REMEMBERING—WAR AND PEACE: REFLECTIONS ON MEMORIALISATION[1]

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Laurie Guy and I were colleagues in the Auckland Consortium for Theological Education and the School of Theology at the University of Auckland for a number of years. We jointly taught a postgraduate course on Twentieth-Century New Zealand Church History which included sessions on "Issues of War and Peace." This was a subject which Laurie also dealt with in his book, Shaping Godzone.[2] *In honouring Laurie with this contribution, I am mindful of the way in which historical objectivity can easily become entangled with personal subjectivity and historical advocacy. Laurie writes about how "War-and-peace issues and national identity issues have been much entwined in New Zealand history."[3] This essay reflects the way in which this "entwining" has been part of my own experience, as I have reflected on the impact of war on the church, my own family, community and country; as I've travelled to sites of memory associated with war; and as I've struggled to reconcile remembering those who died in war with those who opposed war and promoted peace.*

Memory is one of the things that makes us human; we are the past made present. We carry within ourselves not only the genetic heritage of our parents and ancestors, but memories from the past both inherited and experienced. These memories continue to shape and influence us. We are re-membering people!

For Christians, the actions of breaking and sharing bread and drinking from a common cup of wine are part of a ritual that defines who we are. "Do this in remembrance of me" (Luke 22:19 NRSV) was the instruction of Jesus to his followers. The church is a remembering community, linked in the present with the long chain of people who have broken bread and shared wine, going back to an upper room in the first century. But remembering is not only backward looking; it is an action in the present that has a proleptic or anticipatory dimension. For Christians, the eucharistic observance is both an act of remembrance and also forward looking: "For as often as you eat this bread and drink this cup, you proclaim the Lord's death until he comes." (1 Cor 11:26)

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[1] This paper has been adapted and revised from a presentation originally titled: "Lest We Forget! Remembering War and Those Who Opposed War" given to an Anglican Pacifist Fellowship symposium, "Anzac Day: where to from here?" held in Auckland in October 2009. n.p. [cited 23 April, 2014.] See Online: http://www.converge.org.nz/pma/apf/apfAD1009.pdf.

[2] Laurie Guy, *Shaping Godzone: Public Issues and Church Voices in New Zealand 1840-2000* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2011), 235-82.

[3] *Ibid*., 235.

How we remember those who fought and were killed in war and those who opposed war and promoted peace has many of the powerful characteristics associated with memory. We encounter the past through memory, symbols, literature, art and ritual actions in the present. The ways in which we do this shape and influence how we go forward into the future. This essay explores aspects of the personal, communal and national memorialisation of war and peace and how this remembering presents ongoing challenges for us in the present.

My memory of the observance of ANZAC Day in the 1950s when I was growing up, living in a small town, was of a solemn and sacred day. The morning was observed as a holy day. Church and civic services brought the community together. Young people were inculturated into these observances through parading with youth organisations. An ecumenical Protestant service was led by the local ministers. After the service the old soldiers and youth organisations would march from one direction, and Catholics, who had been attending a separate service in their own church, marched from another direction. They all met together outside the War Memorial Hall which housed the offices of the Returned Services Association. There a civic service was held with the Mayor presiding. Usually an army officer or old soldier would speak, one of the local ministers would lead prayers, and hymns would be sung. There would be a firing of volleys by a unit of cadets from the local high school and the laying of wreaths. The old soldiers and youth organisations would march off, led by the local municipal brass band, the short distance to the clock tower. This was a memorial to those who had taken part in what was then called the "Boer War," now referred to more correctly as the "Anglo-Boer War" or the "South African War." There were still some veterans from that war present at the parades in the early 1950s. After laying more wreaths the parade would march some distance to the local recreation ground. There at the Cenotaph, listing those from the local community who were killed in the First World War, more wreaths were laid and volleys fired. The old soldiers would then return to the RSA for a day of reminiscing, aided no doubt by liquid refreshment. The rest of the parade would disband.

There was nothing out of the ordinary in these acts of commemoration. They were repeated throughout the length and breadth of the country. ANZAC Day developed its own rituals: a mixture of funereal sadness and grief, expressions of patriotism and national identity, a strange mixture of religious symbolism and language rooted in the Bible, Christian hymns such as "Eternal Father Strong to Save" and "God of Bethel," prayers and civic pride (what was described in the United States as a form of "civil-religion"). There was a looking back to South Africa, the First and Second World Wars and some acknowledgment of war in Korea and then later in the fifties, Malaya. The ANZAC Day rituals were an expression of community solidarity with an intermingling of militarism, sacrifice, patriotism and vague hopes about peace.

Fifties children were very aware of the recent war in which our parent's generation served but we had little sense of its horror. A stream of books and films such as *The Cruel Sea*, *The Dam Busters*, *The Wooden Horse*, *The Great Escape,* and *Colditz Castle*, gave a rather Boys' Own, romanticised heroic view of war. It was difficult for young people to appreciate what the recent war meant, let alone the First World War.

Bill, a first cousin of my father, was a survivor of the First World War. He was an alcoholic, a petty criminal, an outsider, almost a "Man Alone" figure. We knew that he had been gassed, but we did not really understand what that meant. Bill never married; he was an odd man out. Bill was not only a survivor of the First World War but also a victim. Those men who marched on ANZAC Day wearing their medals, and Bill was one of them, carried memories of war which shaped their lives. They did not talk about its horrors. Only when the remnant of First World War survivors were in their eighties did some of them begin to tell of the awfulness of Gallipoli, the Somme, Messines and Passchendale.[4] Cecil Burgess is quoted as saying, "I went home to a father, a mother and four sisters and no one ever asked me what it was like. For seventy years no one ever asked me what it was like."[5] There was no post-traumatic stress counselling for returned soldiers; no organised programmes to help those struggling with mental and social readjustment haunted by the horrors of war. The rituals surrounding ANZAC Day were the only major public acknowledgement of their service and those who had been killed in war.

As a country, New Zealand takes pride in the contributions its soldiers made in war. The public memorials listing the names of those killed were, as the title of Chris Maclean and Jock Phillips' book indicates, expressions of community "sorrow and pride"—grief and honour.[6] First World War memorials are ubiquitous in the New Zealand landscape. They are permanent reminders of past conflicts and what those wars have cost families through the deaths of sons, fathers, brothers and uncles. Jay Winter, in his study of the First World War within the context of "European Cultural History," entitled his book, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning*. The individual name on a memorial is both a site of memory and mourning. But the individual name is listed among the tens, hundreds and even in some cases, thousands of other names, pointing to the way in which these sites of memory and mourning are both individual and communal memorials. They became surrogate tombstones for both the dead and their grieving relatives who had no bodies to bury or local grave to visit. They are sites which express the involvement of nations in war and perpetuate the memory of those who fought and died. Significantly, they have usually been called "war memorials," not "peace memorials." Maclean and Phillips, in describing the "Wellington Citizens Peace Memorial" at the entrance to Parliament, point to the ambiguity of this description, indicating that peace "is not the dominant tone" but rather "triumph and pride."[7] For the Second World War, the names of New Zealand's war dead were often added to existing memorials while government subsidies were given for "living memorials" such as memorial halls and community facilities.[8]

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[4] See for example: Nicholas Boyack and Jane Tolerton, *In the Shadow of War: New Zealand Soldiers Talk About World War One and Their Lives* (Auckland: Penguin, 1990); Jane Tolerton, *An Awfully Big Adventure: New Zealand World War One Veterans Tell Their Stories* (Auckland: Penguin, 2013). These oral testimonies were accompanied by the publication of extracts from diaries and letters: Jock Phillips, Nicholas Boyack and E.P. Malone, eds., *The Great Adventure: New Zealand Soldiers Describe the First World War* (Wellington: Allen & Unwin, 1988); Nicholas Boyack, *Behind the Lines: The Lives of New Zealand Soldiers in the First World War* (Wellington: Allen & Unwin, 1989); Glyn Harper, ed., *Letters from the Battlefield: New Zealand Soldiers Write Home 1914-18* (Auckland: Harper Collins, 2001).

[5] Quoted on the back cover of Chris Pugsley et al., *Scars on the Heart: Two Centuries of New Zealand At War* (Auckland, David Bateman, 1996).

[6] Chris Maclean and Jock Phillips, *The Sorrow and the Pride: New Zealand War Memorials* (Wellington: Historical Branch, 1990).

[7] *Ibid*., 126.

[8] *Ibid*., 137-55.

WAR MUSEUMS (ANTI-WAR MUSEUMS—PEACE MUSEUMS)

Winter writes that "After August 1914, commemoration was an act of citizenship" in which the affirmation of community and assertion of "its moral character" excluded those who had "placed it under threat." The "collection and preservation for posterity of the ephemera war" was "a patriotic act." He pointed as an example of this to the founding of the Imperial War Museum in London in 1917, initially at the Crystal Palace, and then, ironically "on the grounds of the former 'Bedlam' lunatic asylum."[9] The use of museums to perpetuate the memory of a nation's contribution to war through "housing military objects, and records," "photographs, manuscripts, books, works of art" is seen in New Zealand and Australia in the Auckland War Memorial Museum, the Waiouru National Army Museum, and the Australian War Memorial Museum in Canberra. These are primarily "War Museums," rather than "Peace Museums," in contrast to Ernst Friedrich's Anti-war Museum in Berlin, set up in 1924. Winter noted that the Berlin Museum's "collection of documents and gruesome photographs showed everything the patriotic collections omitted."[10] While noticing the biases of the War Museum and the Anti-war Museum, Winter pointed to the way in which "both arose out of prior political commitments," concluding that "Commemoration was a political act; it could not be neutral."[11]

Friedrich's first museum was destroyed by Nazis in 1933, indicating that the subversive message of an anti-war museum was not allowed to continue under a Fascist regime. Subsequently, Friedrich opened another museum in Belgium. During the Second World War he joined the French Resistance. Later he opened a museum in Paris. In 1988 the Berlin Anti-Kriegs or Anti-War Museum was opened with a Peace Gallery.[12] The naming is significant, going beyond the anti-war sentiment into a pro-peace approach. Those who opposed war were pro-peace, but as with the message of many protestors, what they were against was often heard more loudly than what they were for.

War Museums not only serve as sites of memory, but also help perpetuate attitudes about war. *Scars on the Heart*, a book about the Auckland War Memorial Museum and New Zealand's two centuries at war, indicates something of the cost of war as do the list of names in the Museum's First World War "sanctuary" and Second World War "Hall of Memories." But the ambiguities seen in the use of military force to achieve peace are unresolved in the way in which these museums commemorate past martial glories and defeats without denouncing war itself as an evil to be avoided. This raises the questions: how far does memorialisation help to normalise war and make it acceptable, or how far does it perpetuate or challenge the glorification of war? Is there a tension between honouring the war dead and promoting peace?

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[9] Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 80.
[10] *Ibid*., 81-82.
[11] *Ibid*., 82.
[12] "Anti-Kriegs Museum," n.p. [cited 29 March 2014]. Online: http://anti-kriegs-museum.de/.

Jonathan Vance, in examining memorialisation of the First World War in Canada, pointed to the difficulty the memory of the war created for pacifists: "According to that memory," there was "a choice: either fight to preserve the values that were deemed to underlie society, or sacrifice those values in the interests of preserving peace." War was seen by the majority, even some who abhorred war, "as a necessary evil."[13] New Zealand churches during the First World War, for example, had helped create the rhetoric sanctifying duty, sacrifice and death which assisted the war effort.[14] While strong voices were raised within the churches in favour of peace and the work of the League of Nations in the 1920s and 1930s, the realities of Fascism and the threat to peace were seen by the vast majority in 1939 overriding the calls for peace.[15] The memorialisation of war both reflected and shaped community perceptions.

WAR MEMORIALS

Winter highlights the way in which war memorials carry "symbols of national pride" and at the same time they are "places where people grieved, both individually and collectively."[16] They are an international phenomenon that has flourished particularly over the last 150 years. In listing names they express the honour given to those who served and were killed; they enshrine the cult of patriotism seen in going to fight and die for your country; they powerfully evoke the commitment made by communities in support of imperial causes; they are evocative sites of gathering to commemorate and remember the deeds of those who fought and in particular those who died. War memorials in New Zealand range from the national and state, civic and public memorials, the humble honours board in churches and schools, to the small towns with their statues, cenotaphs and memorial gates with lists of names.

New Zealand's National War Memorial in Wellington carries many of the ambiguities associated with the public memorialisation of war. It acts as a national shrine. Clergy from the Anglican Cathedral in Wellington, acting as chaplains to the nation, play an important part in the annual ANZAC Day service at the National War Memorial. The military precision of the honour guard and the laying of wreaths by members of the diplomatic corps are caught up with prayers using Christian formulas and the evocation of national identity.

The building is not a church but is described as "a Hall of Memories." In the vestibule under the Union Jack and the New Zealand Ensign are plaques with the words:

> Let all men know that this is holy ground.
> This shrine commemorates our people's fortitude and sacrifice,
> therefore give remembrance.

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[13] Jonathan F. Vance, *Death So Noble: Memory, Meaning and the First World War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997), 30.
[14] Allan K. Davidson, "New Zealand Churches and Death in the First World War," in *New Zealand's Great War: New Zealand, the Allies & the First World War* (ed. John Crawford and Ian McGibbon; Auckland: Exisle, 2007), 447-66. See also *ibid.*, Peter Lineham, "First World War Religion," 467-92.
[15] See Guy, *Shaping Godzone*, 260-82; Allan K. Davidson, "Peace and Pacifism; New Zealand Presbyterians 1901-45," in *Reforming the Reformation: Essays in Honour of Principal Peter Matheson* (ed. Ian Breward; Melbourne: Australian Scholarly, 2004), 181-96.
[16] Winter, *Sites of Memory*, 79.

They gave their lives for their country, that we might live in peace.

The Hall of Memories has six recesses or "mini-chapels" with "plaques of remembrance" for the forces in which people served. Carved above what is described as "the Sanctuary" (an interesting appropriation of religious language) are doves of peace and words from Psalm 139: "If I climb up into Heaven, thou art there. If I make my bed in Hell, behold thou art there also. If I take the wings of the morning and dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea, even there also shall thy hand lead me and thy right hand shall hold me."

Lynden Smith's statue of a *Mother and Children* is the focal point of the sanctuary. This has been described as "both a gentle and powerful image of the suffering and burden carried by a family during time of war."[17] There is no glorification of war in this representation. The statue is flanked by two large brass urns, Greek symbols of death. Two columns at the front are inscribed with "the coats of arms of members of the Commonwealth" and they are both surmounted by "a cross in bronze and glass." In the Hall of Memories there is a syncretistic mixture of classical, biblical, Christian, national, and military imagery. The language and symbolism surrounding memory and remembrance of war is charged with multiple meanings and ambiguities. The potential message of peace can very easily be swallowed up by sacrificial, patriotic and militaristic dimensions which these memorials enshrine.

Outside the Hall of Memories is the Tomb of the Unknown Warrior, where the body of a New Zealand First World War soldier was entombed in November 2004. What amounted to a state funeral service in the Anglican Cathedral was part of what has been described as "probably the largest commemorative programme ever undertaken in New Zealand."[18] Memorialising the war dead, as Winter suggested, is a very powerful political act. The combination of ritual associated with memorials, with its mixture of Christian, military, civic and national symbols and rhetoric is a potent force that has been used in various ways in our history. In the late sixties and early seventies, for example, there was great outrage when protestors used services at public memorials on ANZAC Day as an occasion to challenge New Zealand's involvement in the Vietnam War. The opposition of war and the cries for peace were heard by many as dishonouring the memory of those who had died in war.[19] There is a question as to how far the almost cultic and mythic aspects around our memorialisation of war can prevent or enhance the promotion of peace.

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[17] Ministry of Culture and Heritage, "Hall of Memories," n.p. [cited 29 March 2014]. Online: http://www.mch.govt.nz/nz-identity-heritage/national-war-memorial/hall-memories.

[18] Ministry of Culture and Heritage, "Tomb of the Unknown Warrior," n.p. [cited 29 March 2014.] Online: http://www.mch.govt.nz/nz-identity-heritage/national-war-memorial/tomb-unknown-warrior.

[19] Church and Society Commission, National Council of Churches, *The Observance of Anzac Day* (Auckland: Church and Society Commission, 1972).

REMEMBERING THOSE WHO OPPOSED WAR

In the face of the hundreds of war memorials and the annual rituals associated with memorialisation, how are the voices and memories of those who opposed war, who promoted peace, kept alive? Where are the monuments to the pacifists, the conscientious objectors, the defaulters in New Zealand? What are the rituals which help keep alive their memory? Where in our churches or cathedrals do we have monuments, memorials, honours boards, stained glass windows that memorialise those who opposed war? The name of Ormond Burton is on the Honours Board of St Luke's Presbyterian Church, Auckland, where he is remembered as a First World War soldier, not as New Zealand's leading pacifist in the Second World War.

The irony is that in cathedrals and churches, whose congregations follow "the Prince of Peace," those who have fought in war are remembered, whereas those who opposed war are usually ignored. When the church acts as "chaplain to the nation" it is difficult to condemn war and proclaim peace. Archbishop Robert Runcie at the National Service of Thanksgiving in 1982 held at St Paul's Cathedral in London at the end of the Falklands War incurred the wrath of Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, when he prayed for the dead on both sides of the conflict. Coventry Cathedral, with its ministry of reconciliation, arising out of the ashes of the cathedral's destruction in a bombing raid in 1941, offers a very positive example of constructive memorialisation.

A counter-cultural approach is the Peace Abbey in Sherborn, Massachusetts, a multi-faith retreat centre founded in 1988. In the Conference Center they have what is described as "The Pacifist Living History Museum, containing relics, personal affects, manuscripts and documents placed at the Abbey by members of the Peace Movement, friends and supporters." The Abbey has memorials to Pacifists and to the "Unknown Civilians Killed in War"—a reminder of the millions of victims of warfare who are seldom memorialised or remembered and the ways in which war memorials are often a very masculine construction of memory.[20]

There are some memorials in New Zealand that help keep alive the witness of people who opposed war and promoted peace. The community led by Te Whiti o Rongomai and Tohu Kakahi at Parihaka in the 1870s and 1880s offered an alternative pathway to the violence and wars of the 1860s. Their passive resistance resulted in many men being taken away to Wellington, Dunedin and Hokitika where they were unjustly imprisoned.[21] The remembrances in stone in these three places are a silent witness today to an alternative pathway to violence. The Parihaka International Peace Festival, which began in 2006, has become a contemporary vehicle for keeping alive the memory of the Parihaka prophets as well as reaching out to the future with its commitment to peace and sustainability.

Wellington City in 1993 was declared by Mayor Fran Wilde as a "Peace Capital." The City has been active in memorialising peace. It "planted a number of trees and installed a range of sculptures and

[20] Peace Abbey, "The Peace Abbey," n.p. [cited 11 Jan. 2000]. Online: http://www.peaceabbey.org/about/.
[21] Richard Knight, "Parihaka Heroes Honoured," *New Zealand Herald* (11 January 2000), n.p. [cited 29 March 2014]. Online: http://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=109600.

monuments, commemorating peace and peacemakers" on what is called the Wellington Peace Walk.[22] An Auckland Peace Heritage Walk was created in 2009.[23]

Memorialisation, keeping alive memory, involves more than physical memorials. Poets, writers and artists have often led the way in expressing opposition to war. The First World War poetry of men like Wilfred Owen and Siegfried Sassoon, and the homespun rhymes of Studdert Kennedy, often with Christian imagery, savagely remind people of the horrors of war. New Zealand does not seem to have produced its own soldier poets. The poet, Basil Dowling, a Presbyterian minister 1938 to 1941, was jailed as a conscientious objector, resigned from the ministry and abandoned his faith. In "Air Bombardment" he evoked the crucifixion of Jesus and the dropping of bombs, concluding: "Once, for our life, a good Man died alone; / But O for what can all this blood atone."[24] "In Time of War," Dowling again thinking of Jesus, pointed to the "shock and shame of war, while arms the meekness mock" and finds solace in calling

> ... saints to witness; hear all angels,
> Mothers, and martyrs hymn thee in quiet tone;
> Christmas and Easter read me their evangels
> Of peace in weak and foolish things alone.[25]

In the area of fiction writers we have produced few notable opponents of war who seize the imagination and inspire readers with the alternative vision of opposing war and thereby promoting a peaceful world. Maurice Gee's character, Plumb, is based on his grandfather, the onetime Salvation Army Officer, Presbyterian then Unitarian minister, J.H.G. Chapple. Chapple was a pacifist and opposed the First World War. He spent eleven months in jail for "seditious utterance." Chapple's socialism and attraction in the 1930s towards Russian communism, however, alienated him from many.[26]

Ray Grover, in what Gee commended as "likely to be judged our best war novel yet," *March to the Sound of the Guns*, gives a sympathetic portrayal of soldiers caught up with the fighting in the First World War. James Gibb, the minister at St John's Presbyterian Church in Wellington, has a prominent part in the novel. Gibb is depicted using his pulpit as a recruiting platform. Gradually as the war comes to its end, Gibb adopts a strongly held pacifism that continued to mould his ministry until his death. One of the main characters, Harry the Christian sniper, returns home and becomes a minister. He is given the last

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[22] The Peace Foundation, "Wellington as a Peace Capital," n.p. [cited 29 March 2014]. Online: http://www.peace.net.nz/index.php?pageID=62#pwalk.

[23] "Auckland Peace Heritage Walk - a self-guided walk around peace sites in central Auckland," n.p. [cited 29 March 2014.] Online: http://www.peace.net.nz/uploads/Auckland%20Peace%20Heritage%20Walk%20Brochure%202010.pdf. For a list of peace memorials in New Zealand see: "Peace Memorials in New Zealand / Aotearoa," n.p. [cited 29 March 2014.] Online: http://peace.maripo.com/x_nz_aotearoa.htm.

[24] Basil Dowling, *Signs and Wonders* (Christchurch: Caxton Press, 1944), 7.

[25] *Ibid*., 8.

[26] Maurice Gee, *Plumb (*Wellington: Oxford University Press, 1978). See also Geoff Chapple, "Chapple, James Henry George," from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 6-Jun-2013, n.p. [cited 29 March 2014]. Online: http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/3c12/chapple-james-henry-george.

chapter of the novel, ending with the words, "There it was. A true follower of our Lord must be an apostle of love and labour for peace."[27]

In New Zealand non-fiction there is a large library that tells the story of those who opposed war: Archibald Baxter's classic, *We Will Not Cease*;[28] Ormond Burton's writings; numerous autobiographical accounts by defaulters; biographies such as Ernest Crane's account of Ormond Burton, *I Can Do No Other*;[29] histories of conscientious objectors and pacifism by Elsie Locke and David Grant.[30] In the area of television and film there is the poignant story of Rita Graham in Gaylene Preston's documentary, *War Stories*; Russell Campbell's powerful documentary, *Sedition: The Suppression of Dissent in World War II New Zealand*; Barry Barclay's account of the destruction of the Moriori on Rekohu (the Chatham Islands), *The Feathers of Peace*. But while the war dead have their memorials and days of remembrance, pacifists, conscientious objectors and those who opposed war are easily overwhelmed by the mainstream public memorialisation associated with war. The adoption of white poppies as an international symbol "to remember all casualties of war and to promote peace" has provided for some an alternative or a complement to the red poppies traditionally worn on ANZAC Day.[31]

Our national art was still in its infancy when the Second World War broke out. In the paintings of Rita Angus we have some bold statements of her own commitment to pacifism. Much of this work was held in her own collection until after her death and so it had reduced public impact. Angus' pacifism originated from a combination of socialist and Christian influences. Her paintings are a reminder today of what she and people like her were willing to stand up for. Jill Trevelyan describes *Dona Nobis Pacem* (Grant us Peace) as "the most overt expression of her pacifist vision." She depicts the English pacifist composer, Ralph Vaughan Williams, who was her friend Douglas Lilburn's tutor. Williams composed a cantata, *Dona Nobis Pacem* in 1936.[32] The painting of the apple and the Nelson landscape in the bottom right probably references the Riverside Community established by Christian Pacifists in 1941 where Angus worked for a period during the war. A painting like this, when it is seen within the context of Angus' life, takes the viewer into her opposition to war. As she wrote in 1944: "My pacifism and my paintings are now closely linked, I hope all my life."[33] Angus at some personal cost resisted the attempt to "manpower" her into an

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[27] Ray Grover, *March to the Sound of the Guns* (Dunedin: Longacre, 2008), 447. See also Laurie Barber, "Gibb, James," from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 1-Oct-2013, n.p. [cited 6 April 2014]. Online: http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/2g5/gibb-james.

[28] Archibald Baxter, *We Will Not Cease: The Autobiography of a Conscientious Objector* (2nd ed.; Christchurch: Caxton, 1968).

[29] Ernest Crane, *I Can Do No Other: A Biography of Ormond Burton* (Auckland: Hodder & Stoughton, 1986). See also O.E. Burton, *The Silent Division - and Concerning One Man's War 1914-1919* (Christchurch: John Douglas Publishing, 2014). For examples of publications about and by defaulters see: W. J. Foote, *Bread and Water: The Escape & Ordeal of Two New Zealand World War II Conscientious Objectors* (Wellington: Philip Garside, 2000); Alan Handyside, *Indeterminate Sentence* (Wellington: Philip Garside, 2005); Walter Lawry, *We Said No To War!* (Dunedin: Wordspinners, 1994).

[30] Elsie Locke, *Peace People: A History of Peace Activities in New Zealand* (Christchurch: Hazard, 1992); David Grant, *Out in the Cold: Pacifists and Conscientious Objectors in New Zealand during World War II* (Auckland: Reed Methuen, 1986); David Grant, *A Question of Faith: A History of the New Zealand Christian Pacifist Society* (Wellington: Philip Garside, 2004).

[31] Peace Movement Aotearoa, "White Poppies for Peace," n.p. [cited 29 March 2014]. Online: http://www.converge.org.nz/pma/poppy09.htm#history.

[32] Jill Trevelyan, *Rita Angus: An Artist's Life* (Wellington, Te Papa Press, 2008), 178.

[33] *Ibid.*, 178.

essential industry, declaring: "I believe that in living, is the task of peace, and not killing, which is war. If men and women gave to the creation of life, and not to destruction, the peoples of this world would live in greatness, without false ideals."[34]

In the work of artists such as Lois White, Colin McCahon, Ralph Hotere, Gil Hanley and Nigel Brown there are statements against war and militarism, its horror and its destructive force. Artists, poets and writers, are often the visionaries who keep alive for us the memory of those who campaigned for peace and enable us to see alternative possibilities.

WAR CEMETERIES

War cemeteries are a powerful site of memorialisation. In New Zealand, fortunately, we do not have the vast cemeteries that crowd northern France and southern Belgium although there are over sixty memorials "to the dead of the New Zealand Wars."[35] The disastrous Northern War in the Bay of Islands in 1844-45 can be recalled in the graveyards at St John's Church at Waimate North, Christ Church Russell and St Michael's Ohaewai. The memorial at St Michael's was erected over Pakeha soldiers with the words in Maori: "This burying-place was laid out by the Maoris after the making of peace."[36]

Among the memorials and burial grounds for the New Zealand Wars of the 1860s are: St John's Te Awamutu where soldiers killed at Rangiowhia are buried; at All Saints, Howick; at Te Papa, the Mission, Tauranga, where both Maori and Pakeha soldiers who were killed at Gate Pa are remembered; and at St Mary's New Plymouth. Some of the memorials from the New Zealand Wars have become controversial because of their wording and their colonial construction of memory. That was the case at St Mary's New Plymouth where a one-sided Eurocentric view of the Taranaki War was reflected in wording on tombstones and the placement of regimental hatchments inside the church. Over time these views were challenged and a memorial panel installed depicting "two warring tribes ... reconciled through the love of two young people." This serves as a reminder that "By mutual acceptance of the God of Love, the two peoples, Maori and Pakeha, can live together in common respect and peace."[37] The past is not erased here by removing memorials. Through honestly recognising the deep division caused by war, symbols can help point to the way of reconciliation and peace-making. The Peace Altar Frontal being made at St Mary's as "a memorial for Te Whiti o Rongomai, Tohu Kakahi and their followers" is seen as contributing "to the conversation of reconciliation."[38] Sites of memory and memorialisation can help a community to

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[34] *Ibid*., 184.
[35] New Zealand History Online, "New Zealand War Memorials," n.p. [cited 29 March 2014.] Online: http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/war/new-zealand-wars-memorials.
[36] New Zealand History Online, "Ohaeawai NZ Wars Memorial," n.p. [cited 29 March 2014.] Online: http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/media/photo/ohaeawai-nz-wars-memorial-cross.
[37] The Taranaki Cathedral Church of St Mary, "Love One Another," n.p. [cited 29 March 2014.] Online: http://www.taranakicathedral.org.nz/maori_memorial.php.
[38] *Ibid*., "Peace Altar Frontal," n.p. [cited 29 March 2014.] Online: http://www.taranakicathedral.org.nz/peace-altar-frontal.php.

understand the past proleptically so that formerly divided communities can live more justly in the present and into the future.

The European war cemeteries were intended to bring comfort to the grieving and be a permanent record of the death and sacrifice of those killed. The visit of Australasian young people to Gallipoli in recent years has become almost a rite of passage and a necessary part of the Overseas Experience. There is a form of secular pilgrimage in visiting these sites where battles have taken place, soldiers have been killed and memorials erected. A strong personal resonance is evoked where a relative lies buried or whose name is engraved on a memorial. And yet there is a disjunction between the past and the present. There is something almost surreal standing at North Beach, Gallipoli, where the annual commemorations on ANZAC Day are held, with the "Sphinx" and cliffs towering above from which Turkish soldiers shot down on the landing soldiers. The nearby memorial with the famous words of the Turkish General, Kemal Ataturk, who made his reputation at Gallipoli, highlight the tragedy and legacy of war:

> Those heroes who shed their blood and lost their lives, you are now lying in the soil of a friendly country. Therefore rest in peace. There is no difference between the Johnnies and the Mehmets to us where they lie side by side in this country of ours. You, the mothers who sent their sons from far away countries wipe away your tears, your sons are now lying in our bosoms and are in peace. After having lost their lives on this land they become our sons as well.[39]

High above ANZAC Cove stands the New Zealand memorial at Chunuk Bair. Here Colonel Malone and the Wellington Regiment gained a sight of the Dardanelles in the distance only to be repulsed and killed. Inscribed on the towering monument are the words: "They came from the ends of the earth." As distance intervenes between the then and the now the loss of life of both "allies" and "enemies" hits home. War memorials in their own way can serve as pointers to peace in the present.

There is a quiet beauty at many of the war cemeteries with the headstones lined up with military precision. This cannot erase the sense of horror that they evoke as you survey the ages of those who died. At Cassino, the Second World War Commonwealth Cemetery is overlooked by the rebuilt Benedictine Monastery which the Allies bombed. The Cross of Sacrifice in the cemetery is invested with all the pathos of the death of Jesus and yet the connection between a man crucified by Roman soldiers and the death of soldiers in combat is ambiguous. In order to justify war there has developed a rhetoric which co-opts Jesus, the "Prince of Peace." A supreme irony is faced at the entrance way to Monte Cassino with the Benedictine motto "Pax" above the portal. The rebuilding of the monastery is itself a testament and pointer to Pax/Peace.

At Maleme, on Crete, there is a thought-provoking experience when you see the sign: "Late Minoan Tholos Tomb" (dating back some three and a half thousand years) above the sign pointing to the German War Cemetery. The tombs of a previous era have become an archaeological site. As time passes, what will become of the twentieth century war cemeteries? Above the airstrip where the New Zealand soldiers were

[39] Words transcribed from a photo taken by the author.

repulsed in 1941, the bodies of the German dead were not interred until 1971 and the cemetery not consecrated until 1973. Coming to terms with the dead, particularly of those who were seen as the invaders, was a long and painful business for the people of Crete. The signage includes words of Albert Schweizter, the German missionary doctor and Noble peace laureate: "The soldier's graves are the greatest preachers of peace"; and "The dead of this cemetery admonish to peace."[40] Memorials to the dead in war are not only sites of memory but can also serve as reminders of peace.

MEMORIALS TO PEACE

Those who opposed war probably would not want their names kept alive on memorials, in statues or stained glass. Without some form of memorialisation, however, we can too easily erase from our historical memory their sacrifice. A creative use of the money given to New Zealand by the French Government in compensation for the sinking of the *Rainbow Warrior* is the website, "Lest We Forget—Remembering Peacemakers on ANZAC Day." Eleven New Zealanders are named and biographical information given about them.[41]

In *All the Saints*, which provides background detail about those listed in the New Zealand Anglican Calendar, there is material for ANZAC Day on 25 April, and a day entitled "Prayers for Peace" although with no designated day. The calendar includes people like Dietrich Bonhoeffer who died as a result of his implication in the bomb plot against Hitler, Maximilian Kolbe the Catholic priest who took the place of someone else in going to the gas chamber, Heni Te Kiri Karamu who supplied water to soldiers dying at the Battle of Gate Pa, Te Whiti o Rongomai the great Parihaka prophet of peace, Henare Taratoa who carried with him battle instructions based on the New Testament, and Wiremu Tamihana who valiantly sought peace in the face of Pakeha aggression.[42] Should the church calendar be extended to include Methodists such as Ormond and Helen Burton or Archibald Barrington; or Anglicans like Charles Chandler the Dean of Hamilton who was prominent in his opposition to war, or Thurlow and Kathleen Thompson, noted Anglican pacifist leaders in Christchurch?

Christians are shaped and moulded far more than they often realise by the ritual activities in which they engage: memory—"Do this in remembrance of me"—action—"Whenever you break this bread and drink this cup you remember me." Looking back to the past from our position in the present to go forward into the future, that is part of the challenge of good liturgy. Shirley Murray, in her hymn for ANZAC Day, has provided words that honour both those who fought and those who opposed war. The

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[40] Wording copied by the author when visiting Maleme, Crete.

[41] Those named are: A. Lois White, Alan Graham , Archibald Baxter, John Miller, Malcolm Kendall-Smith, Merv Browne and Chris Palmer, Ormond Burton, Rod Donald, Rua Kenana, Te Whiti o Rongomai, Moana Cole, along with the Families of Conscientious Objectors. "Lest We Forget: Remembering Peacemakers on ANZAC Day," n.p. [cited 2 April 2014]. Online: http://lestweforget.org.nz/.

[42] Ken Booth, *For All the Saints: A Resource for the Commemorations of the Calendar* (Hastings: Anglican Church, 1996), 489-91, 506, 120-33, 302-304, 139-43, 415-20, 229-33, 235-39. This material is reproduced at: The Anglican Church in Aotearoa, New Zealand and Polynesia, "For All the Saints: A Resource for the Commemoration of the Calendar," n.p. [cited 7 April 2014]. Online: http://www.anglican.org.nz/Resources/Lectionary-and-Worship/For-All-the-Saints.

"fighting brave" and those buried in a "foreign grave are to be honoured." The tears that flow are for "places ravaged," "young bones buried in mud." Those who followed their conscience and opposed war are honoured, who "suffered in prisons of contempt and shame, / branded as cowards in our country's name." Tears flow for the waste and cost of war, the ache and pain of loss, the continuing sanction of war. Honouring the dream of those who died for a better world leads on to honouring "their vision on this solemn day, / Peace known in freedom, peace the only way."[43] The honouring of conscientious objectors in this hymn has provoked some negative reaction from those who have difficulty reconciling memorialisation of those who have died in war with remembrance of those who opposed it.[44] Shirley Murray wrote about how Ormond Burton's address to a student conference she attended was the inspiration for this hymn. She concluded: "Whenever you sing this hymn, don't focus only on the past—think of what you can do for positive peacemaking in your lifetime, and respect those who will never commit themselves to killing another family's son or daughter in warfare."[45] The most effective memorialisation of both those who were killed in war and those who opposed war is to pray and work for peace.

[43] For the full words of the hymn, © Shirley Erena Murray 2005, see Liturgy, "Hymn for ANZAC Day," n.p. [cited 7 April 2014]. Online: http://liturgy.co.nz/anzac-day.

[44] See for example, Amanda Wells, "Hymn writer stresses the power of words," n.p. [cited 7 April 2014]. Online: http://www.presbyterian.org.nz/publications/spanz-magazine/2009/december-2009/hymn-writer-stresses-the-power-of-words.

[45] Mission Resourcing Network, Uniting Church of Australia, "Hymn for ANZAC Day," n.p. [cited 6 Oct. 2009]. Online: http://mrn.sa.uca.org.au/component/content/article/531-hymn-for-anzac-day.html.