THE ENDURING IMPACT OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR

A collection of perspectives

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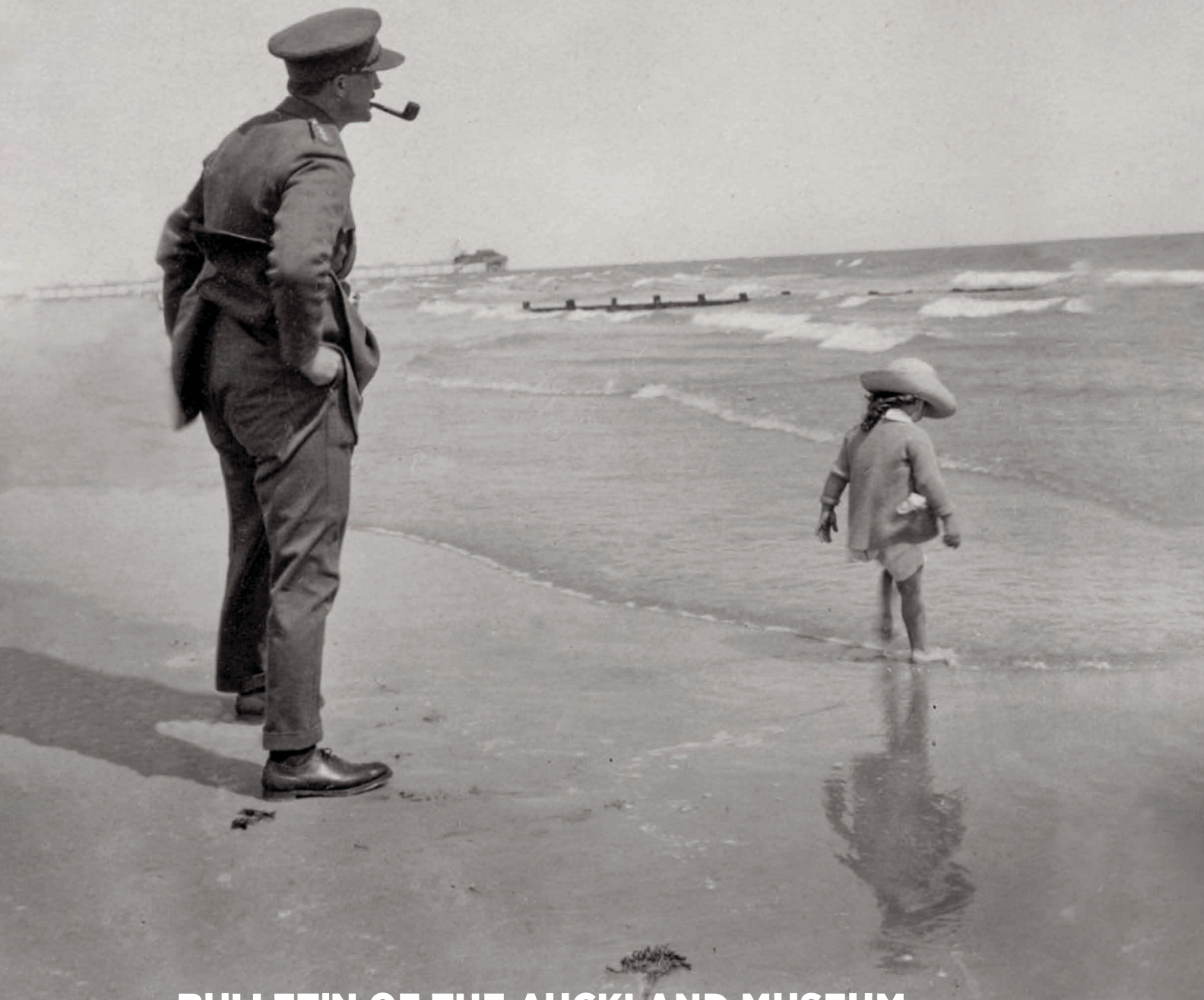

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‘The Past We Harvest That Was Yours’: The Rhetoric of National Identity and the Legacy of the Unknown Warrior in New Zealand Memory

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Abstract

In 2004 the remains of a First World War soldier were disinterred from the Caterpillar Valley Cemetery in France and returned to New Zealand to be reburied in the Tomb of the Unknown Warrior at the National War Memorial in Wellington. The warrior’s original resting place in the Somme was in a Commonwealth (formerly Imperial) War Graves Commission cemetery. The commission was established in 1917 to care for the graves of the empire’s Great War dead. Prior to the new tomb in Wellington, the warrior buried in Westminster Abbey in London since 1920 had served as New Zealand’s unknown.

In the 1960s, with the development of a ‘new nationalism’ in New Zealand, came the emergence of new emblems of nationhood. By the time of the fifth Labour government (1999–2008) led by Prime Minister Helen Clark, an agenda to shape New Zealand’s national identity—including the promotion of military heritage—was well-established. At the Unknown Warrior’s funeral and interment ceremony in Wellington on 11 November 2004, both Clark and Governor-General Dame Sylvia Cartwright proposed the warrior’s return represented a coming of age for New Zealand and a shared identity for its citizens. Against the backdrop of the Imperial War Graves Commission’s founding principles, this article explores the rhetoric of the official public ceremonies on the occasion of the Unknown Warrior’s return, and his apparent mobilisation and co-option in the construction of New Zealand’s distinctive, contemporary national identity.

Keywords

Helen Clark; Imperial War Graves Commission; national identity; new nationalism; New Zealand; Unknown Warrior

In 1917 the Imperial War Graves Commission (IWGC) was established to care for the graves of the ‘fallen’ of the empire’s military and naval forces. Its ‘duty’ was not only to honour and perpetuate ‘the memory of their common sacrifice’, but also to ‘keep alive the ideals for … which they have laid down their lives’.[1] Eighty-seven years later, one of their number—buried in the Commonwealth War Graves Commission Caterpillar Valley Cemetery in France beneath a headstone that bore the words, ‘A New Zealand Soldier of the Great War Known Unto God’—was again enlisted in the service of his nation. During her address at the Unknown Warrior’s funeral in Wellington on 11 November 2004, Prime Minister Helen Clark observed, [he] ‘has now been called back to serve his country once more… . It is, perhaps, a mark of the journey we have taken as a nation since then that we are finally welcoming home our own unknown warrior.’[2]

Clark’s words revealed the return of ‘our boy’—as he became known to those who escorted him home—was more than simply the homecoming of the mortal remains of one soldier representing all New Zealand servicemen and women who have died in overseas wars.[3] Later that day in her eulogy delivered at the warrior’s interment

1 Minutes of the proceedings of the Imperial War Conference, 1917, Sessional Paper No. 42a, 147, accessed 14 June 2019, https://archive.org/details/1917extractsfrom00impeuoft/page/14.

2 Prime Minister Helen Clark, ‘Address at Memorial Service for Unknown Warrior’, 12 November 2004, accessed 13 June 2019, https://www.beehive.govt.nz/speech/address-memorial-service-unknown-warrior. The Unknown Warrior was interred the day before this speech was published.

3 Fiona Terry, ‘For the Fallen: Remembering Those Lost to War’, 24 April 2017, Noted, accessed 13 June 2019, https://www.noted.co.nz/currently/history/for-the-fallen-remembering-those-lost-to-war/.

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ceremony, Governor-General Dame Sylvia Cartwright asserted, 'Today … we honour all those others whose names, like his, we shall never know. Yet what we do know is that he, like each of them, was one of us'.[4] She also attached the nation's indebtedness to the service and sacrifice of the warrior and his comrades: 'Because of him, home is a better place'.[5] While both the prime minister and governor-general suggested the warrior's return represented progress, allusion was also made to the nation's coming of age and the common identity of its people.

Against the backdrop of the Imperial War Graves Commissions' founding principles, this article explores the rhetoric of the official public ceremonies on the occasion of the unknown warrior's return, and his apparent mobilisation and co-option in the construction of New Zealand's distinctive, contemporary national identity.

THE IMPERIAL WAR CONFERENCE AND THE 'CARE OF SOLDIERS' GRAVES'

Michael Volkerling maintains that '[s]ince the late nineteenth century, New Zealanders' engagement with the outside world has been punctuated by their involvement in a series of wars fought on behalf of the Mother Country or some more recent military ally'.[6]

The nation's participation as part of the British empire in the First World War was one such example and the reason for New Zealand's representation at the first Imperial War Conference held in London from 21 March–27 April 1917. The purpose of the conference —attended by representatives of the United Kingdom, the self-governing Dominions, and India—and of a second held in June/July 1918, was to coordinate the governance of the British empire during the First World War and prepare for the post-war period (Fig. 1). The prime ministers of the United Kingdom, and the dominions of Canada, South Africa, New Zealand, and Newfoundland, represented their nations. Australia was not able to send representatives because of their impending general election.

A wide range of topics was discussed concerned not only with the conduct of the war but also the future role of the empire. Two agenda items were concerned with memory and remembrance. Both reflected an urgency to safeguard and remember the experience of the war before it disappeared. One related to the establishment of an Imperial war museum in London to commemorate the war. The planned contents of the collection reflected a desire to capture all aspects of war experience. A second agenda item concerned the 'Care of Soldiers' Graves'. The title suggests an orderly process but the reality was something quite different as Jay Winter describes: 'Those who tried to reunite the living and the dead, to retrieve their bodies and to give them a secure and identifiable resting place, faced staggering problems. There was the scale and chaos of the battlefields at the end of the war; there was as well terrible uncertainty as to the survival of thousands of men who simply had vanished in combat.'[7]

Prior to the First World War, for the soldiers of the British empire there was no official mechanism for marking and recording the graves of those killed. Individual commemoration of war dead—if it happened at all—was generally restricted to commissioned officers.[8] With the inception of the Imperial War Graves Commission established at the conference, no distinction would be made between officers and men: they would lie side by side in 'ordered ranks' and each grave would be marked with an identical headstone.[9] Furthermore, '[i]n death, from General to Private, of whatever race or creed, [all] should receive equal honour under a memorial which should be the common symbol of their comrade-ship and of the cause for which they died'.[10]

In addition to acknowledging the practical and financial impossibility of bringing all the dead home, the need to symbolise the presence of the absent dead and missing—along with the expression of equality—could be argued to have laid the foundation for the concept of the unknown soldier. His anonymity meant that he could have come from any rank, race, or religion represented in a nation's armed forces.

On 10 May 1917, the Imperial War Graves Commission received its charter from King George V. The king charged the permanent imperial body 'with the duty of caring for the graves of officers and men of Our military and naval forces raised in all parts of Our Empire who have fallen, or may fall, in the present War'.[11]

The commission's guiding principles focused on common sacrifice, remembrance, and equality of treatment for the empire's dead. The wording in the

4 The Hon Dame Silvia Cartwright, 'Eulogy for the Unknown Warrior', 11 November 2004, 1, accessed 13 June 2019, https://gg.govt.nz/publications/eulogy-unknown-warrior.

5 *Ibid.*

6 Michael Volkerling, 'The Helen Clark Years: Cultural Policy in New Zealand 1999−2008', *The Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society* 40, no. 2 (2010): 100.

7 Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 28.

8 Chris Maclean and Jock Phillips, *The Sorrow & the Pride: New Zealand War Memorials* (Wellington: GP Books, 1990), 12–13.

9 Laura Clouting, 'Their Name Liveth For Evermore', Imperial War Museums, 14 November 2018, 8, accessed 14 June 2019, https://www.iwm.org.uk/history/their-name-liveth-for-evermore.

10 Ken Warpole, *Last Landscapes: The Architecture of the Cemetery in the West* (London: Reaktion Books), 164.

11 The Commonwealth War Graves Commission, Charter of Incorporation dated 21st May 1917 and Supplemental Charter dated 8th June 1964, 3. royal_charter_of_incorporation.pdf.

Figure 1. The Imperial War Cabinet. Group photograph of the IWC members in the garden of No. 10 Downing Street, 1 May 1917. Imperial War Museum (HU 81394).

following quotation, attributed to the king, conflates remembrance and empire and invites comparison with the sentiments expressed by New Zealand's prime minister and governor-general on the occasion of the unknown warrior's internment. The graves would, 'by honouring and perpetuating the memory of their common sacrifice, tend to keep alive the ideals for the maintenance and defence of which they have laid down their lives, to strengthen the bonds of union between all classes and races in Our dominions, and to promote a feeling of common citizenship and of loyalty and devotion to Us and to the Empire of which they are subjects'.[12]

The king's son, Edward, Prince of Wales who was appointed president of the commission by royal charter on 21 May 1917, was also concerned with the impact of the body's actions in time to come: 'Future generations will judge us by the effort we made to fulfil that duty … [to] all those who came forward to help the Empire in the hour of need'.[13]

That many New Zealanders during the First World War—along with the subjects of the other dominions—saw themselves unquestionably as loyal British 'citizens' is apparent in the transcript of the 1917 Imperial War Conference, at which the country was represented by Prime Minister William Massey and Minister of Finance Sir Joseph Ward.[14] However, while both were members of 'the great Imperial race', they were insistent on promoting and defending New Zealand's interests, including ensuring the protection of the graves of their compatriots at Gallipoli.[15] At the conference, Massey argued strongly for land under the control of a British organisation to be set aside in Gallipoli for the burial of 'our soldiers' in a post-war peace settlement with Turkey.[16] While Gallipoli was

12 *Ibid.*, 3.

13 Minutes of the proceedings of the Imperial War Conference, 1917, Sessional Paper No. 42a, 97, accessed 14 June 2019, https://archive.org/details/1917extractsfrom00impeuoft/page/14.

14 Minutes, Massey, Sessional paper No.42a, 31.

15 *Ibid.*, 31.

16 *Ibid.*, 31.

seen as part of the wider empire story, it was clear that New Zealand (and Australia) had made a distinct contribution to the Dardanelles campaign; though one of sacrifice rather than ultimate victory. Massey insisted that on the Gallipoli graves' issue he was expressing the views of his compatriots whom he represented, as well as speaking on behalf of (absent) Australia's interests.[17]

According to Ian McGibbon: 'In the South Pacific the campaign helped bolster a sense of national identity, albeit within a British framework, in both countries. At the time of landing, New Zealanders at home had thrilled to learn that their men were taking part in the top league… . There was pride that 1NZEF had performed well in difficult conditions'.[18]

TOMB OF THE UNKNOWN WARRIOR

At the end of the war, the decision as to where the dead's final resting place would be, varied according to the former warring nations. 'Having lost the war', Winter proposes, 'the Germans were in no position to return to the areas they had occupied and exhume the remains of their fallen soldiers'.[19] American families were allowed to choose between repatriation to the United States or burial in a military cemetery in Europe. The British ruled out repatriation on the grounds of expense and equality.[20] According to Winter: 'So many men had no known grave that granting the privilege of bringing back only identified bodies would discriminate against about half the population. Instead, symbolic gestures of the return of the fallen were made in many countries'.[21] Ken Warpole maintains the tomb of the unknown soldier, 'in the form of a new kind of national, collective memory, emerged to fill the eschatological vacuum'.[22]

On Armistice Day, 11 November 1920, the remains of unknown soldiers were re-interred in Westminster Abbey in London and under the Arc de Triomphe in Paris. The following year, Massey and his Cabinet considered a proposal from William Jennings, the member of Parliament for Waitomo (who lost a son at Gallipoli), to consider 'the advisability of bringing [home] the remains, preferably from Gallipoli, of one of our unknown boys'.[23] The Cabinet decided against this course of action and so the remains in the Westminster tomb continued as a surrogate unknown New Zealander until 2004.

Australia had also considered an Australian tomb of an unknown in the 1920s but it wasn't until 1993—to mark the 75th anniversary of the end of the First World War—that the remains of an unknown Australian soldier were interred at the Australian War Memorial. At the foot of his tomb are inscribed the words, 'He is all of them and he is one of us'.[24] 'One of us' meaning he is an Australian: the soldier in Westminster Abbey could no longer act as a symbol for Australians who had died in overseas wars. Similar inclusive and nationalistic sentiments would be expressed upon the return of the Canadian unknown soldier in 2000 in Governor-General Adrienne Clarkson's eulogy: 'he has become part of us forever. As we are part of him'.[25] In her eulogy to the New Zealand Unknown Warrior, Governor-General Dame Sylvia Cartwright echoed the sentiments expressed at the funerals of the Australian and Canadian unknowns.

On 6 November 2004, near the French village of Longueval, the remains of an unknown New Zealand soldier, killed in the First World War, were disinterred, like his Australian and Canadian comrades from a Commonwealth—formerly Imperial—War Graves Commission graveyard. He was handed over to a New Zealand delegation who would escort his coffin back to his homeland (Fig. 2).

On 11 November, New Zealand's Unknown Warrior was buried at the National War Memorial in Wellington. His return marked the beginning of perhaps the nation's largest ceremonial event. According to Manatū Taonga, the Ministry for Culture and Heritage: 'The Tomb of the Unknown Warrior is New Zealand's foremost symbol of remembrance for all New Zealanders who did not make the journey home after serving their country overseas. It also serves as a focus of remembrance for the sacrifice made by all New Zealand servicemen and women in times of war'.[26]

17 *Ibid.*, 32.

18 Ian McGibbon, 'Gallipoli', in *The Oxford Companion to New Zealand Military History*, ed. Ian McGibbon (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 2000), 198.

19 Winter, *Sites of Memory*, 27.

20 Warpole, *Last Landscapes*, 164.

21 Winter, *Sites of Memory*, 28.

22 Warpole, *Last Landscapes*, 163.

23 'Pukeahu National War Memorial Park, Tomb of the Unknown Warrior', The Ministry for Culture and Heritage Te Manatū Taonga, accessed 13 June 2019, https://mch.govt.nz/pukeahu/park/national-war-memorial/tomb.

24 'Tomb of the Unknown Australian Soldier', Australian War Memorial, accessed 13 June 2019, https://www.awm.gov.au/visit/hall-of-memory/tomb/.

25 'The Unknown Soldier Is Home', 28 May 2000, Veterans Affairs Canada, accessed 13 June 2019, https://www.veterans.gc.ca/eng/remembrance/memorials/canada/tomb-unknown-soldier/ottawadirect4.

26 'Pukeahu National War Memorial Park'.

Figure 2. Unknown Warrior. Wellington primary school pupils on the route travelled by the unknown warrior's coffin from Wellington Airport to Parliament, 10 November 2004. Photo: David Straight.

THE 'NEW' NATIONALISM

In a span of 11 years, why did the three former British dominions each bring home one of their unknown soldiers from the First World War? Canadian historian, Douglas Cole, writing in the early 1970s, argued that Canadians and Australians (and by extension New Zealanders) had traditionally located themselves within what he termed a 'Britannic nationalism' that possessed all of 'the most potent elements for nationhood—language, origin, cultural heritage, common loyalty, the inspiration of past achievement, a foreign menace' and so forth.[27]

In his comparative study, Stuart Ward contends that in the 1960s, 'it became abundantly clear that neither Empire nor Britishness could provide credible myths of identity and belonging'.[28] In 1963 New Zealand historian Keith Sinclair observed: 'for us to want to be British is a poor objective, like wanting to be an understudy or a caretaker—or an undertaker'.[29] As the old certainties of 'Britannic nationalism' receded, Ward argues 'a palpable sense of something lacking in Australian, Canadian and New Zealand civic culture emerged … [leading] to government intervention … to place the formal trappings of nationhood on a new post-imperial footing'.[30]

Around this time, a 'new' nationalism was identified in Australia, Canada, and New Zealand. Ward describes 'New nationalism' as: 'a process of redefining settler-colonial communities for a post-imperial era. It was a nationalism stripped of its British underpinnings —a self-conscious striving for a more self-sufficient, self-sustaining idea of the people, in place of the "old" nationalism with its entanglements in wider networks of British belonging'.[31]

This new nationalism, according to Ward, found expression in the three nations chiefly in the civic sphere; for example, 'official rites and rituals, public holidays, flags, anthems and so on'.[32] These fundamental emblems of nationhood 'were all suddenly up for

27 Stuart Ward, 'The "New Nationalism" in Australia, Canada and New Zealand: Civic Culture in the Wake of the British World', in *Britishness Abroad: Transnational Movements and Imperial Cultures*, eds Kate Darian-Smith, Patricia Grimshaw, and Stuart Macintyre (Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, 2007), 233.

28 *Ibid.*, 237.

29 *Ibid.*, 241.

30 *Ibid.*, 236.

31 *Ibid.*, 232.

32 *Ibid.*, 232.

grabs.'[33] Ward contends this assertion of independence would also become evident in relation to 'citizenship, foreign policy, and the role of the state in the promotion of "national" culture'.[34]

During this period, the United Kingdom was also looking to redefine its relationships. In 1973, the 'Mother Country' cut the apron strings and set New Zealand adrift by joining the European Economic Community, to which Prime Minister Norman Kirk responded: 'Now as a nation we are independent and on our own. As Britain joins her destiny with Europe's, we must draw more upon the spiritual and cultural strength of the people who make our nation'.[35]

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, New Zealand underwent a significant economic and social transformation. Paradoxically, in a time of radical economic reforms including deregulation and privatisation, cultural expenditure increased significantly because—according to Volkerling—'the fourth Labour government [July 1984 to November 1990], in particular, was consumed by cultural nationalism'.[36] Members of the government believed that they were 'presiding over an era of emerging national self-consciousness. Obviously', they argued, 'our sense of identity as New Zealanders in the Pacific/Asian region is served by greater understanding and development of our own national culture'.[37]

HELEN CLARK, MILITARY HERITAGE AND NATIONAL IDENTITY

The final part of this article explores how the Unknown Warrior has served—and continues to do so—a government agenda to shape New Zealand's national identity. Through her leadership in the heritage sphere, Prime Minister Helen Clark played an 'instrumental' role in 'redefining New Zealander's [*sic*] shared past'.[38] During Clark's leadership of the 1999-2008 Labour Government, Volkerling argues '[a]mong the particular achievements to be considered are … [Clark's] promotion and preservation of New Zealand's military heritage'.[39]

In 2000 the Ministry for Culture and Heritage was established, with the prime minister taking on the arts, culture, and heritage portfolio. The new ministry's responsibility included war heritage projects such as writing publications on New Zealand history, the management of national monuments, and the administration of commemorative days. As prime minister, Volkerling points out, 'Clark could and did set her own agenda … [and] therefore may be considered New Zealand's most influential Cultural Minister'.[40] According to Graham Hucker, 'As Minister of Arts, Culture, and Heritage, Clark was instrumental in providing government support to military heritage projects both at home and abroad …' [and] 'recognized the importance of her country's part in military events on the world stage in the twentieth century'.[41]

Clark's efforts to preserve and promote New Zealand's military heritage as prime minister and minister of arts, culture, and heritage included:

- the Anzac commemorative site (2000) and the walking track extension at Gallipoli (2005);
- the Tomb of the Unknown Warrior (2004) and the overseas New Zealand memorials on Anzac Parade in Canberra (2001), in Busan, South Korea (2005), and Hyde Park, London (2006);
- attendance at the commemoration of war anniversaries in which New Zealand servicemen fought (including Gallipoli—which she visited three times—and Passchendaele, and the Second World War battlefield sites of Crete, El Alamein, and D-Day);
- endorsing the literature on New Zealanders at war and the collection of the oral testimonies of Second World War veterans; and,
- secondary school essay competitions in which winners would travel to commemoration sites with the official government delegations.

In addition, the establishment of a National War Memorial Park dedicated in 2015 was the policy of Helen Clark's Labour Government.[42]

Clark's familial connections to war—her maternal grandfather and ten great uncles served in the First World War—meant her motivations concerning military heritage were very personal. She understood the role it could play in 'building the spirit of New Zealand and [in]

33 *Ibid.*, 242.

34 *Ibid.*, 232.

35 Kate McMillan, 'National Voting Rights for Permanent Residents: New Zealand's Experience', in *Global Migration: Old Assumptions, New Dynamics*, ed. Diego Acosta Arcarazo and Anja Wiesbrock (Santa Barbara: Praeger, 2015), 105.

36 Volkerling, 'The Helen Clark Years', 97.

37 Project Development Team, 'Nga Taonga o Te Motu Treasures of the Nation, National Museum of New Zealand Te Marae Taonga o Aotearoa: A Plan for Development' (Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs, 1985), 7.

38 Volkerling, 101.

39 *Ibid.*, 95

40 *Ibid.*, 96.

41 Graham Hucker, 'A Determination to Remember: Helen Clark and New Zealand's Military Heritage', *The Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society* 40, no. 2 (2010): 105.

42 For a more extensive discussion on military heritage projects during Clark's government see Hucker, 'A Determination to Remember', 109–117.

Figure 3. Tomb of the Unknown Warrior Te Toma o Te Toa Matangaro, 12 November 2004. Photo: Guy Robinson.

understanding the forces that shape New Zealanders'.[43] 'War' according to Clark, 'has been an unforgettable and powerful experience for many New Zealanders, and a defining stage in the evolution of New Zealand as a nation'.[44] Clark was instrumental in supporting the return of the unknown warrior and such memorial projects showed a 'strengthening national identity' through recognition of New Zealand's participation in wars overseas and their impact and effects at home.[45]

Of the unknown warrior, Clark said, 'All we know of him is that he died on the Western Front, and that he was one of us. We are the future generations for whom he lost his life. In a very real sense he is one of the foundations of today's society'.[46]

The words of Vincent O'Sullivan's poem, *Homecoming – Te Hokinga Mai*, read at the interment ceremony, succinctly capture the unknown warrior's contribution to the nation's contemporary national identity:

> The past we harvest that was yours,
> The present that you gave for ours.[47]

43 Hucker, 114.

44 Helen Clark, 'PM launches campaign of Ministry for Culture and Heritage to preserve wartime memories', Beehive, 18 February 2002, accessed 13 June 2019, https://www.beehive.govt.nz/release/pm-launches-campaign-ministry-culture-and-heritage-preserve-wartime-memories.

45 Hucker, 114. It is important to acknowledge the influence of eminent New Zealand historian, Dr Ian McGibbon (formerly Chief Editor [War History] at the Ministry for Culture and Heritage) in Clark's decision to support the unknown warrior project. McGibbon believed the return of an unknown soldier and his entombment at the National War Memorial would contribute to New Zealand's growing sense of national identity. Hank Schouten, 'The Homecoming', Dominion Post, 13 November 2004, 15, accessed 14 June 2019, https://www.knowledge-basket.co.nz/databases/newztext/search-newztext/view/?sid=1958293&d4=fairfax%2Ftext%2F2004%2F11%2F16%2Fdoc00089.html.

46 Helen Clark, 'Address at Memorial Service for Unknown Warrior', 12 November 2004, Beehive, accessed 13 June 2019, https://www.beehive.govt.nz/speech/address-memorial-service-unknown-warrior.

47 Vincent O'Sullivan, 'Homecoming – Te Hokinga Mai', Pukeahu National War Memorial Park, Homecoming ceremony, accessed 14 June 2019, https://mch.govt.nz/pukeahu/park/national-war-memorial/tomb/homecoming.

But Clark was also concerned to 'reposition national identity to a more international setting' according to Hucker.[48] 'Clark, as the prime minister of New Zealand, was such a strong advocate of attending war anniversaries and commemoration services in global settings; she understood that in an increasingly globalized world, Zealand's military heritage and its contribution and participation in major overseas events in the twentieth century was an important piece "in the mosaic that makes up the picture the world sees when it thinks of New Zealand"'.[49]

The return of the unknown warrior was a widely promoted national event that captured the public's attention. According to the Ministry for Culture and Heritage, it is believed that 'around 100,000 people lined the streets of Wellington to witness the funeral procession'.[50] The televised live broadcast was the largest undertaken since the 1990 Commonwealth Games in Auckland.[51] Hucker argues that 'the interment of the Unknown Warrior … marked the apogee of military heritage in New Zealand, and perhaps, even the end of "empire" here' (Fig 3).[52]

* * *

The night before the Unknown Warrior's interment at the National War Memorial, he lay in state in the Legislative Council Chamber of Parliament Buildings. I was one of an estimated 10,000 people who went to pay my respects.[53] The lighting in the room and the mood of fellow visitors was subdued. Perhaps it was this atmosphere, the intensive publicity and promotion that surrounded the warrior's return, the relief of completing the tomb in a very tight timeframe and the associated stress, but as I left the chamber, it was with tears in my eyes. Whether this was succumbing to the government's national identity project or sharing a sacred moment of collective memory, I do not know.

Kingsley Baird is a visual artist whose work represents a longstanding and continuous engagement with memory and remembrance, and loss and reconciliation through making artefacts and writing. Major examples of his work in this field are the New Zealand Memorial in Canberra (2001, with Studio of Pacific Architecture), the Tomb of the Unknown Warrior (2004, Wellington, New Zealand); the international Nagasaki Peace Park sculpture, *Te Korowai Rangimarie The Cloak of Peace* (2006); *Tomb* (2013) at France's Historial de la Grande Guerre; and *Stela* (2014) at the Militärhistorisches Museum der Bundeswehr in Germany. Memorial investigation continues in current practice with *Odyssey*, a sculpture collection concerned with composing historical and contemporary visual narratives – principally related to conflict – within the three-dimensional 'settings' of cast-bronze First and Second World War helmets. Kingsley Baird is the board chair of WHAM (War History Heritage Art and Memory) Research Network; and is the General Editor of Memory Connection journal. He is a Professor of Fine Arts in the College of Creative Arts at Massey University. www.kingsleybaird.com | k.w.baird@massey.ac.nz

48 Hucker, 114.

49 *Ibid.*

50 'Tomb of the Unknown Warrior', Ministry for Culture and Heritage Manatū Taonga, accessed 13 June 2019, https://mch.govt.nz/nz-identity-heritage/national-monuments-and-war-graves/tomb-unknown-warrior.

51 Hucker, 113.

52 *Ibid.*, 112.

53 'Tomb of the Unknown Warrior', Ministry for Culture and Heritage Te Manatū Taonga, accessed 13 June 2019, https://mch.govt.nz/nz-identity-heritage/national-monuments-and-war-graves/tomb-unknown-warrior.