

Stabat mater dolorosa

DEATH, PHOTOGRAPHY AND COLLECTIVE MOURNING

Death loves to be represented The image can retain some of the obscure, repressed meanings that the written word filters out. Hence its power to move us so deeply.

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ON 27 JULY 1916 the *Auckland Weekly News* had on its cover a photograph captioned ‘The Casualty List’ (Figure One). The caption directed the viewer’s gaze to the image of a solitary woman leaning against the fireplace of an Edwardian parlour. She had her back to the viewer, her head bowed, her left hand resting on the mantelpiece above the fireplace. In her right hand she clutched a copy of a newspaper. We can see the masthead; the newspaper was the *New Zealand Herald*. Its slightly crumpled appearance and the caption of the work leaves no doubt that she had been reading the latest lists of men killed, wounded or missing in action. On the mantelpiece was a framed photograph of a man in a soldier’s uniform. Her left hand touched its frame. Hers was a pose of sorrowful resignation within the privacy of a domestic setting. Superimposed on the upper left side of the image was a photograph of a clump of soldiers with their bayonets at the ready, with one figure in the foreground falling back as if fatally wounded.

The inclusion of this picture of a battle scene suggested that she was imagining the unfolding of events somewhere on the Western Front. We do not know whether she was mourning the loss of a specific individual — lover, husband, brother — or whether her sorrow was a more generalized grief in response to the sheer excess of youthful tragedy represented by the casualty list.

Historical photographs such as ‘The Casualty List’ need to be understood as forms of evidence — constructed, contingent, open to interpretation — rather than mere illustrations. ‘The Casualty List’ belongs to a body of World War I-era images which sought to mediate death on behalf of the New Zealand home front. These photographs are simultaneously images with independent aesthetic and compositional codes, and cultural artifacts conditioned by time, place and sensibility. Giving centrality of place to these images reveals New Zealanders’ imaginative geography of wartime and provides a deeper understanding of the war’s cultural significance, better explaining the traumatic as well as heroic memories that flow from this war and its place in our national history.

The mass death of young New Zealanders on the other side of the world was profoundly traumatic. Most of their bodies did not come home, but still families and communities mourned and remembered. In a variety of ways, these practices of mourning redefined the meaning of photographs as artifacts; one of the anticipated consequences of photographic technology was its ability to stand in for the absent, to provide comfort if not closure.



Figure One: ‘The Casualty List’, *Auckland Weekly News*, 27 July 1916, front cover. This image gave public expression to private grief and dramatized the change in status of a photograph from a memento of an absent loved one to a representation of death itself.

War photographs helped New Zealanders understand the place of wars in the lives of their families and communities. Death, mourning and the ‘return of the/our dead’ were in part mediated by photographic representations. An examination of the illustrated newspapers during the war years yields a rich visual vocabulary created by and for a society attempting to come to grips with the catastrophe of mass death. Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau and Annette Becker have pointed out that in France, England and Germany, grief was ‘displayed’, and on occasions ‘flaunted’.² In New Zealand grief was equally conspicuous both in the public and private representational strategies employed by communities, families and individuals during the war years.

This article focuses on three specific genres of photographic representation offered by wartime newspapers in order to show how photography enabled New Zealanders to imagine a communal sense of loss and bereavement. We

have no way of knowing how these images were interpreted, understood and discussed at the time. Nonetheless we need to take these public representations seriously. They are not proxies for what ordinary people felt, but they do show an attempt by journalists and editors to grapple with the perceived expectations of the public. In this way, the illustrated newspapers offer a glimpse into the plasticity of photography in the hands of contemporaries trying to make sense of a war whose meaning changed as it unfolded.

The first genre, of which 'The Casualty List' is an example, is a series of wartime *Auckland Weekly News* cover stories which had as their subject matter the absent soldier and the women who waited and grieved. These staged photographic representations sought to address the anxiety of waiting families in the face of an escalating death toll. The second set of representations is the rolls of honour published in wartime newspapers. They developed a photographic convention for the public depiction of loss and qualify as the most-often seen visual representations of the war, their ubiquitous presence in newspapers confirming the excessively high casualty rates of this war. As a counter-point the newspapers published photographs of honour boards from local communities which in their specificity contrast the nation's memorializing of New Zealand soldiers. It was not the nation that honour boards sought to commemorate. It was the death of local boys. They recorded the desolation of small-town New Zealand. The third group of images appeared in the *Otago Witness*. They took as their theme the cost of war in manpower, refracted through photographic representations of 'home'.

Taken together, these three journalistic appropriations of photography illuminate the manner in which family photographs and the notion of family were used in public discourse. Journalistic uses of these images also offer a way to reread the complex relation between the family as nation and the nation as family in the public memorializing of dead soldiers. Collectively, all of these images functioned as a form of testimony, a witnessing in the face of cultural trauma by overlapping circles of mourners. They demand an attentive and critical reading, acting as complex sites of ideological negotiation over family, class, gender and nationalism.

Between 1915 and 1918 18,166 New Zealand men were killed in or as a result of warfare, an extraordinary number of deaths at a time when the country's population was some 1,158,149.³ Unlike previous wars in which sickness exacted a huge toll on combatants, the majority of men killed in the Great War died violently, their bodies mutilated and dismembered. Yet the total number of dead at the end of the war obscures the way in which death was encountered 'as-it-happened' by the home front community. Those at home had to struggle with both an imagined war taking place some 12,000 miles away in unfamiliar environments and with the arbitrariness of death itself. Death did not necessarily approach with a measured pace. During the Gallipoli campaign 2721 died within nine months. On the Western Front, the numbers spiked dramatically during key offensives. In the second phase of the Somme offensive of September 1916, 1560 were killed.⁴ The New Zealanders' participation in the Third Ypres offensive, beginning on 4 October 1917, while deemed a military success, incurred high casualties. Worse was to come.

On one day, 12 October 1917, 845 men lay dead or dying at Passchendaele, qualifying it as 'a tragedy without equal in New Zealand history'.⁵

Mourning was further complicated by geography. New Zealand soldiers had travelled to the Middle East and Europe from the 'uttermost ends of the earth'; their bodies could not be repatriated. Even if the distance had been more manageable, in too many instances there was no body to bury. Trench warfare tore bodies apart. By the end of the war 5325 of the 16,697 New Zealanders 'buried' in foreign lands had no known resting place.⁶

At the home front, death was encountered in a variety of ways. First, there was the immediate death in action. This was death as 'an objectively measurable event, death as described in the army bulletins and reported in the newspapers, death transformed into lists of names, columns of figures, autopsy reports, death as an administrative, managerial affair'.⁷ Alongside this type of death there was the recording of a more ambiguous, open-ended death, those listed as missing in action. Robert Whalen, a historian of Germany's Great War, draws attention to death at a personal level: 'an intimate, private experience' which must be 'described not through statistics but through images, not through abstractions but through concrete metaphor'.⁸ In all cases, however, for New Zealanders at home awaiting news of their loved ones, death would always be mediated by distance and temporal separation.

The visual response to mass death has been partially explored in a number of New Zealand studies which examine the building of war memorials and the commemorative practices centred on Anzac Day.⁹ What remains overlooked is the way in which the medium of photography played an integral part in the representation of death and loss both *during* and after the war. Its role was both unanticipated and multivalent. There are a number of possible explanations for this occlusion. One has to do with the way we look at photographs. It is very hard to distinguish a specific photograph from its referent. Historians have failed to appreciate that the photographs framing wartime loss are every bit as 'constructed' as the war memorials. And yet it is precisely this characteristic of 'invisibility' which qualified the medium to represent death so very well.

A number of visual historians have reflected on the shared characteristics of death and photography. As Susan Sontag has argued: 'All photographs are *memento mori*. To take a photograph is to participate in another person's (or thing's) mortality, vulnerability, mutability. Precisely by slicing this moment and freezing it, all photographs testify to time's relentless melt.'¹⁰ Christian Metz views photography as peculiarly adapted to represent death. Its intrinsic characteristics, stillness and silence, he noted, are the main symbols of death. For him the 'stillness' of photography 'maintains the memory of the dead *as being dead*'.¹¹ And indeed, photography and death have had a long and close association. The representation of death was common in painting prior to the invention of photography. The democratizing characteristic of photography was that it allowed middle-class Victorians to create and possess portraits of family members both dead and alive. Anthropologist Jay Ruby confirms that nineteenth-century photographers were frequently commissioned to produce post-mortem photographs.¹² The visual evidence of such a practice in a New Zealand context exists. The Alexander Turnbull Library and Te Papa both hold

New Zealand examples of post-mortem photographs, though to date there has been no scholarly work done on this topic.¹³

New Zealand historians have confirmed the importance of the parlour as the site in which the family displayed itself to itself and to those outside the family in death as well as life. The photographs of parlours, dining rooms and bedrooms in Anna Petersen's work provide ample visual evidence of the fondness of turn-of-the-century Pakeha and Maori for representational strategies which included photographic portraits of royalty, ancestors, relatives and family members.¹⁴ William Main's *Maori in Focus* includes photographic evidence of the importance accorded to photographic artifacts at King Tawhiao's tangi in 1894.¹⁵ Lawrence Aberhart's on-going photographic documentation of interiors shows meeting houses 'where ancestors are no less present than the living' in the many photographic portraits hung around the walls.¹⁶ These examples emphasize the use of photography in the memorializing practices of Victorian and Edwardian Pakeha and Maori cultures. The photographs I examine below are perceptible traces of the families', communities' and nation's wartime grief. The commemoration of the war dead and the building of war memorials would come later.

A young woman sits at a writing desk (Figure Two). In her right hand she holds a pen but for the moment she has suspended her letter writing. Her gaze is directed at a framed photograph of a soldier on the desk immediately in front of her. She has momentarily reached out with her left hand to draw the photograph closer. We observe her lost in some private reverie. Her expression is wistful. Her youth, her look of contemplation and the fact that her hand rests on the frame of the photograph all suggest an emotional intimacy between her and the object of her gaze. Perhaps she is simultaneously contemplating a shared past, and an uncertain present and future.

This image of a young woman posed in a domestic interior is more complex than it seems at first glance. It was chosen for the cover of the 1915 *Auckland Weekly News* Christmas supplement, commemorating the first Christmas that New Zealand troops were away from their loved ones. It bore the caption 'A Christmas Greeting from New Zealand to the Absent One'.¹⁷

As Karin E. Becker has observed, what is being 'framed' in a newspaper photograph is defined by the 'concrete, specific place it appears in and how it is presented'.¹⁸ The depiction of a seemingly private world in such a public medium as the cover of a mass market illustrated weekly naturalizes an ideological theme and message. The gesture of a young woman reaching out across time and space to a young soldier is thus a doubly encoded one; it also allowed viewers of the image to negotiate a number of different identities for themselves and for those photographed. Like the young woman in the photograph many families would have had similar photographs of their loved ones to remind them of their absent son/brother/father. Thus the photograph is presented at the intersection of a number of gazes: the photographer's gaze through the viewfinder, the gaze of the publication itself (the decisions about cropping, borders and caption), the gaze of the young woman; the refracted gaze of the photograph of the soldier, the gaze of the readership of the newspaper at the time, and that of a contemporary audience.



Figure Two: ‘A Christmas Greeting from New Zealand to the Absent One’, *Auckland Weekly News*, 16 December 1915, front cover. Commemorating the first Christmas that New Zealand troops observed away from their loved ones, this image demarcates a gendered vision of war.

Presumably the publication assumed that families would send the Christmas edition to their soldier sons overseas. Indeed both the 1916 and 1917 special Christmas editions were explicitly promoted as ‘a most suitable souvenir for our soldiers at the Front’.¹⁹ Thus the photograph and its multiple meanings tell a number of complex stories about the nature of wartime looking. What makes this image particularly revealing is the way in which a *representation* of the absent soldier both literally and symbolically draws the line between the battlefield and the home front and in so doing demarcates a gendered vision.

The vision that this photograph reinforced is one whereby men ‘see’ war, whereas it falls to women to sit and wait. In fact, as Margaret Higonnet has written, we see mapped out both literally and symbolically the tropes of masculinity and femininity in time of war. ‘Governing the symbolic polarities between war and peace, death and life, men and women are spatial metaphors that ground the separability and purity of these concepts. War defiles men by forcing them to cross a doubly physical boundary, both geographic and corporeal, between life and death’.²⁰ The strategy that the *Auckland Weekly News*

employed of inviting the reader to look through an oval frame at a photograph that is all about its subject looking at another framed photograph constructs and delineates these polarities. The oval frame festooned with flowering clematis encloses and protects a world of domestic charm. The ‘innocence’ of this image is further reinforced by the placement at the top of the page of two small framed images of young girls, one eating a watermelon, the other knitting. All three frames and the images contained within them create boundaries between the world these delightful creatures inhabit and the soldier represented in the photograph. All three images are intended to represent the symbolic stakes for which this war is being fought. This underlying message is further reinforced by the sentiments of the caption. It is the viewers collectivized as ‘nation’ who are being asked to remember these young men who are risking death on their behalf.

Presumably the newspaper and its editors wanted to stage an explicit act of remembering in the lead-up to Christmas, a time which traditionally brings families together. But in using the device of depicting a young woman holding a photograph of a soldier, the newspaper also depicted the way in which a photograph itself could function as a pictorial *aide-de-memoire* for individuals and families. Photographs of photographs were not unusual. From the nineteenth century onwards, Geoffrey Batchen has noted, many photographs had shown ‘people pensively contemplating other photographs. What could they be calling to mind, if not their memories?’²¹ But what exactly was being remembered in this very public depiction of private memorializing? The power of the image to disturb and unsettle rests on the existing knowledge, hopes and fears of individual readers remembering absent ones. ‘Memory’, Batchen comments, is ‘both artifice and reality, something perceived, invented and projected, all at once’.²² The photograph made absence visible; it also cast a shadow of death across an otherwise tranquil domestic scene.

The complex photo-blocking techniques that were employed to create a collage of words and images necessitated the application of the best commercially available technology. The resulting image represents a small master piece in its own right and reflected the readiness to apply these resources to capture the wartime mood.²³ The elaborate framing of this image, its subtle mottling and the addition of a border of flowers all testify to the care and skill which informed this representation. The *Auckland Weekly News* was purposefully setting out to frame a historic moment in the life of the nation.

Seven months later the same publication ran ‘The Casualty List’ image on its cover. Nearly a century later it would be easy to dismiss its highly charged rhetoric as overly sentimental. In April 1916 the New Zealand troops had been transferred from Egypt to the Western Front. Their introduction to fighting in the front line came the following month in the Armentières region near the French–Belgian border.²⁴ After five days of intense artillery bombardment of the German positions the Anglo–French Somme offensive began. It was a military disaster. The casualties on all sides were staggering, with 1,200,000 men wounded, dead or missing.²⁵ No strategic advantage had accrued to the Allied side, but this is not something the New Zealand public were to know until much later. Instead the reportage of the Somme offensive in the *New*

Zealand Herald on 3 July 1916 was decidedly upbeat. The public learned that a joint British and French offensive in the Somme region had seen ‘success over sixteen miles’ and that ‘over 5000 prisoners [had been] taken’.²⁶ The numbers of New Zealanders reported killed in action in France continued to remain low for several weeks. This changed abruptly on 24 July when the *Herald* published the latest casualty numbers under the Roll of Honour. The public were informed that ‘the longest casualty list issued by the Defence Department for some time was forwarded on Saturday through the medium of the Press Association’. The list covered the period from 2 July through to 14 July and detailed New Zealand casualties: 43 men killed in action, 12 more who subsequently died of wounds, seven missing and 77 wounded.²⁷

The New Zealand public remained unaware of the failure of the military objectives of the Somme offensive and the resulting huge loss of life on both sides. They were unaware, too, of the fact that New Zealand troops had been spared the brunt of this early phase, and had, instead, been deployed in a number of raids designed to keep the German troops in their sector from moving forward. In hindsight these casualty lists were not exceptionally long: worse were to come. By mid-August, when the New Zealand troops were relieved, total casualties had risen to 2500, including about 400 dead.²⁸ However, the fact that the *Auckland Weekly News* titled this July image ‘The Casualty List’, coupled with the fact that the grieving woman holds in her hand a copy of the *New Zealand Herald*, reinforces a reading of this image as a direct response to the specificity of this early phase of the New Zealand forces engagement at the Somme. Given the reporting of the offensive up to this point, the incontrovertible evidence of the numbers dead, wounded and missing in action on the Western Front must have been both unexpected and incomprehensible to the New Zealand public.²⁹ There was no accompanying narrative to explain in what circumstances these men had been killed or wounded; the power of this list to shock and dismay was in part that death was embodied in name after name. Moreover, the naming of the dead and injured alongside the name of their next of kin and place of residence anchored the grief within specific families and specific communities. It enabled individuals to contextualize the grief of private citizens against the backdrop of a shared national experience, joining together diverse, widely separated individuals and families.

The grieving woman, her slumped head resting on her arm, her hand touching the photographic portrait of the soldier, speaks of the loss of private citizens complicated by the absence of a body to mourn. This is in part the reason that this image is so extraordinary. It is the only attempt to show a New Zealand public what was never shown, what was to remain invisible: the imagined grief of an individual citizen behind closed doors.³⁰ Yet grief could only be represented by posing a stand-in, not by imposing on the real mourners. During the war years no photographic close-ups of mothers and families crying at Anzac Day commemorations were published.

So we have a photograph in a major New Zealand publication trying to deal with the immediate aftermath of the impact of death by attempting to freeze that ‘imaginary’ moment when the grief-stricken confronted death. In keeping with pre-war mourning practices a woman was selected to act as the chief

mourner within the funereal parlour room.³¹ With no body to grieve over, the rituals of bereavement had been ruptured. So the viewer sees her reaching out and touching a photograph depicting a soldier. The photograph of the absent soldier functions as the referent for death itself. Death fills the room, visibly weighing down on her slumped body.

Jay Winter emphasizes the importance of such consolatory gestures as touching the war memorials, and, in particular, touching the names of those who died as playing an important function whereby the living separated themselves from the dead. He notes that: 'Many photographs of the period show mourners reaching out in this way, thus testifying that whatever the aesthetic and political meaning, which they may bear, they are also the sites of mourning; and of gestures which go beyond the limits of place and time.'³² Here the viewer sees a grieving woman mimicking an older form of gendered mourning. Deprived of a body to touch within the privacy of her home, she is shown touching a photograph. An image which had confirmed an absence now spoke of the finality of death. The photograph was pictured as the site of her mourning.

While 'The Casualty List' is exceptional in its attempt to frame the particularities of a specific trauma in New Zealand's history, it is not unique. Such images are part of a longer allegorical tradition in which representations of the dying, of death and of mourning are purposefully framed to convey a deeper moral and spiritual message. As 'texts' they have a literal or primary meaning, but they also 'signify' other meanings. The use of allegorical texts in wartime can, as Sue Malvern points out, make the audience complicit in their reading 'without ever being certain where the boundary between authorial intention and interpretation lies'.³³ Such representations draw on an eclectic range of artistic and cultural traditions. In 'The Casualty List', for example, the draped posture of the grieving woman suggests something of the monumental form of sculpture carried over into the medium of photography.³⁴ Thus in its aesthetic style it most closely references an older Victorian tradition of mourning. The placement of the woman in an Edwardian parlour further reinforces the linkages to pre-war cultural practices of memorializing and mourning. The mantelpiece was well suited to serve as a domestic altar on which to place portraits of dead soldiers.

What should viewers removed from the event by several generations make of these strangely sentimental, strangely moving images? Their subject matter, the women who waited, was a popular genre in the postcard trade which flourished during the war years. Representations of the 'home front' on German and French postcards typically depicted the soldier bidding farewell to his young family within the parlour, the waiting woman holding the portrait of her soldier son/husband while an angel hovered over head.³⁵ Such postcards are seen by some to exemplify 'the mental and emotional level of the patriotic operetta being staged on the home front'.³⁶ Yet Audoin-Rouzeau and Becker argue that it is we who fail to understand the importance of these visual expressions: 'The system of representations which characterized First World War contemporaries — soldiers and civilians, men, women, and children — is now almost impossible to accept. The sense of obligation, of unquestioning

sacrifice, which held most people in its tenacious, cruel clutches for so long and so profoundly, and without which the war could never have lasted as long as it did, is no longer acceptable. The foundation on which the immense collective consensus of 1914–18 was based . . . has vanished into thin air.³⁷ The same year that ‘The Casualty List’ appeared the British artist Harold Gilman painted *Tea in the Bedsitter*.³⁸ It is noteworthy that this was the first time this artist had addressed a war-related subject. The art historian Richard Cork points to the forlorn expressions of the two women in Gilman’s work, the uninhabited chair, and the fact that the women stare not at one another, but into their own worlds of private sadness.³⁹ The *Auckland Weekly News* covers, the kitsch postcards and the work of Gilman span both popular and high culture, and several combatant countries, and in doing so reference earlier traditions of remembering and memorializing the dead. Their attempt to make public what was experienced privately foreshadows a boundary which newspapers would increasingly cross in the following decades. As Roland Barthes observed: ‘Each photograph is read as the private appearance of its referent: the age of Photography corresponds precisely to the explosion of the private into the public, or rather into the creation of a new social value, which is the publicity of the private: the private is consumed as such, publicly’.⁴⁰ The families farewelling soldiers to the Gulf, the Iraqi mother grieving for someone who has been killed are now the stock images of war.

Taken collectively New Zealand’s Great War representations of the ‘waiting women’ map out a field of vision that is at once ideological, gendered and militarized. They remind us that wartime vision fractures along highly codified fault lines that are themselves important to examine. What makes these images historically significant is that they assign women a central position in a traumatic period of the nation’s life. All of these images show women sitting and waiting while attempting to imagine a distinctly male sphere of action happening elsewhere. In mythic narratives this is the position traditionally assigned to women; it falls to them to make sense of the absence of warrior males ‘through the arts, or labours, of spinning and weaving’.⁴¹ All of these images suggest that it is women who were assigned the role of looking after the family’s pictorial archives, and as the guardians of the photographic keepsakes it is their task to deal with absence ‘both as temporary loss through geographical distance, and as more permanent loss through death’.⁴² Indeed, an argument could be made that these women are in fact variants of Zealandia herself, represented in photographic form, her role being to instruct the citizens of the nation in how to compose themselves in the face of death.⁴³ What adds a level of depth and complexity to ‘The Casualty List’ representation is that it is the only one of these allegorical images to construe the woman as an active, seeing subject stricken by the sights of war. She has seen the casualty list; her head is bowed in sorrow. This irregularity in the field of vision as to who has the authority to see allows us the potential to theorize a wider field of wartime vision *than* that of the soldier participant who can lay claim to seeing action, one barred from women. An image of a grieving woman some 12,000 miles away from the Western Front speaks to the possibility of making visible another position from which to see the war — the position of civilians, looking elsewhere and looking differently.⁴⁴

One of the most enduring themes in newspaper wartime photography was the publication of the studio portraits of the dead, wounded and missing in action. The *Otago Witness* and the *Auckland Weekly News* ran pages of these images as an ongoing feature, cropped in the majority of cases from studio portraits taken before the soldiers left New Zealand. In fact the *Otago Witness* appealed for such photographs: ‘Will our readers who have friends and relatives at the front send us photos of the men who have distinguished themselves, who have been wounded, and of those heroes who have laid down their lives for King and country. Such photos should be accompanied by a short account of the soldier’s life. Photos, which should be addressed “Editor Otago Witness,” will be returned if so desired.’⁴⁵

Aside from the very infrequent photographs of graveside burials on the Western Front these images were the closest the New Zealand public came to visually confronting the loss of their young men. These faces became the pictorial embodiment of death. The Rolls of Honour themselves underwent subtle shifts in the aesthetics of memorializing as the war dragged on and the casualty numbers escalated. In the early stages the central motifs of heroism and the empire were employed to order reality, as typified by the *Auckland Weekly News*’s ‘Illustrated List’ published in 1915. During October 1915 the *New Zealand Herald* promoted a commemorative edition of the *Auckland Weekly News* whose intended purpose was to memorialize all those killed and wounded at Gallipoli to date. The public were informed that this publication contained more than:

4000 Photographs (with complete index) of our heroes who have been killed or injured in the war. No publication of this nature can necessarily be complete, but this is the Largest and Most Representative Collection issued to the public, and ought to find a place in every home as a Memorial of our Brave men. These portraits have appeared in the ‘*Auckland Weekly News*’ from time to time, and are now issued in a convenient form for preservation. In addition to the ordinary features, there are some excellent photographs and drawings of New Zealanders at the Dardanelles. The whole Number is printed on art paper and is enclosed in a handsome coloured cover. Altogether there are 104 pages of illustrations in this unique issue, being a record in the quantity of pictorial matter contained in a single issue. This Number for obvious reasons does not contain any advertisements, and in spite of this fact is published at the extremely low price of 2/-. A large demand is anticipated, and as there can be no reprint of such a volume of such size, those who desire to secure copies should send in their order at once in order to avoid disappointment. The Roll of Honour can be obtained from the *Auckland Weekly News* Agents throughout New Zealand, or on direct application to the Auckland Office.⁴⁶

Winter comments that the collection and preservation of the ephemera of war was largely a civilian undertaking.⁴⁷ Belonging to a body of pro-war commemorations this material sought to ‘preserve the dignity and honour of their country’s war effort’.⁴⁸ Clearly, the *Auckland Weekly News*’s commemorative edition sought to cater to this market. The pre-sale publicity was premised on the understanding that the wider community, not just the grief stricken, would buy this edition as part of their patriotic duty. Readers were informed that this was a one-off, in itself appealing to the ‘collector’ and that given the quality and extent of the pictorial component it represented a good buy. Moreover, if they

delayed their purchasing, they were in danger of missing out. Any accusation that a commercial purpose might inform this initiative was partially 'managed' by the declared intention not to include advertising.

The illustration on the cover of the commemorative issue was of Victorian heroism, the gallant comrade who, regardless of the artillery fire surrounding him, cradled the body of another soldier in his arms.⁴⁹ This masculine 'Madonna of the battlefield' was oblivious to personal danger, nor did the battle casualty he carried exhibit any tell-tale disfiguring wounds. While conveying a totally unrealistic view of the realities of the Dardanelles the cover image served to direct the home front viewer towards a belief that it was 'noble' to die as a 'son of the Empire'. The frontispiece image was that of His Majesty, King George V.⁵⁰ The image of the king, resplendent in military uniform, was enclosed within an oval frame with an elaborate decorative border. At the top, the words 'New Zealand's Roll of Honour' were inscribed on a scroll and below these was the British coat of arms. At the bottom of the page another scroll was inscribed with a message from the King: 'I heartily congratulate you upon the splendid conduct and bravery displayed by the New Zealand troops at the Dardanelles, who have indeed proved themselves worthy Sons of Empire'. The following pages were given over to the studio portraits of the dead and wounded. Each page was headed 'New Zealand's Roll of Honour'. Many photographs were of soldiers posed in uniform; others were of men dressed in civilian clothes, with white starched collars and ties. Most of the men gazed directly at the camera; a few had their heads inclined to the side. The photographs were arranged in lines across the page. In the rolls published during the early war years officers and non-commissioned soldiers were not separated, nor were the men listed alphabetically. The details accompanying each photograph were sparse. The descriptors were limited to the name, rank, company and the fate of the individual, whether he had been killed, died of his wounds or was simply wounded.⁵¹ On some pages nearly every other photograph was placed within a bordered, oval frame whereas on pages with fewer photographs the three central images were enclosed within a border of laurel leaves (Figure Three).⁵² As funeral wreaths their circular shape, their flowers and leaves promised resurrection and eternal life.⁵³ The overall effect was that death and wounding were framed within an ideology of Empire and noble sacrifice.

The *Auckland Weekly News* did not repeat this style of commemorative Roll of Honour. The Roll of Honour in the *Auckland Weekly News* 12 October 1916 (Figure Four) was less ornate and no longer framed within an ideology of Empire.⁵⁴ A year later the voracious appetite of this war for men's bodies remained unabated. Conscription had been introduced in August 1916.⁵⁵ By September 1916 the cumulative casualty count since the start of the war had reached 17,550 killed or wounded.⁵⁶ The sheer number of similar portraits arranged in a standardized fashion across the pages of the *Auckland Weekly News* reflected the depressing truth that death had become the norm.

In death the studio portraits of the soldiers were captured yet again, this time by the glare of history. This turning of a subject into an object, and ultimately, in Barthes's schema of things, into 'a museum object',⁵⁷ is further re-enforced when photographs which had existed in the private domain circulated in the public domain.



Figure Three: ‘New Zealand’s Roll of Honour 1915’, *Auckland Weekly News*, October 1915, frontispiece. An example of an early Roll of Honour. The central photos bordered by a funeral wreath of laurel leaves denoting heroic sacrifice is typical of this genre.



Figure Four: *Auckland Weekly News*, 12 October 1916, p.44. The sheer number and standardization of the photos included in this 1916 Roll of Honour was an indication of the normalization of casualties.

When families sent in the photographs of the men they loved to be incorporated into these Rolls of Honour the personal meanings these photographs conveyed were inevitably re-shaped by the public meanings of the individual lives they depicted. These photographic snapshots, taken on separate occasions, were tightly cropped and laid out in a grid system, row upon row. Such a presentation necessitated a very different kind of looking than that which occurred within familial contexts. The editorial decision to streamline the format, to dispense with decorative borders and to crop more tightly, coupled with the fact that more of these portraits recorded men in uniform, standardized their identity as soldiers. The inclusion of their name, rank, place of origin and status as a casualty and the captions across the bottom of each page further reinforced their submission into a collective identity.

This collective identity reflected military hierarchies. Officers were accorded their own page and a somewhat more euphemistic caption: 'New Zealand's Roll of Honour: Officers who have suffered while leading their men to victory in France'. The description of the fate of the non-commissioned officers and men was explicit: 'killed in action, died of wounds, wounded, and missing, while taking part in the great British advance in France'. The men's portraits were swallowed up into a larger coherent object, and were now positioned within a military genealogy. The war had necessitated a new organizational scale, overturning older individualistic and local patterns. 'Heroic' death had not only been deflated, the growing death toll had required the standardization of the Rolls of Honour. The sheer number of portraits made it difficult to contemplate the once alive, unique humanness of the individuals represented. Viewers were instead confronted with the unbearable fact noted by John Peale Bishop: 'The most tragic thing about [this] war was not that it made so many men dead, but that it destroyed the tragedy of death'.⁵⁸ Individual deaths blurred into mass death. Personal tragedy, the loss of a young life, gave way to a more communal effort to deal with the disordering 'otherness' of death. Viewers were being asked to remember *them*, not *him*. Thus the title 'New Zealand's Roll of Honour' portends the *role* that these representations played in constructing nationhood. It is in this requirement to 'remember them' that these representations assure the immortality of the nation's (collective) identity.

Nearly a century later we need to reconsider what sort of evidential force these Rolls of Honour possess and for whom. Our responses can be as simple as looking for surnames that may be familiar to us. We can imagine what it would be like to see the faces of the young people we know similarly recorded. What gives the Roll of Honour representations such historical weight is that they were constructed at a particular time by a particular community in response to mass death. They are immediate acts of public mourning in the absence of bodies. The magnitude of trauma that this war inflicted on New Zealand society has never been repeated. In time, the *Auckland Weekly News's* rows of portraits would metamorphose into more enduring representations of death in the form of rows of crosses some 12,000 miles away. Yet the Roll of Honour representations maintain their power to unsettle. We cannot deny the sheer weight of eyes that return our gaze, but as we look at them we cannot restore their subjectivity. This is what makes these representations of death so very

discomforting: without intending to do so, they distil the essential scale and numbing power of industrialized slaughter.

The photography produced and consumed during the war years reframes our understanding of sacrifice. One example that makes specific the multiple bereavements of some families was a photo series run by the *Illustrated Otago Witness* from mid-1917. On 16 May 1917 the *Witness* published the first in an intermittent series of photographs which foregrounded families with sons overseas. Two images were juxtaposed (Figure Five).⁵⁹ On the left we see three figures in front of a large two-storied house; on our right we see two figures in front of a small cottage. The captions tell us that both homes were located at Momona on the Taieri Plains, Otago. The house on the left is Taurima Farm,

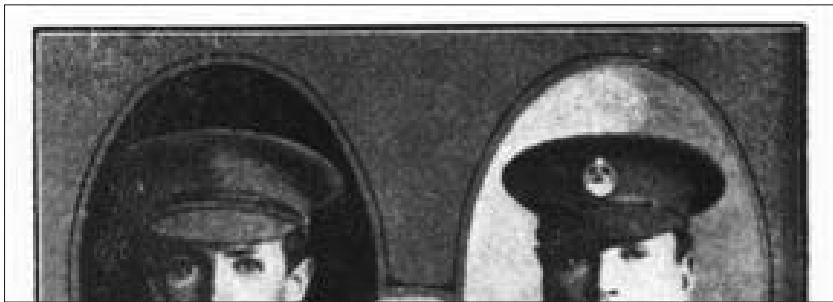


Figure Five: ‘Typical Otago Homes which some of our boys have left to fight for King and Empire’, *Otago Witness*, 16 May 1917, p.28. The juxtaposition of these two images depicting homes of soldiers from distinctly different socio-economic backgrounds affirmed the ideology of egalitarian war service.

the ‘Residence’ of Mr and Mrs Nichol and the ‘home’ on the right belonged to Mr and Mrs K. Sprott. We assume that the figures we see are the Nichols accompanied by a daughter and the Sprott parents, but for many of the readers these people would be identifiable figures. If the features of the humans remain indistinct what we see in sharp focus is the difference in socio-economic status of the two families. The title uniting both images tells us that these are: ‘Typical Otago homes which some of our boys have left for King and Empire’.

What we are being directed to see is that in spite of the perceived differences, there is ‘equality of sacrifice’. On 10 October 1917 the *Witness* published a photograph of the home of Mr and Mrs J. Black, Ngapara, North Otago (Figure Six).⁶⁰ This time we see a couple and two young sons and a daughter. Viewers are informed that the family has four sons on active service ‘fighting for the Empire’s Liberty’. James Belich’s observation that ‘there appears to have been a conception of family sacrifice, a tax in sons that should be evenly shared’ seems manifestly true when we read the captions accompanying these touching tableaux staged for the camera.⁶¹

Photographers and publishers understood that the images they published mediated the daily experience of the war for the home front population. These ‘Homes of our Boys’ images published from time to time by the *Witness* spoke to

the anxieties of a domestic audience, many of whom, like the families depicted, also waited in tense expectancy for news of their sons. Many readers would have known members of the Nichol, Sprott, Black and Graham families.

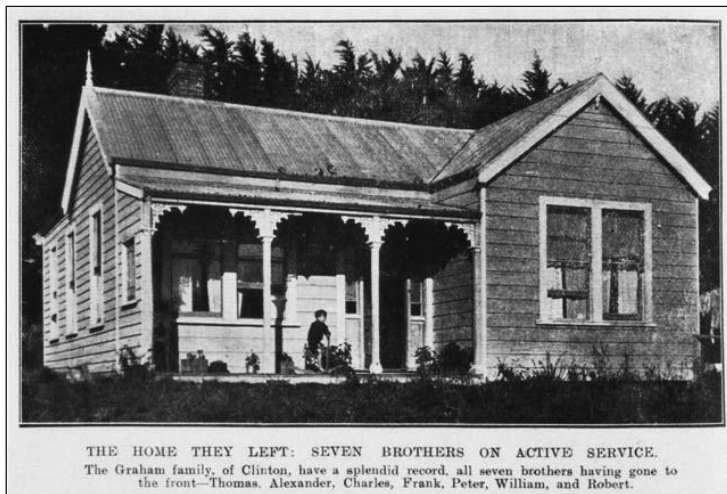


Figure Six: ‘The homes of our boys who are fighting for the Empire’s Liberty’, *Otago Witness*, 10 October 1917, p.34. A rural family posed in front of their home provided a literal representation of the building blocks of ‘God, King, and Empire’.

In this sense these images united an audience in a shared imagining of absent sons. Ostensibly straightforward representations of waiting families, the photographs conveyed a melancholy mood and an oppressive unease. The odds were against all of the sons returning unscathed. Not even the most optimistic reporting could hide the fact that the New Zealand casualty list was growing at an appalling rate. The spectre of death haunts these images and lends them their sense of foreboding. In re-reading these representations we need to be mindful of the underlying cultural values which were being re-affirmed in the face of death.⁶²

John R. Gillis has pointed out that from the mid-nineteenth century onward the concept of ‘home’ came to represent all homes, whether rich or poor, large or small, within a national territory. ‘Home and homeland were now paired in the spatial imagination . . . Home functioned as a symbol promoting the unity of the family in the same way that homeland promoted the unity of the nation. Every nation began to imagine itself as more home-centred than the next.’⁶³ The *Witness* consistently chose families — and rural families at that — to represent a waiting nation. The mythology these representations helped enshrine is of a pastoral, rural New Zealand whose sons were fighting for God, King and Empire. Johnathan Vance notes that this mythology was also invoked in Canada, Australia and even in English propaganda, because while the statistics confirmed that proportionately more office and factory workers than rural workers went off to war, these images of the land resonated more

powerfully with the kind of ideal community that contemporaries imagined.⁶⁴ The *Witness* could have chosen to depict Dunedin urban and suburban homes and families but instead the families of the men of the Taieri Plains, of rural Southland and of North Otago were presented to the reading public as expressing the essence of New Zealand. It is hard to imagine a more literal representation of the building blocks of 'God, King, and Empire' than posing farming families, with a surfeit of fighting sons, actually standing on the land.

What complicates this reading is that these images of rural New Zealand appeared in the midst of a growing debate about the cost of this war. One group who were vocal about this issue was the farming community. Paul Baker notes that voluntarism had resulted in all the eligible sons from some families enlisting and none from others.⁶⁵ With conscription exemption was granted at the outset to the 'last remaining son' and then later on to any man who had already had two or more brothers killed.⁶⁶ The farming sector, however, felt that there should be some special case made for the 'last sons' and 'last men' on farms.⁶⁷ Early in 1917 the Farmers' Union pushed this cause, careful to couch their argument in terms of the need to keep up production for the Empire.⁶⁸ As a result in May 1917 the conscription process was given more flexibility at the local level, a move applauded by the farming community.⁶⁹ New Zealanders had, in Baker's view, 'succumbed to the war weariness' shared by all combatant nations.⁷⁰ No doubt the readers of the *Witness* were well acquainted with these debates. We have to surmise that the photographic representations may have been intended to convey nuanced messages about the 'over supply' of farming sons. The Graham family sent seven soldier sons to fight, the Sprotts five, and the Black family four. Those who knew the Sprott family would have already known the extent of this family's multiple losses.

A follow-up photograph of the Sprott sons was published in the same paper on 9 January 1918 (Figure Seven).⁷¹

It showed the portraits of five sons all framed in overlapping ovals stressing their familial bonds. The portrait grouping of soldier sons, which in its original situation would have sat on a mantelpiece within the Sprott home, was now reproduced for public consumption. In this case it was the text below the pictures that carried the greater authority. Readers learned that one son was killed and another died from his wounds in the Dardanelles campaign; two sons were severely wounded on 12 October (the Passchendaele offensive) and the fourth son was now with the 33rd Reinforcements. It was a terrible testimony to the destructive power of this war on specific families. This memorial object reunited soldier sons and declared they would always be together in the family; reproduced within a public context they were memorialized by the wider community.

Nine months after the war ended the *Illustrated Otago Witness* published a photograph of the Tapanui Roll of Honour (Figure Eight).⁷²

The honours board representation showed a complex composite assemblage of 25 portraits of soldiers, their names and ranks inscribed under each photograph, all of whom were killed in the Great War. In this setting the soldiers from this community were all re-united and gathered together once again. Displayed on a wall, the honours board served to remind strangers and intimates of the relationships that bound these men together.⁷³

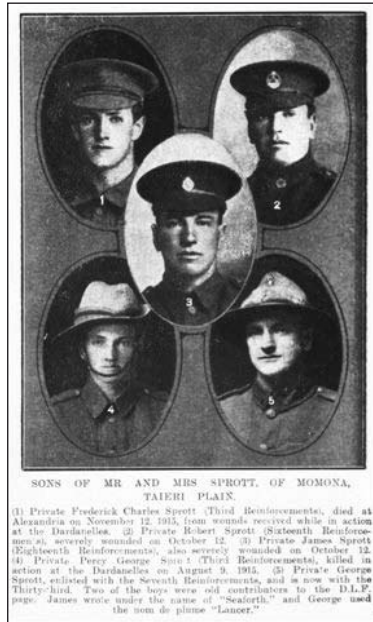


Figure Seven: 'Sons of Mr. and Mrs. Sprott, of Momona, Taiari Plain', *Otago Witness*, 9 January 1918, p.33. This image speaks not only of individual suffering but of the loss and suffering borne by entire families.



Figure Eight: 'The Roll of Honour to Tapanui's Soldiers', *Otago Witness*, 3 August 1920, p.34. Wall-mounted honours boards served to remind strangers and intimates of the death of local boys and recorded the desolation of small town New Zealand.

The use of the medium of photography to represent an honours board which itself incorporated photographic material seems to suggest that photography is itself an art of memory. Moreover, the headline across the top of the Tapanui honours board carried an implicit directive: 'Lest We Forget'.

But what exactly were the Tapanui community and the readers of the paper being asked to remember? Batchen argues that artifacts such as honour boards necessitate a different kind of looking than that accorded a single photograph. In part this is because they have multiple borders: their multi-layered framing requires us to scan across the image 'forcing us to project our mind's eye back and forth, into and out of the photograph[s] they incorporate'.⁷⁴ In part it is due to the very materiality of the object. The physical weight of the honours board lends it a cemetery headstone-like quality which adds yet another layer of complexity to this type of representation. 'Framed photographs are objects, with physical presence, and this presence complicates what has long been understood as a defining attribute of photography — its indexical relationship to a world outside itself'.⁷⁵ As such Batchen sees these kinds of artifacts belonging to a vernacular tradition, one that 'has yet to be acknowledged in the discourses devoted to this medium, a tradition in which any individual photograph might play only a bit part, but in which "photography" as a concept occupies centre stage'.⁷⁶ While such objects, created in the immediate aftermath of the war, are part of the visual language of remembering the dead, and remembering that they *are* dead, as objects they are also dedicated to a fear of forgetting. It is their physicality which pulls our attention from the past to the present and back again and in so doing allows us to imagine the complex set of relationships, overwhelming sense of grief, and a desire to remember these 25 young men which gave rise to the creation of this work in the first place. We remember the community of Tapanui's desire to remember.

Death's attendant meanings are constructed by culture. The images discussed in this article allow us to see how death, mourning and grief were negotiated by a particular cultural group in a historical moment. Thus these representations help us see how a community saw its place in history. The *Auckland Weekly News* photographs, as staged representations, offered up a vision of a *shared* 'heroism' faced by a nation in the call to arms. By juxtaposing images of soldiers and imagined battle scenes alongside the women who waited, these representations reinforced the sanctity of a war in which everyone had to sacrifice for 'king, country and empire'. With the exception of these *Auckland Weekly News* representations the remaining images were initially created within personal or familial contexts but subsequently acquired cultural and historical status as representations of the pre-lapsarian past. These images thus presented a compelling prior innocence to which they offered a partial and enticing kind of access. At the same time they charted the way in which families chose to allow photographs to leave the intimate circle and become incorporated into very public forms of memorializing. In this families chose to place their sons within the grand narrative of a nation at war. Contemporary viewers would have known some of the individual soldiers in some of the cases, but never all of them. The personal grief of families gave way to a more collective sense of mourning; seen in this context 'individuality matters less than positionality . . . in the larger space of inscription'.⁷⁷

For four long years these photographs and many more like them were enlisted in representational frameworks which mediated mass death. For four years the Rolls of Honour facilitated the return of the ‘community of the dead’ to the home front as photographic traces. We cannot guess what the cumulative impact of the photographic evidence of such an excess of death was. What we can see is the steadfast desire of families and communities throughout the war to invest mass death with a meaning. It was the viewers collectivized as ‘nation’ who were asked to remember *again and again* the young men who died on their behalf. ‘Kings, revolutionaries, widows, prostitutes, soldiers — all help define the community with their sacrificial corpses.’⁷⁸ During the war death was given the face of a New Zealand soldier dying for New Zealand. In this way the representations of death were mobilized in constructing a sense of community, both local and national.

Seventy-nine years after the *Illustrated Otago Witness* published the photograph of the Tapanui honours board the Dunedin Public Art Gallery published the *Where Shadows Dream of Light* catalogue, reviewing the work of Laurence Aberhart. Aberhart is arguably one of New Zealand’s foremost photographers: his work is displayed in both public and private galleries, and is seen as highly collectable by the fine-art-buying public.⁷⁹ Many of his photographs depict the things we associate with death, including cemeteries and war memorials, especially our Great War memorials, suggesting, as Frances Pound has observed, ‘a persistent strain of mourning’.⁸⁰ This catalogue, based on a body of work undertaken by Aberhart as a Visiting Artist’s Project at the Dunedin Public Art Gallery, includes two war memorial photographs. These representations are of the Great War memorial at Katea, near Owaka, Southland, taken in 1980 and 1999 (Figure Nine).



Figure Nine: Laurence Aberhart, ‘War memorial, Katea, near Owaka Southland 19 April 1999’, artist’s collection. A late twentieth-century photograph of a Great War memorial portraying a timeless memorialization of sacrifice. In contrast, the photography produced and consumed during the war testified to the immediacy of loss and suffering.

While our art historians acknowledge Aberhart's work as having key importance within the history of photography in this country, they do not link his work back to an earlier strand of New Zealand's photographic history, albeit a more vernacular one. For in depicting the Great War memorial images he is part of a much longer historical enterprise of memorialization, one with distinctly photographic origins. Approached in this context his photographs of the Katea memorial are part of a much richer photographic endeavour. A glance at the 1980 image and the modest wooden house in the far right-hand corner reminds me of the images of the representations of the so-called typical Otago houses of the families with soldier sons. In the 1999 photograph, the entirety of the memorial is exposed, and if we strain our eyes sufficiently it is just possible to pick out the details of the wording. The phrase 'Lest We Forget' echoes the directive on another Southland memorial, the Tapanui honours board. Aberhart describes himself as 'an eclectic collector of cultural debris, as it washes up, and before it disappears'.⁸¹ Perhaps he is right, and even the Great War memorials will be subject to ruin and decay. Aberhart's representations, which circulate within the 'gentle embrace' of the custodians of our leading art institutions, will ensure their immortality. What has been forgotten up until now is the way in which a body of photographs published during and immediately after the Great War also played a complex role in the public and private representation of death and loss.

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NOTES

- 1 Philippe Ariès, *Images of Man and Death*, trans. Janet Lloyd, Cambridge, Mass. and London, 1985, p.1.
- 2 Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau and Annette Becker, *1914–1918: Understanding the Great War*, trans. Catherine Temerson, London, 2002, p.177.
- 3 Ian McGibbon, ed., *The Oxford Companion to New Zealand Military History*, Auckland, 2000, p.80. This figure includes the Maori population as recorded in the 1916 census. *New Zealand Official Year Book*, 1918, p.75.
- 4 McGibbon, p.605.
- 5 Glyn Harper, *Massacre at Passchendaele: The New Zealand Story*, Auckland, 2000, p.10. Harper notes that an unprecedented number of New Zealand men were killed or maimed within the space of a few hours.
- 6 Chris Maclean and Jock Phillips, *The Sorrow and the Pride: New Zealand War Memorials*, Wellington, 1990, p.70.
- 7 Robert Whalen, *Bitter Wounds: German Victims of the Great War, 1914–1939*, Ithaca and London, 1984, p.37.
- 8 *ibid.*, pp.37–38.
- 9 See Maclean and Phillips; Maureen Sharpe, ‘Anzac Day in New Zealand 1916–39’, *New Zealand Journal of History*, 15, 1981, pp.97–114; Scott Worthy, ‘Communities of Remembrance: The Memory of the Great War in New Zealand 1915–1939’, MA thesis, The University of Auckland, 2001.
- 10 Susan Sontag, *On Photography*, New York, 1977, p.15.
- 11 Christian Metz, ‘Photography and Fetish’, *October* 34, Autumn 1985, p.84.
- 12 Jay Ruby, *Secure the Shadow: Photography and Death in America*, Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1995.
- 13 See also Geoffrey Batchen’s, *Forget Me Not: Photography and Remembrance*, New York, 2004, which examines nineteenth- and early twentieth-century vernacular photographs which stage acts of remembrance.
- 14 Anna K.C. Petersen, *New Zealanders at Home: A Cultural History of Domestic Interiors 1814–1914*, Dunedin, 2001.
- 15 William Main, *Maori in Focus: A Selection of Photographs of the Maori from 1850–1914*, Wellington, 1976, p.93.
- 16 Justin Paton, *The Interior. 44 photographs 1981–2001*, Laurence Aberhart, Exh. cat., McNamara Gallery Photography, Wanganui, 2002.
- 17 *Auckland Weekly News* (AWN), 16 December 1915.
- 18 Karin E. Becker, ‘Photojournalism and the Tabloid Press’, in Liz Wells, ed., *The Photography Reader*, 2nd edn, London and New York, p.302.
- 19 Advertisements promoting these special editions ran in the sister publication, the *New Zealand Herald* (NZH), in October 1916 and again in October 1917 in time for the Christmas mail closing dates to the troops. See NZH, 25 October 1916, p.11; 27 October 1917, p.11.
- 20 Margaret R. Higonnet, ‘Women in the Forbidden Zone: War, Women, and Death’, in Sarah Webster Goodwin and Elizabeth Bronfen, eds, *Death and Representation*, Baltimore and London, 1993, p.194.
- 21 Batchen, pp.8–9.
- 22 *ibid.*, p.97.
- 23 See Stephen Barnett, in *Those Were the Days: A Nostalgic Look at the Early Days, 1900–1919 from the Pages of the Weekly News*, Compiled by Phillip Ridge, Auckland, 1989, pp.9–11.
- 24 McGibbon, p.600.
- 25 Audoin-Rouzeau and Becker, p.26.
- 26 NZH, 3 July 1916, p.7.
- 27 NZH, 24 July 1916, p.7.
- 28 McGibbon, p.601.
- 29 See Laurence Thaxter’s 3 July 1916 letter in which he describes one of the trench raids that contributed to these casualty lists. He notes he was lucky to survive, as a number of men were killed, and a ‘good many were wounded’, in Glyn Harper, ed., *Letters from the Battlefield. New Zealand Soldiers Write Home, 1914–18*, Auckland, 2001, pp.54–56.

30 This is what gives it enduring power and ensured it a place in 'The Scars on the Heart' exhibition at the Auckland War Memorial Museum, opened at the end of January 1996.

31 The information we have on death in New Zealand in the immediate pre-war period is sparse. Alison Clarke notes that death was gendered and that it was in the parlour that women said their last farewells to their loved ones. The significance of the staging of 'The Casualty List' in an Edwardian parlour would not have escaped the attention of a contemporary audience. The parlour was the site of the family's memories. See Clarke, "'Tinged with Christian sentiment"; popular religion and the Otago colonists, 1850–1890', in John Stenhouse, ed., *Christianity, Modernity and Culture: New Perspectives on New Zealand History*, Adelaide, 2005, pp.103–31.

32 Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*, Cambridge, 1995, p.113.

33 Sue Malvern, *Modern Art, Britain and the Great War*, New Haven and London, 2004, p.174.

34 Ariès, writing about the middle-class funerary customs of nineteenth-century Europe, noted the growing popularity of photographs of the deceased in conveying a sense of individuality 'to otherwise impersonal and unoriginal monuments'. He argued that 'the photograph has taken the place held in major funerary art by sculpture. It speaks the same language — that of a family presence, a refusal to allow the dead to be forgotten', p.260.

35 Rainer Fabian and Hans Christian Adam, *Images of War: 130 Years of War Photograph*, trans. by Fred Taylor, Sevenoaks, Kent, 1985, pp.172–4.

36 *ibid.*, p.173.

37 Audoin-Rouzeau and Becker, p.10.

38 Harold Gilman, *Tea in the Bedsitter*, 1916. Oil on canvas, 71 × 92cm. Kirklees Metropolitan Council, Huddersfield Art Gallery.

39 Richard Cork, *A Bitter Truth: Avant-Garde Art and the Great War*, New Haven and London, 1994, p.131.

40 Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida. Reflections on Photography*, trans. Richard Howard, New York, 1981, p.98.

41 Lindsay Smith, *Women, Children and Nineteenth-Century Photography*, Manchester, 1998, p.69.

42 *ibid.*

43 Dominic Alessio argues that the female presence in the story of empire has been largely ignored. Images such as Zealandia were given starring roles in the Empire's propaganda story as role models for the mothers and wives of the Empire. See 'Domesticating "the Heart of the Wild": Female Personifications of the Colonies, 1886–1940', *Women's History Review*, 6, 2, 1997, pp.239–69.

44 In this gendered way of seeing war, the grief experienced by men is made invisible.

45 *Otago Witness* (OW), 5 January 1916, p.47.

46 NZH, 27 October 1915, p.12.

47 Although he notes that many soldiers were collectors as well. Winter, p.80.

48 Winter, p.81.

49 AWN, 'New Zealand's Roll of Honour 1915: Illustrated List', October 1915, front cover.

50 *ibid.*, frontispiece.

51 *ibid.*, p.5.

52 Wreaths are important as visual forms with a long history. Wreaths of laurel were classical Greek and Roman crowns for living heroes. When wreaths are placed on coffins and graves, Batchen notes they represent 'the head of the deceased and the hand of the maker' implying a relationship between the two. See Batchen, p.92.

53 *ibid.*, p.5.

54 AWN, 12 October 1916, pp.44–45.

55 McGibbon, p.602.

56 Paul Baker, *King and Country Call: New Zealanders, Conscription and the Great War*, Auckland, 1998.

57 *ibid.*, p.13.

58 Quoted by Higonnet, 'Women in the Forbidden Zone', p.195.

59 'Typical Otago Homes which some of our boys have left to fight for King and Empire'. Photos by Phillips. OW, 16 May 1917, p.28.

60 'The homes of our boys who are fighting for the Empire's Liberty', OW, 10 October 1917, p.34.

61 James Belich, *Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealanders from the 1880s to the Year 2000*, Auckland, 2001, p.100.

62 Goodwin and Bronfen, p.17.

63 John R. Gillis, *A World of Their Own Making: Myth, Ritual, and the Quest for Family Values*, New York, 1996, p.113.

64 Jonathan Vance, *Death so Noble: Memory, Meaning, and the First World War*, Vancouver, 1997, p.161.

65 Baker, pp.52–53.

66 *ibid.*, pp.117–18.

67 *ibid.*, p.119.

68 *ibid.*, p.120.

69 *ibid.*, p.122.

70 *ibid.*, pp.133–4.

71 ‘Sons of Mr. and Mrs. Sprott, of Momona, Taieri Plain’, OW, 9 January 1918, p.33.

72 ‘The Roll of Honour to Tapanui’s Soldiers’, OW, 3 August 1920, p.34.

73 Graham Hucker points out in his study of the surface archaeology of the Stratford Hall of Remembrance that as the portraits of those killed were hung in the corridors of the Municipal Buildings, anyone conducting business of a municipal nature ‘unwittingly took part in the subtle ritual of remembrance’, walking by not once, but twice. See Graham Hucker, ‘Defying Those Who Would Forget — A Hall of Remembrance and its Narrative’, *History Now: Te Pae Tawhito O Te Wā*, 9, 2, 2003, p.13.

74 Batchen, p.40.

75 *ibid.*

76 *ibid.*, p.84.

77 Marjorie Perloff, ‘What has Occurred only Once’, in Liz Wells, ed., *The Photography Reader*, London, 2003, p.41.

78 Bronfen and Goodwin, p.16.

79 Gary Hipkins, *Where Shadows Dream of Light. Laurence Aberhart.*, Exh. cat., Dunedin Public Art Gallery, Dunedin, 1999.

80 Francis Pound, ‘Laurence Aberhart’, The Sue Crockford Gallery, Auckland, unpublished mss.

81 *ibid.*