

## REVIEWS

to conduct a war with Germany, an important contribution in the broader historiography on how and why Britain went to war in 1914.

This is not to suggest that the image of naval planning presented by the book is a wholly positive one. Many of the plans outlined in *Strategy and War Planning* are incompatible, and at times plainly contradictory. The author largely leaves it up to the reader to make their own minds up regarding the viability of the various operations described. In particular, one is left wondering what Grimes' views are on the recurrent theme of littoral and amphibious operations on the German coast.

It should be noted that, despite the title, this is a book about war planning, not strategy. Strategy is a combination of the policy ends which are desired to be achieved, and the means which will be used to achieve them. *Strategy and War Planning* focuses on the latter and not the former. Indeed it does not really engage with the political side of the Royal Navy's strategic development at all. At times, this can lead to some slightly strange conclusions. In particular, Grimes underplays the fundamental challenges facing the Royal Navy from 1905, resulting from the possibility of Britain fighting a war with Germany in support of France. This does not undermine the importance of the work in terms of setting out naval war planning, but it does mean that it needs to be read with a clear sense of the political and policy context.

*Strategy and War Planning* is an important new work which adds considerably to the scholarship on the Edwardian and First World War Royal Navy. In charting the course of naval planning, the book provides considerable scope for engagement from all sides in the current debate. Beyond this the book, together with other works recently released on naval policy by Stephen Cobb, Nicholas Lambert and Matthew Seligmann, highlights the need to return the Senior Service to what remains a largely khaki debate on British strategy prior to 1914.

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**Jenny Macleod, *Great Battles: Gallipoli*. With foreword by Hew Strachan. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015. ISBN: 978-0-19-964487-2. Hardback. £18.99.**

Jenny Macleod is Senior Lecturer in Twentieth-Century History at the University of Hull and a respected and well-known historian of the 1915 Gallipoli campaign. The choice of title of her latest endeavour, *Great Battles: Gallipoli*, may cause a bit of confusion for my fellow 'Drums and Trumpets' brand of historians and military buffs. This is because the Great Battles series from Oxford University Press tells 'the story

of the world's most important battles – how they were fought, how they have been commemorated, and the long historical shadows that they have cast.' Let the buyer beware, this not a battlefield history, this is a book about how the Gallipoli campaign (there were actually three separate campaigns for the peninsula) came to be commemorated and how it is remembered today in five countries (Australia, Great Britain, Ireland, New Zealand, and Turkey). In this regard, Macleod's previous books about how the remembrance of the Gallipoli campaign formed in popular and official memory makes her the perfect choice to author this fascinating book.

Macleod's introduction provides a statement of a very ambitious working thesis, which 'aims to present the most fully transnational examination of the campaign and its memory that has been written to date' (pp. 6-7). Her methodology examines the campaign from both sides of the hill and seeks to compare how the campaigns have been remembered in five countries as well as to 'show how they have affected one another of late.'

The first three chapters chronologically deal with the origins of the campaign, the amphibious landings on 25 April 1915 and the stalemate that ensued. These are solid and well-balanced chapters which describe the basic chronology and decision points of the campaign in a straightforward manner. Readers unfamiliar with the broad outlines of the campaign will find these chapters to be a valuable introduction to the campaign.

Macleod informs us that in 'Australia and the Civil Religion of Anzac' that the legend of Gallipoli as a great national effort which showcased Australia as a distinctive, egalitarian, and independent culture began during the campaign itself. In fact, the first 'Anzac Day' was celebrated in Adelaide on 13 October 1915 and the tradition rapidly spread throughout Australia. Macleod notes that the foundational notions of Australian soldiers as brash, irreverent, and brave began during the war years and became part of the Australian national identity. In 1919, the famous Dawn Service became embedded in public observances and soon after Australians began to make pilgrimages to the Gallipoli peninsula. By the 1920s and 30s Anzac Day had transformed into something Macleod calls a civil religion, however, among themselves Australians contested its meaning. For some, the observance was a remembrance of the fallen and for others it was a day to honour veterans and to celebrate patriotism. During the post Second World War and Vietnam eras, Anzac Day became a target for national criticism as anti-war sentiment grew in Australia. After the 1990s, national interest in Anzac Day went through a revival and the Dawn Service especially became a manifestation of memorialising national sacrifice. Throughout the years, Macleod notes that the commemoration of Gallipoli has become something of a political tool and, during the centenary, a commercial vehicle for entrepreneurs as well.

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Celebrations of Anzac Day also began in New Zealand in 1915 where it was especially well received by men who had returned from the campaign. A smaller chapter describes 'New Zealand and Anzac' and the emergent problems with multicultural interpretations involving Maoris. As the war receded into history Anzac Day became 'Saturdayised' and turned into a day of sports and leisure (p. 118).

In her chapter 'Britain and Ireland: Gallipoli Day or Anzac Day?' Macleod describes the initial observances of Anzac Day and Gallipoli Sunday in Britain as a sort of competition. However, the stigma of British defeat marred the understanding of the Gallipoli campaign and, moreover in Britain, the memory of the much-larger-in-scale Western front campaigns diminished Gallipoli's. As such the memorialisation of Gallipoli in the UK underwent a transformation from a national observance to a localised regimental and divisional construct developed by veterans and surviving families. Similarly, Macleod's pages on Ireland are most interesting because, although Irish regiments fought at Gallipoli, the modern Irish Republic has no historical affiliation with the campaign. In fact, Macleod asserts the memory of the First World War seems to invoke collateral memories of British imperialism which poisons all First World War commemorations for some Irish citizens. As in Britain this produced a localisation of the commemorations rather than national-level observances.

'Turkey and 18 March' may confuse the casual reader because the Turks officially commemorate the great Ottoman naval victory of 18 March 1915 at Çanakkale (a town on the Dardanelles) as the significant memorialisation of modern celebrations. However during the early years of the Turkish Republic the cult of Atatürk displaced the naval victory with the edification of Mustafa Kemal's great victories over the Australians and New Zealanders, and others, at Anzac and on the Anafarta ridge. Macleod notes the 1930s as a period of reconciliation and maintains the veracity of Atatürk's famous words (when speaking of the Anzacs, 'your sons... having lost their lives on this land... have become our sons as well'), although some Turkish historians dispute that Atatürk himself actually said this. The author also details the importance of the Gallipoli narrative in the establishment of the modern Turkish national identity and foundation mythology.

Of significance to this reviewer is Macleod's explanation of the twenty-first century politicisation of the Çanakkale/Gallipoli observances by Turkish politicians, who have used it recently in attempts to lower the visibility of Armenian genocide commemorations. Macleod's assessment of the conflation of what the Turks now call 'the sad events of 1915' with the Gallipoli campaign is accurate, however, her assessments of the nature of the Armenian relocations do not include the most recent archival scholarship from Turkish historians.

Jenny Macleod ties together five national threads into a very interesting single coherent narrative which shows how the commemoration of the Gallipoli campaigns has evolved over the past century. She also does a wonderful job of informing the reader of how the celebrations of Anzac Day have drawn Australia, New Zealand, and Turkey together in the contemporary world. I especially enjoyed (but with much sadness) her explanations of how politicians and veterans' groups have, over time, used the ceremonies in all five countries to advance their own agendas and causes. I strongly recommend Jenny Macleod's brilliant *Great Battles: Gallipoli* to readers interested in how the memorialisation of battles and campaigns informs our contemporary world.

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**Stuart Hadaway, *Pyramids and Fleshpots: The Egyptian, Senussi and Eastern Mediterranean Campaigns, 1914-16*. Stroud: The History Press, 2014. Hardback. 240pp. ISBN: 978-0-7524-9906-2. £20.00.**

In *The Last Great War* (2008), Adrian Gregory encouraged historians to climb out of the trenches of France and Flanders and move beyond the "view from the parapet." Only by looking at the war's other fronts alongside the Western Front, Gregory argued, could historians come to understand the tremendous impact of the conflict on the lives of British and Dominion soldiers. To this end, Stuart Hadaway's *Pyramids and Fleshpots* is the latest in an ever-growing body of work, some of which will be mentioned below, that looks at the British-led campaign against the Ottoman Empire in Egypt, Sinai, and Palestine.

Beginning with the military occupation of Egypt early in the war and ending with the capture of Rafah in January 1917, Hadaway's work is original in that it bypasses the campaign's later successes at Gaza, Jerusalem, and the thunderous cavalry drive to Aleppo that ended with the Ottoman Empire suing for peace. The second half of the campaign is scheduled for publication in 2016 as *From Gaza to Jerusalem*. In this volume, however, Hadaway sticks to the campaign's early days, covering garrison duty along the Suez Canal, the two failed Ottoman attempts to cross the Canal and breach the borders of Egypt, small-scale operations against rebellious Islamic fanatics in Egypt's Western Desert, Southern Arabia, and Sudan, and the arduous crossing of Sinai by the newly-formed Egyptian Expeditionary Force (EEF) in 1916.