



Title of Dissertation: A Soldiers' truth: a comprehensive analysis of soldiers' lives through diary narratives in the Middle Eastern theatre 1915-1916.

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Abstract

This dissertation is about soldier's experience in the Middle Eastern theatre, during the First World War. Soldier diaries can be seen as the leading source of understanding how the common man experienced the war and the brutal conditions he encountered while serving his country. However, soldier diaries may not provide an accurate account on the war, as a soldier's mind can be influenced through anger, fear, tiredness or illness. The thesis is structured into three chapters, focusing on three distinctive topics. Chapter one focused on propaganda within the British Empire and examined the methods and theoretical concepts of how the common man was swayed with a pro-war stance and enlisted in the British army. Chapter two studied the soldier experience at Gallipoli and Kut and researched the conditions they encountered, such as the threat of the enemy, ethnic diversity, lack of supplies and risk of diseases. Chapter three questioned how the British media perceived Gallipoli and Kut and if they did provide an accurate account of both campaigns. The chapter implemented theoretical concepts about newspapers and diaries to develop a clear understanding of how they were composed and why there was a sense of inaccuracy within them. The results obtained suggested that soldier diaries provided an in depth insight of the horrors of war, while establishing that newspapers formed a different perspective of the war front.

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Introduction

“It was my first experience of warfare in the East - how lovely it all looked with the shells bursting against the Persian hills” Lieutenant Edwin Jones, 1916¹

Lieutenant Edwin Jones was one of many soldiers writing down daily events in a diary. Those recollections help to capture the common man’s experience of the war front in the Middle Eastern theatre, during World War I. Prior to enlisting, men were swayed from reports in newspapers and political speeches, which used persuasive techniques to gather the support from the public, while keeping a pro-war stance. The reports endorsed the British as saviours, whom had to defeat the barbarians (Central Powers) that threatened the Western Civilisation. The men whom enlisted imagined the thrill and pride of fighting for their country, while obtaining glory. Others were tempted by the idea of adventure and to tell stories of their heroic actions. However, these thoughts from the soldiers were not represented in reality, as insufficient food, murky and diseased infested trenches, severe weather conditions, besides loss of friends entailed a grim view for the soldier.

The question being posed in this dissertation is: did soldier diaries portray an accurate account of the warfront in the Middle Eastern Theatre? Forty diaries and letters are used to get a compelling understanding of soldiers’ lives on the war front. Additionally, these diaries will be compared to newspapers from the British and Commonwealth states to observe significant differences concerning the facts within the reports, such as the conditions of the soldiers. The question will mainly focus on Gallipoli and Kut as both operations ended in British defeat and it will be curious to investigate if the reports developed any biased claims. Furthermore, from a research perspective, Gallipoli and Kut had a copious amount of media attention as it was during the primitive stages of the war and the surrounding optimism was strong. Also, diary accounts were readily available concerning the British involvement in both operations. Moreover, theoretical concepts will be used to analyse the facts within the diaries and to establish whether there was any form of bias or inaccuracy. Overall, the dissertation will seek to discover what was the most accurate version when examining the soldiers’ living conditions in the Middle Eastern Theatre: diaries or newspapers?

¹ Edwin Jones, “Diary of Lieutenant Edwin Jones”, (<https://www.firstworldwar.com>), date accessed 28/06/1993.

Overview of chapters

The thesis will be structured into three chapters. Each chapter will focus on one specific topic (propaganda, diaries, newspapers). Each topic will be discussed in detail with the input of multiple theories to gain a better understanding. Furthermore, themes will be compared to each other to put into perspective the evidence gathered (e.g. newspapers and diaries). Chapter one focuses primarily on propaganda within the British Empire. This chapter first discusses the foundations of propaganda and its role in recruitment policies and portraying the enemy through speeches, imagery and the media. Theoretical concepts from Lasswell and Jowett are used to give support to the importance of propaganda for the British Empire. Furthermore, the chapter examines the recruitment policies and techniques within Britain, Ireland, Australia, New Zealand and India to see how effective it was on the common man. The chapter concludes with the public opinion on the war, which is accompanied by soldier diaries of men whom served on the war front.

Chapter two focuses around soldier diaries and first-person accounts in the Middle Eastern theatre, primarily at Gallipoli and Kut. The chapter opens with the British reasons of going to war with the Ottoman Empire, which provides context for the reader while developing a better understanding of why the soldiers enlisted. The chapter centres on diary accounts and observes the conditions the soldiers met, such as the lack of provisions, illnesses and diseases, thoughts on the enemy army at Gallipoli and Kut. These aspects are accompanied by the examination of racial diversity within soldier diaries from the British and Indian perspective, while the theoretical concept of emotion is analysed throughout various diary accounts.

Chapter three centres on the British media perspective on the Middle Eastern theatre. A collection of newspapers from the British and Commonwealth states (mainly Australia) are utilised to examine the conditions at Gallipoli and Kut. The aim here is to see if there were any significant differences between the newspaper reports and in soldier diaries. The evidence in the newspapers is compared to the information found in soldier diaries in chapter two to establish if there was any significant differences (in relation to the facts). The chapter continues by applying theoretical framework such as censorship and positive thinking to the reporting methods within newspapers. The chapter concludes by studying further theories on diaries to develop a better understanding of how one should approach a diary for research.

Historiography review

From a historiography point of view, diaries are examined in a range of different aspects from scholars. Historian Edward Woodfin studied British soldier diaries and focused on the Sinai front and the life of the common man at the war front. Woodfin's inclusion of soldier diaries gives the reader a sense of realism of how brutal a war is and how it can affect the men at combat mentally, whom voluntarily or forcefully pledged their life to fight. Woodfin takes abstracts from diaries and implements them into his argument to show moments of soldiers' thoughts.² Australian historian Nathan Wise concentrated on the conditions and efforts of the Anzac (Australia and New Zealand Army Corps) in the Middle East, particularly at Gallipoli. Comparable to Woodfin, Wise used soldier diaries to get a better sense of how the Anzac forces portrayed the war. Wise noted these diary accounts were not always corresponding to officer reports, as they had only moments in difficult environments to write down what they saw, surrounded by a haze of war. Historian Eugen Rogan studied the Ottoman perspective, including British soldier diaries in his work to provide first person accounts. These works will be accompanied by historical overviews of Gallipoli and Kut, primarily from Historians Erik Erikson, Peter Mangold, Robert Cowley and Philip Haythornthwaite. Their overviews on diary analysis and the Middle Eastern Theatre are woven and examined in greater depths in chapter two.

For propaganda, communication theorist Harold Lasswell examined propaganda from World War I. One perspective Laswell took was the evolvement of communications within propaganda. This related to the use of media, where the government of each respective country exploited newspapers and radio reports with propaganda to receive the backing of the public.³ Historian Troy Paddock focused on newspapers and their role in the First World War. Paddock gave the reader a primary source feature by adding newspaper abstracts to his argument. One brief example was the news broken by the *Daily Mail* on 31st July 1914 about Germany's declaration of war against France. The *Daily Mail* wrote: "Great Britain cannot stand by and see her friend stricken down, we must stand by our friends".⁴ Paddock wants to show the reader how newspapers performed a decisive role in creating opinions for the common person so they

² Edward, Woodfin, *Camp and Combat on the Sinai and Palestine Front: The Experience of the British Soldier, 1916-18*, (London, 2012).

³ Harold, Laswell, *Propaganda Technique in the World War*, (Massachusetts, 1927).

⁴ Troy, Paddock, *A Call to Arms: Propaganda, Public Opinion, and Newspaper in the Great War*, (California, 2004), (<http://books.google.ie>), date accessed 20/11/2016, 21.

would act in favour of the government. Other historians such as Lee Thompson, Garth Jowett, Alice Goldfarb and Jay Winter's work will be examined in greater length in chapter one.

In relation to the historical gaps within the academic debates, soldier diaries and newspapers are rarely compared to one another in the same context. Historians primarily focus on one topic and do not intertwine both. This prevents how both the soldier and media perspective saw the war front in a comparative perspective. This thesis will fill the gap from this view point and will assist the debate in understanding the First World War in the Middle East. A further gap this thesis will attempt to fill is the analysis of newspaper reports on the Middle Eastern Theatre. When researching newspaper coverage in the First World War, the Western Front is the centre of discussion, while the Middle Eastern front was more neglected and pushed to the middle pages. This thesis seeks to examine the coverage of the Middle Eastern Front and to determine if the coverage was sufficient as it was for the Western Front. Soldier diaries and memoirs will assist this part of the research. The relationship between British and Commonwealth soldiers is another gap this thesis seeks to fill. There has been little on the relationship of how the British saw their Dominion counterparts or how the men from the Commonwealth States saw their British counterparts, particularly in the Middle Eastern theatre. The diaries used within the thesis will aid this perspective to establish if the relationship between the British and Commonwealth soldiers was strong or fragile.

Theoretical concepts

To have a thorough understanding of how one approaches and utilises information within soldier diaries, a theoretical framework is required. For example, the *theory of emotion*, developed by philosopher Joel Marks, is one approach. Marks defines emotion as a mixture of feelings that are distinguished from one another by the way one feels.⁵ Examples of emotions are anger, fear and sadness that have and will occur throughout one's lifetime. Although this is a sociological reference, it can also apply to how one writes and expresses his thoughts. The theory of collective memory will also be implemented within the framework of approaching and understanding soldier diaries. Collective memory is defined as what was written about the past by the observer (soldier on the warfront) and how it is recollected later.⁶ Esmeralda Kleinreesink's timing narratives will also be explored in understanding how the content in

⁵ Joel Marks, *A Theory of Emotion*, (NP, 1981), 1.

⁶ Susan Crane, "Writing the Individual Back Into Collective Memory" in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 102, No. 5 (Dec. 1997), 1372.

diaries differed from different time spectrums. These theories will be used and explained in greater depths in chapters two and three.

From the media and propaganda angle, Harold Lasswell studied the concept of mobilising over opinion, which entails the British government to form fabricated reports to assist in forming the public opinion.⁷ This led to the public believing they formed their own opinion and would have a stronger motive to support the government. Garth Jowett's theories on media utilisation and persuasion will also be implemented to develop a better understanding on propaganda. Another theory that will be used is the *information manipulation theory* (IMT) formulated by professor of public speaking Steven McCornack. McCornack defines IMT as an editing model of deception that misleads the public.⁸ McCornack's definition relates to the ideology of propaganda during the First World War and how the British government used various methods to deceive the public. An editing model example can be messages or slogans in newspapers or imagery on posters.

Methodology and Innovative aspects

In terms of primary research, one had to look through various archives and databases to gain access to primary material. The National Army Museum provides abstracts of soldier diaries from the Middle Eastern Front.⁹ It also offers secondary material to give the reader a better perception of the ordeals of the war front. Further databases such as (<http://www.gallipoli.gov.au>) and (<https://gallipoli.rte.ie>) provide diary accounts of soldiers from the Commonwealth States. The British Library is another useful archive, as it presents official governmental documents on the prisoner's war camps and covert missions on Gallipoli and Mesopotamia campaigns.¹⁰ Additionally, the database offers memoirs of soldiers who fought in the Middle Eastern Theatre, which contributes to primary research. Newspapers are used as part of the main thesis structure. However, there were obstacles when researching soldier diaries. For instance, there was little available for free. Most databases look for some payment, with some wanting twenty-five euro for a week's access. For this reason, forty diaries and abstracts will be studied and analysed throughout this thesis. One could then think that the accounts and conclusions might reflect a partial and specific view from soldiers instead of a general picture of the war. One other challenge is the transcribing of written material from the

⁷ Harold Lasswell, *Propaganda Technique in the World War*, (Massachusetts, 1927), 14.

⁸ Scott Jacobs, *Information Manipulation Theory: A Replication and Assessment*, (1996), 1.

⁹ National Army Museum, (<http://www.nam.ac.uk>), date accessed 01/02/2017.

¹⁰ British Library, (<http://www.bl.uk>), date accessed 01/02/2017.

diaries. This is an issue as the soldiers may have had limited time to record the information so their writing became disorientated and dishevelled.

Newspapers provided a wide analysis of the use of propaganda by the British government, while also presenting coverage on the war in the Middle East. Newspapers such as *The Times*, *The Guardian*, *The Observer* along with Australian newspapers were obtained from the (<http://www.newspapers.com>) and analysed throughout. A further aspect that was examined is the coverage of the Gallipoli campaign and the siege of Kut. Again, newspapers were observed to discover which provided a more accurate and sufficient coverage of the warfront. By composing this analysis, the results should demonstrate a sense of bias or neglect towards the soldier's conditions in both operations, while also discovering if there was an adequate amount of coverage. One obstacle that occurred from using this database is that it contained selective newspaper titles and others such as *The Daily Mail* were not available. However, I overcame this obstacle by locating abstracts of *The Daily Mail* from literature that examined that particular newspaper.

Two case studies will be used as part of the methodological research to get a better understanding of soldiers' lives and how they composed their thoughts. As mentioned earlier, the case studies are Gallipoli and Kut. From both examples, elements such as soldier's thought on the enemy, food and health issues and reflection on the war will be analysed. These elements should give the research and analysis of soldier's lives a different perspective as each section provides a contrasting insight of the war in the Middle East. Theoretical concepts in understanding newspapers and soldier diaries will also be part of the methodological research. As briefly mentioned above, theory of collective thought and emotion will be used in understanding how a soldier composed his thoughts. The work of Esmeralda Kleinreesink, a former Dutch officer who served in Afghanistan, will be examined to give an alternative approach in understanding diaries.

Secondary source readings provided background material and the foundation for this thesis. By implementing the secondary material along with the primary sources, one will have a better understanding of the war in the Middle East and the role of propaganda by the British Empire, while diaries provide real life accounts on the war. The library at the Erasmus University Rotterdam contains a variety of books and articles on the First World War in the Middle East. The library also has access to databases such as Jstor which provides further

articles and reviews on World War I texts.¹¹ The British Library and the Imperial War Museum also supplies secondary reading and articles, written by academics and historians.

From an innovative perception, this thesis will provide a relationship between soldier's diaries and newspapers. The media and diaries accounts on World War I have been examined and studied by historians but only in a separate approach. For instance, Edward Woodfin focused on diaries in the Middle East but never referenced newspapers. By merging these elements together, the thesis establishes a different approach on how the war was perceived from the soldier and media perception. Additionally, this thesis stipulates on providing a theoretical framework for understanding soldier diaries in the Middle Eastern Front, World War I. The thesis explores how soldiers wrote their own individual thoughts on life in the war front. This scope provides a scholarly foundation of understanding how the common soldier witnessed the war and how he incorporated his thoughts into a diary.

Soldiers' thoughts on the war is another innovative aspect within this thesis. Not all soldiers were satisfied and others were dismayed with the conditions and pro-longevity of the war and some wrote their disgruntled views in their diaries. Other soldiers such as the men at Gallipoli wrote of their annoyance of the British evacuation and believed their hard work came to nothing. In addition, soldiers from different backgrounds is another inventive characteristic in the dissertation question. Here, one will analyse the soldiers' perception on the war from Britain and other colonies (Australia, Canada, India, Ireland and New Zealand). The key elements under examination include the reasons why they joined the war, their reflection on the war itself, relationships with other men from different ethnic backgrounds and thoughts on the British Empire (related to the Commonwealth men).

From a methodological perspective, the dissertation provides a mixture of propaganda portrayal from the British Empire and war diaries of the men who fought on the Middle Eastern front from 1914 to 1916. Furthermore, this thesis offers the reader various primary material such as soldier diaries, propaganda posters, newspapers accounts on the war, governmental documents, and soldier memoirs. These sources create a wide analysis of the war in the Middle East which will prove itself beneficial for future scholars.

¹¹ Jstor, (<http://www.jstor.com>), date accessed 01/02/2017.

Chapter one: Propaganda and its influence on recruitment and public opinion within the British Empire

“He who wants to persuade should put his trust not in the right argument, but in the right word. The power of sound has always been greater than the power of sense.” - Joseph Conrad, 1900¹²

When war erupted in 1914, the British government co-operated with the main media establishments to prepare a recruitment campaign, while also publishing biased and fabricated reports towards their enemies, the German and Ottoman Empires. Hence, the main analysis of this chapter focuses on the role of propaganda from the British Empire, selected propaganda sources from the Ottoman Empire, and uncover its effects and results on the public. The analysis is divided into sections, with a series of questions being posed and answered throughout the investigation.

The first section opens with the origins and uses of propaganda within the British Empire. Here, one will ponder the role of Lord Northcliffe, the owner of the main media industries in Britain, and how he was able to establish one of the most effective propaganda systems of the twentieth century. Furthermore, the section progresses to the practices of propaganda. From here, the analysis focuses on the British government’s main incentive for deploying propaganda throughout the Empire.

The next section explores the methods of propaganda that were implemented throughout the war: the British government deployed numerous techniques to encourage the public to contribute to the war effort. Some examples include media reports from *The Times* and *Daily Mail*, the application of effective imagery with catchy slogans in posters. These techniques targeted different multiplicity of the public to create the concept of going to war, which political scientist Anne Rasmussen defines this concept as the “war of right” from the Entente perspective and to bring liberty and peace.¹³ The core goal in this section is to study and analyse the accuracies of media reports and whether they were fabricated to influence the audience or not.

The third section observes propaganda in the Commonwealth States. The goal of this section is to examine the different methodologic elements implemented throughout the British colonies. The main focus is a comparison of propaganda techniques throughout all

¹² Joseph Conrad, Quote on Propaganda 1900, (<http://www.alternativereel.com>), date accessed 08/02/2017.

¹³ Anne Rasmussen, “Mobilising Minds” in Jay Winter’s *Cambridge History of the First World War Volume III: Civil Society*, (Cambridge, 2013), 398.

Commonwealth States. One seeks to discover if the British government composed new propaganda techniques according to the States' cultures and beliefs. The Dominions that will be examined are Ireland, Australia, New Zealand and India.

The final section of the chapter analyses the public and soldier opinion of the war. This section examines diaries, letters and reports from the soldiers before they went to the front and writings from the public are also studied. This chapter does not focus on soldier diaries on the war front as such; its main purpose is to elaborate on the idea that reports throughout the war were not always accurate and could also be misleading to keep up morale while at the same time attracting men to enlist.

Origins and practice of propaganda in the British Empire

Propaganda was a significant instrument for the British Empire throughout the First World War. The British government applied propaganda to support the army in its recruitment policies, while also creating negative media reports of the enemy to gain the support of the public. Prior to the war, the British army composed of 730,000.¹⁴ This number increased and the British had at once stage, an estimated 8.7 million soldiers ready for deployment.¹⁵ The question posed here is who or what was the main source for the induction and influence of propaganda within the Empire during the First World War? One might point at the role of Alfred Harmsworth, better known as Lord Northcliffe, who was the founder of the *Daily Mail* and *Daily Star* and was labelled as “the most powerful man in the country” at the time.¹⁶ Lord Northcliffe was an influential figure in the evolution of propaganda throughout the twentieth century. Historian J. Lee Thompson states that Adolf Hitler praised the work of Northcliffe and believed he was one of the main reasons for Britain's war success.¹⁷

Lord Northcliffe was born in Dublin, Ireland in 1865, but moved to England at an early age, where he was educated in Lincolnshire.¹⁸ Northcliffe worked as a journalist in his early years before moving into the printing business, where he established a range of newspaper companies, with the *Daily Mail* being his leading media establishment. When the war started

¹⁴ Unknown, “The Long, Long Trail”, (<http://www.1914-1918.net>), date accessed 13/02/2017.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Jock Malcolm McEwen, “Northcliffe and Lloyd George at War, 1914-1918”, in *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 24, No. 3 (September 1981), 651-672.

¹⁷ Lee Thompson, “Politicians, the Press and Propaganda: Lord Northcliffe and the Great War, 1914-1919” in *The International History Review*, Vol 22, No 4. (Dec. 2000), 942-943.

¹⁸ George Boyce, “Harmsworth, Alfred Charles William, Viscount Northcliffe (1865-1922), Journalist and Newspaper Proprietor”, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (<http://www.oxforddnb.com>), date accessed 06/02/2017.

in 1914, Northcliffe was not convinced of Britain's interest in going to the battlefield, as he believed it should not send an army to Europe, but instead defend its borders.¹⁹ However, Northcliffe soon changed his opinion and propelled the *Daily Mail* to be one of the leading media hubs of the war front. Northcliffe primarily focused the propaganda on the German Empire due to its attack on France. According to American historian Troy Paddock, Northcliffe had a repugnance towards Germany and was even considered German-phobic due to his affection for France.²⁰ Northcliffe's media influence laid the foundation of the British propaganda campaign against its enemies.

Lord Northcliffe's relations within British politics was the key reason for his influence throughout the war. He had a strong but cold working relationship with British Prime Minister David Lloyd George (1916-1922) due to the latter's pro war approach, but also Northcliffe's dislike of Herbert Henry Asquith (1908-1916), who he believed was unfit to lead the Empire's fight in the war.²¹ Both Northcliffe and Lloyd George wanted British victory in the war and were willing to sacrifice anything for it. Historian Jock Malcolm McEwen describes how Lloyd George send Northcliffe a letter, asking for a resolute cooperation between the two men and uses the latter's media abilities to extend the backing of other political leaders.²² This request from Lloyd George can be seen as a tactical move, as he noted Northcliffe was not supportive of Asquith, while Lloyd George required the collaboration from the media in order to achieve victory. Northcliffe cooperated as requested, as he believed his media capabilities were recognised by the British Government. Despite collaborating, issues did form between both parties. Northcliffe was able to use his media connections to pressurise the government into realising his demands. According to J. Lee Thompson, Northcliffe threatened Lloyd George that he would end the media support for the national war effort unless he received more credentials from the British government.²³ This threat relates to Northcliffe wanting a more central role in the British parliament, which would present him as more powerful and more influential. Lloyd George gave into his demands, as losing Northcliffe's support was too much of a risk due to the latter being the largest media tycoon at the time in Britain. The evidence suggests that Northcliffe was an influential figure in promoting propaganda within the British

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Troy Paddock, *A Call to Arms: Propaganda, Public Opinion, and Newspaper in the Great War*, (California, 2004), 17.

²¹ Jock Malcolm McEwen, "Northcliffe and Lloyd George at War, 1914-1918" in *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 24, No. 3 (Sep. 1981), 653.

²² Ibid.

²³ Lee Thompson, *Politicians, the Press and Propaganda: Lord Northcliffe and the Great War, 1914-1919*, (London, 2001), 942-943.

Empire. Without Northcliffe's influence, one can argue that the British Empire may have struggled to receive the backing of the public for its war effort.

With Northcliffe laying the foundations for the evolution of propaganda and implementing it through his media outlets, a question was formed as to why would one use propaganda? One answer was to create a universal topic that everyone can relate to and retaliate against. From the British perspective, the common theme was negative media narratives towards the Central Powers. The British media under Lord Northcliffe created propaganda campaigns against their enemies so the public would believe they constructed its "own opinion" on the war. According to political scientist and communication theorist Harold Lasswell, the theoretical concept of rallying over opinion was essential for the British government. This method was used by the government as mobilising over opinion generated a stronger support from the public as they believed the opinion they were forming was their own, but in fact was the government who formed the opinion for them.²⁴ Whereas mobilising over men would have forced the common man to go to war without them having a viable opinion. Lasswell considered this technique as influential for any government, as they did not aspire to compel the public to go to war without having suitable motives or causes to justify their actions. An example to support Lasswell's claim were posters and slogans with messages inserted to help the public to create its opinion. For example, a propaganda postcard carrying the slogan "Are we afraid? No!" while showing five Pitbull's, standing on the Union Jack.²⁵ The Pitbull's represent the British and Commonwealth States. This image was created to discard the public's reluctance to back the British Empire's call for support.

Moreover, Anne Rasmussen also examined mobilising minds and stated that British journalists were tasked with getting the neutral states on the British side.²⁶ The Journalists formed the "War Propaganda Bureau" and composed of twenty-five well renowned British intellectuals at the time.²⁷ This concept has similar traits to Lasswell's analysis as the journalists created manifestos that would entice the common man's opinion so that the idea of going to war would be more appealing. Therefore, by using propaganda techniques throughout the media, it assisted the common man to generate its opinion, which in return persuaded the common man to join the British army rather than being forced to enlist.

²⁴ Harold Lasswell, *Propaganda Technique in the World War*, (Massachusetts, 1927), 14.

²⁵ See appendix illustration 1.

²⁶ Anne Rasmussen, "Mobilising Minds" in Jay Winter's *Cambridge History of the First World War Volume III: Civil Society*, (Cambridge, 2013), 402.

²⁷ Ibid.

One other essential feature of propaganda used within Britain was to generate negative views towards its enemies. The British Empire used propaganda techniques such as false media reports to the public of its enemies to create friction between the people and the state. To demonstrate this, Lasswell gave a proficient illustration of why these methods were effective. Laswell discussed the allied pamphleteers which issued the false information within the trenches, distributed further material to the German public to inform them that their government was not disclosing all the information available to them.²⁸ Laswell used the term “disintegration” when conferring over the discussed method as the relationship between the government and public was extinguished from the false reports. From the German perspective, German officer General Ludendorff wrote in his memoirs after the war of how pivotal British propaganda was in disrupting public morale in Germany. Ludendorff discusses how British airmen dropped leaflets that intended to “kill the soul” of the German public, referring to setbacks on the war front.²⁹ Ludendorff further elaborates that Northcliffe was the chief culprit of providing a “cloud of hopelessness and doubt” for the German people and labelled Northcliffe as the “Minister of destruction” for his role.³⁰

Overall, the evidence and Lasswell’s analysis suggest that propaganda was used by the British Empire to receive the support of the public, while endeavouring to demoralise the enemy. The mobilisation of opinion model was employed on the public to generate their own view and support the war cause. Furthermore, the dispersing of fake leaflets and false reports in enemy territory produced friction between the public and the state, which aided Britain in the war. With propaganda and the media outlets in place to support Britain’s cause, what was the impact of propaganda on the British Empire and its people? The most evident result was that propaganda, along with the theme of nationalism, encouraged the public to volunteer for the British army. This was significant for the British government, as people volunteering to join the army suggests that they accepted the “idea of going to war” and were willing to participate to end it. As mentioned previously, the British army had under 750,000 soldiers before the war. But with the use of propaganda, the British army increased to just under nine million and was composed of seventy-five per cent volunteers.³¹

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Michael Sanders, Philip Taylor, *British Propaganda during the First World War, 1914-1918*, (London, 1982), 210.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Peter Simkins, *Voluntary Recruiting in Britain, 1914-1915*, (<http://www.bl.uk>), date accessed 08/02/2017.

A further feature propaganda presented to the British Empire was the absence of negative media attention towards the government. This was due to the inclusion of the Defence of the Realm Consolidation Act, introduced in November 1914. This act was implemented to prevent any false or negative reports that were likely to cause disaffection to his Majesty and also to the British Empire that its Majesty represents.³² This relates to negative or harmful news updates from the Western Front or the Middle Eastern theatre, that would demoralise the public back home. Professors of psychology Dr. Marilyn Brewer and Dr. William Crano argue that Britain kept a humanitarian outlook when concerning its involvement in the war. Both authors relate this to Britain's propaganda campaign as they pictured themselves as "peace loving islanders" and were forced to fight to protect the Western Civilisation.³³ This portrayed the British as the saviour towards its people as they went and supported the war. Moreover, the Defence of the Realm Consolidation Act gave Britain an advantage over its enemies, as the latter did not implement strict policies, unlike the former.

German historian Alice Goldfarb examined propaganda during the First World War and states the British Empire exceeded the German Empire, which also had a formidable propaganda system. This is where censorship gave Britain the initiative. The British government removed any negative news of the war to prevent any discontent at home, whereas the Germans failed to accomplish this.³⁴ By censoring the negative coverage, Britain was able to prolong the support from the public and continue its respectable campaigns both in Europe and the Middle East. In all, one can establish that propaganda played a significant role for the British Empire, as it enabled it to create a large army, while also disrupting its enemies (mainly Germany) with fabricated reports.

Methods and analyses of propaganda

The British government's implementation of propaganda along with the media industries was effective; with the assistance of Lord Northcliffe, the government was able to encourage men and women to support the war cause. Furthermore, propaganda was used to derail the enemy by deploying fabricated reports to unsettle the public. One of the main contributions to the spread of propaganda were newspapers. Under the influence of the British government and

³² Frederick Atterney, *Defence of the Realm Consolidation Act 1914*, (<http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk>), date accessed 08/02/2017.

³³ Marilyn Brewer, William Crano, *Principles and Methods of Social Research*, (Oxford, 1986), 261.

³⁴ Alice Goldfarb, "Words as Weapons: Propaganda in Britain and Germany during the First World War" in *Journal of Contemporary History* Vol.13 No.2, (1978), 476.

Lord Northcliffe, newspapers provided news coverage of the warfront for the British public. According to historian Garth Jowett, this is known as “media utilisation”. Jowett defines it as how one examines which media outlet was being used by the propagandist (British government) and why.³⁵ In line with Jowett’s analysis, the British government mainly used *The Daily Mail*, *The Times* and *The Guardian* due to its relations with Lord Northcliffe. Furthermore, *The Daily Mail* was seen as one of the main media hubs for war coverage and was easily accessible to the public around the country. Moreover, soldiers were able to access the newspaper on the war front, with an estimated 10,000 delivered daily.³⁶ For the soldiers serving in the Middle East, the *Manchester Sentry* was available, with an estimated 26,000 copies sold monthly in Egypt.³⁷

American historian Troy Paddock takes this analysis further and examines the role of newspapers and its influences in creating an opinion for the public. An article from the *Daily Mail* was used in Paddock’s book to strengthen his case. On the 31st of July of 1914 (the day before WWI officially began), the *Daily Mail* broke news of Germany’s planned attack on France with the caption “Great Britain cannot stand by and see her friend stricken down, we must stand by our friends”.³⁸ By applying this message, the British government wanted the public to act and join the war cause. Although this was not manipulating the truth, the British government initiated this caption as not everyone was considered as “pro-war”. This included the Social Democratic Federation, an anti-war party, which did not want to sacrifice men for a war they did not start.³⁹

The *Daily Mail* used other persuasive techniques such as imagery and slogans to encourage men to enlist. For instance, the newspaper targeted the German Kaiser and used names such as “lunatic”, “Monster” and “barbarian” throughout the war. Furthermore, the newspaper displayed images of the wounded (displayed at the end of paragraph) on the front page to present the public the sacrifice of their men.⁴⁰ These techniques produced by the

³⁵ Garth Jowett, Victoria O Donnell, *Propaganda and Persuasion*, (London, 1992), 219.

³⁶ Adrian Bingham, “The Paper that Foretold the War”: *The Daily Mail and the First World War* (Birmingham, 2013), 2.

³⁷ David Englander, *Soldiering and Identity: Reflections on the Great War*, (1994), 304.

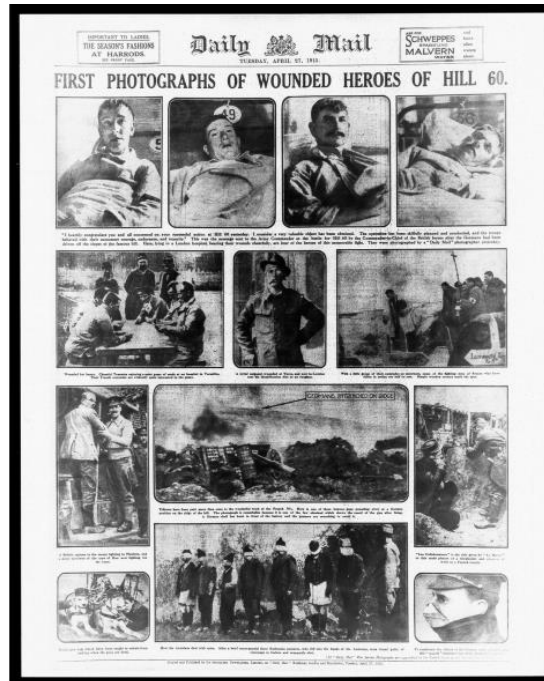
³⁸ Troy Paddock, *A Call to Arms: Propaganda, Public Opinion, and Newspaper in the Great War*, (California, 2004), (<http://books.google.ie>), date accessed 20/11/2016, 21.

³⁹ John MacLean, “The War and its Outcome” in *Justice* (17th September 1914), (<http://www.marxists.org>), date accessed 09/02/2017.

⁴⁰ Adrian Bingham, “The Paper that Foretold the War”: *The Daily Mail and the First World War* (Birmingham, 2013), 5.

newspaper demonstrates firstly, the power of the media had, while also harbouring the persuasive ability of attracting men to enlist during the war.

Image one: *First Photographs of Wounded Heroes of Hill 60' (Ypres, Belgium), showing pictures of some of the wounded soldiers.*



Source: *Daily Mail* on 27 April 1915

The Times used similar propaganda techniques. The paper also created reports aimed at the Ottoman Empire. The newspaper discussed the Ottomans joining the war and described how the British government was shocked by the former’s actions, as it believed the Turks broke a “verbal agreement” with the Triple Entente and sided with the Central Powers.⁴¹ Although the Ottomans joining the Central Powers was accurate, the reasons for their merger was not addressed in the newspaper. For instance, the Ottomans were not happy with Russia’s interest in the Turkish Straits in 1912, while the latter threatening to invade the former unless it cut ties with Germany in 1913.⁴² Furthermore, the Entente had interests in creating an alliance with the Ottoman Empire, but failed to provide a resilient defence between them and Germany, which eventually forced the Ottomans to side with them.⁴³ Although the British government had the right to be troubled, the media failed to explain the tensions between both the Entente and the

⁴¹ Unknown, “The Action of Turkey” in *The Times* 10 Nov, (London, 1914), (<http://www.newspapers.com>), date accessed 09/02/2017.

⁴² John Keegan, *The First World War*, (Canada, 1998), 175.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

Ottomans. By removing this, it created a picture of the Ottomans being deceitful and untrustworthy. Moreover, this assisted in enhancing the British public's opinion of the war, which enticed them to join the cause and support the British cause in defeating the Ottomans. Overall, the *Daily Mail* and *The Times* provided sufficient coverage to the war, while also implementing propaganda messages to encourage men to enlist. Although not all newspapers were endorsing the war (discussed later in the chapter), the newspapers mentioned provided a sufficient case that propaganda was widely used within them.

Similar to newspapers, posters were essential in promoting the war effort, while also assisting the government in creating a volunteer army through various techniques. One major theme for posters was recruitment. In the early stages of the First World War, posters contributed to the increased number of soldiers in the British army, with an estimated 500,000 signing up in mid-September 1914.⁴⁴ One example to illustrate the claim is a poster titled "Who's absent? Is it you?". The poster represents an image of John Bull, the national figure of the British Empire, pointing outwards at the viewer of the poster.⁴⁵ This message was aimed at the British men who were not yet committed or had not enlisted. Furthermore, the figure of John Bull and fellow Englishmen also portrays an intimidating pressure on the viewers of the poster, as it makes them feel that they must join the volunteers.

Another example to illustrate this claim further is a poster of the female Britannica figure. The poster holds the caption "Defend your island from the grimmest menace that ever threatened it", with Britannica wielding the Union Jack and leading a band of British men to war.⁴⁶ The quote is from David Lloyd George, who was echoing a message to his fellow British men to tackle the enemy (German and Ottoman Empire). This image carries a sense of bravery, as it shows the men motivating themselves and getting ready to attack. The poster also expresses the idea of masculinity for the men who joined the war, which may intimidate the others who haven't signed up yet. This is known as the target audience technique. Here the propagandist would create campaigns to target certain members of the audience.⁴⁷ This image was used in this scenario to target young/middle aged men as they were deemed the right calibre to join the British army.

⁴⁴ David Brownes, Robert Fleming, *Posters of the First World War*, (New York, 2014), 14.

⁴⁵ See appendix illustration 2.

⁴⁶ See appendix illustration 3.

⁴⁷ Garth Jowett, Victoria O'Donnell, *Propaganda and Persuasion*, (London, 1992), 218.

Posters played a role in recruitment, but they also defamed the enemy's activities on both the Western and Middle Eastern fronts. Imagery was formed in posters that deceived the public into believing the "barbarity" of their enemy. For instance, the Ottoman Empire used its propaganda campaign to target the Russian and British Empire, who were fighting the former in the Middle East. The slogan "Krieg ist die losung" translates to "war is the solution", with the British portrayed as a towering creature approaching the Ottoman territory, holding a Ottoman vessel in one hand, while British battleships sail towards Constantinople.⁴⁸ The Ottomans used this imagery to manipulate the Turkish people to stay united (due to the uncertainty of the future of the Ottoman Empire and the rise of the Young Turks), to preserve the Empire's borders and to prevent British influence expanding in the Arabian peninsula.

From the British perspective, one can acknowledge that the government did not return the favour on how it viewed the Ottoman Empire; an illustration displaying the German Empire on the moving chariot, while the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian Empires portrayed the horse transporting it.⁴⁹ This image suggests that there was a power imbalance within the Central Powers, which indicates the British Empire did not regard the Ottomans as a threat in contrast to its German counterparts. This was further illustrated by Eugene Rogan who stated the British saw the Ottoman Empire as the weakest link in the Central Power's chain of command.⁵⁰ This would appease the public, as they believed fighting the Ottomans was a more straightforward task than the campaign on the Western Front, as the German military were more advanced and prepared than the Ottomans. Overall, one can perceive that both sides manipulated the truth to create a strong campaign against their enemies. Even though the Ottomans labelled the British as beasts and invaders, from the British perception they were only acting on the outcome of the Ottomans joining the German Empire. In contrast, the British rendered the Ottomans as weak and were not expecting a strong resistance. However, this was not the case, as the latter held out against the former until the later days of the war.⁵¹

⁴⁸ See appendix illustration 4.

⁴⁹ See appendix illustration 5.

⁵⁰ Eugene Rogan, *The Fall of the Ottoman Empire*, (New York, 2015), 243.

⁵¹ David, Woodward, "Middle East during World War I", (<http://www.bbc.co.uk>), date accessed 14/02/2017.

Image two: Volunteers queue to enlist outside a recruiting office, 1914



Source: (<http://www.walesonline.co.uk>), date accessed 09/02/2017.

The use of political speeches by main figureheads was another method of implementing propaganda in the minds of the public. Speeches were carried out in mass gatherings, where a leader of a political party or a member of the royal family would address the crowd for its support of the war. British Prime Minister Lloyd George was a leading figure when addressing the public about supporting the war cause. The main feature of his speeches was focused on the war's importance and the threat the Central Powers posed (German threat on Britain and Ottoman invasion of British oil fields in the Middle East). Lloyd George explained that the German Empire blamed Britain for starting the war and that it underestimated the power of the British Empire by stating "Germany expected to find a lamb and found a lion".⁵² Lloyd George's speeches were devised to gain the public's support as he intended to go to war. Despite promoting the war and proclaiming Germany as the enemy, Lloyd George's speech does contain propaganda elements. One example was Lloyd George himself, as he was one of the main leading figure heads in the war and people believed that if someone of his calibre said something, it had to be true. This is known as "propaganda of persuasion". Lloyd George wanted the support of the public from the beginning, so the public would sacrifice their wealth and time to support the war effort.⁵³ This would allow the public to put forward their earnings, savings and time for the British Empire.

Other speech examples from political figures sometimes display the innocent victim criteria to receive the support from their people. This theme was applied by the head of the

⁵² David Lloyd George, *Speech on the Great War June 1917*, (<http://www.firstworldwar.com>), date accessed 13/02/2017.

⁵³ Garth Jowett, Victoria O'Donnell, *Propaganda and Persuasion*, (London, 1992), 123.

Ottoman Empire, Sultan Mehmed V, on November 1914. Mehmed's speech was on the proclamation of war and discussed why the Ottomans were forced to participate. He explained Russia made unjustified attacks on its borders while in a state of neutrality, with the British and French navy approaching their territory.⁵⁴ He further lengthened his argument by asking his fellow Muslims to stand up and fight for the glory of the Ottoman Empire.⁵⁵ Although Mehmed wanted to stay out of the war, he manipulated the facts about the relations with the Triple Entente to justify his claim of being the victim. Firstly, as mentioned previously, the Ottoman Empire sided with the Central Powers due to pressure from Germany to join its cause. Secondly, and without warning, an Ottoman battleship (given by the Germans as a gift) opened fire on the city of Sevastopol (Russian territory) on November 2nd of 1914, which was a declaration of war against the Russian Empire.⁵⁶ The findings suggest that Lloyd George and Sultan Mehmed V used different propaganda techniques to receive the support of the public. While Lloyd George took advantage of his position to persuade his people to join the army, Mehmed turned around geopolitical facts to get his country united behind the Ottoman Empire joining the war. From here, one can view that newspapers, posters and speeches were useful methods of spreading propaganda in Britain and other Empires.

Propaganda methods within the Commonwealth States

The British Empire had the third largest army in the First World War, with an estimated 8.7 million men deployed on all fronts.⁵⁷ This was due to its territories overseas, which enabled Britain to increase their army in millions.⁵⁸ When the war broke out, the British government requested the Commonwealth States to assist it in its cause, promising them independence or more lenient terms such as more authority over their individual dominion. With Germany being the main threat to its home borders, Britain deployed volunteers from the Commonwealth to provide offensive land and naval campaigns in the Middle East. Historians Michael Sanders and Philip Taylor argue that the British Government used a method called "foreign office propaganda". They defined this method as targeting the opinion makers of foreign society (journalist, teachers, government officials) and argued that it was better to influence those who

⁵⁴ Sultan Mehmed V, "Proclamation by Sultan Mehmed V, November 1914", in Charles F. Horne, *The Great War, Vol III*, (London, 1923), (<https://www.firstworldwar.com>), date accessed 14/02/2017.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Unknown, "The Bombardment of Sevastopol", *The Times*, (London, 1914).

⁵⁷ Unknown, "The Long, Long Trail", (<http://www.1914-1918.net>), date accessed 13/02/2017.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

can influence others (common man) than attempt a direct appeal to the mass of the population.⁵⁹ This can be seen throughout the discussed Dominion states within the chapter. An estimated 2.5 million men from the Commonwealth fought in the war.⁶⁰ Likewise, methods of propaganda were used in the states to compel the public to support and join the British cause.

Ireland is a suitable example to demonstrate the use of British propaganda techniques. Ireland played a significant role in assisting Britain with brigades such as the Royal Munster Fusiliers, who participated in the Middle Eastern theatre, facilitated relief for the British army as the latter could focus on the Western Front. Even so, not all of Ireland was supportive, as there were conflicting odds with the British Empire over the prospect of independence and the country was split over the idea of joining a war it did not correspond to. This did not prevent the British government from implementing propaganda messages throughout the country. Comparable to Britain, posters were used which entailed speeches from political figures to attempt to persuade the Irish public to join the British army. One example was Irish politician John Redmond, who was part of the Irish Republican Brotherhood, which was pushing for Irish independence before the war started. However, after August 1914, Redmond altered his course of action towards independence. He stated that Ireland was in the same situation as the British Empire and his fellow Irishmen were happy to go to war as it could lead to the possibility of independence.⁶¹ Furthermore, Redmond continued his speech on the topic of the Irish regiments (Munster Fusiliers and Connaught Rangers) and of their past endeavours such as the Boer Wars in South Africa, showing that the British Empire had always been able to find support in Ireland.⁶²

Slogans and other persuasive techniques were used to gain the Irish support. A poster titled “What will your answer be” displays a father and son conversation. The son is asking his father of his involvement in the First World War and if he did help Ireland achieve its independence.⁶³ This was an appealing element, as it generated pressure for the Irish men to support Britain to receive independence in return. However, these messages created conflicting views that forged a burden on the British government. From a positive perspective, many of the Irish volunteered as they believed in the words of Redmond, who was vying the idea of

⁵⁹ Michael Sanders, Philip Taylor, *British Propaganda during the First World War, 1914-1918*, (London, 1918), 101.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ See appendix illustration 6.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ See appendix illustration 7.

Irish independence. Furthermore, his speech put pressure on other Irishmen to join the war to prevent looking weak. Additionally, the prospect of wealth also appeased some Irish volunteers as many derived from poor backgrounds. From a negative point of view, this message caused upheaval in nationalist parts of Ireland (South-West regions) which led to the Easter Rising of 1916. Moreover, some Irishmen joined the German army due to their dislike towards the British crown.⁶⁴ Nevertheless, 28,000 Irishmen volunteered immediately in 1914, with an estimated 200,000 signing up before the war was concluded in 1918.⁶⁵

In Australia and New Zealand, propaganda was used from a different perspective. Unlike Ireland, propaganda did not promote the idea of independence, but the concept of adventure and wealth. Masculinity was also a widely-used topic that allowed the British Empire to receive support from Australian men. Historian David Brownes noted that the British government questioned the masculinity of those who did not participate.⁶⁶ This notion is backed up by Australian historian Nathan Wise, who stated that the Australian men's manhood was at risk if they did not volunteer in the war.⁶⁷ An example to illustrate Brownes and Wise's claims was a poster with the slogan "Were you there then?".⁶⁸ The poster portrays a woman, pointing at a tattered Australian flag after a heroic battle. This image was created to pressurise the men to volunteer and help his fellow countrymen in the war effort. Furthermore, the idea of a woman asking the question propelled men to doubt their masculinity, while also creating the fear of being branded as cowards by others.

Newspapers also played their role in influencing men to go to war. The Gallipoli campaign in the Middle East was the main centre of Anzac (Australia and New Zealand Army Corps) participation in the Great War. Newspapers would document the braveness and heroism of Australian soldiers in their attempted conquest of Gallipoli.⁶⁹ However, the British and Australian media left out information containing the number of casualties suffered in the early stages of the conflict; with a combined total of 141,000 fatalities for the allies, including 8,000 losses for the Anzac division.⁷⁰ The ideology behind this was to prevent Australian men from not going to war, while also concealing the high numbers of losses throughout the campaign.

⁶⁴ Christopher Duffy, *Through the German Eyes*, "The British and the Somme 1916", (London, 2007), 106.

⁶⁵ Ronan McGreevy, "Irish Soldiers in the First World War: Who, Where and How Many?", *The Irish Times*, August 2 (Dublin, 2014), (<http://www.irishtimes.com>), date accessed 14/02/2017.

⁶⁶ David Brownes, Robert Fleming, *Posters of the First World War*, (New York, 2014), 14.

⁶⁷ Nathan Wise, *Anzac Labour Workplace Culture in the Australian Imperial Force during the First World War*, (London, 2014), 9.

⁶⁸ See appendix illustration 8.

⁶⁹ Unknown, "Australasian Gallantry", *The Age*, Saturday May 15th, (Melbourne, 1915), 10.

⁷⁰ State Library of Victoria, "Propaganda", (<https://ergo.slv.gov.au>), date accessed 15/02/2017.

War heroes such as Lieutenant Albert Jacka were used by the Australian government for its propaganda. Jacka, who received the Victoria Cross (the highest honour in the British army), was the poster boy in the recruitment of his fellow Australian men. A poster was created with Jacka in his army uniform and rifle in hand, surrounded by fellow Australian men dressed in sporting outfits. The poster was titled “Enlist in the sportsmen’s thousand, show the enemy what Australian sporting men can do”.⁷¹ According to the state library of Victoria, the poster appeals to the idea of sporting competitiveness and that, if the Australians can beat the Germans and Turkish at sport, they should be able to beat them at war.⁷² This indicates that the common Australian man was competitive and the chance to support and show the British Empire their capacities was too good to turn down. An estimated 416,000 men from Australia and Tasmania enlisted during the war.⁷³

From New Zealand’s perception, the propaganda campaign was shared with Australia, as Britain wanted the same recruitment policies implemented. Nonetheless, campaigns were formed to gather recruits from the Maori people (natives from New Zealand). Artist William Bloomfield created an image for the *New-Zealand Observer*, titled “The Spirit of his Fathers”, which represented a Maori soldier charging at frightened Turkish men, with the Maori god of war Tu-mata-uenga towering behind him.⁷⁴ This image was to illustrate the bravery of the Maori people, while also establishing that a native was stronger than the common white man. Overall, the sketch was to encourage the natives to do their bit and join the war. An estimated 2,500 Maori men served overseas.⁷⁵ Similar to Australia and the other Commonwealth States, the New Zealand government used pressurised methods which in turn helped create the public’s opinion. Again, imagery was used to demonstrate this. The poster titled “The Empire Needs Men”, issued in January 1915, contains an alpha lion standing on a high rock, with smaller lions appearing in the background and following the alpha, is another good example.⁷⁶ The alpha lion in question is Britain, with the smaller lions portraying the dominion states under the British Empire. This made the New Zealand public believe that they needed to assist their

⁷¹ See appendix illustration 9.

⁷² State Library of Victoria, “Propaganda”, (<https://ergo.slv.gov.au>), date accessed 15/02/2017.

⁷³ Unknown, “The Long, Long Trail”, (<http://www.1914-1918.net>), date accessed 15/02/2017.

⁷⁴ See appendix illustration 10.

⁷⁵ Monty Soutar, “Maori and Overseas War-Maori and the First World War”, (<http://www.teara.govt.nz>), date accessed 15/02/2017.

⁷⁶ See appendix illustration 11.

alpha (Britain) in their effort to repel their common enemies. This enticed the New Zealand men to sign up and to join the volunteers, with 220,000 men enlisting during the war.⁷⁷

The recruitment situation in India differed from the other Dominions. India was the biggest contributor of the Commonwealth States, with over one million men participating on both fronts for the British Empire.⁷⁸ However, India was ravaged by poverty and ethnic clashes, as the country struggled to support its own people. This gave the British government the incentive to target those in distress. Similar to the methods used by the New Zealand government, the idea of helping the father figure (Britain) was implemented to receive the backing of the Indian public, while the notion of wealth was also introduced. Other propaganda messages used the term “traitor” to create positive public opinion on joining the war. A postcard with the caption “Begorra, and we were both traitors, we don’t think?”, issued in 1914, shows an Irishman shaking hands with an Indian civilian.⁷⁹ This image indicates that if one does not participate in the war, they were deemed to become a traitor to their country and the Empire. This put pressure on the Indian men, whom did not want to be labelled as traitors, to join the volunteers and the war.

However, one must mention that the German and Ottoman Empires used their own propaganda methods to either entice the men of India to not participate in the war or they should switch allegiance. The Ottomans used religious meanings, which were aimed towards the Muslim community in India, as Sultan Mehmed V believed that all Muslims should unite and fight the common enemy (Britain from the Ottoman viewpoint). The Germans printed leaflets in Urdu (Hindustani language), “that all Muslims should declare to the King of Turkey and fight against the barbaric forces” (Triple Entente).⁸⁰ The idea here was to create friction in the country that would disrupt the British recruitment policy, while also developing the Ottoman army. The overall perspective from the propaganda techniques used by the British government is that it differed per Dominion. From the prospect of independence in Ireland, the questioning of one’s masculinity in Australia, as well as the use of the father figure concept in New Zealand and India, indicate that Britain had an effective and tailored propaganda system throughout World War I in the Commonwealth States, with an estimated 2,790,000 men enlisting from the beginning of the war to its final days.⁸¹

⁷⁷ Unknown, “The Long, Long Trail”, (<http://www.1914-1918.net>), date accessed 15/02/2017.

⁷⁸ Sushelia Nasta, *India in Britain: South Asian Networks and Connections, 1858-1950*, (London, 2013).

⁷⁹ See appendix illustration 12.

⁸⁰ See appendix illustration 13.

⁸¹ Unknown, “The Long, Long Trail”, (<http://www.1914-1918.net>), date accessed 15/02/2017.

Public and soldier perception on the war

With propaganda employed throughout Britain and its Dominions, the public responded by expressing its opinion on the war. Although the public believed they formed their “own opinion”, propaganda contributed in formulating the public’s pro-war thoughts. As recalled earlier in this chapter, public opinion was structured by the mass usage of media outlets, which collaborated with the British government.⁸² Furthermore, there were minimal or no opinion polls distributed in newspapers due to the Defence of the Realm Consolidation Act, which prevented any negative attention aimed at the British Empire. From the gathered sources, the aspect of going to war appealed to the vast majority of the British public, as volunteers surged to join the army (an estimated 300,000), while women took up men’s duties in factories in response to men heading off to war.⁸³

The question posed here is what were the volunteer and public opinion of going to war? Historian Jay Winter noted that many of the British and Irish men who volunteered did so through the initiative of holiday spirit, with the belief that the war would be over by Christmas.⁸⁴ Moreover, the term “August Spirit” was used to promote patriotism from the public to mobilise and support their country’s and allies cause.⁸⁵ This was a reference to the start of the war, which rallied the public not just in Britain, but in other states throughout Europe. “Front line fever” was another term used from the women perception, who were eager to do their duty and go to the front as doctors and nurses, which made them into “metaphorical soldiers”.⁸⁶ Australian Historian Nathan Wise examined the Anzac accounts and noted some of the Australian soldiers saw the war as a better job opportunity. An example was the diary of Pelham Jackson, whose first written account was concerning him leaving his job as a book storekeeper before enlisting as a private.⁸⁷

From an individual insight, Lieutenant Charles Mosse wrote regarding the night of Britain’s declaration of war. Mosse, who later fought in the Middle Eastern theatre, described the sense of excitement that filled the streets throughout Britain. In his diary, Mosse states: “At about 11pm terrific bursts of cheering could be heard from the streets outside” before going on

⁸² Garth Jowett, Victoria O Donnell, *Propaganda and Persuasion*, (London, 1992), 125.

⁸³ Jay Winter, *The Great War and the British People*, (London, 1986), 30.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* 29.

⁸⁵ Jeffery Verhey, *The Spirit of 1914, Militarism, Myth and Mobilization in Germany*, (Cambridge, 2000), 23-27.

⁸⁶ Margaret Higonnet, “At the Front” in Jay Winter’s *Cambridge History of the First World War Volume III: Civil Society*, (Cambridge, 2013), 125.

⁸⁷ Nathan Wise, *Anzac Labour Workplace Culture*, (London, 2014), 9.

to say it was “One of the most memorable nights in history”.⁸⁸ Teenager Lee Thompson was just as eager to go to war. On August 4th, Thompson wrote: “We were all delighted when war broke out, bursting with words”.⁸⁹ The words from Mosse and Thompson indicate that there was a sense of excitement as the public favoured joining the war.

However, not everyone was appeased to go to war as they believed staying neutral was the correct motive. In early August 1914, Eleanor Rathbone, a Liverpool citizen, wrote a letter to the *Liverpool Post* voicing her opinion about staying neutral. In her letter, Rathbone explains that the government should take the people whom wanted to stay neutral into consideration.⁹⁰ The *Daily Chronicle* displayed a poem from an unknown source, voicing concerns about the rising food prices. The poem’s main argument is questioning the idea of Britain helping an Empire (Russia).⁹¹ The poem creates an interesting scope as Britain have been in alliance with Russia since 1907 due to the formation of the Triple Entente. However, the poet does not regard Russia an ally in this scenario and believed Britain should not act. Thomas H. Keel, who was noted in *The Times* as being one of the most scholarly men in the country, gave a sceptical view of Britain joining the war. Keel firstly discussed how the war would reshape the boundaries before stating that Britain had backed the wrong horse.⁹² This is a reference to Britain siding with Russia in the war, which Keel believed was a wrong reasoning as he felt Britain had more to fear from Russia than from Germany.

Lieutenant Charles Mosse’s diary accounts also point out those whom wanted to stay neutral. While expressing the sense of excitement, Mosse noted that there were anti-war flyers being issued by civilians who did not accepted of Britain’s participation in the war.⁹³ Even politicians voiced their concern on the idea of joining a war they did not start. John MacLean, a member of the Social Democratic Federation (SDF), did not agree with Britain entering the war. MacLean voiced his opinion through the *Justice* newspaper, where he criticised the government for going to war in the expense of assisting Russia, which MacLean’s party was

⁸⁸ Lieutenant Charles Mosse, “Diary Account of Lieutenant Charles Mosse”, (<https://www.nam.ac.uk>), date accessed 16/02/2017.

⁸⁹ Lee Thompson, “Diary Account of Lee Thompson”, (<http://www.dailymail.com>), date accessed 22/02/2017.

⁹⁰ Eleanor Rathbone, “A Letter to the *Liverpool Post*”, in Troy Paddocks’s, *A Call to Arms: Propaganda, Public Opinion, and Newspaper in the Great War*, (California, 2004), (<http://books.google.ie>), date accessed 16/02/2017, 20.

⁹¹ *Ibid*, 21.

⁹² Unknown, “Letter Tells of War in England”, *The Times*, (5th September 1914), (<http://www.newspapers.com>), date accessed 22/02/2017.

⁹³ Lieutenant Charles Mosse, “Diary Account of Lieutenant Charles Mosse”, (<https://www.nam.ac.uk>), date accessed 16/02/2017.

not for.⁹⁴ From the Commonwealth perspective, there were mixed views of joining Britain to go to war. As mentioned previously, Ireland was divided, which resulted in civil unrest. The Muslim ethnic groups in India were displeased of Britain's declaration of war with the Ottoman Empire, and the majority refused to participate. These sources suggest that not everyone was excited by the prospect of Britain joining the war. However, one must note these concerns were expressed in the early months of the war and censorship was then not fully implemented in the British media due to the "Defence against the Realm Act".

Conclusion

To conclude, the evidence suggests that propaganda played a decisive role in creating public opinion, while also promoting and recruiting men for the British army. From the role of Lord Northcliffe and his relations with British Prime Minister David Lloyd George to the censorship policies, propaganda helped the British government to persuade the public into the prospects of joining the Great War and assisted in their decision-making process. The British parliament applied different methods to promote the war with fabricated reports in major newspapers such as *The Times* and *Daily Mail*, posters with figureheads such as John Bull and Britannica enticing men to enlist; Lloyd George's speeches echoed through the minds of the British public. Propaganda did not stay within Britain's borders, it also stretched to the Commonwealth States. Ireland, Australia and New Zealand fell under Britain's propaganda machine with promises of independence and persuasive techniques, while India contributed the most to the Commonwealth army, with roughly one million men volunteering. The products of propaganda gained the people's attention with an estimated 300,000 enlisted in August 1914, while also creating the spirit of excitement and heroism of fighting for one's country. Although not everyone was at peace with Britain entering the war, the propaganda machine had captured the hearts and minds of the greater majority of the British people. However, in reality, life during World War I in the Middle Eastern theatre was much darker than what was depicted in the media. Studying soldiers' diaries is then relevant to show how the harsh truth of the battlefield was modified to enlist the public in the war effort.

⁹⁴ John MacLean, "The War and its Outcome" in *Justice* (17th September 1914), (<http://www.marxists.org>), date accessed 16/02/2017.

Chapter two: A Comprehensive Analysis of Soldiers' Thoughts Through Diary Narratives.

With the war commencing on the 28th of July, the Western Front was to be the main sphere of international focus with the major media hubs reporting on it daily. France was the arena for the Germans and its enemies, the French and the British; while Austria-Hungary fought on both borders against Italy and Russia. However, not all the fighting took place in Western Europe, as fighting also occurred in North and East Africa, the Balkans and the Middle East. The latter is where the British sent a large force to fight the Ottoman Empire, which was branded as a traitor in the media. The British army mainly consisted of soldiers from the Commonwealth States, whom provided the majority of the British forces in the Arabian Peninsula. Those soldiers took part in campaigns in Gallipoli and Mesopotamia, where an estimated five million casualties were brought upon from both sides.⁹⁵ Throughout the fighting, soldiers wrote about their experiences in diaries when given the opportunity. Daily diary accounts included the harshness of war, like the loss of a companion or the living conditions, hatred towards the enemy and, towards the end, the tiredness of being at war. Since diaries are daily accounts of facts and emotions, not all events were dark and gloom, as soldiers also wrote of their blissful moments. The analysis in this chapter will essentially focus on the soldier's experience from the information collected in their diaries. The collected information demonstrates life on the war front in the Middle Eastern theatre.

The chapter is divided into sections, beginning with the British reasons of going to war in the Middle East. This section highlights the main motives of the British arrival in the Middle East. The second section studies soldiers' diaries from a racial perspective. Here, one will observe the diaries to establish how ethnic tension and discrimination played out between soldiers from the home nations of the British Isles (England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland) and those from the Commonwealth States. Supporting evidence includes diary accounts of the discriminative and discriminated groups and their reflections on it. The following section analyses soldiers' accounts from the Gallipoli campaign. As mentioned in chapter one, the Gallipoli campaign was the centre of the Australian propaganda effort. Here, one will view the soldiers' real experience at Gallipoli and the obstacles they encountered, such as lack of food, health and environmental conditions. Soldier diaries will here make a first strong statement

⁹⁵ Erik Erickson, *Ordered to Die: A History of the Ottoman Army in the First World War*, (London, 2001), 237-238.

between the reality depicted in the soldiers' words and the reports in the British and Commonwealth media, which will be discussed further in chapter three. Furthermore, a case study on the siege of Kut will also be examined. A condensed but detailed overview of the siege during the Mesopotamia campaign will be provided. Through this case's details, elements from the previous sections, such as ethnic and officer ranks discriminations, will be displayed. Finally, the last discussion point will be to examine the positive moments in soldier diaries to demonstrate that, in between all the hardship and killings, there were flashes of joy and delight in a soldier's life. The last section will then try to show how diaries can be seen as accurate, because they both contain pessimistic and optimistic elements, as stated in the theory of emotion by philosopher Joel Marks.

The British Empire's motives and participation in the Middle Eastern Front, WW1

The Middle East was one of numerous theatres of the First World War. As stated above, the British Empire along with the Commonwealth States faced the defaulting Ottoman Empire, fresh off the Balkan Wars that occurred two years earlier. Both sides had a lot at stake, with the Ottomans seeking to rebuild their tarnished reputation and remove the "sick man of Europe" stain from the history books. Further intentions for the Ottomans was to regain lost territory in the Balkan and Middle Eastern regions. Although the regain of territory and reputation seem to be the main reason of the Ottomans participation in the conflict, one could ask what were the main intentions for the British involvement in the Arabian Peninsula? One possible answer was to weaken the Central Powers. As discussed in the previous chapter, the British Empire was unimpressed by the Ottomans deceitfulness of joining the German and Austro-Hungarian, while also allowing the German navy to enter Constantinople. They believed the Ottoman Empire retracted its verbal agreement with the Entente and sided with the German Empire which was perceived as the main threat to the British Empire. Britain also had internal intentions in mind. Although repelling and flustering, the Ottoman advance in the Arabian Peninsula benefited the Russian development from the North, the British main objective was to enhance its status as a world power. The British entertained the idea of seizing territory in the Middle East to develop safer trading routes. Peter Mangold, a former member of the BBC Arabic service, analysed the argument further. Mangold stated that the British were influenced by Napoleonic France and its attempts to expand French influence in North Africa during the

eighteenth century.⁹⁶ The British, who already had bases in Egypt and India, sought to acquire more territory in the Middle East. By doing so, Britain was achieving two objectives. As mentioned above, Britain was keen to strengthen its trade routes between India and Egypt, which enhanced its economy. Its second objective was expanding its overseas territories, which gave the British territorial advantage over their rivals for economic power (France, Russia and Germany).

Although these intentions suggest that Britain got involved in the Middle East to solely occupy new territories, it was not its only objective. The British noted that the Middle East was full of raw materials, most notably oil, in which they had a stake in the Anglo-Persian Oil Company (Iran).⁹⁷ Oil was essential for the British Empire, as it was necessary to keep its navy operating, while also enhancing its industry back on home soil. However, with the threat of an Ottoman attack looming, Britain had no alternative but to consider the prospect of going to war in the Middle East. Britain formed an army (Indian Expeditionary force) and launched an offensive against the Ottomans to protect its oil interests.⁹⁸ Furthermore, Britain wanted to prevent the Ottoman from taking the Suez Canal, located in Egypt. The Suez Canal was under British influence since the 1870s after Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli bought it off Egypt for four million pounds.⁹⁹ The canal was important, as it provided a shorter sea route to the Persian oil fields.¹⁰⁰ When the Ottoman Empire entered the war, it targeted the Suez Canal to disrupt the British influence in the Middle East. Although the Ottomans send an army to take it, they were repelled by the British forces, which propelled them to advance into the Sinai region to prevent further assaults.¹⁰¹ With these considerations developing, Britain acted by creating a propaganda campaign against the Ottomans to receive the backing from the public, while preparing an army to take on the enemy, as stated in chapter one. An estimated 2.5 million men from Britain and the Commonwealth States fought in the Middle Eastern theatre between 1914-1918.¹⁰² Overall, Britain had compelling geopolitical reasons to go to war with the Ottoman Empire and establish a new base in the Middle East.

⁹⁶Peter Mangold, *“What The British Did: Two centuries in the Middle East”*, (London, 2016), (<http://books.google.ie>), date accessed 27/02/2016, 2.

⁹⁷ Eugene Rogan, *The Fall of the Ottomans*, (New York, 2015), 79.

⁹⁸ John Francis, *Short Stories From The British Indian Army*, (Delhi, 2015), 20.

⁹⁹ Laurie Miller, *The Suez Crisis*, (<http://www.bbc.co.uk>), date accessed 27/02/2017.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² David Woodward, *The Middle East During World War One*, (<http://www.bbc.co.uk>), date accessed 27/02/2017.

Ethnic discrimination within soldier diary accounts

The British army in the Middle East consisted of various ethnic groups. As mentioned previously, men from Ireland, Canada, the Anzac battalions (Australia and New Zealand) and India (who formed a large size of the British army in the Middle East) assisted the British Empire and fought side by side in the Arabian Peninsula. Throughout the war, the battalions from the home nations (English, Welsh, Scottish and Irish divisions) merged with soldiers from the Commonwealth.¹⁰³ The concept of this manoeuvre was to assign the newer corps with veterans who had been fighting extensively on the Western Front. The men from the Commonwealth Dominions played a predominant role in the campaigns against the Ottoman Empire, as will be demonstrated later on in the chapter. However, due to the Dominion soldier's successes, there was a sense of ethnic discrimination and even racial slurs between the British and Commonwealth soldiers. This threatened to disrupt troop morale and to create discrimination between the home nation's soldiers and men from the Commonwealth. For instance, when British soldiers arrived in the Middle East, the divisions with Dominion officers were demoted to accommodate higher ranks for the English soldiers, as British officers were regarded superior due to their rank and background. Historian Edward Woodfin notes this predicament and states that it was aimed towards the units with black or brown skin, more precisely towards the Indian divisions, which were deemed the lower class from the Dominions.¹⁰⁴

The question asked here is was there any logical explanation for the discrimination between the British soldiers and their Commonwealth companions? Woodfin suggests there was. In the early stages of the war, Britain deployed an estimated 140,000 Indian soldiers on the Western Front. However, by 1915 the vast majority of Indian infantry division were relocated to the Middle Eastern Front, while two Indian Cavalry units stayed in the West until March 1918.¹⁰⁵ Why would the British army move such a large number of soldiers? According to Richard Fogarty, an associate professor in history, the British Government was not confident about the Indian soldiers fighting against their white counterparts due to the Indian soldiers' lack of training.¹⁰⁶ The British believed that the Indian divisions stood a better chance in the Middle East, as the Ottomans were ill-equipped, unlike the Germans. There are two ways of

¹⁰³ Edward, Woodfin, *Camp and Combat on the Sinai and Palestine Front: The Experience of the British Soldier, 1916-18*, (London, 2012), 115.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid, 116.

¹⁰⁵ Richard S. Fogarty, "Race, Racism and Military Strategy", (<https://www.bl.uk>), date accessed 28/02/2017.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

interpreting this. On the one hand, one can think the British were racial in judging the Indian soldiers on their ethnicity rather than ability. On the other hand, one can argue that the German army was more advanced in training and technology than the Indian soldiers. In addition, the Ottoman soldiers were less of a military threat in comparison to their German allies. Historian David Omissi takes a different approach and argues that the Indian divisions were relocated to the Middle East due to the severity of winter in the West, which affected their morale and ability to fight.¹⁰⁷ However, the reasons from Fogarty suggest that the Indian units were demoted to make way for the English soldiers, whom arrived from the Western Front. The Indian units were moved to the Middle East, based on ethnic and ability comparison, to give the British army a better chance on the Western and Middle Eastern Front.

When there was a halt to the constant shelling and attacks, soldiers on the Middle Eastern Front had the opportunity to catch their breath. While some soldiers took part in sporting activities or rested, others wrote about their daily experiences on the warfront and their fellow companions. Some diary accounts contained racist stories that occurred on the war front. Soldiers were segregated and kept within their own ethnic groups, unless there was a lack of men in some battalions, which led to a coalition of infantry divisions as mentioned above. Although there was no evidence of racist attacks and remarks within the diaries used throughout the chapter, racist elements were found in a selection of diaries, particularly the home nations' soldiers. An example to illustrate this is the diary of Lieutenant Edwin Jones, who fought in the Middle East. Jones wrote daily accounts of his experiences on the front and near-death experiences he faced. On the night of March 6th 1916, soldiers were under Ottoman bombardment and Jones was tasked with checking every tent to make sure everyone had found shelter. On one occasion, he entered a tent and witnessed two frightened Indian soldiers who begged him to stay.¹⁰⁸ Jones' response was no as he uttered: "If I am to be killed I will with an Englishman" before dashing from the tent.¹⁰⁹ Jones' words suggest that he was not keen on dying with an Indian soldier next to him. Although what he wrote or said is not a racist remark in itself, his actions suggest otherwise. By claiming he wanted to die beside Englishmen, one can argue that Jones did not consider the Indian soldiers equal to the British soldiers. Jones made a clear difference between both groups of soldiers by leaving the Indian soldiers alone and joining his fellow "Englishmen".

¹⁰⁷ David Omissi, "India and the Western Front", (<http://www.bbc.co.uk>), date accessed 28/05/2017.

¹⁰⁸ Lieutenant Edwin Jones, "Diary Accounts From Mesopotamia 1916-1918", (<http://www.firstworldwar.com>), date accessed 28/02/2017.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

Further analysis by Woodfin suggests that there was discrimination towards the Indian soldiers. Woodfin uses an account of an English stretcher bearer who was assigned to an Indian ambulance unit. Although the English soldier had sympathy for his fallen companions and was annoyed when other officers made colour distinctions, he did not object when he was told to leave all the manual work to his Indian comrades.¹¹⁰ Again, the actions from the bearer suggest that he deemed the Indian soldiers should do the manual work of digging trenches or carrying the dead bodies, as that work was beneath his credentials or may have believed that this was what they were brought here to do. Officer George John Younghusband published a book after the war and wrote about incidents that involved ethnic abuse amongst the Indian ranks. Younghusband wrote about Lord Curzon (viceroy of India) and how he was labelled “poor black man” by the British, due to his defence of the Indian men from British soldier brutality.¹¹¹ Younghusband also wrote of a punkah coolie (fan servant) who was killed but there was no conclusive clue of what caused his death.¹¹² Although he did not confirm, Younghusband may hint that foul play from the British soldiers caused the servants death due to their vulnerability. The ethnic diversity on the Middle Eastern Front created, in a sense, more army ranks, with the Indian and other Commonwealth soldiers at the very bottom.

From the Indian perspective, how did this affect their view on the war? As cited in the previous chapter, propaganda techniques, such as the “all united and following the father (Britain) into war” discourse, were employed to persuade Indian men to go to the warfront. Yet, diary accounts from the English perception indicate they were racially discriminated against. The use of soldier diaries from the Indian perspective proved problematic. Firstly, the majority of Indian diaries were destroyed due to lack of care. Furthermore, not all of them had sufficient writing proficiency to compose daily accounts on the warfront.¹¹³ With lack of diaries to provide a sufficient analysis, letters provided some insight on how the Indian soldiers viewed the war. However, censorship played an important role on limiting the soldiers accounts to their families’ due to the Defence of The Realm Consolidation Act, while scribes wrote letters for those who could not write. Nevertheless, some of the soldiers used code words in their letters to discuss critiques. For instance, an Indian soldier labelled the British soldiers as “Red pepper” while he titled his fellow natives as “Black pepper” and discussed how the latter were more

¹¹⁰ Edward, Woodfin, *Camp and Combat on the Sinai and Palestine Front: The Experience of the British Soldier, 1916-18*, (London, 2012), 117.

¹¹¹ George John Younghusband, *Forty Years a Soldier*, (New York, 1923), 233.

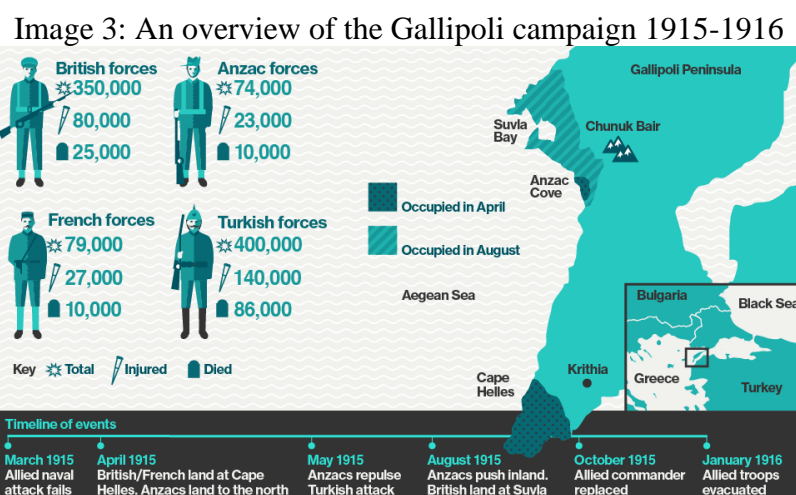
¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Unknown, “Census of India, 1911” Vol I (Calcutta 1913) (<https://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net>), date accessed 01/03/2017, 294-295.

forceful on the battlefield than the former.¹¹⁴ This evidence suggests that the Indian soldiers were aware of their condition and treatment by the British army, as well as the censorship in place. Indian soldiers credited their fellow natives for their effort on the war front, and were also making comparisons between themselves and the British soldiers. This suggest that ethnic comparison was very present on the Middle Eastern Front, as British and Indian soldiers were the cause and the victim of such comparisons. Unfortunately, due to censorship and lack of existing diaries, little was found in relation to ethnic discrimination. Although there was discrimination towards the Indian soldiers, there is insufficient material to examine their view to the full extent. Moreover, one can think the soldiers were aware of ethnic segregation on the Front. This segregation was often made more present by the different army ranks, as little or no Indian or Commonwealth soldiers were promoted to higher ranks in the military hierarchy.

Case Study: Soldier experience at Gallipoli

Gallipoli was one of the earliest but also one of the most important campaigns that were conducted by the British Empire in the Middle East. The Gallipoli campaign in particular was launched to take the Ottoman capital Constantinople, while also providing support to Britain’s Russian allies. However, Gallipoli was a failure, as the British underestimated the Ottoman capabilities in warfare and tactical approach. Nevertheless, Britain learned from its oversights and prevailed in other operations (including Mesopotamia), which resulted in British victory in November 1918. The Gallipoli campaign began in February 1915 through a series of naval expeditions in the Mediterranean Sea.¹¹⁵



Source: (<http://www.bbc.co.uk>), date accessed 06/03/2017.

¹¹⁴ David Omissi, *Indian Voices of the Great War: Soldiers’ Letters, 1914-1918*, (Basingstoke, 1999) 369.

¹¹⁵ Philip J. Haythornthwaite, *Gallipoli 1915: Frontal Assault on Turkey*, (Oxford, 1991), 26-28.

For the land offensive, the British forces were led by Scottish General Sir Ian Standish Monteith Hamilton, a veteran who fought in both Boer Wars in South Africa and assisted the Japanese forces in the Russo-Japanese War of 1905. Although Hamilton devised the tactical procedures for the invasion, he allowed the other officers to carry out the process; a move that led to the British defeat, as the officers lacked the intelligence to operate a campaign this essential due to insufficient experience.¹¹⁶ The campaign on land opened on the 25th of April 1915, when a fleet of Anzac soldiers approached the beach and readied themselves for combat. British correspondent Ellis Ashmead-Bartlett covered the ordeal of the first day. Aboard the ship “London”, Ashmead-Bartlett looked on while the Australians struggled to cope with the Ottoman onslaught. In his words: “The Turks were vigorously pressing the Australians back, to the first line of hills they had seized on landing”.¹¹⁷ Ashmead-Bartlett later arrived on the beach, but the attack had failed. The Anzac troops suffered heavy casualties and Ashmead-Bartlett described the medical assistance as mismanaged and ill-prepared.¹¹⁸ Henry Wyatt, an Anzac soldier who was at the beaches of Gallipoli from the first invasion, wrote of the threat of Turkish snipers. Wyatt reported: “Today we made our trenches more secure against fire”, before commenting that the snipers shot a “few of our boys” before later writing how further snipers killed more of Wyatt’s comrades.¹¹⁹

Mentioned previously in the last section, signaller Ellis Silas wrote of his involvement on the 1st of May, six days after the initial landing by the British forces. Silas also wrote of the threat of Turkish snipers and the hardship his fellow Australians faced: “Australians have done splendidly, holding a very difficult position; have much trouble with the snipers”.¹²⁰ The fighting continued throughout May and for Private Herbert Vincent Reynolds, the decaying bodies were becoming too much to endure. Private Reynolds wrote in his diary on the 22nd of May about an enemy officer arriving at the camp and meeting with Reynolds’ superiors during a temporary ceasefire. Private Reynolds stated: “Some efforts will have to be made to remove the dead in no-man’s land as it is almost unbearable in our trenches now”, before concluding the diary with “there is a rumour to the effect that the enemy is negotiating for an armistice

¹¹⁶ Ibid, 11.

¹¹⁷ Ellis Ashmead-Bartlett, “Diary Account of Correspondent Ellis Ashmead-Bartlett”, (<http://www.gallipoli.gov.au>), date accessed 06/03/2017.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Nathan Wise, *Anzac Labour: Workplace Cultures in the Australian Imperial Force during the First World War*, (London, 2014), 38.

¹²⁰ Signaller Ellis Silas, “Diary Account of Signaller Ellis Silas”, (<http://www.gallipoli.gov.au>), date accessed 01/03/2017.

with us to burry our dead”.¹²¹ The accounts from Ashmead-Bartlett, Wyatt, Silas and Herbert give an indication that the Gallipoli campaign was a brutal theatre. However, the diaries also note the British made sufficient progress in the campaign, but these were short lived.

One significant issue that appeared from the diaries was the absence of sufficient food for the soldiers. Food was scarce on both fronts and on mutual sides of the war, particularly at Gallipoli. Due to the long voyages and being pinned-down on beaches, shipments of food were delivered by boat and from local towns and villages. However, the food lacked quality and quantity, with no fruits or vegetables available and the typical dinner consisting of canned bully beef and hard biscuit.¹²² Furthermore, the threat of Ottoman artillery slowed the shipping process and strained the already minimal food supplies at Gallipoli. These issues disrupted progress at the front, while also affecting one’s health with loss of weight and increased chances of illness. From a soldier’s perspective on the beach, Sergeant D. Moriarty described the ordeal that occurred one afternoon, stating his battalion: “17 killed and 200 wounded”, before voicing his concern of receiving two biscuits for a day’s food.¹²³ Further accounts derive from the New Zealand native Alfred Cameron. Private Cameron wrote about the lack of water that was available and the loss of his fellow comrades before labelling Gallipoli as “hell”.¹²⁴ Second Lieutenant Saunders also observed the lack of water. Saunders further wrote of how the Ottoman snipers shot at the barrels of water that the men carried to prevent them from returning to their camp and drinking it.¹²⁵ Ion Idriess wrote about how the flies at Gallipoli spoiled his and his comrades’ dinner. Idriess wrote of an incident of when he opened a tin of jam and the flies rushed towards it, describing them as “swarm of bees”.¹²⁶

Later in the campaign, evidence appeared to indicate the lack of food had taken its toll on the men. This can be seen from the diary of Lieutenant Colonel Percival Fenwick, who was suffering from hunger. Lieutenant Fenwick wrote about how the men around him were in poor physical shape, malnourished and ripe with disease before commenting on his own state,

¹²¹ Private Herbert Vincent Reynolds, “Diary Account of Private Herbert Vincent Reynolds”, (<http://www.awm.gov.au>), date accessed 06/03/2017.

¹²² Erik Erickson, *Ordered to Die: A History of the Ottoman Army in the First World War*, (Connecticut, 2001).

¹²³ Sergeant D Moriarty, “Diary Account of Sergeant D Moriarty”, (<http://www.theguardian.com>), date accessed 06/03/2017.

¹²⁴ Private Alfred Cameron, “Diary Account of Private Alfred Cameron”, (<http://natlib.govt.nz>), date accessed 07/03/2017.

¹²⁵ Second Lieutenant CW Saunders, “Diary Account of 2nd Lieutenant CW Saunders”, (<http://www.anzacsofgallipoli.com>), date accessed 19/05/2017.

¹²⁶ Ion Idriess, “Diary Account of Ion Idriess”, (<http://www.anzacsofgallipoli.com>), date accessed 19/05/2017.

describing that he was “thin as a herring”.¹²⁷ Soldier Sydney Lock had to ration his biscuits for five days, despite having enough for three. Lock further illustrates that the biscuits were so hard that a man “could break his teeth on them”.¹²⁸ Sergeant Cyril Lawrence compared the food he and his men received here and the possibility of the people complaining of their food back home. Lawrence wrote: “If only some of those at home, who perhaps grumbled at their breakfast because the toast was too cold, if only they knew what a little extra means to us”.¹²⁹ Lawrence was referring to the milk he received for his porridge when regarding the little extra. The first-person accounts of the food at Gallipoli suggest that there was insufficient supply available with the rest of it in poor condition.

The lack of food available brought about illnesses throughout the soldier ranks. An estimated 170,000 British casualties occurred at Gallipoli, with nearly 4,000 dead from disease, while 90,000 were evacuated due to illness.¹³⁰ As mentioned previously by Lieutenant Colonel Fenwick, the men around him developed illnesses due to malnourishment. Illness was not expected to be a major issue on the battlefield according to Irish nurse Emma Duffin, who arrived at Gallipoli in September 1915. Nurse Duffin was surprised of the continuous bouts of illness that appeared in front of her, stating “on the way out we had pictured ourselves nursing wounded only; we had never thought of illness somehow”.¹³¹ Duffin’s naivety of not expecting a wide variety of illness was due to what she was told by her superiors back home, prior to leaving. Major Guy Nightingale wrote about his and other men’s illness that disrupted their daily tasks in October 1915. Between the 11th and 19th, Major Nightingale discussed how some of his men were ill and could not partake in drills before describing his symptoms, which turned out to be Jaundice (yellowing of the skin caused by obstruction of the bile duct).¹³² Major Nightingale was forced to board a hospital ship when his illness worsened, stating his temperature had risen before concluding he developed enteric.¹³³

Dysentery was another frequent illness that affected soldiers while on duty. Dysentery occurred due to unsanitary conditions, specifically in the latrines due to overcrowding, while

¹²⁷ Lieutenant Colonel Percival Fenwick, “The August Offensive”, (<http://anzac100.nzherald.co.nz>), date accessed 07/03/2017.

¹²⁸ Sydney Lock, “Diary of Sydney Lock”, (<http://www.anzacsofgallipoli.com>), date accessed 19/05/2017.

¹²⁹ Sergeant Cyril Lawrence, “Diary of Sergeant Cyril Lawrence”, (<http://www.anzacsofgallipoli.com>), date accessed 19/05/2017.

¹³⁰ Unknown, *The Worst Things About Being a soldier in Gallipoli*, (<http://www.rte.ie>), date accessed 07/03/2017.

¹³¹ Emma Duffin, “Diary Account of Emma Duffin”, (<http://gallipoli.rte.ie>), date accessed 07/03/2017.

¹³² Major Guy Nightingale. “Diary Account of Major Nightingale”, (<http://gallipoli.rte.ie>), date accessed 07/03/17.

¹³³ Ibid.

lice also contributed to the disease. John McIlwain, who was part of the Connaught Rangers, wrote of his battle with the disease and having to visit the doctor on a daily basis. McIlwain wrote: “Have an attack of dysentery which lasts all the rest of the time on the peninsula. Attending the doctor daily”.¹³⁴ Trench foot was a further disease that affected soldiers at the front. Although not a viral infection, trench foot was a physical illness, as it kept men out of action while they received treatment. An estimated 16,000 cases of trench foot occurred at Gallipoli in November 1915.¹³⁵ John Corbin, who was a First Major of the Australian medical branch wrote of the high number of sick soldiers and how they were forced to stay in the trenches. Corbin discussed how it was the wounded that were the first to leave the trenches but was baffled when soldiers were told not to report their illness as their lives were not regarded as in imminent danger in comparison to the wounded.¹³⁶ This was surprising as soldiers who contracted an illness were not just a hazard to themselves but to others as they can spread the disease or illness throughout the camp. This suggests trench foot and numerous other illnesses mentioned from diary abstracts was a common theme that affected soldiers throughout their time at Gallipoli.

The Gallipoli campaign lasted over a year and although the British had some success, the overall result was a defeat. In August 1915, the Anzac soldiers had formed a foothold on the peninsula, but this would be the paramount of their success, as the Ottoman army retaliated in force and drove back its opposition. From August until late December, the British army was on the backfoot and struggling to stop the advancing Ottoman troops. Factors contributing to the failed operation were the lack of resources, underestimating the resilience of the Ottoman army and with Bulgaria joining the war, the British army had to direct some attention to the Balkans. In December 1915, an order was carried out to evacuate the drained British and Anzac troops from the beaches. There were issues though, as Britain did not want the Ottomans knowing of their evacuation to prevent further casualties. Diary abstracts gave a summary of how the operation was initiated. One observer wrote about the movement of equipment and resources after dark to prevent detection by the enemy. In his words, the unknown Australian said: “Baggage was piled on the wharf—mostly field ambulance; ammunition was being carried in on gharries and taken to the pier or stacked on the beach”.¹³⁷ Further reports from the same

¹³⁴ John McIlwain, “Diary Account of John McIlwain”, (<http://gallipoli.rte.ie>), date accessed 07/03/2017.

¹³⁵ Raymond Greene, “The Prophylaxis of Trench Foot” in *British Medical Journal*, (1945), 270.

¹³⁶ First Major John Corbin, “Diary of First Major John Corbin”, (www.vlib.us), date accessed 15/03/2017.

¹³⁷ Unknown, “The Evacuation of Anzac, December 1915”, (<http://www.gallipoli.gov.au>), date accessed 15/03/2017.

source were amazed of how quiet the mules were when moving the equipment and he was equally astounded by the lack of response of the Turkish soldiers stating: “if the Turks don’t see all this as it goes along they must be blind”.¹³⁸ Private John Turnbull wrote on how he and his comrades were told to sprinkle oatmeal, flour and rice on the road before placing sandbags over their boots.¹³⁹ This method was used to prevent the sound of men marching echoing to the enemy as it kept the evacuation mute. On the 19th of December, 1915, the last boat pulled away with the remaining Anzac soldiers.

Although the evacuation was a success, it did cause disruption and unrest among the soldiers who had fought viciously since their arrival. From the New Zealander perception, trooper Jack Linton wrote of his frustration when he learned they were withdrawing. Linton recorded the suffering he went through: “How we slaved for this, tortured by flies and thirst, and later nearly frozen to death”, before saying “It was hard to be told we must give it up”.¹⁴⁰ Fellow New Zealander Albert Newton also wrote of his repulse towards the evacuation. In a letter to his family, Newton wrote: “It came as a blow to us when word came to get out, after the large number of brave who had laid down their lives there”.¹⁴¹ Australian Captain Francis Cohen also displayed discontent of the retreat. Cohen was one of the last to leave the beaches of Gallipoli and on the day of his departure, he wrote: “A feeling of great disappointment and depression has seized me because of this evacuation. It is one of the downs of the war and we must accept it”.¹⁴² Captain Eric Mortley Fisher expressed similar emotions of the retreat: “Well, one day we heard definitely that the place was to be evacuated and all became sore, blue and depressed”.¹⁴³ Sergeant Cyril Lawrence voiced his anger, as he believed Gallipoli was their’s. Lawrence wrote: “How can they leave this place? Ours, because it is ours and ours alone: we fought for it and won it”.¹⁴⁴ Others were not so depressed and were satisfied with the outcome of the withdrawal. General Sir John Monash was relieved that the evacuation was a success, labelling it the “the greatest feat of arms in the whole range of military history” due to the

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Private John Turnbull, “Diary Account of Private John Turnbull”, (<https://www.anzacsofgallipoli.com>), date accessed 19/05/2017.

¹⁴⁰ Trooper Jack Linton, “Diary Account of Trooper Jack Linton”, (<http://ww100.govt.nz>), date accessed 15/03/2017.

¹⁴¹ Albert Newton, “Diary Account of Albert Newton”, (<http://ww100.govt.nz>), date accessed 15/03/2017.

¹⁴² Captain Francis Coen, “Diary Account of Captain Francis Coen”, (<http://theconversation.com>), date accessed 15/03/2017.

¹⁴³ Captain Eric Mortley Fisher, “Diary Account of Captain Eric Mortley Fisher”, (<http://theconversation.com>), date accessed 15/03/2017.

¹⁴⁴ Sergeant Cyril Lawrence, “Diary Account of Sergeant Cyril Lawrence”, (<https://www.anzacsofgallipoli.com>), date accessed 19/05/2017.

minimal casualties and the time scale it took for the evacuation to be completed.¹⁴⁵ Monash did note the evacuation was ranked as “the greatest joke”, but this may have applied towards the Ottomans for not noticing the evacuation.¹⁴⁶ Although these diary accounts did not provide the opinion of everyone that evacuated, it does suggest that the soldiers shared mutual views, regardless of the success.

Case Study: Soldier experience at the siege of Kut

The failed campaign at Gallipoli altered the British perception of the Ottoman Empire. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the British did not consider the Ottomans an immense threat for the Entente and figured the campaign in the Middle East would only last months. However, the Ottomans’ success at Gallipoli indicated they were prepared for the British assault. Nevertheless, the British conducted various operations during and after Gallipoli to stretch the Ottoman front lines. The British and Commonwealth brigades advanced via Egypt (Palestine campaign), while other divisions led offensive campaigns in the Persian region (Mesopotamia campaign). The operation in Mesopotamia is where the siege of Kut occurred in December 1915. This was a defensive battle for the British forces, who were confined in a garrison by the Ottoman army. Kut-Al-Amara is located 160 kilometres from Bagdad in the Mesopotamia region (Iraq). A question one must ask is why did the British forces retreat to Kut? Prior to their retreat, the British 6th Division under Major-General Charles Townshend was tasked to advance and capture Bagdad to enhance the British influence in Mesopotamia.¹⁴⁷ However, weeks before the siege of Kut occurred, the 6th Division was defeated by a resurgent Ottoman army at Ctesiphon. According to Edmund Candler, a journalist and novelist, the outcome was surprising, as the 6th Division suffered a heavy defeat in Ctesiphon without having previously lost a battle or having any difficulties with the Ottoman troops.¹⁴⁸ Retired US Lieutenant Colonel Edward Erickson clarifies that Townshend was ill informed of the change of guard within the Ottoman forces, who appointed General Colmer von der Goltz to lead the attack.¹⁴⁹ Von der Goltz was more experienced than his Ottoman counterparts in leadership and tactical protocols, which disrupted Townshend’s advancement to Bagdad and his preparation for the

¹⁴⁵ General Sir John Monash, “General Sir John Monash, in a Letter to his wife”, (<https://www.anzacsofgallipoli.com>), date accessed 19/05/2017.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Edmund Candler, *The Long Road to Bagdad*, (London, 1919), 21

¹⁴⁸ Ibid. 41.

¹⁴⁹ Edward Erickson, *Ottoman Army Effectiveness: A Comparative Study*, (Oxford, 2007), 74

encounter at Ctesiphon. The defeat disrupted the British plans and the retreat to Kut occurred. An estimated 4,500 casualties were suffered by the 6th Division in Ctesiphon.¹⁵⁰

Major General Townshend and the exhausted 6th Division arrived at Kut on the 3rd of December, 1915. They retracted their position after their disastrous defeat at Ctesiphon. There had been debates on whether Kut was suitable to withstand an Ottoman attack. American military historian Robert Cowley criticises Townshend's tactics and berates him for not locating further down the river Tigris, as they would have had a deeper defensive position, while developing a beneficial station to receive reinforcements.¹⁵¹ Professor in Middle Eastern history Eugene Rogan disputes Cowley's claims and believes Townshend did the best he could due to the circumstances that surrounded him.¹⁵² However, Townshend reaffirmed his decision in his memoirs and discussed how he and his men were forced to march towards Kut without sufficient supplies and could not do anything else except sleep and eat for days when they arrived.¹⁵³ Townshend also believed Kut was suitable for a defence operation, as it laid on the banks of the river Tigris, while it had the capability to construct trenches around the fortress.¹⁵⁴ Finally, Townshend made an impudent statement and believed himself and his men were the only obstacles in the way of a fierce Ottoman onslaught taking control of the Mesopotamian region.¹⁵⁵ Townshend's analysis indicates Kut was a viable solution, but also the only alternative presented to him and his men to retaliate against the Ottoman forces. The siege began on 7th of December with a bombardment by the Ottoman artillery.

¹⁵⁰ William Griffith, *The Great War: The West Point Military History Series*, (New York, 1986), 91.

¹⁵¹ Robert Jones, "The Siege of Kut" in Robert Cowley, *The Great War*, (New York 2003), 216.

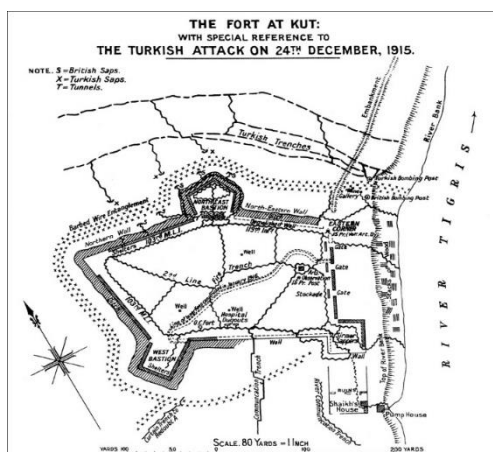
¹⁵² Eugene Rogan, *The Fall of the Ottoman Empire*, (New York, 2015), 265.

¹⁵³ Major-General Charles Townshend, *My Campaign*, (New York, 1920), 7.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.* 5.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.* 3.

Image 4: An overview of the fort of Kut 24th December 1915.



Source: F.J. Moberly, (<http://norfolkinworldwar1.org>), date accessed 20/03/2017.

With the siege commencing and confronted with a shortage of available supplies, morale was low in the 6th Division. 13,000 British and Indian soldiers positioned themselves for the Ottoman onslaught that would last roughly five months.¹⁵⁶ There were diverse problems during the siege, such as insufficient supplies and failure to receive reinforcements. Yet, one must ask which were the core issues from the soldier's perspective? One soldier who witnessed the siege was Lieutenant Henry Gallup. Mentioned previously, Lieutenant Gallup was with Townshend's at the defeat of Ctesiphon and took part in the defence of Kut. One of the main concerns Gallup highlighted was the rise of starvation among the soldiers. Although the soldiers from the Gallipoli campaign had suffered from lack of food, none was so severe as that encountered at Kut. Lieutenant Gallup plainly describes the food they had on offer, stating "I can't tell you how beastly it is to make your breakfast off a plate of indifferent horse or mule".¹⁵⁷ Gallup further illustrated the continuous effort of support planes dropping supplies but the constant firing from the Ottoman forces prevented any significant boost. Moreover, the lack of food and starvation led to a bout of serious illnesses that spread throughout the camp. A diary of an unknown soldier who contacted Colic (stomach pain caused by gallstones) wrote of his ordeal and the others around him. The soldier wrote: "Had another attack of Colic and stayed in bed all day except to take holy communion".¹⁵⁸ The soldier further wrote of a fellow

¹⁵⁶ Eugene Rogan, *The Fall of the Ottoman Empire*, (New York, 2015), 263.

¹⁵⁷ Lieutenant Henry Gallup, "Diary Account of Lieutenant Henry Gallup", (<http://ww1.nam.ac.uk>), date accessed 20/03/2017.

¹⁵⁸ Unknown, "Diary From the Siege of Kut", (<http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk>), date accessed 19/05/2017.

comrade next to him and described the man “looking terribly ill and thin” before noting he had to go back out into the trenches.¹⁵⁹

Gallup focused on the Indian soldiers in relation to illness, as they refused to consume horse meat. According to Gallup, “the Indian troops had of course brought a great deal of it on themselves by refusing to eat horseflesh until the last few days”.¹⁶⁰ Eugene Rogan confirms Gallup’s remark and states it was religious grounds that prevented the Indian men from consuming the horse meat until they were given formal dispensation by both Hindu and Muslim authorities.¹⁶¹ One other cause for concern was that Kut had no sewage system, which contributed to the increase of disease and illness. Author Frederick James Moberly wrote that Kut had no drainage system and there was no attempt to create one for sanitation purposes.¹⁶² Moberly further states that Townshend’s chief medical officer was unhappy with the conditions at Kut and argued that it was the insanitariest place they had occupied since their arrival in Mesopotamia.¹⁶³ General Townshend wrote about the diseases that affected his men and stated that an average of fifteen men died per day due to dysentery and scurvy.¹⁶⁴ The diary accounts along with the supporting evidence from Moberly suggest the situation at Kut was calamitous.

In the latter months of the siege, food supplies were becoming even scarcer. Brigadier Kenneth Crawford, who fought at Kut and later was a POW (Prisoner of War), discussed the lack of food. In his diary, Brigadier Crawford wrote: “It took a fortnight to send us one day’s ration”.¹⁶⁵ Crawford further elaborated on the harsh conditions and spoke of the high rate of illnesses that spread throughout the garrison. One illness was cholera and Crawford states: “We were assailed chiefly by various intestinal disease resembling cholera”.¹⁶⁶ The diary accounts of Gallup and Crawford on the shortage of food and the outbreak of illness suggests the conditions at Kut were inadequate, while the diaries also demonstrate the suffering the men went through. The image below signifies that the siege of Kut took its toll on the British and Indian soldiers.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ Lieutenant Henry Gallup, “Diary Account of Lieutenant Henry Gallup”, (<http://www1.nam.ac.uk>), date accessed 20/03/2017.

¹⁶¹ Eugene Rogan, *The Fall of the Ottoman Empire*, (New York, 2015), 263.

¹⁶² Frederick James Moberly, *The Campaign in Mesopotamia 1914-1918*, Vol II, (Princeton, 1924), 157-58.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ Major-General Charles Townshend, *My Campaign*, (New York, 1920), 233.

¹⁶⁵ Brigadier Kenneth Crawford, “Diary Account of Brigadier Kenneth Crawford”, (<http://www.forceswarrecords.co.uk>), date accessed 21/03/2017.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

Image 5: Weakened Indian survivors of the siege of Kut.



Source: (<https://www.greatwarproject.org>), date accessed 20/03/2017.

In response to Townshend's pleas and depleting supplies, the British send a relief force to aid Townshend and his men. Unfortunately for Townshend, the reinforcements did little to aid their cause, as the British forces were either defeated or rebuffed by the Ottoman soldiers, who were camped out and around Kut. In total, six attempts were made between December 1915 and April 1916.¹⁶⁷ Private William Jay was part of one of the earlier relief efforts. Jay's diary provided the siege of Kut but from another perspective. The battle of Shaik Saad was where Private Jay's battalion led an assault on 22,000 Ottoman Turks. The battle occurred on the 6th of January, 1916, where an estimated 19,000 British troops met the Ottoman forces.¹⁶⁸ Jay described the ordeal, stating: "The hiss of the bullets was continuous and the shells screamed overhead in an ever-increasing uproar. Men fell to the ground as they advanced or were left lying still".¹⁶⁹ Private Jay's regiment failed to relief Kut and was forced to retreat.

When March came around, a further four attempts were made to rescue the men confined at Kut, but all failed. This led to a breakout attempt from the men entrapped inside Kut.¹⁷⁰ However, this proved to be a fruitless effort, as the men were repelled by the Ottomans. The setback led Colonel Khali Bey (head officer of the Ottoman army at Kut) to offer Townshend the chance to surrender, which Townshend declined. The final rescue attempt by

¹⁶⁷ Unknown, "Timeline of the Battle of Kut", (<https://interactive.aljazeera.com>), date accessed 26/05/2017.

¹⁶⁸ Unknown, "The Battle of Sheikh Sa'ad, 1916", (www.firstworldwar.com), date accessed 26/05/2017.

¹⁶⁹ Private William Jay, "Diary Account of Private William Jay", (<http://ww1.nam.ac.uk>), date accessed 01/03/2017.

¹⁷⁰ Unknown, "Timeline of the Battle of Kut", (<https://interactive.aljazeera.com>), date accessed 26/05/2017.

the British occurred on the 20th of April, 1916. The attempt itself was a river expedition, led by the Tigris Corps.¹⁷¹ However, the corps were spotted by Ottoman scouts and were forced to retreat. A diary from an unknown soldier at Kut wrote of hearing the failed relief effort. The soldier wrote: “We could see bursts of high explosives over a long mile or more; but the result was another disappointment, for the next day we got confirmation to say that the relief effort has failed”.¹⁷² With the relief efforts ineffective, Townshend and his men were at their limit.

The siege was a defeat for the British army in the Mesopotamia campaign. With little to no food available and reinforcements never arriving to support the garrison, Major General Townshend surrendered on the 29th of April. Townshend wrote a letter of his surrender to the enemy, praising them for their tactical procedure, but also asking for medical assistance as Townshend had casualties who contracted scurvy, while others were missing limbs.¹⁷³ Junior officer and future historian Geoffrey Elton provided an account of the wellbeing of the survivors. Elton stated that the officers were not fit to march five miles and were full of dysentery, beriberi, scurvy, malaria and enteritis.¹⁷⁴ An estimated 30,000 casualties were suffered by the British army. Townshend and the survivors of the siege were sent to POW (prisoner of war) camps, but Townshend was able to retire to Constantinople due to his soldier rank. Prior to the end of the siege, Townshend finished and compiled a report of his time at Kut to the chief of the imperial staff in London. The report itself gives one the indication of how challenging it was to defend the garrison and the inhabitants in the town next to it. One issue was the lack of defences available at Kut and Townshend made it clear that no trench stood prior to his arrival before stating what he had on hand was only useful for “uncivilised warfare”.¹⁷⁵ Later in the report, Townshend formulated an estimation of how long the food would last for his men. Townshend gave an estimate from December 1915 that the food supply would last sixty days if carried out correctly.¹⁷⁶ Historian Kristian Coates Ulrichsen argues the concept of “desert warfare” and states the British forces in Mesopotamia struggled at the beginning as they knew very little about the land and how to cope with the conditions such as

¹⁷¹ Unknown, “Relief Ship for Kut Aground in Tigris”, *Manitoba Free Press*, (Saturday, April 29th, 1916), (<http://www.newspapers.com>), date accessed 26/05/2017.

¹⁷² Unknown, “Diary of an Unknown Soldier”, (www.firstworldwar.com), date accessed 26/05/2017.

¹⁷³ Major-General Charles Townshend, *Letter of Surrender*, (<https://interactive.aljazeera.com>), date accessed 03/05/2017.

¹⁷⁴ Junior Officer Geoffrey Elton, “Diary Account of Geoffrey Elton”, (<https://www.theguardian.com>), date accessed 26/05/2017.

¹⁷⁵ Major-General Charles Townshend, *Report on the Defence of Kut-al-Amarah under Maj-Gen Charles Vere Ferrers Townshend 3rd December 1915-29th April 1916 Lt-Gen Sir Percy Henry Noel Lake, Commanding Indian Expeditionary Force 'D'*, (Chennai, 1916), (<http://www.bl.uk>), date accessed 21/03/2017.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

the severe heat and lack of available water.¹⁷⁷ Ulrichsen's synopsis can be seen as a reason why Townshend and his forces struggled at both Ctesiphon and Kut. From the analysis of the report along with the evidence from the diary accounts, one can perceive that Kut was always going to be difficult to defend, as it lacked the adequate supplies to do so.

Positive perception within soldier diaries

With the war rumbling on for four years, it was challenging to stay positive of what was happening around you. For soldiers, this proved to be difficult, as many of the men who served on the front could not see any enjoyable or caring moments to write in their withered pocket-sized diary. However, some soldiers wrote of moments where they felt at peace or attempted to stay positive when times were bleak. For instance, Christmas was a time to be cheerful and optimistic about one's life. Lieutenant Edwin Jones wrote about his Christmas in the desert in 1915. He opened his daily account with: "A happy Christmas to all", before discussing his day of enjoying the sun, getting gifts to send to his family, enjoying the day at the beach before seeing a delightful show before bed.¹⁷⁸ Nurse Emma Duffin, who was mentioned previously, also wrote of her delight at Christmas. She described the soldiers who were either ill or injured and their sheer delight when they received gifts. Duffin wrote: "Our patients were given a lucky bag which we had prepared for them", before illustrating that the men were like children and were delighted with the gifts.¹⁷⁹

It was not just the holiday spirit that propelled staff and soldiers to write of their blissfulness; soldiers also had optimistic moments on the war front. While at the front at Gallipoli, Signaller Ellis Silas witnessed a soldier in a merry temperament even though others around him were not in such a vein. Signaller Silas wrote of a man next to him getting hit in the mouth by Turkish fire before looking puzzled at a Sergeant. Silas wrote: "Sergeant of the machine gun is writing a very amusing diary, full of humour; I wish I had his spirit".¹⁸⁰ Anzac soldier Corporal George Smith wrote a poem of his little dug out and despite being infested with flies and cramped, Smith spoke of having a nice view of the beach below him.¹⁸¹ This can

¹⁷⁷ Kristain Coates Ulrichsen, *The Logistics and Politics of the British Campaign in the Middle East 1914-22*, (London, 2011), 42.

¹⁷⁸ Lieutenant Edwin Jones, "Diary Accounts from Mesopotamia 1916-1918", (<http://www.firstworldwar.com>), date accessed 21/03/2017.

¹⁷⁹ Emma Duffin, "Diary Account of Emma Duffin", (<http://gallipoli.rte.ie>), date accessed 21/03/2017.

¹⁸⁰ Signaller Ellis Silas, "Diary Account of Signaller Ellis Silas", (<http://www.gallipoli.gov.au>), date accessed 21/03/2017.

¹⁸¹ Corporal George Smith, "Diary of Corporal George Smith", (www.anzacsofgallipoli.com), date accessed 19/05/2017.

also be seen as a cynical perspective as Smith had little to cheer about due to the conditions he had at his hut. Private Robert Eardley's experience was not as cheerful as that of Lieutenant Jones or Nurse Duffin, but he shared an interesting feature between friend and foe. Private Eardley had the experience of saving an injured Ottoman soldier from death before being saved from his own demise by the same soldier. Private Eardley wrote about how he protected the Turk from a fellow Englishman before treating his wounds; later and while he was surrounded by Ottoman bayonets, the weak and injured Turk stood in front of the Private and talked to his superior, which Eardley notes "Away they Jabber" before leaving for the British side of the front.¹⁸² General Townshend had similar respect for his opposing general at Kut, with admiration just as equal from the other side. When negotiating surrender, both men (Townshend and Khalil Pacha) praised each other's efforts and when Townshend offered his weapons (a sign of surrender), Pacha declined and stated: "They are as much yours as ever they were", implying to the valiant effort Townshend made at Kut.¹⁸³ Although Eardley and Townshend did not compose these events in an optimistic manner, it was his gestures between ally and foe that gave an indication that not all British soldiers saw the Ottoman in a monstrous way as they were made out to be in the media.

The overall information from the diaries suggests that soldiers did acknowledge the positive outlooks that occurred rather than focus on the negative experiences on the Middle Eastern Front. This can be related to one's mood when writing of its current account. The theory of emotion, developed by philosopher Joel Marks, is seen throughout each soldier's diary. Marks defines emotion as a mixture of feelings that are distinguished from another by the way one feels.¹⁸⁴ Examples of emotions are anger, fear, sadness and depression that have and will occur throughout one's lifetime. Although this is a sociological reference, it can also be applied to how one writes and expresses its thoughts. This is where diaries can be implemented within the theory. Throughout the war, soldiers went through a variety of emotions due to malnourishment, killings, lack of sleep and illnesses. This would affect their way of thinking and their ability to put daily accounts on paper. An example to illustrate this theory is the lack of sleep of a soldier, which causes them to be fatigued, but also to feel stressed and frustrated. Furthermore, when writing a daily account on the front, the soldier may have forgotten certain aspects of the day or may create a bias thought towards the enemy or his fellow officers due to how he was feeling while writing. This theory can be implemented in

¹⁸² Eugene Rogan, *The Fall of the Ottoman Empire*, (New York, 2015), 199-200.

¹⁸³ Major-General Charles Townshend, *My Campaign*, (New York, 1920), 237.

¹⁸⁴ Joel Marks, *A Theory of Emotion*, (NP, 1981), 1.

each diary that was used throughout the chapter. From the illness of John McIlwain and the state of depression from Captain Francis Cohen to the holiday spirit of Lieutenant Edwin Jones; the emotional concept can be seen throughout their individual diaries.

Conclusion

From the overall synopsis of the British soldier diaries, one can see the men who served in the Middle East suffered from various circumstances. The findings from the selected soldier diaries gave the indication they witnessed and faced obstacles throughout their time. Ethnic tension between the home front soldiers and their Commonwealth counterparts was an issue highlighted in the diaries. The racial unease was noticeable towards the Indian corps, which was deemed ill-equipped and was tasked with ineffective work while losing their officer ranks when British soldiers arrived. The first-person accounts at Gallipoli and Kut gave an overlook of the severe conditions that the soldiers faced. Soldiers struggled to cope with the lack of sufficient food, while various diseases such as cholera and trench foot affected their morale. The collected diaries along with Townshend's report from the siege of Kut, gave an overlook of how bleak the conditions were. From exhaustion, to inadequate food supply and widespread of illness, the men who defended vigorously did so in the harsh environment. However, not all diary accounts had negative perceptions. Christmas seemed to provide a sense of delight and enthusiasm, while there were men at the warfront who kept an optimistic view when times were dour. It is a fact that diary accounts contain primary information, which is valuable. That information about the authentic life soldiers had on the front, can give a different perspective on the war than the one depicted in the media.

Chapter three: Reports, analysis and theoretical concepts of newspapers and diaries in understanding Gallipoli and the siege of Kut

With the British fighting on numerous fronts, the media were tasked in covering all aspects of the war. From the trenches in the West to the soaring heat in the Middle East, war correspondents were actively reporting on what they witnessed before sending telegrams back to their offices in Britain. The telegrams would then be published in newspapers, which were then sold on the streets to allow the public to follow Britain's war progress. However, newspapers did not display everything the war correspondents saw, as the British government intended to concentrate on the positive aspects, such as victories and tactical brilliance from the British rather than directing the public's attention to the negative parts. This led to exaggerated reports in newspapers with facts on war missions and progress on the front not adding up. Hence, this chapter focuses on the media perspective (newspaper reports) on the Gallipoli and Mesopotamia (siege of Kut) campaigns that were being reported back in Britain. These reports will be compared with the evidence from the diaries in the previous chapters to see if there were any significant differences and how they can be explained.

The first part of the chapter focuses on the Gallipoli campaign. Here, abstracts from British newspapers such as *The Times* and *The Guardian* will be examined to see what was reported on Gallipoli. These newspapers will be combined with Australian papers due to the contribution and importance of the Anzac soldiers. The main areas of discussion will focus on the beach landings in Gallipoli in April 1915, the health conditions and dwellings of the soldiers, the "August Offensive" and the evacuation in December 1915. The reports on these issues and events will be compared to the diaries of the soldiers who fought and witnessed the events at Gallipoli as presented in the previous chapter. The second topic will be the siege of Kut. Similar to Gallipoli, reports on Kut will be examined via newspapers from the British media along with some from the Dominion States. Additionally, reports from the Turkish perspective will also be examined to develop a better understanding of any possible differences between allied and enemy reports. The primary topics under discussion will be the start of the siege in December 1915, the supply situation at Kut, the health conditions of the soldiers, the reinforcement operations for Kut and the surrender in April 1916. Comparable to Gallipoli, diary accounts will be used to see if there were any significant differences from the reports within newspapers. The third section will look at the possible reasons why newspapers contained inaccurate accounts. From here, theoretical concepts will be employed to get a better

understanding of propaganda and censorship, while evidence from chapter one will be demonstrated. The final section examines the accuracy of soldier diaries. Here, the theory of emotion is recalled from chapter two, along with the theoretical concept of collective memory. This section concludes on the theory of diary writing to understand the occurrences within a diary.

Newspaper coverage on the Gallipoli Campaign

Newspapers played a significant role in the British Empire in the First World War. With media tycoon Lord Northcliffe cooperating with British Prime Minister David Lloyd George and the government, newspapers laid the basis for the propaganda and recruitment campaigns. Likewise, newspapers provided coverage of the war front and were available to soldiers in the trenches. However, with the introduction of the “Defence Against the Realm Act”, newspapers may not have portrayed correct reports, as any negative news might harm the British Empire’s reputation and position. Furthermore, the question posed here is how accurate were the reports in newspapers during the Gallipoli campaign? As recalled in the previous chapter, soldier diaries portrayed Gallipoli as a horrific theatre as countless lives were lost from unsuccessful assaults which ended in a bitter defeat for the British and Anzac forces. Additionally, diaries also demonstrated little to no food available to the men, while a bout of illnesses appeared on the frontline which tainted the soldiers’ morale. Nevertheless, media reports were dispatched to Britain and the Dominion states to keep the public informed of the progress of the British army at Gallipoli.

The Gallipoli campaign began on the 25th of April, 1915 with a beach assault. As stated in the previous chapter, the goal of the campaign was to capture Constantinople and have a foothold in the Dardanelles for further attacks. With the support of the diary sources from the previous chapter, the campaign itself was a failure, as the British and Allied forces underestimated the strength of the Ottoman Empire. One of the earliest reports from the British media on the assault was on the 27th of April. *The Manchester Guardian* broke the news with its headline “Sir Ian Hamilton’s Army in Gallipoli Peninsula”, while promoting the size of the army and its advance towards Constantinople.¹⁸⁵ The article from *The Manchester Guardian* discussed various aspects of the British actions, such as the naval expeditions and the beach assaults. From the beach assaults, a statement from the war office stated that the attacks were

¹⁸⁵ Unknown, “Sir Ian Hamilton’s Army in Gallipoli Peninsula”, *Manchester Guardian*, (Tuesday, April 27th, 1915), (<https://www.newspapers.com>), date accessed 18/04/2017.

successful, despite the strong entrenchments of the enemy.¹⁸⁶ *The Times* had a similar approach to *The Manchester Guardian*. *The Times* covered the landings and, despite stating that there was stubborn resistance, the British army had established a successful base on shore.¹⁸⁷ In the Australian media, there was little about the British advancement on the beaches. *The Age*, a newspaper from Melbourne, focused on the naval difficulties in the Dardanelles, while also mentioning war correspondent Ellis Ashmead-Bartlett (who witnessed a frontal beach assault).¹⁸⁸ The reports on the landings were more in-depth when time passed on, with *The Times* giving thorough details in a report on the 7th of May, 1915. For example, the report estimated that 29,000 soldiers were based on six landing spots spread across the Dardanelles Strait and fended off the Ottoman assaults.¹⁸⁹

The media reports on Gallipoli were delayed due to the distance between Britain and the Dardanelles. This led to certain information being excluded. For instance, newspapers did not cover all the events that occurred during the beach landings on the 25th of April. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Ashmead-Bartlett witnessed a failed attempt to hold a base on a beach. Ashmead-Bartlett, who was aboard the “HRS London”, wrote about how the British and Anzac soldiers struggled to get a foothold on the beach. He later travelled to the beach before being informed that they had to retreat. The question presented here is why did the media not mention the failures of the beach assault? One plausible reason was the “Defence of the Realm Act”, which prevented any negative media attention towards the British crown and the Empire. This includes any setbacks on the warfront. However, news coverage did display key words to indicate that not all was going well. *The Times* used the word “stubborn”, which indicates the Ottomans were putting up a strong resistance against the oncoming British soldiers.¹⁹⁰ *The Manchester Guardian* also used similar phrasing, with the term “serious opposition” used in its report.¹⁹¹ The diary accounts of Signaller Ellis Silas, Sergeant Moriarty and Private Alfred Cameron from the previous chapter also demonstrated the resilience from the Ottoman forces.¹⁹² However, from the sources gathered, one can argue that the British

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

¹⁸⁷ Unknown, “Landing in the Peninsula”, *The Times*, (Tuesday, April 27th, 1915), (<https://www.newspapers.com>), date accessed 19/04/2017.

¹⁸⁸ Unknown, “The Dardanelles”, *The Age*, (Tuesday, April 27th, 1915), (<https://www.newspapers.com>), date accessed 18/04/2017.

¹⁸⁹ Unknown, “The Operation in Gallipoli”, *The Times*, (Friday, May 7th, 1915), (<https://www.newspapers.com>), date accessed 18/04/2017.

¹⁹⁰ Unknown, “Landing in the Peninsula”, *The Times*, (Tuesday, April 27th, 1915), (<https://www.newspapers.com>), date accessed 18/04/2017.

¹⁹¹ Unknown, “Sir Ian Hamilton’s Army in Gallipoli Peninsula”, *The Manchester Guardian*, (Tuesday, April 27th, 1915), (<https://www.newspapers.com>), date accessed 18/04/2017.

¹⁹² As explained in chapter two.

media did not review the army's failings in an objective way, as the media singularly covered on the successful landings.

With the British forces forming a base at Gallipoli, victory seemed achievable. However, problems developed which disrupted the British forces' advance in the peninsula. As mentioned previously, these problems were lack of supplies and health issues, while the Ottoman soldiers were putting up a stronger fight than expected. Nevertheless, British newspapers kept an optimistic view on the allied conditions. On the 5th of May 1915, ten days after the beach landings, *The Guardian* covered the southern operations of Gallipoli (further beach attacks). In the report, it was stated that the allies' (Britain and France) conditions were favourable and expected to route the Ottomans with relative ease.¹⁹³ This was also established in *The Observer*, which expected the British to take the Dardanelles without any setbacks.¹⁹⁴ But the argument formed in chapter two suggests the struggle in Gallipoli was far more demanding than what was portrayed in the newspapers. Furthermore, the newspapers previously mentioned did not distribute any facts or concerns about the lack of food or illnesses spreading on the Middle Eastern Front. This implies that reports back home were not providing accurate information concerning the wellbeing of the soldiers.

With Gallipoli being the main focal point for the Australian propaganda machine, the media provided detailed and adequate coverage of the campaign. As brought up in chapter one, the Australian media promoted Gallipoli as the centre piece for enticing men to enlist in the army. August 1915 was a crucial month for the British and Anzacs forces at Gallipoli, as the attack was known as the "August Offensive". This was pivotal, as it was regarded as the last push for the British and its allies to gain the upper hand at Gallipoli. Nonetheless, the Ottomans prevailed and took advantage of Britain's setback. However, the Australian media still highlighted the qualities of its men-at-arms. On the 6th of August 1915, *The Age* compiled a report on the Anzacs in the trenches. The report discussed how comfortable the Anzac soldiers were and used key phrases such as "amazing physique" and "millionaires".¹⁹⁵ *The Sydney Morning Herald* wrote an article about a recruitment rally from Australian MP (member of parliament) Joseph Cook. Cook was persuading men to go to Gallipoli and stated that he had

¹⁹³ Unknown, "Main Attack From South", *The Guardian*, (Wednesday, May 5th, 1915), (<https://www.newspapers.com>), date accessed 18/04/2017.

¹⁹⁴ Unknown, "A Formidable Task", *The Observer*, (Sunday, May 2nd, 1915), (<https://www.newspapers.com>), date accessed 18/04/2017.

¹⁹⁵ Unknown, "On Gallipoli, Life in the Trenches", *The Age*, (Friday, August 6th, 1915), (<https://www.newspapers.com>), date accessed 20/04/2017.

received a letter from his own son, who wrote of his happiness in the trenches. The letter from Cook's son may imply the trenches were in good condition.¹⁹⁶ This suggests that the situation Gallipoli was relaxed and the soldiers themselves were not suffering in any way or form. However, the reports from the diaries in the previous chapter indicate the conditions were inadequate. Australian historian Nathan Wise elaborates on the trench conditions and states the men had poorly equipped tools to construct a trench.¹⁹⁷ These facts disclaim the ones in *The Age*. Further media outlets in Australia also endorsed the successes of the Anzac soldiers. The *Sydney Morning Herald* further implies the importance of the Anzac and their gallant efforts at the front. This outlet sourced the words of General Ian Hamilton, who was not short of praise of the resilience and sharpness of the Anzac forces in defending and reinforcing the northern sector of Gallipoli.¹⁹⁸ This signifies that the Anzacs were more than capable of fending off the Ottomans, while establishing fortifications in the North.

As mentioned, the "August Offensive" was crucial for the allies. It was their last opportunity to seize Gallipoli and believed the Ottomans were lacking in numbers. The battle of Sari Bair (located in modern Turkey) occurred between the 6th and the 21st of August. The objective was to seize Sari Bair in order to capture and hold Sulva Bay as a base for the northern operations at Gallipoli.¹⁹⁹ The result was an Ottoman victory and put the allies on the back foot. However, on the 30th of August, days after the allied defeat, *The Sydney Morning Herald* only reported on the Turkish losses and the heroic efforts of the Anzac soldiers.²⁰⁰ *The Hamilton Spector* provided similar coverage on the 4th of September 1915. However, the article was a month behind, as it discussed the events that occurred between the 7th and 10th of August.²⁰¹ Additionally, *The Age* endorsed the heroism of the Anzacs on the 27th of September (a month after the Sari Bair battle was concluded).²⁰² This suggests that the coverage of Sari Bair was either delayed from the Australian side, or was censored to keep morale high at home. From

¹⁹⁶ Unknown, "What Are We Fighting For", *The Sydney Morning Herald*, (Monday, August 2nd, 1915), (<https://www.newspapers.com>), date accessed 18/04/2017.

¹⁹⁷ Nathan Wise, *Anzac Labour: Workplace Cultures in the Australian Imperial Force During World War I*, (London, 2014), pp 38-39.

¹⁹⁸ Unknown, "Gallipoli. Gallant Colonials", *The Sydney Morning Herald*, (Friday, August 13th, 1915), (<https://www.newspapers.com>), date accessed 20/04/2017.

¹⁹⁹ Jeff Cleverly, *More Than a Side Show? An Analysis of GHQ Decision Making During the Planning for the Landings at Sulva Bay, Gallipoli, August 1915*, (Canberra, 2016), 58

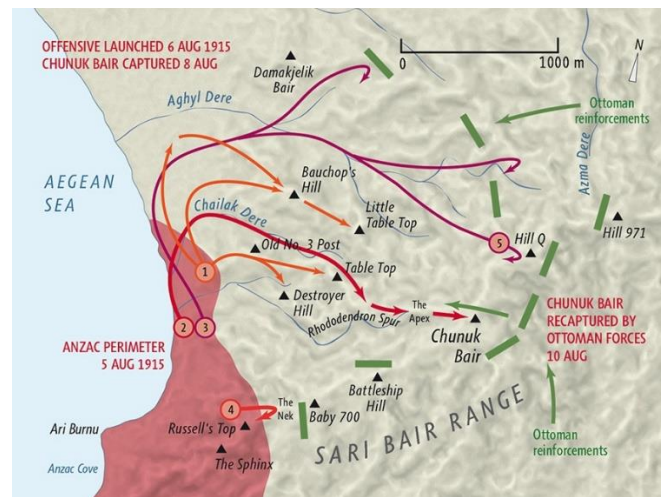
²⁰⁰ Unknown, "Gallipoli, Sari Bair, Australian Attack, Great Turkish losses", *The Sydney Morning Herald*, (Monday, August 30th, 1915), (<https://www.newspapers.com>), date accessed 02/05/2017.

²⁰¹ Unknown, "Fight for Sari Bair", *The Hamilton Spector*, (Saturday, September 4th, 1915), (<https://www.newspapers.com>), date accessed 02/05/2017.

²⁰² Unknown, "Battle of Sari Bair. A Great Flank Movement", *The Age*, (Monday, September 27th, 1915), (<https://www.newspapers.com>), date accessed 02/05/2017.

the British media standpoint, one can see similar timelines when reporting on Sari Bair, with *The Times* weeks behind from the actual outcome. It covered the landing of Sulva Bay (6th-15th of August) on the 3rd of September.²⁰³ Moreover, on the 22nd of September, *The Guardian* reported of Sir Ian Hamilton's gratitude of the participation of his men and their "inestimable service" and of "exploits which will live in history".²⁰⁴ Although this report does not entail allied defeat at Sari Bair, it does suggest their efforts were fruitless, as Ian Hamilton's words did not speak of victory, but more of participating. With the gathering of newspaper articles, one can argue that the delay of the coverage may have altered accurate coverage on the battle. For instance, the Australian media never mentioned any setbacks for the allies throughout the battle. Although one can argue this was due to censorship or propaganda campaign, the media failed to provide an in-depth account of life at Gallipoli.

Image six: Detailed map of the battle of Sari Bair.



Source: (<https://nzhistory.govt.nz>), date accessed 02/05/2017

With the conclusion of the battle of Sari Bair and the Ottoman victory, the British Empire and its allies struggled to hold on what they held of Gallipoli. As shown in chapter two, the morale of the men was low and their basic supplies were becoming exhausted. By December, the British army issued a retreat order. This dejected the men to anger, depression and frustration as some were resentful of the British withdrawal.²⁰⁵ The British media gave a respectable account on the withdrawal, particularly in the evacuation perception. *The Times*

²⁰³ Unknown, "The Battle for Sari Bair", *The Times*, (Friday, September 3rd, 1915), (<https://www.newspapers.com>), date accessed 02/05/2017.

²⁰⁴ Unknown, "Artillery Fire on the British Front", *The Guardian*, (Wednesday, September 22nd, 1915), (<https://www.newspapers.com>), date accessed 02/05/2017.

²⁰⁵ As explained in chapter two.

praised the British army for pulling off the operation without the enemy knowing, before noting there was little to no casualties during the procedure.²⁰⁶ *The Guardian*'s report was almost identical in how it praised the evacuation process, describing it as a "wonderful feat".²⁰⁷ This can also be compared to the diaries of the soldiers in the previous chapter who participated in the operation and were equally amazed of the success. However, there was a mixed debate on the defeat at Gallipoli. *The Observer* argued that the British military focused significantly on the Western Front and that if they concentrated on the Middle East as equally as the West, the British army would have conquered Gallipoli, occupied Constantinople, while also having an influence in the Balkans.²⁰⁸ *The Times*, on the other hand, spoke of the evacuation and how it was known as the "biggest bluff known in war", before ridiculing the Ottomans for being outwitted.²⁰⁹ The article further discussed the efficiency of the British army in the evacuation, but did not comment on the failure of the campaign itself. From the previous chapter, soldiers' diary accounts of the men evacuating indicated they were frustrated with the result and felt the British army did not try hard enough to keep the campaign going.

From the sources gathered, it is suggested that the media kept a positive outlook towards the Gallipoli campaign. With the media tell of their successes during the beach landings, the soldiers gained the full support and eagerness of the public within the British Empire. However, the media failed to provide an accurate account of events in Gallipoli as diary sources show many issues and difficulties. The campaign was brutal; the British and Commonwealth soldiers struggled to adapt to the environment, the continuous bombardment of the Ottoman troops and the countless lives lost in the process. Although there were casualties, the media kept the news to a minimal as they wanted to prevent civil unrest on the home front.

Newspaper coverage on the Siege of Kut

With the Gallipoli campaign failing in the West, the capture of Baghdad was beginning to unravel. As recalled in the previous chapter, seizing Baghdad was required to enhance the British influence in the Mesopotamia region. However, the defeat at Ctesiphon in November 1915 put the British forces on the back front and they had to retreat to Kut-Al-Amara. It was

²⁰⁶ Unknown, "Our Front in Gallipoli", *The Times*, (Tuesday, December 21st, 1915), (<https://www.newspapers.com>), date accessed 20/04/2017.

²⁰⁷ Unknown, "The New Appointments", *The Guardian*, (Thursday, December 23rd, 1915), (<https://www.newspapers.com>), date accessed 02/05/2017.

²⁰⁸ Unknown, "The War-Thinker", *The Observer*, (Sunday, December 26th, 1915), (<https://www.newspapers.com>), date accessed 02/05/2017.

²⁰⁹ Unknown, "How the Turks were Outwitted", *The Times*, (Friday, December 31st, 1915), (<https://www.newspapers.com>), date accessed 02/04/2017.

there that General Townshend and his men created a stronghold to defend the post from the oncoming Ottoman army. Similar to Gallipoli, news reached the British public days after the event occurred. For instance, *The Guardian* broke the news of Townshend's safe arrival at Kut on the 7th of December, when in fact he and his men made it to Kut four days earlier.²¹⁰ Furthermore, the siege itself began on the 7th of December, which strengthens the argument of reports reaching Britain later, which may alter the facts within the reports to remove any negative news.

With the siege in progress, the British public was informed of the situation via war correspondents from newspapers. In relation to the enemy war preparations, *The Times* obtained information from a Constantinople telegram on the 10th of December. The telegram discussed Turkish success on the Tigris river, located next to Kut and how they inflicted heavy losses on the enemy (British and Commonwealth soldiers).²¹¹ *The Guardian* implemented an interesting element by presenting the British and Turkish side of the siege. Similar to *The Times*, *The Guardian* obtained information from the Turkish perspective via interception of possible military intelligence or reports from the foreign press. Both reports contained contrasting facts on how the siege was progressing. While Townshend's review stated that they repulsed the Ottoman attack and its advancement, the Turkish report suggests that the Ottoman soldiers were successful in their attacks and were approaching the enemy lines.²¹² The question here is what source was more accurate? General Townshend's memoirs on the siege suggested that the British had the better outcome from the first days of fighting. Although Townshend did admit the Turkish had a stronger arsenal, he does argue that they suffered heavy casualties, with an estimated 2,000 in comparison to 122 on the British side.²¹³ Furthermore, Townshend pointed out that the Ottoman attacks "were not driven home", indicating they failed to advance on its position, while also stating the Ottoman soldiers did not perform well in attack, with the high casualties backing the argument.²¹⁴ Moreover, both reports from *The Guardian* may contain biased reports due to censorship, but having Townshend's report on the siege itself creates a better understanding of what happened at Kut. On the 8th of January 1916, *The Times* obtained a letter from a soldier who participated at Kut. The soldier's letter dates back between

²¹⁰ Unknown, "General Townshend Division Reaches Kut-Al-Amara", *The Guardian*, (Tuesday, December 7th, 1915), (<https://www.newspapers.com>), date accessed 03/05/2017.

²¹¹ Unknown. "Late War News: Turks claim Success on the Tigris", *The Times*, (Saturday, December 11th, 1915), (<https://www.newspapers.com>), date accessed 03/05/2017.

²¹² Unknown, "The Defence of Kut: A Turkish Attack Repulsed" and "The Turkish story", *The Guardian*, (Thursday, December 16th, 1915), (<https://www.newspapers.com>), date accessed 03/05/2017.

²¹³ Major-General Charles Townshend, *My Campaign*, (New York, 1920), 84-85.

²¹⁴ Ibid.

the end of November (the battle at Ctesiphon) to the beginning of the siege. The soldier wrote home to his family, speaking of his experience in the Middle East and the situation he was in. The soldier discussed how they (the British army) were in a strong position to repel the Turks and were optimistic about their chances.²¹⁵ However, one must note that soldier letters were censored by the British army, which prevented any plans from being disclosed in the letter. This, in return, may provide an accurate account.²¹⁶ Additionally, the soldier also believed reinforcements would arrive, but this would not occur.

With the siege lasting five months, the fatigue was rising and supplies were diminishing daily. As recalled in the previous chapter, rations were reduced over time to prolong the limited food supply. Diary accounts from the soldiers gave a first-person account on the severity of the situation, as the men ate all living animals in the location, while the Indian brigade refused to eat horse meat before receiving religious clearance. The lack of food led to a bout of diseases that affected the soldier's ability for combat, while also resulting in deaths. Media reports on the situation were somewhat limited. A report from the Chief of Command of the British Indian Army, Sir John Nixon, was presented to *The Times* about the current casualties at Kut, stating that 49 of the 200 deaths were from disease.²¹⁷ Nevertheless, the report did not entail what were the causes of the disease or what type it was. In relation to food shortage, the media had little information on the situation. *The Guardian* reported that the Turkish soldiers hoped Kut would fall over food shortage and expected famine from the harsh weather conditions.²¹⁸ But this provided little information for the readers on the situation in the Mesopotamia region.

The relief force for Kut failed to materialise due to the strength and pressing attacks of the Ottoman soldiers. Townshend and his men barricaded inside Kut, expecting reinforcements from the beginning of the siege, which failed to occur. An estimated six rescue attempts failed throughout the siege.²¹⁹ *The Guardian* again used reports from the enemy's side to give an overview of the first attempt that occurred between the 6th and 7th of January 1916. The report from the Turkish viewpoint stated that they repelled the relief force, while also taking

²¹⁵ Unknown, "The Tigris Retreat", *The Times*, (Saturday, January 8th, 1916), (<https://www.newspapers.com>) date accessed 04/05/2017.

²¹⁶ David Englander, *Soldiering and Identity: Reflections on the Great War*, (1994), 307.

²¹⁷ Unknown, "Our Losses at Kut", *The Times*, (Thursday, December 23rd, 1915), (<https://www.newspapers.com>), date accessed 03/05/2017.

²¹⁸ Unknown, "The Campaign in Mesopotamia", *The Guardian*, (Tuesday, January 11th, 1916), (<https://www.newspapers.com>), date accessed 04/05/2017.

²¹⁹ Unknown, "Timeline of the Battle of Kut", (<https://interactive.aljazeera.com>), date accessed 04/05/2017.

prisoners.²²⁰ *The Guardian* also reported about the British relief force and stated that the enemy retreated and they (the British army) obtained weapons and prisoners before stating the harsh weather conditions prevented them to follow up the attack.²²¹ This report was also backed up by *The Times*.²²² Again, contrasting reports emerged, but although the British seemed to achieve a minor victory, they contended that bad weather affected its rescue operation. The Turkish perspective on the other hand argued they successfully fended off the British relief force. Although both sides had conflicting views, the issue remained that the British reinforcements failed to arrive to Kut. The final rescue attempt occurred on the 20th of April 1916. At this stage, Townshend and his remaining men struggled to cope with the Ottoman onslaught and watched several fruitless efforts come to nothing. *The Guardian* did not report on the incident, while *The Times* mentioned the situation at Kut was critical, but also failed to mention the latest rescue operation.²²³ The Canadian press gave a more proficient report on the siege. *The Manitoba Free Press* received a report on how a relief ship with supplies on the river Tigris was approaching Kut but failed after having been discovered by the Ottoman army.²²⁴ Moreover, back in Britain, *The Observer* gave a detailed account of the failed rescue attempt, while also noting that Townshend was contemplating surrendering, as he and his men were all but defeated from the conditions they encountered the past several months.²²⁵ The facts from the media suggest they were either contrasting views towards the aid for Kut and lack of discussion in the media on the relief in some quarters.

Townshend finally surrendered on the 29th of April 1916. Although *The Observer* broke the news on the 30th of April 1916, Townshend declared his intention to surrender on the 26th, before he and his men officially surrendered. *The Guardian* printed a speech from Lord Kitchener (Secretary of War) about the surrender of Kut. Kitchener praised Townshend and his men for their gallant effort during the siege and that their surrender reflects “no discredit on themselves”.²²⁶ *The Times* gave a more numerical account of how many were captured, with

²²⁰ Unknown, “The Turkish Story: Hopes of Capturing Kut”, *The Guardian*, (Tuesday, January 11th, 1916), (<https://www.newspapers.com>), date accessed 04/05/2017.

²²¹ Ibid.

²²² Unknown, “Mesopotamia: Retreat of the Enemy”, *The Times*, (Tuesday, January 11th, 1916), (<https://www.newspapers.com>), date accessed 04/05/2017.

²²³ Unknown, “Turks on Garrison’s Critical Position”, *The Times*, (Friday, April 21st, 1916), (<http://www.newspapers.com>), date accessed 04/05/2017.

²²⁴ Unknown, “Relief Ship for Kut Aground in Tigris”, *Manitoba Free Press*, (Saturday, April 29th, 1916), (<http://www.newspapers.com>), date accessed 04/05/2017.

²²⁵ Unknown, “The Siege of Kut: Efforts to Relieve the Garrison”, *The Observer*, (Sunday, April 30th, 1916), (<http://www.newspapers.com>), date accessed 04/05/2017.

²²⁶ Lord Kitchener, “Lord Kitchener and the Surrender of Kut”, *The Guardian*, (Friday, May 5th, 1916), (<http://www.newspapers.com>), date accessed 04/05/2017.

“9,000 troops captured” formatted in thick bold font.²²⁷ Interestingly, the German media portrayed the defeat of Kut as one of the biggest disasters in British history. The *Vossische Zeitung* claimed the fall of Kut was the “heaviest blow ever struck at Great Britain”, before crediting the victory to the German effort due to the influence of Marshal Von Der Goltz, who led the Ottoman army at Kut.²²⁸ However, this can be perceived as German propaganda to dismay the British public. From the Australian perspective, *The Age* covered the fall of Kut before printing a story of the Governor-General of Australia proclaimed that the fall of Kut will strengthen Australia’s participation in the war.²²⁹ The various reports from the media gave the indication that the fall of Kut was not a calamity and in fact strengthened the British cause in the Middle East, as the British army was determined to make amends from its earlier mishaps.

Similar to Gallipoli, the media coverage on Kut did provide accurate accounts. However, unlike at Gallipoli, there were no war correspondents at Kut to give a first-person view on the progression and detailed accounts of daily life. Although there was mentioning of the harsh conditions from the health perspective, it was kept minimal by the press. Furthermore, the media also provided reports from the Turkish perspective, which provided contrasting reviews in relation to the events at Kut.

Theoretical concepts for inaccuracies of media reports at Gallipoli and Kut

As it is clear from the evidence above and in chapter two, details from diary accounts and newspapers did not parallel one another. Both sources displayed diverse material on Gallipoli and Kut and while diaries gave a first-person account within the peninsula, newspapers provided an overview report on both campaigns. However, reports in newspapers tend to keep a positive outlook on the respective campaigns, even when time were bleak. The question being posed is why did the media distribute inaccurate reports and why were explicit details concerning the wellbeing of the soldiers left out in these reports?

One concept to help answer the question, is censorship in newspapers. Censorship was enacted to prevent certain facts being distributed such as the lack of food, the conditions on the warfront and the exact number of deaths. As previously mentioned in chapter one, the “Defence Against the Realm Act” was employed to prevent any negative news that affected the

²²⁷ Unknown, “Gen. Townshend Surrenders. 9,000 Troops captured”, *The Times*, (Monday, May 1st, 1916), (<http://www.newspapers.com>), date accessed 04/05/2017.

²²⁸ Unknown, “The Turkish Report”, *The Times*.

²²⁹ Unknown, “Australia’s Message to the King”, *The Age*, (Saturday, May 6th, 1916), (<http://www.newspapers.com>), date accessed 04/05/2017.

reputation of the Crown and the British Empire.²³⁰ Censorship was applied within the media to keep morale up for the British public, while also persuading men to enlist. The British government issued censorship in newspapers by intercepting cable lines that linked the war front to the media hub back in Britain. From here, military personnel would suppress or modify the story to make it more favourable to the public.²³¹ An estimated 1,000 cables were censored on a daily basis in Britain.²³² This can be a potential reason why there was little reporting on the shortage of supplies and spread of disease in Gallipoli and Kut. The British and Australian media rarely focused on the lack of provisions due to rationing that was occurring on the home front. By not reporting on the scarceness of food, the British people were able to stay motivated in supporting the British Empire. Censorship also prevented negative news on the war that might disrupt morale back home. Reports of Suvla Bay were delayed in both the Australian and British media and simply spoke of the positives, despite suffering defeat. This strengthens the idea censorship played a role in preventing selected information being published. Additionally, censorship kept journalists from fulfilling their job, as they were restricted to what they could and could not say in newspapers. If journalists decided to present the facts that were suppressed, they were even threatened with the prospect of execution by the British Government.²³³ This led to some journalists such as Sir Philip Gibbs (who was one of five official British reporters during WW1) to escape to France in fear of being executed for promoting the truth. The other journalists who stayed behind kept silent and published the modified reports.

With censorship issued, propaganda was able to be implemented to its full effect. As recalled throughout the earlier chapters, propaganda played a significant role for the British Empire. It supported the British cause in recruitment policies and helped gain the support of the public. A theoretical framework can be applied in understanding the function of propaganda. This is known as the Information Manipulation Theory (IMT). This theory was formulated by professor of public speaking Steven McCornack, who defines IMT as an editing model of deception that misleads the public.²³⁴ McCornack's definition relates to the ideology of propaganda during the First World War and how the British government used different methods to deceive the public, such as persuasive slogans and posters. Similar to censorship,

²³⁰ See chapter one.

²³¹ Tania Rose, *Aspects of Political Censorship, 1914-1918*, (Hull, 1995), 49-53.

²³² Eberhard Demm, "Censorship", (www.encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net), date accessed 09/05/2017.

²³³ Frank Gardner, "Why were Journalists Threatened with Execution in WW1", (<http://www.bbc.co.uk>), date accessed 09/05/2017.

²³⁴ Scott Jacobs, *Information Manipulation Theory: A Replication and Assessment*, (NP, 1996), 1.

these editing models were used within newspapers to persuade the public to support or enlist during the war. An example to demonstrate this theory was the Australian media promoting the comfortable conditions at Gallipoli in relation to safe and clean trenches and the fighting skills of the Anzac soldiers. By implying the conditions at Gallipoli were satisfactory, the Australian government aimed to persuade the men that had not yet enlisted to go and serve. Another case was the British opinion of the Ottoman Empire and its participation in the war. In chapter one, an image illustrated that the Ottoman Empire was not resilient in comparison to its allies.²³⁵ The British media portrayed the Ottoman army as weak and not capable of lasting the war. This created a sense within the public to go and serve in the Middle East, as they expected an easier fight. These propaganda implementations can lead to inaccurate accounts in newspapers, as they misled the public with fabricated facts, while also leaving out information concerning the wellbeing of the soldier.

The theoretical concept of positive thinking can be used within newspaper reports, when regarding the difficulties the British army encountered at Gallipoli and Kut. Positive thinking is a mental and emotional attitude that focuses on the positive aspects of a situation, which assists a person to overturn a difficulty or an obstacle.²³⁶ Although this is seen as a sociological and physiological concept, this theory can be applied within newspapers when covering the war front. For instance, when reporting on the beach landings at Gallipoli, the media did not report on the failings, but rather the successes. Moreover, when the British issued the retreat from Gallipoli in December 1915, the media kept a positive outlook on the process, praising their initiative and planning procedures rather than criticising the British defeat. Similarly, the defeat at Kut can be seen as another prime example of this theory. When the news broke that Kut had fallen to the enemy, the British government, led by Lord Kitchener, praised the soldiers for their efforts despite their loss. The British government issued the praise as they did not want to berate the British army on its loss, estimating that the situation in Kut was difficult. Furthermore, by praising the men for their efforts, the British government is implied to the public to keep an optimistic view on the British war cause. Overall, the theoretical framework of positive thinking does bring an analytical insight when understanding how reports were composed, as they were intended to keep morale up and preserved an optimistic view.

²³⁵ See appendix illustration 5.

²³⁶ Remez Sasson, "The Power of Positive Thinking", (<http://www.successconsciousness.com>), date accessed 09/05/2017.

These concepts and theoretical methods mentioned suggest that reporting on the war can easily be misleading due to what is at stake. With the British Government heavily involved within the media, journalists were limited in what they could report on the war. Censorship and propaganda also prevented a more accurate account of the situation in the Middle East, while the theory of positive thinking put the war front's reports into different perspective. Moreover, diary accounts also contributed to this synopsis as the evidence suggests throughout the chapter that a different story was being told at home than what occurred on the front.

Theoretical concepts on soldier diaries

Similar to the analysis on the accuracies of newspapers, soldier diaries should not be excluded, as one can argue they may also not provide correct description of the war. Unlike soldier letters, which were restricted due to censorship and were inspected by higher class officers' prior sending them off, diaries were a private account in which a soldier could write his thoughts and what he witnessed. However, similar to newspapers, did soldier diaries provide an accurate account and can they be seen as a viable source? To begin the analysis for this question, one should look at the theory of emotion. As briefly mentioned in chapter two, the theory of emotion is defined as having a mixture of feelings that are distinguished from another by the way one feels.²³⁷ This theory aimed at how soldiers wrote depending on how they felt. The examples used to demonstrate the theory included celebration of Christmas, a daily account when a soldier was ill or witnessing the death of a companion.²³⁸ These different emotions affected the way how soldiers experienced war and how they documented it. One example to illustrate this was Lieutenant Henry Gallup at Kut. From the continuous fighting and lack of supplies, Lieutenant Gallup was in a bleak condition due to the minimal food available.²³⁹ This situation would give Lieutenant Gallup a different perspective compared to being in a healthier condition. In that case, Gallup would have had a more detailed account on Kut. Major Guy Nightingale's diary account was conferring to the illness he picked up while on duty. Between the 11th and the 19th October 1915, Major Nightingale contacted an illness which put him out of action. This may include his ability to write long daily passages and what was occurring around him as he may have been too weak.

²³⁷ As explained in chapter two.

²³⁸ As explained in chapter two.

²³⁹ As explained in chapter two.

Elis Ashmead-Bartlett and Ellis Silas, who witnessed the early stages of Gallipoli, also fit within this theoretical framework. Ashmead-Bartlett reported on his experiences in a safe environment in comparison to his counterparts. Ashmead-Bartlett's safe environment indicates he was in a calm collective situation and was able to gather his thoughts and write down what he experienced. On the other hand, Signaller Silas wrote of his experience and the constant threat of snipers that shot at him and his companions.²⁴⁰ The continuous firing aimed at Silas may have prompted him in either a frightful or angry mood, which affected his style of writing. Additionally, Silas wrote of how a fellow companion kept an optimistic attitude while writing his own thoughts, which demonstrates that soldiers reacted differently in bleak situations. The evidence from Ashmead-Bartlett and Silas along with the accounts from Gallup and Nightingale suggest the soldier's emotional state gives him a different perspective on what he witness as his frame of mind affects his opinion and thought.

Collective memory is another theoretical concept that can be utilised in understanding how diaries are written. Historian Susan Crane defines collective memory as what was written about the past by the observer (soldier on the warfront) and how it is reproduced later.²⁴¹ Crane's synopsis here is that history is observed from the writing of a scholar/historian/person who witnessed a specific event. Author Samuel Hynes discusses how soldier diaries and thoughts of men who served in the Great War formed a collective database of how one sees and understands the war.²⁴² Similar to Crane's outline, Hynes' argues that individual accounts gave future historians a better understanding. Now, with the insight of collective memory clarified, how does this apply to diaries and does it provide an accurate account on the war itself? Firstly, the diary accounts are composed by soldiers who had a diary present during their time at the front. Furthermore, soldiers would write while they were on break and wrote what they witnessed or encountered throughout a particular day. However, a soldier's account can be interrupted in terms of factual accounts if the environment changes while they are writing. This can be down to a change of weather, a sudden illness or a battle breaking out. This would affect the soldiers' writing, as they would not have time to recall every event due to the ferocity of the war. A second perception of this theory is the condition of the person when they were writing. This relates to a soldier's health and/or emotion (theory of emotion).

²⁴⁰ As explained in chapter two.

²⁴¹ Susan Crane, "Writing the Individual Back into Collective Memory" in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 102, No. 5 (Dec. 1997), 1372.

²⁴² Samuel Hynes, *The Soldiers' Tale: Bearing Witness to a Modern War*, (New York, 2003).

One example to illustrate this is the diary of Sergeant D. Moriarty. As recalled in the previous chapter, Sergeant Moriarty took part in the beach landings at Gallipoli and was under fire by Ottoman soldiers.²⁴³ When Moriarty had time to collect his thoughts, the central memory that came to mind was the continuous fire he was under and the little food he received while on the beach. This was Moriarty's main thought and it overshadowed any other memory that day, such as landing on the beach and the preparations leading up to the landing. The diary of Lieutenant Edwin Jones also demonstrates this theory. Lieutenant Jones was tasked to run from tent to tent, to check everyone was safe due to Ottoman shells firing over the camp.²⁴⁴ From Jones' account, he mentioned only one incident in the tent, which concerned a frightened Indian soldier begging him to stay, with Jones responding with a no. Jones did not discuss anything else in detail as he was running from tent to tent, trying not to get hit by an Ottoman shell. This affected his collective thinking, as Jones would not have time to gather his thoughts until the bombardment was over and he was in a safe position to write. Although these memories indicated the brutality of war and gave a first-person account, it does not provide an accurate account of that specific day, as it was the memory of one individual soldier. Furthermore, the soldier's mentality at the time would affect his way of writing on how he saw the event which relates to the theory of emotion concept argued above.

The theory of timing in diary writing must also be examined. Esmeralda Kleinreesink, who served in the Dutch military in Afghanistan discusses how the concept of timing is focal in grasping how one approaches the understanding soldier diaries. Kleinreesink breaks down the theory into three narratives "On the Spot", "Immediate" and "Retrospective". "On the spot" relates to the soldier writing their thoughts in the midst of an ongoing operation such as a siege or a skirmish.²⁴⁵ This narrative associates with collective thought and emotion as the soldier is writing in his diary of what was occurring around him. This can be seen in the diary of Eilis Silas, who wrote about a friend getting shot in the face while at the front. This gives a primary account of the war. "Immediate" relates to a written diary account during the war but not on the war front or immediately after the war.²⁴⁶ This relates to soldiers off duty who had time to reflect on what they saw and compose it in their diaries. Lieutenant Edwin Jones diary account during Christmas provides an example of this as he was given time off and had time to write.

²⁴³ As explained in chapter two.

²⁴⁴ As explained in chapter two.

²⁴⁵ Esmeralda Kleinreesink, *On Military Memoirs: Soldier-Authors, Publishers, Plots and Motives*, (Breda, 2014), 52.

²⁴⁶ Ibid.

Finally, “Retrospective” is a personal written account of the war, long after it ended.²⁴⁷ This gave the soldier a greater collective power as he had time to compose his thoughts. Lieutenant Townshend’s memoirs display this narrative as his personal account provided the reader an in-depth analysis of his experience at Kut rather than a quick summary from a diary. Kleinreesink’s narrative analysis signifies that diaries differ from the moment they are written in. A diary that was composed during a battle may have a first person account of the incident but may not include all the details as the soldier would have moments to write on what he perceived as important (loss of friend or an attack by the enemy). In contrast, a memoir after the war may offer a more in-depth knowledge and overview of a specific event (Townshend at Kut) but due to the longevity, the collective thought may be fragmented as soldier’s would not recall every detail of that event. Therefore, this theory signifies that diaries contain dissimilar or shortage of in-depth material due to the insufficient time the soldier had to write or the time period between a specific event and the moment its composed within the diary.

Diary writing is another theoretical method that has been used to understand how one should approach reading a diary. Diary writing is seen as a useful recording method for one’s thoughts and events that occurred throughout one’s life.²⁴⁸ A theoretical concept was designed to get a better understanding of how one should approach a diary. This is the work of Professor of Education and Anthropology Frederick Erickson, who argues that diaries are composed by the observer’s selection and develop sampling characteristics of the teaching and learning process.²⁴⁹ In other words, soldiers who are skilled or educated in understanding the context of writing and studying the events around them, would have a stronger and more detailed account in their diaries. This can be seen from various diaries that have been analysed in chapter two. Soldier’s Henry Gallup and Edwin Jones’ writing style and keen observation suggest they either were educated or enjoyed the idea of writing. Other diary accounts did not provide any detail as such. Thomas Noonan, an Irishman who fought in the Australian infantry wrote little in his diary. Between the 2nd and 6th of August, Noonan wrote one sentence a day on what he did, which included a bomb being dropped over them and receiving rum in the evenings.²⁵⁰ Although one can argue that Thomas Noonan had nothing to write about, he did not provide any sufficient details on the front line or daily tasks that a soldier would have to undertake.

²⁴⁷ Ibid.

²⁴⁸ Joaquim Sa, “Diary Writing: A Research Method of Teaching and Learning”, (<https://www.leeds.ac.uk>), date accessed 11/05/2017.

²⁴⁹ Ibid.

²⁵⁰ Thomas Noonan, “Diary Account of Thomas Noonan”, (<http://gallipoli.rte.ie>), date accessed 11/05/2017.

Though this is only one example, it does offer evidence that a diary without details does not provide adequate information on the war itself. With Gallup and Jones giving individual accounts on different perspectives, they still had details on specific events which gives the reader a sense of how the situation in the Middle East was.

Conclusion

Through, the overall analysis on newspaper coverage of Gallipoli and Kut, one can see it had contrasting views when compared to diaries. Newspaper reports focused on the positive outlooks and promoted British intelligence on war tactics, despite both campaigns resulting in defeat. Furthermore, newspapers did not report on the lack of supplies such as food, the increase of disease and the number of casualties were not entirely accurate. However, these reasons were justified, as journalists were under pressure of not releasing everything reported due to the threat of execution. Moreover, concepts such as censorship, propaganda, along with the theory of positive thinking also prevented a more accurate report. With newspapers under the scope, diaries were also examined in the same manner. The theoretical concepts of emotion, collective memory and timing suggest soldiers' accounts may not be entirely accurate, as they were individual sources and may have been written under a time of stress, exhaustion or ill-health. Additionally, the soldiers' style of writing also indicate that they did provide not perfect accounts due to their lack of writing proficiency. These theoretical concepts suggest that soldier diaries did not provide an accurate account of the war front and other sources must be utilised to have a better understanding.

Conclusion and Findings

To conclude the argument from the thesis, one can see that soldier diaries provided an in-depth account concerning life on the war front, the obstacles faced such as shortage of provisions and bout of diseases that occurred in the Middle Eastern theatre. Although chapter one does not entail soldier diaries as such, it does provide sufficient evidence on how the British government implemented propaganda techniques to persuade men to join the British army and fight in the First World War. Chapter one gave an overview of how the media in Britain cooperated with the government to strengthen the idea of going to war. Propaganda methods such as imagery, persuasive speeches and slogans were utilised by the government within newspapers to entice the common man to go to war. These methods were not just used in Britain as Ireland, Australia, New Zealand and India also encountered similar systems. This entailed the common man to go and fight for his Empire, with nearly three million men from the Dominion States enlisting. The chapter concluded with the public opinion, which presented a sense of excitement from the future soldiers and that of the public; but also a protest from a minor section, who believed staying out of the war would be in the best interest of Britain.

Chapter two focussed on the soldier's experience at Gallipoli and Kut. Prior to that, the chapter examined the British reasons to invade the Middle East and the sense of ethnic diversity amongst the soldiers. Britain's reasons for arriving in the Middle East were to enhance the Empire's power, while also defending its oil fields from the Ottoman army. The results of the analysis on ethnic diversity, showed that the British were not convinced of the Indian soldier's capabilities during the war, which led to a mass movement of Indian troops from the Western Front to the Middle East. Furthermore, diary accounts from soldiers indicated that there was a sense of racial diversity, as beatings occurred from higher ranking officials, while another soldier did not want to die next to an Indian soldier during a night raid.

At Gallipoli, the response from the soldier diaries suggested that they were surprised by strength of the Ottoman soldiers, as many mentioned the high casualties among their comrades. Moreover, the food situation was bleak, as soldiers wrote of malnourishment, insects in the food they received and the sheer delight of getting a complimentary dish such as jam or milk. The insufficient food led to a bout of disease, which cost 4,000 soldiers their lives. A further 90,000 short and long-term illnesses prevented men from action. When the British ordered the retreat from Gallipoli, soldiers expressed their anger, sadness and disgust in their diaries, which implies they were stunned by the withdrawal.

The siege of Kut offered a more defensive stance from the British army. At Kut, the soldiers, led by General Townshend, were barricaded in a poorly reinforced garrison, which had inadequate supplies to hold out for the long term. Similar to Gallipoli, lack of food, illnesses and unsanitary conditions were expressed in soldier diaries. The defenders at Kut watched six fruitless relief attempts to rescue them. This led to dejected faces from the soldiers who struggled to cope. The siege ended in April 1916, with the British surrendering and becoming prisoners of war. Despite the desolated state of mind, the chapter does close on a positive aspect, with the examination of diaries through blissful moments. From Christmas morning to leave of absence, soldiers wrote of their happy moments, which suggest that not all diary accounts contained solely a bleak tone.

Chapter three compared newspaper reports to soldier diaries at both Gallipoli and Kut. The results and findings from the media covering Gallipoli suggested that they were fabricated or inaccurate to appease the public at home. From the supposed comfortable conditions in the trenches, the countless successful skirmishes by the British to the tactical brilliance from the evacuation procedure: newspapers highlighted the positive outcomes. This was not the case as the soldier's life on the front was abysmal, but the media suppressed the negative outlooks and focused primarily on the positive aspects. Coverage on Kut displayed contradictory reports when British and Turkish articles were compared. The contradictory is due to propaganda methods on both sides. This included Turkish advancement after victory, despite British reports stating they repelled the attacks. These contradictions were answered from the diaries of Townshend and his men, which provided a more in-depth account on what happened. Furthermore, reports on Kut were limited due to lack of war correspondents, which prevented a more detailed account on the siege itself.

The chapter continued with the question of why newspapers failed to provide accurate accounts, with theoretical frameworks applied to answer the question. Censorship was discussed in greater detail as it was in chapter one, with the "Defence of Realm Act" seen as one reason for the inaccuracy. Furthermore, journalists were threatened with execution if they disobeyed instructions, which led to some fleeing from Britain. Propaganda was seen as another cause as the support of the people was essential for the British success. Finally, the theory of positive thinking was implemented within the framework to suggest that the media wanted to focus on the positive aspects to keep the morale up on the home front. Diaries were also under the scope of theoretical structure to prevent any biased thoughts. The theory of emotion was initiated to argue that a soldier state of mind can affect the way he saw an event

and that if he was in another condition, the account would contain a diverse outlook. Collective memory argued that a soldier wrote on what he recalled from his experience. However, if the soldier was injured or wrote from a later period, his recollection would not be as accurate due to the time lapse or his emotional state. Finally, the theory of writing by Fredrick Erickson demonstrated that a soldier's writing ability can affect their perspective on the war as not all diaries contain the same writing display.

Overall, one can establish diaries provided a wider and more comprehensive narrative on how one should examine the conditions in the Middle East. The information within the diaries was written by a soldier who may have witnessed a near death experience but lived to tell the tale. From the dangers of enemy fire, the lack of provisions and an attack from illness, diaries gave a thorough synopsis of how the common man saw the war and how he coped with it. Although one can argue that diaries are an individual perspective and do not provide an overall argument of the war was perceived, it does offer a honest account of the severity of the First World War in the Middle Eastern theatre on the common man.

Appendix



Illustration 1: Unknown, “Are we afraid? No!”, (<http://www.bl.uk>), date accessed 08/02/2017.



Illustration 2: Unknown, “Who is absent? Is it You”, (<http://www.wwlpropaganda.com>), date accessed 09/02/2017.



Illustration 3: Unknown, “National Service”, (<http://www.wwlpropaganda.com>), date accessed 09/02/2017.



Illustration 4: Unknown, “Krieg ist die losung”, (<https://forum.nationstates.net>), date accessed 13/02/2017.



Illustration 5: Unknown, “Sketch of power imbalance of the Central allies”, (<https://worldwar1gallery.com>), date accessed 13/02/2017.

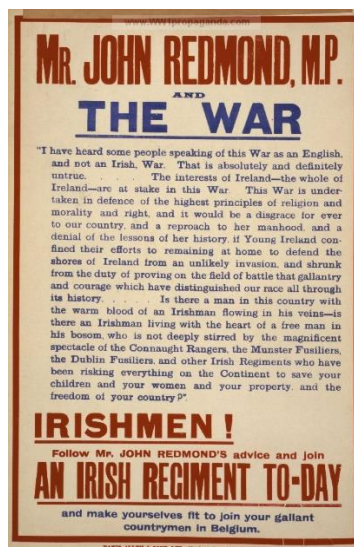


Illustration 6: Unknown, “Mr John Redmond, M.P”, (<https://www.wwlpropaganda.com>), date accessed 14/02/2017.



Illustration 7: Unknown, "What will your answer be when your boy asks you", (<https://www.ww1propaganda.com>), date accessed 14/02/2017.



Illustration 8: Unknown, "Were you there then?", (<https://www.ww1propaganda.com>), date accessed 15/02/2017.



Illustration 9: Unknown, "Enlist in the Sportsmen's Thousand", (<https://ergo.slv.gov.au>), date accessed 15/02/2017.



Illustration 10: William Bloomfield, “The Spirit of his Fathers”, *New-Zealand Observer*, December 1915, (<https://nzhistory.govt.nz>), date accessed 15/02/2017.

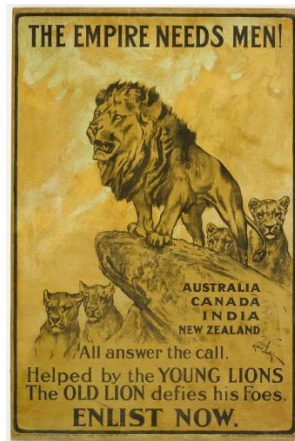


Illustration 11: Arthur Wardle, “The Empire Needs Men”, January 1915, (<https://www.firstworldwar.tiki.org.nz>), date accessed 15/02/2017.



Illustration 12: Unknown, “Begorra, and we were both thraitors-WE DON'T THINK.”, (<http://www.lookandlearn.com>), date accessed 15/02/2017.

मसी खबर॥

शैख उल इस्लाम ने मक्का शरीफ में खन के ईद पर अंग्रेज
रूस और फ्रांस लोगों के खिलाफ जिहाद का पक्का दिवा
सुल्तान इस्मलड़ाई उन जुल्मी अंग्रेज रूस और फ्रांस
कौमो पर शुरू किया और उससे मिल गया अफगान लोग॥

Illustration 13: Unknown, German leaflet in Urdu written in the Devnagri script, translated: “The High Priest of Islam in Holy Mecca has on occasion of the Eid Festival issued an edict to you that declares jihad against the English and French. The King of Turkey has gone on war against the barbaric English, French and Russian nations and his allies are the Afghan people”, (<https://www.sikhmuseum.com>), date accessed 15/02/2017.

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