were rhetorically or actually charged with treason, no matter how much they might present their views as a different patriotism. Official and unofficial propagandists painted a picture of patriotic conduct against which actions were judged. Those who "failed"

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[28] See, e.g., Alan Wilkinson, *The Church of England and the First World War* (London: SPCK, 1978); A.J. Hoover, *God, Germany and Great Britain: A Study in Clerical Nationalism* (New York: Praeger, 1989); Audoin-Rouzeau and Becker, *1914–1918*, esp. ch. 5; Allan Davidson, "New Zealand Churches and Death in the First World War", in Crawford and McGibbon, *New Zealand's Great War*.

[29] Gregory, *Last Great War*, ch. 5.

[30] James McDermott, *British Military Service Tribunals, 1916–1918*: *"A very much abused body of men"* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011).

[31] Keith Robbins, "The British Experience of Conscientious Objection", in Cecil and Liddle, *Facing Armageddon*, 697.

[32] Paul Baker, *King and Country Call: New Zealanders, Conscription and the Great War* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1988), 178–90; Adam Hochschild, *To End All Wars: A Story of Loyalty and Rebellion, 1914–1918* (Boston: Mariner Books, 2012), 200–03.

[33] Peter Brock, "Confinement of Conscientious Objectors as Psychiatric Patients in World War I Germany", *Peace & Change*, 23:3 (1998).

[34] See the collection by John Horne, *State, Society and Mobilization in Europe during the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), particularly the chapters by Horne and Wilhelm Deist.

to meet these expectations faced a range of responses, including supposedly constructive criticism, ridicule, insults, threats or violence.[35] "Pacifist" became, in some places, a generic and emasculating term of exclusion intended to delegitimize democratic debate, regardless of the critic's actual views on the war's validity.[36]

These economic, social and cultural pressures were exerted on populations in which many people endured daily apprehension for the safety of loved ones. Such anxieties touched people from all walks of life, as the chapters in this collection by John Crawford and Bart Ziino emphasize further. Once their relatives had enlisted for armed services, families endured what Tanja Luckins labels a "cruel purgatory", beginning with dread before their departure and lasting until they either returned or were confirmed killed,[37] or continuing indefinitely because officials could indicate only that someone was "missing, presumed dead". Families and lovers kept touch as far as possible, going about their daily lives while "waiting and worrying". If news came that a soldier was wounded, lucky relatives close to the battlefront might have the opportunity and financial means to rush to their side; those in more distant places such as New Zealand or Australia had no such chance.[38] And ordinary people's lives were not only afflicted by their own fears, but often those of decision-makers. The British Prime Minister, Herbert Asquith, for instance, carried the weight of his office with that of anxiety for his son, until Raymond's eventual death on the Somme; his opposition counterpart, Andrew Bonar-

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[35] See, e.g., F.L. Carsten, *War against War: British and German Radical Movements in the First World War* (London: Batsford Academic and Educational, 1982); Serge Berstein, "The Radical Socialist Party during the First World War", in Fridenson, *French Home Front*; Paul Ward, *Red Flag and Union Jack: Englishness, Patriotism and the British Left, 1881–1924* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1998); Brock Millman, *Managing Domestic Dissent in First World War Britain* (London: Frank Cass, 2000); Millman, "HMG and the War against Dissent, 1914–1918", *Journal of Contemporary History*, 40:3 (2005); Jon Lawrence, "Public space, political space" in Winter and Robert, *Capital Cities at War*, vol. 2; Gwen A. Parsons, "Debating the War: the Discourse of War in the Christchurch Community", in Crawford and McGibbon, *New Zealand's Great War*.

[36] David Monger, *Patriotism and Propaganda in First World War Britain: the National War Aims Committee and Civilian Morale* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2012), esp. 133–38.

[37] Tanja Luckins, *The Gates of Memory: Australian People's Experiences and Memories of Loss and the Great War* (Fremantle: Curtin Books, 2004), ch. 1.

[38] Roper, *Secret Battle*, ch. 2; Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: the Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), ch. 2.

Law, maintained his coalition government role despite the death of two sons in combat. Not all families suffered direct bereavements but, arguably, all were touched by a pall of fear and grief.[39]

Commemoration of the war and its costs began almost as soon as the war itself, in both private and official ways. "Shrines" were rapidly established, whether by local communities proud of their neighbours' service, or the reverent preservation of a soldier's bedroom in the family home. Governments, soon aware of the conflict's momentous scale, took steps to ensure its endurance in public memory by founding museums and commissioning official war correspondents, photographers and artists.[40] Memorialization proliferated across the nations involved in the war, as newspapers dedicated pages to "rolls of honour" for local casualties, communities contributed towards a wide variety of commemorative objects, as well as relief funds and charities, and families, particularly mothers, reflected on the loss and sacrifices they had endured.[41] Chapters by Margaret Tennant, Ian Lochhead and Kingsley Baird in this volume shed further light on these aspects of commemoration.

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[39] Trevor Wilson, *The Myriad Faces of War: Britain and the Great War, 1914–1918* (London: Polity Press, 1986), 751–55. For another perspective, see Kathryn Hunter, "'Sleep on dear Ernie, your battles are o'er': A Glimpse of a Mourning Community, Invercargill, New Zealand, 1914–1925", *War in History*, 14:1 (2007).

[40] See, e.g., Winter, *Sites of Memory*, 80–84; Catherine Rollet, "The Home and Family Life", in Winter and Robert, *Capital Cities at War*, vol. 2; Jane Carmichael, *First World War Photographers* (London: Routledge, 1989); Sue Malvern, *Modern Art, Great Britain and the First World War: Witnessing, Testimony and Remembrance* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2004); Andrew Green, *Writing the Great War: Sir James Edmonds and the Official Histories, 1915–1948* (London: Frank Cass, 2003); Ken Inglis, "The Anzac Tradition" (1965) and "C.E.W. Bean: Australian Historian" (1970) in John Lack (ed.), *Anzac Remembered: Selected Writings of Ken Inglis* (Melbourne: University of Melbourne History Department, 1998); Robert Dixon, "Spotting the Fake: C.E.W. Bean, Frank Hurley, and the Making of the 1923 Photographic Record of the War", *History of Photography*, 31:2 (2007) and *Photography, Early Cinema and Colonial Modernity: Frank Hurley's Synchronized Lecture Entertainments* (London: Anthem Press, 2011), ch. 2; Ron Palenski, "Malcolm Ross: a New Zealand Failure in the Great War", *Australian Historical Studies*, 39:1 (2008).

[41] Winter, *Sites of Memory*, ch. 4; Gregory, *Last Great War*, 257–63; Bart Ziino, "Claiming the Dead: Great War Memorials and Their Communities", *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, 89:2 (2003); Luckins, *Gates of Memory*, esp. chs 2–3; Suzanne Evans, *Mothers of Heroes, Mothers of Martyrs: World War I and the Politics of Grief* (Montreal; McGill–Queen's University Press; 2007); Claudia Siebrecht, "The *Mater Dolorosa* on the Battlefield—Mourning Mothers in German Women's Art of the First World War" in Jones et al., *Untold War*.

Efforts to ensure the endurance of memory continued into the post-war world. Towns and cities erected or extended memorials to the dead or missing—often, but not always, soldiers; sometimes conforming to a classical memorial style, sometimes seeking to reflect a specific local or national context. Commemorative sites on the battlefields of the Western Front, Gallipoli and elsewhere were rapidly developed, often under the aegis of the Imperial (now Commonwealth) War Graves Commission.[42] The fifth section of this volume contains chapters that discuss European and New Zealand memorials, and the sense of loss and grief. Vast memorials to the missing like those at Tyne Cot, near Ypres, or Lutyens's masterpiece at Thiépval, acknowledged the thousands with no known grave, as Kingsley Baird considers in his chapter, which juxtaposes classical and modern styles of commemoration. Many of these sites rapidly became places of pilgrimage for the bereaved and the curious as services sprang up in places such as Ypres to cater to visitors' needs.[43] Ian Lochhead discusses the work of Samuel Hurst Seager in commemorating New Zealand losses on the Gallipoli Peninsula. Far from the battlefields, ceremonies were rapidly established, in the British world, on Armistice

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[42] See, e.g., Ken Inglis, *Sacred Places: War Memorials in the Australian Landscape* (Carlton; Melbourne University Press, 1998)*;* Nicholas Mansfield, "Class Conflict and Village War Memorials, 1914–1924", *Rural History*, 6:1 (1995); Scott Worthy, "Communities of Remembrance: Making Auckland's War Memorial Museum", *Journal of Contemporary History*, 39:4 (2004); Jock Phillips, "The Quiet Western Front: the First World War and New Zealand memory", in Santanu Das (ed.), *Race, Empire and First World War Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Jenny Macleod, "Memorials and Location: Local versus National Identity and the Scottish National War Memorial", *Scottish Historical Review*, 89:1 (2010); Katie Pickles, *Transnational Outrage: the Death and Commemoration of Edith Cavell* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Gavin Stamp, *The Memorial to the Missing on the Somme* (London: Profile Books, 2006).

[43] Annette Becker, "From Death to Memory: the National Ossuaries in France after the Great War", *History and Memory*, 5:2 (1993); Bart Ziino, *A Distant Grief: Australians, War Graves and the Great War* (Crawley: University of Western Australia Press, 2007); Mark Connelly, "The Ypres League and the Commemoration of the Ypres Salient, 1914–1940", *War in History*, 16:1 (2009). For discussion of "pilgrimage" in a later context, see Bruce Scates, "In Gallipoli's Shadow: Pilgrimage, Memory, Mourning and the Great War", *Australian Historical Studies*, 33:119 (2002), and *Return to Gallipoli: Walking the Battlefields of the Great War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Jenny Macleod, "The Fall and Rise of Anzac Day: 1965 and 1990 Compared", *War and Society* 20:1 (2002).

Day or Anzac Day, at which a verse of Laurence Binyon's 1914 poem "For the Fallen" solemnly asserted that "we will remember them".[44]

This commitment to remembrance, however, could not specify the forms that it should take. Since 1918, therefore, while we have, indeed, remembered, we have done so in a multitude of ways. There is, arguably, no enduring "memory" of the conflict—different nations, communities and individuals have drawn and sometimes promoted different understandings of its meaning. Some have seen it as the moment at which New Zealand and Australia "became" nations, separating themselves from Britain and claiming their own distinct path, leading to questions about the evolving meanings of Anzac Day.[45] In Germany, too, the war played a prominent part in national memory from the Armistice, whether through the immediate repudiation of "war guilt" and the "*diktat*" imposed at Versailles and the condemnation of the "stab in the back" which played their roles in the rise of Nazism, the Weimar Republic's attempt, outlined by Vanessa Ther, to reject both the "stab in the back" and the war itself as products of nationalist elites, or the crisis caused in the German historical profession by Fritz Fischer's reassertion of German culpability for the war's outbreak and suggestion of a "special path" and expansionist continuity in German aims from Second to Third Reich.[46] Dan Todman, rejecting earlier accounts,[47] suggests British public memories of the war have undergone several generational shifts, from a period of partial celebration in the 1920s, to the beginnings of rejection around the onset of

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[44] Laurence Binyon, "For the Fallen" (1914) in John Stallworthy (ed.), *The Oxford Book of War Poetry* ([1984] Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 209.

[45] See, e.g. Keith Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart: New Zealand's Search for a National Identity* (Wellington: Allen & Unwin, 1986); Jenny Macleod, *Reconsidering Gallipoli* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), and "Beckham, Waugh and the Memory of Gallipoli" in Crawford and McGibbon, *New Zealand's Great War*; Maureen R. Sharpe, "Anzac Day in New Zealand, 1916 to 1939", *New Zealand Journal of History* (1981); Scott Worthy, "A Debt of Honour: New Zealanders' First Anzac Days", *New Zealand Journal of History*, 36:2 (2002); Marilyn Lake, Henry Reynolds and Mark McKenna (eds), *What's Wrong with Anzac? The Militarisation of Australian History* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2010); James Curran and Stuart Ward, *The Unknown Nation: Australia after Empire* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2010), 197–99; 246–53; Bruce Scates et al., "Anzac Day at Home and Abroad: Towards a History of Australia's National Day", *History Compass*, 10:7 (2012).

[46] Vanessa Ther, "'Humans are Cheap and the Bread is Dear.' Republican Portrayals of the War Experience in Weimar Germany"; Alan Kramer, "The First World War and German Memory", both in Jones et al., *Untold War*.

[47] E.g. Fussell, *Great War and Modern Memory*.

the Great Depression,[48] to a negative reappraisal of the war's purposes and justification by comparison with the "good" Second World War, to a cautionary tale about the consequences of industrialized warfare in the Cold War era, and to contemporary preoccupations with themes of futility and waste. As first the parents of dead soldiers and then the veterans themselves died, contradiction of what Todman sees as the "myths" of the war resulted in the kinds of cynical modern responses to the war perhaps best evoked by the comedy series *Blackadder Goes Forth!*.[49] Not only has contemporary opinion been largely persuaded of the war's futility, but the near constant rehashing of familiar examples perhaps encourages groans of protest against the "blood, the noise, the endless poetry".[50] Nonetheless, whatever individual perspectives different historians may have on the evolving memory of the conflict, it seems clear that the war has played an enduring role in the political, economic and cultural understanding of the modern world. Chapters by Charlotte Bennett and Imelda Bargas capture contemporary feelings of futility, while those by Ian Lochhead and Kingsley Baird focus on the post-war construction of meaning.

The chapters contained within this collection, therefore, build on an extensive and ever-expanding scholarship covering the war's relationship to "endurance". In bringing together work by established and emerging New Zealand and Australian scholars with a specific focus on the concept of endurance, they offer readers both a series of individual reflections and a broader comparative exploration of a theme with considerable potential for further research. They continue a conversation that has endured since 1914.

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[48] For another interesting assessment of this shift, see Janet S.K. Watson, *Fighting Different Wars: Experience, Memory and the Great War in Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), esp. ch. 6.

[49] Dan Todman, *The Great War: Myth and Memory* (London: Hambledon, 2005). For a broader account of generational shifts in the understanding of the war, see also Jay Winter and Antoine Prost, *The Great War in History: Debates and Controversies, 1914 to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

[50] Lord Flashheart in "Private Plane", *Blackadder Goes Forth!* (1989), in *Blackadder: the Whole Damn Dynasty* (London, Michael Joseph, 1998), 416.

SECTION I

INSTITUTIONAL ENDURANCE

CHAPTER TWO

"I GET BLAMED FOR EVERYTHING": ENDURING THE BURDENS OF OFFICE, JAMES ALLEN AS MINISTER OF DEFENCE IN 1915

JOHN CRAWFORD

James Allen is one of the most important New Zealand politicians never to have been Prime Minister. He was effectively Prime Minister William Massey's deputy in the Reform Government that came to power in 1912 in which he held the portfolios of Defence, Education and Finance. Allen proved to be a capable Minister of Finance and Education, but it was in the Defence area that he principally made his mark. Between 1912 and 1914 he oversaw the development of the Territorial Force and was the driving force behind the establishment of the New Zealand Naval Forces. He also played a pivotal role in New Zealand agreeing to raise and dispatch an expeditionary force in the event of a major war involving the British Empire.[1] During the First World War he oversaw the establishment and maintenance of the New Zealand Expeditionary Force (NZEF). More than 100,000 New Zealanders served overseas with the NZEF, which was commanded by Major (later Lieutenant)-General Sir Alexander Godley. This was a massive commitment by a nation with a population of just over a million. Apart from overseeing the formation of the NZEF in 1914, Allen's most important contribution to New Zealand's war effort was ensuring the provision of an adequate number of well-trained

[1] Ian McGibbon, *The Path to Gallipoli: Defending New Zealand 1840–1915* (Wellington: GP Books, 1991), 194–243; John Crawford, "Should we 'be drawn into a maelstrom of war': New Zealand Military Policy on the eve of the First World War" in Peter Dennis and Jeffrey Grey (eds), *1911 Preliminary Moves: The 2011 Chief of Army History Conference* (Canberra: Big Sky Publishing, 2011), 118–23.

reinforcements for the expeditionary force.[2] The success of the NZEF was in part due to Allen's effective working relationship with Godley, a man he respected rather than liked.[3]

I. Allen the man

"Solid and dependable, and staunchly loyal to his party, he is indeed symbolic of all that was best in the conventional world of early twentieth century politics."[4] This was historian A.H. McClintock's description of Allen and though fair in many ways, it is by no means the whole truth. For a man who came from a rather privileged background, Allen had throughout his life a strongly egalitarian and democratic outlook in both personal and political matters.[5] For example, he insisted on cleaning his own shoes as he thought this was something all men should do.[6] In 1918, as Minister of Defence, Allen opposed increasing the pay of NZEF officers writing: "I am not in favour of creating great distinctions between officers and other ranks, such as exists in other countries. We are a democratic land and we are compelling every man to do his share."[7] Although he was born in Australia in 1855 and educated in England, Allen was a patriotic New Zealander with a real sense of his adopted country's distinct national identity.[8] He believed that the unity inspired by the war and the sacrifices

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[2] A.D. Carbery, *The New Zealand Medical Service in the Great War 1914–1918* (Auckland: Whitcombe & Tombs, 1924), Appendix B, 537; J.L. Sleeman, "The Supply of Reinforcements during the War", in H.T.B. Drew (ed.), *The War Effort of New Zealand: A Popular History of (a) Minor campaigns in which New Zealanders took part; (b) Services not fully dealt with in the campaign volumes (C) The work at the bases* (Auckland: Whitcombe & Tombs, 1923), 1–21.
[3] C.R. Allen, "Supplementary Notes on Lois Voller's thesis on Sir James Allen", 86, MS-0140/001, Hocken Library (HL); Liverpool to Long, 9 February 1917, Micro MS 616, Alexander Turnbull Library (ATL).
[4] A.H. McLintock, *The History of Otago: The Origins and Growth of a Wakefield Class Settlement* (Dunedin, Otago Centennial Historical Publications, 1949), 687. The most comprehensive account of Allen's life is L.C. Voller, "Colonel the Honourable Sir James Allen GCMG, KCB, TD, MA Cantab: Statesman", (MA thesis, University of Otago, 1943).
[5] Allen to Fisher, n.d., but 1889, MS Papers 103, ATL.
[6] L. C.Voller, "Sir James Allen and the Allen Family", AG-458-4, HL.
[7] Allen to Godley, 15 August 1918, WA252/5, Archives New Zealand Wellington (ANZ).
[8] Allen to Godley, 9 March 1915, WA252/1, 19 April and 11 May 1915, WA252/2, ANZ; Ian McGibbon, "Allen, James 1855–1942", *Dictionary of New Zealand*

that it entailed would lay the foundation for New Zealand becoming a 'great nation'.[9] Consistent with this view he attached much importance to the establishment of Anzac Day as an occasion of national remembrance.[10] He had, for a man of his generation and background, a caring, if paternalistic attitude towards Māori. In response to concerns from Godley about how the Māori Contingent of the NZEF might be treated in Egypt, Allen wrote:

> I cannot conceive that they are likely to receive any unsatisfactory treatment at the hands of the people in Egypt. Although they are a coloured race I think it will be apparent on their arrival that they are very well trained soldiers, and very different to the ordinary coloured race. Surely if there has been no difficulty with the Indians there should be no difficulty with the Māoris. The only thing I am afraid of however, is that possibly they may be weaker than the Pakeha in respect to temptations.[11]

Allen was not afraid of making tough decisions. Late in the war, for example, a furlough scheme for men who had left New Zealand as part of the Main Body of the NZEF in 1914 was introduced. Under the scheme men returned to New Zealand for a period of leave before re-embarking for further service. It soon became apparent, as Allen explained to Massey, that as "soon as men get back here [New Zealand] a very large proportion of them make up their minds that they won't go back to the front again".[12] Allen responded to this problem decisively by placing severe limits on the numbers to be returned home and by stipulating that Major-General Sir Andrew Russell, the commander of the New Zealand Division, would decide which men could be spared. These arrangements ensured that the military effectiveness of the NZEF was not compromised by the furlough scheme.[13] Allen's capable handling of this matter stands in stark contrast to the shambles that developed over the Second New Zealand Expeditionary Force furlough scheme during the Second World War.[14] A

Biography: Volume 3, 1901–1920 (Auckland: Auckland University Press/Department of Internal Affairs, 1996), 10.

[9] *Evening Post*, 5 August 1915, 3.

[10] *Otago Daily Times*, 26 August 1917, 7.

[11] Allen to Godley, 23 February 1915, WA252/1, ANZ.

[12] Allen to Massey, 24 June 1918, Allen 1, Box 9, ANZ.

[13] Allen to Godley, 2 July, 15 August 1918, WA252/5, ANZ; *Poverty Bay Herald*, 5 September 1918, 2; *New Zealand Herald*, 7 September 1918, 6; *Otago Daily Times*, 25 September 1918, 6.

[14] John McLeod, *Myth and Reality: The New Zealand Soldier in World War II* (Auckland: Heinemann Reed, 1986), 138–55.