Anzac- "coined out of material more precious than gold":

A look at how the Australian home front understood the Gallipoli campaign

by

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Abstract

This thesis will examine the home front of Australia during the Gallipoli campaign of 1915 in order to better understand how Australians conceived of the battle. It argues that individuals within the office of the prime minister self-consciously interpreted the battle in an attempt to establish a uniform national identity that was separate from British imperialism. It also argues that the campaign reinforced prewar gender roles for men and women. Historians have largely ignored the Australian home front during World War I and the immediate postwar period, focusing instead on how Gallipoli has been memorialized over time or on traditional military aspects of the campaign. Analyzing such themes as gender, identity, and race brings questions of citizenship and male and female gender roles into a perspective not yet adequately explored in historical literature. Applying these perspectives to the subject of Australia and Gallipoli, helps us to understand that the campaign was far more than merely a military engagement. It was a social experience that enabled the executive powers of the Australian government the ability to formulate a national identity and restructure society into the image it desired.

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Introduction

Australia was a relatively young country upon its entrance into World War I having acquired its independence in 1901. Following the war's outbreak, the British Empire orchestrated a military invasion of the Ottoman Empire in 1915 at the Dardanelles Strait with the hope of shortening the Central Powers' war effort by taking Constantinople and knocking the Ottomans out of the war. It was in this battle known as the Gallipoli campaign that Australia experienced its first military conflict as an independent nation and fought with the British and French against the Turks. The A.I.F. (Australian Imperial Force) fought directly alongside New Zealanders as part of the Australian and New Zealand Army Corp (ANZAC). Although the Allies eventually suffered defeat after a ten-month campaign, Australians and New Zealanders celebrated ANZAC's heroism. In Australia, "Anzac" emerged as a word that represented strength, courage, and sacrifice and it appeared in the everyday lexicon of Australians as early as 1915 as a way of honoring Gallipoli veterans.[1] Australia's participation at Gallipoli has been heavily studied by scholars of military history as well as scholars interested in memory. Yet little scholarship has explored how Australians understood the battle as it was happening and in its aftermath. This thesis argues that the battle of Gallipoli was self-consciously understood by a faction of Australians in the government as a national defining moment to create an Australian identity separate from British imperialism. It also argues that the campaign reinforced prewar gender

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[1] Throughout this thesis the word "Anzac" will be in reference to the word's use in Australian culture pertaining to Australians who fought at Gallipoli as part of the A.I.F. It appeared in the everyday lexicon of Australians. When the word appears as "ANZAC" it is specifically referring to the military regiment of the Australian and New Zealand Army Corp.

roles for men and women. Lastly, it argues that Australians developed such an admiration for the word Anzac that it became an advertising and military trope which challenged the government's control over identity formation.

The historiography about Gallipoli is extensive because there were British, French, Indian, Australian, New Zealander, and Turkish soldiers involved. However, this thesis is concerned specifically with the Australians, and how the campaign was interpreted by the Australian home front as it was happening and into the immediate postwar period. The reason for focusing solely on the Australians is to be able to emphasize a single national context and take full account of its nuances. Combining New Zealand and Australia would risk homogenizing both or subordinating one to the other. The sources used in this thesis are unorthodox and include advertisements, posters, and poems, songs and film. By looking at these sources from the home front during the First World War, it becomes possible to obtain an understanding of which domestic themes and images Australian citizens were exposed to and better understand how they interpreted what was happening in Gallipoli. Propaganda was widespread in urban areas and its messages were received by wide-ranging audiences, while advertising was common in newspapers and other sources of information. They both prove valuable as primary sources for understanding the home front's views of Gallipoli because regardless of whether all Australians identified with their messages, they were exposed to them on a regular basis even if they were not aware of the effects. The term Anzac is used often throughout this thesis, but it emphasizes the A.I.F. troops who fought with the New Zealanders and composed ANZAC, not the New Zealanders themselves. The reasoning is because in many of the primary sources the Australians used Anzac to refer to Australian soldiers even when the context clearly excluded New Zealanders. The historical scholarship concerning Australia and Gallipoli has largely looked at

the battle from a more military historical perspective or studied its long-term memory, while the home front during the campaign has not received adequate scholarly attention.

The historiography about Gallipoli has undergone significant changes in the last thirty years. There has been an increase in historical publications that look at the campaign with an emphasis on newer fields of analysis such as gender and memory. This is important because for several decades following World War I, historians wrote about Gallipoli almost solely in terms of military history. The focus was primarily on battles and military tactics and can be seen in books such as the 12 volumes of the *Official History of Australia in the Great War of 1914-18*, which were published periodically between 1920 and 1942. This is one of the bigger issues in Australian Gallipoli historiography and without contributions from historians following the rise of social history in the 1960s and 1970s it would remain an issue. Historian Jay Winter has been influential in changing the direction of the historiography by bringing attention to how historians can understand the power of memory and the ways in which a society remembers traumatic loss. An example of this includes his book *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*.[2] This had led to scholars writing about the "Anzac legend" that emerged following World War I that was centered on honoring the sacrifice and heroism of the A.I.F. at Gallipoli.[3] While contemporary scholars have written about Gallipoli more broadly, the

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[2] See Jay Murray Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

[3] The "Anzac Legend" also known as "Anzac Spirit" was a national mythology that arose in Australia following World War I. It celebrated the sacrifices made by the A.I.F. troops also known by the affectionate term "diggers." The Anzac Legend memorialized the soldiers of the A.I.F. and especially those who fought at Gallipoli by praising those troops' fighting spirit, sense of humor, and prowess on the battlefield. The Australian government declared

subject of race still appears to be largely absent. For historians writing about Australia's

participation at Gallipoli, this means bringing the experiences of Aboriginals' into the fold. The

book *First World War: Local-Global Connections and Contexts* by Kate Ariotti and James E.

Bennett has a small section that describes how Aboriginals were treated within the army and in

Australia during the war.[4] However, outside of their book, scholars have not adequately

examined race or described Aboriginals' experiences.

      The foundation of Gallipoli historiography is C.E.W. Bean, an Australian journalist who

was granted almost unlimited access to travel with and interview A.I.F. troops in Gallipoli. He

wrote many books about Gallipoli including six volumes of the *Official History of Australia in

the Great War of 1914-18* in addition to editing all twelve volumes, *Gallipoli Mission*, and

Gallipoli Correspondent: Front Line Diary of C.E.W. Bean. Bean took notes regularly during

both his journey to Gallipoli and once he arrived. He was concerned with documenting what

sorts of military operations were happening including what sorts of artillery the ships were firing

towards the fortified cliffs of the Dardanelles Strait, on top of gathering countless accounts from

soldiers. But he also looked at elements beyond the heat of battle. For instance, in Egypt before

the soldiers received their orders to depart for Gallipoli he described how there were Australians

sent back to Australia for "endangering Australia's good name," by drinking too much and

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"Anzac Day" on April 25th 1916, one year after the Gallipoli landings as a way of commemorating the A.I.F. and it

has become an annual holiday celebrated in Australia and New Zealand.

[4] See Kate Ariotti and James Bennett, *Australians and the First World War: Local Global Connections and

Contexts*, (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).

acquiring venereal diseases from Egyptian prostitutes.[5] Bean's contribution to the historiography about Gallipoli is invaluable as he is the foundation of the historical scholarship and has been cited by nearly every historian who has written about the battle.

Another important contributor to Gallipoli historiography is historian Graham Seal. Seal is a cultural historian and wrote *Inventing Anzac: The Digger and National Mythology*. He focused on the folklore of the Anzacs and the myths of the "digger" (an affectionate Australian term for soldiers especially privates). Seal is interested in aspects such as how Australians soldiers tried to project themselves in World War I and stressed the importance they placed on maintaining a masculine appearance.[6] He employed unique sources including poems, songs, and expressions. Seal's approach and use of sources to understand digger identity influenced this thesis's approach. He discussed and used songs and poems to better understand how Australian soldiers constructed a specific hardened and tough masculinity. Similarly, this thesis too draws on songs and poems as well as advertisements and propaganda, to better understand how the home front interpreted what was happening in Gallipoli.

Historian Bruce Scates has studied how Gallipoli has been memorialized in Australian culture. In "Memorialising Gallipoli: Manufacturing Memory at Anzac" Scates looked at how tragedy can be studied by historians to better understand commemorative landscapes. He delved deeply into different monuments and how they honor the Anzacs. He examined who has

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[5] C.E.W. Bean and Kevin Fewster, *Gallipoli Correspondent: The Front Line Diary of C.E.W. Bean* (Sydney: George Allen and Unwin, 1983), 38.

[6] Graham Seal, *Inventing Anzac: The Digger and National Mythology* (St Lucia, Queensland: University of Queensland Press in Association with the API Network and Curtin University of Technology, 2004), 10.

historically traveled to these memorials including the one that sits at the Dardanelles Strait, and what sort of language was used at headstones to describe the soldiers buried there. He explained how some headstones read "a mother's love lies here" showing the affection and heartfelt loss from grieving families. Others may simply say "An Anzac" or "Mate-o-mine'" indicating that those who died were never identified by their families.[7] Although he used a cultural approach and looked at the memory of Gallipoli, he is more concerned specifically with the memorials of the battle, while this thesis looks at the home front during the campaign.

Anne McClintock is an intellectual and scholar who has written about how advertisements have been used as way of conveying specific images. McClintock dedicated an entire chapter to Victorian-era British advertising, specifically the ad campaign of Pears soap in her book *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*. She described how Victorian advertising displayed images of British domesticity such as children bathing, men shaving, and women laced in corsets. She also looked at Victorian ads, especially soap ads, which used racial images as a way of selling their product. To demonstrate soaps cleanliness and purifying abilities, ads would often portray Africans holding a glowing object, as if the soap itself had divine powers and could civilize the indigenous African. McClintock's analysis offers valuable insight into the power of advertising. She looked at how the British used commodity advertising throughout their empire especially in Africa.[8] Although her focus does not relate to

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[7] Bruce Scates, "Memorialising Gallipoli: Manufacturing Memory at Anzac, "Public History Review 15, (2008): 54, accessed March 28, 2018.

[8] Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York, NY: Routledge, 1995).

Gallipoli, her examination of advertising influenced this thesis because both use advertisements and posters to understand the societal images and values that advertisers were presenting.

Historians Robert Linder and Stuart Piggin examined the history of Protestant evangelicalism in Australia in their book *The Fountain of Public Prosperity: Evangelical Christians in Australian History, 1740-1914*.[9] They describe the origins of protestant evangelicalism in Australia under the British and traced it up until the eve of World War I. The book touched on important ideas such as how the evangelical movement in Australia affected settlers' relationships with the environment and indigenous people. Although the book largely discusses Australia under British-rule, Linder and Piggin influenced this thesis to look at how Australians understood the Gallipoli invasion in a religious framework.

In the past year, there has been more of an emphasis on looking at the home front during the World War I years. Historian Jo Hawkins in her book *Consuming Anzac: The History of Australia's Most Powerful Brand* looked at how Australians began commercializing the word Anzac as early as 1915. According to Hawkins, because the word Anzac had deep connotations for Australians as it represented sacrifice, duty, and other national values, businesses intentionally branded themselves and their products Anzac to exploit the word's deep meaning for financial gain. Anzac became so popular in advertising and business titles that the Australian government outlawed its use in 1916 under the *War Precautions Act* to protect it from further

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[9] See Stuart Piggin and Robert Dean Linder, *The Fountain of Public Prosperity: Evangelical Christians in Australian History, 1740-1914* (Clayton, Victoria: Monash University Publishing, 2018.

exploitation.[10] Hawkins used unorthodox historical sources including advertisements from the World War I era. Although she does spend part of her book analyzing how the home front understood the Gallipoli campaign while it was occurring and how businesses were trying to profit off A.I.F. solders, most of her book looks at the debate over Anzac from the 1960s into contemporary times. Hawkins only glosses over the war years and immediate postwar period, which is the focus of this thesis. Hawkins delves into how Anzac was understood in later times including both World War Two as well as the Vietnam War. By focusing on the home front during the campaign and its immediate aftermath, this thesis helps expand on the foundation of the historiography and illuminates the differences in the ways Australians understood Anzac over periods of time. Expanding on how Anzac came to be known in Australian culture in World War I will better exemplify the changes Hawkins discusses about how the word was remembered later including when Australian soldiers were captured as POWs by the Japanese in World War II.

Scholars Kate Ariotti and James E. Bennett have contributed to a newer wave of Gallipoli-related historiography in their book *Australians and the First World War: Local-Global Connections and Contexts*. Ariotti and Bennett are cultural historians who are driven by the desire to ask different questions and examine different avenues than more traditional military historical narratives. The two looked at individuals who have been ignored such as foreign-born soldiers who fought in the A.I.F. as well as Aboriginals to show the multicultural makeup of the Australian Army in World War I. The scholars also offered chapters into both the historiography of the home front during the First World War in Australia and how the home front has

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[10] Jo Hawkins, *Consuming ANZAC: The History of Australia's Most Powerful Brand* (Crawley, Western Australia: University of Western Australia Publishing, 2018).

remembered Gallipoli, including revisionist attempts made by those who have written about the campaign.[11] Their investigation into how the war has been remembered particularly in the Australian home front informs this thesis, but they work in a more comprehensive framework concerning Australia in World War I. This thesis demonstrates the increased amount of persecution of Aboriginals by the Australian government around the time of Gallipoli. By highlighting government-sponsored efforts to further segregate Aboriginals whether in the military with revisions to 1909 *Defense Act* or the construction of more Aboriginal settlements, this thesis complements Ariotti and Bennett by laying out that there was correlation between worsened Aboriginal treatment and the years on the eve of and during World War I. The promotion of a white Australia by individuals within the office of the prime minister streamlined anti-Aboriginal sentiment and further racialized Australian society. More historical scholarship and exploration is needed to tell Australian Aboriginals' experiences during World War I.

Alistair Thomson is another scholar who has followed newer trends in the historiography. In his book *Anzac Memories: Living with the Legend* he traces the heroism of ANZAC by focusing on the digger tradition and identity including the stress placed on masculinity like Graham Seal. He is more interested in the soldiers' accounts than the home front and collected oral histories from Australian veterans from the Great War. He stressed that in conducting his interviews with veterans that he focused on their wartime experience, as well as how they readjusted to life after the war. He does an excellent job capturing the experiences of soldiers and how they remembered the war.[12] He looked at Gallipoli in a broader context that includes how

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[11] Kate Ariotti and James Bennett, *Australians and the First World* War, 4-5.

[12] Alistair Thomson, *Anzac Memories: Living with the Legend* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1994).

Anzac was remembered in popular memory through the interwar years, World War II, and into contemporary times, while this thesis stays in the years of the First World War and shortly after. This thesis provides more depth into how ANZAC was understood by Australians during the war and in doing so, it strengthens Thomson's analysis about Gallipoli and the soldiers because it provides a way to track changes and continuities between how Australians' remembered the campaign over the decades following the war. Within just World War I there was dramatic changes in how aspects of the war were understood such as when the government initially was popularizing and advertising the soldier and A.I.F. and then dramatically changed their stance and began regulating Anzac fearing businesses were financially exploiting the troops.

Chapter one of this thesis looks at the formation of an Australian national identity that was encouraged by individuals within the office of the prime minister and attorney general that emerged as the Gallipoli campaign was happening. Although many different forms of identity existed, this thesis looks at one that was promoted by a faction within the prime minister's office, especially Billy Hughes and argues that they promoted an identity built on the English language and being white Christians. These characteristics of identity largely mirrored British identity in Australia, but they were more inclusive to peoples from across the British Isles including the Irish, Scottish, and Welsh. They could all become Australianized and assimilate, which meant that people such as the Irish experienced less discrimination in Australia than they did under the British. As Australians began fighting at Gallipoli, government-issued propaganda and different print media began publishing images that reinforced these aspects of identity to the public. Images depicted fighting at Gallipoli as necessary to protect a white Australia, while newspapers argued Gallipoli was a religious war where Christianity was destined to defeat Islam. In doing so, the government promoted its desired image of citizenship and deemed being white and

Christian as essential. While these narratives were being pushed onto Australians, discrimination towards Aboriginals increased as Australians viewed the Aboriginals as the Other who threatened the emerging national identity.

Chapter two argues that the Gallipoli campaign influenced Australians to cement prewar gender roles for men and women. Masculinity was based on serving in the military and government propaganda depicted the soldier as the apex of manhood. Men who did not enlist were considered emasculated as they failed to fulfill their societal role of protecting Australia. Gallipoli also effected notions of femininity as the government and rightwing women's organizations contended women needed to continue prewar roles as supporting wives and mothers and remain subservient to men. However, this notion of how women were supposed to behave was challenged by some women. Anti-war women's organizations emerged during World War I and argued for an end to the violence at Gallipoli and for increased political rights for women. Members strived to become more politically involved in foreign policy decision-making. Some women were also directly involved in the war effort as they became traveling nurses who served overseas in Greece and Egypt where they directly treated A.I.F. soldiers wounded at Gallipoli. In doing so, they occupied a space outside the debate of over women that existed in leftwing and rightwing politics as they were connected to the war in a way only the soldiers were.

Chapter three examines the commercialization of the word Anzac and argues that Australian businesses tapped into the Anzac legend and began using the word and the A.I.F. for commercial purposes and thus selling patriotism to increase sales. The chapter also contends that while the government had been depicting the soldier to promote the new national identity, it shifted its stance after seeing an excess of trademark applications and took a position opposed to

the word's commercialization. The government decided that veterans of the A.I.F. troops should be honored for their service and not exploited for financial gain and passed federal legislation in 1916 to prohibit the use of Anzac in any trademarks or business. Following the regulation of Anzac, businesses began developing new ways to use the military and the A.I.F. to sell products because they understood the profit potential in advertising soldiers.

This thesis attempts to contribute to the foundation of the historiography by shedding more light on what was occurring in Australia while the Gallipoli campaign was happening. Historians have largely ignored the Australian home front during World War I and the immediate postwar period, focusing instead on how Gallipoli has been memorialized over time or on traditional military aspects of the campaign. It is important to understand how the home front conceived of and portrayed Gallipoli because it is apparent that it was more than simply a military engagement. It was a social experience that enabled members of the Australian government the opportunity to formulate a national identity and restructure society into the image they desired.

Chapter 1 - The Creation of a National Identity

The Gallipoli campaign became a turning point in the creation of an Australian national identity, one separate from Australia's experience under direct British rule. Individuals within the cabinet of Prime Minister Andrew Fisher, especially Attorney General and future Prime Minister Billy Hughes tied this new national identity to whiteness, the English language, and Christianity. Although on the surface these three features of identity overlapped with British identity around World War I, they represent departures in important ways. First, the identity of the individuals in Australia under the British was linked specifically to England. In contrast, the new Australian identity that began emerging during the Gallipoli campaign still included a closeness with the British Empire, but instead of identity being focused around Englishness, it centered around "Britishness." Britishness was synonymous with English-speaking and whiteness but was separate from an English ethnic identity. This allowed for Australians to begin to see themselves as independent from the empire, but in a way that did not identify itself against the British. Second, as Australian opinion makers began pushing this new identity, built on racial characteristics, the Other which Australians defined themselves against were the Aboriginals. Aboriginals' experiences under the British was like many of the other indigenous victims of British colonialism in Africa or India. Life had not changed dramatically for Aboriginals from 1901 when Australia received its independence from Britain, up until World War I. However, during the war their treatment worsened. The ideal of what it meant to be an Australian left no place for Aboriginals as society became more racialized and the government aimed to make Australia white. Christianity had a long history in Australia dating back to British first contact. While, Christianity did not fundamentally change to accommodate the new Australian identity,

the Gallipoli campaign cemented Christianity's importance as Gallipoli became understood as a religious war in which Australians' faith was under attack.

Taking Aspects of Britishness and Making them Australian

Australia was a relatively young country upon its entrance into World War I having only recently acquired its independence. In 1901, British Parliament passed the Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act that allowed the six British colonies of Australia to form a self-governing federation as a constitutional monarchy. New South Wales, Western Australia, Queensland, South Australia, Victoria, and Tasmania became states and formed the Commonwealth of Australia. Although the Australia Government and states produced legislation and handled domestic issues, their foreign policy was largely decided by Britain up until World War I.[13]   As part of the empire and larger commonwealth, Australians lacked a distinct identity or defining national moment that separated themselves from the British. However, Gallipoli would change this. As the Gallipoli campaign began in 1915 and thousands of Australian men enlisted in the military, people in the government and media, intentionally construed the battle as one that would create an Australian identity. Historian Peter Hoffenberg asserts that Australia lacked a Declaration of Independence or Battle of Gettysburg moment as compared to the United States, or Battle of Blood River in the 1830s compared to Afrikaners. "In the case of Australia, soldiers and myth-makers imagined the battlefields of the Great War as not only the loci of catastrophe necessary to define a national community, but also the crucible for their distinctive

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[13] Digital Transformation Agency, "Federation," Australia.gov.au, March 10, 2016 , accessed November 03, 2018, https://www.australia.gov.au/about-government/how-government-works/federation.

national identity." [14] Gallipoli became Australians' iconic national defining moment. As soon as Australians arrived at the Dardanelles Strait, members in Fisher's cabinet including Attorney General Billy Hughes (who succeeded Fisher as Prime Minister in October 1915) and media, started manufacturing images of an Australian identity to create a desired image of what it meant to be Australian. Hughes tirelessly supported the war and was serving as prime minister when recruiting efforts intensified during Gallipoli and would eventually leave the Labor Party and create the Nationalist Party in 1917.[15] One of the ways these desired images of identity were displayed to the public was through posters that selected and chose aspects of British society and culture and in turn Australianized them. The idea of whiteness, which itself was important in British identity, became a key component of what it meant to be Australian. When World War I began, and the British Empire looked to the commonwealth for aid, Australians were quick to pledge support. Images soon began surfacing linking the British and Australians based on race. The ethnic similarity with Britain became a part of the rallying call for the Australians participating in the war. They were to defend the commonwealth, for if the heart of the empire in Britain fell then repercussions would be felt empire-wide. Refusing to fight in the defense of the empire was simply not possible as Australians were "transplanted Britons" after all.[16] Australia's

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[14] Peter H. Hoffenberg, "Landscape, Memory and the Australian War Experience, 1915-18," *Journal of Contemporary History* 36, no. 1 (2001): 127.

[15] Executive Agency, "Conscription » Billy Hughes at War | Old Parliament House," Conscription » Billy Hughes at War | Museum of Australian Democracy at Old Parliament House, accessed March 27, 2019, https://billyhughes.moadoph.gov.au/conscription.

[16] Douglas Newton, "At the Birth of Anzac: Labor, Andrew Fisher and Australia's Offer of an Expeditionary Force to Britain in 1914," *Labor History*, no. 106 (2014): 23.

willingness to support the empire indicates a lack of lucidness behind their aspirations of creating

their own national identity. While they wanted to establish a unique identity of what it meant to

be Australian, they could not abandon Britain in a time of war, especially since the aspects of

identity Australians were using for themselves were instilled in Australia by the British.

Therefore, individuals within the government that pushed an Australian identity did so based on

characteristics that mirrored British identity including whiteness and English because it allowed

Australians to start seeing themselves as separate from the British, yet still able to fit within a

British-centric world. A powerful recruitment poster (Figure one) trumpets in all capital letters

"AUSTRALIA'S IMPERISHABLE RECORD," and then under a small body of text

"AUSTRALIANS! THE EMPIRE NEEDS YOU."[17] The text was a quotation from General Sir

Ian Hamilton, the commander-in-chief of the British Mediterranean Expeditionary Force at

Gallipoli. The quote praised the actions of the units from both Australia and New Zealand as

fighting at Gallipoli was happening.

The poster also features a passage where Hamilton claimed that the Australians were

holding up the "finest traditions of our race" which was important because it connected Australia

to Britain's war cause by emphasizing the shared racial connection between Britons and

Australians.[18] The poster was made in Australia for recruitment purposes which indicated that it

was Australians who were driving this message. By emphasizing that the British Empire needed

Australia, it conveyed a family-like dynamic, as if Britain was calling out to her younger sibling

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[17] WWI Era Anzac Recruiting Ad "AUSTRALIA'S IMPERISHABLE RECORD," (1915), Library of Congress
Prints and Photographs Division LOC-Washington D.C.

[18] Ibid.,

or child for aid. This idea was echoed by historian Bruce Scates who offered the idea of the Australians trying to prove they were "worthy sons of the Empire."[19] In the Victorian Era, the British justified their racial superiority based on their Anglo-Saxon roots. It was the Saxons of northern Germany who in the fifth and sixth centuries invaded England and brought with them not only whiteness, the British believed, but also intelligence, a desire for adventure, and a talent for self-government.[20] The British thought that the democratic institutions that had allowed their empire to thrive were traced back to their Anglo-Saxon origins. Although many Australians were of English descent around the time of the First World War, their national identity needed to reflect the country's diverse nationalities since Australia had immigrants descended from across the British Isles not just England. Instead Australians considered themselves as part of the "British-speaking Race" rather than identifying as English. An identity built on Britishness better fit the people because of its inclusiveness as Australia was a conglomeration of English, Scottish, Irish, and Welsh peoples that were united in a linguistic national community in speaking English despite their different heritages.[21]

Australians of Irish descent formed a significant block of the population on the eve of World War I as they accounted for roughly a quarter of the overall population.[22] They were

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[19] Scates, "Memoralizing Gallipoli," 54.

[20] Stuart Anderson, *Race and Rapprochement: Anglo-Saxonism and Anglo-American Relations, 1895-1904* (Rutherford: London, 1981), 12.

[21] Neville Meaney, "Britishness and Australia: Some Reflections," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 31, no. 2 (2003): 124-25.

[22] Robert Bollard, *In the Shadow of Gallipoli the Hidden Story of Australia in WWI*, (Sydney, Australia: University of New South Wales Press, 2013), 57.

Figure 1: Image of Anzac recruitment poster from 1915. Poster emphasizes Australia's British ties. WWI Era Anzac Recruiting Ad "AUSTRALIA'S IMPERISHABLE RECORD," (1915), Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division LOC-Washington D.C., accessed November 16, 2018
http://www.loc.gov/pictures/resource/cph.3g12166/

overwhelmingly Catholic, which resulted in discrimination from Australian Protestants who comprised the majority. Though they supported the war, Irish-Catholics were vocal in opposing any efforts to force conscription on the population and when a memorandum was introduced concerning conscription in 1916, they overwhelmingly voted against it. Most people of Irish heritage who lived in Australia were in working-class occupations such as unskilled laborers with some also employed in jobs such as policer officers. Scholars explain that Irish opposition to conscription "was a class response rather than a religious or national one" because they would more easily be targeted for a draft than those from the upper or middle classes who had more

influence.[23] Yet their class identity was also linked with the fact that they were Irish-Catholics, which did not help them gain favorability with the bulk of Australians.[24] Irish identity would be tested however, when news of the Easter Uprising reached Australia in April of 1916. Australian newspapers such as the *Argus* labeled the rebels as traitors, but also prominent Irish politicians such as John Redmond, Irish organizations including the United Irish League, the Celtic Club, the Hibernian Society and several Catholic bishops denounced the violence as anarchy.[25] The Easter Uprising happened only a few months after the defeat at Gallipoli while the A.I.F. were being transferred both to the western front and to Palestine. The Irish in Australia could have revolted and engaged in violence against the government, but they did not. Prominent leaders condemned the uprising and in doing so made a choice to be Australian. They placed their loyalty with Australia over the revolutionaries in Ireland even if they endured some religious oppression. However, some Irish Australians did support the Irish revolutionaries. Victorian journalist Joseph Winter dedicated his life to advocating for an independent Ireland as an editor of *The Advocate* newspaper.[26] Another important Australian figure who supported an independent Ireland was Archbishop Daniel Mannix. In 1920, Mannix led 20,000 people in the Saint Patrick's Day Parade in Melbourne to bring attention to the execution of leaders from the 1916 Easter Uprising.[27] Following Gallipoli, home front propaganda, both in the government and

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[23] Ibid., 65.

[24] Ibid., 67.

[25] Ibid., 61.

[26] "Easter Rising, Dublin, 1916: The Irish in Australia," State Library Victoria, accessed February 09, 2019, https://guides.slv.vic.gov.au/rising1916/irishinaustralia.

[27] Ibid.,

media, began construing Australian identity on the concept of whiteness instead of on Anglo-Saxon grounds to be more reflective of Australia's cultural diversity. This allowed minorities such as the Irish to be included and recognized as Australians.

The concept of whiteness cannot be overlooked in regard to Australian identity being promoted by Billy Hughes and members of his office during World War I. A column published in 1915 by C.W. Rix of the State Recruiting Committee titled "Volunteers or Quitters?" stressed the importance placed on "white Australia." This document was published during the Gallipoli campaign and called on Australians to fight to ensure that the country's freedom would be handed down to their children and that the country would remain "A White Australia."[28] Race was used to mobilize military enlistment as Australia did not implement a draft during the war. Midway through the column Rix claimed "Now is the hour to show the world that you are "White" Australians in very truth..."[29] Therefore Gallipoli and World War I became a theater for Australians to broadcast their desired racial image to the international community. Yet racial anxieties drifted over into debates about conscription as well. During the First World War Australia did not have compulsory conscription and therefore, all soldiers that they fielded in battle were volunteers.

Conscription was a heavily debated topic in Australian politics during the war. The Australian Labor Party (ALP) was somewhat split with the majority opposing draft referendums,

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[28] State Recruiting Committee publication by C.W. Rix "Volunteers or Quitters?," (1915), State Library of South Australia Digital Collections, Adelaide, Australia.

[29] Ibid.,

while conservatives in the Nationalist Party bitterly supported them. The ALP drew its strength from the working-class and its platform included social welfare and equality. The Nationalist Party was comprised of middle-class and upper-class Australians. Conscription debates exposed class and racial anxieties in ways that reveal the importance of whiteness to Australian identity. In 1903, legislation known as the Defense Act passed through Australia's Parliament and outlined all the mobilization efforts needed in case of war. This included the organization of the Australian military and laid out the military's responses to potential threats both foreign or domestic.[30] However in 1909, the legislation was amended to introduce compulsory military training for males between 12 and 26 years old. The ALP was split over the conscription proposal, but when Labor member Billy Hughes became Prime Minister in 1915, he argued for a draft or else "the glorious name of Anzac becomes a tarnished and dishonoured thing."[31] However, the conscription referendum failed in 1916 and Hughes resigned from the Labor Party and became the head of the Nationalist Party. It was debated once again in 1917 but failed to pass. An anti-conscription propaganda poster from 1916 titled "Keep Australia White" (Figure two) shows a map of Australia with a red heart in the middle of it bleeding, pierced with a sword that has "conscription" written on it. [32] Hovering over the sword is a dark congregation of people that represents immigrants with a passage that reads: "Send every man out of Australia, even if

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[30] "Defense Act of 1903," Federal Register of Legislation-Australian Government Office of Parliamentary Counsel, Forest, Australia, pp. 10-17, accessed September 16, 2018. https://www.legislation.gov.au/Details/C2014C00592.

[31] Nick Dyrenfurth, "Labor and the Anzac Legend, 1915-45," *Labour History*, no. 106 (2014): 168.

[32] Margaret Anderson, "Propaganda and the Conscription Debate," Old Treasury Building, accessed November 05, 2018, https://www.oldtreasurybuilding.org.au/propaganda-and-the-conscription-debate/.

they had to import black, brown or brindle labor to do their work." The poster is significant for several reasons. First, it appealed to race, but unlike government propaganda that aimed to encourage enlistment in the military to defend the British Empire and portray itself as a white nation, this propaganda used racially driven fears to discourage military enlistment. The quote that appeared in the poster was from Mr. Heitmann, a self-declared nationalist. The message that the poster displayed was that if Australia implemented a draft it would lose the majority of its white male population and thus would make itself vulnerable to non-white immigrants. Second, the imagery of the heart bleeding in the middle of Australia is significant because it perpetuated the idea that to be white was what it meant to be Australian. It fed the desired racial image that white Australians were the metaphorical heart and core of Australian identity and used the darker-skinned immigrant as a threat to stoke anti-conscription votes. Third, the depiction of the immigrants as being Asian showed that Australians were most fearful of Asian immigrants diluting white Australia and stealing wartime jobs. Yet the inclusion of black people being imported to serve as labor may have been a threat to turn to Aboriginals as workers if conscription had passed. Such fear tactics would have likely been successful since Aboriginals were heavily discriminated against because of their race and were largely segregated from white Australians.
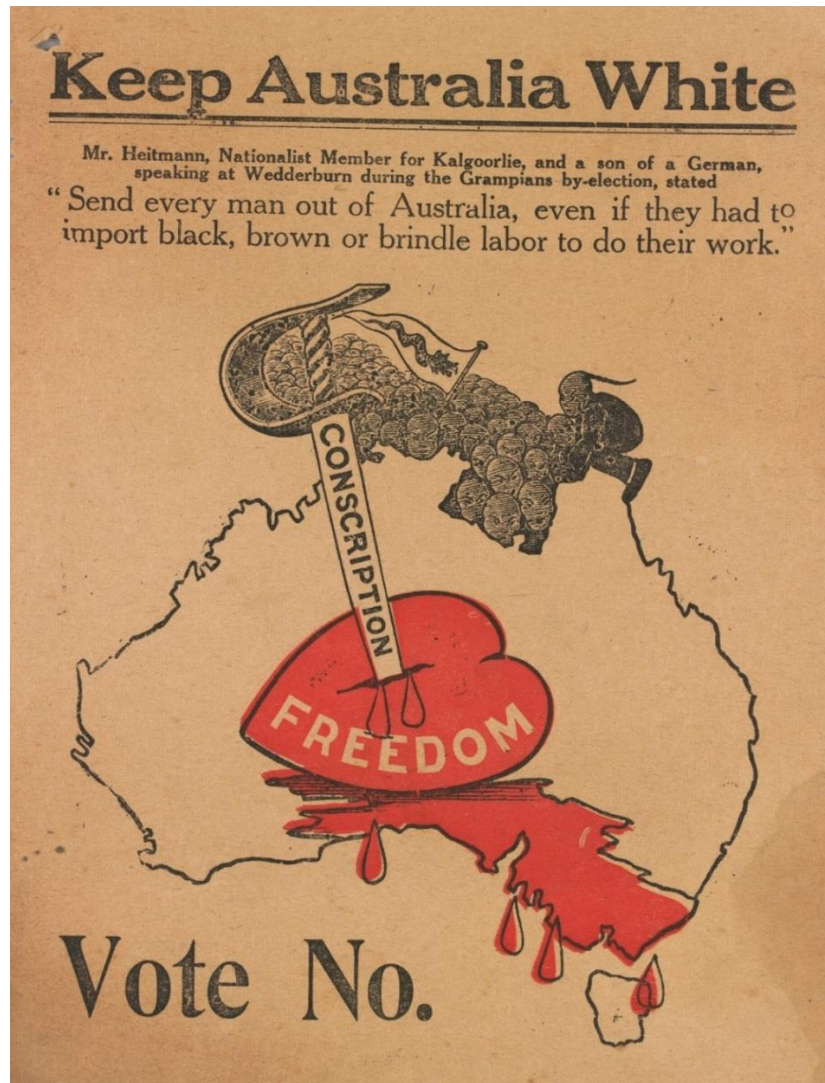
Figure 2: Anti-Conscription poster from 1916. Poster appealed to race as a reason to vote against implementing a draft by equating conscription with an invasion of non-white immigrants. WWI Anti-Conscription Poster "Keep Australia White," (1916), Old Treasury Building Collections- Melbourne, Australia, accessed November 16, 2018 https://www.oldtreasurybuilding.org.au/propaganda-and-the-conscription-debate/

Aside from calling on Australians to defend the British Empire on racial grounds, recruitment propaganda also emphasized the legacy of Australia as a British colony to convince soldiers to enlist. Posters featuring images of Gallipoli stressed to the people of Australia the desperate conditions the A.I.F. were experiencing and the need for reinforcements. An example shows a dramatic and tense environment (Figure three) with an Australian soldier standing in front of a map of the Balkans pointing at the Dardanelles Strait with the caption "Queenlanders!

Your country calls!"[33] The solider on the poster was standing in front of a list of dead countrymen and his fixed bayonet, suggests that he was preparing for imminent battle. The bayonet became an icon of ANZAC at Gallipoli and although they were used in certain cases such as at the Battle of Chunuk Bair, they were rarely used according to C.E.W. Bean.[34] Underneath the soldier showed the words "We're coming lads. Hold on!" The language used here was strategic because it placed the survival of those Australians already at Gallipoli in the hands of the Australians at home contemplating enlistment; it thus directly tied the fate of the soldiers to those on the home front.

A telling inclusion in the poster was that it opted to use the Union Jack Flag as a border instead of the Australian Red Ensign flag. The poster's inclusion of the Union Jack to appeal to an Australian audience shows an effort to pull on Australians' colonial experience under Britain to convince them to enlist. In fact, Australians in the A.I.F. who fought at Gallipoli did so under the Union Jack.[35] The Australian home front, specifically through governmental propaganda posters, advertised the Union Jack as an icon in recruitment propaganda. This demonstrates that despite efforts to create an Australian national identity, a recognition of their British past still permeated society and it was strong enough to convince young men to fight for the empire. The

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[33] WWI Gallipoli Recruitment Poster "Queenlanders! Your Country Calls!," (1915), Australian War Memorial Collections-Queensland, Canberra, Australia.

[34] C.E.W. Bean, *The Official History of Australia in the War of 1914-1918*, Vol 1. Sydney: Angus & Robertson (1921), 510.

[35] "Australian Red Ensign," Australian Government Department of Veteran' Affairs, accessed September 15, 2018. https://anzacportal.dva.gov.au/history/special-features/great-war-memories/australian-red-ensign.

trumpet being blown in the top left with the "enlist" patch below it gave the recruitment poster a patriotic tone. Though it is unclear when exactly in 1915 the poster was produced, it was likely done so before the Allies withdrew from Gallipoli in December according to the Australian War Memorial archives.[36] It is difficult to measure the success of governmental propaganda because of the challenges in knowing how much of society is receptive to a particular message. In the case of Gallipoli, enlistees had a variety of reasons for joining the A.I.F. including out of a sense for patriotism, a desire to travel and see the world, because of higher wages, and countless other factors. This was evident by the fact that 60,000 Australians ultimately served in Gallipoli.[37] However, the existence of many different government-produced propaganda posters indicates that their messages were effective as an appeal to the Australian people. The exposure of this propaganda may explain why enlistment numbers among Australians skyrocketed from 52,561 in 1914 to 165,912 in 1915, which was the highest year of Australian enlistment during the First World War.[38] The effectiveness of such propaganda should be considered along with the other reasons in understanding why Australian men enlisted in World War I. Although the poster targeted the state of Queensland in Australia, it was one of many that existed in Australia during the Gallipoli campaign.

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[36] "Queenlanders! Your Country Calls!"

[37] "Gallipoli," State Library of Victoria Ergo accessed September 3, 2018. http://ergo.slv.vic.gov.au/explore-history/australia-wwi/abroad-wwi/gallipoli.

[38] A.G. Butler, *Special Problems and Services: The Official History of the Australian Army Medical Services in the War of 1914–1918,* vol. 3, Australian War Memorial, Canberra, 1943, p. 889, accessed November 3, 2018. https://www.awm.gov.au/collection/C1416671.

Figure 3: Image of Australian soldier standing in front of Dardanelles Strait where the Gallipoli campaign took place. The border of the poster is lined with the Union Jack flag of Britain. WWI Gallipoli Recruitment Poster "Queenlanders! Your Country Calls!," (1915), Australian War Memorial Collections-Queensland, Australia, accessed November 16, 2018 https://www.awm.gov.au/collection/C95610

Place of Aboriginals in Australian Identity

The new Australian identity that formulated during Gallipoli and World War I centered on whiteness. But the idea of whiteness being an important marker to identity did not begin in Australia during the Gallipoli campaign. Such sentiment had been inherited from British and had long been engrained in Australia, but its manifestation as an important characteristic for

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Australian national identity did not occur until during the campaign. This was because of increased concerns over nonwhite immigrants from Asia as well as Aboriginals taking jobs in Australia, since a large portion of the white male population had joined the military. However, studying the experiences of Aboriginals reveals how whiteness was constructed because they were the Other that white Australians used to justify their own identity. With what it meant to be Australian being tied to whiteness, Aboriginals suffered increased discrimination and persecution by the government and media who targeted Aboriginals as obstacles to achieving a white nation.

From the earliest days of British contact with the continent in the late eighteenth century, the Aboriginal population faced significant racism, persecution, and oftentimes violence. Initial interaction between the British and Aboriginals on the Australian frontier and the subsequent decades of violence has been referred to as the "Wild Time" by scholars. Colonial exploration into the mainland and frontier took off in the 1840s and then ceased for a brief period only to resume in the 1870s. By the 1870s certain Aboriginals had been coerced by the British through the exploitation of preexisting Aboriginal rivalries in order to serve the empire. An example of this was the Queensland Mounted Native Police who operated as a local police force. They were significant because they represent one of the earliest instances where Aboriginals had been recruited by the British to use violence against fellow Aboriginals to legitimize British rule. [39] Although the amount of violence used against Aboriginals reduced after Australia received its independence, a deep institutional and societal racism persisted.

The Australian government's policy pertaining to Aboriginals up until World War I was one of control and Gallipoli only amplified these efforts. However, this was not a new practice as

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[39] David Samuel Trigger, *Whitefella Comin': Aboriginal Responses to Colonialism in Northern Australia* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 18.

it was heavily influenced by earlier British polices toward Aboriginals. The Aboriginal Protection Board was a bureaucratic body that began setting up schools for Aboriginals on reservations, as to ensure the segregation between Aboriginals and white settlers. In 1909, the *Defense Act* was amended to include an exemption excluding "persons who are not substantially of European origin or descent."[40] The amendment did not specifically address Aboriginals, but its racial undertones reflected the segregation of Aboriginals from becoming Australians in the eyes of the public. It also emphasized the control of whiteness because it was white politicians who passed the act, and therefore they were the ones deciding what image they wanted the Australian military to reflect. The politicians ultimately decided they wanted white troops to symbolize the country, not Aboriginals. Surprisingly there are no published propaganda sources from the government or media that directly attacked Aboriginals. This likely was because the government felt the revised 1909 *Defense Act* thoroughly addressed discriminating Aboriginals out of military service and that additional efforts were not needed. Posters that called for a white Australia existed as discussed earlier, but Aboriginals were not specifically attacked in public outlets. Instead they were persecuted by the government in the shadows instead of in the press. However, some Aboriginals still managed to enlist in the military.

When World War I began in 1914, military recruiters refused to accept Aboriginals citing their recruiter handbooks that clearly stated, "Aborigines and halfcastes (those of European and Aboriginal descent) are not to be enlisted."[41] Although the decision to exclude indigenous men from service was the official policy of the government, its application was not always enforced. Some Aboriginals were able to bypass recruiters by claiming they were of Italian or Maori

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[40] Ariotti and Bennett, *Australians and the First World* War, 145.

[41] Ibid.,

descent.[42] This explains how at least 70 Aboriginals served at Gallipoli with 13 killed in action.[43] Service in the military was one of many factors that might have been in the minds of young Aboriginal men because once they were in the military they were treated as equals in some important ways. For example, they received equal pay as white Australian troops, which put them in a significantly better position than the Aboriginals on the home front during Gallipoli and World War I.[44]

In 1914, the beginning of the Great War disrupted Australia's trade, pushing the country towards an economic recession. The disruption of international trade caused unemployment to rise. In 1913, the official unemployment rate in Australia was 6.5%. That number grew to 8.3% in 1914 with the war's onslaught and peaked in 1915 during the Gallipoli campaign at 9.3%.[45] Aboriginals experienced the economic hardships as well. In addition, the war raised the costs of goods required for Aboriginal peoples which further exacerbated the effects of a significant drought.[46] However, the employment of Aboriginals during the battle of Gallipoli and following its failure varied state to state in Australia. For example, both Queensland and Western Australia relied on Aboriginal laborers for agricultural and pastoral work. John William Bleakley who was proclaimed the Chief Protector of Aborigines in 1914 claimed there was a demand "for all classes of aborigine labour." Yet a few years later he reported that some of the Aboriginals'

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[42] Ibid., 146.

[43] Michael Bell, "Aboriginal Presence on Gallipoli Grows," Australian War Memorial (blog), May 28, 2017, accessed September 16, 2018, https://www.awm.gov.au/articles/blog/aboriginal-presence-on-gallipoli-grows.

[44] Ibid.,

[45] Bollard, *In the Shadow of Gallipoli*, 28.

[46] Ariotti and Bennett, *Australians and the First World War*, 149.

employers regarded the Aboriginals as "more as a part of the stock or working plant than as a human being."[47] These opportunities for agricultural labor, particularly those on the west coast of Australia were temporary. As white labor returned home in 1919 following the end of World War I, Aboriginals were forced to move back to Koonniba, an Aboriginal community located in South Australia.[48]

Efforts towards Aboriginal equality appeared to be going backwards under the Australian government compared to under British rule. In 1883, George Reid, who was the New South Wales Minister of Public Instruction (and future Prime Minister of the Commonwealth of Australia) sided with white settlers when he excluded 16 Aboriginals from a public school in Yass, New South Wales, at the behest of concerned white parents.[49] However, the Aboriginal Protection Board envisioned that Aboriginal children would eventually become assimilated into the white lower class. Although segregation was the most common strategy for dealing with education for Aboriginal children, both the Aboriginal Protection Board and British law allowed for Aboriginal children to attend public schools. White parents could demand the removal of Aboriginals or threaten to withdraw their own children, but there was a general progression toward Aboriginal assimilation for children under British rule. However, the Australian government expanded upon earlier British methods and reverted to the exclusion of Aboriginals from public white schools. The 1909 *Aborigines Act* cemented a two-tier education system where Aboriginals had the lowest quality teachers, supplies, and services available, compared to the

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[47] Ibid., 150.

[48] Ibid.,

[49] Richard J. Reynolds, "Clean, Clad and Courteous" Revisited: A Review History of 200 Years of Aboriginal Education in New South Wales." *Journal of Negro Education* 78*, no. 1 (2009): 85.

regular schools the government created for white children.[50] These segregation policies

continued through World War I and served as one of the many ways Australians controlled the

lives of Aborigines. With whiteness being an important component in what it meant to be

Australian, the domination and regulation of Aboriginals by the Australian government should

be understood as a governmental supported effort to ensure white supremacy and superiority in

all aspects of life.

In 1915, the Board for Protection of Aborigines furthered restrictions on the already

limited rights of Aboriginals. Historian Richard Broome has accurately summarized it: "as

Aboriginal servicemen fought for 'freedom of tyranny' at Gallipoli and then in France, the board

increasingly controlled the lives of their families back home."[51] Chief Inspector of Aborigines

J.T. Beckett mobilized new plans to reorganize Aboriginal labor proposing that boys should be

tasked with preparing horses for the war effort while Aboriginal girls might make "a fine mobile

Red Cross Corps."[52] New "native settlements" were created as well with the Carrolup settlement

established in 1915, while the Moore River settlement was completed in 1918. The settlements

were constructed in response to growing concerns by white Australians that Aboriginal peoples

were closing in on the outskirts of town and that their entering would disrupt white Australians

daily lives.[53] The Board for Protection of Aborigines even went so far as to withhold the wages

and entitlements of Aboriginal servicemen at war from their wives and families at home. This

shows that just because Aboriginal troops were treated better by their peers in the military than at

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[50] Ibid., 87.

[51] Ariotti and Bennett, *Australians and the First World War*, 149.

[52] Ibid., 152.

[53] Ibid.,

home in Australia that they were still victims of discrimination. [54] The government's coercive tactics toward Aboriginals on the home front during the Gallipoli campaign and World War I show that it excluded them from the national identity it was trying to create. As this new identity centered around whiteness and the English language, it allowed for white people of non-English heritage to fully attain Australian citizenship. However, Aboriginals became further disenfranchised and labeled as outsiders because of their darker complexion. The government promoted Australian identity was built on the supposed racial superiority of white-skinned Australians over Aboriginals, thus the increased persecution and victimization of Aboriginals can be understood as government sanctioned efforts to achieve a white Australia and affirm this identity.

The Role of Christianity in National Identity

Christianity was an important component to the Australian national identity that arose with the Gallipoli campaign and World War I. Christianity, of course, had a long history on the continent under the British, specifically Protestant evangelicalism, which found a foothold in Australia beginning in the eighteenth century. In the context of this chapter, evangelicalism is defined as "a Christian movement, a family of faith, focused on the gospel, and demonstrably continuous with the 'primitive religion' of the New Testament and with the Protestant Reformation."[55] The evangelical movement in Australia was a major component in the ideology of "settlerism," which was instilled in the second generation of white settlers in Australia. It linked faith and discipline to survive and subjugate an unfamiliar environment.[56] Settlerism also

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[54] Ibid.,

[55] Stuart Piggin and Robert Dean Linder, *The Fountain of Public Prosperity,* 23.

[56] Ibid., 38.

known as settler colonialism is used here to refer to the replacement of an indigenous peoples with an invasive settler society that has the intent of permanent residency.[57] Evangelicalism in Australia throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth century operated as "a spiritual empire in parallel with the British Empire" because of close links with missionaries and evangelical agencies back in England. Such links empowered the movement and made it one of the largest international and globalizing movements of the nineteenth century.[58] Within Australia, evangelicals championed conservative agendas as they hoped to reproduce in "new Britain what was best in old Britain."[59] By the nineteenth century, evangelicals had entered a relationship with colonization be it missionary or disciplinary as evangelicals took to spreading their faith across the South Pacific. The evangelical movement in Australia "gave birth to a Christian country, Australia, in a Christian Empire, Greater Britain."[60] This long exposure to evangelism left a strong imprint in Australian culture, well after it received its independence from Great Britain.

The invasion of Gallipoli was intentionally construed by the Australian home front, primarily the media, as a battle to defend Australians' religious values. Gallipoli was depicted in a crusade-like holy war that pitted Christianity against Islam. These representations appeared commonly in newspapers throughout Australia in 1915. *The Age*, a newspaper printed in Melbourne and primarily serving Australians living in Victoria, was one such example. On 14 June 1915 it printed a poem titled "Gallipoli" that portrayed Gallipoli in a religious perspective.

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[57] "Settler Colonialism," Global Social Theory, accessed November 03, 2018, https://globalsocialtheory.org/concepts/settler-colonialism/.

[58] Piggin and Linder, 39.

[59] Ibid., 575.

[60] Ibid., 582.

The poem began by describing Australians approaching the Dardanelles Strait in boats, preparing for their advance towards the Turks. As they approached they were drenched by enemy shells and volleys but kept on advancing chanting "Gallipoli!" and "Australia!" However, towards the end of the poem, the last section discusses Christianity:

Motto and watchword under the Cross,
Hold it as sacred in gain as in loss,
And the warring nations, slowly waking
To the part that ye are nobly taking,
Shall their children tell of Islands tree,
Where swings that Cross majestic'ly,
Symbol of peace and amity:
Gallipoli! Gallipoli![61]

Walking under the cross and holding it in gain or loss implied that in either victory or defeat it was important to remember that the Australians were Christians and that would not change regardless the outcome of the war. This is interesting because the Australians were fighting Muslim Turks, at a time when the Ottoman Empire was still the caliphate of the Sunni Muslim world. The poem can be interpreted as Australians needing to reaffirm themselves as Christians and that their faith will guide them through Gallipoli. The phrase about where the cross hangs that peace and harmony would follow implied that the Australians were on a civilizing and evangelizing mission. Though this passage did not mention anything about Islam, it clearly suggested that there were people back on the home front who saw the Gallipoli campaign as having religious characteristics.

Another poem that looked at Gallipoli as a Christian crusade against Islam appeared in *The Murrumbidgee Irrigator* based in Leeton, New South Wales. The poem was published 10

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[61] "Gallipoli," The Age Newspaper, June 14, 1915, accessed October 6, 2018, https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/154941620?searchTerm=Gallipoli&searchLimits.

December 1915 and was titled "The Bear and the Kangeroo." It began describing how Turkey was the land of the Trojans and the classics, but that "a new race of Crusaders fight on treacherous Hellenes shores."[62] The identification of the Australians as crusaders reaffirmed the importance of Christianity to Australian identity because it attached them to a historical lineage of Christian-Muslim violence, which they had no direct connection to being outside of Europe. Thus, the connection of Australians to crusaders was an effort to create a desired image of Australians as Christian warriors. The poem then shifted towards the Gallipoli trenches as the Australians questioned whether they would persevere "When they march against the Crescent and the enemies of Christ?"[63] The identification of the Turks as an enemy of the Christian faith demonstrated that there were Australians that saw the war as something much more significant than a military battle. It insinuates that a segment of Australians interpreted fighting an Islamic enemy as an affirmation of their own Christian identity and an attempt to convert their enemies. How large of a portion of society held these views is difficult to gauge, but because of the history of evangelicalism and Christianity in Australia, it is possible these views may have represented a reasonable portion of society. The poem then described the terrain and rocky cliffs of Gallipoli as the Australians asked for "God's strength on such ground when Cross and Crescent meet." The

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[62] "The Bear and the Kangaroo," *The Murrumbidgee Irrigator, December 10, 1915, pg. 6, accessed October 6, 2018,*

https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/156526891?searchTerm=gallipoli%20crusade%20Islam%20%20%20%20%20%20%20%20%20%20%20%20&searchLimits=l-decade=191|||l-year=1915.

[63] Ibid.,

poem continued discussing events along the Eastern Front of the war including Russia and

various other aspects, before concluding with a powerful statement:

Where the iron gates of Islam, shield the
cunning Moslem Turk,
Where the Mosques of old Byzantium
stand mocking Christian work ;
A race of new invaders seek to force the
Narrows thro',
There to mee- upon the Bosphorus the
Bear and Kangaroo.[64]

The bear referred to Russia while the references to the Mosques of the Turks mocking the

ancient Byzantine "Christian work" once again reiterated efforts made by Australians to connect

themselves to a larger Christian community and history. By emphasizing Constantinople's Greek

and Christian past, the poet correlates the Australian invaders as Christians who have come to

liberate the former Christian city and reclaim it as a white European city. By identifying

themselves as crusaders, the Australians could then use the legacy of medieval Christian powers

and religious wars to prove their own Christian identity. The poem was published in December

of 1915 which is significant for a few reasons. The Gallipoli campaign ended in an Allied defeat

and evacuation that began in December 1915 and ended in January of 1916, only one month after

the poem appeared in the newspaper. Therefore, its selection to be published in *The

Murrumbidgee Irrigator* most likely happened because the newspaper's editors either believed

that its message would resonate with the masses, or because the poem provided a specific

religious image of the war that would further Christianity as an important component to being

Australian.

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[64] Ibid.,

The Victoria-based newspaper the *Casterton Free Press and Glenelg Shire Advertiser* also invoked religion when describing Australian efforts at Gallipoli. A column published 7 June 1915 titled "Wiping Out Islam. ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND TURKS On Thoir Way to Mahomet's Paradise."[65] The title provided a powerful religious message without even examining the columns' content. "Wiping out Islam" was a clear view of the Turks as religious foes and that the purpose of the campaign at Gallipoli exceeded a mere military victory. It represented the triumph of Christianity over Islam. The latter part of the title speaks of Turks metaphorically dying and going to the Prophet Muhammad, whose name was sometimes rendered "Mahomet." The author's selection of 100,000 Turks being killed was an exaggeration as the Gallipoli invasion began in April and the column was published only two months later in June. In addition, estimates indicate that there was a total of 86,692 Ottoman soldiers who died, but that figure was the accumulation of the dead following the Allies retreat in January 1916.[66]

All of the above is based merely on the column's title. The content itself was a powerful but brief assertion: "The Turkish losses at Gallipoli are estimated a[t]100,000 to Saturday. The Australian lads are evidently getting even. 'Vengeance is mine,' saith the Lord, 'and I will repay."[67] The reference of the Australians "getting even" reflect Australians' frustration that the

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[65] "Wiping Out Islam. ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND TURKS On Thoir Way to Mahomet's Paradise," *Casterton Free Press and Glenelg Shire Advertiser*, June 7, 1915, pg. 4, accessed October 6, 2018, https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/152645792?searchTerm=gallipoli%20islam%20%20%20%20%20%20%2 0%20%20%20%20%20&searchLimits=l-decade=191|||l-year=1915.

[66] "Gallipoli Casualties by Country," (New Zealand Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 1 March 2016), accessed October 6, 2018, https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/interactive/gallipoli-casualties-country.

[67] "Wiping Out Islam,"4.

Dardanelles front remained deadlocked because of stiff Turkish resistance. The author therefore appeared to have been celebrating the fact that despite the limited overall success, the Australians were inflicting heavy losses on the Ottoman Army. The biblical quote about vengeance was from Romans 12:19 and implied that so long as God was on the Australians' side, that God would ensure that the Australians achieved victory; that their vengeance would be fulfilled. The power and anger in the newspaper article cannot be used as a template to describe how all Australians viewed and understood the battle at Gallipoli. However, it does follow a pattern of Australians understanding the campaign as a religious conflict and illustrates that Christianity was an important component to their identity.

Another example where Christianity was invoked by Australian media during the war appeared in a poem titled "The Spirit of the Anzacs. An Interpretation." Though anonymously written, the poem was clearly a patriotic tribute to Australians who fought at Gallipoli. The poem started by praising the foundation of Australia all the way back to its colonization by the British. As it transitioned to the Great War, it described how the war would unite Australians of all classes and how the effort was needed to defend the empire. However, following that message, the poem transitioned into a religious one. It read "O sad pilgrimage! Yet, o crusaders, is it not glorious to march with the soldiers of light to confound the legions of darkness?"[68] By invoking the crusades and pilgrimages, the author clearly emphasized that Gallipoli was beyond a conflict

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[68] "The Spirit of the Anzacs. An interpretation," illustration, The Queensland Digger, Vol 1, No 2, (1925): 21, accessed October 6, 2018, http://bishop.slq.qld.gov.au/view/action/nmets.do?DOCCHOICE=1393123.xml&dvs=1538858146073~492&locale =en_US&search_terms=&adjacency=&VIEWER_URL=/view/action/nmets.do?&DELIVERY_RULE_ID=4&divT ype=&usePid1=true&usePid2=true.

between nations and that Christianity versus Islam was a central component. It depicted Gallipoli as a place that needed to be liberated by Christians. Therefore, Australian recruits could become crusaders embarked on this holy war by enlisting and joining the army.

Pointing out the soldiers of "light" versus those of "darkness" most likely was speaking in religious terms as the Australians as Christians considered themselves pure, while the Muslim Turks were depicted as barbarous.[69] However, the elements of light versus dark extended beyond religion and reflected racial assumptions as Australians were primarily white-skinned and were fighting a foe in the Turks who were a darker skinned people bordering the Middle East. Yet the language of crusaders indicated it likely had religious meaning. One challenge to this poem was that aside from the author remaining anonymous, it was published in the *Queensland Digger* in 1925. This presents two possible problems when trying to gauge the poem's credibility. First, because the poem appeared in 1925, it was not necessarily reflective of what civilians and people felt at the time of the battle in 1915 but was reflective of Australian's long-term feelings about Gallipoli. Second, the poem was published in a rightwing pro-military journal whose audience was the middle class, which meant that its audience was more receptive to this imagery of Gallipoli. Regardless, the poem should still be taken as representative to how a substantial section of society saw the war.

Christianity was an important component to the Australian identity that was forged through the Gallipoli campaign and larger World War I experience. While Christianity had existed and been crucial in Australia, even when it was a British colony, the Australian home front, through the media and newspapers, intensified its importance while Gallipoli was ongoing.

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[69] Ibid.,

The military conflict was understood at least by some as a religious crusade, which crafted an image of Gallipoli as an arena where Christianity would overcome the forces of Islam. Famous Australians from Gallipoli have in some cases been memorialized as biblical-like characters. Scholars have argued the story of John Simpson Kirkpatrick, a famous medic killed at Gallipoli who collected wounded men while riding a donkey, mirrored the story of Mary riding a donkey to Bethlehem when pregnant with Jesus Christ.[70] However, Kirkpatrick was actually born and raised in England and traveled to Australia after he had fled the merchant navy in 1910. He enlisted in the A.I.F. in World War I as means to make his way back to England, but was killed at Gallipoli in the first several weeks of fighting. His legacy of heroism and sacrifice at Gallipoli have been portrayed as if he was the epitome of Australianism, despite that he was not born and raised in Australia because his story and its biblical characteristics fit the Christian narrative of the Australian national identity.[71] It also showed that despite being an immigrant from England, Kirkpatrick could become accepted as Australian. Gallipoli provided the opportunity for a major reshaping of identity and what it meant to be Australian. Prime Minister Billy Hughes and individuals within his cabinet utilized propaganda and the media to establish a new definition of citizenship that was linked with white skin, Christianity and the English language. In doing so, racism towards Aboriginals intensified as they became the Other who Australians compared

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[70] Bruce Kapferer, "Nationalist History and the Poverty of Positivism," *Social Analysis: The International Journal of Social and Cultural Practice*, no. 29 (1990):79-80.

[71] "Forging The Nation - Simpson and His Donkey," The Australian War Memorial, accessed October 20, 2018, https://www.awm.gov.au/visit/exhibitions/forging/australians/simpson.

themselves against. Christianity was a fundamental component in the emerging Australian

identity and was understood as being under attack at Gallipoli.

Chapter 2 - Gender Roles: Defining Masculinity and Femininity in World War I

As Gallipoli galvanized individuals within the prime minister's office to create a national identity separate from the British, the conflict also reinforced how Australian men and women were expected to contribute and interact in their society. The Australian government and businesses promoted the construction of masculinity and femininity as part of the war effort by using war-related images in marketing. Masculinity was intertwined with patriotism and military service, while femininity was constructed around the idea of women as symbols of virtue who would raise proud patriotic young men. The government issued propaganda that aimed at young Australian males and demeaned them for standing by while real men were off fighting at Gallipoli. Another tactic the government used was equating soldiering with hunting and sports as a way to appeal to young males' masculine interests. Businesses followed the government in these efforts and reinforced images of Australian men as tough and manly. At the same time, governmental propaganda began focusing on the importance of motherhood in raising and shaping the next generation of Australian men. The government pushed an image of women as needing to be encouraging and supportive to their sons, and their sons' decision to serve in the military. While expectations for women were supposed to be linked with supporting the military and their male counterparts, many women challenged their traditional roles by becoming actively involved in the home front war effort. Some Australian women got involved in patriotic voluntary organizations, others rejected the government's promotion of women's roles being subservient to men, and others even became nurses and went abroad to the Eastern Mediterranean where they treated Australian troops who were wounded at Gallipoli.

Masculinity and Service: The Appeals to Australian Males

Australian participation in World War I and the invasion of Gallipoli exacerbated notions of masculinity in a society where men prided themselves on maintaining a manly image and appearance. Masculinity and manliness specifically refer to the qualities a society accept as appropriate for or usually associated with being a man. Manliness was the most important social and cultural marker of the A.I.F. in Gallipoli as the soldiers wanted to live up to the stereotype of Australians as hard-drinking, swearing, independent, frontiersmen who were white males.[72] The government produced propaganda that stoked these images and portrayed Gallipoli as an arena where Australian men could showcase their masculinity to the world. An example is a poster that shows a happy young male who is surfing under the sun (Figure four). Above him reads the caption "It is nice in the surf" and then follows with "but what about the soldiers in the trenches."[73] To his right is an insignia from the Win the War League, a World War I era Australian recruitment organization, which reads "I Serve." The poster targets young males' patriotism and exploited their desire to be respected as full contributors to society. It forced them to question themselves as to why they should be able to relax and enjoy life while others just like them were living in the hell of trench warfare in Gallipoli. The poster challenged the masculinity of young men because it correlated masculinity and military service. It created a narrative where a young man could not truly be considered a man if he forwent the war.

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[72] Seal, *Inventing Anzac*, 10.

[73] WWI Enlistment Poster "It is Nice in the Surf," (1915), Australian War Memorial Collections-Oceania, Canberra, Australia.

The warfare at Gallipoli required Australians to tap into a hardened ethos and toughness to endure the rugged environment. Australian historian Peter H. Hoffenberg has argued that Australian soldiers at Gallipoli showcased a "pre-modern masculinity" founded in nature to confront a pre-modern environment at the Dardanelles.[74] This pre-modern masculinity equated war with authenticity and privileged violence over pacifism.[75] Yet these expectations for manhood in Gallipoli were not realistic because life for young Australian men on the home front bred a masculine identity far different. For example, during the first decade and a half of the twentieth century, some private schools in Sydney had cadet corps in order to prepare future Australian officers with the necessary mindset to be successful in war. These cadet corps trained middle class Australians and strived to craft boys into men by instilling duty, discipline, honor, and sacrifice, through a mixture of militarism and romanticism.[76]

Different activities and sports were infused into the cadets' schooling such as shooting, skirmishing, and tug-of-war to link masculinity with competitiveness and toughness.[77] However, the masculinity engrained into the middle class young Australian males turned out to be misleading as once those cadets graduated from the schools in Sydney they experienced a foreign environment in Gallipoli. Confusion and fear kicked in to the young officers. The values of honor and service, romanticized understandings of warfare, and notions of what it meant to be a

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[74] Hoffenberg, "Landscape, Memory and the Australian War Experience," 120.

[75] Ibid.,

[76] Nathan Wise, "Playing soldiers: Sydney private school cadet corps and the Great War," *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society* 96, no. 2 (2010): 186-188, accessed December 19, 2018, http://link.galegroup.com.er.lib.k-state.edu/apps/doc/A244716517/AONE?u=ksu&sid=AONE&xid=a90c84d3.

[77] Ibid., 191.

man that they were taught back in Australia did not transfer over to Gallipoli. In addition, these

cadets were predominantly commissioned officers in the A.I.F. and they were viewed with

respect because of their previous military schooling.[78] These middle class young men were

exposed to a genteel masculinity that ill-prepared them for the realities of war they would face at

Gallipoli. Yet these officers with private military school backgrounds represented a small

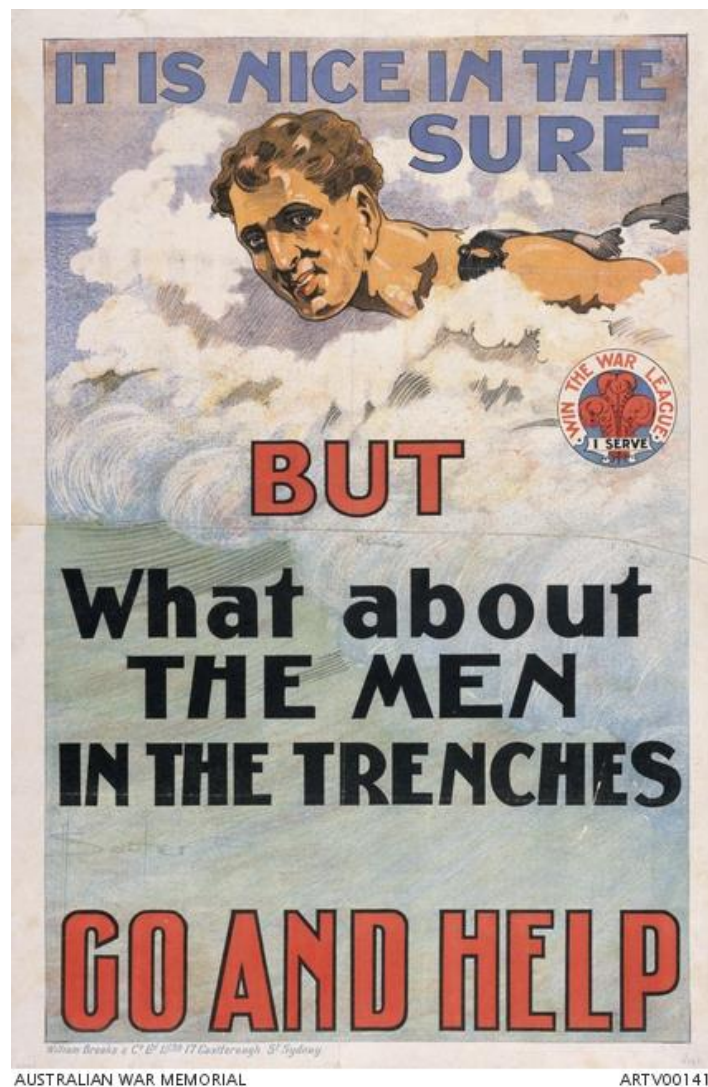fraction of the roughly 60,000 Australians who participated at Gallipoli.

Figure 4: A Young Australian male is surfing and enjoying himself. The poster draws attention to how it is nice to surf, but if he actually wanted to make a difference he should enlist. WWI Enlistment Poster "It is Nice in the Surf," (1915), Australian War Memorial Collections-Oceania, Australia.

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[78] Ibid., 193.

Working class Australians would ultimately comprise over two thirds of the 400,000 Australians that fought in World War I and they had different understandings of masculinity based on their lower socioeconomic status.[79] According to historian Nathan Wise, working class soldiers "not only carried over their attitudes towards civilian work into the world of the military, they also carried over their pre-war skills and experiences into a type of work that at times strongly reflected civilian work in pre-war Australia."[80] Manual labor was noted for its ties to masculinity because of the toughness one experienced in continually wearing down their body and utilizing their strength.[81] Military service appeared to take more of the function of accomplishing a task or going to work for working class soldiers of the rank and file. Whether it was digging trenches, repairing fencing, or collecting water; soldiers of working class backgrounds took pride in what they considered the most physically demanding jobs and those that put them closest to harm. Compared to officers from middle class backgrounds who had constructed masculinity on honor and service based on their class and education, working class conceptions of masculinity appeared to be linked with hard work. There was no clear-cut definition of what was considered manly as it depended on things such as social status, which is why government propaganda also used images of sports and the outdoors to appeal to young men.

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[79] Nathan Wise, "The Lost Labour Force: Working-Class Approaches to Military Service during the Great War," *Labour History*, no. 93 (2007): 161.

[80] Ibid., 169.

[81] Ibid., 167.

Hunting, shooting, and sports were all common activities that young males participated in on the eve of and during World War I and as a result, these images became incorporated into Gallipoli propaganda. An example is a poster that features a soldier standing before the coast (Figure five) and several different athletes and sportsmen including cricket players, small game hunters, and rugby players. The caption on the poster preaches a message of unity to counter class divisions and togetherness as it states "join together, train together, embark together, and fight together."[82] Below that there is a message that asks for individuals to enlist in the "Sportsmen's Thousand" followed by "Show the Enemy What Australian Sporting Men Can Do." Several different aspects pertaining to masculinity are at work in the poster. Firstly, the soldier is positioned on a slight hill above all of the outdoorsmen. This is significant because it creates an image that the soldier is the ultimate outdoorsmen and sportsmen; he is at the top looking down upon everyone else. Therefore, he is the peak of manliness and all sportsmen should strive to reach him, which can only be done by enlisting in the army. Secondly, the message of togetherness in the form of training, traveling, and fighting together meshes well with the idea of teamwork, which is an important concept in outdoor activities and sports. The poster makes the case that soldiers experience the same sort of comradery as outdoorsmen and athletes because both groups have to rely on cooperation and support. This pushes the idea that sportsmen have the right makeup for becoming troops. Thirdly, the last line of the poster that is about showing the enemy what sportsmen can do is interesting because it is challenging the sportsmen to enlist. The challenge can be interpreted as fighting the enemy in warfare is the

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[82] WWI Sportsmen Recruiting Poster "Enlist in the Sportsmen's Thousand," (1915), Australian Government Department of Veterans' Affairs Multimedia Division, Canberra, Australia.

ultimate form of hunting and competing. By asking Australian sportsmen and outdoorsmen to enlist, it appeals to their competitive nature.

The correlation between manhood and military service is well demonstrated in the Australian war film *The Hero of the Dardanelles* (1915) by Alfred Wolfe. The silent film was released to the public in Melbourne on July 17th roughly twelve weeks after the Gallipoli landings. Although only about thirteen minutes of the original film has survived with the rest being lost, it is infused with military masculinity. Will Brown, the main character, is introduced as a young man who is joyfully swinging a cricket bat in his bedroom while wearing a military uniform. He looks up at his wall at a government propaganda poster reading "An Appeal from the Dardanelles: Will they <u>never</u> come?"[83] Will makes a symbolic gesture as he puts down his bat and reaches for his rifle. The bat represents his life thus far: being a young man he has faced few important decisions and has spent much of the time playing games. On the other hand, the rifle symbolizes manhood: responsibility, expectations, service- all of which are epitomized by the solider serving at Gallipoli. In selecting the rifle over the bat, Will is making a concentrated choice to forgo his innocence and become a man.

Another instance where the Australian soldier epitomizes manhood appears when Will tries to recruit his friends to join the war. Upon approaching a few of his friends who are smoking cigarettes, Will quickly became the center of attention. The men walk over to a pub

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[83] *The Hero of the Dardanelles*, dir. Alfred Rolfe, perf. Guy Hastings (Australia: Australasian Films, 1915), film, accessed December 26, 2018, https://aso.gov.au/titles/features/hero-of-the-dardanelles/#/titles/features/hero-of-the-dardanelles/clip1/.
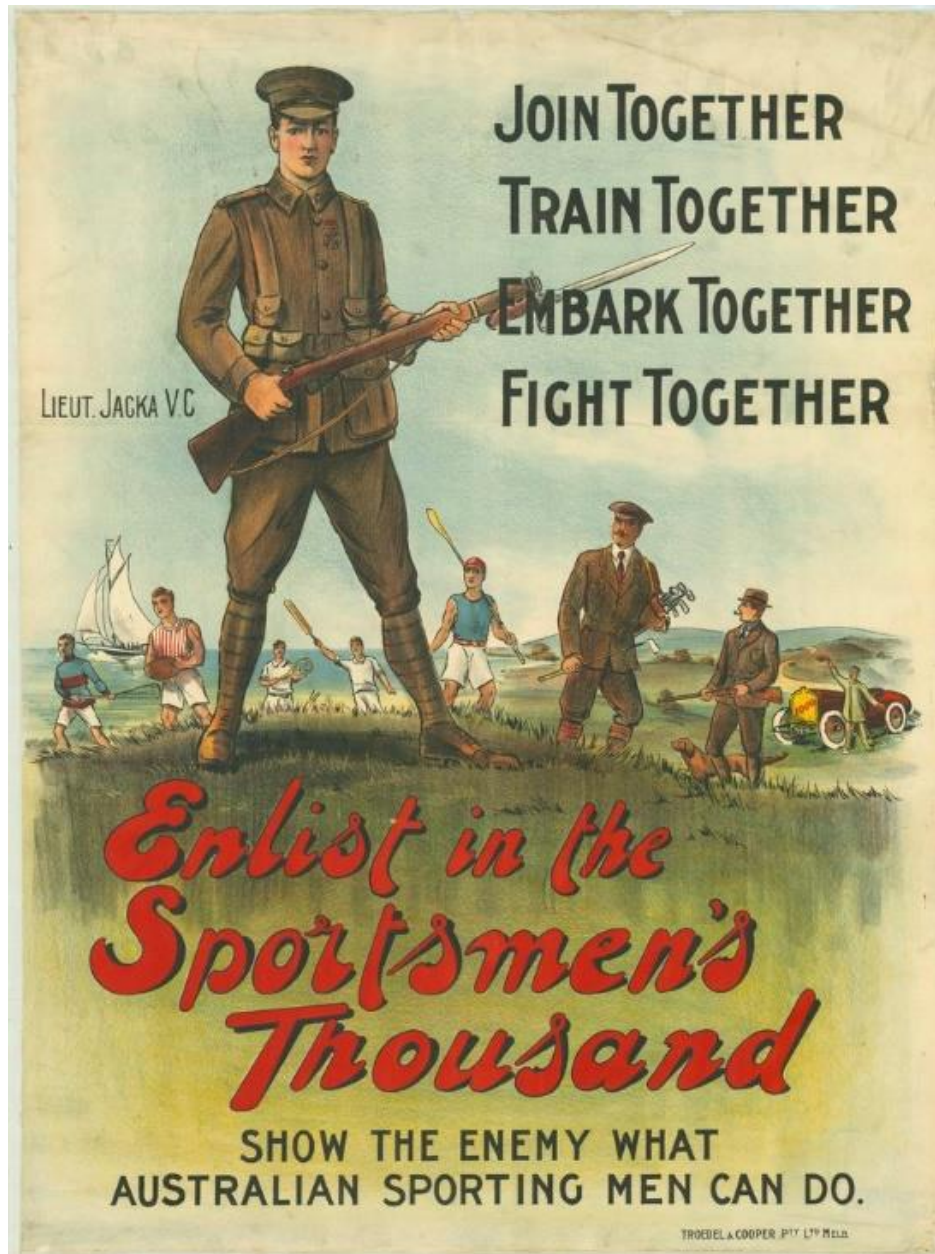
Figure 5: Image of young Australian solider amongst group of sportsmen and outdoorsmen. WWI Sportsmen Recruitment Poster "Enlist in the Sportsmen's Thousand," (1915), National Library of Australia.

where Will and company smoke and drink while Will discusses the war and likely encourages

the group around him to join the military. The portrayal of the group as drinking and smoking is

significant because in the early twentieth century both activities were social markers that were

linked with manliness. The popularity of smoking in Australia was a carryover from British rule.

In British culture from the nineteenth into mid twentieth century, smoking was a common

practice by men. In some cases, the tobacco was feminized into a lover by men, as if to say tobacco smoking was an alternative to women. Rudyard Kipling famously said, "a woman is only a woman, but a good cigar is a smoke."[84] Will then takes a government propaganda poster promoting enlistment out from his pocket and hangs it on the wall as he and his group admire it. As the group chats and laughs a stranger walks from across the bar and tries to rip down the poster. Will confronts the individual and forces him to stop and the stranger leaves before a fight occurs.[85] A few significant details are presented during the exchange. The stranger is presented smaller in stature and remains on the outside of the group whereas Will is taller, broader, and more muscular. The posture between the two men is quite stark. The stranger is in a defensive position and retreats closer to the door before fleeing while Will has a more aggressive stance and uses his size to intimidate the stranger. Displaying Will in such a way establishes the Australian soldier as an alpha-male and shows that other men cower in the presence of the soldier; thus the solider is the highest form of manhood.

The Hero of the Dardanelles' reception in Australia was positive as the public flocked to the theaters to see it. It was a large box office hit at a time when the Australian public was "… hungry for any news about the war."[86] However much of the film has been lost. Out of the original 59 minutes of footage less than 20 minutes remains, although a recent discovery showed

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[84] For a more complete perspective on the history of smoking in the British Empire during the Victorian Era see Matthew Hilton, "Culture: The Cigar and the Pipe in Victorian Britain," in *Smoking in British Popular Culture 1800-2000: Perfect Pleasures* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2000), 17-82.

[85] Ibid.,

[86] Stephen Vagg and Daniel Reynaud, "Alfred Rolfe: Forgotten Pioneer Australian Film Director," *Studies in Australasian Cinema* 10, no. 2 (2016): 192.

that the landing of ANZAC at Gallipoli in the silent film *The Spirit of Gallipoli* (1928) was

actually footage taken from *The Hero of the Dardanelles*.[87] Yet the film does clearly establish

perceived notions of manhood tied to the soldier as Will's character underwent a transition from

a boy to a man. The home front was associated as a feminine space as evidenced by the focus on

Will's mother and fiancé Lily, whereas Gallipoli was a masculine space where males

experienced adventure and where their strength and courage were tested.[88] Upon its premiere at

the Majestic Theatre in Melbourne in 1915, it was praised by the public for its perceived realism,

patriotic spirit, and for offering the Australian public a lens into what the Gallipoli landings

looked like. The lighting and backdrop of film shots such as when Will proposes to Lily are

noted by film critics as far ahead of other films from that era.[89] However, none of the footage

was from Gallipoli during the war; all of the film was staged by actors in the home front. The

footage of the Gallipoli landing was actually done in Tamarama Bay, Sydney, by real soldiers

who were training in Liverpool, Australia before they deployed.[90] Australians were

understanding and interpreting the conflict at Gallipoli based on footage that had no connection

to the front lines. Yet the film's message of Will transitioning from an adolescent to a man by

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[87] *The Hero of the Dardanelles*, https://aso.gov.au/titles/features/hero-of-the-dardanelles/notes/

[88] Glen Donnar, ""They Said It'd Be an Adventure": Masculinity, Nation, and Empire in Centennial Australian World War I Film and Television," *The Journal of Popular Culture* 51, no. 6 (2018): 1359, accessed December 26, 2018, doi:10.1111/jpcu.12741.

[89] Vagg and Reynaud, "Alfred Rolfe," 195.

[90] *The Hero of the Dardanelles*, accessed December 26, 2018, https://aso.gov.au/titles/features/hero-of-the-dardanelles/notes/.

joining the military is important because it further pushed the narrative of the solider as the peak of masculinity, and did so widespread across the country.

The correlation between manliness and military service in Australia during World War I and the Gallipoli campaign has also been well documented in Australian music from the period. Paul Watt, a scholar of musicology has written about how two particular songs, "For Auld Lang Syne! Australia Will be There" (1915) by Skipper Francis and Charles Ridgway's "Sing Us a Song of Australia" (1916) had thematic references equating soldiers and the war with manhood. Watt argues that despite having been written during the Great War, these two songs were not known nor designed with a military audience in mind and that they were known as patriotic songs sung by civilians on the home front because of their propagandist nature.[91] "The preface of For Auld Lang Syne! Australia Will be There" directly appeals to Australian masculinity: "Is it not fitting that Australia's manhood going forth to fight for the Motherland [Great Britain] should also take their own Australian song with them."[92] As Watt contends, the song implied that Australian men had reached a point where they felt driven by their manhood to defend the empire even though there was no conscription in Australia.[93] Therefore the song presents manhood as including unconditional loyalty to Britain. This is evident in lyrics from the song such as "Take the field with brothers o'er the foam," which established the Australians and British in a familial relationship, while references about taking the field likened the language

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[91] Paul Watt, "Music, Lyrics and Cultural Tropes in Australian Popular Songs of the First World War: Two Case Studies," *Musicology Australia* 36, no. 1 (2014): 95-96, accessed December 27, 2018 doi:10.1080/08145857.2014.896075.

[92] Ibid., 100.

[93] Ibid., 102.

used in sports such as cricket and soccer.[94] "For Auld Lang Syne! Australia Will be There"

became a favorite in Australia during World War I and was reissued several times. In fact, it

eventually became the official marching song of the A.I.F. after being sung in the presence of the

Governor-General.[95]

     "Sing Us a Song of Australia" was not as blunt with its appeals to Australian masculinity.

The song was written in 1914 by Charles Ridgway and debuted in London when singer Ada

Crossley performed to injured Australian soldiers.[96] In the first verse of the song there are

references to campfires and "a bushman" that alludes to the outdoor style of life on the

Australian frontier.[97] The song's embracing of the Australian outback and its ruggedness and

wildness implied a perceived level of manliness to whoever dwelled there. The soldier was the

apex of this because he conquered this rough and rigorous lifestyle and served his country. The

song also continually includes a line "shout 'Coo-ee' 'Coo-ee' Twill remind us of home, sweet

home."[98] The word "Coo-ee" is of Aboriginal origin with its first recorded use observed by

British settlers who encountered it being used by the Dharuk people around Sydney in 1790. It

became popularized by the British from then onward as a form of communication between

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[94] Walter Skipper Francis, "For Auld Land Syne - Australia Will Be There," advertisement, Australia Will Be There, 1915, accessed December 27, 2018, https://www.nfsa.gov.au/collection/curated/australia-will-be-there.

[95] Watt, "Music, Lyrics, and Cultural Tropes," 99.

[96] WWI Sheet Music "Sing Us a Song of Australia," (1914), Australian War Memorial Sheet Music Collections-Queensland, Canberra, Australia.

[97] Watt, "Music, Lyrics, and Cultural Tropes," 97.

[98] Ibid.,

indigenous peoples and the settlers.[99] It was also used by Australians and earlier British settlers out on the frontier to prevent becoming lost or if they were in danger. According to Australian historian Richard White, the coo-ee underwent a transformation in its use during the late nineteenth century as it began to appear in music and literature as a national ritual and became "a call to arms" with the outbreak of World War I.[100] "Sing Us a Song of Australia" appears to have had a reversed development compared to "For Auld Lang Syne! Australia Will be There" because it was initially produced for a military audience and would become a favorite on the home front, while "For Auld Lang Syne! Australia Will be There" originated on the home front but became the marching song of the A.I.F. The messages of these two songs, which allude to Australian men becoming manlier by joining the army and fighting to defend the empire, were not new in World War I as they follow other influences from the Edwardian period and British writers such as Rudyard Kipling.[101] However the songs differ from British ideas of masculinity at the time because they are rooted in purely Australian conceptions of manhood such as the Australian outback and the bushman. [102] With the combination of governmental propaganda, film, and music all spreading images of the soldier as hyper-masculine beings and what all men

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[99] Richard White, "Cooees Across the Strand: Australian Travellers in London and the Performance of National Identity," *Australian Historical Studies* 32, no. 116 (2001): 110, doi:10.1080/10314610108596150.

[100] Ibid.,

[101] Ibid., 94.

[102] For more songs and information about the role of music and in World War I Australia see Georgina Binns, *Patriotic and Nationalist Song in Australia to 1919: A Study of the Popular Sheet Music Genre*, 2 vols. (Master of Music Thesis, University of Melbourne, 1988), and Jennifer Hill, *Aspects of Australian Published Song, 1890–1914*, 2 vols. (PhD thesis, University of Melbourne, 2002).

should strive for across World War I Australia, businesses too tapped into the imagery of the soldier as the peak of manhood to sell both an image of masculinity as well as their products.

Will's Cigarettes was a company in Australia that issued different trading cards with battle scenes on the inside of their cigarette boxes during the Gallipoli campaign. One trading card shows a depiction of a firefight (Figure six) where several Australian troops are on the move, but one is lying on the ground mortally wounded. A fellow soldier kneels over him and asks him if there is anything he wants, to which he replies, "give me a fag, sir, please."[103] In early twentieth century Australia, smoking was a common phenomenon among men and was considered a masculine practice that was synonymous with breathing.[104] The cigarette card references masculinity and manliness because the soldier is essentially being asked for his last words. The wounded soldier could give the other soldier a message to tell someone back home, could say how he wants to be buried, or could become emotional faced with imminent death. Yet he simply asks for a cigarette. He does not show fear and maintains a tough image until his last breath. This image of a soldier's last request being included as a cigarette card is significant for a couple of reasons. First, it connected cigarette buyers with the events in Gallipoli. Based on the number of cards that remain in contemporary times, the cigarette cards more than likely prompted customers to keep buying cigarettes to see different scenes depicted. Second, it further

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[103] Will's Cigarette Card "The Last Request," (1915), Australian Government Department of Veterans' Affairs Multimedia Division, Canberra, Australia.

[104] Barry Jones, "'The Way We Were Then'. Perspectives from 1932….," AQ: Australian Quarterly 79, no. 3 (2007):6.

associated smoking with masculinity since this soldier represents the apex of manliness back in

Australia and customers could therefore feel manly themselves buying cigarettes.
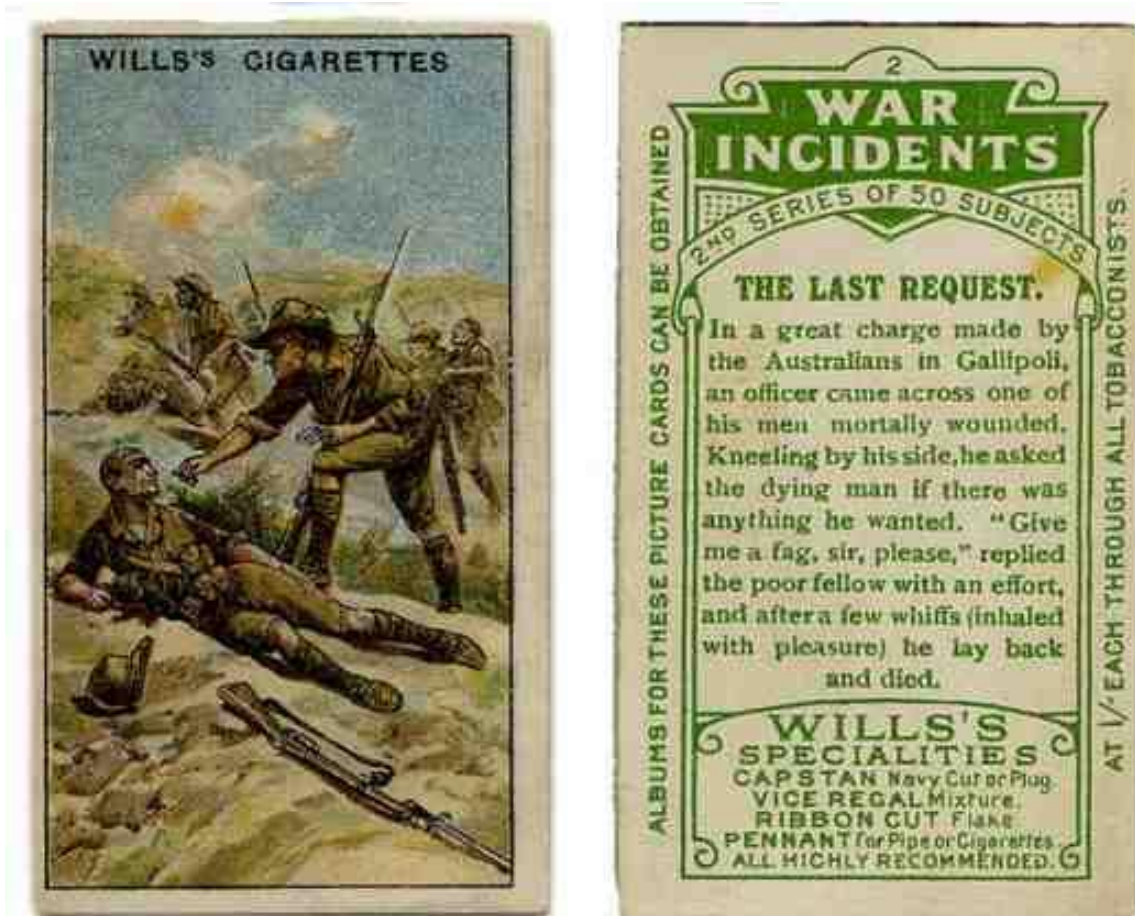

Figure 6: Depiction of a fallen solider at Gallipoli whose final request is for a cigarette. Will's Cigarette Card "The Last Request," (1915), Australian Government Department of Veterans' Affairs Multimedia Division, Canberra, Australia.

Will's Cigarettes released several cigarette cards to the Australian public while Gallipoli

was happening, all of which highlighted the soldier as the personification of manliness and

bravery. Another trading card demonstrates this as the image on the card is an Australian soldier

(Figure seven) who is carrying a wounded countryman off the battlefield. Artillery and bullets

fly right over the soldier, but he shows not the slightest sense of fear. The wounded soldier hops

onto his back clinging with all his might as he knows the peril the soldier helping him is in.[105]

The dialogue on the card described how the Victoria Cross, the highest and most prestigious award of the British Military has been awarded to many of the Australians fighting at the Dardanelles because of their courage and willingness to save their wounded comrades. The ad continues to push the narrative in Australia of the soldier as the peak of manhood. He is portrayed as being calm amid a military storm, a loyal friend who places his mates and their lives over his own, and a symbol of bravery demonstrated by him dropping his weapon in the middle of a firefight. Portrayals of men in this manner during World War I and the prewar period are not unique to Australia, however. Scholars have identified a "masculinity crisis" in the West between the beginning of the twentieth century and up until the First World War. There was an increase in the development of sports and athletics, a praise of muscular men who displayed themselves before women spectators, and even newer types of novels began to focus on detective stories and science fiction; novels that focused on topics unrelated to the concept of family.[106] Antifeminist literature appeared in high numbers particularly in France that expressed men's anger at being deprived "of power, pleasure, and the female body."[107] Such works included Georges Deherme's *Le pouvoir social des femmes* (1912) and *Le mesonge du feminisme* (1905) by Theodore Joran.[108]

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[105] Will's Cigarette Card "Gaining the V.C.," (1915), Australian Government Department of Veterans' Affairs Multimedia Division, Canberra, Australia.

[106] Michelle Perrot, "The New Eve and the Old Adam: Changes in the French Women's Condition at the Turn of the Century," trans. Helen Harden-Chenut, in *Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars* (London, UK: Yale University Press, 1987), 58-59.

[107] Ibid., 59.

[108] Ibid.,

Thus viewed in a larger context, Will's Cigarette's portrayal of the Australian soldier as the epitome of bravery and manhood fit into a larger masculine movement that permeated throughout the West. Yet the depiction of the soldier as the apex of masculinity in Australia during World War I and at Gallipoli through propaganda, songs, film, and ads firmly establish that the idea of proving ones' manhood was conceptualized by Australians as a justification to join the war. However, the question about what femininity meant and the role of women during Gallipoli and the First World War was not as clear cut.
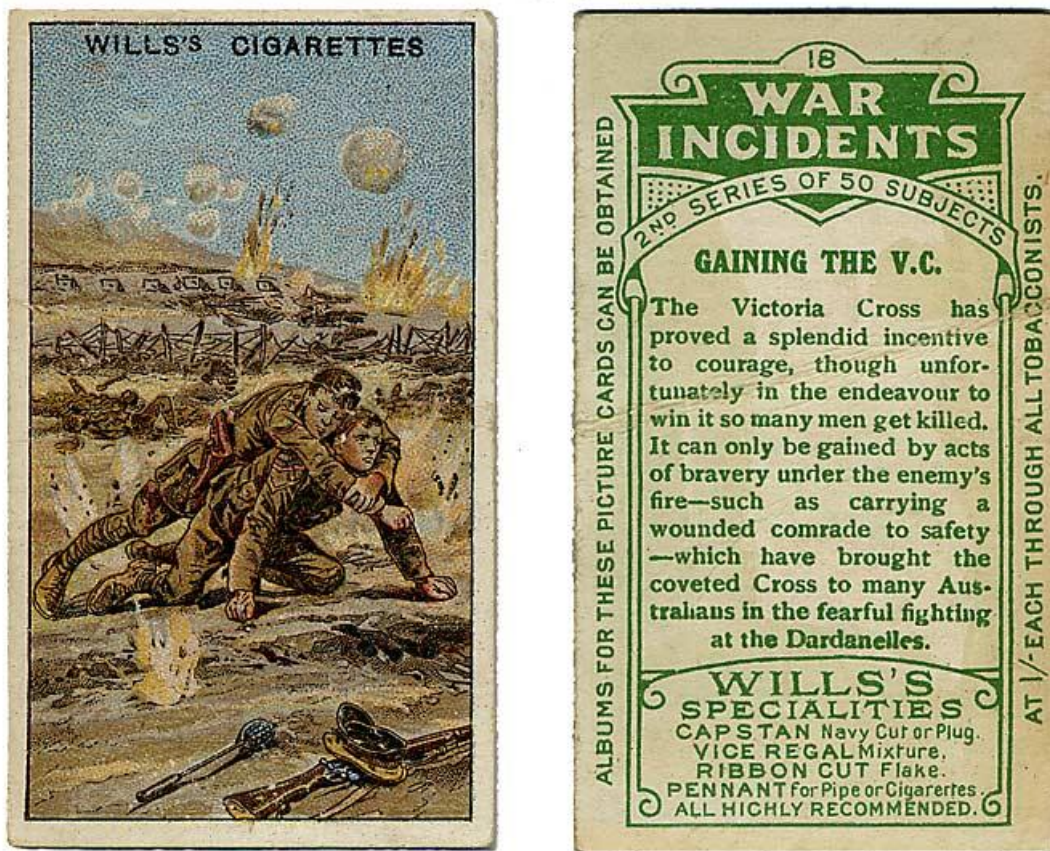

Figure 7: An Australian solider who rescues a wounded comrade amidst an intense firefight. Will's Cigarette Card "Gaining the V.C.," (1915), Australian Government Department of Veterans' Affairs Multimedia Division, Canberra, Australia.

Patriotic Women: Conceptions of Femininity in World War I Australia

During World War I Australian women had a complex gender identity on the home front. The government and popular narratives marked women as being both supportive to their

husbands and males, as well as instilling desired masculine values to their sons so they would grow up to be brave and ready to defend Australia. However, many women adapted their traditional roles to embrace the war effort by getting involved with and in some cases running voluntary charitable organizations. Some women opposed the government's desired role for women that tied them to home and family and argued against the war and for more political rights. In addition, some young women even became nurses, forgoing their role in the home front as they treated Australian soldiers that were wounded at Gallipoli at hospitals in Greece and Egypt. Australian women's experiences during Gallipoli and the First World War fit within a global pattern of similar experiences.

World War I featured state intervention in the economy and social structure for the participants at unprecedented levels. During the war years women's labor was crucial to sustaining the war economy. Women's improved employment opportunities led to many advantages as income became more equalized, child mortality rates dropped, and focus went on the "double burden" of married working women.[109] Yet following the end of both World War I and later World War II, there was a return to the prewar status-quo concerning gender roles with women leaving their wartime occupations and returning to the domestic sphere as returning veterans reentered the workforce. Historians Margaret and Patrice Higonnet have looked at the resuming of prewar gender roles following the world wars and have provided a solution in the "double helix" theory. The metaphor of a double helix allows scholars to look at women within the system of gender relationships rather than in isolation. The female strand on the helix is

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[109] Margaret R. Higonnet and Patrice L.R. Higonnet, "The Double Helix," in *Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars* (London, UK: Yale University Press, 1987), 32.

always opposed to and subordinate to the males.[110] According to the Higonnets's, the double helix shows that even though the roles of men and women vary from culture to culture, the relationship of women being defined in opposition and inferior to men is consistent. When applying this to World War I, women appeared to take a step forward during the war years as they entered the labor force and became more involved in public life, but they did so at a time when men were fighting in the masculine combat of trench warfare, a feat that was more prestigious than the roles that women filled.[111] The home front became femininized during World War I because it reinforced separate gender identities as it was men who were away at war in the trenches experiencing the bloodshed, which created a gap in understanding between them and those at home, especially women.[112]

For Australia, the double helix theory is not as applicable as is the case with France, Great Britain, and the United States and there are a couple of reasons for this. First, Australia never implemented a military draft compared to the three countries listed above, which meant that although a sizeable portion of their young male population were off at war, they were not as depleted as other Allied countries. 416,809 Australians enlisted during World War I out of a total population of roughly 4.9 million and those that enlisted represented about 38.7% of the male population aged 18-44.[113] This meant that there was not as large a necessity for women to enter factory work or jobs traditionally deemed masculine because a sizeable portion of males were

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[110] Ibid., 34.

[111] Ibid., 35.

[112] Ibid., 41 & 44.

[113] "Enlistment Statistics, First World War," The Australian War Memorial, accessed January 03, 2019, https://www.awm.gov.au/articles/encyclopedia/enlistment/ww1.

home. In fact from 1911 to 1921, the number of women employed actually declined from 28.5% to 26.7% compared to significant rises in other countries involved in the war.[114] Second, Australia was geographically isolated from most of the fighting whereas countries like France fought in their own backyard. However, while Australian women did not experience gender segregation as strong as other women from Great Britain or France, they still did face it somewhat because it was men who enlisted and fought at Gallipoli and later the western front and in doing so they constructed the front line as masculine and the home front as feminine.

During the Gallipoli campaign the Australian government produced propaganda depicting mothers as virtuous and patriotic who were in charge of instilling values into their sons. Motherhood became intertwined with loyalty to the country and the measurement of whether one was doing their duty as a mother in the eyes of the government was based on if their sons became soldiers. An example of this is a government issued recruitment poster (Figure eight) that shows two sets of sons and mothers. One shows a son with a disappointed face as if he has let his mother down and she is wrapping her arms around him as if to comfort him. Below them it reads "I didn't raise my son to be a soldier." This is mirrored with another son and mother where the son is presented in military uniform with a rifle leaning on his shoulder. The mom is shaking her son's hand and has the other placed on his back, which indicates she is proud.

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[114] Joan Beaumont, "Whatever Happened to Patriotic Women, 1914-1918?," *Australian Historical Studies* 31, no. 115 (October 2000): 275, accessed January 3, 2018, doi:10.1080/10314610008596131.

Underneath them it simply reads "I did" indicating the mother fulfilled her duty and did raise her son to be a man, evidenced by his decision to become a soldier.[115]

The contrast between the two families is stark. The mother of the soldier is proud because she has raised a son who embodies the Australian stereotype; he is tough because he is a soldier and is venturing halfway across the world to fight in a gruesome war. Meanwhile, the son who chose not to enlist is more hunched over compared to the soldier who stands tall. His mother's posture lacks the satisfaction of her son compared to that of the soldier's mom, and it looks as if she has to reassure her son that everything is alright because he lacks the strength and manliness of the soldier. The poster reads at the top "Whose Son are you?" with "enlist today" followed behind it. At first glance the poster appears to be focusing on the two sons and how the soldier has truly reached manhood while the son who chose not to enlist is not. This follows other understandings of manhood in Australia at the time as the soldier was considered the peak of manhood and there was social pressure placed on men to join the war as the public was unsympathetic to young men who stayed at home.[116] Yet the propaganda also speaks to beliefs about what a mother's role was in both society and the family. The pride portrayed in the soldier's mother demonstrates that she has fulfilled her role and instilled the proper values into her son. In a society where the soldier was epitomized as the apex of manhood and revered by society; the poster conveys that it was a mothers' function to raise her son to become the soldier.

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[115] WWI Wartime Mothers Propaganda "Whose Son Are You?," (1915-1916), Anzac Day Commemoration Committee Records, Stafford, Australia.

[116] Thomson, *Anzac Memories*, 28.

Therefore, manhood was directly linked with motherhood because it was something that could only be attained if one had a patriotic mother guiding him. This clarifies the posture of the mother whose son did not become a soldier. Her lack of satisfaction expressed in her facial expression and the body language of her son shows two different shortcomings. The son was not able to reach full manhood and has failed in the eyes of society, while the mother has also failed in her role since she was supposed to raise sons who would grow into loyal men willing to defend Australia. Even the clothing choice of the mothers mirror their sons as the soldier's mother wears a darker shade dress that is a more serious outfit, while the other mother's clothing is brighter and more light-hearted. The clothing represents their roles in shaping the virtues of their sons as the soldier appears more serious than the civilian.

Figure 8: A son's decision to enlist or not and the role of a mother in raising him. WWI Wartime Mothers Propaganda "Whose Son are You?, (1915-16), Anzac Day Commemoration Committee, Canberra, Australia.

The government's portrayal of women as patriotic mothers whose job was to support and encourage their male peers highlighted Australian perceptions of women during World War I as being family-oriented and tied to the home. Although these understandings of the role of mothers and women more broadly existed at the time because Australia followed Victorian values that assigned women to the domestic sphere, not all Australian women embodied this role. Women did work during World War I where they could find it and many volunteered for charities or organizations related to Australia's war effort. Anxieties existed across the West during the First World War about women entering the workforce in high numbers where women who worked in factories were correlated with "loose sexual behavior" and drunkenness.[117] The challenging of traditional gender norms in the Great War particularly in factory and industrial jobs led to women understanding their own contributions and role as a patriotic service, even though the postwar period did not see the same growth in women's employment as the war years.[118] In Australia, the number of women employed during World War I was only a little over one quarter of society and those women worked in jobs related to food, clothing, and printing industry jobs, all of which had been considered female jobs even before the war.[119] Some women in factories even worked their ways into union jobs where they were able to secure improvements in wages

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[117] See Penny Summerfield, "Gender and War in the Twentieth Century," *The International History Review* 19, no. 1 (February 1997): 7-15.

[118] For a comprehensive study on women in factories and industry in World War I Britain see Angela Woollacott, *On Her Their Lives Depend: Munitions Workers in the Great War* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).

[119] "Women in Wartime," Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, October 04, 2016, accessed January 07, 2019, https://www.australia.gov.au/about-australia/australian-story/women-in-wartime.

and working conditions for women.[120] However this was rare as only thirty-three women became

union leaders from the period of World War I up until the eve of World War II in Australia.[121]

Australian women became the most active during World War I through volunteer work.

Numerous voluntary and charitable organizations were established and filled by women during

the duration of the war. 82,000 women were involved with the Red Cross alone, whereas only

55,164 women were in paid jobs in 1917.[122] Other volunteer organizations included the Country

Women's Association, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the Australian Women's

National League, the Voluntary Aid Detachment, the Australian Comforts Fund and the Cheer-

Up Society.[123] Women's voluntary activism during World War I was wide-ranging as

organizations appeared from the rightwing and leftwing. The Australian Women's National

League (AWNL), for example, was a rightwing voluntary group that had 52,000 members in

1914 before the breakout of the war.[124] Founded in 1904, their stated goals included maintaining

loyalty to the British Empire, counteracting socialism, educating women of Victoria on their

political responsibilities, and to protect the home and children.[125] During the war they

encouraged donations of food, clothing, and any materials to the Red Cross Society. Following

the war, they expanded and focused on the welfare of children and women. Although the AWNL

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[120] Raelene Frances, "Authentic Leaders: Women and Leadership in Australian Unions before World War II,"
Labour History, no. 104 (2013): 11-12.

[121] Ibid., 16.

[122] Beaumont, "Whatever Happened to Patriotic Women," 273.

[123] "Women in Wartime."

[124] "Australian Women's National League. (1904-1944) - People and Organisations," National Library of Australia
Trove, accessed January 07, 2019, https://trove.nla.gov.au/people/598652?c=people.

[125] Ibid.,

was active during World War I and aimed to empower women by collectively organizing, it did not support the idea of women rising to political leadership. The AWNL believed that men and women had different interests and roles in society and considered political leadership naturally linked with men.[126] This is important because it shows that during the First World War there were some women who endorsed gender segregation. The AWNL demonstrates that Australian conceptions of femininity that tied women to the private sphere were not just envisaged by men but were embraced at least by some women.

Anti-war voluntary groups also featured women in high numbers. The Women's Peace Army (WPA) was one such example. Established on 15 July 1915, the WPA attempted to mobilize Australian women against the war by destroying militarism "with the same spirit of self-sacrifice that soldiers showed on the battlefield."[127] The WPA was a socialist anti-war organization established by Vida Goldstein that waged an aggressive campaign against Australia's participation in World War I as emphasized by the motto "We war against war."[128] Goldstein had originally founded the Women's Political Association and acted as its president back in 1903 when Australian women were granted the right to vote. She attracted other prominent women such as prominent feminist political organizer Adela Pankhurst and feminist

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[126] Ibid.,

[127] "Women's Peace Army. (1915-1919) - People and Organisations," National Library of Australia Trove, accessed January 07, 2019, https://trove.nla.gov.au/people/728075?c=people.

[128] Ibid.,

musician Cecilia John to join.[129] Goldstein strongly urged women to vote against conscription

referendums that were held in 1916 and 1917:

The time has come for women to show that they, as givers of life, refuse to
give their sons as material for slaughter, and that they recognise that human
life must be the first consideration of nations ... The enfranchised women of
Australia are political units in the British Empire, and they ought to lead the
world in sane methods of dealing with these conflicts.[130]

This statement and formulation of the WPA is significant because Goldstein began waging an

aggressive campaign against the war two months after the Gallipoli landings. Her understanding

of the A.I.F. as being used as a political pawn for the British is a contrast to rightwing

organizations such as AWNL. Instead of falling in line with the government and propaganda that

glorified the efforts at Gallipoli, the WPA and Goldstein contended the loss of human life was

not worth the fighting and argued against mothers' sending their sons' away to fight. In arguing

this, the WPA directly challenged the government's role for women as mothers who would raise

patriotic sons loyal to Australia. The organization saw its protest of the war as an extension of a

larger call for increasing women's rights. It fought for freedom through peace and

internationalism, instead of achieving freedom through killing others, which is what men

believed they were doing.[131] The WPA challenged both the government and rightwing women

that believed women's roles should be focused on taking care of the family and that women

should remain subordinate to men. The organization believed in trying to attain peace and

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[129] Kate Laing, "World War and Worldly Women: The Great War and the Formation of the Women's International

League for Peace and Freedom Australia.," *The La Trobe Journal*, no. 96 (September 2015): 120, accessed January

8, 2019, https://www.slv.vic.gov.au/sites/default/files/La-Trobe-Journal-96-Kate-Laing.pdf.

[130] Ibid., 121.

[131] Ibid., 124.

believed that women had the power to bring about this change through political participation and leadership.[132]

Another anti-war women's activist organization was the Sisterhood of International Peace (SIP), founded in 1915 by Reverend Dr. Charles Strong. Strong was the founder of the Australian Church, which was a breakoff congregation of the Presbyterian Church that was supposedly aligned with "the free democratic and progressive spirit of Australia."[133] The SIP's platform was that up until the Great War, Australia had always been at peace and that instead of blindly following the British into military conflicts, Australia should seek diplomacy and make decisions best for themselves and not the empire. Their motto was "Justice, Friendship, and Arbitration."[134] The SLP argued more for educating women so that post-World War I they would be informed and would vote for avenues other than war. Many women in the SLP were drawn to Christian pacifism as a means to opposing violence. Eleanor Moore, the SLP's correspondent secretary, claimed "there are many women who would sever their connection with the peace movement entirely if they thought it meant an open clash with their already harassed government.[135]" The SLP's calls for evolutionary social change differed from the WPA which wanted immediate changes. Yet, the SLP also recognized that by educating women and creating a more informed voting bloc that they could make long-lasting social changes. In advocating for women's political participation, the SLP was challenging the rightwing and the government's notions of femininity.

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[132] Ibid., 121.

[133] Ibid., 122.

[134] Ibid.,

[135] Ibid., 124.

The SLP and the WPA would later merge into one organization as they joined the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) which exists in contemporary times, but in World War I the two organizations remained separate.[136] The disunity between the two stemmed not from their larger goals of seeking an end to the violence of war and improving the lives of women, but by their means to reach their goals. They differed in their time frames for bringing change and their political organization. But both were prominent political voluntary organizations that formed as the Gallipoli campaign was happening in 1915 and both championed an anti-war and anti-violence message that challenged the government. Their political activism should be understood as both a sentiment occurring within Australia, and part of a larger international movement for women's rights that was occurring in the years corresponding to World War I. Efforts were made by both organizations to voice their beliefs internationally. The *Woman Voter*, a monthly suffrage journal published a WPA article in 1913 highlighting how "the curse of women has been her isolation…"[137] Likewise, the SLP also communicated its ideas with the international community. The organization's secretary Eleanor Moore wrote at least once to American pacifist Jane Addams suggesting that organizations "such as theirs" should join together in close bonds if they want to have any input in future crises.[138] Although these two organizations were part of a larger voluntary community for women in Australia during World War I, even some women who refused conceptions of womanhood tied with subordination to men and the household, actively supported the war effort. These included the Australian nurses who left the home front and followed the A.I.F. to Gallipoli.

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[136] Ibid., 118.

[137] Ibid., 121.

[138] Ibid., 122.

World War I was the first time that Australian women served officially as uniformed military nurses in wartime. Founded in 1903, the Australian Army Nursing Service (AANS) saw more than three thousand women volunteers join during the Great War.[139]   They were transferred across the world during the war with some stationed along the western front in France and Belgium and others in the Eastern Mediterranean in Egypt and the Greek island Lemnos. These nurses were charged with treating those wounded at Gallipoli. However, the decision to volunteer to join the AANS was often met with criticism. Despite being well-educated, many nurses had joined against their parents' objections. At the time, nurses had not long emerged from images that existed during the nineteenth century which depicted them as drunken and promiscuous.[140] Australian women's positions in society up until World War I had been confined and many had never been able to travel. For women who had a sense of adventure, the war was the chance of a lifetime.

Fraternization between the nurses and the troops occurred often. "The Australians and New Zealanders quickly gained a reputation for poor discipline, womanizing, and excessive drinking…"[141] Such open flirting was not something that took place in Australia. During any off time in Egypt, the nurses explored looking for souvenirs and traveling with many going on excursions to see the Great Pyramids.[142] But it was the horrors they saw in treating the wounded from Gallipoli that shattered their prewar expectations of adventure because it was far more

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[139] "Great War Nurses," The Australian War Memorial, accessed January 08, 2019,

https://www.awm.gov.au/visit/exhibitions/nurses/ww1.

[140] Peter Rees, *Anzac Girls: An Extraordinary Story of World War I Nurses* (London: Allen & Unwin, 2015), 9.

[141] Ibid., 28.

[142] "Great War Nurses."

traumatizing than anything they experienced at home in Australia. The mental resiliency of the

nurses was constantly tested as they had to remain professionally detached from those they were

treating. Alice Ross King, a nurse of the AANS who was aboard a ship transporting soldiers

wounded at Gallipoli from Lemnos to Cairo, Egypt claimed "I could not look or speak to

anybody without crying."[143] So many soldiers were wounded that in Cairo the 1st Australian

General Hospital which had been established in the Heliopolis Palace Hotel had to commandeer

a nearby amusement park to set up a 1,500 bed hospital.[144] The traumatic experiences the nurses

endured in treating the wounded during the Gallipoli campaign and World War created a

dichotomy where despite being women, they had witnessed the violence and brutality of war that

was supposed to be confined to men. In fact, some nurses were directly in danger such as when

the *Marquette*, a medical transport ship was struck by a Turkish torpedo. The nurses had to

abandon ship.[145]

Upon returning from the war the Australian nurses had difficulties integrating back into

society. Despite risking their lives and venturing to the exact theaters of war as the A.I.F.,

financial benefits and help that was available for servicemen was not granted for women.[146]

These nurses appeared to have experienced the double helix because even though during the war

they were given more responsibility, were allowed independence, and were relied upon as

critical assets to the A.I.F., they still remained in a subordinate relationship to their male

counterparts in the eyes of the government. The improvements they experienced abroad did not

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[143] Rees, *Anzac Girls*, 49.

[144] "Great War Nurses."

[145] Rees, *Anzac Girls*, 126.

[146] Ibid., 306.

return with them to the home front. However, Gallipoli and war veterans paid them respect for their service. An example was Elizabeth Rothery, an Australian nurse who enlisted in the AANS in 1914. She served for four years and in 1918 when on leave, she died of peritonitis. Her father, having already lost his son Henry at Gallipoli asked the government for a military funeral and was denied. Yet returned soldiers provided her a military burial anyway. Six veterans carried her coffin through the streets with a large silent crowd following. As she was buried the Union Jack and her uniform were laid upon the coffin and three volleys were fired.[147] The Australian female nurses of World War I occupied a strange space as they were women who endured the brutalities of war similar to returned soldiers, but they were expected to return to their prewar gender roles that tied them to the home. They did not exist in the emerging Anzac legend that came out of World War I. Recent scholarship such as *Anzac Girls: An Extraordinary Story of World War I Nurses* by Peter Rees as well as the Australian television series *ANZAC Girls*, which debuted in 2014 have begun to bring their stories to light.

During World War I, gender roles and ideas of masculinity and femininity experienced changes in Australia. Government propaganda both established the soldier as the peak of manhood and what all males should strive for to increase recruitment, while at the same time maintaining the prewar role of women as being tied to the home and out of the public sphere. Songs and even film followed this narrative as they began pushing the soldier as the apex of masculinity. Although manhood became clearly established in the eyes of the public with manliness being linked to the military, femininity and the roles of women became less fluid. Australia never faced the shortage of labor that other Western countries did in the First World

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[147] Ibid., 308-309.

War and as a result less than one third of women were employed during the duration of the war. Many women became involved in voluntary organizations where they exercised political action. Rightwing women tended to join organizations such as AWNL where they supported the war's cause by collecting and donating food and materials needed for the war effort. They also opposed leftist and socialist political factions who called for women to become more independent and politically involved by contending women should leave the realm of politics to men. Leftwing women's groups also emerged during the war and took form in organizations such as the WPA and SLP which were anti-war pacifist groups. Fed up with the number of men dying in Gallipoli, both groups argued that women needed to become more educated and involved as a political faction to help bring about an end to the war and also to avoid violent conflicts in the future through using diplomacy. A small group of women disregarded gender roles for women at the time and joined the AANS where they set off with the A.I.F. across the world to Egypt and Greece where they treated those wounded at Gallipoli. Upon returning to the home front after the war they were not recognized or memorialized like soldiers and had to assimilate back into Australia's prewar gendered society. The Gallipoli campaign was the constant factor that linked all of these gender notions and in doing so established what was masculine and what was feminine. With men enlisting in larger numbers to go and serve at the Dardanelles, the war front became a masculine space where men faced the dangers and glory of battle. The result of this was that the home front became constructed as feminine. Within the home front, debate circulated among women over what their roles should be, but it all tied back to Gallipoli. Those who remained loyal to the war did so to support the government and A.I.F. at Gallipoli, while those who opposed it did so because of the high causalities it inflicted onto Australians. For nurses, joining the AANS and going to the Eastern Mediterranean where they would experience

independence, responsibility, and adventure was the result of Gallipoli. Therefore, to them, Gallipoli provided the chance to have a different and exciting life. Gender roles in Australia where in a state of flux during 1915 when the conflict at Gallipoli was happening, but it was only one of the many changes in society. Another rupture that occurred in society and was a result of the Gallipoli landings was the commercialization of Anzac.

Chapter 3 - Profiting off the A.I.F.: The Commercialization of "Anzac"

The memorialization of the Gallipoli campaign involved celebrating the Anzac spirit- a process that involved deep praise of the A.I.F. who served at Gallipoli and World War I as patriotic, tough, and brave and the epitome of what it meant to be Australian. In 1916 the first Anzac Day was celebrated in Australia and New Zealand on April 25, despite the fact that Gallipoli was ultimately a defeat for the Allies. The memorialization of the A.I.F. has lasted into contemporary times with Anzac Day still celebrated annually, but from its earliest beginnings the government lost control of the construction of Anzac memory. Businesses tapped into the legend and began using the word "Anzac" and the A.I.F. for commercial purposes thus using patriotism to increase sales. This sparked a massive wave across Australian small businesses as they tried to use the popularization of Anzac to sell products as well as sell a new identity. The government, which had been using the image of the soldier to promote the new Australian identity at first allowed companies to register Anzac-related trademarks, but after the flood of applications, it took a stance opposed to the commercialization. The Attorney General of Australia began denying trademark applications and the Australian Parliament passed two bills in the *War Precautions Act of 1914-1918* and the *Protect of Word Anzac Act of 1920*. The government's regulation of the word was a backlash to the word's over-commercialization. In doing so, the government decided that veterans of the A.I.F. should be honored for their service and not exploited for financial gain.

Selling Anzac

The word Anzac became symbolic during the First World War for Australians (and New Zealanders). It embodied powerful imagery in Australia representing masculinity, sacrifice, and a distinct national identity as it transformed from an acronym representing the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps' into a powerful national word.[148] By tapping into language that resonated with the Australian public, businesses' were able to exploit the heroism of the A.I.F. at Gallipoli for their own financial gain. This is perhaps nowhere better displayed than in a *Sunday Times* (1916) poem that in an attempt to demonstrate the popularity of businesses using "Anzac" mockingly attributed the term to countless items including "Anzac booze," "Anzac stockings and shoes," "Anzac Street," and "Anzac dollar."[149] The poem was clearly a jest in response to the growing adoption of Anzac by businesses and captured the rising commercialization of the term as early as 1916. The word Anzac held a strong symbolic message for Australians as it symbolized an aspiring set of national values. Some went so far as to say that Anzac "is coined out of material more precious than gold."[150] Yet why was Anzac the specific word that caught on

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[148] Jo Hawkins, "Anzac for Sale: Consumer Culture, Regulation and the Shaping of a Legend, 1915–21," *Australian Historical Studies* 46, no. 1 (2015): 8.

[149] Edwin Greenslade (Dryblower) Murphy, "ANZAC," *Sunday Times* (Perth, Western Australia), February 6, 1916, 8, accessed January 15, 2019, https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/58009081?searchTerm=Anzac%20%20%20%20%20%20%20%20%20%20%20%20&searchLimits=l-title=93|||l-decade=191|||l-year=1916|||l-month=2.

[150] "Day by Day," *The Daily Telegraph* (Sydney, New South Wales), May 29, 1916, accessed January 25, 2019, https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/238677470?searchTerm=Anzac%20%20%20%20%20%20%20%20%20%20%20%20&searchLimits=l-decade=191|||l-year=1916|||l-month=5|||l-title=1297.

with business advertising? Part of the reasoning beyond the word's well-known recognition was its catchiness and easy pronunciation. Early twentieth century advertising in Australia was influenced by "catchword" advertising- advertising that had "jingling phrases" that the public would remember.[151]

Many businesses tapped into Anzac and the powerful images it carried in Australia. Historian Jo Hawkins has described that the word Anzac represented a "social currency" to Australians and that businesses trademarked themselves as Anzac for an opportunity to connect with a larger national patriotic ethos.[152] An example is a beer label from 1916 issued by Kops Brewery (Figure nine), a non-alcohol brewery based in Queensland during the temperance movement. At the center of the ad is a map of Australia and New Zealand with a map of Turkey below. Two soldiers, presumably an Australian and New Zealander are standing on the map in Turkey right on top of Gallipoli with a British battleship, the *H.M.S. Queen Elizabeth* positioned above them. Text wrapped around the image reads "Honor to the Living Immortal Glory to the

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[151] Commercial Students, "Advertising: How to Push Business," *The Register* (Adelaide, South Australia), December 17, 1908, 5, accessed January 15, 2019, https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/56999447?searchTerm=catchword%20%20%20%20%20%20%20%20%20%20%20&searchLimits=l-decade=190|||l-year=1908|||l-month=12|||l-title=89.

[152] For an examination into the history of "Anzac" in Australian advertising from the World War I era up into contemporary times see Jo Hawkins*, Consuming ANZAC: The History of Australia's Most Powerful Brand* (Perth, Western Australia: University of Western Australia Publishing, 2018).

Dead" followed with "Cheers" underneath.[153] Kops Brewery's Anzac beer labels were strategic in attracting customers for several reasons. The brewery's selection of using a New Zealander and an Australian soldier standing on Gallipoli together was important because it created a larger market and demand. If it only displayed an Australian soldier than the appeal from other commonwealth members may not be as high, whereas including New Zealanders could attract customers in New Zealand and increase sales and production. Kops Brewery had previously expanded a branch into New Zealand in 1904 but it underwent liquidation and went up for sale at auction in 1913.[154] Therefore their Anzac labeling campaign likely was an effort to reassert themselves back into New Zealand's market by appealing to images in this case Anzac, to invoke patriotism and national pride with their product.

The positioning of the *H.M.S. Queen Elizabeth* is important because the warship appears directly over the Anzacs standing at Gallipoli. The warship was a dreadnought battleship, the first of its kind as it operated on oil instead of coal. *Queen Elizabeth* became the flagship of the British fleet in the earliest efforts to acquire the Dardanelles Strait in March 1915. It was after this failure that the decision for a land invasion of the Dardanelles was decided. The *Queen Elizabeth* remained near the Dardanelles and served as the headquarters for Mediterranean Expeditionary Force commander General Sir Ian Hamilton and his staff. However, following the

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[153] Kops Brewery Anzac Advertisement, "Honor to the Living Immortal Glory to the Dead," Australian Government Department of Veterans' Affairs, 1915, accessed January 19, 2019,

https://anzacportal.dva.gov.au/history/conflicts/gallipoli-and-anzacs/resources/anzac-national-heirloom.

[154] A. L. Wilson, "In Liquidation. Sale of the Whole of the Plant of Kops Brewery Company," *Evening Post* (Wellington, New Zealand), March 20, 1913, 85th ed., sec. 67, accessed January 19, 2019, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/EP19130320.2.132.1.

sinking of *H.M.S. Goliath* by Turkish torpedoes in May 1915*, Queen Elizabeth* was withdrawn from the Gallipoli campaign.[155] *Queen Elizabeth's* placement above the Kops Brewery's beer logo implies that Great Britain was watching over the Anzacs in a parental-like manner. This sort of depiction meshes well with what other historians such as Bruce Scates have said about the British conveying their relationship with the Australians in a family dynamic. By including the British warship, it connects Australian national pride in the A.I.F. with loyalty to the larger empire and commonwealth.

The text "Honor to the Living Immortal Glory to the Dead" was a clever marketing ploy by the brewery because it merged Kops' beer with the emerging Anzac pride developed by Australians to honor the sacrifice and bravery of those who served at Gallipoli. A column from the *Brisbane Courier* published in 1917 on Anzac Day discussed the Anzac landings in 1915 by praising the acts and sacrifice of the soldiers and promising to honor their legacy. The author parallels Australians grieving over the Anzacs that died in Gallipoli to how Americans felt after Gettysburg. He draws a connection to President Abraham Lincoln's claim in the Gettysburg Address that the world would forget what the living said that day but could never forget what the soldiers who died there did.[156] Within a year of the Allies' withdrawal of the campaign, the Gallipoli landings were already being romanticized and appreciated in a national mythology. This was even though the Allies lost. Kops Brewery's label tapped into this sentiment and by

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[155] "Bridge Bell: HMS Queen Elizabeth," Australian War Memorial, accessed January 19, 2019, https://www.awm.gov.au/collection/C1216524.

[156] "Anzac Day 1917*," Brisbane Courier*, (Brisbane, Australia), April 25, 1917, accessed January 21, 2019, http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/20142936.

honoring Anzac veterans and the dead, they could construe their product as a patriotic

contribution to the military. By drinking Kops ale, one was demonstrating and advertising their

appreciation for the A.I.F. and their service at Gallipoli.

The Kop's Brewery label was one of the more prominent ads that used Anzac to help

promote a product, but many other businesses utilized similar strategies. Grocery stores appeared

with names such as "Perry's ANZAC Billiard Palace," which according to the owner were meant

to honor the over a hundred customers of his who had seen service at Gallipoli.[157] Anzac

brooches, Anzac soft drinks, and even cafes bearing the name Anzac began popping up across

Australia from 1915-16.[158] Yet they represented only a small portion of the businesses who

trademarked themselves as Anzac. There was such a high volume of Anzac-related businesses

that those in government grew concerned that the actions of the A.I.F. and their heroism at

Gallipoli were being exploited for financial gain. A 1916 column in *The Daily Telegraph*

expressed concerns over the rate that Anzac was being commercialized saying "We do not want

the Anzac Hotel in every town of the Commonwealth."[159] Australia's Prime Minister Billy

Hughes began to feel pressure from the Federal Parliamentary War Committee (FPWC), a

bipartisan committee established in 1915 to coordinate the national war effort to protect the name

Anzac from becoming anything other than a national name of respect. Hughes responded by

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[157] "Anzac Billiard Palace,"Wallaroo, Queensland, [Item 29/3484, Part 25, A432/86, National Archives of Australia],1915, accessed January 25, 2019, https://anzacportal.dva.gov.au/history/conflicts/gallipoli-and-anzacs/resources/anzac-national-heirloom.

[158] Hawkins, *Consuming ANZAC*, 20-21.

[159] "Day by Day,"4.

appointing Hugh Mahon, a Western Australian member of parliament to active Attorney-General.[160] Recognizing the commercial exploitation of Anzac, Mahon vigorously fought to enforce laws to prevent Anzac from being used in any sort of commerce, trademarks, and advertising. Because of the extended federal powers granted from the *War Precautions Act* in 1914, Mahon used the *War Precautions Act* presumably under Hughes′s direction, which enabled the federal government to censor as they saw fit during the duration of the war, to protect Anzac. On 25 May 1916, the *War Precautions Act* was amended to include a protection of the word ″Anzac″ under regulations 2 and 2A in connection to any sort of trade, business, or profession and that its use of a trademark was prohibited. This applied even to those trademarks that already existed.[161]

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[160] Hawkins, *Consuming Anzac*, 14-15.

[161] "ANZAC." Prohibited As Business Name.," *The Daily Telegraph* (Sydney, New South Wales), May 25, 1916, 4, accessed January 25, 2019, https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/238673489?searchTerm=War%20Precautions%20Act%20Anzac%20%20%20%20%20%20%20%20%20%20%20&searchLimits=l-decade=191|||l-year=1916|||l-month=5.

Figure 9: Kops Brewery beer label. Kops was a popular non-alcoholic brewery in early twentieth century Australia and remained so until after World War II. "Honor to the Living Immortal Glory to the Dead," Australian Government Department of Veterans' Affairs, 1915.

Protecting Anzac: The Government's fight against Commercialization

The government's decision to protect Anzac was met with significant scrutiny by Australian businesses who either wanted to apply for the Anzac trademark, or already had the trademark but were told they were no longer permitted to use it. Attorney General Mahon oversaw many of trademark applications and consistently denied them. Following the amended

War Precautions Act that passed 25 May 1916, a five-week deadline was given for traders to rebrand their businesses by 1 July without penalty.[162] Jo Hawkins has described that many of the earliest products with the name Anzac were aimed at men. According to Hawkins, cheap items such as razors, pipers, or handkerchiefs that were branded Anzac could be bought for personal use or shipped to servicemen at Gallipoli. Other items such as Anzac hats or Anzac watches could be worn by men on the home front. She argues that branded goods appealed to Australian aspirations of manhood, which allowed males on the home front to tap into the powerful image of Anzac while feeling like they were supporting the troops and being seen to do so.[163] However, that did not stop the Attorney General from denying their applications for the trademark. Even returned Gallipoli veterans were denied. For example, Clarence Campbell had served at Gallipoli where he sustained injuries and returned to Australia. He then tried to sell wooden children's toys under the company name of "Anzac Toy Manufactory." Campbell argued that he should be permitted to use Anzac commercially because he was one of the first participants to storm Anzac Cove during the Gallipoli landings. He contended he was "one of the makers of the name."[164] Yet Solicitor-General Robert Garran, on behalf of Attorney General Mahon informed Campbell his application was declined indicating he could not make any exceptions.[165] By coming down against Gallipoli veterans themselves who attempted to use Anzac commercially, the government and Attorney General made a statement to the Australian public: no one was permitted to profit off Anzac.

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[162] Hawkins, *Consuming ANZAC*, 18.

[163] Ibid.,

[164] Ibid., 22.

[165] Ibid., 23.

Australia's Parliament was skeptical of the regulations because of the process by which they were enacted. When the *War Precautions Act* was officially passed on 29 October 1914, the laws greatly enhanced the power of the federal government. However, they also enabled the government to pass legislation related to the war effort outside of the typical legislative process.[166] Parliament did not debate and ratify the amended regulations to protect Anzac and the government's bypassing of it appears in some of the parliamentary debates on the record. William George Mahoney, an Irish-born Australian member of the house of representatives was vocal in his displeasure for the process that led to the regulation of the word. Mahoney argued that the Commonwealth Government had acted "in an autocratic manner" by going outside the standard legislative process.[167] In addition, he felt that issuing of the regulations was "a prostitution of responsible government."[168] It is not clear whether or not Mahoney was in favor of the decision to regulate Anzac, but he clearly expressed disdain at the process of how the regulation came to be. Parliamentary debate records indicate that, other than Mahoney, representatives barely discussed the regulation of Anzac following the amending of the *War Precautions Act*.

However, it appears parliament held beliefs in line with the public in that members admired and wanted to glorify the actions of the A.I.F. at Gallipoli. Senator Patrick Joseph

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[166] Hawkins, *Consuming Anzac*, 15.

[167] Hansard Parliamentary Debates, 6th Parl, (1st Session,) Australian House of Representatives (1 December 1916), Parliament of Australia, Canberra, 9383-9384, accessed January 31, 2019, https://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/download/hansard80/hansardr80/1916-12-01/toc_pdf/19161201_reps_6_80.pdf;fileType=application%2Fpdf#search=%22Anzac%201910s%201916%22.

[168] Ibid.,

Lynch went so far as to deliver a fiery speech before the senate in which he argued that

Canberra, the name of the city housing the federal capital should be renamed Anzac. According

to Lynch, when the senate decided to name the capital Canberra they recognized it was simply a

name and one that did not hold any significant value or pride.[169] He felt that Australia should

follow in the footsteps of the United States who named their federal capital Washington after

their legendary hero and Founding Father George Washington, and that Australia ought to have

their capital relay an iconic moment for Australians.[170] According to Lynch:

When I speak of " Anzac," however, and refer to it as the appropriate name for the Federal Capital, I would urge that it has a wider significance than "Washington," because it represents, not the struggle for freedom by the people of one country only, but the effort put forward by our sons at the Dardanelles for the freedom of all the nations at present associated with the Allies' cause.[171]

Although Lynch's motion proved unsuccessful, it shows a complex dichotomy within Australia's

government in 1916. At the time Senator Lynch proposed this motion to rename the federal

capital building, it was only days before the regulations that protected the usage of Anzac as a

trademark were added to the *War Precautions Act*. Yet Lynch's speech shows no sort of

reference to the soon to be regulations of the word which means it is likely the amending of the

War Precautions Act by executive powers caught him and fellow senators off guard. Senator

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[169] Hansard Parliamentary Debates, 6th Parl, (1st Session,) Australian Senate (18 May 1916), Parliament of Australia,

Canberra, 7975, accessed February 1, 2019,

https://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/download/hansard80/hansards80/1916-05-

18/toc_pdf/19160518_senate_6_79.pdf;fileType=application%2Fpdf#search=%22Anzac%201910s%201916%2005

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[170] Ibid., 7977.

[171] Ibid., 7977-7978.

Edward Russell responded to Lynch's motion stating that the senate did not believe changing the name of Canberra was as big of a necessity as Lynch proposed and denied advancing the motion. However, even though he objected to changing the name of Canberra he said, "I indorse [*sic*] all that he said with regard to Anzac, and assure him the Government share the pride which the people of Australia take in that name, but we regret that we are not able to."[172] Two things become clear when looking at the two senators' positions. Neither of them made any mention to the impending regulations of Anzac that would follow in the coming weeks, which supports Representative Mahoney's claim that Parliament was not a part of the legislative process in regulating the use of Anzac. Also, the two senators' positions show that Parliament held the same admiration for the word Anzac as ordinary citizens.

The Attorney General's rationale for prohibiting the use of Anzac as a commercial trademark was based on fears that the original purpose of honoring the selflessness and sacrifice of the A.I.F.'s heroics at the Dardanelles were being exploited for sales. The correlation between the prohibition of Anzac in the *War Precautions Act* and use of Anzac as a trademark is important because there were several loopholes within the regulation. One could use Anzac regarding any event related to Anzac Day celebrated on 25 April annually, naming a street, road, or park Anzac so long as it was near a war memorial, in plain conversation, and even naming a child or pet Anzac.[173] And there were some occasions when the Attorney General who was

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[172] Ibid., 7980.

[173] *Use of the Word "Anzac" Guidelines*, Australian Government Department of Veterans' Affairs, June 2018, 3-4, accessed January 25, 2019, https://www.dva.gov.au/sites/default/files/files/commems-memorials/anzacday/Guidelines-Use-of-the-Word-Anzac.pdf.

known for his firm stance of prohibiting Anzac allowed organizations to use the word for commercial purposes. There were two such occasions where this was the case. The first was the approval of the trademark "Anzac Biscuits." Anzac Biscuits are sweet biscuits made from rolled oats and golden syrup. They are named Anzac Biscuits because they follow the exact same recipe as biscuits that were mass-produced in Australia and sent to the A.I.F. in Gallipoli. The reason they became popular at Gallipoli was because of their harder texture, high caloric count, and that they could be eaten in a variety of ways such as adding jam to them or grinding them up and adding water to make a porridge.[174] Why the Attorney General's office allowed Anzac Biscuits to be trademarked and sold on the home front following World War I remains largely unknown. However, it is interesting to note that a condition that Anzac Biscuits had to meet was that they would not change the recipe from what they used during the war.

The second area where the Attorney General's office was more lenient with the Anzac name was with voluntary organizations related to charity. While most voluntary organizations were denied using Anzac in their titles, if the charitable organizations could prove they were relatively large and well-organized they had a better chance. For example, "Anzac Club" was a voluntary group of roughly 400 members stationed in Williamtown who met weekly. By mid-1915 the organization had already sent 2,500 care parcels to the Gallipoli front.[175] Even after the *War Precautions Act* outlawed Anzac's use commercially, the Attorney General's office permitted the group to continue using Anzac until 1 December 1916 so that they could use it

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[174] Anne Marie Conde, "Anzac Biscuits," The Australian War Memorial, April 22, 2008, accessed January 30, 2019, https://www.awm.gov.au/articles/blog/anzac-biscuits.

[175] Hawkins, *Consuming Anzac*, 25.

through their biggest fundraising cycle.[176] This shows that the government lacked the same

aggressiveness they had permitting the word from being used in private commerce compared to

causes that were directly related to the war effort. The reasoning was likely because the word

was being used on a donation basis and had no profit motive. In addition, any donations were

being sent to the front instead of sold within Australia, so it was real members of ANZAC that

were receiving the aid. The distinction by the government in deciding there were some parties

who could use Anzac was important because it showed a recognition that Anzac was a deeply

popular word that resonated with Australians and showed that in cases where the Attorney

General's office felt any sort of exploitation was minimal that access could be granted. In doing

so, the government clearly defined the use of Anzac to protect it from financial exploitation, but

also ensured its continued use by the people to honor the A.I.F. However, Australian businesses

proved adept at adapting their tactics to continue to commercialize Anzac.

Organizations such as the Returned Sailors and Soldiers Imperial League of Australia

(RSSILA) emerged in 1916 and quickly became vocal advocates on behalf of Gallipoli and

World War I veterans. The RSSILA was founded by A.I.F. veterans of the Great War with the

intent of continuing to "provide the camaraderie, concern, and mateship" that had been

demonstrated by the Australians off at war.[177] The RSSILA had a membership of 12,000, the

majority of which were A.I.F. veterans and argued for the right to "position themselves as

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[176] Ibid.,

[177] Kerry Neale, "A Hundred Years of the RSL – A History in Badges," Australian War Memorial, June 16, 2016, accessed January 26, 2019, https://www.awm.gov.au/node/18132.

guardians of the Anzac tradition."[178] They were denied by Garran on behalf of the Attorney General citing that it was the department of the Attorney General that must uphold the protection of Anzac.[179] From that point in 1916 the RSSILA began actively lobbying on the behalf of veterans in advertising campaigns. A popular outlet the RSSILA used was the *Queensland Digger*, a rightwing journal that expressed political, economic, and social views and its main purpose was to help advocate for returned World War I veterans.[180] An example of this is an advertisement from the *Queensland Digger* (Figure ten) that depicts a soldier modeling work boots. The ad's marketing strategy targeted ANZAC identity. It asks the question why returned soldiers wear Avis Boots and then answers by claiming it is because the boots fit, wear, look well, and are manufactured locally in Queensland.[181] The returned soldier is used as a marketer; if soldiers who fought at Gallipoli are buying the boots and Australian society reveres soldiers, then buying the boots becomes a way to display patriotism. The ad suggested that buying the boots was patriotic and that owners of Avis boots shared traits in common with ANZAC soldiers. Thus buyers were promised the ability to feel like they were showing solidarity with veterans and that they were themselves part of ANZAC, especially if they never served.

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[178] Hawkins, *Consuming Anzac*, 23.

[179] Ibid.,

[180] Seal, *Inventing Anzac*, 102.

[181] Avis Brand, "Why Does the Returned Soldier Wear Avis Brand Boots?," Illustration, *The Queensland Digger*, Vol 1, No 1, (1925): 8, accessed March 30, 2018, http://bishop.slq.qld.gov.au/view/action/nmets.do?DOCCHOICE=1393123.xml&dvs=1548527240006~653&locale =en_US&search_terms=&adjacency=&VIEWER_URL=/view/action/nmets.do?&DELIVERY_RULE_ID=4&divT ype=&usePid1=true&usePid2=true.

The ad's stress that the boots were made in Queensland is significant as well because it suggested that soldiers were drawn to buy local products, which tied patriotism and love for country, as epitomized by the solider, with domestic economic production. This was significant because at the beginning of the twentieth century Australia was transforming from a production-based export economy to a consuming one.[182] Therefore Avis's business tactic of using veterans to encourage consumers to shop locally was a concentrated effort to gain an advantage over competitive foreign markets that competed with them in Australia's domestic market.
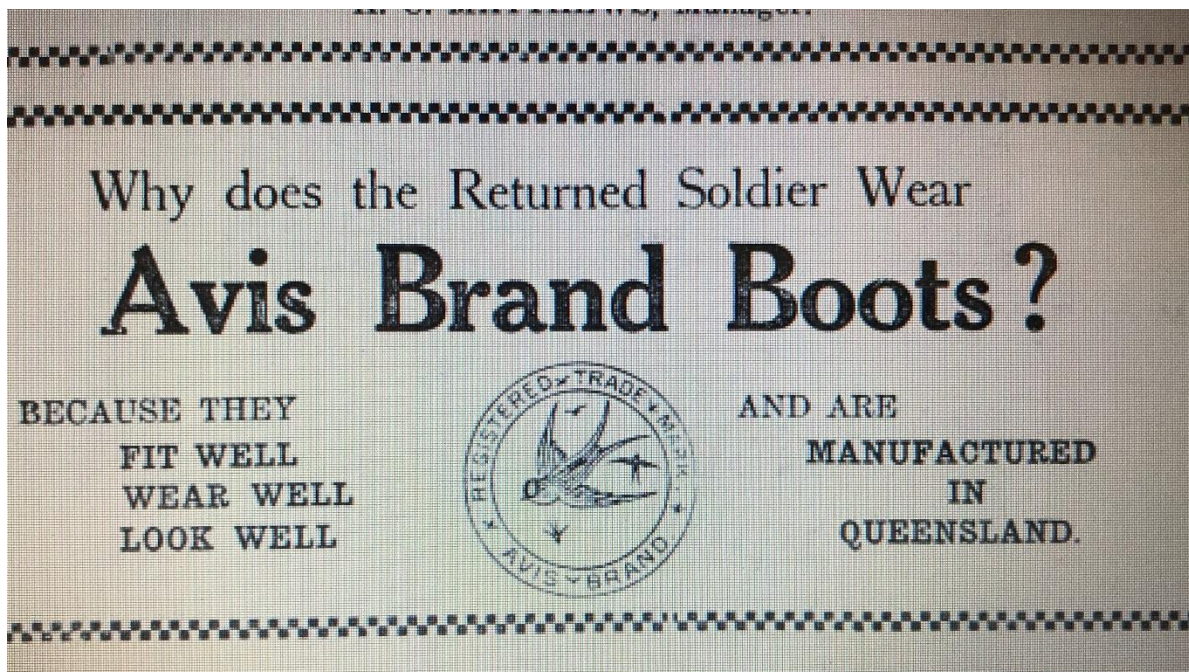

Figure 10: Image of Avis Brand Boots. Ad was designed to encourage boot sales by connecting boots with WWI veterans. Avis Brand, "Why Does the Returned Soldier Wear Avis Brand Boots?," Illustration, The Queensland Digger, Vol 1, No 1, (1925): 8.

The ad was strategic because it glorified the A.I.F. and Australian veterans in a manner similar to how Anzac was being commercialized in 1915-16, yet it did not face legal challenges from the government because the word Anzac was not exploited or trademark. Following the end

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[182] Hawkins, *Consuming Anzac*, 13.

of World War I, the *War Precautions Act* was repealed in 1919 and the extended federal powers it granted ceased. However, the provision concerning the government's regulation of Anzac persisted on the books in the form of the *Protection of Word Anzac Regulations* enacted in December of 1920, which contained the same language as the *War Precautions Act*.[183] The government had realized that without its regulation the word would continue to be exploited by businesses and so Anzac remained regulated by the government in 1920 and that has remained the case into present day. Even though the war was over, Anzac's use in commerce was still illegal. The *Queensland Digger* did not create advertisements themselves but instead acted as a third party and promoted ads, which aligned with their own interests of promoting the troops. The RSSILA continued to grow postwar with its membership rising from 12,000 in 1916 to 167,000 members by 1920.[184] Because the organization's platform focused on helping returned veterans the *Queensland Digger* also displayed ads helping veterans find work.

Conscription was a heavily debated topic throughout Australia in World War I and although it never passed, a large percentage of the population enlisted in the military. According to the Australian War Memorial, out of a population of roughly five million people, 416,809 men enlisted. Following the war's end many of those troops returned unhindered, but about 156,000 returned to Australia wounded, gassed, or after having been prisoners of war.[185] Attempting to integrate so many workers back onto the home front and into the Australian economy was not an

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[183] Hawkins, *Consuming Anzac*, 29.

[184] Ibid., 35.

[185] "First World War 1914-18," Australian War Memorial, accessed January 26, 2019, https://www.awm.gov.au/articles/atwar/first-world-war.

easy task. The war never left a significant hole in the workforce such as what happened in the Britain which led to women entering the workforce in larger numbers and changing their jobs to take advantage of better paying opportunities. With such a larger percentage of the population returning from the war and many of which were injured the *Queensland Digger* began featuring ads that appealed to veterans as workers. One example is an ad for "State" sponsored Jams and Jellies (Figure eleven) that advocates for customers to buy their canned pineapple tomato sauce.[186] The jam and jellies ad encourages customers to buy their produce and cites three reasons why with the first being "These products are made mostly from produce cultivated by ex-Soldiers of the A.I.F."[187] In emphasizing that ex-soldiers harvested the crop, the state-run company appealed to the government's desired national identity for Australians as people who were highly patriotic and supported their military with an emphasis on the soldiers who fought in Gallipoli. It presented an opportunity to the public to support the troops by buying governmental food, and by doing so, show their continued admiration and support for the soldiers. This also helped the government with sales, so that it could recoup the deficits that accrued because of Australia's involvement in World War I. From 1914-18 the Australian government spent

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[186] State Brand, "Ex-Soldiers and Friends! You Should Always Order 'State' Brand Jams and Jellies," Illustration, The Queensland Digger, Vol 1, (1925): 11, accessed March 30, 2018, http://bishop.slq.qld.gov.au/view/action/nmets.do?DOCCHOICE=1393123.xml&dvs=1548532734472~479&locale=en_US&search_terms=&adjacency=&VIEWER_URL=/view/action/nmets.do?&DELIVERY_RULE_ID=4&divType=&usePid1=true&usePid2=true.

[187] Ibid.,

$1,423,208,000 on its war effort.[188] While the RSSILA did actively support Gallipoli veterans and their reintegration back on to the home front, the organization at times came under scrutiny because of links to racism and violence.

In 1919 a serious labor dispute occurred among miners around Kalgoorlie, Australia when a returned veteran was stabbed by an Italian immigrant, which resulted in extensive anti-Southern European rioting and racism from Australians. The riot has been said to have been orchestrated by the RSSILA, which promoted white nationalism and racist ideology.[189] Following World War I and the Bolshevik Revolution, the Red Scare was a global phenomenon with countries across the West afraid that communism might spread to them. In that global context, the RSSILA's violence towards peoples who were not a part of the emerging national identity should be understood as anti-immigrant as well as perceived anti-communist. The RSSILA deemed themselves as an anti-labor force and used violent means against the labor movement including physical violence sanctioned by police and rightwing press outlets.[190] Before the arrest of the Italian immigrant who stabbed the veteran, the president of the Kalgoorlie RSSILA branch who was visiting Perth urged his members to assist law enforcement in apprehending the suspect and to use peaceful means. His secretary responded "Returned soldiers moved all foreigners leave Goldfields by Saturday night or be deported. Rank and file

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[188] "WW1 – Financial Cost of World War One," Heritage Archives and Library Research and Collection Services, December 4, 2014, accessed January 30, 2019, http://arc.parracity.nsw.gov.au/blog/2014/12/04/ww1-financial-cost-of-world-war-one/.

[189] Sarah Gregson, "It All Started on the Mines'? The 1934 Kalgoorlie Race Riots Revisited," *Labour History*, no. 80 (2001):21-23.

[190] Ibid., 22.

have position in hand. Hell itself will not bluff them. Don't worry."[191] The response indicates that

not only did RSSILA members help apprehend the suspect who was working in a gold mine,

they intimidated all Italian and Southern European immigrants in the town. The organizations'

willingness to go beyond its stated orders and choice to use the threat of violence and

intimidation to frighten ethnic minorities shows a clear agenda: to support white Australian

workers who were veterans. Their actions fit into the larger national identity that was being

constructed during World War I that tied what it meant to be Australian with whiteness.
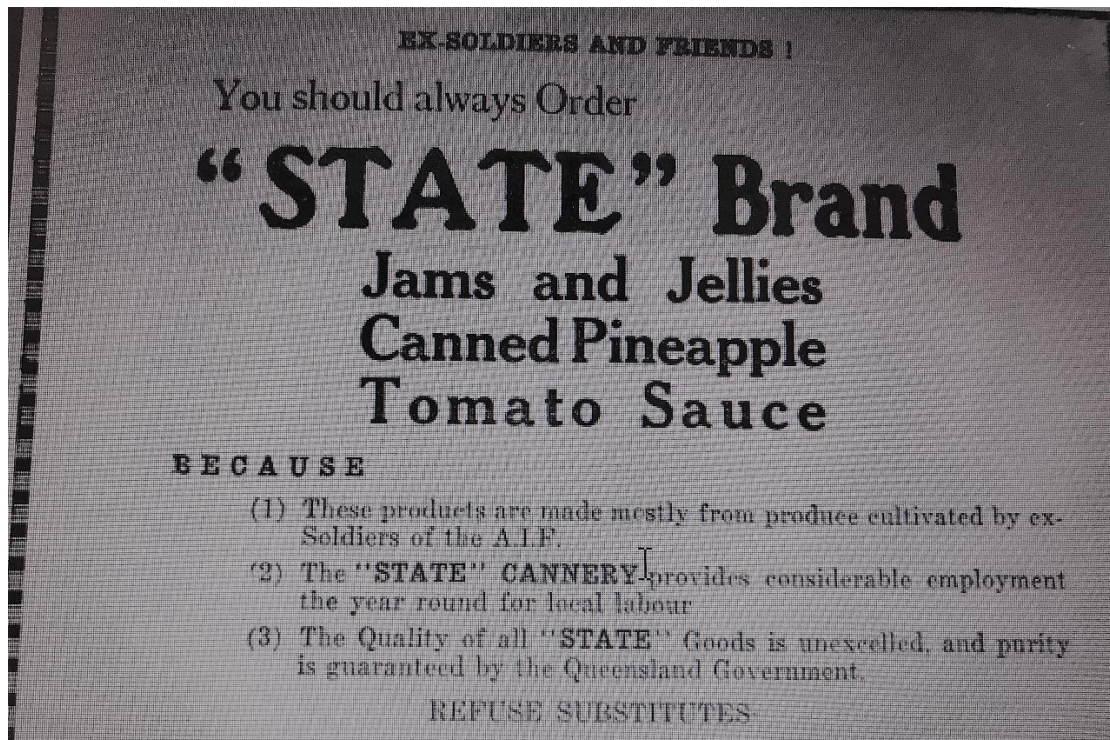

Figure 11: State-run produce company encouraging customers to buy their products by emphasizing crop harvested by ex-soldiers. State Brand, "Ex-Soldiers and Friends! You Should Always Order 'State' Brand Jams and Jellies," Illustration, The Queensland Digger, Vol 1, No 1, (1925): 11.

[191] Ibid., 23.

Immediately following the Gallipoli landings, the word Anzac appeared in the everyday lexicon of Australians on the home front. Because of the deep national connotations of the word that represented sacrifice, honor, and bravery, the word evolved from merely a way of honoring Gallipoli veterans into advertising. Businesses tapped into the deep national value Anzac represented and began trademarking and branding themselves and their products to capitalize on a patriotic home front to make profits. By early 1916 so many businesses had incorporated Anzac into their trademarks and advertising that the government began growing concerned that the patriotic sacrifice of the A.I.F. at Gallipoli were becoming overshadowed by consumerism and that the heroics of the Anzacs were being financially exploited. In May of 1916 the *War Precautions Act* was amended to include regulations to prohibit the use of Anzac in any trademarks related to commerce. The Attorney General and his office was granted the authority to enforce these regulations and they did so aggressively as they denied nearly every trademark application. The passage of the regulations surprised and angered members of parliament because they came from executive powers since the *War Precautions Act* enabled extraordinary wartime powers to the prime minister and allowed him to go around parliament in enacting laws related to the war effort. Following the regulation of Anzac, businesses and organizations that wanted to use imagery of the military needed to get more creative and use words other than Anzac. This gave rise to the RSSILA which acted as an organization that promoted veterans and featured advertising in their journal the *Queensland Digger* that showed A.I.F. veterans. Following the end of World War I, the *War Precautions Act* was repealed, and the censorship and enhanced executive powers were restored to the prewar level. Yet the clause relating to the protection of Anzac remained on the books in the form of the *Protect of Word Anzac Act of 1920* after the *War Precautions Act* was repealed in 1919. However, it contained the same language

concerning the use of Anzac as the *War Precautions Act*. To this date Australia's most powerful

brand remains regulated in Australia.

Conclusion

Australia's participation at Gallipoli had a profound impact on the country's direction coming out of World War I. What had been a country with no national historical moments of unity suddenly had a powerful unifying experience that was the First World War. Australians looked to Gallipoli as their Gettysburg moment in which Australians had faced the obstacle to obtaining nationhood and conquered it. The campaign was intentionally portrayed by the government and media as a way to create a uniquely Australia national identity in order for Australia to separate itself from the British. It provided Australians an opportunity to define themselves and they did so by correlating what it meant to be a true Australian with being an English-speaking, white, Christian. These characteristics of national identity largely followed those that had been implemented under the British. However, white skin and the English language allowed for other peoples of the British Isles such as the Irish, Welsh, and Scottish to more easily assimilate and become Australian.

The Gallipoli campaign was also important in how Australians defined what was considered masculine and what was considered feminine. The soldier became the apex of masculinity in Australia as he represented strength, sacrifice, and courage as he endured the brutalities of war. Men who did not become a soldier were considered non-masculine and were presented in media and advertisements as weak. By presenting the solider and the front line as masculine it feminized the home front. Gallipoli complicated notions of femininity for Australian women. Rightwing women used the campaign to reinforce the gendered segregation of men and women and agreed with the government that believed the role of women should be as supportive wives and guardians of the home. Yet some women used Gallipoli to argue for an

increased role for women in government pertaining to policy and decision-making. Some leftwing women became vocal opponents to the invasion of Gallipoli through organizations such as the Women's Peace Army and Sisterhood of International Peace. They argued against gender segregation and believed in educating women with the hope they would someday have an equal political voice as males. Another faction of women that fell outside the political debate over the role of womanhood were the nurses who joined the Australian Army Nursing Service. Those women ventured across the world following the A.I.F. to Egypt and the Greek island of Lemnos where they treated wounded Gallipoli soldiers. They saw themselves as serving their country just like their male counterparts, but upon their return from the war, their service was not recognized like the soldiers and they were forced to assimilate back into a deeply gendered society.

The heroism of ANZAC at Gallipoli quickly reached Australia. The word Anzac became adopted into the lexicon of everyday conversation. The word became a way to honor the service and sacrifice of the soldiers who served at Gallipoli. For this reason, Anzac had deep national connotations among Australians. However, by 1915 Australian businesses had started using Anzac in their trademarks, business titles, and advertisements. It was not long before there were so many businesses using Anzac that the government decided to step in and protect Anzac, a word of immeasurable value to Australians from being exploited for financial gain. The government prohibited the use of Anzac for commercial purposes under the *War Precautions Act* in 1916. Yet organizations such as the Returned Sailors and Soldiers Imperial League continued trying to use the soldier to sell products in advertising despite the regulations.

Contemporary scholars have debated whether the Gallipoli invasion should have been attempted in 1915. Its architect Winston Churchill was ostracized by the British government and demoted. The campaign proved to be unsuccessful for the Allies as they evacuated the peninsula

after 44,150 of their troops died, 8,709 of which were Australian.[192] It is rather astonishing that any Allied participant to the battle could look past the horror and brutality that transpired in the ten months of fighting and come away prideful. But that was precisely what happened with Australia. Through the country's baptism by fire, Australia emerged from Gallipoli with a sense of pride and identity. This thesis has described how a society without a national identity or history of its own was able to take a devastating tragedy and turn it into the genesis of a new nation. The battle was far more than just a military engagement, it was a social experience that enabled members within the Australian government to formulate a national identity and restructure society into the image it desired. The question of why Gallipoli was the moment in which such identity formation occurred is a question that future scholars should continue to strive and answer.

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