

## Introduction

‘The sinews of war are infinite money’.

Marcus Tullius Cicero

During the lead up to the one hundredth anniversary of the Gallipoli landing in 2015, Australian traders clamoured for a share of the Anzac dollar. Tour operators promoted luxury cruises to the Turkish battleground. The Australian Football League (AFL) scheduled an entire round of commemorative football. Target stores stocked a range of merchandise, including Anzac-branded sweatshirts and rosemary-scented candles. Men’s magazine *Zoo Weekly* published an ‘Anzac Centenary Issue’ that featured a bikini-clad cover girl solemnly holding a poppy. Yet it was the launch of a marketing campaign by Australian supermarket giant Woolworths that served as the catalyst for public uproar. The campaign website included a ‘social media profile picture generator’ that branded images of the war dead with the Woolworths logo and the campaign tagline ‘Fresh in our memories’ – an adaptation of its corporate slogan ‘The Fresh Food People’. The clumsy attempt to cash in on the Anzac tradition attracted immediate public outrage. Within hours, the hashtag #Brandzac began trending across social media. The commercial exploitation of war memory became headline news on the eve of the largest commemorative event in Australian history.

The realisation that Anzac had the potential to be commodified was not new. During the Great War, the Gallipoli Campaign had provided the first opportunity for Australia to perform on the international stage as an independent nation and the heroic exploits of the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps (who became known as ANZACs) were acclaimed at home and abroad.<sup>1</sup> While the campaign was a military defeat, the date on which the Anzacs first went into battle, 25 April 1915, was celebrated as the moment of Australian nationhood, and an affirmation of imperial acceptance and belonging.<sup>2</sup> The word Anzac came to represent powerful social currency throughout Australia and it did not take long for traders to recognise its commercial appeal. From mid-1915, 'Anzac' was used with increasing frequency to brand a range of consumer products including tea, soap, toys and beer.<sup>3</sup> Many traders changed the name of their businesses to incorporate the word and some companies even enlisted soldiers to endorse their products. Recognising the ability of the burgeoning national mythology to serve as a cohesive force during the Great War and beyond, the Australian federal government acted quickly to introduce regulations prohibiting the use of the word Anzac 'in any trade, business, calling or profession'.<sup>4</sup>

If Anzac has represented a commodity since its invention, then it is not one that has always embodied the same value. Over the last century, the mythology failed to sustain a consistent commercial appeal. During the difficult interwar years, demand for cultural products associated with the memory of the Gallipoli Campaign and Anzac veterans fell as Australians worked to rebuild their world.<sup>5</sup> After the Second World War, the mythology came to symbolise division rather than cohesion. Buoyed by a growing sense of national identity, distinct from Britain, a new generation of Australians felt the Anzac tradition represented a conservative vision of the past rather than a progressive vision for the future.<sup>6</sup> During the Vietnam War, Anzac was attacked by the anti-war movement and by radical feminists, and was denounced as militaristic, imperialist and exclusionary.<sup>7</sup> Attendances at Anzac Day services began to decline, and many assumed that the mythology would fade into obscurity after the deaths of the last diggers.<sup>8</sup> However, against all expectations, the Anzac tradition underwent a powerful cultural resurgence.<sup>9</sup>

Growing interest in commemorating war in Australia must be viewed in a global context. After the Second World War, interest in

history and heritage began to rise in Western liberal democracies. But what drove this fascination with the past, and remembrance of war in particular? Was the trend symptomatic of a longing for identity and community in an increasingly secular, multicultural and globalised world?<sup>10</sup> Or had disillusionment with modernity and a loss of future orientation resulted in the search for meaning becoming increasingly fixated on the past?<sup>11</sup> The ‘Memory Boom’, as it came to be known, was underpinned by economic growth and an increasingly educated and affluent middle class. As Jay Winter has noted, ‘dwelling on memory is a matter of both disposable income and leisure time’.<sup>12</sup> According to Winter, ‘one reason that it [war memory] is such a popular and moneymaking trade is because it locates family stories in bigger, more universal, narratives’.<sup>13</sup> By the end of the twentieth century, consuming history had become one of the world’s most popular leisure pursuits.

From the 1980s, military history became increasingly central to Australian national identity. As Shanti Sumartojo and Ben Wellings have noted, the word Anzac is now evoked to express a set of ‘national values derived from the social and political significance of military service in Australia’s past and present’.<sup>14</sup> The resurgence of the Anzac tradition was fuelled by the cultural production of popular books, documentaries and films (such as Peter Weir’s *Gallipoli* in 1981), high profile commemorative anniversaries from the 1990s and the death of the last Anzac digger in 2002. Australian nationalism continued its ascendance during an era of neoliberal globalisation and conservative politics. Geopolitical factors, such as the rise of global terrorism after 2001, and the deployment of Australian soldiers to wars in Iraq and Afghanistan solidified a bipartisan political commitment to promoting the mythology.<sup>15</sup> At the same time, the mass digitisation of war records by the Australian War Memorial and the National Archives of Australia allowed Australians to access information about their Anzac ancestors at the click of a button. The rising popularity of genealogy reinforced (and in some cases, re-created) family connections to Australia’s military history.

As dawn breaks on Anzac Day, thousands of people attending commemorative services across the nation make a heartfelt vow: ‘We will remember them’.<sup>16</sup> But how do Australians remember historical events they did not experience themselves? The deaths of elderly Anzac diggers – a living link with the past – did not result in the

decline of the Anzac tradition. In fact, the opposite occurred. In the absence of firsthand memory of the Great War and its impact on society, the marketplace has manufactured a replacement, producing cultural products that sustain the public memory of the event. Indeed, the subject of war has been particularly suited to modern technologies of memory that convey the sights, sounds and spectacle of the past – through a range of emotive and hyper-real forms.

Our pervasive media and consumer culture plays a significant role in the transmission of the memory of historical events to a new generation. In an influential study probing remembrance of the Holocaust, American scholar Marianne Hirsch noted that indirect and mediated images of the past often ‘seem to constitute memories in their own right’.<sup>17</sup> Alison Landsberg described the phenomena as ‘prosthetic memory’.<sup>18</sup> For Landsberg, ‘commodification, which is at the heart of mass cultural representations, makes images and narratives widely available to people who live in different places and come from different backgrounds, races and classes’, suggesting consuming history could generate emotional responses to promote empathy, historical understanding and social change.<sup>19</sup> More recently, Landsberg conceded that spectacular and emotive representations of the past generated through mass media could result in simplistic narratives; however, she maintained that these forms could also highlight the complexity and ‘messiness’ of the past.<sup>20</sup> As Vivian Sobchack has argued, ‘the search for a lost object has led to cheap substitutes’ but also to ‘the quickening of a new historical sense and perhaps a more active and reflective historical subject’.<sup>21</sup>

Australia’s Anzac obsession culminated in 2015 with ‘The Anzac Centenary’ – a series of commemorations to mark 100 years of military service since the Gallipoli landing. Its staggering budget – estimated at *half a billion dollars* – far outweighed that of nations with much larger populations, such as Great Britain, Germany and France.<sup>22</sup> The proposed budget equated to \$8,889 for each digger killed during the conflict, in contrast to \$109 for British war dead, and \$2 for each German casualty.<sup>23</sup> The lavish spectacular was denounced by former soldier, James Brown, who described it as an ‘exorbitant four-year festival for the dead’.<sup>24</sup> Historians, such as David Stephens, decried the state-sanctioned promotion of war memory and worked to popularise

the term ‘Anzackery’ to describe the promotion and exploitation of Australian war memory for commercial or political gain.<sup>25</sup>

Has a torrent of commemorative events, historical books, exhibitions, films, TV shows and guided tours led to deeper historical understanding of Anzac veterans and the Great War in Australia? Several historians have argued that remembrance has involved a great deal of forgetting, with war memory romanticised and sanitised for popular audiences.<sup>26</sup> In 2003, Grahame Davison observed that

Now we know what we should perhaps have realised from the beginning – that the myth might flourish even more luxuriantly when it was freed from the limitation of historical fact and the human frailties of its surviving representatives. Feeling connected to the past, after all, is not at all the same as being connected with history...[People can keep] the habit of commemoration, while losing touch with the historic event that brought it into being.<sup>27</sup>

Mark McKenna has noted that mass-market historical representations of the Great War are often ‘profoundly ahistorical’, arguing that

in the popular memory of the war, the distance from the past prized by professional historians takes second place to being present in the past, to the language of immediacy, spectacle and recreation.<sup>28</sup>

Indeed, a 2010 research report commissioned by the Department of Veterans’ Affairs in preparation for centenary of the Gallipoli landing claimed that ‘knowledge of our service history is generally poor’ and noted that even older respondents ‘have only sketchy or incorrect knowledge’.<sup>29</sup> In 2015, a survey of users of the popular genealogical website Ancestry.com revealed that just 29 per cent knew what the acronym ANZAC stood for.<sup>30</sup>



Representations of the Gallipoli Campaign and Anzac veterans produced by consumer culture are multiple, interconnected, and form part of a unique archive of imagery and information that each

individual draws upon to make sense of the Great War in the present. But human memory is not just an individual, biological function. It is culturally and historically contingent. The memories of individuals are understood within the context of a dominant public narrative, a phenomenon described by Maurice Halbwachs as ‘collective memory’.<sup>31</sup> This public narrative is not fixed, but selective and fluid, sustained by the continual selection and articulation of the past in the present.<sup>32</sup> A shared vision of the past is powerful. It promotes social cohesion and belonging by uniting diverse communities through a common past and future. That’s why the collective memory of historical events is central to the construction of national identity.

How and why have certain stories we tell about the Great War, such as the Anzac legend, become dominant within society? Why do we remember the Gallipoli Campaign with pride as a heroic national achievement, rather than with anger as a senseless waste of life? Indeed, why do we remember it at all? Certainly modern nation states have come to exert an unprecedented influence over historical remembrance, and war memory in particular.<sup>33</sup> In an Australian context, historians including Bruce Scates, Bart Ziino and Joan Beaumont have demonstrated how federal authorities and special interest groups, such as the RSL, worked during and after the Great War to promote a version of the past that Australians could live with; to help individuals and communities make sense of the destruction wrought by new technologies of warfare and the large-scale loss of life.<sup>34</sup> After the Anzac resurgence, politicians once again employed the symbolism of Anzac to gain popular support and promote policy objectives.<sup>35</sup> Since the 1990s the mythology has been actively promoted by federal and state governments in school curriculums, in museums and at spectacular commemorative events.<sup>36</sup> Nevertheless, while remembrance is unavoidably political, it can also be deeply personal.

Individuals and communities have been active participants in shaping collective memory and commemorative practices. Historians Jay Winter and Emmanuel Sivan sought to liberate the collective memory of the Great War from those who deemed it ‘the property of dominant forces in the state’, arguing that remembrance can be participatory and democratic.<sup>37</sup> In an Australian context, historians such as Joy Damousi and Tanja Luckins have explored how returned

soldiers and bereaved relatives negotiated trauma and grief, alongside the public memory of war.<sup>38</sup> As Joan Beaumont has insisted, ‘Anzac was a version of the past that many – though not all – Australians wanted to hear’.<sup>39</sup> Despite the success of anti-war novels such as *All Quiet on the Western Front* during the late 1920s, representations of the Great War in popular culture tended to glorify and sanctify the violence, trivialising its horrors.<sup>40</sup> Bruce Scates and Carolyn Holbrook have outlined ways in which commemoration of the Gallipoli Campaign and Anzac veterans since the 1980s has been driven by personal connections to Australian military history, and a profound psychological and spiritual investment in the resurgent mythology.<sup>41</sup>

The centenary of the Great War saw appeals for a more nuanced understanding of the politics of war memory within a globalised consumer society.<sup>42</sup> However, while historians have made increasingly urgent calls for a deeper engagement with history as a commodity it remains an underdeveloped area of investigation.<sup>43</sup> The vast majority of scholarship has remained preoccupied with the ways in which remembrance has been shaped ‘from above’ by the state and ‘from below’ by individuals and communities, ignoring the buoyant marketplace that operates independently of these two realms.<sup>44</sup> As Mark McKenna recently noted

There exists today, particularly in western nations, a global industry concerned with the commemoration of war. This industry is found in both the public and private sphere, it is funded by states and private corporations and it has been greatly encouraged by global media corporations and the tourist industry. Commercial and market-driven factors (local, national and international) are therefore crucial to understand the resurgence of Anzac Day as a source of national communion, particularly because they are closely entwined with political and cultural drivers.<sup>45</sup>

Despite the fact that our contemporary relationship with Anzac is almost entirely facilitated by mass culture, historians tend to overlook the impact of the marketplace on the collective memory of the Great War, even while engaging directly with memory industries such as tourism, publishing or genealogy.<sup>46</sup> Military history has come to

hold an enormous popular appeal and the Anzac Industry, which is comprised of groups and individuals that benefit directly or indirectly from the cultural appropriation of war memory, is driven by logics of its own. This book aims to uncover these logics to offer a more nuanced understanding of the ways in which various agents have facilitated, sanctioned or contested the production of representations of the Great War in consumer culture since 1915.

Chapter One explores how the word Anzac became associated with aspirational personal and national meanings after the Gallipoli landing, and why individuals and groups competed for authority to benefit from the social currency it represented. Chapter Two examines debates in Australia regarding commemoration and commerce on Anzac Day before 1980. It argues that Anzac Day was initially designed to keep commemoration and commerce separate. The chapter explains why the RSL and state governments initially took such a hardline stance against commercial activity on Anzac Day and why attitudes began to change after the Second World War.

Towards the end of the twentieth century the Anzac tradition undertook an astonishing revival. Sales of books categorised as ‘Australian military history’ rose steadily from the 1970s, and underwent a period of stratospheric growth during the 1990s and 2000s. Chapter Three explores how the Australian book trade embarked upon an Anzac publishing frenzy and explains what kinds of books were most popular and why. Buoyed by growing cultural confidence and a deep sympathy for war veterans, a new generation of young Australians sought to experience the battlefields, cemeteries and memorials of Gallipoli firsthand. Chapter Four traces the transformation of the Anzac Day Dawn Service in Gallipoli from a simple beach ceremony into a state-sanctioned commemorative spectacular.

In addition to generating profits from commemorative events, commercial organisations invented traditions of their own. Chapter Five explores how the AFL has appropriated war memory to promote its code through sporting spectacle on Anzac Day. Finally, Chapter Six addresses the sheer scope of the commercial world surrounding Anzac, tracing how the mythology has been harnessed by marketers to build their brands since the 1990s, and demonstrating how the commercial and political appropriation of Anzac has gone hand in hand.

Australians have been consuming Anzac for a century. While commemoration and commerce have never been entirely separate they have become increasingly intertwined. Indeed, this book reveals how consumer culture has proved central to the contemporary resurgence and proliferation of the Anzac tradition. In probing the ways in which war memory has been produced, marketed and sold since 1915, it offers new insights into the dynamic commercial world and mutually beneficial relationships that underpin the commemoration of war in the twenty-first century.



‘A national heirloom...more precious than gold’: Anzac in consumer culture, 1915–1921

On 25 April 1916, the first anniversary of the Gallipoli landing, Australian Prime Minister William Morris Hughes declared that the Anzacs represented an antidote to consumerism, stating: ‘Into a world saturated by material things, which has elevated self into a deity, which has made wealth the standard of greatness, comes the sweet purifying breath of self-sacrifice’. While addressing Anzac soldiers during a visit to Britain, Hughes expressed a hope that ‘your names will be handed down in your own native land, and be as household words’.<sup>1</sup> Hughes may have been shocked to discover that, back in Australia, the word Anzac was increasingly being used to brand household goods, including tea, soap, toys and beer. Many traders had changed the name of their businesses to incorporate the word Anzac and some companies even enlisted soldiers to endorse their products. Just a few months earlier, the frivolous and widespread use of the word had attracted the attention of West Australian writer Edwin Greenslade Murphy. In a poem published in Perth’s *Sunday Times*, Murphy listed an extraordinary variety of uses over 56 lines of verse, including

Anzac collars and Anzac ties,  
 Anzac puddings and Anzac pies;  
 Anzac stockings and Anzac shoes,  
 Anzac buttons and Anzac booze.<sup>2</sup>

Alarmed, the authorities acted quickly to outlaw the practice. In May 1916, the federal government issued regulations under the *War Precautions Act* prohibiting the use of the word Anzac ‘in any trade, business, calling or profession’.<sup>3</sup> What motivated early traders to use the word Anzac for commercial purposes and why did the authorities act so quickly to prohibit its use?

### **What better catchword than Anzac?**

Originating as an acronym to describe the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps (A & NZ Army Corps), the word Anzac quickly came to represent an aspirational set of national values and attributes. Australian war correspondent and official historian, C. E. W. Bean, admitted that ‘at the Landing at Gallipoli many men in the divisions had not yet heard of it’, but the acronym evolved rapidly from official vernacular into the national lexicon.<sup>4</sup> The heroic exploits of Australasian troops were lauded at home and abroad. The first report from the front by British correspondent Ellis Ashmead-Bartlett famously declared that ‘they had been tried for the first time, and had not been found wanting’.<sup>5</sup> Confirmation of Anzac heroism on the international stage greatly fuelled the popular response to the Gallipoli Campaign in Australia. The qualities of the Australian warriors were said to exemplify a unique national character and the word Anzac became associated with masculinity, citizenship, sacrifice, belonging to Empire and Australian national identity. After troops were successfully evacuated from Gallipoli in December 1915, Ashmead-Bartlett undertook a sold-out Australian speaking tour, Bean’s *Anzac Book* sold 100,000 copies and a growing Anzac Day movement culminated in spectacular commemorations in London and Australia. By May 1916, the word Anzac was described in the *Daily Telegraph* as ‘a national heirloom...more precious than gold’.<sup>6</sup>

The value attributed to the word Anzac was not confined to metaphor. At the dawn of the twentieth century, Australian

traders were beginning to realise that words and symbols, in the form of trademarks and brands, could embody powerful emotions and meanings.<sup>7</sup> During the early nineteenth century, Australian consumers had few options when it came to consumer products and household goods were purchased in a fairly indiscriminate manner. However, rapid industrialisation and population growth – fuelled by mining booms, increased migration and the development of an increasingly affluent urban middle class – created a larger market for goods and an increasingly cluttered marketplace.<sup>8</sup> The mass production of goods necessitated ways to differentiate between them and the practice of applying trademarks became widespread. So, too, did the idea that companies had the right to protect these unique identifiers. This realisation resulted in the development of intellectual property laws, which provided individuals with exclusive protection of a number of intangible assets, including copyrights, patents and trademarks.<sup>9</sup> Traders recognised that the value of a trademark did not lie in the mark itself, but in the reputation that it represented and the pervasiveness of that reputation. So it was not enough for traders to *mark* their goods. They needed to *market* goods by constructing a set of meanings and attributes that worked alongside them at an associational level. The ways in which traders positioned their products in the marketplace became just as important as the product they were selling.

As Australians moved from producers to consumers, the consumption of goods grew increasingly central to culture and national identity. Overly moralistic critiques of consumer societies – which equate this transformation of social relations with materialism, individualism and political apathy – often overlook the ways in which consumer culture can offer pleasure, operate as a site of political agency and resistance, and facilitate the construction of individual and group identities.<sup>10</sup> While industrialisation disrupted established links with tradition and history, it also provided a means to manufacture a replacement, through a burgeoning marketplace capable of producing new cultural products and traditions.<sup>11</sup> The use of the word Anzac on consumer goods offered traders an opportunity to tap into the aspirational social currency represented by this powerful modern mythology. In 1908, an article appearing in the *Adelaide Register* declared, ‘The present is an age

of advertising’, noting that ‘a catchword, a small jingling phrase that the public will remember, is one of the best possible advertisements’.<sup>12</sup> What better catchword than Anzac?

### **Protecting Anzac: Federal government regulation**

The increasing commercialisation of the word Anzac was first discussed at a federal level on 20 April 1916 during a particularly long meeting of the Federal Parliamentary War Committee (FPWC), a bipartisan committee established in mid-1915 to coordinate the national war effort.<sup>13</sup> The issue had been brought to their attention by the Queensland War Council, which was worried that the word Anzac, which had ‘a very deep and significant meaning for thousands of Australians’, was fast becoming commercialised. The FPWC should take action ‘in order to prevent the name becoming any other than a national one of respect’.<sup>14</sup> Within a matter of weeks, letters of support began to arrive from other state war councils.<sup>15</sup> The Acting Premier of New South Wales, J. H. Cann, was so concerned that he wrote a personal letter to the Attorney-General, contending

In view of the associations attaching to the name it is conceivable that if some steps are not taken to restrict its use it might become other than a term of respect, and I should therefore be glad to learn your views upon the question of safeguarding to what every Australian must be a term of deep national significance.<sup>16</sup>

Such correspondence indicates that the deep and significant meanings associated with the word were difficult to articulate and remained in a state of flux. However, it is clear that the word evoked powerful personal and national connotations; and that its misappropriation had potential implications for the continuing war effort.

Growing concerns over use of the word Anzac in consumer culture must be examined within the context of efforts to mobilise Australian society to support the war. Anzac troops had been evacuated from Gallipoli in December 1915, and by mid-1916 were deployed on the far more destructive Western Front. Increasingly concerned with the war situation, Hughes had left Australia on 21 January 1916 for talks with Commonwealth leaders in New Zealand, Canada and London. In his

absence, Hughes appointed the Minister for Defence, George Pearce, as Acting Prime Minister and delegated most of his duties as Attorney-General to Robert Garran, whom he appointed to a new statutory office of Solicitor-General. Finally, Hughes appointed Western Australian member of parliament, Hugh Mahon, as Acting Attorney-General.<sup>17</sup> In a departure from convention for this role, Mahon was a former journalist and newspaper owner rather than a lawyer. While he lacked legal training, Mahon possessed a strong understanding of the Australian media. This was a proficiency that would prove vital in communicating an increasing number of regulations made under the controversial *War Precautions Act*.

The *War Precautions Act* had been enacted on 29 October 1914, and empowered the federal government to pass regulations related to the war effort outside standard legislative process. The Act was often controversial due to the immense power it conferred on the federal government. In one instance, when New South Wales MP Thomas Bavin enquired, ‘Would it be an offence under the *War Precautions Act*...?’, Garran reportedly replied ‘Yes’ before he had finished asking his question.<sup>18</sup> This ability to introduce new regulations quickly under the powers of the Act proved invaluable to politicians and defence staff seeking to control the use of the word Anzac.

On 16 May 1916, Garran distributed a Minute Paper to the FPWC that outlined how ‘the use of the word “Anzac” for purposes of trade could be prevented by a regulation under the *War Precautions Act*’.<sup>19</sup> He noted that the Commonwealth Registrar of Trademarks had already received several applications for Anzac trademarks and that some had already been registered. Not only would the new regulations give the Attorney-General the authority to refuse pending or future trademarks, they would also provide the power to retrospectively cancel trademarks that had already been granted. Garran realised that many firms would not consider it necessary to register their business name as a unique trademark. Indeed, several firms listed on the Registrar of Companies in Victoria had already recorded names containing the word Anzac. The proposed regulations would also give state Registrar-Generals the power to cancel the registrations of these offending companies. Garran’s recommendations were accepted and Mahon was tasked with setting the new regulations in motion.<sup>20</sup>

The ‘War Precaution (Supplementary) Regulations 2 and 2A’ were published in the *Commonwealth of Australia Gazette* on Thursday 25 May 1916:

No person shall, after the first day of July, one thousand, nine hundred and sixteen, without the authority of the Governor-General or of a Minister of State, proof whereof shall lie upon the person accused, assume or use in connexion with any trade, business, calling, or profession the word “Anzac”, or any word resembling the word “Anzac”, or any word or mark notified by the Governor-General, by notice in the Gazette, to be for the purposes of this Regulation a prohibited word or mark.<sup>21</sup>

The regulations were enacted little over five months after the end of the Gallipoli Campaign – an indication of the growing awareness by the federal government that the word Anzac embodied a potent social currency that needed to be protected and controlled.

Mahon ensured the regulations were widely reported in Australian newspapers, translating the legal text into terms the general public would understand. Several articles, syndicated across Australia, quoted Mahon as stating:

The Government would not recognise the right of any person to monopolise the word “Anzac”, a word which on account of the valiant deeds of the Australian and New Zealand Forces has become so dear to Australians.<sup>22</sup>

So important was the word that Garran even recommended prohibition beyond Australia. Telegrams were dispatched to authorities in Britain, New Zealand and Canada requesting similar regulation in their own countries ‘otherwise Australian prohibition will not be entirely effective’.<sup>23</sup> A reply from Downing Street confirmed that 29 Anzac trademarks had already been registered in Britain and that the government did not possess the power to cancel these registrations without consent.<sup>24</sup> Instead, the Controller General of Patents, Designs and Trademarks had commenced negotiations with each party. Rather than pass regulations under the *Defence of the Realm Act 1914*, the British government undertook a more time consuming legislative

route. The *Anzac (Restriction on Trade Use of the Word) Act* was introduced into the House of Commons on 25 October, and published on 18 December 1916.<sup>25</sup> Instead of a few weeks, the process took five months. The differences between the two legislative processes did not go unacknowledged in Australian Parliament. Labor member for Dalley, William George Mahony, accused the government of acting in an ‘autocratic manner’ when it ‘decided by regulation what should be done’.<sup>26</sup> In New Zealand, the commercial use of the word Anzac was prohibited under the powers of the *War Legislation Amendment Act, 1916 (section 33)* by early August 1916.<sup>27</sup> By April 1917, Canadian authorities also confirmed an order prohibiting the registration of the word Anzac as a trademark.<sup>28</sup>

Efforts to control the use of the word Anzac were informed by a strategy of cultural mobilisation; that is, the use of cultural products to justify the mobilisation of economic and military resources, industrial-scale violence and loss of life.<sup>29</sup> Given that the First World War shattered Australian optimism, exacerbated social tensions and devastated communities, ‘Anzac’ began to serve an important unifying political purpose.<sup>30</sup> Authorities were aware of the need to redirect any negative emotions the war was generating into those that would fuel morale. In January 1916, *The Manchester Guardian* deemed Anzac the ‘most illustrious “made” name in history’, admiring its ‘swinging syllables’ and stating that, ‘surely there never was so happy concourse of letters as these initials’.<sup>31</sup> Yet, this ‘happy concourse of letters’ hid deeply personal meanings. The same article asserted that ‘With a lesser people their grief might well have turned to anger, but in these Australians and New Zealanders is bred a new pride and a sterner resolve’.<sup>32</sup> Graham Seal has noted that ‘As early as December 1915 the *Melbourne Argus* quoted an army officer referring to Gallipoli and Anzac as “sacred” and the term was being routinely applied by 1916’.<sup>33</sup> By acting quickly to enshrine the word Anzac by law, the federal government confirmed this sacred status through decidedly secular means.<sup>34</sup>

The *Daily Telegraph* reacted to the new Anzac Regulations with glowing praise:

We do not want the Anzac hotel in every town of the Commonwealth where its signboard would inevitably rise but for the minister’s

prohibition. The Anzac liver pill would have been a sordid certainty, and the Anzac brand of tea would rise up and perpetuate the referendum night with Anzac whisky. Fortunately we are to be spared all the vulgar bill posting on the monument “more durable than brass” that Australian valour has raised at such awful cost...The word Anzac is coined out of material more precious than gold, and it is a coinage, which no one should be allowed to debase.<sup>35</sup>

The 1 July deadline gave traders five weeks to remove the word from goods and premises and the threat of revocation of their business name or prosecution spurred many into action. Applications to use the word Anzac began to flood into the Attorney-General’s Office.

### **Consuming Anzac: Applications to use the word**

Correspondence directed to the Attorney-General’s office indicates that many traders had ordered manufactured goods branded with the word Anzac well before the regulations were enacted. Several applications stated that product orders were still ‘on the water’ and others complained when their Anzac-branded goods, now unlawful, were detained by customs. Jeweller Joseph Levy, for example, had ordered a number of men’s watches with Anzac engraved on the face in February 1916 and wrote to the Attorney-General requesting permission to sell the stock: ‘it would mean a big loss to me if I were not allowed to get delivery of these’.<sup>36</sup> Another trader had been using the word Anzac as a brand of matches and, prior to the regulations being enacted, had placed an order for one million match tops, which were being held by customs.<sup>37</sup> The Attorney-General refused to make any exceptions and both applications were refused.

Many of the earliest products branded with the word Anzac were aimed at a male market. Inexpensive items such as Anzac razors, handkerchiefs, pipes and matchboxes could be purchased for personal use or sent to troops overseas. Other items, such as Anzac hats, suits, cuff links and watches, could be worn proudly by men on the home front. The prevalence of Anzac branded goods within men’s haberdashery departments is indicative of the kind of aspirational manhood it represented; allowing consumers to tap into Anzac allure while displaying support for those on the front.

Anzac jewellery items, such as souvenir medals and brooches, were enormously popular. A typical advertisement in a Melbourne newspaper displayed a brooch, which could be purchased to ‘show the patriotism of the wearer in a quiet, unobtrusive manner’.<sup>38</sup> Such was the scale of this marketplace that officials from the Department of Defence arranged a meeting with the Federated Jewellers, Watchmakers and Allied Trades Union of Australia in August 1916.<sup>39</sup> During the meeting, trade union representatives admitted that ‘the present has been one of the best winters in the trade due to the manufacture of these articles’ and estimated that in Sydney alone at least 50,000 mementos were on sale.<sup>40</sup> Jewellers, they argued, were not profiteering, but simply responding to consumer demand: ‘Relatives and friends of those who had fallen at Gallipoli and in France were...entitled to some memento of those occasions’ and ‘the cost to the trade in meeting the demands of the public has been a heavy one’.<sup>41</sup> They conceded that the word Anzac was sacred but maintained that jewellery items would not lessen this standing:

In this connection there was surely no more sacred emblem than the cross, and yet no one would say that it was in any way prostituted by being used as an article of jewellery.<sup>42</sup>

The union representatives implored the minister to support an exemption on patriotic jewellery from the regulations, arguing that the industry provided work for many Australians and that retailers held large stocks that would have to be melted down if the regulation stood. Despite an appeal to patriotism and pocket books, their request was declined.

Traders also requested permission to use the word Anzac to brand a range of common household goods including bath soap, laundry detergent, tea, beer and soft drink. The use of this ‘sacred’ word to differentiate competing brands of commonplace consumer goods may appear paradoxical, but correspondence to the Attorney-General’s office indicates that commemoration and commerce were not always viewed as mutually exclusive. In 1916 Kops Brewery in Queensland launched an Anzac beer with a label that declared its intention to bestow ‘Honor to the living, Immortal glory to the dead’.<sup>43</sup> Similarly,

Cooperative Mineral Waters placed a new Anzac soft drink on the market in April 1916, just in time for the first anniversary of the Gallipoli landing. After the regulations were enacted they wrote to the Attorney-General requesting permission to sell off the remaining stock over a limited period, arguing that this solution would offer them ‘justice’ without ‘infringing the sanctity of the word Anzac, which will endure forever’.<sup>44</sup> All applications were denied.

In the months after the Gallipoli landing, scores of traders had also changed the name of their businesses to include Anzac as a tribute to Australasian volunteers fighting in Europe. In June 1916 a Queensland publican, Mr Perry, wrote to the Attorney-General regarding his billiard saloon, which he had renamed ‘Perry’s Anzac Billiard Palace’.<sup>45</sup> Perry insisted that the name was

mostly in honour of over one hundred of my customers who have enlisted and seen service both at Gallipoli and now many are in France... some of them sir have laid down their life and will never return.<sup>46</sup>

Others admitted to greater opportunism. Frederick Rogers had changed the name of his restaurant to the Anzac Café soon after the landing, on the basis that it was a ‘better name’ than the Railway Café.<sup>47</sup> Applications suggested that business owners were well aware of the commercial advantages of using the word, but did not perceive the action as overtly exploitative. Rather, they saw it as an expedient tribute.

As the war drew on, women too began to appropriate the word, establishing businesses to provide a livelihood for themselves and their families. Lillian King opened her Anzac Café in Kalgoorlie, Western Australia, in early 1916 to provide an income for her invalid son who had participated in the Gallipoli landing and returned to Australia ‘unfit for future service’. King’s request to ‘retain the name in his honour’ was refused by Garran on behalf of the Attorney-General, with a letter stating that ‘if he granted permission in your case he would have to grant permission in every similar case where the applicant had a relative in the Australian Imperial Force [AIF]’.<sup>48</sup> A significant number of applications were dispatched by bereaved wives and mothers. After the illness and death of her husband, Alice Pennington’s son Robert built a small café for her in South Perth. Thereafter, he enlisted in



**ANZAC**

## Anzac and other Military Brooches —

We here illustrate two styles of Military Brooches, and would draw your particular attention to our new "Anzac" Brooch. Though quite inexpensive, either will show the patriotism of the wearer in a quiet, unobtrusive manner.

**ANZAC BROOCH—**  
in Gilt or Silver finish, as shown, 1/9 post free; in smaller size silver and enamel, 4/6.

**RISING SUN BROOCH—**  
White or Gilt Metal, 1/9 post free; Solid Silver, 4/8; 9ct. Gold, £1; 15ct. Gold, £1/15/.

Other articles of Patriotic Souvenir Jewellery are shown in our catalogue, which we send quite free on request; also a neat list of gifts for soldiers. Write for a copy.

*Stewart Dawson's*  
Corner Collins & Swanston Sts  
Melbourne.

Figure 1.1: Advertisement for Anzac brooches sold at Stewart Dawson's jewellers in Melbourne, Victoria. Image courtesy of the National Archives of Australia.

Figure 1.2: Kops Anzac Toast beer label. Image courtesy of the National Archives of Australia.

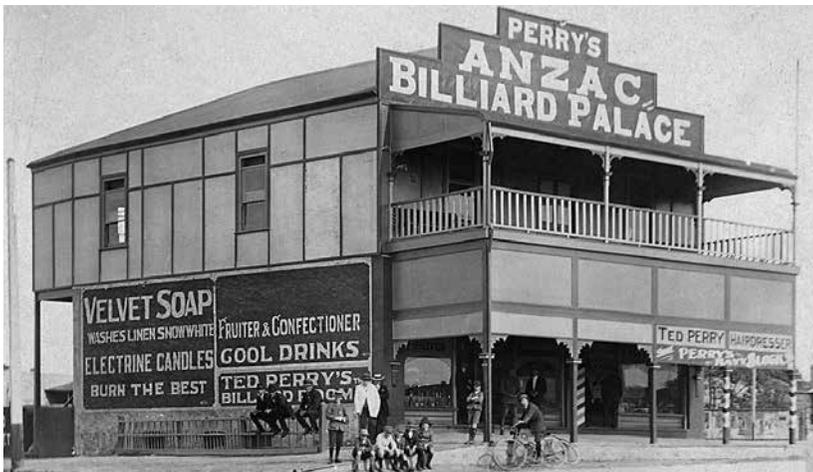


Figure 1.3: Perry's Anzac Billiard Palace in Wallaroo, Queensland. Image courtesy of the National Archives of Australia.

the AIF and was killed at Gallipoli on 10 July 1915. Professing deeply sentimental attachments to the word, she begged for permission to call her café the Anzac Tea Rooms, a name she had chosen ‘out of respect to and in memory of my son’.<sup>49</sup>

I feel as a Mother who has given her only son at “Anzac” that none could be more entitled to use the name which he has helped to make – hence my request for this concession.<sup>50</sup>

The replies from the Attorney-General’s office were sympathetic but firm. No exceptions were to be made.

Large numbers of returned servicemen also applied to use the word Anzac as part of their business name in an attempt to distinguish themselves from competitors who had not served. Western Australian Frank Netheray served for a year and 44 days in the Gallipoli Campaign, before being sent home as an invalid. After the regulations were enacted, he requested permission to use the word Anzac on a fruit barrow that he operated on Wellington Street in Perth. Netheray insisted ‘The word will in no sense be used as an advertisement, the quality and price of my fruit being their one and only commendation’ while, somewhat conversely, admitting that ‘it is essential to have a distinctive name on the barrow’.<sup>51</sup> Other applications from returned servicemen sought to use the word Anzac for a diverse range of businesses including hairdressers, a forge, blacksmith, glue works and a cannery. One application in 1918 requested permission to differentiate a number of Anzac veterans from competitors in a business directory.<sup>52</sup> All applications were refused.

Several Gallipoli veterans argued that they had a right to use the word Anzac as ‘creators’ of the word. Clarence Campbell, for example, sustained injuries that precluded a return to his previous career as a plumber. On returning to Australia as an invalid he began to make and sell wooden toys under the guise of the ‘Anzac Toy Manufactory’. In an application to continue trading under the name in June 1916, Campbell argued ‘I was one of the first to participate in the storming of Anzac Cove...and therefore one of the makers of the name’.<sup>53</sup> The revocation of the business name ‘would mean destitution for me on account of the loss of all my efforts, trade connection and savings’.<sup>54</sup>

The reply from Garran on behalf of the Attorney-General was sympathetic but indicated he was 'unable to make any exceptions'. A rebuttal from Campbell's lawyers pointed out that 'the regulations dealing with this matter clearly anticipate that exceptions to the general rule may be made' but Garran refused to reconsider.<sup>55</sup>

As early as August 1916, Garran received correspondence from the newly formed Returned Sailors and Soldiers Imperial League of Australia (RSSILA, hereafter RSL) requesting 'complete control' over the word Anzac.<sup>56</sup> The RSL was one of several veterans' associations competing for authority and political influence, and the action represented an early attempt to position themselves as guardians of the Anzac tradition. The letter argued:

For some time past this word has been used for various kinds of advertising, and some people have gone so far as to use it as labels on beer bottles...Our league now has 12,000 members, the majority of whom were instrumental in the making of this word "Anzac"...We wish you to give our League the authority to handle and use this word at our own discretion, so that we may safe guard one of the most sacred memories which belong to our members.<sup>57</sup>

However, Garran insisted that the 'enforcement of a Commonwealth regulation...must be controlled from this department'.<sup>58</sup>

Not to be discouraged, the RSL turned its attention to the use of the terms 'Returned Sailor' and 'Returned Soldier'. The attempt was not just driven by a desire to protect the words from 'unscrupulous' use by non-veterans but also with their own branding purposes in mind. Just days before the Armistice of November 1918, the RSL General Secretary wrote to the Minister for Repatriation, stating that 'The use of the name "Returned Soldier" is becoming far too popular', admitting that 'this organisation is anxious to secure protection for the name of The League'.<sup>59</sup> Correspondence from the Repatriation Board in May 1919 pointed out that 'restrictions would affect individual soldiers desiring to use the term in connection with their own businesses, and soldiers desiring to combine to form a company'.<sup>60</sup> The RSL had no objection and, on 15 May 1919, an order was passed prohibiting the commercial use of the terms. The action came at the

cost of the returned veterans the RSL claimed to serve, who were prevented from distinguishing their service.

As veterans began to return home in greater numbers, seeking to be repatriated into former or new occupations, the regulations were extended to prohibit the commercial use of a range of terms associated with the AIF. In addition to 'Returned Sailor' and 'Returned Solider', the use of the terms 'Aussie', 'Our Wounded Heroes Depot', 'Our Wounded Heroes Brand', 'War Chest', 'War Chest Brand', 'Comforts Fund', 'Australian Comforts Fund', 'Australian Imperial Force' and 'A.I.F.' were prohibited between 1917 and 1919.<sup>61</sup> Unlike the word Anzac, the usage of all of these terms was administered by the Department of Repatriation. In 1919, the Controller of the Department of Repatriation sought sole authority to grant permission for the use of *all* prohibited words, including the word Anzac, but this request was refused.<sup>62</sup> The word Anzac was a civilian matter, rather than a military matter and Garran was determined to remain its chief defender.

In fact, Garran had already taken steps to extend the powers of the regulations. In October 1916, just three months after the original regulations had come into effect, he had written to Acting Prime Minister Pearce stating that 'it is considered that this regulation does not go far enough'.<sup>63</sup> He enclosed a new draft, 'Regulation 2A', which extended the prohibition of the word to private homes, boats, vehicles and charitable institutions.<sup>64</sup> Curiously, however, authorities had no legal objection towards those who sought to name their children Anzac.<sup>65</sup>

The harsh new regulations had implications for grief-stricken families. Bart Ziino has examined the ways in which families separated from the physical resting places of their loved ones by distance came to locate their grief at 'surrogate' sites.<sup>66</sup> Family homes, in particular, had the potential to provide a physical location for grief, perhaps even functioning as private war memorials. Hence, when 21-year-old Arthur Farrar of Ballarat was reported missing in Gallipoli in May 1915 his family endured an agonising 12 month wait for confirmation that he had been killed in action.<sup>67</sup> Arthur's father, a respected local police officer, wrote to the Attorney-General to explain that 'Since my wife is broken hearted the word "Anzac" was placed on our residence in remembrance of our missing son'.<sup>68</sup> In a series of increasingly desperate letters, Mr Farrar sought permission to retain the sign 'in remembrance

of a lad who gave his life for King, Country and Commonwealth'. His request, like many others, was denied.<sup>69</sup> However, the regulations were relaxed to facilitate public commemoration; communities were permitted to name streets and roads Anzac if they were located in the vicinity of a war memorial.<sup>70</sup>

A few concessions were also made to voluntary organisations upon which the federal government relied to supplement social services and welfare during the Great War. Joan Beaumont has described the patriotic fund movement, which consisted of organisations largely administered by women, as 'a remarkable industry in its own right'.<sup>71</sup> It is estimated that charities raised over £14 million during the Great War, a significant amount in the context of Australia's total defence expenditure of £188.5 million.<sup>72</sup> Due to the importance of these organisations to the war effort, this was one area in which Garran demonstrated some leniency. Factors taken into consideration included how long the organisation had been running, the number of members, their objectives and information describing the extent of their operations.<sup>73</sup> While the majority of applications were refused, organisations that could provide evidence of the scale and complexity of their activities stood a better chance of consideration. The 400 members of the Williamstown 'Anzac Club' met weekly and, by mid-1915, had already dispatched over 2,500 care parcels to the front.<sup>74</sup> After the regulations were enacted the club secretary, Mrs E. Musther, obtained permission to retain the name until 1 December 1916, the date of their major fundraising carnival.<sup>75</sup> Yet the deciding factor seems not to have been merit but influence. The few applications that were approved originated from well-connected women, whose submissions were often accompanied by a letter from a state minister endorsing their request.

While the administration of the use of the word Anzac in trade or business by the bureaucrats in the Attorney-General's office was fairly consistent (the vast majority of requests were denied outright), considerable confusion surrounded the use of the word in literature and artistic productions such as sheet music, poems and books. Correspondence from the Attorney-General's office rarely provided a rationale. However, two letters written by Garran on 29 September 1916 provide insights into the logic behind decisions. The first letter

was to a Sydney commercial music publisher, D. Davis & Co, to advise that he would not authorise the distribution of sheet music for a patriotic march ‘dedicated to Australia’s heroes’ called ‘Anzacs For Ever’.<sup>76</sup> The second letter was to May Summerbelle of Sydney, advising that permission had been granted to distribute her sheet music ‘The Anzac: The Bravest Thing God Ever Made’.<sup>77</sup> An examination of the records reveals that patriotic representations that did not seem overly commercial were more likely to be approved.<sup>78</sup> Did writers and musicians aspire to generate a profit from their creations or were they driven by an ambition to inscribe Australian achievement within the cultural canon? The Attorney-General’s office acknowledged the tension: ‘This is a matter which is giving the Department a good deal of trouble. On some instances permission has been granted, and in others it has been refused’.<sup>79</sup> Garran set about providing some clarification:

If it appears that the title is one properly descriptive of the nature of the work, permission to use it should be granted, irrespective of the merit of the work. If it appears that the title is mainly used with the object of furthering the sale of the particular production it should not be allowed.<sup>80</sup>

Nevertheless, administrators would continue to struggle to reconcile the tension between art and commerce inherent in the culture industry.

Advertisers, too, were increasingly sensitive to the desires of Australian consumers and attempted to tap into patriotic fervour. A glowing recommendation from the front provided an effective way to convey trust and quality, and several advertisers sought to have their products endorsed by Anzac heroes. From 1917, the Rexona company ran several advertisements in Australian newspapers that used Anzac volunteers as spokespersons for the popular healing ointment. One of the first advertisements featured the headline ‘A Gallant Anzac VC endorses Rexona’, the choice of a decorated soldier indicating that the product was truly fit for heroes.<sup>81</sup> Lieutenant Colonel Leslie Maygar declared:

I have pleasure in certifying that I have used Rexona whilst on active service in Gallipoli and Egypt and have found it excellent for the skin, especially in the trenches, when the skin was broken or cracked.<sup>82</sup>

The advertisement implored consumers to make a 'wise investment by buying two tins of Rexona – one for your home use, the other for your friend at the front'.<sup>83</sup> If a product worked well in the extreme conditions of war, it was sure to exceed expectations at home. Furthermore, the purchase of designated products for inclusion in comfort packs for troops abroad offered a way for Australians to directly support the war effort. As Robert Crawford has argued, these kinds

**A GALLANT ANZAC V.C.**  
**ENDORSES REXONA.**

**LIEUT.-COL. LES. MAYGAR, V.C., C.O. 8th LIGHT HORSE REGIMENT,  
3rd LIGHT HORSE BRIGADE, EGYPT, WRITES TO US:—**

"I have pleasure in certifying that I have used Rexona whilst on active service in Gallipoli and Egypt, and have found it excellent for the skin, especially in the trenches, when the skin was broken or cracked. The use of same prevented festering sores, which were so prevalent amongst the troops. I feel sure that a box of Rexona will always be appreciated by any man or soldier at the front.

(Sgd.) "LES. MAYGAR, Lt.-Col."

**"REXONA," A FRIEND TO THE  
BOYS IN THE TRENCHES.**

"We are in the trenches in France, and all sleep in the one dugout. We can recommend your Rexona Ointment after putting barbed wire out in front during the night; and would like a few samples of Rexona.

"CHICKAN WRIGHT ..... No. 3878, O Company, A.I.F., France.  
"MAT DOWNING ..... No. 3291, C Company, A.I.F., France.  
"JACK WARING ..... No. 3850, C Company, A.I.F., France.  
"C. J. PATTARSON ..... No. 3457, C Company, A.I.F., France.

"Yours sincerely,  
"THE DUGOUT FRIENDS."

**FIRST AT THE FRONT**

**AND FIRST AT HOME.**

The wonderful healing powers of Rexona have made it a password among the boys at the Front. For Cuts, Chafing, and Burns of all kinds Rexona, the Rapid Healer, is without an equal. Don't forget, make a wise investment now by buying two tins of Rexona—one for your home use, the other for your friend at the Front.

1/6  
and  
3/.

Figure 1.4: Advertisement for Rexona healing ointment, *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 October 1917. Image courtesy of the National Archives of Australia.

of appeals were highly effective as they ‘demonstrated the advertiser’s patriotism on the one hand, while stimulating the consumer’s own sense of patriotism on the other’.<sup>84</sup>

Commodification is not a one-way process. Advertisers were not poised to simply exploit the symbolic capital embodied by the word Anzac, but to potentially make and remake these meanings. Yet, when a single complaint was lodged to the Attorney-General’s office regarding an advertisement for Rexona, the issue identified was the use of the word Anzac in the text, rather than the intention to trade on the reputation of Australian volunteers, and Garran recommended ‘no further action’.<sup>85</sup>

How can we explain Garran’s curious ambivalence towards the use of the word Anzac by the emerging Australian advertising industry? While Australian traders were beginning to recognise the potential of advertising to build their brands, Garran’s interpretation reflected a wider lack of awareness about how advertising worked and what kind of impact it actually had.<sup>86</sup> While Britain and America had sophisticated propaganda departments that employed emerging advertising techniques, an Australian Directorate of War Propaganda was not established until 1918.<sup>87</sup> Yet, the First World War would become a major catalyst for the Australian advertising industry. The challenge to sell war loans, campaign for and against recruitment and deploy propaganda demonstrated that ‘advertising could sell ideas along with wares’.<sup>88</sup> In 1918 a speaker at the First Australian Convention of Advertising Men claimed ‘the war had done more, in fact, it was the largest factor, in the development of advertising than any other factor in the last fifty years’.<sup>89</sup>

After the war ended the federal government came under increasing pressure to repeal the *War Precautions Act* and took steps to enshrine the word Anzac permanently within statutory law. Concerned that the repeal of regulations could result in a deluge of Australian veterans using the word Anzac in their business names, the Controller of Repatriation wrote to the Attorney-General asking if anything could be done to preserve this authority.<sup>90</sup> Garran confirmed that existing parliamentary powers were insufficient to protect the word and took steps to extend them, ensuring that the *War Precautions Act Repeal Act 1920* contained a provision that allowed the Governor-General to

take action ‘prohibiting or regulating the use of the word “Anzac” or any word resembling the word “Anzac”’.<sup>91</sup> It was from this provision that the *Protection of Word ‘Anzac’ Regulations 1921* were enacted on 31 December 1920:

Under the Regulations no person may use the word ‘Anzac’, or any word resembling it, in connection with:...any trade, business, calling or profession or in connexion with any entertainment or any lottery or art union or as the name or part of a name of any private residence, boat, vehicle or charitable or other institution, or any building.<sup>92</sup>

Authorities recognised that it was necessary to continue to protect the word from commercialisation after the war ended. It was now clear that Anzac was not just a word, but an idea that would become a beacon for nation building and commemorative projects into the twentieth century and beyond.

### **Conclusion**

After the Gallipoli landing, the word Anzac became increasingly imbued with powerful national and personal meanings and associations. The value that Australians attached to the word was not confined to social and cultural currency but came to inhabit an economic realm. However, few Australians were permitted to deploy the word for their own use. Not only were general traders prohibited from using the word, Anzac veterans were unable to use it to distinguish their service and their families were refused permission to memorialise the word on private property. The motives of traders were complex and intertwined, with many applications evoking a combination of pragmatism, opportunism, patriotism and grief. More opportunistic traders attempted to employ the word to differentiate their services and wares within a competitive marketplace, but others employed the word as a genuine tribute.

Those who claimed to be custodians of the word Anzac had aspirations of their own. The federal government was determined to protect the word’s sacred national connotations from the vagaries of early twentieth-century consumer culture in order to harness its power for recruitment and morale building purposes. They were

determined to prevent the word Anzac from becoming ubiquitous, lest its sacred meanings become tarnished by banality. Had administrators not acted to prohibit its use so quickly and decisively, evidence suggests that the widespread commercialisation of Anzac would have continued. Taking this into account, the impact of the regulations on the establishment of the Anzac tradition in the early twentieth century has been vastly underestimated. However, if the purpose of legislation was to protect war memory from commodification, the attempt was futile. Throughout the twentieth century, the relationship between commemoration and commerce would remain a subject of ardent debate.