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The World during the First World War

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being used, where the costs were so enormous, the histories so complex and the continuing stakes are so high. For what we are dealing with here are histories of violence and trauma. As the sites of trauma for the sepoys are occasionally turned into the site for the celebration of diasporic Indo-European identity, one wonders about the political and moral implications of such a shift.

The Impact of the Gallipoli Campaign on Australia

Joan Beaumont, Canberra, Australia

At the heart of the federal capital of Australia, Canberra, stands the national memorial and museum, the Australian War Memorial. One of its most treasured artefacts is a rowing boat used in the landing of Australian forces at Gallipoli on 25 April 1915. Removed from display during gallery renovations for the centenary, the boat was formerly displayed in the entrance to the memorial, with an inscription on the wall above from Prime Minister W.M. Hughes (1915–23), "Australia was born on the shores of Gallipoli". In this and countless other ways, the Allied campaign on the Gallipoli peninsula dominates the national memory of World War I. This is despite the fact that 1915 was not the decisive year of the war. Rather, on all fronts, including Gallipoli, this was a year of frustration, with all belligerents applying rising levels of violence, yet failing to terminate the strategic impasse. Moreover, the Gallipoli campaign was an unmitigated failure for the Allied Powers, and the losses there were relatively insignificant compared to the Western Front, where nearly eight times as many Australians died in 1916 to 1918.

How, then, did the Gallipoli campaign come to acquire such importance for Australians? This is a complex question, which a paper of this length cannot interrogate fully. But, among the many explanations for Gallipoli becoming dominant in the national memory of war is the fact that the campaign came at a significant time in the formation of the Australian nation and national identity. It was only fourteen years earlier, in 1901, that the Australian colonies had united to form a federation. The sense of nationhood was embryonic. Indeed, when war was declared in August 1914 it was loyalty to the British Empire that inspired the immediate and bipartisan consensus to support the British war effort "to the our man and our last shilling".¹ Not only did Australians believe that the security of their continent and their international trade was dependent upon British global naval supremacy. They had a passionate cultural and emotional identification with the British Empire which fuelled their conviction that British and Australian interests were

¹ This famous phrase was coined by the leader of the Australian Labor Party, Andrew Fisher, in late July 1914: *The Argus*, 3 August 1914.

almost indivisible. Australians were legally British subjects and, as one founding father of Australian federation, Alfred Deakin, put it, they imagined themselves as "independent Australian Britons", with no contradiction between these three elements. Hence in the first weeks after the outbreak of war there was a rush to enlist, and by the end of 1914 some 52,000 Australians from a population of fewer than 5 million had volunteered: *volunteered*, note, because under the Australian Defence Act of 1903 it was impossible to deploy the small regular army overseas – a fact that is critical to understanding the power of the foundational Anzac 'legend' that emerged from Gallipoli.

It is significant also that Gallipoli was the first major campaign in which these volunteers were involved:² it was their "baptism of fire", to use that powerful trope. On 25 April elements of the 1st Division of the fittingly named Australian Imperial Force landed near the promontory of Gaba Tepe at the same time as British forces attacked the tip of the Gallipoli peninsula, Cape Helles, while French forces landed across the Dardanelles at Kum Kale. The plan was for the ANZAC (Australian and New Zealand Army Corps) infantry to advance across the spine of peninsula, trapping the Ottomans against the Allied forces advancing from Helles. The Royal Navy would then be able to push through the Narrows towards Constantinople, a manoeuvre which it had failed to achieve on 18 March. It all went horribly wrong, of course, thanks, in the case of the Anzacs, to a mix of factors: their landing in very rugged terrain, their lack of artillery and the very effective response of the Ottoman forces under Mustafa Kemal (later Atatürk). But despite these difficulties, the Australian infantry clambered up the steep cliffs that confronted them and dug in on the night of 25 April. There they stayed until December 1915 when, after successive attempts by the Allies to break the stalemate on the peninsula had failed, they were finally withdrawn. The campaign achieved almost nothing, at the cost over 8000 Australian dead.³

Yet the story of Gallipoli electrified Australians when news of the landing reached them in early May 1915. In a celebrated dispatch a British journalist Ellis-Ashmead Bartlett wrote of how on 25 April:

The Australians rose to the occasion. They did not wait for orders or for the boats to reach the beach, but sprang into the sea, formed a sort of rough line, and rushed the enemy's trenches ... They just went in with cold steel ... Then this race of athletes proceeded to scale the cliff without responding to the enemy's fire ... The courage displayed by [the] wounded Australians will never be forgotten ... They were happy because they

2 A small military and naval force had been sent to occupy German New Guinea in September 1914. It suffered only six infantry deaths and the loss of one Australian submarine.

3 For Australia's role in the Gallipoli campaign see Joan Beaumont, *Broken Nation: Australians and the Great War* (Sydney, 2013), pp. 67–90, 112–37, 149–51.

had been tried for the first time and had not been found wanting ... There has been no finer feat in this war than this sudden landing in the dark and the storming of the heights, and above all, the holding on whilst reinforcements were landing. These raw colonial troops in these desperate hours proved worthy to fight side by side with the heroes of Mons, the Aisne, Ypres, and Neuve Chapelle.⁴

A second account on 15 May 1915 by the Australian war correspondent, and later official historian and progenitor of the Australian War Memorial, Charles Bean, was similarly euphoric:

when all is said, the feat which will go down in history is that first Sunday's fighting when three Australian Brigades stormed, in face of a heavy fire, tier after tier of cliffs and mountains ... The sailors who saw the Third Brigade go up those heights and over successive summits like whirligig with wild cheers, and with bayonets flashing, speak of it with tears of enthusiasm in their eyes ... it is a feat which is fit to rank beside the battle of the heights of Abraham.⁵

This hyperbole was repeated enthusiastically in Australian newspapers, public meetings, fund-raising events, theatre playbills and church services. Bartlett's despatch, which was thought all the more credible for having been written by an Englishman, was also incorporated into educational materials distributed to school children, as was Bean's report and an effusive tribute to the Anzacs by the British commander of the Gallipoli campaign, General Ian Hamilton.⁶

The effect of this news from Gallipoli was two-fold. First, it shifted the Australian government and patriotic organizations into a higher gear of mobilization for the war. In some ways the first nine months of World War I had been, for Australians, a phoney war, akin to that in the first months of World War II. But now the long lists of the dead posted in the newspapers and the return of the first wounded men gave a new urgency to the national mood. State and federal governments started to create the welfare systems needed to support repatriated soldiers and the families of serving men and the dead – a task which in previous wars, and to a considerable degree in this one, was carried out by voluntary patriotic funds. The public authorities also initiated much more aggressive recruitment campaigns. As a result, in mid-1915 the number of men volunteering for military service

4 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 May 1915.

5 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 15 May 1915.

6 See Fred & Elizabeth Brenchley, *Myth-Maker: Ellis Ashmead-Bartlett, the Englishman Who Sparked Australia's Gallipoli Legend* (Milton, Queensland, 2005), pp. 75–92.

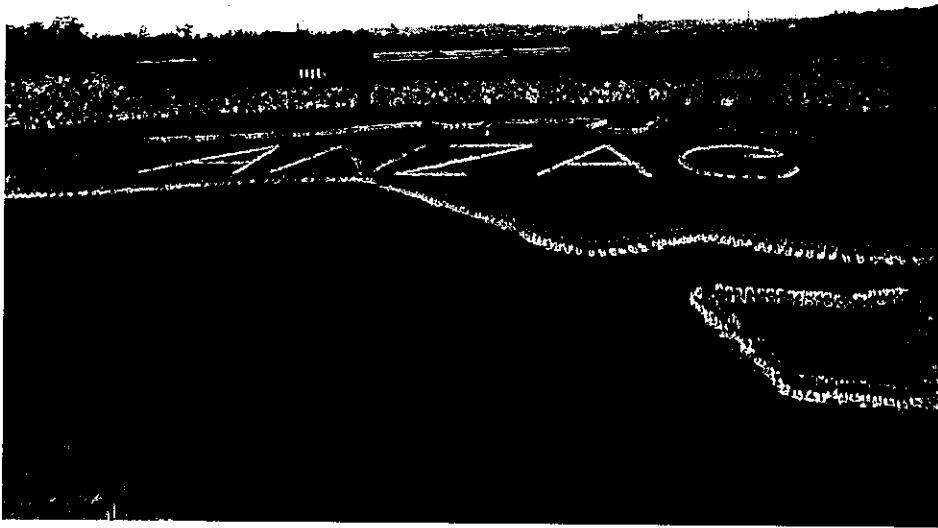


Photo 1: Socialization into the narrative of Anzac. Six thousand school children spell out 'Anzac' within the map of Australia, at the Melbourne Cricket Ground, December 1916. The Melbourne Argus described the effect as 'thrilling' (Australian War Memorial H16907)

soared: July 1915 saw a wartime peak of 36,575 volunteers. In contrast, in September 1918 the number was 2451.⁷

With this new mobilization came also a profoundly divisive debate about the obligations of military service. The battle over conscription is another complex story, but by September 1915 there emerged a body of opinion among 'patriotic' Australians to the effect that voluntarism could not meet the growing demands of the war. As they saw it, conscription was the only equitable means of sharing the burden of military service, which was itself a fundamental obligation of citizenship. However, the advocacy of conscription by lobby groups such as the Universal Service League spawned an equally passionate movement *against* conscription, spearheaded by the labour press and trade unions. Already angered by the impact of the war on the standard of living of the working classes, they opposed military conscription as a fundamental denial of individual rights, a precursor

7 Details of recruitments by month can be found in Ernest Scott, *The Official History of Australia in the War of 1914-1918*, vol. XI, *Australia During the War* (Sydney, 1936), pp. 871-2; digitized at http://www.awm.gov.au/histories/first_world_war/AWMOHWW1/AIF/Vol11 accessed 5 January 2014.

of industrial conscription and a means of eroding hard-won workers' rights through the substitution of enlisted men with women and imported Asian labour. Moreover, the decision to kill, the anti-conscriptionists argued, was one which no government could force upon an individual. To these powerful beliefs was added the conviction on the part of many Catholics (some 21 per cent of the population and, many of them, Irish by extraction) that the crushing of the Easter 1916 uprising in Dublin gave lie to any British claims to be fighting the war in defence of the rights of small nations.⁸

The issue of conscription was ultimately put to the vote twice, in referenda held in October 1916 and December 1917. On both occasions conscription was narrowly rejected. The campaigns preceding the votes proved to be the most divisive and violent in twentieth-century Australian politics and left a legacy of bitterness that lasted for at least a generation. The Australian Labor Party split over the issue and the resulting triumph of the 'loyalist' forces meant that federal politics came to be dominated by non-Labor governments until 1941. More widely, Australian political life was polarized along the fault lines of sectarianism and those who had chosen to volunteer and those who had not.

In retrospect, then, the dynamics that the Gallipoli campaign unleashed within Australian politics were of profound significance. Its second, and even more lasting, legacy was the change it initiated in the cultural imaginings of Australians. Quite rapidly Gallipoli came to be the memory within which all Australian experience of World War I was framed. Ultimately it would become a signifier of national identity, a function which it continues to perform to this day. How this happened is still not fully understood, but it involved, as all collective memory formation does, the agency of multiple individuals and a symbiotic and dynamic interaction between them and official agencies.⁹ As Jay Winter reminds us, "States do not remember; individuals do, in association with other people. If the term 'collective memory' has any meaning at all, it is the process through which different collectives, from groups of two to groups in their thousands, engage in acts of remembrance together".¹⁰

One of the earliest of these processes was the compilation of a collection of writings, art and cartoons created by Australian soldiers serving in the Gallipoli campaign, *The Anzac Book*. The inspiration for this publication came from Bean, who was concerned to bolster morale among the Australian troops when it seemed that they would be forced to remain

8 For further detail on the conscription debates see Beaumont, *Broken Nation*, pp. 219-48, 374-89.

9 For the evolution of the Anzac legend over the twentieth century, see Joan Beaumont, 'Nation oder Commonwealth? Der gefallene Soldat und die Nationalidentität', in Manfred Hettling and Jörg Echternkamp (eds), *Der Tod des Soldaten und das politische Gemeinwesen. Gefallenengedenken im internationalen Vergleich* (Goettingen, 2012), pp. 43-68.

10 Jay Winter, *Remembering War: The Great War Between Memory and History in the Twentieth Century* (New Haven and London, 2006).

on the Gallipoli peninsula during the winter of 1915–16. They were, in fact, evacuated in December, but *The Anzac Book* went ahead anyway. Published in London and Australia in 1916, it sold over 104,000 copies almost immediately, received enthusiastic reviews and was donated to hundreds of Australian museums and libraries. The significance of this publication (reissued by the Australian War Memorial in 2010)¹¹ was the manner in which it represented the Australian soldier or 'digger'. In editing the volume, Bean selected, culled and even rewrote soldiers' contributions in order to present a sanitized and idealized image of the men on Gallipoli. The Australian soldier was thus established in the popular imagination as being characterized by courage, mateship, laconic humour, coolness under fire and contempt for injury, not by less admirable qualities such as cowardice, malingering and fear.¹²

Another process whereby Gallipoli was established as core to the national memory of the war was the almost immediate commemoration of the 1915 landing as 'Anzac Day'. Its first anniversary, in 1916, was marked officially not only in Australia but also in London with an extraordinary imperial event. At Westminster Abbey a galaxy of the British establishment attended the commemoration, including King George V and Queen Mary, the Secretary of State for War, Lord Kitchener, the imperial statesman, Lord Milner, and Generals Ian Hamilton, William Robertson and the commander of the Australian Imperial Force, General William Birdwood. Some 1300 Australians and 700 New Zealand soldiers were brought from their camps by train to Waterloo Station and marched to the abbey via the Strand, Trafalgar Square and Whitehall. The crowds that greeted them were estimated to be the largest in London since the king's coronation.¹³

In Australia meanwhile, the government of the state of Queensland took the initiative by requesting that the king provide a message to mark the anniversary: to which the monarch replied:

Tell my people of Australia that to-day I am joining with them in their solemn tribute to the memory of their heroes who died in Gallipoli. They gave their lives for a supreme cause in gallant comradeship with the rest of my sailors and soldiers who fought and died with them. Their valour and fortitude have shed fresh lustre on the British Arms.¹⁴

11 Australian War Memorial, *The Anzac Book* (Canberra and Sydney, 3rd ed., 2010).

12 See David Kent, 'The Anzac Book and the Anzac Legend: C.E.W. Bean as editor and image-maker', in *Historical Studies*, vol. 21, no. 84, 1985, pp. 376–90.

13 Eric Andrews, '25 April 1916: The First Anzac Day in Australia and Britain', in *Journal of the Australian War Memorial*, no. 23, 1993, pp. 13–20; Eric Andrews, *The Anzac Illusion: Anglo-Australian Relations During World War I* (Melbourne, 1993), pp. 84–91.

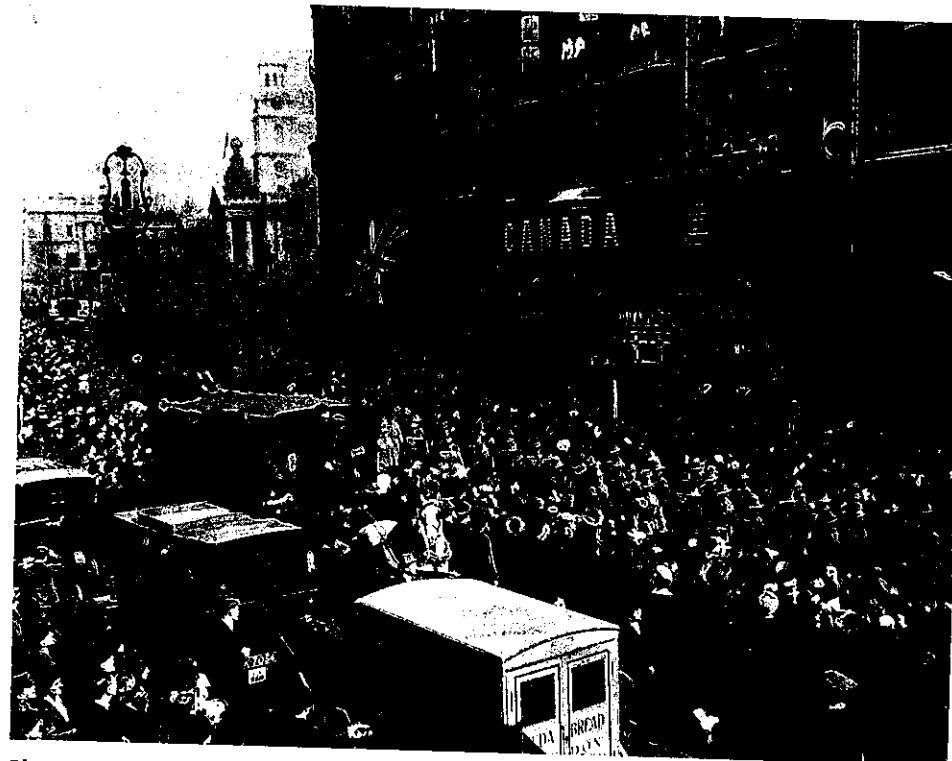


Photo 2: Australian and New Zealand troops marching down Whitehall, London, to Westminster Abbey, Anzac Day 25 April 1916 (Australian War Memorial Po4497.004)

In New South Wales, Premier William Holman appointed a theatrical entrepreneur, J.C. Williamson, to manage the Sydney celebration and on 25 April itself a crowd of 50,000 to 60,000 gathered in this city. The Victorian and federal governments, initially somewhat diffident because they thought that the Gallipoli landing might be overtaken by other more glorious events later in the war, eventually came on board. Federal public servants were granted a special holiday.¹⁵

The motivation behind this commemoration – seemingly unique, in that it commemorated a battle even while the war was in train – was mixed. On the part of the British, it was politically important to rescue something positive from the dismal failure of Gallipoli and to honour the Dominion contribution to the imperial war effort. As the *Daily Mail*

15 Andrews, *The Anzac Illusion*, p. 87; R. Ely, 'The First Anzac Day: Invented or Discovered?' in *Journal of the Australian War Memorial*, no. 23, 1993, pp. 92–101.

said on 24 April, "After all, we do feel deeply our gratitude and love for these brave sons of proud mothers across the seas. Why should we not let them see how we feel?" On the part of Australian authorities, Gallipoli was a powerful tool to motivate more men to volunteer: there were nine recruitment rallies in Sydney on 25 April 1916.¹⁶

Yet the first anniversary of Anzac Day cannot be seen simply as "an astute and cynical propaganda exercise", as historian Peter Charlton has called it.¹⁷ Like all "top down" constructions of memory, Anzac Day commemorations gained traction only because they resonated with the needs of individuals: in this case, bereaved families seeking to invest the losses of Gallipoli with meaning. In Sydney the Anzac Day crowds were full of women dressed in black and when the returned soldiers from Gallipoli marched by, all those watching them were overcome with emotion. As one observer later recalled:

It was as though the crowd was swayed by a great wind, and sobs and sighs went up on every hand. Then suddenly somebody ... began to sing "Abide with me, fast falls the even tide" and the great crowd took it up ... it was one of the most emotional moments of my life.¹⁸

The resonance of Gallipoli at the local level was also evident in the fact that some communities chose to make Anzac Day 1916 the occasion on which they unveiled memorials to the dead. These were the first of many thousands of war memorials that would come to be installed in Australian cities and towns over the next two decades.¹⁹

It seems that Anzac Day was also given great emotional power in 1916 by the fact that it fell only two days after Easter Sunday. Hence its rituals almost immediately acquired a semi-sacred quality, being "not so much invented, as almost effortlessly discovered". Australia's largely Christian population turned to familiar cultural forms within which to express their mass grief, investing traditional motifs with "new meaning and new forms".²⁰ Easter, and more generally, Christianity, offered the bereaved the hope of reunion with the dead in the next life, and a theology of atonement and redemption within which the death of so many young men could be given significance. Just as God's only son had died to save

16 Andrews, '25 April 1916', p. 15.

17 Peter Charlton, *Pozières, 1916: Australians on the Somme* (Sydney, 1986), p. 66.

18 George Black, NSW Labor parliamentarian, quoted in John Robertson, *Anzac and Empire: The Tragedy and Glory of Gallipoli* (Melbourne, 1990), p. 247.

19 K.S. Inglis, *Sacred Places: War Memorials in the Australian Landscape* (Melbourne, 1998), pp. 109–10.

20 Ely, *The First Anzac Day*, p. 58; Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 5.

an irredeemably sinful world, so the innocent of Australia were now sacrificing their lives for the sake of guilty mankind. As *The Australian Baptist* wrote in early 1917:

The war has opened [our] eyes to this possibility – that one dying for all and the innocent suffering for the guilty may be precisely the most powerful force in all the world for redeeming men and uplifting them to higher levels ... [The soldiers] are doing what Christ did, and the greatest love that men can show is to do what He did – to lay down their life for their friends.²¹

In the years that followed Biblical texts, such as "Greater love hath no man than this, than a man lay down his life for his friends", would be inscribed on many sites of public commemoration around the country.²²

These early rituals of Anzac Day were given further form in 1917 and, to a lesser extent, 1918 (though the commemorations in that year were muted by the Allied crisis on the Western Front following the German spring offensive). Even before the end of the war, therefore, there was a well-developed discourse, at least within the public culture, which valorized and honoured the Australian soldiers as exceptional fighters. By their performance at Gallipoli and on the Western Front they had earned themselves a place in the pantheon of imperial, ancient and medieval heroes. The fortunate proximity of Gallipoli to classical ruins of Greece facilitated this representation: as the major Sydney daily, *The Sydney Morning Herald*, said on Anzac Day 1917, the second anniversary of the Gallipoli landing was "especially memorable" because it affirmed that the "vital qualities of the race" had persisted beyond 1915:

the standard for all future action was set at Gallipoli ... The story of the peninsula will be read with the famous description of the retreat from Syracuse, or with the song of Roland. The men who took part in the landing may claim a place similar to that which the men who fought at Marathon held in the history of Greece.

"Always", the *West Australian* added, the Australians "have been in the forefront of battle, and always the thinned ranks of the enemy mourned the ill fate that brought the reckless warriors of the South against them".

Such hyperbole did not abate when many of its more obvious instrumentalist functions, in terms of public mobilization, ended with the armistice. On the contrary, in the

21 *The Australian Baptist*, 30 January 1917, p. 6.

22 This text is at the centre of the massive Shrine of Remembrance in Melbourne.

hands of some key agents it became ever more clearly developed in the immediate post-war years as a narrative of national exceptionalism. The commander of the Australian Corps in 1918, General Sir John Monash, for example, argued in his 1920 account of the war that the Australian soldier was intelligent, physically superior, adaptable, mentally alert, his bravery being founded upon "his sense of duty to his unit, comradeship to his fellows, emulation to uphold his traditions, and a combative spirit to avenge his hardships and sufferings upon the enemy ... The Australian Army is proof that individualism is the best and not the worst foundation upon which to build up collective discipline".²³

A year later Bean released the first in a series of twelve volumes of the official history which he would both write and edit over the next two and half decades.²⁴ In these and other writings, he articulated the essentials of what would become the Anzac legend. The Australian male made a natural fighter: he was independent of spirit, resourceful, able to think independently, fearlessly questioning of authority and above all loyal to his mates (or comrades). Moreover – and herein lies the essence of the legend – Bean deemed the Australian soldier to possess these qualities because he was the citizen in arms, the product of a classless society in which men's lifestyle and their cultural imagination was shaped by the bush (an almost untranslatable but rich cultural term which describes the eucalyptus forests and shrub land that are typical of much of Australian vegetation). Perhaps most significantly, Bean gave voice in his 1924 account of the Gallipoli campaign to the view that "it was on the 25th of April, 1915, that the consciousness of Australian nationhood was born".²⁵

Little of what Bean claimed was empirically verifiable, but this did not matter. 'Anzac' (to use the common shorthand) became the dominant construction of the memory of World War I. In the hands of veterans' associations and conservative governments especially, it became a version of the past that served, as do many myths, as a charter for the present, justifying contemporary institutions and values, and keeping them in being.²⁶ It performed this function throughout the twentieth century, and still does today.

23 John Monash, *The Australian Victories in France in 1918* (London, 1920), pp. 291–3.

24 C.E.W. Bean, *The Official History of Australia in the War of 1914–1918*, vol. 1, *The Story of Anzac: From the Outbreak of War to the End of the First Phase of the Gallipoli Campaign* (Sydney, 1921). In addition to the twelve volumes in the main official history series there were three medical volumes (by A.G. Butler) and a composite history by Bean, *Anzac to Amiens: A Shorter History of the Australian Fighting Services in the First World War* (Canberra, 1946).

25 C.E.W. Bean, *The Official History of Australia in the War of 1914–1918*, vol. 11, *The Story of Anzac: From 4 May, 1915, to the Evacuation of the Gallipoli Peninsula*, vol. 11 of *The Official History of Australia in the War of 1914–1918* (Sydney, 1924), p. 910.

This is not to say that the journey of 'Anzac' was linear and uncontested. During World War II it provided the tropes to accommodate the new national experience of war, with the volunteer army of 1939–45 taking the title of the 2nd Australian Imperial Force and numbering its battalions after those of 1914–18 (for example, the 2/21st Battalion). The dead of this conflict were also honoured very often by their names being inscribed on memorials to World War I. But then, in the 1960s came a serious challenge to Anzac by a generation radicalized by feminism and the use of selective conscription during the Vietnam War. For them, the values of the legend, and its custodian, the Returned and Services League, were irredeemably militaristic, misogynist and anachronistic. To quote the eminent historian of Anzac, K.S. Inglis, to many at that time it seemed that "the ceremonies of Anzac would wither away and its monuments become ever more archaic".²⁷

However, to its critics' surprise, Anzac Day rebounded in the later decades of the twentieth century, when the remarkable 'memory boom' swept across Australia and the world. With this 'turning to the past' came not only new commemorative activities – new war memorials at home and abroad, and an explosion of battlefield 'pilgrimages', official and private – but a re-affirmation of the narrative and values of Anzac in Australian public life. The form the Anzac legend now takes, it must be said, is different from that of 1915. Reflecting the values of a multicultural, secular and post-modern Australia, the language of Anzac has become more inclusive of gender and indigeneity. It does not invoke military skills or killing but rather courage, endurance, sacrifice and mateship – these words are inscribed on the memorial unveiled in 2002 at Isurava on the Kokoda Track, a 1942 battle site almost as iconic in Australian national memory as Gallipoli. These are not only qualities which resonate with the kind of military operations which today's Australian defence personnel conduct – what might be called 'post-heroic' warfare in the form of United Nations peacekeeping and humanitarian interventions. They are also, like the qualities that Bean so valued in the AIF, civilian values. They affirm the self-sacrificial behaviour which a highly materialistic and individualistic society requires of some citizens in the interests of internal and national security. Hence, the mantle of 'the Anzac spirit' can now be bestowed on any citizens who subordinate their individual needs to those of the collective or team – be they policemen, fire-fighters or even, more improbably, Australian Football League players. The coach of the defeated team in the 2009 Anzac Day football match in Melbourne, for example, claimed that his players "let down the Anzacs", whereas the winning team "showed the true Anzac spirit".²⁸

27 Inglis, *Sacred Places*, pp. 361, 9.

28 *Sunday Herald Sun*, 26 April 2009. These arguments are developed more fully in Joan Beaumont, 'Remembering the heroes of Australia's wars: From heroic to post-heroic memory' in Sibylle Scheipers (ed.), *Heroism and the Changing Character of War* (Basingstoke, 2014), pp. 324–48.

The memory of World War I has therefore been de-militarized – some might say, sanitized and trivialized – by the passage of time. Yet some things remain unchanged. The landing at Gallipoli continues to be invoked as the day on which Australians proved themselves to have a distinctive national character and a new sense of nationhood was born. The men and women who volunteer to risk their lives in the service of the nation continue to be honoured as superior Australians. Beyond this, the discourse of Anzac continues, as it did during World War I, to be used to mobilize public support for war. In the prelude to the 2003 Iraq war, for example, there was considerable opposition to Australia's involvement, particularly if this lacked United Nations approval. However, once the war began, dissent was diffused by Iraq being positioned by the government and media within a lineage of wars from World War I on. The defence personnel serving in that theatre were constructed as new Anzacs, entitled to honour and respect and beyond criticism. As John Howard said to the personnel who had served Iraq in 2003:

You went abroad as part of a great Australian military tradition, a tradition that has never sought to oppress people, a tradition that has never sought to impose the will of this country or the collective will of a group of countries of which Australia is part, on other people and other nations, but rather a tradition that seeks to defend what is good in the world, that seeks to uphold the values for which this nation stands and seeks to deliver freedom from tyranny, from terror and oppression.²⁹

Thus Anzac continues to remain central to the Australian political culture, and the centenary of World War I is the subject of extensive governmental planning and largesse. Among the activities already announced for a four-year program honouring "A Centenary of Service" are a dawn service at Anzac Cove on 25 April 2015 (with public attendance controlled by a ballot), a re-enactment of the departure of the first convoy from Albany, Western Australia, and a plethora of local initiatives which will be funded by grants of up to A\$ 125,000 to each electorate.³⁰ What will happen beyond these events, when arguably Australians may be surfeited on commemoration, remains to be seen.

29 For public opinion and Iraq, see Murray Goot, 'Public Opinion and the Democratic Deficit: Australia and the War Against Iraq', in *Australian Humanities Review*, May 2003, <http://www.australianhumanitiesreview.org/archive/Issue-May-2003/goot.html> accessed 5 January 2014. For Howard's use of Anzac, see Mark McKenna, 'Howard's Warriors', in Raimond Gaita (ed.), *Why the War Was Wrong* (Melbourne, 2003), p. 184.

30 See Australian Government, '100 Years of Anzac: The Spirit Lives On, 2014–2018' <http://www.anzaccentenary.gov.au/> accessed 1 January 2014.