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# Propaganda, Profit, and Remembrance

The Role of Postage and Cinderella Stamps of New Zealand and Australia Relating to the First World War

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy in History

Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand

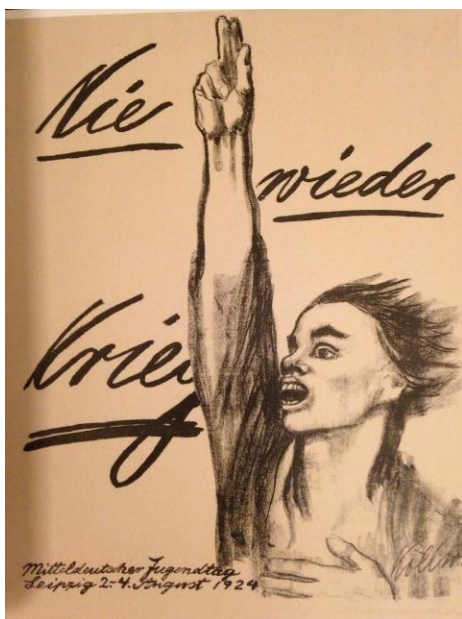


**Kenneth Dawson,**  
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2023

## Setting the Scene



New Zealand Post, 2010 Anzac Day



(a)



(b)

- (a) Kathe Kollwitz, *Nie Wieder Krieg*, 1924, Kathe Kollwitz Museum, Cologne, Germany. (b) Germany 2014: a stamp printed in Germany issued for the 100th anniversary of the beginning of First World War with the slogan “No more war, ever”.

**Frontispiece:** From the Australian War Memorial, window by Napier Waller and *Help our wounded*, New Zealand Post, Centenary of the First World War, 2015.

## **Abstract**

The representation and interpretation of the events of the First World War and its aftermath through Cinderella stamps, and definitive and commemorative postage stamps, offer an alternative approach to the study of First World War history. This thesis examines the role of such stamps from the perspective of New Zealand and Australia during the period 1914-2018. By studying these historic documents, as primary source material, much can be learned about fund raising for the war, the developing patterns of war remembrance and the post-war changes in the self-image of both countries.

The specific approach adopted in this study was to pose three research questions in order to gain insight into the role of the various forms of stamps in providing direct information about matters relevant to or resulting from the First World War. Specifically addressed was the use of stamps for fundraising and propaganda purposes. A further question inquired as to whether postage stamps and Cinderella stamps play a part in war remembrance and especially at the time of the First World War Centenary between 2014 and 2018. Thirdly, did stamps reflected any changes in self-image and self-identity in the two countries over the one-hundred-year period from the onset of the war.

The methodology employed involved a wide search for all the relevant postage and Cinderella stamps issued over the last one hundred years in New Zealand and Australia, and any Cinderella stamps that were known to have circulated in both countries during the study period. In addition, archival studies were carried out in both countries for material linking postage and Cinderella stamps to the First World War. Further investigations related to the origins and rationale for the release of the identified stamps.

Cinderella stamps played an important role in the raising of funds for soldiers' welfare during the First World War. New Zealand used postage stamps as a means of raising funds for the war effort, while Australia simply raised postal rates overall as a war tax. Cinderella stamps also played a role in the dissemination of propaganda, more so in Australia than New Zealand. Postage and Cinderella stamps can reflect societal change and have mirrored the developing self-images of New Zealand and Australia. Remembrance of the war by commemorative stamps was limited during the first seventy-five years following the war. Prior to and during the centenary of the First World War, there was a massive output of stamps directed at recalling the effects of the war on both societies and remembrance of the fallen.

## **Acknowledgements**

Many individuals have assisted me with my research project and to them I give thanks. In particular, the staff of the Marlborough District, Whakatane and Gisborne Museums were especially helpful in directing me towards potential sources of information. Massey University Ethics Committee approved a low-risk notification for my research in relation to my interviews with New Zealand Post. The latter organisation was very cooperative, and I wish to acknowledge this help.

I have been particularly fortunate in having the distinguished historians, Dr Adam Claasen and Dr David Littlewood, as my supervisors. They have been constructive always in their advice and generous with their time. From them I have learned a considerable amount and I offer sincere thanks. A/ Professor Geoff Watson has given me considerable personal support and wise counsel during my research years. I am indebted to him.

I wish to acknowledge receipt of the First World War Centenary Scholarship in 2021 and 2023 and hence extend my gratitude to the Committee for supporting my research.

My wife, Mairi, as ever, has been a constant supporter of my endeavours and tolerant during the hours I have been closeted in my home office and while visiting archival sources. To her I shall always be grateful.

## **Abbreviations**

**AIF:** Australian Imperial Force

**ANZAC:** Australian and New Zealand Army Corps

**DNA:** Deoxyribonucleic acid

**RSA:** Returned and Services Association

**RSL:** Returned Soldiers' League

**RSLA:** Returned Services League of Australia

**RSSILA:** Returned Soldiers and Sailors Imperial League of Australia

**UK:** United Kingdom

**USA:** United States of America.

**VC:** Victoria Cross

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## Introduction



Figure 1. New Zealand and Australia joint stamp release, issued 7 April 2015.

## The Topic

One hundred years after Australian and New Zealand troops landed at Anzac Cove on the Gallipoli Peninsula, the postal services of both countries collaborated to produce a joint postage stamp issue to commemorate the event. Each country's post office produced two identical stamps differing only in the national names and currency values. The \$2 stamp features the New Zealand silver fern and integrates the lush greens and blues of New Zealand's fertile landscape, and the 70c Australian stamp features the iconic golden wattle and incorporates the hues that represent Australia's sunburnt earth and blue skies. The two soldiers silhouetted are from an Anzac memorial service, a catafalque sentry and a bugler is sounding the last post. The background represents an image of Anzac Cove.<sup>1</sup> This joint issue of stamps recalls the hardships shared by New Zealand and Australian soldiers during the Gallipoli campaign of 1915. These stamps act as a strong visual means of remembrance and

<sup>1</sup> Anzac 2015: <https://collectables.nzpost.co.nz/anzac2015> accessed 14/9/2021.

honouring those Anzacs who served and those who died during the First World War (figure 1).

On 4 August 1914, Great Britain declared war on Imperial Germany and on Austria-Hungary on 12 August 1914. As members of the British Empire, New Zealand and Australia were drawn into the conflict along with other dominions and colonies. The subsequent global conflict, the First World War, saw combatants drawn from six continents with a catastrophic loss of life on all sides. During the four years of warfare, wider political and social effects became evident. The period saw the Russian Revolution and the later spread of communism. The United States rose as a political and economic power and later a superpower. At the end of the war, the old continental European Empires disintegrated and new nation states emerged. The Versailles Treaty, as the final arbitrator of peace, proved to be more of a trigger of a later larger global conflict than a peace treaty.<sup>2</sup> Another important consequence of the First World War was its impact on the structure of Western society during the war period and the years thereafter. This was particularly marked in relation to the role of women in society and their growing rejection of traditional roles and their continued demands for universal suffrage, which was subsequently granted in countries such as Great Britain.<sup>3</sup>

The contribution of New Zealand and Australia to the First World War was enormous and, in relation to their respective populations, disproportionate. From a population of 1,009,825 in 1914, New Zealand enlisted 120,000 men of whom 100,000 served overseas. The latest researched numbers indicate that some 17,000 New Zealanders, alone, landed at Gallipoli.<sup>4</sup> Overall during the war, 18,000 men lost their lives. From a population of 4,948,990, 416,000 Australians enlisted, 330,000 served overseas and 60,000 lost their lives.<sup>5</sup> Among the Dominions, New Zealand had

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<sup>2</sup> Margaret MacMillan, *Paris 1919: six months that changed the world*, London: John Murray Publishers, 2019.

<sup>3</sup> Joan Montgomery Byles, "Women's experience of World War One: suffragists, pacifists and poets", *Women's Studies International Forum*, 1985; 8: 473-487; Steven Loveridge and James Watson, *The Home Front: New Zealand Society and the war effort, 1914-1919*. Auckland: Massey University Press, 2019.

<sup>4</sup> David Green, <https://www100.govt.nz/how-many-new-zealanders-served-on-gallipoli-some-new-answers> accessed 23/11/2023.

<sup>5</sup> <https://www100.govt.nz/history-guide> accessed 25/6/2023; <https://anzacportal.dva.gov.au/wars-and-missions/ww1/military-organisation/enlistment#:~:text=Australia's%20population%20in%20mid%2D1914,of%20which%2052%25%20were%20men>. Accessed 25/6/2023.

the highest percentage of its military killed (5%), inflicting major trauma to its society. Those serving overseas were involved in all the major battles of the war including Gallipoli, the Somme, Passchendaele and in the Middle East campaigns. These contributions had an enormous impact upon both countries, not only during the war period but for subsequent decades. This impact was not only on individual families but on the development of the national identities of both states. This identity became manifest by the fact that both Dominions signed the Treaty of Versailles in their own right as individual nations. The remembrance of the tragic loss of life from the war became focussed on the annual Anzac Day commemoration events which have continued for the century following the armistice.<sup>6</sup>

The role of stamps in all this may appear insignificant, but from the beginning of the conflict in 1914 until the last memorial events a century later, they were utilised by governments and communities of both nations to raise funds for war, encourage support for the war and later commemorate the war. The joint 2015 stamp issue presented here are just two of the nearly 350 First World War-related stamps issued in New Zealand and Australia during the war and in the one hundred years following.<sup>7</sup> These First World War related stamps are the focus of this thesis.

The thesis will argue, using several examples, that stamps can act as effective ‘windows’ into the understanding of various aspects of the First World War, including its commemoration, as it specifically affected New Zealand and Australia. The term ‘window’ is used to suggest that stamps may cast a new light on the current knowledge base by viewing it from a different angle and hence a new perspective. The insights provided by a variety of stamp forms can cover a range of war-associated themes such as propaganda, fund-raising for charitable and military causes and commemoration and reflection.

Stamps of various varieties are included in the term “ephemera”. The next section of this introduction explains this term and its relationship to postage stamps and those

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<sup>6</sup> Sources: *New Zealand and the First World War: a bibliography of non-fiction sources*, Ministry for Culture and Heritage, Third edition, May 2015; *Historiography 1918-Today (Australia)*, [https://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/article/historiography\\_1918-today\\_australia](https://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/article/historiography_1918-today_australia) accessed 25/6/2023.

<sup>7</sup> To date, over 150 war-related Cinderella stamps have been identified in Australia alone. Alan Jackson, *First World War patriotic labels of Australia and New Zealand*, Chatswood, NSW: Cinderella Stamp Club of Australasia, 1987; Stanley Gibbons, *Simplified stamps of the world*, Ringwood, London: Stanley Gibbons Publishing Ltd., 2022; Dave Elsmore, <http://www.ozrevenues.com/australia-war-savings-stamps.html>

special stamps described as “cinderella stamps”. Subsequently, the literature review will reveal the place of postage stamps and Cinderella stamps in general academic and historical research.

## Ephemera

Although philately, the collection, care and appreciation of stamps, has a rich history, the study of stamps for academic purposes is a relatively recent endeavour. This is because stamps are generally classified as ephemera by historians, and it is only of more recent times that this form of evidential material has come under serious scholarly consideration.<sup>8</sup> The ‘ephemera’ nomenclature derives from the fact that these items were intended to have a short-term usefulness or popularity, and hence not intended to be retained long term.<sup>9</sup> Among the many forms that constitute ephemera, handbills, commercial hoardings, newspaper advertisements, picture postcards and posters are commonly recognised. However, items such as musical performances and knitting patterns are now included under the umbrella of ephemera.<sup>10</sup> Of these, picture postcards and posters have received considerable academic study and assessment. The images on postcards have been utilised and studied in fields including anthropology, geography, ethnography and history. For example, postcards from the First World War have been studied extensively and provide a unique insight into soldiers’ experiences during the war.<sup>11</sup> Various forms of posters have been analysed extensively. They provide insight into a very wide range of human activity, such as politics, sports, travel and entertainment.<sup>12</sup> The importance of this type of material in

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<sup>8</sup> Ephemera is from the Greek ‘ephemerous’, (ἐφημέρα) meaning ‘lasting one day’.

<sup>9</sup> Carl Honore, “History in a dustbin”, *Globe and Mail*, Toronto, 14 March 1992.

<sup>10</sup> Pearl James, (ed.), “Picture this: World War 1 posters and visual culture”, in *Studies in War, Society and the Military*, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2009: 416; Kent C. Boese, “Art ephemera: relics of the past, or treasures for posterity?” *Art Documentation: Journal of the Art Librarians of North America*, 2006; 25: 34-37; Rupert Ridgewell, “Working group on access to music ephemera”, *Fontes Artes Musica*, 2008; 55: 41; Chris Bourke, *Good-bye Maoriland: the songs and sounds of New Zealand’s Great War*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2017.

<sup>11</sup> Emily James and Rachel Busse, “Forms of war: pocket diaries and postcards in Jacob’s Room”, *Journal of Modern Literature*, 2018; 42: 1-18; A. P. Behan, “History from picture postcards”, *Dublin Historical Record*, 1993; 46: 29-140; Andrew Roberts, *Postcards from the trenches*, Oxford: The Bodleian Library, 2008; John Laffin, *World War 1 in postcards*, London: Wren’s Park Publishing, 2001.

<sup>12</sup> John Hewitt, “‘The poster’ and the poster in England in the 1890s”, *Victoria Periodical Review*, 2002; 35: 37-62; Tricia Cusack, “Looking over the ship’s railings: the colonial voyage and the empty ocean in Empire marketing Board posters”, in *Empty spaces: perspectives on emptiness in modern history*,

historic research is increasingly recognised by large academic and national libraries and museums, which collect, organise and preserve these glimpses of past life as tangible evidence of history.<sup>13</sup> This is well illustrated by publications that explore historical events and themes through the study of ‘objects’, including ephemera.<sup>14</sup> Jock Phillips, author of a recent book on the subject, states in his introduction that this approach “may lead to unexplored areas and illustrate the past in unexplained ways”.<sup>15</sup>

While stamps have increasingly been produced for collecting purposes, historically and functionally they are single use items and are generally classified as ephemera. They fall into two broad categories: postage stamps and Cinderella stamps. The term Cinderella stamp is used in this thesis to include the following: poster stamps, propaganda stamps, war seals, Christmas labels, revenue stamps and fund-raising stamps, none of which have postal validity. Postage stamps are used for the conveyance of items such as letters, packages, and picture postcards, and are issued by a recognised state authority. In other words, the primary function of the postage stamp is as a receipt for the prepayment of mail charges. Cinderella stamps, on the other hand, are used for a variety of purposes unrelated to conveyance of the item and while sometimes the product of a state authority, they are commonly produced by non-governmental entities and individuals. As this thesis will demonstrate, both postage and Cinderella stamps have been used to raise funds for, promote support for and commemorate the First World War.

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Courtney J. Campbell et al. (eds.) London: University of London Press, 2019: 87-110; Jillian Taylor Lerner, “The French profiled by themselves: social typologies, advertising posters, and illustration of consumer life”, *Grey Room*, 2007; 27: 6-35.

<sup>13</sup> Richard Stone, *Fragments of the everyday: a book of Australian ephemera*, Canberra: National Library of Australia, 2005; Janine Vangool, *Ephemera: forever, always, and now*, Calgary: Uppercase Publishing Inc., 2019; Jim Burat, “Ephemera, archived and another view of history”, *Archivaria*; 40: 189-198; Ephemera collections can be found at: Alexander Turnbull Library, collection of ephemera, Wellington, New Zealand, National Library of Australia, collection of ephemera, Canberra.

<sup>14</sup> John Hughes-Wilson, *The First World War in 100 objects*, London: Octopus Publishing, 2014; Peter Doyle, *World War 1 in 100 objects*, London: Penguin Random House, 2014; Toby Cresswell, *History of Australia in 100 objects*, Australia: Penguin Books, 2016; Kirstie Ross and Kate Hunter, *Holding on to home: New Zealand stories and artefacts of the First World War*, Wellington: Te Papa Press, 2014; Jim Burat, “Ephemera, archives, and another view of history”, *Archivaria*, 1995; 40: 189-198; Giorgio Riello, *Things that shape history: Material culture and historical narratives*, Milton Park: Routledge, 2017.

<sup>15</sup> Jock Phillips, *A history of New Zealand in 100 objects*, New Zealand: Penguin Random House, 2022: 56.

Although stamps are primarily useful for the raising of funds through the cost of the stamp, they often do so by utilising the stamps' ability to act as 'mini messengers'.<sup>16</sup> In this secondary role, the imagery on stamps can convey ideas and inspire support and action for various causes. These fields have included politics, health, education, in economics, and international affairs. In this way, stamps can encourage people to follow government agendas and objectives, but alternatively non-governmental Cinderella stamps can be an avenue for political dissent. Over time, stamps can illustrate changes in how nations view themselves and their evolving national interests. Some of these uses have been subject to academic study.<sup>17</sup> The literature related to the use of stamps in academic work is relatively recent but surprisingly strong.

The concept of examining ephemera and various objects as windows into the historical events of the First World War is well illustrated by the work of Kate Hunter and Kirstie Ross.<sup>18</sup> While they did not examine any form of postage or "Cinderella" stamp, they did examine theatre tickets, love-letters and a large range of personal items. Their observations are highly pertinent to this thesis in that they have concluded that interlinking documents with pictorial features can create a fresh perspective on the First World War. Thus, trivial pieces of information could direct historical enquiry and uncover new layers of meaning.

In this thesis, using ephemera in the form of stamps as a window in which to view the history of the First World War may lead to new and unexplored areas for research. Hence throughout this thesis stamps will be used to explore certain aspects of the history of the First World War.

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<sup>16</sup> Jack Child, *Miniature Messages: The semiotics and politics of Latin American postage stamps*, Durham: Duke University Press, 2008: 1-2.

<sup>17</sup> Pauliina Raento, "Communicating geopolitics through postage stamps: the case of Finland", *Geopolitics*, 2006; 11: 601-629; Stanley D. Brunn, "Stamps as messengers of political transition", *The Geographical Review*, 2011; 101: 19-36; Daniel Hammett, "Expressing nationhood under conditions of constrained sovereignty: postage stamp iconography of the Bantustans" *Environment and Planning*, 2014; 46: 901-919.

<sup>18</sup> Kate Hunter and Kirstie Ross, *Holding on to home: New Zealand stories and objects of the First World War*, Wellington: Te Papa Press, 2014.

## Literature Review

While the first widely recognised stamp, the 1840 British Penny Black (figure 2), sold over 68 million copies and ushered in the global use of postage stamps in their billions, it was not until the 1920s that historian Basil Reed looked at the potential of postage stamps in the teaching of modern history.<sup>19</sup> In the popular magazine *History*, he explored the usefulness of stamp imagery in illustrating and discussing their value and their role in revenue gathering and in promoting war. He further noted the military occupation stamps produced by Germany and its allies during the war and discussed how other stamps, produced after the Treaty of Versailles, reflected the new political developments and the creation of new states. Relevant to later discussions was his observations that stamps reflected the fact that over the previous eighty years (prior to 1923- the year of his publication), there had been a loss of colonial control in the British Empire. Subsequent academic publications relating to stamps have ranged from science and social studies to finance and business. There have also been contributions the medical field, often historical in nature, or speciality based.<sup>20</sup>

Among the pioneers in the ever-expanding field of research utilising postage stamps are the geographers Pauliina Raento from Finland and Stanley Brunn from the United States. They have shown that stamps have helped promote changes in Finland's society and its politics and have nation building attributes. Brunn's stamp research publications include studies on political transition and global environmental change as reflected in postage stamps.<sup>21</sup> David Parker has made contributions in this area with books examining the stamp issues of the First World War and later the Second World War. He states the First World War stamps show a unique philatelic image through which each nation projects its self-image. However, the Second World War stamps have become icons of war propaganda portraying ideological messages.<sup>22</sup> Others have

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<sup>19</sup> Basil Reed, "Philately and the teaching of modern history", *History*, 1923; 7: 266-273; Denis Mootz, "Stamps and Propaganda", *Teaching History*, 2016; 50: 28-35; William H. Glen, "Postage stamps enhance the teaching of social studies", *Social Studies*, 1983; 74: 70-75; Paul J. Hamel, *U.S. History through stamps*, Palm Springs, California: Hamel Publications, 2022.

<sup>20</sup> Albert E. Chudley and James C. Haworth, "Genetic landmarks through philately – haemophilia", *Clinical Genetics*, 1999; 56: 279-281; John Pearn, "Paediatrica philatelica", *Journal of Paediatrics and Child Health*, 1999; 35: 232-236.

<sup>21</sup> Pauliina Raento and Stanley Brunn, "Picturing a nation: Finland and postage stamps, 1917-2000", *National Identities*, 2008; 10: 49-75; Pauliina Raento and Stanley D. Brunn, "Visualising Finland: postage stamps as political messengers", *Geografika Annaler, Series B, Human Geography*, 2005; 87: 145-163.

<sup>22</sup> David Parker, *European stamp issues of the First World war: Fall of Empires, rise of nations*, U.K.:

studied the place of stamps as socio-political artefacts, their use in raising social awareness and as artefacts linking health and place; as well as their more mundane role in health education and promotion in rural communities.<sup>23</sup>

In addition to the published literature, over recent years several university theses have involved research questions related to aspects of the postage stamp and society, but unrelated to the philatelic study of the stamp. The latter includes the study of the production, printing, and variations of the actual stamp image but are not restricted to these specific areas. The university research has been wide ranging and has included a South African study that looked at the semiotic aspects of the stamp in relationship to letters sent over a fixed period.<sup>24</sup> This contrasts with a British-based study that researched postage stamps in the then British colony of Hong Kong and how they were used to maintain aspects of British imperialism.<sup>25</sup> Christopher Yardley, an Australian academic, has published in depth on the relationship of stamps in their representation of science and scientists. His thesis looks specifically at how governments and postal authorities can convey messages via postage stamps and the propaganda that underpins the selection and delivery of these images.<sup>26</sup> Another research thesis was related to the informal learning of science using postage stamps.<sup>27</sup> Douglas Frewer has examined Japanese postage stamps in relation to their global context in portraying Japanese culture and political influence.<sup>28</sup> The author of this thesis has studied previously the role played by postage stamps in territorial disputes between nations. This research showed that the content of stamp designs can be so

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The History Press Ltd., 2015; David Parker, *European stamp issues of the Second World War: images of triumph, deceit and despair*, Somerset: UK: Halsgrove Press, 2018.

<sup>23</sup> Phil Deans, "East Asian stamps as social agents: some anthropological perspectives", *East Asia*, 2005; 22: 3-7; Steven Walczak and Angela Switzer, "Raising social awareness through philately and its effects on philanthropy", *Philanthropy and Education*, 2019; 3: 73-102; Robin Kearns, Tara Coleman and Jonathan Edmeades, "New Zealand children's health stamps: ideological artefacts linking health and place", *Social Science and Medicine*, 2019; 227: 38-46; T. Pramanik, S. Pramanik and R. Chanta, "Postage stamps as a Health promotion tool in the Nepalese community", *Eastern Mediterranean Health Journal*, 2004; 10: 442-444; Henry Millerand Paul Terrell, "The Charity stamp", *Social Service Review*, 1991; 65: 157-165.

<sup>24</sup> Mari Retief, "A semiotic contextualisation of South African postage stamps and letters received between 1996-1999", PhD. Thesis, University of South Africa, 2017.

<sup>25</sup> Adam Gilbert, "Post-imperialism: the postage stamp and postal history of Hong Kong, 1842-1997", PhD. Thesis, Sheffield Hallam University, 2018.

<sup>26</sup> Christopher Yardley, "The representation of science and scientists on postage stamps", PhD thesis, Australian National University, 2014.

<sup>27</sup> C.M.R., Gray, "Investigation of informal learning in science using postage stamps with some Victorian ten-year-olds", MA. Thesis, University of Melbourne, 1986.

<sup>28</sup> Douglas Frewer, "The social agency of postage stamps: Japanese postage stamps in a global context", PhD thesis, Oxford Brooks University, 2004.

effective and potent as to trigger serious diplomatic incidents and have, at times, almost resulted in military conflict. The same author has researched the part played by postage stamps in health promotion. It was shown that use of postage stamps can be highly effective. This was particularly so in Africa, when the incorporation of health-related educational material into the stamp design was used to combat such diseases as malaria and gastro-intestinal infections. A relevant previous study by the same author examined the role of postage stamps in remembrance of the First World War.<sup>29</sup>

As already alluded to, fundamental to this work has been the application of pictorial semiotics to the understanding of stamps in the conveyancing of ideas. The American philosopher Charles Peirce was a pioneer in the development of the discipline now called semiotics - the study of signs and symbols and the messages they can contain. Peirce devised the concept of three basic classes of typology, viz “icons” “indices”, and “symbols” and further described many subdivisions of these classes.<sup>30</sup> David Scott applied Peirce’s theories to postage stamp design. His semiotic approach showed that as far as the primary function of the stamp was concerned, the “icon” could be landscape (as seen often in Swiss or New Zealand stamps). The “index” is the pointer sign as to the country of origin - a printed map or sovereign’s head (see figure 2) - and the “symbol” represents the numbers or letters of the postal value. However, when it comes to the secondary function of a stamp, the “symbol” represents the message, commemoration, or celebration.<sup>31</sup> Many themes can often be represented by metonyms, which are partial representations of the whole image, as seen in the poppy representing remembrance of the First World War.

Examples of these themes include Jack Child’s exploration of the politics and semiotics of stamps in the popular culture of Latin America and Donald Reid’s analysis of stamps as global messengers. Child was one of the first academics to systematically apply Scott’s theories on pictorial semiotics to stamp design.<sup>32</sup> He

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<sup>29</sup> Kenneth Dawson, “Disputes over small territories”, MA Thesis in Geography, Massey University, 2016; Kenneth Dawson, “Stamping out disease: health education and promotion by miniature messengers”, Master of Health Research Thesis, Victoria University, Wellington, 2020; Kenneth Dawson, “Commerce or Commemoration? The role of the postage stamp in Great War remembrance”, MA Thesis in History, Massey University, 2019.

<sup>30</sup> Charles S. Peirce, *Peirce on signs: writings on semiotic*, ed. James Hooper, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991.

<sup>31</sup> David Scott, *European stamp design: a semiotic approach to designing messages*, London: Academy Editions, 1995: 198.

<sup>32</sup> Donald M. Reid, “The symbolism of postage stamps: a source for the historian”, *The Journal of*

regarded the postage stamp as a unique materialised sign able to convey multiple messages within a very confined space and transmit messages to a broad and spatially dispersed audiences. These messages are transmitted through design features such as colour, typography, layout and representational drawings, photographs, or graphics, which can convey a sophisticated level of information.<sup>33</sup> In Donald Reid's important paper of 1984, he pointed out that most historians had a bias in favour of written documents. He claimed that stamps provide excellent primary sources for symbolic messages which governments seek to convey to their citizens and to the world. Child's extensive study of some 40,000 Latin American stamps led him to conclude that many of these stamps carried valuable messages in terms of a nation's self-image, even if there was some bias. In several major countries, he reasoned that this bias was reduced by citizen input into the stamp selection process. Child's prediction was that despite the rise of email, metered mail, and other digital communication, postage stamps would continue to be produced, for reasons of nationalism, propaganda, and financial returns. They will continue to contain miniature semiotic messages as were present in the stamps of Latin America that he studied.<sup>34</sup> The principles of semiotics apply equally to Cinderella stamps. Unlike national postage stamps, their issue is not subject to a central or guiding standards. These stamps may, therefore, portray any form of ideology and bias. A small percentage of Cinderella stamps do emanate from government agencies, and this does not preclude bias that can reflect the government's viewpoint.<sup>35</sup>

There is considerable philatelic literature devoted to Cinderella stamps, but its focus has been on listing and describing newly identified stamps.<sup>36</sup> Scholarship directed at the concept of Cinderella stamps, themselves, has been limited to only a few academic journals during the last ten years. They include papers discussing the charity

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*Contemporary History*, 1984; 19: 223-249; Jack Child, "The politics and semiotics of the smallest icons of popular culture: Latin American postage stamps", *Latin American Research Review*, 2005; 40: 108-137.

<sup>33</sup> Robin A. Kearns, Tara M. Coleman and Jonathan Edmeades, "New Zealand children's health stamps: ideological artefacts linking health and place", *Social Science and Medicine*, 2018; 227: 39.

<sup>34</sup> Jack Child, *Miniature messages: The semiotics and politics of Latin American postage stamps*, 2008: 190-191.

<sup>35</sup> Cinderella stamps are named after the folk tale in which Cinderella was treated as inferior within her family, and was the despised and neglected one. The inference being these stamps are inferior to postage stamps. The term was coined by the Cinderella Stamp Club in 1959.

<sup>36</sup> In New Zealand and Australia, the best known of these is by Bill Hornadge. Bill Hornadge, *Cinderella stamps of Australasia: an illustrated catalogue of locals, phantoms, and unauthorised issues of Australia, New Zealand and Pacific Islands*, Dubbo, Australia: Stamp Publications, 1974.

famine relief stamps of China, and the Malayan patriotic labels of the Second World War.<sup>37</sup> The former paper stressed the use of these stamps was not legal in China, but they were pasted onto the envelope in addition to the appropriate postage stamp (figure 3). The latter paper was designed to gain information about the stamps using content analysis.<sup>38</sup> There is only one academic thesis that has examined Cinderella stamps as a source of historiographic information. This research emanated from the Catalan region of Spain and is in Spanish.<sup>39</sup> However, the author stressed the difficulties he found in this type of research and the scanty secondary literature available. This was especially so when information was sought with regards to those who commissioned or designed the stamps, and this fact seriously complicated his analysis.

Nonetheless, Cinderella stamps offer rich insights into the communities and times in which they are produced. This is because, for the most part, Cinderella stamps have been the product of non-official individuals, organisations or communities. Postage stamps, on the other hand, are strictly controlled regarding their topics, frequency of their issue, design and their ability to carry a nation's name. Consequently, Cinderella stamps often illustrate diverse themes and ideas and were commonly utilised to advertise major events such as exhibitions, conferences, fairs and commercial enterprises and products. Major events that took place during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century are recorded by Cinderella stamps and can give insight into the commercial activities and social causes of the period.

Artistically, Cinderella stamps were also free from the bonds of the staid official offerings and became regarded as miniature works of art. Because of this they are often referred to as 'poster' stamps. Their artistic features outshone the postage stamps of their period by their aesthetic qualities. The images portrayed by Cinderella poster stamps often reflected artistic styles of the era they were produced in, such as the Edwardian period (figure 4a). This is particularly so in relation to exhibition poster stamps such as the Paris World Fair in 1900 and the International Exhibition in

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<sup>37</sup> William Moskoff, "Charity stamps and famine relief in China in the 1920s: the American connection", *The Journal of American-East Asian Relations*, 2011; 18: 321-329. These stamps raised \$4.4 million, but were mainly sold in the United States.

<sup>38</sup> Dazmin Daud, "The Malayan patriotic fund poster stamps: developing a literature review", *Asian Culture and History Review*, 2016; 8: 44-51.

<sup>39</sup> Josef Sauret Pont, "Les vinyetes filatèliques com a font d'informació historiogràfica i artística", Degree thesis, Universitat Rovira i Virgilla, Tarragona, Spain, 2018.

Brussels in 1906 (figures 4b and c). So popular were poster stamps, at that time, that they became sought after objects and their collection became a popular hobby leading to the formation of clubs devoted to the study and collection of such items.<sup>40</sup>

The flexibility of message and artistic freedom of the Cinderella stamp lent them to be employed for political purposes, sometimes in direct opposition to government objectives and programmes. Prior to the production of propaganda poster stamps during the First World War, political propaganda poster stamps were much less common. One prominent set, however, was that arising in Ireland over the introduction of the home rule legislation. The Ulster Unionists vehemently opposed home rule for all of Ireland. They were led by Edward Carson and poster stamps were produced bearing his image and stating opposition to home rule and were issued between 1912 and 1914. Irish nationalists produced their own stamps supporting an independent Ireland using Irish symbols and the image of John Redmond (figure 5).

It will be seen from this literature review that there has been little academic research into the use of postage stamps and especially Cinderella stamps relating to aspects of the First World War. In terms of New Zealand and Australia the absence of such historiography relating to the War suggests that such a study could be important and provide new insight into certain aspects of the First World War. Previous studies examining parallel objects such as postcards, posters and personal objects, as referred to above, have provided important new information. There is also strong evidence from the work of such academics as Stanley Brunn that based upon the findings from the results of the study of stamps in similar fields, they can provide new insight into the history of the First World War<sup>41</sup>. While stamps can provide only a new window into the relevant topics, when combined with previous documentation much new information should be gained and thus can help expand the historiography of the First World War. Indeed, by including a comparative analysis of the stamps of both countries, even more new data can be collected.

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<sup>40</sup> Bonnie Riga and Richard Riga, *Tiny posters popular collectibles*, <https://cinderellas.rigastamps.com/columns/posterstamps/index.html> accessed 27/6/2021.

<sup>41</sup> Stanley D. Brunn, "Stamps as messengers of political transition", *Geographical Review*, 2011; 101: 19-36.

## Research Questions and Methodology

This literature review has revealed that while growing numbers of scholars are employing stamps with increasing sophistication in their varied fields of study, there is still considerable scope for more work, including in the study of history.

Accordingly, this thesis will look at stamps related to the First World War in New Zealand and Australia. This is an unexplored and discrete topic (stamps related to the war) and offers the opportunity to engage in comparative analysis between two distinct but closely aligned nations (New Zealand and Australia). This comparative approach can be justified by the central role played by the First World War and the shared past of both countries. It is also supported by the literature which has called for more comparative types of historical research. This approach moves from those publications that have centered on New Zealand and Australian development in isolation, and is in keeping with Philippa Mein Smith and her colleagues' concept of a "Tasman World".<sup>42</sup> This analysis will include the postage stamps and Cinderella stamps issued during the war, 1914-1918, and subsequent commemorative postage stamps produced after the war, 1919-2018. These will be analysed through three research questions:

1. Why and how successfully did the governments, patriotic societies and similar organisations in New Zealand and Australia use postage stamps and Cinderella stamps to raise funds for the war effort, for increasing popular support for the war and for propaganda?
2. How did New Zealand and Australia use postage stamps for war remembrance?

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<sup>42</sup> Giselle Byrnes, (ed), *The New Oxford history of New Zealand*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009; Philippa Mein Smith, Peter Hempenstall and Shaun Goldfield, *Remaking the Tasman World*, Christchurch: Canterbury University Press, 2009; Keith Sinclair, *A destiny apart: New Zealand's search for national identity*, Wellington: Allen and Unwin, 1986; James Belich, *Paradise reforged: A history of the New Zealanders from the 1880s to the year 2000*, Auckland: Penguin Books (NZ), 2001; Peter Wall, "The Aussie identity and multiculturalism: the importance of heritage values in a changing society", *Australian Quarterly*, 2006: 78: 25-26.

3. Do the semiotics and symbolism found in the relevant stamps provide or reflect any evidence of a developing national self-image or identity in New Zealand and Australia?

To answer the questions posed, the research was directed at obtaining all relevant primary source material. The primary source material was twofold in nature. The first consisted of the identification of the actual relevant postage stamps and Cinderella stamps from just prior to the First World War through to 2018. The postage stamps required an extensive search of the international postage stamp catalogues such as that produced by Stanley Gibbons Ltd., that specifically cover the British Commonwealth and Empire issues and individual catalogues specific to New Zealand and Australia.<sup>43</sup> Other relevant material was sought from philatelic journals, stamp dealers, the philatelic market, auction sales and internet sites such as eBay. Identification of Cinderella stamps depended on the few published lists that exist, articles produced by the clubs and societies devoted to the collection of this type of ephemera, along with advertisement for the sale of such articles. Once the target primary data was identified, attempts were made to obtain examples of this material or copies. Each stamp obtained was scanned and a jpeg image obtained for reference and possible inclusion in the final text. This archival material was supplemented by additional and appropriate photographs, and their sources cited, as necessary and appropriately to indicate the source designs of many of the stamps presented. This image material was also used to illustrate and support the arguments put forward.

To understand the origins, purpose, application and impact of these First World War related postage and Cinderella stamps, extensive primary research was carried out at numerous archival collections in New Zealand and Australia. Specifically sought were documents related to the origins, production, politics, and welfare-uses of postage and Cinderella stamps pertaining to the First World. This information was obtained by searches in the following institutions.

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<sup>43</sup> Stanley Gibbons, *Commonwealth and Empire Stamps (1840-1970)*, Ringwood, UK.: Stanley Gibbons Ltd., 2017; Len Jury, *The Len Jury New Zealand stamp catalogue*, New Plymouth: Philatelic Distributors Ltd., 2019; Rennik, *Stamps of Australia*, 17<sup>th</sup> edition, Banksmeadow: Rennik's Publications, 2020.

### **Archives New Zealand, Wellington.**

Research at Archives New Zealand uncovered important personal and official documentation from a wide range of contemporary individuals and organisations. For example, valuable information was gained from reading the dispatches of Colonel Logan, the administrator of Samoa during the New Zealand military occupation, to the Governor-General of New Zealand, Lord Liverpool. This was pertinent to the production of the overprinted war stamps, using the German colonial stamps, during 1914-1915. These detailed accounts even included the number of obliterations that would be required to cancel the war stamps when they were posted. Some useful information was also found relating to the Navy League that had produced Cinderella stamps during the First World War. Valuable information was obtained from a series of letters from the Auditor General to the Director General of the Post Office regarding the 1936 Anzac stamps.

### **National Library of New Zealand/ Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington**

The Alexander Turnbull Library provided important details of Cinderella stamps produced in New Zealand and Australia, while the Samoan Expeditionary Force's War Diary added more information relating to the stamps of wartime Samoa. Particularly valuable were the Peter J. Fry Papers that contained copies of the original letters between the various organisations involved in the process of overcoming the postal service and the politicians' reluctance to produce stamps to commemorate the Gallipoli landings. The files contained letters from the RSA (New Zealand), RSL (Australia), the Prime Ministers of both countries and the New Zealand Defence Force, all expressing their own views regarding the need to produce a suitable postage stamp for the occasion. The Lincoln Efford Papers and the Lansing Papers contained information relating to the background of the Edith Cavell Cinderella stamp. Access to the unique Alan Jackson's First World War Cinderella stamp catalogue provided basic information and a guide to detecting further rare Cinderella stamps. This book held by the Library is the only example held in New Zealand and hence was of special value in the research.

### **Te Papa Tongarewa, Museum of New Zealand, Wellington**

The Curator of Stamps allowed me access to the Postage Stamp Archive at the Museum, which is not normally open to the public. This contains the original material related to the Anzac stamps of 1936 and 1965. The archive included the original drawings, photographs and the first proof prints of both issues, along with information on the background to the selection process of each stamp. All the submitted entries for the 1965 Anzac stamp competition were viewed and photographed.

In Australia, productive research was undertaken at the Australian War Memorial, Canberra, and the National Archives of Australia in Canberra.

### **The Australian War Memorial, Canberra**

The Research Centre of the Australian War Memorial holds a vast amount of material relating to the First World War. Much of this archival material is nominally held by the National Archives of Australia but is stored at the Australian War Memorial. It was necessary, therefore, to search in both institutions to ensure all relevant data was viewed. By way of illustration, the Research Centre of the War Memorial provided data relating to stamp production during the wartime occupation of German New Guinea and the details of possible fraud related to the sale of these stamps. The parliamentary debates were helpful in relation to the Postmasters-General's annual reports providing details of stamp production, sales and stamp profits.

### **The National Archives of Australia, Canberra**

Searches in the National Archives were as equally productive in relation to the Australian aspects of the study. Detailed information was discovered regarding the Australian Government's War Loan Cinderella stamps. The sources of this information included direct access to relevant correspondence with the Prime Minister's Office as well as direct archival material relating to the methods of publicity needed to promote the sale of these stamps.

There was much valuable material that related to the Australian Anzac stamp of 1965, which featured Simpson and his donkey rescuing wounded soldiers at Gallipoli. The background to the stamp and the political machinations surrounding it were to be found in letters emanating from the Prime Minister's Office, even as to the debate as to whether Simpson's sister, his only surviving relative, should be offered a free

sample of the stamps. This gesture was originally declined, but a later Prime Minister, Robert Menzies, overruled the decision.

### **Other Sources**

Appropriate Hansard parliamentary records and Postmaster-General's reports of both countries were accessed. The first research question involved a search of the parliamentary records of New Zealand, Australia, Canada, and the United Kingdom. The specific data obtained related to decisions made regarding war taxes on postage. Visits were made to the Wellington Public Library to seek any relevant archival material. Access to all the back issues of the major stamp journals permitted a search for any material relating to the philatelic aspects of the study which contained research information and not simply reviews.

Personal interviews were carried out with members of the New Zealand Post staff regarding the organisation's stamp production and sales policies. Prior to these meetings, a low-risk ethical approval was obtained from Massey University's Human Ethics Committee. Direct correspondence was conducted seeking source information from several organisations which included Australia Post, Marlborough District Museum, Whakatane Museum and Arts and Gisborne Museum. A telephone interview was conducted with Mrs. Patricia (Nan) Truman, who had carried out early research on the Poverty Bay seals. A valuable visit was made to the Stamp Archive of the Museum of New Zealand (Te Papa Tongarewa), where the Curator of Stamps gave me a personal tour of the archive and demonstrated and discussed the Anzac stamp collection.

### **The Role of Newspaper Sources**

Newspapers formed an important primary repository of historical stamp material relevant to this research project in conjunction with the archival documentary material. The digitised databases of newspaper articles from *Papers Past* (National Library of New Zealand) and *Trove* (National Library of Australia) have proved to be a major and rich source of primary historical evidence that was not available elsewhere. The ready availability and value of the information, in historical research,

gained from these databases has been increasingly demonstrated in recent studies.<sup>44</sup> Among the advantages of newspaper-based research is the fact that the information reflects the period in which they were created and provides glimpses into society of the time. The searchable function of the databases allows one to include many newspapers and many of a diverse nature. Newspapers frequently provide the only way to access the views of ‘ordinary people’ or local organisations. As primary source material, multiple points of view can be obtained and hence historical development over time can be traced.<sup>45</sup> However, there have been warnings of potential hazards with such databases. Thomas Smits has written that their use may lead to an overdependence on such sources and the ignoring of other forms of media. Newspaper databases should be regarded as just another paper archive with its own possibilities.<sup>46</sup> To avoid these difficulties, only articles that were the result of direct reporting have been used and review articles overlooked. Relevant articles relating to the study, in general, were drawn not only from the urban and metropolitan newspapers but also from the rural press to obtain opinions which would reflect an overall population viewpoint. Overall, the articles provided insight into the way people thought and acted at that time, and were especially helpful in providing their views on the development of national self-identity in the two countries.

From the newspaper searches, information relating to the origin of the Anzac stamp issues, detailed descriptions of their designs and the populations’ reaction to their designs was uncovered. Especially relevant was the information gained on the political background to the Anzac stamps of 1935/6 and 1965. This centred around the lobbying carried out by the returned services organisations to persuade the respective Postmaster-Generals and governments to approve the issue of these stamps. In

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<sup>44</sup> Alistair Watts, “Options and opportunities for New Zealand and France, 1918-1935: Les liaisons dangerous?” PhD Thesis, Massey University, 2019; David Littlewood, “Should he serve? The Military Board’s operations in the Wellington Provincial District, 1916-1918”, MA Thesis, Massey University, 2010: 14; Michael Belgrave, *Dancing with the King: the rise and fall of the King Country, 1864-1885*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2017; Rowan Light, *Anzac Nations: the legacy of Gallipoli in New Zealand and Australia, 1965-2015*, Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2022: 235-237.

<sup>45</sup> Barry Popik, “Digital historical newspapers: a review of the powerful new research tools”, *Journal of English Linguistics*, 2004; 32: 114-123.

<sup>46</sup> Sungwan Mac Kim and Steve Cassidy, “Finding names in Trove: Named entity recognition for Australian historical newspapers”, In *Proceedings of Australian Language Technology Workshop*, 2015: 57-65; Claire Brennan, “Digital humanities, digital methods, digital history and digital outputs: History writing and the digital revolution”, *History Compass*, 2018; 16: e12492; Thomas Smits, *Problems and possibilities of digital newspapers and periodicals*, 2014.

[https://www.researchgate.net/publication/285346670\\_Problems\\_and\\_possibilities\\_of\\_digital\\_newspaper\\_and\\_periodical\\_archives](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/285346670_Problems_and_possibilities_of_digital_newspaper_and_periodical_archives) accessed 27/6/2023.

relation to the production of Cinderella stamps, the newspapers were valuable in revealing how local communities commissioned and designed the various stamps. Much information as to the activities of such organisations as Patriotic Societies was found in the wide range of newspaper articles studied.

### **Secondary Sources**

This comprised an initial literature search, seeking papers relating to “war taxes and postage” and firstly include the following sources: The National Library of New Zealand, Wellington, the libraries of Massey University and Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand, and The National Library of Australia, The Imperial War Museum, UK., The Smithsonian Institute National Postal Museum, Washington USA., The British Postal Museum, UK., The British Library, as well as the digital library of JStor.<sup>47</sup> Secondary source information was sought also from the Royal Philatelic Society of New Zealand, Wellington, and in Australia, the Royal Philatelic Society of Victoria, and the Philatelic Society of Australia, regarding war related philatelic information. Subsequently, a more refined search was conducted based upon the relevant findings. A similar literature search, initially with the same sources, asked for “postage stamps and the First World War”. Secondary sources also included an extensive examination of books related to the First World War from both countries and included the works cited in the literature review.<sup>48</sup>

### **Thesis Outline and Chapters**

The thesis consists of an introduction, eight chapters, a conclusion and an extensive bibliography. Chapter 1 defines ‘definitive’ and ‘commemorative stamps’ and develops the observation that postage stamps and Cinderella stamps possess attributes that make them ideal miniature messengers. The messages that can be transmitted by this means can readily be adapted for special uses and a range of functions during

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<sup>47</sup> Digital library: <https://www.jstor.org>

<sup>48</sup> Glyn Harper, *Dark Journey: Passchendaele, the Somme and the New Zealand experience on the Western Front*, Harper Collins Publishers, 2015; Glyn Harper, *Letters from Gallipoli: New Zealand soldiers write home*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2013; Jay Winter, *War beyond words*, Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 2018; Peter Fitzsimons, *Gallipoli*, Sydney: Penguin Random House Australia, 2014; Laura James, *World War 1: a history in 100 stories*, Sydney: Penguin Random House Australia.

wartime. Chapter 2 contains an exploration of the history and origins of postage stamps and similar material in New Zealand and Australia prior to the onset of the First World War, as well as the background to the use of Cinderella stamps. It further examines any links to the establishment of national identity in both countries. Chapter 3 gives a brief historical background to the issue of stamps intended to raise funds for war costs. However, the main thrust of this chapter is to examine, compare and contrast the approach of the Dominions to raising funds for war by utilising Cinderella stamps. The place of Cinderella stamps in propaganda forms the theme of Chapter 4. It looks mainly at the Home Front, but also examines the wider use of this type of material. In Chapter 5, the focus changes to the occupation of German colonies in the Pacific in relation to postal matters that reflect a blend of nationalism, propaganda, profit and practicality. Chapter 6 looks at how the two countries remembered the First World War through postage stamps from 1919 to 1999. Finally, Chapter 7 and Chapter 8 examine the similarities and contrasts in stamp production in New Zealand and Australia during the early years of the twenty-first century, and especially during the centenary of the First World War. These stamp issues are discussed in relation to social, commercial and nationalistic changes during this period. The reasons for the large output of postage stamps during this period are analysed in some depth. The final discussion brings all the disparate sections together to address and draw conclusions relating to the original research questions. Relevant stamps discussed in the text and other appropriate images are reproduced at appropriate points throughout each chapter.

### **Importance of Work**

The importance of this study lies in the fact that it provides a novel historical insight and perspective into the growing field of research based upon information revealed from stamps and their origins. The findings also add further evidence that newspaper digital databases are important, and at times unique, sources of historical information. The study utilises a new type of source to provide new insights on areas that are crucial to our understanding of the history of the First World War. This is especially so in respect to popular support for the war, fund raising for the welfare of the serving military, the Patriotic Societies and the development of national identity and independence of both New Zealand and Australia.

**Figures referred to in the Introduction**



Figure 2. (a) One Penny Black, United Kingdom, 1840.



Figure 3. Famine Cinderella stamp, China, 1924. A commission was established to promote the sale of famine relief stamps within China and the United States, these stamps were not a post office authorised issue.



(a)

(b)

(c)

Figure 4. Cinderella stamps (a) International Cuisine exhibition, Leipzig, 1905, (b) International Exhibition, Paris, 1900, (c) International Exhibition, Brussels, 1906.



Figure 5. Political propaganda stamps for and against Irish home rule, 1912-1914. Edward Carson and Irish nationalist symbols of Sinn Fein and John Redmond.

## Chapter 1.

### Stamps as Miniature Messengers

Designs in connection with postage stamps may be described as silent ambassadors on national taste.

William Butler Yeats (1865-1939)

This chapter outlines the consequences of the observation that the postage stamp and the Cinderella stamp possessed attributes that made them ideal miniature messengers. As outlined in the introduction, this was due to their imagery and/ or additional texts which meant they had the ability to carry information widely through their attachment to mail, parcels, and other correspondence. These attributes were utilised for a wide range of activities, by government and non-government agencies and individuals. Further, they were able to be adapted for specialised use in wartime. The chapter also touches briefly on the importance of postal service and hence stamps to servicemen during the First World War.

#### The Postage Stamp

Postage stamps have impact.

Jack Child, 2008.

Postal systems have existed for thousands of years. As long ago as the ancient Kings of Persia, there had been devised a functioning form of mail system. However, 6 May 1840 was an important day in the history of mail delivery as it was the occasion on which the first adhesive postage stamp was issued. This stamp, known as the ‘One Penny Black’, was issued in the United Kingdom, and the new concept of an adhesive receipt attached to the letter was the work of Sir Rowland Hill (figure 2). The issue of this stamp is important for several reasons. For the first time, it was the sender who paid the postage fee and not the recipient. Moreover, the postal rates were not based upon a very complex system, but on a newly introduced uniform postal rate system based upon the weight of the package.<sup>49</sup>

Once postage stamps had been established as a satisfactory way by which letters and messages were funded (primary function), it became apparent that they could also be a method of delivering additional special messages, due to the stamp’s visual impact, added text and ubiquitous existence (secondary function). The adhesive postage stamp

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<sup>49</sup> Douglas N. Muir, *Postal reform and the Penny Black*, London: Postal Museum, 1990: 42.

was an instant success and over time 68 million Penny Blacks were sold.<sup>50</sup> Within twenty years of the British introduction of stamps, ninety countries had adopted the concept of postage stamps and included their own conceptual ideas of stamp design. However, these designs, during the next 40-50 years, often portrayed the head of state or a numerical design indicating the postal charge. New Zealand's first stamp was issued in 1855 and the Australian colonies issued their first stamps between 1850 and 1866.<sup>51</sup>

These first postage stamps are referred to as 'definitive' issues and they were often reprinted several times. They portray general iconic messages, and these are not time sensitive as they are issued for mail carriage over an extended time. An example of a New Zealand definitive stamp bearing the image of King Edward VII, and issued prior to the First World War, is shown in figure 6a, and the earliest definitive stamp for New South Wales of 1850 is shown in figure 6b. After thirty years of definitive issues, a new and additional concept evolved, that of the 'commemorative' postage stamp. Commemoratives are issued for a specific purpose such as an historical event, propaganda or a special occasion such as an anniversary, birth centenary, death celebration or remembrance. They tend to be time limited and sold over a short period. There is debate as to which country issued the first truly commemorative stamp, but the United States' Columbus anniversary issue of 1886 is usually accepted as the first.<sup>52</sup> In terms of the Dominions, New Zealand issued its first commemorative stamp in 1906, and the colony of New South Wales produced the first Australian based commemorative in 1888 (figure 6c). However, it took until 1924 before the United Kingdom issued its first commemorative issue. Commemorative stamps now dominate stamp production and have enormous revenue raising potential and are marketed also for non-philatelic collectors. In 1993 a stamp commemorating the singer, Elvis Presley, sold 124.1 million copies that were not used for postal purposes and hence made the United States Postal Service an enormous profit. Indeed, since

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<sup>50</sup> Robert A. Greenwald, "The postage stamp as messenger", *Tobacco Control*, 1992; 1: 87-88.

<sup>51</sup> Stanley Gibbons, *Stamps of the World*, Ringwood: Stanley Gibbons Ltd., 2020.

<sup>52</sup> Cheryl R. Ganz and Mary T. Sheahan, Smithsonian National Postal Museum - Philately Department, <https://postalmuseum.si.edu/exhibition/the-nation%E2%80%99s-first-commemorative-stamps> accessed 1/6/2021.

1893, the United States has issued 1,800 commemorative issues aimed at non-stamp collectors.<sup>53</sup>

It soon became apparent that the secondary function for the postage stamp had developed an even more important role. In 1956, distinguished philatelic researchers and writers, Norman Williams and Maurice Williams, stated that: “Stamps have proved themselves to be tokens and signposts of modern civilisation”, and Raento and Brunn have described their secondary role in terms of the stamp becoming “windows of the state” profiling its educational, political, ideological and even commercial goals to both domestic and foreign audiences.<sup>54</sup> They thus reflect the course of history through their designs, inscriptions, values, and colours”.<sup>55</sup> Many national governments had been quick to realise their potential in terms of advertisement and propaganda. The Japanese government, for example, tried to redefine Japanese national identity and establish Japan’s deserved role in the world through the nation’s postage stamps.<sup>56</sup> It led, in due course, to countries designing their stamps to portray the scenic attractions, history, and culture of their specific countries.<sup>57</sup> Phil Deans stated that the postage stamps of various countries have explored the images they wish to portray. He cites New Zealand in this context by saying “Romanticised and nostalgic images of New Zealand perpetuate her image as a pastoral nation carved from nature in the 19<sup>th</sup> century”.<sup>58</sup> Commercial advertising soon took advantage of the secondary function. New Zealand became the first country to place advertisements on the back of the then current postage stamps of 1893 and these were situated beneath the gummed portion (figure 6d).<sup>59</sup> Following this, the concept of a ‘charity stamp’ evolved as early as 1897 and a semi-postal stamp of New South Wales became the

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<sup>53</sup> *Commemorative postage stamps: history, selection criteria, and revenue potential* <https://www.everycrsreport.com/reports/RS2021.html> accessed 15/3/2021

<sup>54</sup> Paulina Raento and Stanley D. Brunn, “Visualizing Finland: postage stamps as political messengers”, *Geografiska Annaler*, 2005; 87: 146.

<sup>55</sup> L. Norman Williams and Maurice Williams, *The postage stamp: its history and recognition*, New York: Penguin Books, 1956: 21.

<sup>56</sup> Douglas Frewer, “Japanese postage stamps as social agents: some anthropological perspectives”, *Japan Forum*, 2002; 14: 1-19.

<sup>57</sup> Pan American Union, “The Americas through their postage stamps”, *Bulletin of the Pan American Union*, 1944; June: 356; Jack Child, *Miniature messengers: the semiotics and politics of Latin American postage stamps*, 2008: 3.

<sup>58</sup> Phil Deans, “East Asian stamps as social agents: some anthropological perspectives”, *East Asia*, 2005; 22: 3-7.

<sup>59</sup> “Unique advertising”, *Daily Telegraph*, 15 March 1889, 3; *New Zealand Herald*, 13 November 1891, 5; Robin Gwynn, “New Zealand advertisement stamps: commercial failure, Philatelists’ delight”, *Gibbons Stamp Monthly*, 2002; November: 39-42.

first charity stamp ever issued (figure 6e).<sup>60</sup> In terms of the stamps of the British Dominions, the question arises as to how well these described attributes of the postage stamp have been recognised. Pierre Berton recorded that all the great milestones of Canadian history have been recorded in miniature by postage stamps, and David Frank has drawn attention to the history of Canadian workers which has been recorded similarly.<sup>61</sup> In contrast, in terms of Pacific countries, Gary Osmond has noted that stamps are an unexplored form of historical evidence in the region. This evidence has been underutilised and has the potential to enhance understanding of the region through multiple functions and a myriad of visual depictions of people and places, as well as political and social themes.<sup>62</sup> Finally, the historian, Keith Jeffery noted the overall indifference of historians to stamps of the British Empire.<sup>63</sup>

As previously discussed, it is clear that the key to the impact of stamps was through their use of semiotics and subsequent images. However, as will be discussed in later chapters, the overprinting of messages on the stamp image can be an important method of adding further impact when trying to raise funds and for propaganda reasons. The final product, in turn, is dependent upon the skill of the designer. The observations of one of Britain's leading stamp designers, David Gentleman, are pertinent to the discussion. He has stated that stamps reveal a great deal about the designer who has to translate complicated, hazily defined, and even abstract subjects into visual terms. The final stamp also reveals a great deal about the authorities that are responsible for issuing them, their attitudes, standards, and style and the perceived users of such stamps.<sup>64</sup>

It is with the secondary function, of course, that this thesis is mainly concerned, particularly in relationship to the postage stamp's role in the First World War and the subsequent remembrance of the war.

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<sup>60</sup> The term 'semi-postal' or 'charity stamp' refers to a postage stamp which combines a postal prepayment and a premium used for a good cause.

<sup>61</sup> Pierre Berton, "Forward", in Gordon Donaldson, *Images of Canada: a nation in postage stamps*, Surrey, England: Grosvenor House Publishing, 1990: 7; David Frank, "The labour stamp: image of the worker on Canadian postage stamps", *Labour/Le Travail*, 1997; 38: 179-194.

<sup>62</sup> Gary Osmond, "Modest monuments", *Journal of Pacific History*, 2008; 43: 313-329.

<sup>63</sup> Keith Jeffery, "Crown, communication and the colonial post: stamps, the monarchy and the British Empire", *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 2006; 34: 45-70.

<sup>64</sup> David Gentleman, "The design and production of postage stamps", *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, 1974; 122: 431-449.



Figure 6. (a) Definitive stamp of New Zealand, 1909-1912, (b) The first definitive stamp of New South Wales, 1 January 1850, (c) New Zealand's first commemorative stamp for the national exhibition in Christchurch, 1906, (d) New Zealand advertisement stamps, 1893, (e) First charity stamp raising money for tuberculosis charities, New South Wales, 1897, (f) First British poster stamp for the death tricenarian of William Shakespeare, 1864.

### The Cinderella Stamp

Lick 'em, stick 'em: the lost art of poster stamps  
H. Thomas Steele, 1989.<sup>65</sup>

Cinderella stamps also have a long history.<sup>66</sup> One of the first recognised Cinderella stamps was that produced in Britain, as early as 1864, as a non-postal stamp to

<sup>65</sup> H. Thomas Steele, *Lick 'em stick 'em: the lost art of poster stamps*, New York: Abbeville Press, 1989.

<sup>66</sup> Cinderella stamps are named after the folk tale in which Cinderella was treated as inferior within

commemorate the 300<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the death of Shakespeare (figure 6f). Even earlier than this, there was a poster stamp of Garibaldi's expedition to Sicily that was issued in 1860 to promote the unification of Italy. Governments soon, thereafter, began to issue their own forms of Cinderella stamps such as non-postal revenue stamps and custom's duty and tax stamps. The commercial success of postage stamps appears to have encouraged the further development of stamps that were not issued by government postal authorities, and these acquired the name Cinderella stamps or poster stamps as described previously.<sup>67</sup> The scope of these stamps is enormous and wide ranging, as demonstrated by the examples drawn from the early twentieth century period and illustrated in figures 4 and 5.

The design of most Cinderella stamps usually follows that of true postage stamps, but they lack a postal denomination, a national name and postal validity. However, many pseudo-states and newly claimed micronations issue stamps with "country" names and values, and are produced with money-making intent, directed at collectors of such items. Another confusing form is the so-called art stamp (artistamp) produced by artists as an art form and in the design of a stamp.<sup>68</sup> Within twenty years of the issue of postage stamps, labels began to appear which are by current definition, true poster or Cinderella stamps. In addition, local stamps were also produced which were valid only for postage within a small defined area such as an island. When letters were intended for national or international delivery, they required the addition of the postal authority's approved stamps. They are, thus, Cinderella stamps.

However, one of the first stamps of this category blurred the boundary between true stamps and Cinderella stamps. In April 1847, no authorised postal service existed between Port of Spain and Fernando in the British colony of Trinidad. David Bryce, the owner of the ship, *The Lady McLeod*, had printed his own stamps for prepayment of the carriage of mail between the two cities. The stamps sold for five cents but did not carry a value or a national symbol (figures 7a). These stamps have now been recognised as true postage stamps and are catalogued as such and regarded as the first

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her family, and was the despised and neglected one. The inference being these stamps are inferior to postage stamps. The term was coined by the Cinderella Stamp Club in 1959.

<sup>67</sup> James McKay, *Philatelic terms illustrated*, 4<sup>th</sup> edition, London: Stanley Gibbons Ltd., 2003: 27; Donna O'Keefe, *Linn's World Stamp Almanac*, *Linn's Stamp News*, 2000.

<sup>68</sup> Bill Hornadge, *Cinderella stamps of Australasia: an illustrated catalogue of locals, phantoms, and unauthorised issues of Australia, New Zealand and Pacific Islands*, Dubbo, Australia: Stamp Publications, 1974.

adhesive postage stamps relating to post by sea. Examples of these stamps can acquire values of over £25,000 in the philatelic market.<sup>69</sup>

The New Zealand Post Office did not hold a monopoly on newspapers and parcels prior to the First World War. Between 1890-1925, New Zealand Railways produced their own stamps to pre-pay the carriage of newspapers and stamps for the carriage of freight (figure 7b and c). These stamps are regarded as Cinderella issues as they were not issued by a formal Post office authority, nor are they listed in postage stamp catalogues.<sup>70</sup> One of the earliest New Zealand Cinderella stamps was issued in 1899 and encouraged people to drink Kamo Water.<sup>71</sup> In Australia, during 1914, F.W Niven and Company, Printers, applied to register poster advertising stamps and claimed in their application that these stamps were “the most unique and up-to-date form of advertising”. Their registration of copyright was granted on 12 July 1914.<sup>72</sup>

In 1913, Oscar Wentz and Winhold Reis emigrated from Germany to the United States and set up a company to provide poster stamps depicting actors, actresses and movies. These were either sold or given away as promotional material. Poster stamp was the term initially used to describe the stamp-size copies of actual movie posters used to advertise the films at the cinemas.<sup>73</sup> The wider development in the twentieth century of poster stamps was due, in part, to the birth of commercial graphic art which went along with advances in lithographic printing. This, in turn, was stimulated by the Arts and Craft movement and this led to the rise of artist designed posters. These labels, now referred to as Cinderella stamps, were intended to be affixed to letters as a form of advertisement for such events as pageants. They provided businesses and individuals a visible means of indicating their support for such events. Their postal decline was associated with the later change of postal authorities to allow slogans on their postage stamp cancellations.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> Stanley Gibbons, *Commonwealth and British Empire Stamps, 1840-1970*, Ringwood, England: Stanley Gibbons Ltd. 2008: 590; T. Lera, “The Lady McLeod cover”, *Collectors Club Philatelist*, 2009; 88: 280-282.

<sup>70</sup> Railway stamps: <http://www.nzstamps.org.uk/revenue/rail/index.html> accessed 3/8/2021.

<sup>71</sup> T.C. Thackery, “New Zealand’s earliest used Cinderellas”, *The Mail Coach*, 2019; 56: 68-69.

<sup>72</sup> Poster advertising stamp, National Archives of Australia, NAA A1336 354 (1914).

<sup>73</sup> Railway stamps: <http://www.nzstamps.org.uk/revenue/rail/index.html> accessed 20/6/2021; Gary D. Rhodes, “The origin and development of the American moving picture poster”, in *Film History*, Indiana University Press, 2007; 19: 228-246.

<sup>74</sup> Ellie Reid, “After the show is over- souvenirs and mementos: the material culture of the historical pageant”, in *Restaging the Past*, editors Angela Bartie, Linda Fleming, Mark Freeman et al., UCL Press, 2020.

The onset of the First World War saw a rapid decline in the use of poster stamps for advertising which had been the main driving force, at that time, for their production. This was, in part, due to Germany being the main producer of poster stamps. Germany possessed the most advanced printing presses and many countries depended upon their advanced technology and the special inks used in this process. However, as will be discussed later, the poster stamp was still produced for war related activities such as propaganda on the home front or to undermine the enemy's war efforts.

In summary, the Cinderella (poster) stamp had a world-wide appeal during the period from the mid-1800s until 1914. The popularity of this format appears to be due to their ability to be attached to postal material and thus spread their message widely. The lack of restriction in design and colour allowed Cinderella stamps considerable scope in their production. The rider to this situation, like postage stamps, is the requirement for clever design considering the small surface area available to present the visual message and /or the text message. Their easy distribution and the prior experience gained in Germany made them an ideal method to disseminate war propaganda as will be shown later. The Central Powers were well prepared technically, while the Dominions had to rapidly develop their use for domestic and international war propaganda. Within this section several examples are presented to show the range of design used, and the type of organisations who used poster stamps to advertise meetings and conventions. This is not to forget their wide use in advertising goods and services.

This overview of the development and use of Cinderella stamps is presented in order that these war time issues can be seen in historical context, and the actual stamps will be discussed in later chapters.



Figure 7. (a) The Trinidad *Lady McCloud* stamp of 1847, (b) New Zealand Railway newspaper stamp 1894, (c) New Zealand Railway Freight stamp 1890.

### **The Importance of the Post and Postage Stamps During War Time**

Mail was hugely important to the armed forces and their families during the First World War. It was the only method by which information exchange could take place between the home front and the troops training at home or overseas and was particularly so for those on the front lines. This is well illustrated by the fact that, overall, 12 million letters were sent to the armed forces per week and required handling by the field postal services of the Allied forces.<sup>75</sup> From the New Zealand perspective, mail was regarded as a lifeline for the troops between family and friends, especially at times like Christmas. The importance of mail is further illustrated by the fact that the Featherston and Trenton Training Camps became the fifth and sixth busiest post offices respectively in New Zealand. Later, on service overseas, the soldiers constantly wrote of the importance of letter and parcel contact with home and family.<sup>76</sup> The Australian Base Post Office in London during the war required over 700 employees to handle the vast amount of mail from Australia and direct it to the field

<sup>75</sup> Number of letters per week, <https://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-25934407> and <https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/education/resources/letters-first-world-war-1915/> accessed 12/7/2021

<sup>76</sup> Will Lawson, *New Zealand in the First World War: "Historic Trenton, 1914-1917 – the story of a New Zealand training Camp, and some accounts of the daily round of the troops within its bounds"*, Wellington: Wellington Publishing Company Ltd., 1917.

post offices in France and Belgium.<sup>77</sup> Figure 8 shows a postcard photograph of an Australian soldier writing home near the Somme in 1916, and this photograph was used as the basis of an Australian First World War centenary stamp in 2016, again recognising the importance of postal services for the forces at that time (see figure 81).<sup>78</sup>

During the actual war period, New Zealand used only one set of postage stamps, the then current issue, depicting King George V. Australia produced two new stamps during the First World War period and continued with the issue of the first stamp of the newly formed Commonwealth. None of these stamps were used to promote participation in or support for the war itself but had important additional uses in the occupied territory of Samoa and New Guinea and for taxation purposes in New Zealand. The New Zealand stamp current in 1914 was imperial in nature reflecting the monarch and crown with a margin suggesting a Māori design. One Australian stamp carried symbols reflecting Australian identity while the other was imperial in nature. This apparent conflict forms the basis of the next chapter.

This chapter is fundamental to understanding why stamps were utilised during the First World War and particularly afterwards and what characteristics these stamps possessed to enable them to fulfil their secondary roles with effect. Strong evidence has thus been presented here and in the Introduction to support the argument that both postage and Cinderella stamps have attributes that make them ideal miniature messengers and hence could have a role during the First World War.

The next chapter illustrates how postage stamp images were presented in New Zealand in the early colonial period and in the Australian colonies prior to Federation and leading up to the First World War. It looks specifically at any symbolism present which infers any specific identity for each of the territories.

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<sup>77</sup> Glyn Harper, *Johnny Enzed: the New Zealand soldier in the First World War 1914-1918*, Auckland: Exisle Publishing Limited, 2015: 378-380; <https://awm.gov.au/Collections/C1888258> accessed 13/10/2021. "How the digger gets his mail: the Australian postal service at work".

<sup>78</sup> Source: Australian War Memorial, AWM E0030



Figure 8. Postcard from France, 1917, (source, Google World War 1 postcards).

## Chapter 2. A History of Dominion Stamps Prior to the First World War

We hold a vaster Empire than has been!  
Nigh half the race of man is subject to our Queen.<sup>79</sup>

This chapter examines the history of stamp production in the two Dominions prior to the First World War. It proposes that there may be clues that indicate the development of national self-identity and early nationalism, while still maintaining loyalty to the Empire, as evidenced by the specific designs, themes and production of their postage stamps. One of the earliest writers about colonial self-identity was the English writer Richard Jebb, who published his book, *Studies in colonial nationalism*, in 1905. He based his observations on tours he made of New Zealand and Australia in the early part of the twentieth century. Jebb defined nationalism as “patriotism towards a political state uniting people who share the same territory”. He described the recognition of separate racial groups within a state as “racialism”. He further asserted that Britain must base its relationships on the basis of alliance rather than supremacy,<sup>80</sup> as the movement for an imperial federation were unrealistic and harmful. Further observations on this theme were written by John Eddy and Deryck Schreuder along with an historical review of Jebb’s observations.

### New Zealand

The sense of national self-identity is complex and may involve many concepts. These range from the possession of a culture or cultural related identity to behaviours that distinguish one nation from another. Internal identity may differ from the way other nations view and perceive that country. Identity can be expressed in many ways such as the promotion of symbols (the silver fern or the wattle), the use of flags, coins, and postage stamps or by the nation’s achievements in sport (the All Blacks or the Australian cricket team) or even artistic achievements (books, music, or film). In terms of the colonies/ Dominions observed here, prior to the First World War, this

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<sup>79</sup> Sir Lewis Morris, *A song of the Empire*, 1897.

<sup>80</sup> Richard Jebb, “Studies in colonial nationalism”, *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, 1905; 26: 427-429; John Eddy and Deryck Schreuder, *The rise of colonial nationalism*, Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1988; D.K. Fieldhouse, “The rise of colonial nationalism in Australia and New Zealand”, *The Historical Journal*, 1989; 32: 507-509.

will involve a search for shifts in the relationship between Britain and the Empire as expressed in the design and topics of their respective postage stamps.<sup>81</sup>

In December 1850, New Zealand's Governor, George Grey, announced new regulations regarding the introduction of a mail system in New Zealand using stamps for the pre-payment of the charges for postal services, with a special lower rate to be levied for soldiers and sailors.<sup>82</sup> The intention was to have the stamps on sale by 1 April 1851, however, it was soon revealed that there was a lack of equipment and expertise in New Zealand to engrave the plates. This necessitated that the design and printing of the stamps had to take place in England by Messrs Perkin, Bacon and Company. The stamps eventually arrived in February 1855. The design of this first stamp comprised an image based upon a portrait of Queen Victoria painted by Alfred Chalon, showing the Queen in her royal robes. This stamp is often referred to as the Chalon head or full-faced Queen (see figure 9a). The stamps eventually went on sale in New Zealand on 18 July 1855.<sup>83</sup> Their introduction and the new postal system appeared to be successful, with the *Daily Southern Cross* reporting the advantages of the system over money payments that saved much inconvenience and loss of time.<sup>84</sup> Some readers, however, regretted the absence of stamp gum and the stamp's foggy portrait of the Queen.<sup>85</sup>

The stamps issued from 1855 all bore the national name 'New Zealand' and for a short period had a watermark 'NZ'. For the next 43 years all stamps carried a portrait of the monarch, Queen Victoria, as was the expectation in all British colonies of the time. In 1869, the Government Life Insurance was created with its initial capital coming from the Government. At the onset, the organisation's postal costs were covered by the Post and Telegraph Department but in 1888, a payment scheme was

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<sup>81</sup> Stephen Spencer, *Race, and ethnicity: culture, identity and representation*, Oxford: Routledge, 2006; "New Zealand identity", *Te Ara*, <http://teara.govt.nz/en/new-zealand/pages> accessed 23/11/2021.

<sup>82</sup> "New postal regulations", *Wellington Government Gazette*, 8 January 1851, *New Zealander*, volume 11, 20 October 1855, 3; *Daily Southern Cross*, 20 July 1855, 5. The inland postal rate was 2d. per oz. and the overseas rate was one shilling. Servicemen paid 1d. For more details of the service see "Fifth Report on the Postal Service of New Zealand, 1863-4", Postmaster General, Auckland, 1864.

<sup>83</sup> William Brown, "Proclamation", *New Zealand Gazette*, 14 July 1855.

<sup>84</sup> Richard Wolfe, *It's in the post*, Nelson: Craig Potton Publishing, 2010: 18.

<sup>85</sup> *Evening Post*, 14 January 1891, 3. The stamps were imperforated and had adhesive glue added, the quality of the latter may have been variable.

introduced. A dispute broke out between the two agencies over the calculation of these postal charges. Despite arbitration, Government Life insisted on covering postal costs themselves and introduced their own postage stamps.<sup>86</sup> This led Government Life, as a government department, to design these stamps but they had to be different to the Post Office stamps to distinguish them. Lighthouses were chosen as their theme and they did not bear the monarch's portrait, but initially her cypher (VR) (see figure 9e). This chosen topic continued until 1989. At this point, Government Life became the Tower Corporation, and no longer being a government department, lost its ability to issue stamps.

The United Kingdom adhered to the convention that the British monarch's head should appear on its stamps. However, most colonies, at some stage, also displayed the monarch's head on their postage stamps. The exceptions to this were British Guiana and the Cape of Good Hope. As early as 1851, Canada produced stamps without Queen Victoria's image and Newfoundland followed soon after. On the 28 December 1895 the New Zealand cabinet authorised a pictorial stamp set, and a nation-wide competition was held to design them - the stamps had to have a scene or event characteristic of New Zealand. Following the announcement of the competition, in the *New Zealand Gazette*, 2,400 entries were received, and thirteen designs were selected.<sup>87</sup> The selected stamp designs were representative of New Zealand's scenery and the main tourist attractions and were the first of this type of stamp in the British Empire (figure 9b). Prior to the final selection, the submitted designs were viewed at the current Industrial Exhibition and were well received and described as "exceedingly meritorious".<sup>88</sup> It was noted, however, by readers of the *Star* that the

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<sup>86</sup> Postal dispute, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/postage-stamps/page-3> and <https://www.collectables.nzpost.co.nz/government-life-insurance> accessed 20/9/2021; J.W Brodie, *A history of Government Life postage stamps*, Wellington: New Zealand Government Life and the Royal Philatelic Society of New Zealand, 1988; H.J. Knowles, "Notes on stamps", *New Zealand Mail*, 6 September 1895, 17.

<sup>87</sup> "Stamp competition", *New Zealand Gazette*, 20 March, 1895; "Designs for the new postage and revenue stamps", General Post Office, Wellington, advertisement appearing in the *Colonist*, 3 April 1895, 4; Laurie Franks, *All the stamps of New Zealand*, Wellington: A. H. and A. W. Reed Ltd., 1981: 26; Adam Miller, *Design competition of 1895*, Archives of the Royal Philatelic Society of New Zealand, <https://www.78rpm.net.nz/RPSNZ/1898/1898.htm> accessed 20/5/2021; Collins RJG. and Fathers HTM., (eds.), *Postage stamps of New Zealand*, volume 1, Chapter 5, Wellington: The Royal Philatelic Society of New Zealand Inc., 1938; *New Zealand Gazette*, 21 March 1895.

<sup>88</sup> "The stamp competition: the prize designs", *Press*, 13 September 1895, 6; "Pater's chats with the boys", *Otago Witness*, 13 April 1893, 42, supported the need for distinctive stamps for New Zealand; "New Zealand postage stamps", *Evening Star*, 13 August 1896, 4; "The new postage stamps", *Press*, 12 September 1895, 5; "The stamp collector", *New Zealand Mail*, 7 April 1898, 11.

stamps made “the Imperial connection less prominent”.<sup>89</sup> The first of the series was issued on 1 May 1898. New Zealand was still dependent on Britain for the best printing and engraving results; however, later printings of the stamps were now engraved in New Zealand on new plates. The success of the scenic stamps spurred the introduction of four new pictorial stamps, again promoting the scenic beauty of New Zealand and included Mount Cook and Lake Wakatipu (see figure 10).

In terms of New Zealand’s self-identity, on 1 January 1901 a stamp was issued commemorating the introduction of the Penny Universal Postage. The design was of a female figure, symbolizing New Zealand (*Zealandia*) and she stood before a globe with a mail boat passing Mount Egmont (now Taranaki) (see figure 9c). *Zealandia* wears a dress like that of Britannia suggesting that she was the mother of New Zealand. *Zealandia* later formed part of the national coat of arms and was used in cartoons to symbolise New Zealand (figure 9f).<sup>90</sup> Several statues were erected of *Zealandia*, and that in Palmerston forms part of the Fallen Soldiers Memorial (see figure 9g). Importantly, *Zealandia* was an integral part in the design of the Certificate of Services for those in the New Zealand Expeditionary Forces during the First World War (see figure 9h).

An important stamp issue relating to warfare was that of 1900, that commemorated the New Zealand contingent in the South African War (Boer War). Prior to its release, there was support for such a commemorative stamp. The stamp was designed by the distinguished artist, James Nairn, and was released in 1900. The stamp was issued in a military khaki colour, and at the same time as the issue of the second set of pictorial stamps. It raised little comment at the time, but later writers felt that Nairn’s ideas had not translated into a successful postage stamp as there was said to be an excess of patriotic devices and was described as a “plethora of images and words resulting in a hopelessly crowded stamp”. The patriotic devices included the catch phrase ‘The Empire calls’, a winged female figure sounding a bugle to the New Zealand flag, military officers and men with horses, Māori carvings and an army camp.<sup>91</sup> It has

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<sup>89</sup> “The postage stamps at the Exhibition”, *Star* (Christchurch), 17 September 1895, 3.

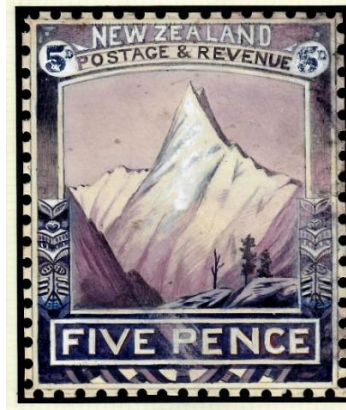
<sup>90</sup> Richard Wolfe, “Zealandia-mother of the nation?” *New Zealand Geographer*, 1994: issue 23, July-September.

<sup>91</sup> The book, *The Postage Stamps of New Zealand*, by Collins and Fathers is the only available source of information on this stamp. The authors had drawn extensively from archival material from the Post and Telegraph Department documentation which was destroyed in the Archives New Zealand fire on 29 July 1952.

been described as one of the drabdest designs ever produced in New Zealand (see figure 9h).<sup>92</sup> Keith Jeffery has commented that the New Zealand aspects are more saliently represented than the war itself and this provides some evidence that participation in the war was a ‘nation-building’ exercise for New Zealand.<sup>93</sup>



(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)



(e)

<sup>92</sup> Keith Jeffery, 2006; 34: 54; RJG. Collins, H.T.M. Fathers, eds. *The Postage Stamps of New Zealand*, Wellington: Philatelic Society of New Zealand, 1938.

<sup>93</sup> Jeffery, *ibid*, 54.



(f)



(g)



(h)

Figure 9. (a) Full face Queen Victoria issue, imperforated, (b) First New Zealand pictorial stamp without the Monarch's image, (c) Image of New Zealand *Zealandia*, (d) South African War commemorative stamp, (e) First Government Life stamp of 1891, the Victoria Regina (VR) was omitted from the stamp in 1905, (f) *Zealandia* representing New Zealand (Source: *New Zealand Graphic*, 20 October 1900), (g)

*Zealandia*, the South African War memorial, Palmerston, New Zealand,<sup>94</sup> (h)  
 Certificate of Services in the New Zealand Expeditionary Force.<sup>95</sup>



(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)



(e)



(f)



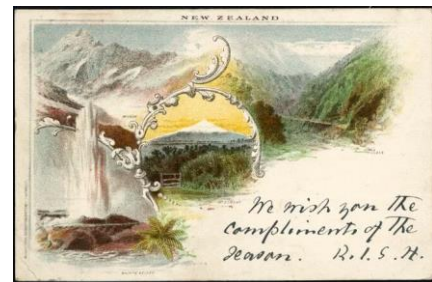
(g)



(h)



(i)



(j)

<sup>94</sup> <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/photo/palmerston-south-african-war-memorial> Ministry of Culture and Heritage.

<sup>95</sup> Certificate of the Services in the New Zealand Expeditionary Forces, 1919, New Zealand, by Department of Labour, Immigration Division, Robert Hawcridge. Gift of Cathryn Riley, 2012, Te Papa (GH022226).



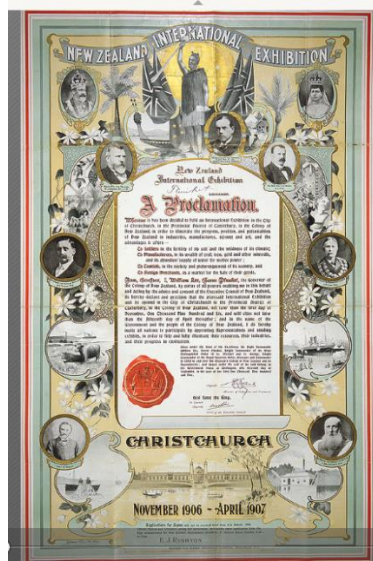
(k)

Figure 10. Pictorial set of stamps 1898-1900, (a) First depiction of a kiwi on a postage stamp, (b) Mitre Peak, issued 1900, (c) Huia birds, (d) White Terraces, Rotomahana, (e) Otira Gorge, (f) Lake Wakatipu, (g) Kia and kaka birds, (h) Milford Sound, (i) Mount Cook, (j) New Zealand Post illustrated postcard of pictorial scenes, 1897, National Library, Eph-A-postcards 1897-01, (k) Pink terraces, Rotomahana, and painting by Charles Bloomfield, 1884.

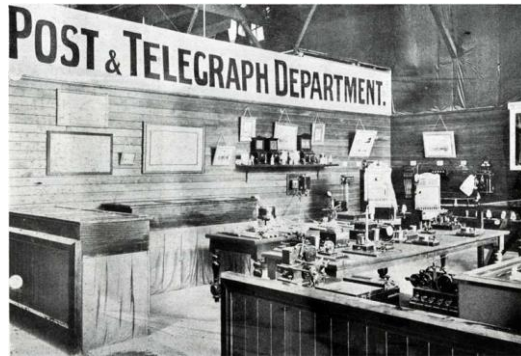
An important milestone in New Zealand history was the establishment of Dominion status on 26 September 1907. However, prior to this event, the country held the New Zealand Exhibition in Christchurch which opened on 1 November 1906, continued until 15 April 1907. This was an important episode in the development of New Zealand's national image. The exhibition was opened by Prime Minister Richard Seddon who saw the event demonstrating that New Zealand was a "great country". The official proclamation illustrated the "progress, position and potential abilities of New Zealand in industries, manufacturing, science and art", that New Zealand had "independence from foreign competition" and many newspapers subsequently reported on the Exhibition (see figure 11a).<sup>96</sup> The event was marked by the issue of a series of stamps by the Post Office depicting a Māori canoe, Māori art, the landing of Captain Cook and the annexation of New Zealand. A unique feature of this issue was that it could only be purchased at the Exhibition itself and over 300,000 copies were printed, and they were eventually all sold (see figure 11b, c). They received high praise for their engraving and were the first set of stamps to feature human settlement in New Zealand.<sup>97</sup>

<sup>96</sup> Jock Phillips, "Exhibitions and world's fairs – New Zealand Exhibitions, 1900 onwards", *Te Ara*, October 2014, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/exhibitions-and-worlds-fairs> accessed 1/8/2022; *Proclamation*, Alexander Turnbull Library, Eph-E, Exhibition 1906-7, 01-07; *Evening Post*, 16 April 1907, 4; *West Coast Times*, 8 November 1906, 4; *Poverty Bay Herald*, 13 November 1906, 3.

<sup>97</sup> *New Zealand Mail*, 31 January 1906, 54, 24 October 1906, 15, 30 January 1907, 17; Alexander de Kort, *The Great Exhibition: some facts, assumptions and queries pertaining to the*



(a)



(b)



(c)

Figure 11. (a) Proclamation of International Exhibition <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/exhibitions-and-worlds-fairs/page-5> (accessed 21 November 2021), (b) Exhibition Post Office from which stamps were sold (c) Set of four stamps sold at the Exhibition, Arrival of the Māori, Māori settlement, Captain Cook's landing and the annexation of New Zealand.

*philatelic aspects of the New Zealand International Exhibition, 1985, accessed at the Alexander Turnbull Library; Otago Witness, 19 May 1898, 53.*

The establishment of Dominion status saw the installation of Edward VII as King of New Zealand, but it took nine years before a postage stamp bearing his image was released. This stamp bore the inscription ‘Dominion of New Zealand’.<sup>98</sup> However, the King died just six months after his image first appeared on New Zealand stamps. Issued at the same time was a new issue of the female figure *Zealandia* but this issue also carried the word ‘Dominion’ added to the national title. Numerous printings of these stamps took place up to the onset of the First World War, despite the accession of George V to the throne on 6 May 1910. The King’s coronation in 1911 was not marked by a stamp issue and the issue of Edward VII continued to be used due to abundant stocks of these stamps.

Before the First World War, New Zealand had moved from its colonial status to that of a Dominion, however, over the prior colonial years it showed increasing recognition of its unique history and scenic beauty. This is reflected in the 1895-1900 issues portraying some of New Zealand’s outstanding natural beauty. Ron Palenski, an author, considered these stamps reflected a growing sense of identity and a desire to extol the attractions of New Zealand, rather than pay homage to the “imperial core”. Eric Pawson, a geographer, also linked the set of stamps to national identity. He argued that there was a link between tourism, mountains and nationalism, and he also associated this with pride in the landscape by Pākehā New Zealanders.<sup>99</sup> Much has been written about the development of self-identity in New Zealand, and the many factors that may have influenced this development.<sup>100</sup> Keith Sinclair, the historian, has made two points that are relevant to this discussion. First, he has pointed out that during the pre-war period, there was a population change from overseas born New Zealanders being dominant, to the majority being born in the country and they saw New Zealand as their home. Further, he outlines that there was a search for symbols of identification that would be unique to New Zealand. A fern leaf (used in the South African War), pohutukawa, and kowhai were all early and unique symbols seen to represent New Zealand. All these plants have appeared on New Zealand stamps in

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<sup>98</sup> *Evening Star*, 13 November 1909, 6.

<sup>99</sup> Ron Palenski, *The making of New Zealanders*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2012: 109; Eric Pawson, “The meaning of mountains”, in Pawson and Tom Brooking, eds., *Environmental histories of New Zealand*, Melbourne: Oxford University Press: 2002: 136.

<sup>100</sup> James Belich, *Paradise reforged: a history of the New Zealanders from the 1880s to the year 2000*, Auckland: Penguin Books (NZ), 2001; Kynan Gentry, *History, heritage, and colonisation in New Zealand, 1870-1940*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015.

later years. The kiwi took some time to be recognised as symbol and again featured at the time of the South African War.<sup>101</sup> Palenski has developed the theme of the kiwi further, stating that the kiwi gained even wider exposure as a unique symbol of New Zealand when it featured on the 6d. stamp of 1898 from the International Exhibition (see figure 10a). He cites this as a good example of these stamps being “silent ambassadors of national taste” which reflected the growing sense of identity and meant New Zealanders could now put their stamps on their letters.<sup>102</sup>

Another historian, James Belich, has proposed a different view as to the evolution of New Zealand’s self-identity and independence.<sup>103</sup> Belich has promoted the concept that self-identity in New Zealand has been renewed and reshaped over time. After the establishment of Dominion status, there followed a period he terms “recolonisation”. This is related to the development of very close trade ties with Britain, to the point that in 1950, New Zealand was Britain’s fourth largest supplier of produce. Belich also used the term “neo-colonialism” to describe this period. He also suggested that New Zealand’s true independence and national maturity could be dated from 1 January 1973, when Britain joined the European Economic Community.<sup>104</sup>

The use of the Monarch’s portrait on stamp issues, as described above, was no longer rigidly adhered to. The death of Queen Victoria, and the succession of two kings prior to the First World War, saw some reversion to royal portraits. However, the scenic pictorial stamps filled the needs of the postal services and appeared to be popular with the people. Overall, New Zealand prior to the war was showing increased evidence of its own uniqueness, as judged by its stamp issues, but at the same time showed evidence of its allegiance to the Crown and Empire as typified by the South African War issue.

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<sup>101</sup> Keith Sinclair, *A destiny apart: New Zealand’s search for national identity*, London: Allen and Unwin, 1986: 108, 188; John McCrone, “Feeling Kiwi: a brief history of the development of the New Zealand identity”; *Press*, 2 December 2017.

<sup>102</sup> Ron Palenski 2012: 109. Palenski wrongly attributes this quotation to Ewan Morris, when in fact it was that of W.B. Yeats in a speech to the Irish Senate in 1923.

<sup>103</sup> James Belich, *Paradise reforged: a history of the New Zealanders from the 1880s to the year 2000*, Auckland: Allen Lane, Penguin Press, 2001: 29.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid*, 547.

## Australia

It is commonly stated that the battlefields of Gallipoli and the Western Front consolidated nationhood for both Australia and New Zealand. The Australian War Memorial carries the words of W.M. Hughes “Australia was born on the shores of Gallipoli”. In addition, the book written by C.E.W. Bean has promoted this Anzac ‘legend’.<sup>105</sup> This, however, ignores the fact that Australians had been involved previously in the New Zealand Land Wars, the Sudan War, and the Boer War. However, there is much written evidence that suggests Australian national identity was developing before the Gallipoli Campaign, and its development was a more complex issue than Hughes’ suggested argument.<sup>106</sup> Some insight can be obtained into the views of some Australian-born people as seen in a hand bill issued before the referendum on Federation took place (see figure 12d). Several research papers have looked also at postage stamps as transmitters of nationalist and colonial ideology in relation to Australia and the Pacific.<sup>107</sup>

The Australian stamp history prior to the First World War presents a more complex picture than that of New Zealand. The Commonwealth of Australia was formed on the 1 January 1901 by the federation of the six British colonies. However, for a period of up to fifty years, the individual colonies had had issued their own postage stamps.<sup>108</sup> Despite the fact that federation took place in 1901, it was not until 1913 that the Commonwealth of Australia issued its first postage stamp with the title ‘Australia’.<sup>109</sup> This was the celebrated ‘kangaroo’ stamp (see figure 13a). In theory, control of the postal service passed to the federal administration, but the former colonies continued to use their own issues. By October 1910 individual state’s stamps were valid for use

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<sup>105</sup> Cited by Joan Beaumont in *Broken Nation*, 55; C.E.W., Bean, “The Anzac Book”, *Historical Studies*, 1985; 21: 376-90.

<sup>106</sup> Catriona Elder, *Being Australian: narratives of national identity*, Oxford: Routledge, 2007; Jed Donoghue and Bruce Tranter, *Exploring Australian national identity*, Bingley, UK: Emerald Publishing Ltd., 2018; Patrick O’Keefe and Sharlene Nipperess, “Out of place in a hostile place: Australian values and the politics of belonging”, *Ethics and Social Welfare*, 2015; 15: 100-115.

<sup>107</sup> Paige Gleeson, “‘Gwojo Tjungurraya’ as ‘one pound Jimmy’: Aboriginalia in the post”, *Aboriginal History*, 2020; 44: 89-116; Gary Osmond, “Modest monuments? Postage stamps, Duke Kahanamoku and hierarchies of social memory”, *The Journal of Pacific History*, 2008; 43: 313-329; Igor Cusack, “Nationalist and colonial ideology: the postage stamps of Portugal and its Empire”, *Nations and Nationalism*, 2005; 11: 591-612.

<sup>108</sup> Issue dates: New South Wales 1850, Queensland 1860, South Australia 1866, Tasmania 1853, Victoria 1850, Western Australia 1854.

<sup>109</sup> “Commonwealth stamps”, *Telegraph* (Brisbane), 5 May 1905, 5, *Post office records*, National Archive of Australia, <https://www.naa.gov.au/sites/default/files/2020-05/fs-50-Post-Office-records.pdf> accessed 20/9/2021; “Postage stamps”, *Coolgardie Miner*, 8 June 1904, 3.

throughout all of Australia. In the two years prior to the First World War, two further stamps were issued, one bearing the image of King George V and the other an image of the laughing kookaburra (sic).<sup>110</sup>

In Western Australia, several issues all bearing the image of a black swan were used until four stamps, all bearing an image of Queen Victoria, were issued in 1902, one year after her death. The then current swan stamps and the Queen Victoria issues were used until 1912. Here again, Western Australia did not adhere to the convention of the monarch's head but preferred the symbol of Western Australia, the swan.<sup>111</sup> This is in strong contrast to Victoria, where all stamps from 1850 had Queen Victoria's image in various formats through to 1900. The exception was in 1900 when stamps were issued to mark the Empire Patriotic Fund, one portrayed Australian soldiers in South Africa and the other an engraving of the Victoria Cross (see figure 13b). This issue received praise for being beautiful and of a unique design.<sup>112</sup> Finally, two stamps bearing the image of the new king, Edward VII, were used between 1901 and 1910. Victoria's issues suggest a loyalty to the British Crown and the Empire, but they may simply reflect that as the colony was named after Queen Victoria.

In New South Wales, a mixed picture is seen. The first stamps of 1850 carried scenes of early settlement, followed by those showing an image of Queen Victoria from 1850 to 1886. In 1886, a series of eight stamps covered a wide range of topics, from a view of Sydney, an emu, a map of Australia through to Governor Philip, the first governor of New South Wales. In 1890, an allegorical figure 'Australia', was produced on a 2 1/2d. stamp and another of a value of 9d. in 1903. In terms of early national identity, there were several allegorical representations of New South Wales and Australia produced in the 1880s in painting and sculpture. The earlier stamp shows a female figure carrying a flag on which the words "Advance Australia" are written. Figure 12 shows the two allegorical Australian stamps and an example of a painting of the time, of a European style, but in an Australian setting. Two important stamps of 1897 celebrate the diamond jubilee of the Queen, but also the Charity Hospital. These were the earliest charity stamps ever produced worldwide and carried a surcharge of 1/- and 2/6d. respectively and this was added to the normal postal rate

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<sup>110</sup> "Evolution of stamps in Australia", *The Advertiser* (Adelaide), 17 October 1936, 22; A.F. Basset Hull, "History of Australian postage stamps", *Royal Australian Historic Society*, 1941; 27: 3.

<sup>111</sup> Keith Jeffery, 2006: 50.

<sup>112</sup> "Patriotic stamps", *Age*, 14 June 1900, 4 and 15 May 1902, 6.

(see figure 13c). Despite the additional cost, these stamps were in demand.<sup>113</sup> The funds so raised went to aid those with consumption (tuberculosis). Thereafter, until 1907, a mixture of stamps was issued which included Queen Victoria side face, a lyrebird, 'Australia' and the emblem of New South Wales (figure 13a).



(a)



(b)



(c)

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<sup>113</sup> *Brisbane Courier*, 9 September 1897, 4.



(d)

Figure 12. (a) New South Wales allegorical figure of 'Australia', 1890, (b) Queensland allergorical figure and the new Commonwealth, 1903, (c) Allergorical figure of commerce in New South Wales c1888, by Augusto Lorenzini (Source: Caroline Simpson Library and Research Centre, Sydney), (d) "To the Australian born", hand bill produced for the referendum on federation.<sup>114</sup>

South Australia issued its first postage stamps in 1885. These and subsequent issues, save two, displayed various portraits of Queen Victoria. In 1899, a stamp showing the General Post Office in Adelaide was issued with differing perforations and watermarks and thus was the only exception to the monarch's portrait. Between 1894-1906, South Australia issued a stamp that combined the Queen's head and symbols of Australia, namely the red kangaroo and a bush scene (figure 14a).

Tasmania's first stamps in 1853 were labelled 'Van Diemens Land', and this title changed to Tasmania in 1857. As in South Australia, all stamps until 1899 had portraits of Queen Victoria. Eight different scenic views of Tasmania formed the topic

<sup>114</sup> *The case for Federation*, hand bill, National Archives of Australia, NAA B941 ID 5966702, photograph by Australian Immigration Service, number 10/11/75/1.

of a series of stamps issued and were the last produced by Tasmania as a colony. An unusual event occurred in Tasmania, however, where stamps being used for fiscal purposes only were authorised to be valid for postal use between 1863 and 1900. This was to correct a shortfall in the numbers of valid postage stamps. Five variations on the theme ‘George and the Dragon’ and one issue showing a duck billed platypus formed the illustrations on the fiscal stamps.

Queensland was proclaimed a separate colony on 10 December 1859 but continued to use the stamps of New South Wales until November 1860. The subsequent issues labelled ‘Queensland’ carried various portraits of Queen Victoria until 1899. In 1900, two stamps were issued, both combined Victoria’s portrait with Union flags and military personnel. These stamps were charity issues for the Patriotic Fund and carried a surcharge of 6d. and 1/- respectively along with the usual postal charge (figure 13d).<sup>115</sup> Later in 1903, there was a stamp featuring the figure of ‘Australia’ (see figure 12b) and Queensland’s final issues of 1905 bore, once again, further portraits of Queen Victoria.



(a)



(b)

<sup>115</sup> “Patriotic stamps”, *Queenslander*, 28 April 1900, 795, gives details of submitted designs and final choice.



Figure 13. (a) Commonwealth of Australia's first stamp, 1913, (b) Victoria's Patriotic Fund stamps of 1900, (c) New South Wales charity stamp of 1897, (d) and (e) Queensland's Patriotic Fund stamps of 1900.



Figure 14. Early colonial stamps showing symbols of Australia (a) South Australia, 1894-1906, (b) New South Wales, 1888-9, (c) New South Wales, 1888-9, (d) Map of Australia, 1888-9.

In 1911, the Commonwealth Labor Government invited designs for the country's first stamp in the form of a competition. There were 1,050 entries and the first prize was awarded to Hermann Altmann.<sup>116</sup> The winning design was a full faced portrait of King George V (figure 19). In October 1911, the new Postmaster-General, Charles Frazer, discarded this winning entry and described it to Parliament as "execrable" on the basis that it did not reflect Australia specifically, and commissioned a new stamp.<sup>117</sup> The new design image featured a kangaroo within a white silhouette of

<sup>116</sup> "Commonwealth postage stamp", *Evening News* (Sydney), 24 June 1911, 2; *Sunday Times*, 25 June 1911, 14; *Albany Advertiser*, 28 June 1911, 4.

<sup>117</sup> Michael Maloney, "One of the best advertising mediums the country can have: postage stamps

Australia.<sup>118</sup> The new stamp was released in January 1913 (figure 13a). Frazer may have thought that the King George V design was detestable, however, the Royal Institute of Architects of Victoria commented on Frazer's choice: "The first Commonwealth stamp should be so utterly weak in design it should be withdrawn from issue".<sup>119</sup> Six months later, the Liberal Party gained office and the new Postmaster-General, Agar Wynne, replaced Frazer. He replaced Frazer's design by the winning entry to the design competition, the King George V stamp. The introduction of this stamp resulted in the *Australian Worker* suggesting that there was a "wiping out" of national design and a reversion back to, and continuation of, colonial attitudes.<sup>120</sup>

Examination of the six colonies' stamp designs does indicate, in terms of relationship with the crown, different approaches to self-identity. Victoria and Queensland stuck rigidly to the 'rule' of the monarch's portrait apart from celebrations of the Patriotic Fund, although this may, of course, reflect the fact that these colonies were named after Queen Victoria herself. Western Australia, on the other hand, identified with its own symbol of the swan rather than a British related topic. New South Wales chose to have scenes of early settlement and its own specific history and self-image. Again, South Australia adhered to the Queen's portrait while Tasmania began to display its own scenery.

What can be deduced from this pattern? It would appear that some colonies (states) began to self-identify, rather than rigidly follow British identity and adherence to the royal image. How important to the development of Australia as an independent country are these reflections on its postage stamp history? Jeffery, the historian referred to earlier, has argued that stamps chosen by local colonial administrators may reflect colonial self-perceptions, but he claims that slavish reproduction of British iconography does not reflect colonial loyalty and equally local images do not reflect concepts of separatism. In contradiction, he comments that Western Australia portrayed the black swan for nearly fifty years as an indication of independence of

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and national identity in Canada, New Zealand and Australia", *Journal of Material Culture Review*, 2013; 77-78: 21-36.

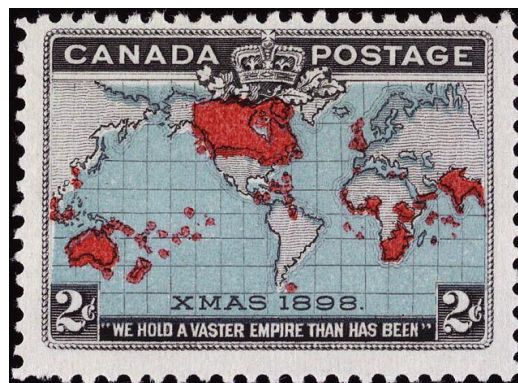
<sup>118</sup> Ross McMullin, "Frazer, Charles Edward (1880-1913)" *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, <http://www.adb.anu.edu.au> accessed 12/4/2022; Dennis Altman, *Paper ambassadors: the politics of stamps*, North Ryde: Angus and Robertson Publishers, 1991:59.

<sup>119</sup> "The Commonwealth postage stamp", *Daily Telegraph* (Tasmania), 24 June 1903, 4.

<sup>120</sup> "Our postage stamps", *Australia Worker*, 3 May 1917, 13.

spirit and a reluctance to join the Federation, being the last colony to do so.<sup>121</sup> The introduction of the first Commonwealth stamp reveals the underlying differences within Australia, and Eddy and Schreuder have written “This tension between national and imperial themes reflected burgeoning ‘colonial nationalism’ in Australia”.<sup>122</sup>

The early history of the two Dominions, as reflected in their stamp issues, bears a strong resemblance with a pattern showing many similarities. The early staunch representation of the Queen as head of the Empire is adhered to. However, in terms of New Zealand and the early colonies of Australia, there is evidence of the beginning of their self-awareness as unique places, and this feeling was beginning to be reflected in their stamps. Australia as a Dominion was only formed thirteen years before the outbreak of the First World War, but its first issue reflected symbols of Australia as a whole. New Zealand, even before Dominion status, was certainly beginning to recognise its unique scenery, flora, and fauna in its stamp representations. Both Dominions sent troops to support Britain and fight in the South African (Boer) War and clearly saw themselves still as part of a wider Empire. This concept is perhaps epitomised by a parallel issue from Canada in 1896 with the words “We hold a vaster Empire than has been” (figure 15). However, it has been commented upon that Canada placed itself in the central position on the map.<sup>123</sup> In addition, this stamp is regarded as the first Christmas stamp as it also carried the text ‘Xmas 1898’.



<sup>121</sup> Keith Jeffery, 2006: 51; L.F. Crisp, *Australian National Government*, Croydon, Victoria: Longmans, 1965.

<sup>122</sup> John Eddy and Deryck Schreuder, *The rise in colonial nationalism*, Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1988.

<sup>123</sup> Winthrop S. Boggs, *The Postage Stamps and Postal History of Canada*, Kalamazoo, MI: Chambers Publishing Co., 1945; reprinted Lawrence, MA: Quarterman Publications, 1974.

Figure 15. Dominion of Canada's empire stamp of 1898, also regarded as the first Christmas stamp.

This chapter has outlined the history and the topics of stamps issued in the Dominions and colonies prior to the First World War to provide a basis for later observations and discussion. It reveals, as judged by the stamp images, that the bonds of Empire still held firm, but very early signs of colonial self-images were occurring as is exemplified by the stamps of Western Australia. Despite the comments of Jeffery, quoted earlier, there is expanding evidence to support the concept that postage stamps did promote territorial identity and the objectives of the national government of the day. This concept has been reviewed and expanded by Stanley Brunn, who drew attention to the additional importance of stamp themes at times of political and economic transition.<sup>124</sup> All colonies and Dominions described here were in this position of change in the years prior to the First World War and this adds strength to the concept that their limited stamp production during the First World War did not reflect any major change in their will to support Britain.

In terms of the research question 3, this chapter has asserted that there is semiotic evidence of territorial self-image in the colonial period, but the overlying concept of British New Zealanders and British Australians is still the dominant force. The next chapter (3) examines the evidence to address research question 1; the use of stamps for charitable and war funding. It will outline the limited use of postage stamps for this purpose compared to the extensive use of Cinderella stamps for fund raising.

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<sup>124</sup> Stanley D. Brunn, "Stamps as messengers of political transition", *Geographical Review*, 2011; 101: 19-36.

### **Chapter 3. Using Stamps for Fund Raising in Wartime**

Taxes are not raised to carry on wars, but that wars are raised to carry on taxes.

Thomas Paine (1737-1809)

It is proposed in this chapter that New Zealand's First World War tax on postage, using tax stamps, did raise revenue to support the war effort. However, how this revenue was dispersed is open to question. Further, while Australia merely raised the cost of postage as a tax, the proceeds were put directly to the treasury. The use of Cinderella stamps by funding organisations directly benefitted and aided those in the armed forces while they were serving overseas, and their dependents at home. It is further argued that the Patriotic Societies of both countries and their Cinderella stamps provide a unique insight into the attitudes of their respective societies to the war and to the plight of their soldiers. These attitudes are characterised by the length the patriotic societies went to in order to ensure that the funds raised were distributed totally for the welfare of the soldiers on active duty and not acquired by the governments for war matériel. Further, the way that society contributed large amounts of money to war loans and bonds indicated that they were generally supportive of the war effort at this time.

#### **War Tax Stamps**

At the onset of the war in 1914, the concept of raising revenue by adding a tax to postal charges was not a new one. Indeed, Spain introduced such a postal tax as early as 1874 to help fund the Second Carlist War (1873-1876). Issues were produced as late as 1898 to help fund Spain's military forces in the Cuban War of Independence (1895-1898). The tax was raised by the addition of a war tax stamp (Impuesto de Guerra) to each postal item. This was in addition to the normal stamp corresponding to the appropriate postal rate for the item (see figure 16a).<sup>125</sup>

Canada was the first country to adopt the postage stamp as a means of raising additional revenue during the First World War. Following the passage of the Special

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<sup>125</sup> James MacKay, "Kinds of stamps", *The Guinness book of stamps*, Middlesex: Guinness Publishing Ltd., 2008: 174; Janet King, "War tax stamps help fund the war effort", *Linn's Stamp News*, 7 July 2003.

War Revenue Act in February 1915, war tax stamps were introduced on 1 March 1915.<sup>126</sup> Their introduction was at the point when the financial costs of the war were rapidly increasing, such that by the end of 1916, the cost of the war to Canada amounted to \$166 million for that year alone.<sup>127</sup> With the addition of the war tax, revenue from all stamp sales in 1916 amounted to \$755,000 and rose to \$1.034 million by 1918. While the money raised appears small in total when compared to the costs of the war, it would appear to be a significant amount from one previously untapped source. There was much debate later in Canada as to whether the revenue raised from war tax stamps was being used for the payment of interest on War Bonds and not for the purchase of war matériel. Christopher Ryan, a research philatelist, has argued that the tax stamps were simply an excuse for raising the postal rates under the guise of patriotism and that the funds accrued were not separately accounted for. He further argued that the war tax stamps produced by the Inland Revenue did not finance the war effort in any way.<sup>128</sup> The Canadian war tax stamps, themselves, had various formats (see figure 16b). The first stamps were simply overprinted 'WAR TAX' on the then current George V stamp, the King being shown in an admiral's uniform, and similarly for the Inland Revenue there was an additional text 'Inland Revenue'. Thereafter, a special adaptation of the stamp was produced with the words 'War Tax' incorporated in the design and the final design included the text 1Tc (one cent tax). Inland Revenue produced specific stamps with 'war tax' included in the design. The stamps were in addition to the normally required postage stamp for the item. The importance of these stamps relates to what happened, thereafter, in New Zealand.

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<sup>126</sup> W.T. White, Minister of Finance, *The budget: proposed war taxation, debate in the House of Commons (Canada)*, 1915, 80-94, F.A. Acland (printer); *The Special War Revenue Act, 1915*, amendments and regulations to date, chapter 8, 5, George V, 1915, Canadian Department of Customs and Excise.

<sup>127</sup> Leslie Fournier, "Canada's federal finance during the Great War", MA Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1923.

<sup>128</sup> Christopher D. Ryan, *Canada's Inland Revenue and postal war tax stamps did not finance its war expenditure during the First World War*, British North American Philatelic Society, <https://www.bnaps.org/ore/Ryan-wartaxstamps> accessed 26/8/2021; Christopher D. Ryan, "Nominal War Tax stamps of the Canadian Post Office, 1915-1918", *Canadian Revenue Newsletter*, 2010; 71: 7-10.

## New Zealand

In May 1915, a deputation from the New Zealand Patriotic Society met the Postmaster-General, R. Heaton Rhodes, and requested that his department give permission for a special postage stamp to augment the funds of the Patriotic Society. Rhodes informed the group that there were several competing applications for such a stamp, and he could not make a concession to their Society, or he would have to make it to all the other applicants. Rhodes let it be known that the Cabinet had already discussed the matter and instead were considering raising the postage rate as a war tax. He further added that he had just received a copy of the Canadian one cent war tax stamp and as yet no decision had been made as to whether New Zealand should follow suit.<sup>129</sup> Rhodes's views on this subject and his attitude to the issue of a tax stamp are important as he was Postmaster-General from July 1912 until August 1915, he was also Minister of Health at the same time and was regarded as a popular politician. Rhodes was a very keen philatelist and a collector of early New Zealand stamps and formed an extensive collection of full faced Queen Victoria stamps (see Chapter 2). His large collection of stamps is still held in the Canterbury Museum. By the time the tax stamp was actually issued, Rhodes had relinquished his position as Postmaster-General on the formation of the War Cabinet in 1915. It was a unique situation in which the advice to the Government on a new stamp came from someone who was Postmaster-General and President of the Philatelic Society of New Zealand and a member of the Royal Philatelic Society of London.<sup>130</sup>

The details of the Canadian war tax on stamps were already well known in New Zealand and had been reported in the press.<sup>131</sup> The New Zealand government were, at this time, under enormous pressure to fund the nation's contribution to the war and sought new ways to raise revenue. Radical changes were made to the tax system, and these included an increase in personal income tax from 6.67% in 1913 to 43.75% by 1921.<sup>132</sup> It was in 1916 that a decision was made to levy a war tax on all forms of

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<sup>129</sup> "Postage stamps and patriotic funds", *Wairarapa Daily Times*, 26 May 1915.

<sup>130</sup> Biography: <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/3r14/rhodes-robert-heaton> accessed 5/2/2022; Geoffrey Rice, *Heaton Rhodes of Otahuna*, Christchurch: Hawthorne Press, 2001; Rhodes Collection: <https://www.cps.gen.nz/rhodes-collection> accessed 5/2/2022.

<sup>131</sup> *Otago Daily Times*, 2 July 1915; *Southland Times*, 6 July 1915, 4.

<sup>132</sup> Paul Goldsmith, "Taxes, depression, and increased taxes, 1914-1935", *Te Ara, The Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, <http://www.tearagovt.nz/en/taxes/page3>, accessed 27/8/2021; J.V.T. Baker, *The New Zealand people at war: war economy*, Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs, 1965; Steven Eldred-Grigg, *The great wrong war: New Zealand society in World War 1*, Auckland:

postage – letter, parcels, and packets, but this excluded newspaper postage. The Governor, Lord Liverpool, issued an Order in Council and the *New Zealand Gazette* carried the formal notification on the 23 September 1915 to levy an impost of half a penny on each article.<sup>133</sup> The tax was to take the form of a postage stamp and was to be attached to the postal packet along with the appropriate definitive stamp. In correspondence, the Secretary of the General Post Office explained that the war stamp was intended to direct attention to the additional postage required for revenue purposes during the war. He stated that as long as an additional halfpenny was added to the basic postal one penny rate, this could be in the form of either normal definitive stamps, three war stamps, or a combination of a definitive and a war stamp.<sup>134</sup> While in 1916, the general support for the war still continued in New Zealand and Australia, the support for the additional taxes did not, and there was a perception that the funds were, at times, misdirected. It was felt that people such as ship owners and producers of foodstuffs were exploiting the war situation and making excessive profits.<sup>135</sup> Figure 17a and b illustrates cartoons from both countries expressing these concerns. Despite these financial strategies, New Zealand still had a national debt of £201 million at the end of the war and this included £80 million of war loans that were due for repayment.<sup>136</sup>

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Random House, 2010; Steven Loveridge and James Watson, *The home front; New Zealand Society and the war effort, 1914-1919*, Auckland: Massey University Press, 2019; 134-137; Alan Everton, "Government intervention in the New Zealand economy, 1914-1918; its aims and effectiveness", M.A. Thesis, Victoria University, 1995.

<sup>133</sup> *New Zealand Gazette*, 1915; 112: 3302; Steven Loveridge and James Watson, *The home front New Zealand Society and the war effort, 1914-1919*, Auckland: Massey University Press, 2019: 246.

<sup>134</sup> "The war stamp" *Dominion*, 16 October 1915, 3.

<sup>135</sup> "War profits scandal": *New Zealand Times*, 5 November 1917, 6; *Lyttleton Times*, 22 January 1917, 6; Michael B. Tyquin, "Profiteering in Australia during the First World War", *War and Society*, 2020; 39: 23-41.

<sup>136</sup> War loans, <http://www.NZhistory.govt.nz/media/image/first-world-war-loans> accessed 27/8/2021.

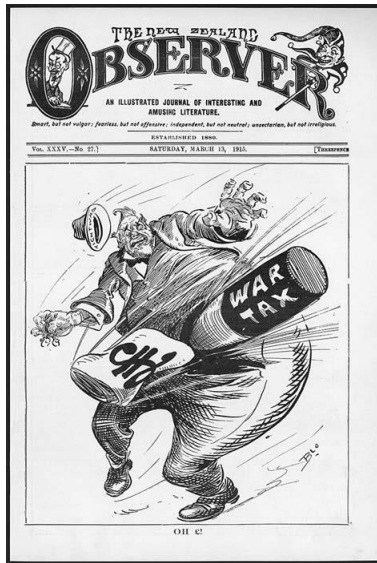


(a)



(b)

Figure 16. (a) Tax stamps used by Spain in the Second Carlist War and the Cuban Independence War, (b) Canadian postal war tax stamps and Inland Revenue war tax stamps.



(a)



(b)

Figure 17. (a) ‘Taxes’, source: *New Zealand Observer*, 1915, (b) “Big advances”, source: *The Kingdom of Shylock*.<sup>137</sup>

The actual format of the war tax stamp was simply the current green halfpenny King George V stamp overprinted ‘WAR STAMP’ with the addition of two stars (figure 18). An example is also shown in figure 18 of three war stamps used for the tax and hence covered the postal charge. Additionally, an envelope with tax stamps and a war censor imprint is shown in the third example in figure 18. The tax stamp was first issued on 24 September 1915. There is a dearth of academic studies regarding these stamps, but their developmental origins are well described by R. Collins and H. Fathers, and details of their use by the current author. Their political origins are well summarised in the *Wairarapa Daily Times* of 1915 with a description of the Postmaster-General’s meeting with those advocating a special stamp and his attitudes to their proposal.<sup>138</sup>

At the time of the issue of the war stamp, 285 million letters, post cards and parcels were posted annually and clearly a similar number of extra stamps would be required to meet these new regulations.<sup>139</sup> Two months after the regulations were introduced,

<sup>137</sup> *New Zealand Observer*, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/observer>, accessed 27/8/2021; Frank Anstey, *The Kingdom of Shylock*, Melbourne: Labor Call Print, 1917.

<sup>138</sup> R.J.G Collins and H.T.M. Fathers, editors, *The postage stamps of New Zealand*, Wellington: The Philatelic Society of New Zealand, 1938: 320-325; Kenneth Dawson, “Commerce, or commemoration: the role of the postage stamp in Great War remembrance”, MA Thesis, Massey University, 2019; “Postage stamps and patriotic funds”, *Wairarapa Daily Times*, 26 May 1915, 6.

<sup>139</sup> “Double licking”, *Evening Post*, 25 September 1915, 6.

complaints were being voiced as to the lack of availability of the tax stamps at the post offices and those available were soon “licked out”. The need for two stamps was also an irritant.<sup>140</sup> A reader expressed the view that the introduction of a stamp with the value one and a half pennies would have given the desired results and would have saved time, cash, and saliva.<sup>141</sup> However, the new stamp was in great demand and the new charges had not resulted in a reduction of letters but precipitated a demand for the new war stamp and this was attributed to stamp collectors.<sup>142</sup> The new stamp did raise revenue and the *Northern Advocate* reported that the revenue for the year to March 31 1917 had totalled £913,458 compared to £639,903 in 1913-1914 and this was attributed to the halfpenny war tax.<sup>143</sup> This annual financial return of £273,555 being quoted is almost identical with that reported by the Ways and Means Committee of Parliament, who reported that the dropping of the halfpenny tax and a return to a penny post would result in a drop in revenue of £250,000 per annum.<sup>144</sup> In terms of profit from war stamps, in 1918 the *Press* published an article drawing attention to the fact that profit could be made from war tax stamps by hoarding them unused. By doing so, the government did not have to provide a service and hence gained revenue, while at the end of the war the stamps could be sold on the philatelic market at huge profit.<sup>145</sup> This situation was not unique to New Zealand, however.<sup>146</sup> It was also the practice of the Secretary of State for the Colonies to keep the Governor-General of New Zealand informed of the use and discontinuation of war tax stamps in in the British colonies.<sup>147</sup>

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<sup>140</sup> “War stamps”, *Feilding Star*, 16 December 1915, 2.

<sup>141</sup> “The war stamp” *Manawatu Standard*, 30 August 1915, 2.

<sup>142</sup> “The new war tax”, *Sun*, Christchurch, 24 September, 1915, 4.

<sup>143</sup> “Halfpenny war tax – producing big revenue”, Press Association, reported in the *Northern Advocate*, 26 June 1917.

<sup>144</sup> “Ways and Means Committee of Parliament, Financial Statement”, 3 July 1923, *Appendix to the Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1923.

<sup>145</sup> “Profits in stamps”, *Press*, December 1918.

<sup>146</sup> Following the introduction of a war tax stamp in New Zealand, 26 colonies of the British Empire followed suit and introduced their own version of a tax stamp, but Great Britain, Newfoundland and the British protectorates did not subscribe to the concept. It is reported that in the participating countries the volume of mail in these territories resulted in a substantial monetary gain for the colonies, John G. M. Davis, *War tax stamps of the British Empire – The West Indies*, London: Royal Philatelic Society, 2009.

<sup>147</sup> *Dispatches from the secretary of State for the Colonies to the Governor-General of New Zealand*, 1921, session II, pages 18, 20, 26. National Library of New Zealand.

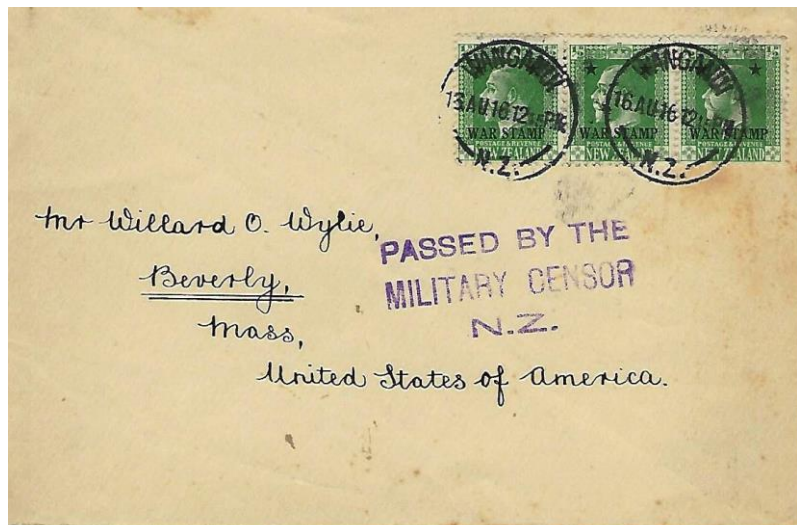


Figure 18. The war tax stamp, tax stamp with a one penny definitive stamp, and three war stamps on an envelope making the one and a half penny charge. The latter is by courtesy of Mr. Bob Watson, Wellington.

Unlike the New Zealand Excess Profits Tax, the war tax stamps continued throughout the war period and later became absorbed into the postal charges as a de facto rate increase. Again, unlike the profits tax, it was accepted by the population as judged by not only the increased revenue from mail services, but also by a steady increase in the total mail sent.<sup>148</sup> In reality, it simply boosted the revenue of the Post Office and only indirectly contributed to the funds available for war. This acceptance by the people to this new tax revolved around the need to have an efficient postal

<sup>148</sup> *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 3 August 1917, 4; *Star*, 10 January 1918, 6.

service, and as discussed earlier, to serve the needs of the population to keep in touch with their loved ones serving overseas.<sup>149</sup>

## **Australia**

In Australia, as early as 1915, a proposal was made that a special war stamp be produced and placed on every letter to raise revenue for the war costs.<sup>150</sup> It was also appreciated that a similar proposal was being made in Canada and was seriously being considered. There was some opposition to the concept of raising the postal rate. The Postmaster-General of Australia, Mr. William Webster (1915-1918), initially “did not favour an increase in postal rates” but while expressing his opposition to the concept of raising the penny postal rate, did concede that if the Commonwealth faced a financial crisis due to the war, then the final decision must lay with the Federal Treasurer.<sup>151</sup> By July 1917, in a letter written by Webster to the *Daily Telegraph*, he forewarned of the need for a large increase in postal rates during the war period.<sup>152</sup> However, it took a year before a proclamation was eventually made by the Postmaster-General of Australia, that an additional half penny was to be added to the current postal rates as from the 5 August 1918 and there would be no specifically designed war stamp.<sup>153</sup> Instead, a one and halfpenny stamp would be issued similar to the current King George V stamp for letter mail use.<sup>154</sup> The new war postage tax of one halfpenny was to be applied to any overseas destination as well as postage within the Commonwealth. Letters addressed to the Australian Imperial Forces (AIF) and men serving in ships of the Australian Navy would be exempt.<sup>155</sup> The issue of the new one and a halfpenny stamp hit an immediate delay, as difficulties were experienced in deciding a suitable colour for the stamp in order to comply with the regulations of the Universal Postal Union. This problem was compounded by the availability of the range of printing colours that could be obtained due to the war conditions. To overcome this delay, all letters had to have the current halfpenny stamp attached to

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<sup>149</sup> Rob Vosslander, “Tax failure: New Zealand’s short-lived Excess Profits Tax”, *Accounting History Review*, 2019; 29: 79-102.

<sup>150</sup> “The war tax”, *Express and Telegraph* (Adelaide), 19 July 1915, 4.

<sup>151</sup> William Webster, Letter to the Editor, *Western Australian*, 16 February 1917, 4.

<sup>152</sup> William Webster, Letter published in the *Daily Telegraph* (Sydney), 9 July 1917, 4.

<sup>153</sup> *Three years of postal administration in Australia, 1915-1918* (William Webster, Postmaster-General), Melbourne: Government Printer, 1918.

<sup>154</sup> “War postage tax”, “Proclamation by Postmaster-General”, *West Gippsland Gazette*, 11 March 1918, 1.

<sup>155</sup> “War postage tax”, *Port Fairy Gazette*, 31 October 1918, 2.

the letter in addition to the normal one penny.<sup>156</sup> Eventually, the colour for the stamp was determined to be deep red brown (see figure 19). What was most important and different to the process in New Zealand, was that in Australia the revenue generated by the tax was to be passed from the Post Office directly to the Treasury. The actual revenue received by the Treasury is classified under “other taxes” and this amounted to 2.5% of the total taxes raised. In order to judge the likely returns from an increase in postal rates, the Postmaster-General’s Report for 1916 stated that 5.9 million letters were posted in that year, which would equate to the raising of some £4.85 million with a tax of a halfpenny per letter. This figure would be before expenses such as the paying the postal agents and the free service for the Forces.<sup>157</sup> In New Zealand the tax money disappeared into the coffers of the Post Office.<sup>158</sup> Evidence to support this lies in the statements from Committee of Supply who only reported an increased income of £125,000 from the postal services between 1916 and 1917, while the Post Office revenue increased by 25% between these years.<sup>159</sup>



Figure 19. The Australian one penny stamp (penny post), King George V, used prior to the war tax and the new stamp with the half penny increase incorporated and the new colour.

<sup>156</sup> “War tax stamp”, *Toowoomba Chronicle* (Queensland), 31 October 1918.

<sup>157</sup> *Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia, Postmaster-General’s Department, 6<sup>th</sup> Annual Report, 1915-1916*, issued February 1917, Australian Bureau of Statistics, *Year Book of Australia, 1918-1919*, published 2001; Sam Reinhardt and Lee Steel, *A brief history of Australian tax legislation*, Australian Government Treasury, 2006.

<sup>158</sup> “War postage tax”, *Toowoomba Chronicle* (Queensland), 15 October 1918, 4.

<sup>159</sup> Committee of Supply, *Financial Statement, 1917*, by Sir Joseph Ward, *Northern Advocate*, 25 January 1917, 2.

## Cinderella Stamps and Fund Raising

Alan Jackson, in his 1987 monograph, made the first attempt to put together a comprehensive list of all the First World War fund raising, propaganda, and patriotic Cinderella stamps and labels that were relevant to New Zealand and Australia. The publication garnered information from a wide range of sources such as Cinderella stamp clubs and stamp publications. It was written as a catalogue for collectors of Cinderella stamps and not as an historical document relating to the war. Jackson stressed, in his forward to the book, that many of the Cinderella stamps were very rare.<sup>160</sup> Unlike postage stamps of the period, they were not, at that time, studied in depth and a greater interest in them developed later in the twentieth century. This publication does provide, however, an identification point leading to the further study of these Cinderella stamps.

The second section of this chapter is concerned with the role of Cinderella stamps in the funding of activities related to the war in both New Zealand and Australia. Following the declaration of war, the Countess of Liverpool made an appeal from Government House to the women of New Zealand to organise welfare committees across the country. These committees were to raise funds in order to make contributions in money as well as in knitted and woven goods for the benefit of soldiers at the front.<sup>161</sup> In response, many organisations evolved to address the soldiers' needs. The Countess of Liverpool formed her own fund, and the Red Cross developed its own separate fund. Eventually, over 1,000 patriotic societies were formed throughout New Zealand, all with the purpose of gathering funds to aid soldiers at the front, their dependents and war displaced civilians.<sup>162</sup> As the number of patriotic societies multiplied, concern was raised as to the responsibility for the management, allocation, and disposal of the donated funds. The government stepped in and through the War Funds Act of 1915, established a national advisory board to

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<sup>160</sup> Alan Jackson, *First World War labels of Australia and New Zealand*, Chatswood, NSW: Cinderella Stamp Club of Australasia, 1987. A copy is held and was viewed in Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, reference Pq769.57JAC.

<sup>161</sup> Steven Loveridge and James Watson, *The Home Front: New Zealand society and the war effort, 1914-1918*, Massey University Press, 2019:8; Simon Johnson, "The Home Front", MA Thesis, Massey University, 1975.

<sup>162</sup> During early 1918 alone, 31 new patriotic societies were approved. War Funds Office, 20 May 1918, Archives New Zealand, R10701380.

manage patriotic relief and to eliminate duplication of funds.<sup>163</sup> Later, societies controlling war funds had to be approved by the Minister of Internal Affairs.<sup>164</sup> There was some advantage to the societies in doing so, as it may have allowed them a higher interest rate on their money when deposited in the Post Office Savings Bank.<sup>165</sup> Some resistance to government involvement occurred on the basis that the funds raised could be used for military equipment and soldiers pay.<sup>166</sup> There were many ways that the patriotic societies raised funds and sought donations. These included sports events, musical concerts, carnivals, raffles, and dances, as well as handicraft sales.<sup>167</sup> One of the more unusual ways was by the so-called ‘crumb cards’, the sale of which raised money for Belgium’s starving children. The idea was that the number of one penny donations would contribute to a loaf of bread for the children, and an example of a card is shown in figure 20. A photograph of the sponsor, the Queen of the Belgians, is also included in this figure.<sup>168</sup> The methods employed, as described above, were very successful and the patriotic societies, during the war period, collected some £5,447,991 and this rose to £6,481,002 with the addition of special grants.<sup>28</sup> This was a considerable amount of money as its current value would equate to some \$285 million.

When local societies had raised funds to support their wounded soldiers they were frequently frustrated that they were not being informed by the military authorities of the repatriation of the wounded soldiers. This resulted in many letters being written to the Ministry of Defence, such as those written by the Gisborne Citizen’s Defence

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<sup>163</sup> Patriotic Society Funds: “Amounts collected, disbursed, and held by Societies at 31 December 1915 and statement respecting administration”, *Appendix to the Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1916, session 1, H-41; War Funds Office, Department of Internal Affairs, *Notes on War Funds Act, 1915*, Wellington: MF. Marks, Government printer, 1916.

<sup>164</sup> War Legislation Amendment Act, Section 40, 1916.

<sup>165</sup> War Funds Investment, letter from the secretary of the Post Office Bank to the Secretary to the Treasury, Archives New Zealand, record R15421101.

<sup>166</sup> Bronwyn Dalley, “Women’s Patriotic Associations, 1914-1918, 1939-1945”, in *New Zealand History*, <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/women-together/womens-patriotic-associations> and “Supporting the War Effort: Overview”, both accessed 2/9/2021; Graham Hucker, “When the Empire calls: Patriotic organisations in New Zealand during the Great War”, MA Thesis, Massey University, 1979.

<sup>167</sup> L.O.H. Tripp, “War relief and patriotic societies”, in *The War Effect on New Zealand*, Chapter XI, Wellington: Victoria University of Wellington: 2016: 177 and 2016:196.

<sup>168</sup> “Crumb Card fund raisers”: [URL:https://nzhistory.govt.nz/mediaphoto](https://nzhistory.govt.nz/mediaphoto) Ministry for Culture and Heritage accessed 3/8/2021.

Committee, complaining that the soldiers had returned to Gisborne with no plans for their care and no notification to the society of the soldier's return.<sup>169</sup>

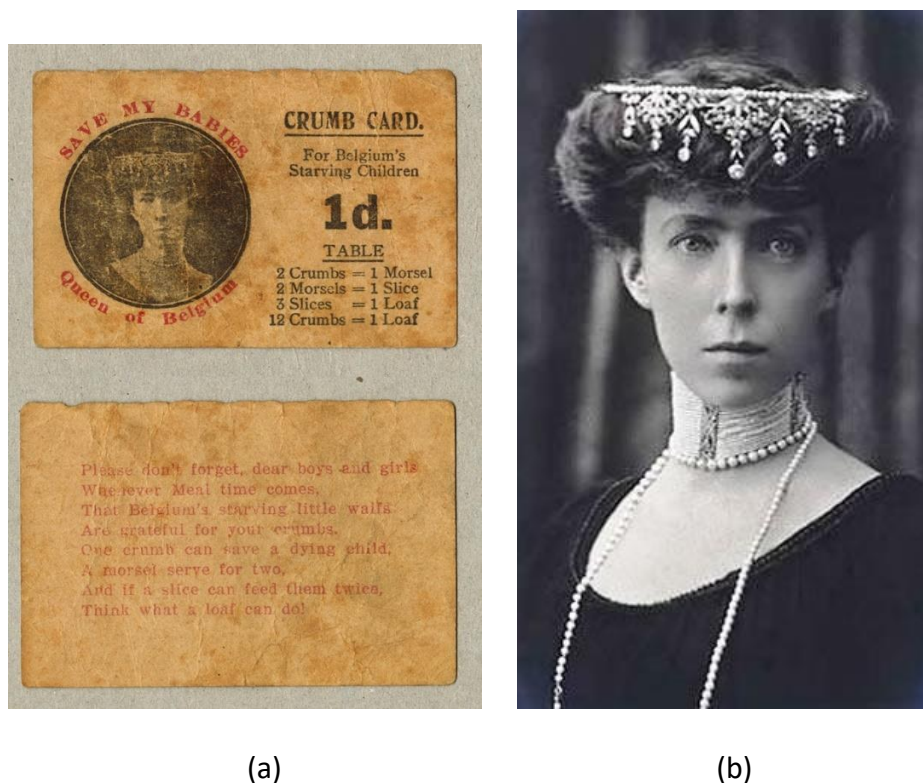


Figure 20. (a) Crumb Card, “Please don’t forget, dear boys and girls, whenever mealtime comes”. Source: Ministry for Culture and Heritage, New Zealand, (b) Elizabeth of Bavaria, Queen of the Belgians and wife of King Albert I, Source: *Brussels Express*, Belgium.

None of the references cited at this point mention the use of Cinderella stamps in the form of war seals in the raising of funds by the patriotic societies. In reality, poster stamp labels were used extensively, and not only in New Zealand and Australia, but especially in Britain and the British colonies in the West Indies where, in the latter, they were attached to mail to raise money for the Red Cross and patriotic societies.<sup>170</sup> Sir Oswald Stoll, an Australian, set up the War Seal Foundation in England in 1915 with the intention of raising money for the accommodation and the care of wounded

<sup>169</sup> Army Department [AAYS] Inwards letters and registered files [8638], former Archives reference AD1, including record numbers: 15 Ceremonies, entertainments, etc; 49 Medical; 56 Records; 74 Repatriation; 75 Demobilisation.

<sup>170</sup> Ian Jakes, *Labels, and ephemera – patriotic labels in World War 1*, The Royal Philatelic Society of London, <https://www.rpsl.org.uk/displays> accessed 4/9/2021.

soldiers and to provide pensions.<sup>171</sup> The original seal had a value of a halfpenny and was to be attached to the back of postal envelopes (figure 21e).<sup>172</sup> The Foundation contacted the patriotic societies in New Zealand, Australia and elsewhere to ask them to sell seals and remit the funds raised to London to aid the wounded soldiers of their specific countries. The Foundation would print the seals and would then send them on to New Zealand. The *Dominion* reported in May 1915 that supplies of the seals had been received by Captain Barclay of Wellington who intended “to make them available for sale to the public by shopkeepers who are willing to undertake the good work”.<sup>173</sup> The patriotic societies took up this concept immediately and started selling the English seals in booklets of twelve for 6d. As the sale of the English seals began to flag, the first New Zealand local seals were issued.<sup>174</sup>

The Auckland Provincial Patriotic and War Relief Association held its first meeting on 13 April 1915, having taken over two existing patriotic funds in Auckland. This new body was responsible for the issuing of the Auckland provincial wounded fund Cinderella label. Four separate printings occurred based upon minor changes in the format of the stamps. The first issue of the stamp raised objections because “the indefinite features of the soldier made him look like an old man”.<sup>175</sup> This was corrected in later issues. This original New Zealand stamp seal had a design based upon the landings at the Dardanelles. It was described as “a soldier on guard, rifle in hand, beneath the symbol of the Red Cross” and this design may have a propaganda message suggesting that the New Zealand soldier, despite being wounded, would still defend his position (figure 21b). An accompanying handbill, intended to promote sales, stated “To the people of Auckland province, none too poor to help. You can spare a halfpenny for every letter you send...” (figure 21a).<sup>176</sup> Along the selvedge margins of the stamp sheets were printed the following words: “We want a quarter of a million for our soldiers and this is one means of helping raise it” and on the other

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<sup>171</sup> Sir Oswald Stoll: <https://www.stoll.org.uk/about/history/> accessed 7/2/2022, the War Seal Foundation was later named Sir Oswald Stoll Foundation in his honour.

<sup>172</sup> The War Seal Foundation: “For the promotion of the sale and use of war seals for sealing letters as a means of providing funds for the erection of specifically designed dwellings in appropriate centres where our disabled sailors and soldiers may live”. War Seal circular, Archives New Zealand, record R9995083.

<sup>173</sup> “Seal your letters”, *Dominion*, 31 May 1915, 3.

<sup>174</sup> Patricia Truman, “The war seal movement”, *Volunteer*, 2014; 40: 15-17.

<sup>175</sup> R.J. Collins, *Stamps of New Zealand*, 1939, 65-66.

<sup>176</sup> “War relief funds”, *Auckland Star*, 4 August 1915, 4.

margin was inscribed “Every town and village in the Auckland Province can help. Use them yourself and ask your friends to do so”.

Gisborne produced its own seals which were sponsored by a local businessman, T.J. Adair, and put on sale on 18 September 1915, and 54,000 were released throughout Poverty Bay on that day (figure 21c). In Gisborne a goal was set to raise £400 to finance a dedicated Anzac flat in Fulham, London and by August 1915, the first £100 was sent to England. Poverty Bay adopted a war seal with the concept that those who felt they could only contribute a small amount of money to the Wounded Soldier’s War Fund had an avenue to do so. The *Poverty Bay Herald* entitled this move as “the poorest can help” and stressed that “an auditor would go through the books to make sure every half-penny paid for the war seals would go to the wounded Soldiers’ Fund”. The design chosen for the seal was described by the newspaper as interesting and represented the landings at the Dardanelles (figure 21c).<sup>177</sup> The stamp design illustrates two infantry men climbing a slope carrying rifles with two ships in the background (see figure 21c). A possible photographic source for this design is shown in the same figure.

The plan was that the war seal stamps would be placed on the letter mail in addition to the appropriate postage stamp (see figure 21a and b). This plan met an early setback in that the New Zealand Post Office issued an official circular on 1 May 1915 which stated:

“Any article posted in New Zealand bearing in front a sticker resembling a postage stamp is to be treated as inadmissible. This is to be done even if the full postage in recognised stamps is prepaid. When the senders are identifiable such articles are to be returned by chief postmasters marked ‘Inadmissible under regulations’. Otherwise they are then to be sent to the Dead Letter Office”.<sup>178</sup>

The situation was made worse by the Defence Department issuing a notice on 16 July 1915, and later published in the *New Zealand Gazette* of 19 July 1915, to the effect that “Any postmaster may detain any postal packet having attached any seal, stamp or

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<sup>177</sup> “Poverty Bay War Seals”, *Poverty Bay Herald*, 18 September 1915, 4.

<sup>178</sup> New Zealand Post Regulations, Official Circular number 9, 1 May 1915.

mark”. The effect of this notice was an instruction to the postal authority to stop all correspondence bearing war seals.<sup>179</sup> This stimulated a Mr. W. Barclay to write to the *Dominion* pointing out a photograph of a lady selling war seals to Lord Kitchener at the War Office steps in London.<sup>180</sup> However, the Postmaster-General decided that in the interim, mail bearing war seals would be passed, “In reference to order number 9 (1 May 1915), it is to be noted that no article bearing a war seal or sticker on the back is to be stopped...”.<sup>181</sup> The matter was thus settled eventually by the decision that war seals could be used as long as they were placed at the back of the envelope as shown in figure 21d. The postal authorities then started returning mail with seals on the addressed side of the envelope. This raised the ire of the Auckland Provincial Society who protested at this action as the seals raised funds for war charities.<sup>182</sup> The regulations governing the use of war seals in New Zealand was not rescinded until 1 August 1923.<sup>183</sup>

AUCKLAND PROVINCIAL PATRIOTIC AND WAR  
RELIEF ASSOCIATION.

## WAR SEALS

### Appeal to the Public of Auckland Province

You will require a sum of £250,000 for War Relief purposes throughout the Province of Auckland!

One simple means of **HELPING** to raise this sum is for **YOU** to determine that every letter you post shall bear the **WAR SEAL** of the **WAR RELIEF ASSOCIATION**

They may be obtained at any **Store** in the Province, from your **Local Patriotic Committee**, from the **Mayor or Chairman of your Borough or Board**, or from **WAR SEALS Committee**, Town Hall, Auckland.

**24 for 1/-**                      **480 for £1**

Tell your friends how they may assist in this way. Sell them some of the Seals. Push them along for all you are worth.

Remember that if every man and woman in the Auckland Province, over the age of 20 years, uses only **three Seals per week**, it will result in a **weekly sum of over £1000**.

**NOW, AUCKLAND! ALL TOGETHER!** Don't be satisfied with doing your own little bit. Do a bit more for the other fellow in such a cause

Over 50 Firms have agreed to use them, and have taken first supplies of £5 each. Some have already placed additional orders for same amount, and some have subscribed amounts up to as much as £50.



<sup>179</sup> *New Zealand Gazette*, 19 July 1915, Clause 13: 2474.

<sup>180</sup> “War Seal Foundation”, *Dominion*, 11 September 1915, 12.

<sup>181</sup> *New Zealand Post*: official circular, 1 September 1915.

<sup>182</sup> *Auckland Star*, 20 August 1915, 2.

<sup>183</sup> The Australian Commonwealth postal regulations governing the use of non-postal labels on mail were not modified during the First World war as in New Zealand.

(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)



(e)

**THE WAR SEAL FOUNDATION**

Is raising money to build specially designed Flats wherein the **DISABLED SERVICE MAN** can live with his family upon his pension, with his **MEDICAL** and **PHYSICAL NEEDS PROVIDED FOR** on the spot, without any appeal to charity.

Don't **YOU** think this a very practical way of expressing our appreciation of their services to **US**? If so—your letters should **ALWAYS** be sealed with **1d. W. R. SEALS**. You can obtain them from the attendants in this theatre in books of 12 for 6d. or 24 for 1s.

The Attendant will give you a booklet containing all particulars of the scheme on request.

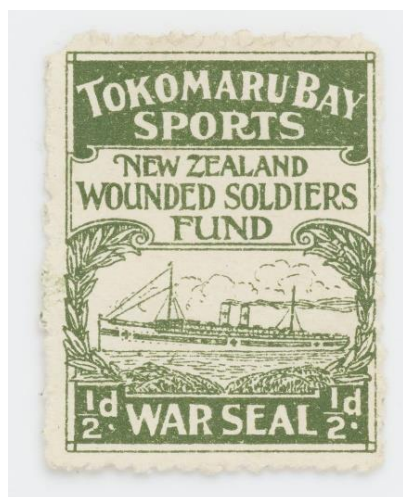
The first block of **WAR SEAL MANSIONS** is now in course of erection at **FULHAM**, near to **Waltham Green Station**, on a Site generously given by **Mr. Oswald Stall**.

For plans and particulars write—  
**THE SECRETARY**  
**THE WAR SEAL FOUNDATION**  
**FARADAY HOUSE, 18, CHARING CROSS ROAD**  
**LONDON, W. C. 2**  
 Telephone—**GERALD 6384**

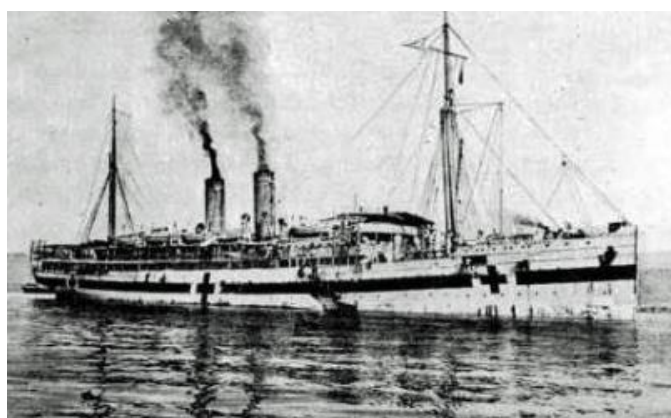
Figure 21. (a) Advertisement from Auckland Provincial Patriotic and War Relief Association for the sale of war seals, (b) Auckland Provincial Wounded Fund,

halfpenny war seal, 1915, (c) Poverty Bay wounded soldiers' halfpenny war seal, and possible source of design (Source: Imperial War Museum), (d) Correctly positioned war seal from Poverty Bay on the back of an envelope, (e) The original English seal sent to New Zealand, 1915 and the explanatory leaflet about their use and bearing the name of Oswald Stoll.

The next New Zealand example presented here is to further illustrate the relationship of Cinderella stamps to fund raising and it relates to an appeal by the Governor, Lord Liverpool. His special appeal was to raise money to equip the hospital ship *Maheno* which had been requisitioned from the Union Steamship Company.<sup>184</sup> The money raised amounted to £66,000 and this was supplemented by donated stores and equipment.<sup>185</sup> The Tokomaru Bay Sports Clubs produced a stamp seal to the value of one halfpenny in 1915 to help raise funds for wounded soldiers and in particular, the Māori Battalion.<sup>186</sup> This seal was released at a sports day on Boxing Day, 1915. Te Papa Tongarewa, the Museum of New Zealand, reports that the actual designer of the stamp is unknown. However, the stamp illustrates the hospital ship *Maheno*, and it would seem more than likely its production was timed to support Lord Liverpool's appeal. Figure 22a-d illustrates the Tokomaru Bay seal and a photograph of the *Maheno* during the First World War and as seen and photographed by the author, in 2013, as a wreck on Fraser Island, Australia. Also included is a copy of a souvenir programme for a patriotic sports carnival on 3 July 1915, to raise funds for the *Maheno* hospital ship.



(a)

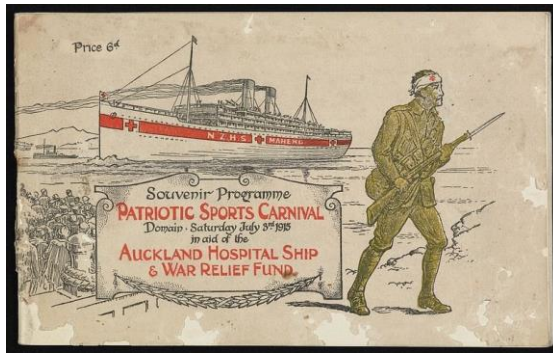


(b)

<sup>184</sup> *Gisborne Times*, 20 May 1915, 6.

<sup>185</sup> J.S. Elliot, "The New Zealand hospital ships", in *The war effort of New Zealand*, Chapter VII, Victoria University of Wellington, 2016: 137; "*Maheno*", *Otago Daily Times*, 24 May 1915, 1.

<sup>186</sup> *Poverty Bay Herald*, 24 January 1916, 8.



(c)



(d)

Figure 22. (a) The Tokomaru Bay stamp seal with an illustration of the *Maheno*, (b) A photograph of the ship during the war, (c) Souvenir programme of hospital ship fund, (d) The *Maheno* a wreck on Fraser Island. Photograph source Wikipedia, National Library of New Zealand, and wreck of *Maheno* by the author.

Two further examples of fund-raising stamps are shown in figure 23a and b. The design of the seal from Greymouth follows the example of Auckland and Poverty Bay and shows a soldier with rifle and fixed bayonet. It was issued on 6 September 1915 and the stamps were available from the Patriotic Society Committee and designated individuals.

The stamp from Manawatu differs in as much as it simply shows a soldier's face surrounded by fern leaves and the words "for us". The Manawatu Patriotic Society produced this stamp to gain revenue for their "Sick and Wounded Fund", which on the 6 July 1918 stood at £738-9s 4d. The Fund was incorporated on 28 August 1916, under section 12 of the War Funds Act of 1915, and its purpose was to provide grants and donations for relief of officers and men who enlisted in Palmerston North or the county of Kairanga during the First World War. The origins of the stamp date from October 1915, when a meeting of the Sick and Wounded Fund executive minutes reported that "Mrs Ackhurst of Palmerston, had drawn up a design for a patriotic stamp, which she asked permission to sell on behalf of the patriotic fund. The executive's recommendation that the offer be accepted, with thanks, was unanimously agreed to".<sup>187</sup> The stamps, designed by Mrs. E.M. Ackhurst, were sold through the Patriotic Gift Shop at a price of 24 for one shilling. At the point of sale, a notice was displayed by her encouraging the purchaser to use the seals on every overseas

<sup>187</sup> *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 23 October 1915, 2.

letter.<sup>188</sup> The Manawatu Patriotic Society had several different funds including a Camp Comfort Fund and a Recruiting Fund. However, money raised could be transferred between accounts.<sup>189</sup> The Sick and Wounded Fund drew money from many sources and donors apart from the proceeds gained from the sale of war seals. By September 1915, after expenditure, this specific fund had fallen to £3,284 9s. 9d. which included money raised from the sale of a dog for 10s. 5d.<sup>190</sup>

Figure 23c shows an Auckland Patriotic label overprinted “Whakatane Town District Board”. There are no published records of this variation, and it was originally demonstrated by Darryl Keogh of the Wellington Philatelic Society.<sup>191</sup> Investigations have revealed that the Town Board was part of the Whakatane County Council between 1900-1976 and would have been contributing to the fund-raising of the Patriotic Society. During the war period Whakatane was part of Auckland and still celebrated Auckland Anniversary Day.<sup>192</sup> It is thus postulated that there was a close link with the Auckland Provincial Wounded Fund, and this could explain the use of their label and overprinted for use in Whakatane.<sup>193</sup>



(a)

<sup>188</sup> “Wounded soldiers’ fund”, *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 19 November 1915, 3; New Zealand Parliament, *Private Act*, 1969; Manawatu Patriotic Society, Number 4: 1066-1067.

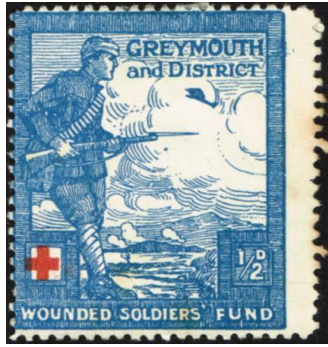
<sup>189</sup> *Manawatu Standard*, 6 July 1915, 6.

<sup>190</sup> *Manawatu Standard*, 1 September 1915, 2.

<sup>191</sup> Written permission to include this label was obtained, October 2022.

<sup>192</sup> Whakatane: <https://teara.govt.nz/en/interactive/35476/new-zealand-provinces-1853-1876> accessed 11/9/2023.

<sup>193</sup> This hypothesis was formed in conjunction with Mathew Marr of the Whakatane Museum and Arts, November 2022, by personal communications.



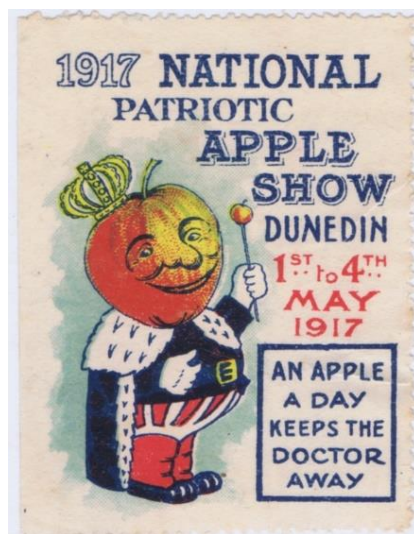
(b)



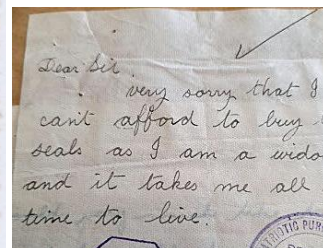
(c)



(d)



(e)



(f)

Figure 23. (a) Wounded soldier's Fund seal from Manawatu, 1915, photograph of Private T.W. Pearce of Palmerston North who died at Chunuk Bair, 1915 (Source: Manawatu Heritage), (b) Greymouth and District halfpenny seal (1914-1918), and photograph of contemporary period soldier from the West Coast (Source: Saving West Coast History and Memories), (c) A rare example of the Auckland seal being overprinted and used by the Whakatane Patriotic Society, (d) Wellington Queen Carnival Stamp of three pence, 1915, (e) Cinderella stamp advertising Apple Show,

Dunedin, 1917, (f) Letter written by a widow regretting her inability to purchase war seals.<sup>194</sup>

Cinderella stamps were issued to either advertise the fund-raising event or to supplement the funds raised on the day (figure 23d). Many methods were employed to raise money by the patriotic societies and the Queen Carnivals were a popular activity to achieve this aim. Figure 23d is an example of Wellington Carnival Queen show of 1915 and illustrates a wounded soldier and the text “help our boys, they are helping you”.<sup>195</sup> They resulted in the raising of many thousands of pounds for war relief.<sup>196</sup> Among the many other activities were such events as a patriotic apple show held in Dunedin in 1917. The multicoloured stamp is shown in figure 23e and utilises a cartoon character of a king with an apple-shaped head.<sup>197</sup> In Greymouth, the Serbian Committee of the Patriotic Society were responsible for the preparation of the Greymouth and district war seal to be released in conjunction with West Coast Queen Carnival.<sup>198</sup> The Wounded Soldiers’ Fund drew funds also from many personal donations and in February 1916 the total of the money available for distribution stood at £6,414 12s. 4d.<sup>199</sup>

While the overall money raised by the Patriotic Societies in New Zealand amounted to over £5.5 million, it is not possible to accurately determine the exact contribution from war seal stamps. The Parliamentary records detail the exact amounts of money raised by every patriotic society but do not detail the sources of this money.<sup>200</sup> The *Auckland Star* reported that 250,000 had been issued and if all were used it would have raised £1,200 per week.<sup>201</sup> In Greymouth, for example, the funds raised from stamps were included in the total money raised from the Queen Carnival and this

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<sup>194</sup> National Patriotic Seals, Archives New Zealand, record R9995083.

<sup>195</sup> *Manawatu Standard*, 12 May 1915, 2; *Free Lance*, 28 May 1915, 13; *Evening Post*, 26 June 1915, 2.

<sup>196</sup> Loveridge and Watson, *The Home Front*, 2019: 167.

<sup>197</sup> *Otago Witness*, 17 May 1916, 15.

<sup>198</sup> *Grey River Argus*, 4 September 1915, 2.

<sup>199</sup> *Greymouth Evening Star*, 8 February 1916, 2.

<sup>200</sup> LOH. Tripp, “War relief and patriotic societies” in *War Effort of New Zealand*, Auckland: Whitcomb and Tombs Ltd., 1923:196, see also <http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-WH1-Effo-t1-body-d11.html> ; “Patriotic Funds tables showing details of the various patriotic funds in New Zealand from the outbreak of the war to 31<sup>st</sup> March 1920”, *Appendix to the Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1920, Session 1, H-46. The amount raised is equivalent to \$NZ500 million currently.

<sup>201</sup> *Auckland Star*, 15 September 1915, 7.

amounted to £3,300. In Hokitika, the amount was £5,347<sup>202</sup>. However, information from Gisborne indicates that 160,000 letters a month passed through the Gisborne postal service and hence potentially £360 could be raised from the use of the halfpenny seal on every letter. In reality, during the first month of sale the revenue amounted to £64, representing a daily average of 1,615 seals.<sup>203</sup> As discussed earlier, the Gisborne Citizens Defence Committee hoped to raise £400 for an Anzac flat in London. During the war period only £265 was raised from the sale of 127,000 stamps. In May 1920, a lady called Annie Rees wrote a letter to the *Poverty Bay Herald* asking if the readers would raise the balance of £135 to complete their commitment. If this figure can be interpolated across the country, then 66% of the stamps were used.<sup>204</sup> It was later reported by Miss A.L. Rees that sales of war seals in New Zealand had paid for half of the construction of the flats of the Anzac House complex in London and this adds further evidence that the sale of war seals were a useful method of aiding the wounded soldiers.<sup>205</sup>

As stated earlier, the United Kingdom-produced seal was introduced initially and was replaced by five different varieties of New Zealand stamp to aid fund raising (figure 21e). Why this happened lies in the fact that the New Zealand Patriotic Societies used the seal stamps to raise money to address the needs of their local battalions. For example, the Auckland Women's League collected exclusively for the Auckland Battalion. This parochial approach also applied in Canterbury and Otago. This explains why a small area such as Tokomaru Bay should produce its own stamp as the Patriotic Society there addressed the needs of the Māori Battalion as many of its members were recruited from that area. This indicates that communities still felt a responsibility for their 'boys' despite the pressing need for national funds to finance the war effort.<sup>206</sup>

While many people bought and used war seals, they were not universally popular or supported. Many letters were written to the war seal sponsors protesting their introduction as a means of raising war-related funds. Their reasons ranged from

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<sup>202</sup> *Southland Times*, 26 September 1918, 4; *Press*, 25 May 1915, 5.

<sup>203</sup> *Poverty Bay Herald*, 18 September 1915, 4.

<sup>204</sup> "War Seal Foundation", *Poverty Bay Herald*, 24 May 1920, 7; Patricia Truman, "War seals", *The Volunteer*, 17; Patricia (Nan) Truman, Gisborne, personal communication, 7/10/2021.

<sup>205</sup> *Gisborne Times*, 27 January 1916, 3.

<sup>206</sup> Steve Marti, *For home and Empire: voluntary mobilization in Australia, Canada, and New Zealand during the First World War*, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2019: 26.

religious, political, to anti-war protest.<sup>207</sup> Figure 23f shows part of a letter from the archival records written by a widow regretting her inability to purchase seals.

## **Australia**

In Australia, like New Zealand, a proliferation of patriotic societies developed, all trying to raise money for Australian soldiers' welfare. This led eventually to the passing of federal and state legislation to promote centralisation of the collected funds. While initially there was resistance to this plan, it was slowly accepted by the patriotic societies when they were to be represented in the decision making.<sup>208</sup> The funds would be overseen by State War Councils, and it would become an offence to raise money for soldiers without authorisation. Prosecutions did occur, in fact, under these regulations.<sup>209</sup> Where the situation differed from that of New Zealand, was that only one patriotic society in New South Wales produced Cinderella stamps, while government agencies were responsible for the issue of many individual stamps.

In Australia, fund raising, incorporating the use of Cinderella stamps during the First World War was related to three separate entities, one voluntary and two governmental. The first was in the raising of contributions to the War Loan Bonds and Liberty Loans, the second was to support the so-called War Chest, and finally, stamps were used as a method of aiding the accumulation of savings.

The war loans programme encouraged the population to purchase government bonds which would be repaid with interest and would assist the war effort. These subscriptions have been estimated to have covered 60% or more of the cost of the war and amounted to £250,000,000.<sup>210</sup> The first war loan was announced by the Prime Minister, Andrew Fisher, on the 1 July 1915 and asked for £5 million (figure 25b). The public responded enthusiastically in support of the war effort and the loan was

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<sup>207</sup> "National patriotic seals", Archives New Zealand, record R9995083.

<sup>208</sup> Steve Marti, "One big fund: Australia's voluntary war effort, 1914-1918", *History Australia*, 2016; 13: 368-381.

<sup>209</sup> Steve Marti, *For home and Empire*, 2019: 16-17; *The Herald* (Melbourne) 22 February 1916, 6; *Zeehan and Dundas Herald* (Tasmania), 11 August 1917, 1.

<sup>210</sup> Australian War Memorial <http://www.awm.govt.au/collection/C101706> accessed 3/11/2021; David S. Waller, "War loan bonds in Australia, 1915-1921: patriotism or propaganda", *Journal of Nonprofit and Public Sector Marketing*, 1995; 3: 81-96; *Research Guide: World War 1*, Reserve Bank of Australia, <https://unreserved.rba.gov.au/nodes/view/46006> accessed 11/2/2020; Danny John, Commonwealth Bank of Australia at war: financing the war, <https://www.commbank.com.au/articles/newsroom/2020/11/financing-the-war.html> accessed 11/2/2020.

oversubscribed and £13 million was actually raised.<sup>211</sup> The subsequent nine war loans were also oversubscribed. The War Loan Bonds and Liberty Loans used Cinderella stamps (labels) to aid in the publicity of the scheme. They consisted of thirteen different core designs (see figure 24) and were issued by the Australian Commonwealth Government from October 1917 and were distributed free through the Commonwealth Bank which was owned by the Commonwealth Government. They were printed by A. J. Mullett, the Government Printer, and slight variations can be found suggesting they were issued in three separate batches. The thirteen designs presented several approaches to encourage the population to buy war loans. The themes suggested that Australians were expected to do their duty and, if not actually serving in the forces, giving money to help the war effort was the next best thing. These messages and expectations were clearly stated in a range of texts within the design of each stamp. By purchasing war loan bonds, Australia's future and liberty would be protected. Play is made of Lord Kitchener's famous recruitment poster inferring everyone's contribution was required in the fight to keep the flag flying and save the Empire. When considering Australian self-identity, at this stage of the war, the stamp illustrated in figure 24-5 is relevant. It has been described in the following terms:

The iconography makes a strong appeal to Empire with its red, white and blue colour palette and the use of heraldic shields linking Australia with the Mother Country, framed by sprigs of eucalyptus-like foliage.<sup>212</sup>

In contrast, the stamp shown in figure 24-6, is a cutdown version of a Treasury Poster strongly identifying with the City of Sydney, with the spires of Saint Andrews Cathedral, the clock tower of the Town Hall, and the dome of the Queen Victoria building viewed from left to right. John Patterson succinctly described these two different stamps as "intriguing artefacts of a crucial period in the early history of the newly formed nation of Australia".<sup>213</sup>

The concept and approval of such stamps is attributed to Sir John Forrest, the Federal Treasurer, as a method of encouraging contributions to the loans scheme.

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<sup>211</sup> "Financing the war effort", *Reserve Bank of Australia*, Archives of the Reserve Bank.

<sup>212</sup> John Patterson, "Loan bond stamps", *Stamp News Australasia*, 2021; 68: 40-43.

<sup>213</sup> *Ibid*, 43.

Forrest was previously responsible for allocating the funds for the raising of the Australian Imperial Force and was a major supporter of Australia aiding Britain in the war.<sup>214</sup> Some two million copies of each variety of stamp were produced with the intention that the Cinderella stamps were to be affixed on the back of postal envelopes, but this did not always happen (see figure 25).<sup>215</sup>

By 1918, there was a growing appreciation of the need for yet more money to support the war effort and to provide for wounded servicemen and to help in the repatriation of soldiers and sailors. One scheme to stimulate fund raising was known as “Tank Week” during which a British tank, entitled the “war tank” was paraded in the major centres and acted as a focus for fund raising, employing the catch phrase “see it in action” (figure 25g). In April 1918, a tank week was held in association with the launching of the sixth war loan release and drew large crowds in the major centres and was very successful in securing more contributions to the war loan fund (see figures 25e and 25f).<sup>216</sup> Later in 1918, Tank Weeks were held in Sydney and Adelaide to support specific charities and Cinderella stamps were issued to advertise these events. The Tank Week and stamps in Sydney were sponsored by the Motor Traders Association of New South Wales and in Adelaide by the Motor and Allied Traders. The Cinderella stamps carried a picture of a tank, labelled “the war tank”, and information as to the place and time of the demonstrations (see figures 25c and 25d). The Sydney Cinderella stated that any funds raised were to support the Red Cross, while the Adelaide stamps were to support Jack’s Day and Dependants’ Day.<sup>217</sup> In Australia, 1 November was designated Jack’s Day for remembrance of the deeds of the Royal Australian Navy and the Merchant Marine and for fund raising to support sailors and their families.<sup>218</sup> Figure 25i shows an example of another Cinderella stamp to advertise Soldiers’ Dependants Day and encourage contributions to that fund.

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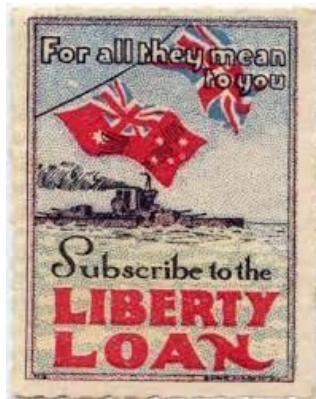
<sup>214</sup> F.K. Crowley, “Forrest, Sir John (1847-19180”, in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1981.

<sup>215</sup> Vito Milan, *Stamp News Australasia*, 2017; 64: 48-52 and [https://issuu.com/stampnewsaustralasia/docs/stamp\\_news\\_australasia\\_magazine\\_641\\_420cc7b66d76a6](https://issuu.com/stampnewsaustralasia/docs/stamp_news_australasia_magazine_641_420cc7b66d76a6)

<sup>216</sup> “Tank Week”, *The Advertiser* (Adelaide), 3 April 1918, 6; *The Register* (Adelaide), 4 April 1918, 6; *The Daily Telegraph* (Sydney), 4 April 1918, 4.

<sup>217</sup> The term, Jack, derives from the navy usage of the term Jack Tar to mean a sailor, as in the sea shanty: “Heart of Oak are our ships; Jolly Tars are our men”. Soldiers Dependants’ Day was held on the 11 October 1918.

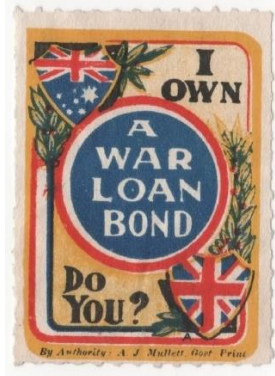
<sup>218</sup> *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 October 1918, 12.



Issue: 1.

2.

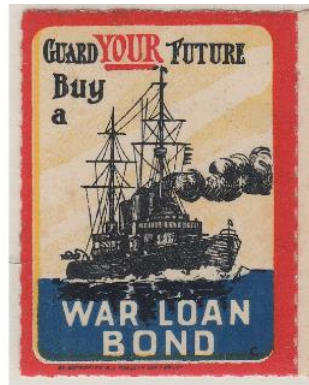
3.



4.

5.

6.



7.

8.

9.

Figure 24.



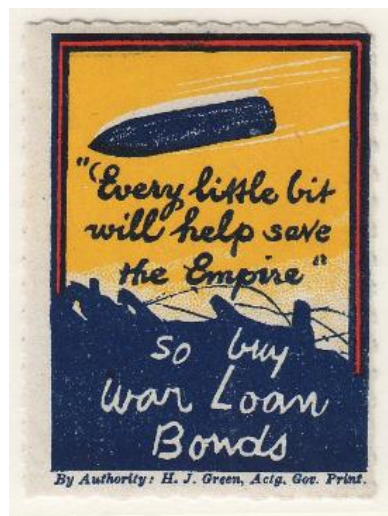
10.



11.



12.



13.



14.

Figure 24. The thirteen issues of War Bond Cinderella stamps in order of release.

1. You can fight too – with your money, 2. For all they mean to you – subscribe to liberty loan, 3. “Money is a good soldier” – invest in the war loan, 4. He expects you to do your duty – subscribe to the Liberty Loan, 5. I own a war loan bond do you? and war loan poster on which stamp was probably based, (Source: National Library of Australia object 2624866908), 6. Seventh war loan, 7. Before sunset buy a war loan, 8. Guard your future, buy a war loan bond, 9. For freedom have you bought a war loan bond? 10. Buy war bonds, 11. Buy war loan bonds, 12. Have you done your bit? Buy war loan bonds, 13. “Every little bit will help save the Empire”. So, buy war loan bonds, 14. Keep it up! Buy war loan bonds.



(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)



(e)



(f)



(g)

(h)

(i)

Figure 25. (a) Liberty Loan Cinderella stamp placed on the front of an envelope and postally cancelled.<sup>219</sup>, (b) Advertising for the Sixth War Loan on the Commonwealth Bank Head Office, Sydney, 17 April 1918, (Source: RBA Archives, PN-001623), (c) Tank Week, Cinderella stamp used in South Australia, September 1918, (Source: State Library of South Australia) (d) Tank Week Cinderella stamp used in Sydney, October 1918, (Source: ozrevenues.com), (e) Tank Week parade, Adelaide, South Australia (Source: State Library of South Australia, PRG 280/1/18/53), (f) Tank Week parade, Sydney, New South Wales, April 1918 (Source; Australian War Museum, Hi 9494), (g) advertising poster, Tank Week and Sixth War Loan, April 1918, (Source: Australian War Memorial), (h) Jack's Day collector's badge (Source: Sydney Living Museum), (i) Dependents' Day Cinderella stamp, (Source: ozrevenues.com).

Ten separate war loan floats were made, each launched with a patriotic fanfare, and all ended up being over-subscribed.<sup>220</sup> The fifth float was called the 'Liberty Loan' and was named after a similar successful campaign in the United States. In total the ten campaigns raised £250 million from a population of 5 million. The war loan Cinderella stamps can be seen to portray images of a patriotic flavour with the flag, country, and Empire being the dominant themes. David Waller has argued, however, that the success of the floats was not only based upon patriotism but using new and clever sales techniques with canvassing and commissions being paid to those who

<sup>219</sup> It should be noted that the postage stamps used are those of Tasmania although valid for use in all states.

<sup>220</sup> "War loan", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 21 February, 1918, 6.

achieved substantial sales. The design of the Cinderella stamps may have played a part in this sales technique by portraying patriotic images.<sup>221</sup>

The Australian Comfort Fund was formed on the 24 August 1916 by the amalgamation of several state-based organisations, all dating from the onset of the First World War. The purpose of the new organisation was to coordinate the raising of money to provide comforts for the troops on the front line and its distribution.<sup>222</sup> They provided small canteens serving food and drink. In addition, they distributed clothes, newspapers, and magazines and they ran a recreational club for troops on leave in London that was called the War Chest Club.<sup>223</sup> Prior to the formation of the Australian Comforts Fund, individual patriotic organisations did supply the troops with a whole range of items. The earliest detailed description of what was supplied to the troops is found in the archives of the Citizens' War Chest Report, and contains a photograph of the early landing of comforts to the soldier's on Anzac Cove in figure 26e.<sup>224</sup> This figure also shows a membership 'badge' of the Comfort Funds organisation and a photograph of a typical canteen near the front, as well as an official collectors badge for use on War Chest Day, the day for collecting donations (figure 26b and c).

The first Australia Day was celebrated all over Australia on the 30 July 1915 as an event to raise funds for troops wounded in Gallipoli. At that time, 26 January was known as Foundation Day. The first Australia Day was a response to Australia's involvement in First World War at a time when "the young country was shaping its new national identity". The idea of a national day for raise funds to support wounded troops came from the mother of four servicemen.<sup>225</sup> In Newcastle, New South Wales, Friday was the designated street appeal day, and like other places in Australia, events

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<sup>221</sup> David S. Waller, "War loan bonds in Australia 1915-1921. Patriotism or propaganda?" *Journal of Nonprofit and Public Sector Marketing*, 1995; 3: 81-96.

<sup>222</sup> Anne Stevens, *Patriotic funding*, <https://www.sydneylivngmuseum.com.au/ww1/patriotic-funding> accessed 8/11/2021; Melanie Oppenheimer, *All work, and no play: Australian civilian volunteers in war*, Chicago: Ohio Productions, 2002; Gilbert M. Wallace, "How we raised the first hundred thousand: an account of two years' war (1915-1916)", in *Department's war relief fund*, Melbourne: Victoria Government Printer; Tracy Ryan, "Forgotten organisations from the First World War", *Memoirs of the Queensland Museum Culture*, 2020; 11: 143-154.

<sup>223</sup> *Guide to the Australian Comfort Fund souvenir collection*, <http://www.awm.gov.au/collections> accessed 9/11/2021; Jackson Badham, *Proud story: the official history of the Australian Comfort Fund*, Sydney: F.H. Johnston Publishing Co., 1949.

<sup>224</sup> *The Citizens' War Chest Report*, Sydney; William Brooks and Company, 1917, see also <http://www.nla.gov.au/nla.obj-1943537> accessed 10/2/2022.

<sup>225</sup> Bill Brown, *Australia Day*, Australian Broadcasting Corporation, <https://www.abc.net.au/local/stories/2015/07/27/4281586.htm> accessed 4/12/2022.

were held to raise funds for Australian soldiers who had been wounded in the Gallipoli Campaign and had been repatriated. To support their appeal, the Newcastle organisers produced a Cinderella stamp that portrayed a soldier bearing a rifle with a fixed bayonet (figure 26a). Its design shows the same theme as the poster shown in the same figure. Again, the wounded soldier theme appears in the front page of the *Sydney Mail* war issue.<sup>226</sup> These stamps were produced by the local patriotic societies of which the Red Cross Society was dominant and had no connection or involvement with either the local or federal governments.<sup>227</sup>



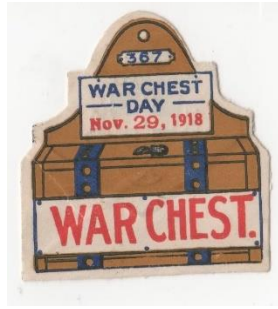
(a)



(b)

<sup>226</sup> *Sydney Mail*, 28 July 1915, 1.

<sup>227</sup> *Newcastle Morning Herald and Miners' Advocate*, 27 August 1914, 15 September 1917, 5.



(c)



(d)



(e)

Figure 26. (a) Australia Day, Newcastle NSW, Cinderella stamp, and the *Sydney Mail* front page for the first Australia Day, and Australia Day poster (Source: Australian War Memorial), (b) Photograph of a typical comfort station (Australian War Memorial, image E00034), (c) An authorised official collector's badge, (d) Official badge of the Australian Comforts Fund (Attribution 4.0, free cultural work), (e) Shipment of War Chest gifts to Anzac Beach, Christmas, 1915 (Source: War Chest annual report, 1917).<sup>228</sup>

In November 1917, the New South Wales Division of the Comfort Fund developed the idea of producing a series of Cinderella stamps as a means of producing another source of revenue. The stamps were named the War Chest stamps and produced in a set of twelve, they were to be used as stickers on mail, and they were sold at a shilling per sheet.<sup>229</sup> Unlike the war loan stamps, each of the set portrayed a military scene rather than a patriotic one (figure 27). They are seen thus to serve the needs of the soldiers and sailors in the actual places where they were fighting and where they were

<sup>228</sup> *Citizens War Chest Report*, National Library of Australia, id 5000346.

<sup>229</sup> At a recent auction by the Philatelic Association of New South Wales (PHILAS), 2023, a sheet of the 12 stamps sold for \$A528.

experiencing hardship. The stamps were designed by local artist, Harry Weston, who had also produced a series of war posters. The images included scenes of Anzac Cove, Diggers tossing grenades, camels in the desert in Egypt, a warship with searchlights and a monoplane above, HMAS *Sydney* in battle and a bayonet charge during the Battle of Pozzières.<sup>230</sup> One stamp depicts General Birdwood, the officer commanding the Anzac Forces, and is marked “Birdwood”, while another shows a soldier’s head with pyramids in the background.<sup>231</sup> A memorial statue of an Australian soldier carries the names: Gallipoli, France, Egypt and Palestine. The selection of the images used in the series appears to cover the exploits of the Australian military up to 1917. However, as 1917 has been regarded as the worst year of the war for Australia, the serious scenes of Pozzières do seem to contrast with the somewhat jovial representation of a soldier in Egypt and a sailor with an eyepatch and pipe. It would certainly have been a year that the troops required as much support as possible from the Comfort Fund.<sup>232</sup>

Corresponding with the War Chest fund-raising day on Friday 29 November 1918, a Cinderella stamp was issued to support this activity. It featured an Australian soldier in a dark blue overcoat carrying a gift box and the text stated, “A dinkum gift” (figure 27f). The stamp carries similar sentiments to a poster issued for the same occasion and had clearly been through the post as demonstrated in the example (figure 27f and g). Judging by an article in the *War Chest Review*, the gifts were well received, and the goods sent ranged from tomato soup to chocolate and tobacco.<sup>233</sup> Overall the New South Wales War Chest Days proved successful, and, on the three days, 30 June 1916, 28 September 1917, and 29 November 1918, the money raised was over £350,000.<sup>234</sup>

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<sup>230</sup> “Patriotic Stamps”, *Daily Telegraph* (Sydney), 31 August 1917, 7.

<sup>231</sup> General Birdwood’s appreciation of the Comfort Funds: “I should be very grateful if you would convey to your members our sincere thanks for all that is being done for us by your organisation – the Australian Comforts Fund. You would, I am sure, feel more than recompensed for all your hard work if you could see on the spot what the Comforts Fund means to us. During the last fortnight I have looked in at perhaps a dozen of our Comforts Fund coffee stalls close to the front. On each occasion they were full with men, who were much enjoying and equally appreciating all that was being done for them”. Second Annual Report, The League of Loyal Women, South Australian Division, Australian Comforts Fund, 1917-1918, National Library of Australia.

<sup>232</sup> Joan Beaumont, *Broken Nation*, 2014: 263-392.

<sup>233</sup> “Thanks from soldiers”, *War Chest Review*, 1918; 1: 26.

<sup>234</sup> World War one – War Chest Society, City of Parramatta Research and Collections. <https://historyandheritage.cityofparramatta.nsw.gov.au/blog/2017/04/24/world-war-one-war-chest-society-parramatta> accessed 5/12/2022.



(a)



(b)



(c)



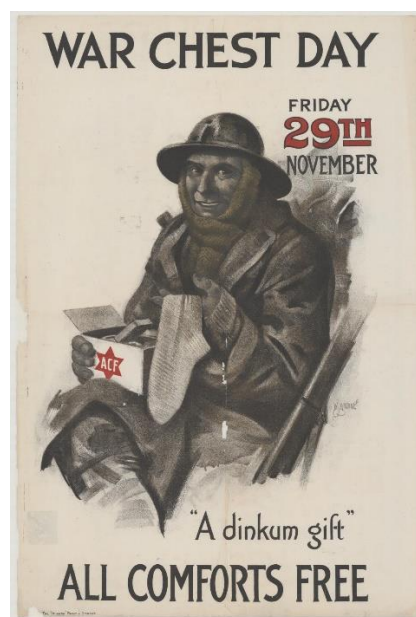
(d)



(e)



(f)



(g)

Figure 27. (a) Complete sheet of War Chest stamps, 1917, (b) Remembering the Battle of Pozzières, (c) Actual photograph of the represented scene from Pozzières at the onset of the troops advance (Australian War Memorial, HO 3574), (d) Gallipoli landing at Anzac Cove, 1915, (e) Actual photograph of represented scene of Anzac Cove landing (Australian War Memorial, CC BY-NC 3.0), (f) War Chest Cinderella stamp of 29 November 1918, (g) Poster advertising war Chest Day, 29 November, (Source: National Library of Australia, object 89798652).

Cinderella stamps were produced from 1914 with the intention of encouraging steady interest-bearing savings by contributions to the Australian Government's war funds and were aimed at the small saver. The concept was based upon an existing British scheme, and they took the form of an intermediary before the issue of promissory notes. The stamps were issued with face values of 6d (indigo) and 2/6d (brown), bore the portrait of King George V, and were designed by the Government and printed by T. Harrison (see figure 28a and b).<sup>235</sup> They could be purchased at any post office. The concept was that for every 6d invested via a post office, a saving stamp would be issued and placed in a free booklet (figure 28c). Once the investor had reached a total of 17/6d the booklet could be exchanged for a saving certificate (figure 28d). This, itself, could be redeemed in three years' time for its face value of £1. The fund was intended to support the financing of Australia's participation in the First World War and carried the slogan "Put your money where you can get at it – buy

<sup>235</sup> *For sale here: war saving stamps*, Melbourne: Government Printer (A. J. Mullet), 1917.

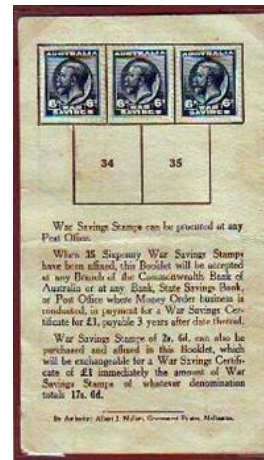
war saving certificates". These Cinderella stamps are now rare and the 6d and the 2/6d can be bought for prices around \$100 and \$250 respectively.<sup>236</sup>



(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)



(e)



(f)



(g)

<sup>236</sup> Dave Elsmore, <http://www.ozrevenues.com/australia-war-savings-stamps.html> accessed 12/11/2021.

Figure 28. (a) Sixpenny war stamp, (b) Two shillings and six pence war stamp, (c) A page from War stamp booklet, (d) Saving Certificate given on accumulation of 17/6d. worth of War Saving Stamps, (e) War savings stamps poster (see footnote 70), (f) Infantry memorial Cinderella stamp with infantry soldier, (g) Infantry memorial Cinderella stamp with Australian flag.

In the latter stages of the war, fund raising activities began to reflect the consequences of the four years of conflict and the subsequent loss of life. In August 1918 an appeal was launched for funds to create an Australian Infantry Memorial. The publicity for this appeal was aided by the production of two Cinderella stamps, one showing a marching infantry soldier and the other an Australian flag (figures 28f and g). Both stamps carried the phrase “Be a brick, buy a brick, for a brick”. “Be a brick” was contemporary slang for “be a good sport”. A popular method of fund-raising at that time was to ask individuals to pay a specified amount, usually 1d to 6d, to meet the cost of a single brick towards a building project, in this instance towards a war memorial.<sup>237</sup> It should also be remembered that the troops themselves were not passive in fund raising for the wounded and money was raised from canteen profits and regimental funds to help those at home.<sup>238</sup>

This chapter has addressed the first of the research questions that relates to fund raising by postage stamps and Cinderella stamps. A large amount of new revenue was raised by both the New Zealand war tax stamps and the Australian direct taxing of the postal charges, with these funds being intended to be used to support the actual war costs. Cinderella stamps were used by the patriotic societies in both countries to raise money for the welfare of their troops and their dependants. The New Zealand patriotic societies were adamant that their funds were not to be used for war matériel and guarded this principle throughout the war and did use them for the comfort of the troops. In Australia, Federal and State regulations controlled the collection of funds and their distribution. An intermediary stage was the use of Cinderella stamps by the Australian Government as a method of encouraging war savings, but these savings did carry interest and hence were not donations directly to the war effort or for welfare of the armed forces.

Within this chapter, Cinderella stamps have been demonstrated to have considerable impact. The history of their use is developed further in Chapter 4, in

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<sup>237</sup> Alan Jackson, *Patriotic Labels*, 20.

<sup>238</sup> Allotment of Regimental Funds to create a comfort fund, Australian War Memorial, AMW 25, identification number 677537, letters from Headquarters 15<sup>th</sup> Australian Infantry Brigade, 1917.

relation to their role as agents for propaganda purposes (research question 1). In particular, their role and use in supporting the referenda in Australia to introduce conscription is stressed, although this was unsuccessful on both occasions. In New Zealand the stamps played a role in military recruitment.

## Chapter 4. Cinderella Stamps and War Propaganda

The bombardment of the enemy's mind is almost as important as his bombardment by guns.

Lord Northcliffe<sup>239</sup>

The themes of this chapter are military recruitment and the engendering of anti-German sentiment in the two Dominions. It proposes that Cinderella stamps were used by New Zealand and Australia as agents of propaganda to encourage voluntary military recruitment prior to the onset of the war and especially following the decline in volunteer numbers during 1916-1917. This was particularly evident in Australia, during the divisive debate over whether to introduce military conscription. While there were strong anti-German feelings in both countries, as a result of the war, it was only in Australia that Cinderella stamps of Australian origin, as well as those that had originated from the United Kingdom, depicted these sentiments and attitudes. Postage stamps were not used by New Zealand or Australia during the war for the purpose of propaganda, save the overprints of occupation which are dealt with specifically later. The postal system itself was used, at times, to convey war propaganda.<sup>240</sup>

### New Zealand

Cinderella stamps were used for military recruitment and played a part in New Zealand's propaganda campaigns. The subject of propaganda, itself, in New Zealand during the First World War has been extensively researched by Greg Hynes.<sup>241</sup> He has outlined the use of the cinema, posters, newspaper advertising and cartoons to promote propaganda messages, while Stephanie Gibson has described the First World War posters held in the National Museum.<sup>242</sup> However, Hynes makes no mention of the potential of Cinderella stamps being used for the purpose of propaganda. He does comment that the themes and messages of New Zealand propaganda relate to that followed by Britain and the British world. These, in turn, were directed at

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<sup>239</sup> Cited by Anthony Rhodes in *Propaganda, the art of persuasion: World War 11*, New Jersey: The Wellfleet Press, 1987; 12: 107.

<sup>240</sup> *The Maoriland Worker* reported the distribution of anti-war propaganda via the mail system and, in particular, the anti-militarist document 'Imperialism v Citizenship'. This pamphlet could be obtained at a cost of 10d per dozen and this included pre-postage paid.

<sup>241</sup> Greg Hynes, "Propaganda, perspectives, and the British world: New Zealand's First World War propaganda and British interactions, 1914-1918", MA Thesis, University of Canterbury, 2013, see chapter 1, 24.

<sup>242</sup> Stephanie Gibson, "First World War posters at Te Papa", *Tuhinga*, 2012; 23: 69-84.

demonstrating that the enemy were uncivilised in their behaviour and thus aimed to demonise the Central Powers. Posters, however, were a common way of disseminating propaganda in New Zealand and an example of their use is shown in figure 30. Postcards were another form of ephemera that promoted propaganda and had the advantage of being able to be directed to specific individuals through the postal system (figure 30). The illustrated poster is obviously encouraging recruitment, while the postcard reflects the bulldogs that were often attached to infantry divisions and used to encourage Māori recruitment.

The rise of German militarism at the onset of the twentieth century was regarded as a threat to the British Empire and in response, Field Marshal Lord Kitchener, as an important British military leader, was sent to review the military readiness of the Dominions.<sup>243</sup> He visited New Zealand in 1910, specifically to inspect the military and harbour defences, and assess the strength of the military forces and their facilities. In a letter to Sir Joseph Ward, Lord Kitchener said “I wish again to emphasise the importance of placing the ideal of your defence on as high a standard of efficiency as possible”.<sup>244</sup> He was further tasked with advising on the organisation of a register of the youths of the country who would be available for military training.<sup>245</sup> Kitchener had paid a similar visit to Australia prior to his New Zealand tour. His “Memorandum on Australian Defence” was also applicable to New Zealand, and he judged that a fighting force of 20,000 men was required in New Zealand and based upon the Defence Act of 1909.<sup>246</sup> This deemed that every male up to the age of 21 must be trained to defend his country in a force designated “The Territorial Force”. His report was accepted by the Defence Council on the 12 April 1910. Corresponding to this visit, a series of Cinderella stamps were issued and while their specific origins are unknown, they appear to be a private issue to celebrate Lord Kitchener’s visit and to use the event to encourage recruitment to the military. Three examples of this series are shown in figure 29; a Cinderella stamp portrait of Lord Kitchener and two propaganda stamps intended to support army recruitment.<sup>247</sup>

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<sup>243</sup> *Mataura Ensign*, 11 March 1910, 2.

<sup>244</sup> James Rye and Horace Groser, *Kitchener in his own words*, London: T. Fisher Unwin Ltd., 1917.

<sup>245</sup> *New Zealand Herald*, 28 February 1910, 2; *Ashburton Guardian*, 10 March 1910, 4; *Taranaki Herald*, 20 January 1910, 2; *Wanganui Herald*, 3 March 1910, 5; *Southland Times*, 16 February 1910, 4.

<sup>246</sup> Defence scheme report by Lord Kitchener, 1910, Archives New Zealand, report R3885316.

<sup>247</sup> Lord Kitchener’s visit in 1910 and his family connection with New Zealand was reviewed by Ron Palenski and published in the press in 2016, *Otago Daily Times*, 23 April 2016.

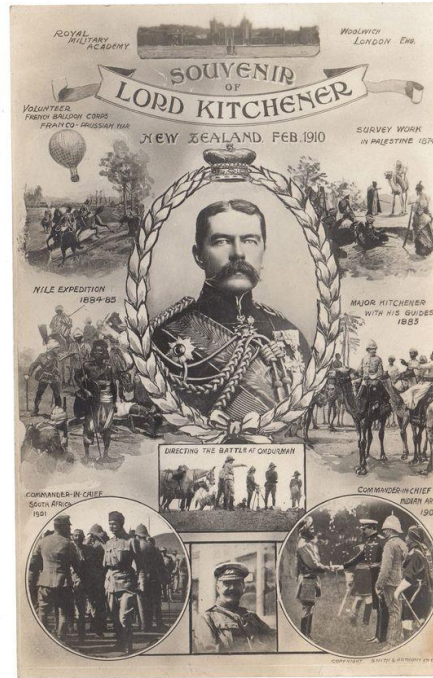


Figure 29. The visit of Lord Kitchener to New Zealand, 1910. Portrait of General Kitchener, and post card of his visit (Source: real photo postcard by Smith and Anthony Ltd., Christchurch), and two propaganda stamps related to recruitment associated with Kitchener's visit. Photograph of Lord Kitchener inspecting school cadets in Otago with the Minister of Defence, Sir Joseph Ward.<sup>248</sup>

In the years immediately preceding the outbreak of the First World War and amidst the increasing likelihood of war, due to growing German militarism and its possible threat to Great Britain, annual training camps were set up for the territorial forces. The Otago Infantry Brigade held its first mobilisation camp in Central Otago at Sutton Military Camp between April and May 1913.<sup>249</sup> A Cinderella stamp label was

<sup>248</sup> *Otago Witness*, 23 February 1910, 30 and 48.

<sup>249</sup> *Mount Ida Chronicle*, 27 June 1913, 2.

produced as a memento of the first encampment at Sutton Military Camp following the 1909 military training legislation requirements. It was distributed to all troops attending the camp. The stamps also promoted the Otago Infantry Brigade and its search for volunteers. The stamp was not valid for postage but was intended to be placed on the envelopes of letters mailed by the soldiers at the camp's post office. The stamp was khaki in colour and bore the picture of an Otago Brigade infantryman (figure 30). The stamp carries the title 'mobilisation' and a celebration of the first training camp held at Sutton Camp in April 1913, and figure 30 shows a photograph of soldiers taken at one of the camps.<sup>250</sup> The production of the Cinderella label was arranged by the commanding officer of the brigade, Colonel E.R. Smith, and the actual design was formulated by his daughter, Miss Smith, and the first version for printing was drawn by Lieutenant S.S. George.<sup>251</sup> A sheet of the Cinderella stamps was issued to every man during his time in the camp, "as a memento of the first encampment of the most southerly military brigade in the world".<sup>252</sup> In all 2,125 men were encamped at Sutton between 7-19 April, and 952 during 21 April - 3 May 1913. More than £200 worth of postage stamps and 3,000 letter cards were sold at the camp post office during these periods. Presuming all the mail posted carried a Cinderella stamp and postage was one penny or less, some fourteen thousand of these stamps must have been issued. Overall, some 18,687 officers and men were trained at these annual camps and a Territorial force of some 30,000 men was formed between after 1910.<sup>253</sup>

Recruitment to the services presented a problem to the Government as the First World War developed. Enlistments were high initially, and surged again following the Gallipoli campaign, and the sinking of the *Lusitania*. By late 1915, however, recruitment had greatly slowed, and the problem was exacerbated by the government's decision to raise the monthly target from 3,000 to 5,000 men at the very point when the pool of volunteers was drying up.<sup>254</sup> Further, the news that 34,000

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<sup>250</sup> *Otago Witness* 9 July 1913, 8, and 12 July 1913, 8; A.E. Byrne, *Official history of the Otago Regiments, NZEF, in the Great War*, reprinted, Uckfield, United Kingdom: Naval and Military Press, 2003.

<sup>251</sup> *Otago Daily Times*, 15 April 1913, 8, especially last paragraph.

<sup>252</sup> Alan Jackson, *Patriotic labels*, 1958, 25.

<sup>253</sup> "Report of the General Officer Commanding, 1912-1913", *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives*, Defence Forces of New Zealand, 1913. Session 1, H-19.

<sup>254</sup> *Evening Post*, 1 September 1916, 7; "Went or sent", *New Zealand Herald*, 24 October 1916, 4; New Zealand Expeditionary Force 1914-1918: Recruiting 1916-1918 <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/files/documents/ww1-stats/recruiting-1916-18.pdf>

eligible men were unwilling to volunteer for either home or overseas service, as was revealed in the 1915 National Register, led to a growing demand for conscription.<sup>255</sup>

During the period slowing of voluntary recruitment, several Cinderella stamps were released with war-related or military themes. Many of these were issued to support the troops, raising charity funds and encouraging the recruitment drive. A good example of this is a series of 144 Cinderella stamps featuring distinguished soldiers and politicians that was released in 1916, at a time when the heavy losses were being sustained at the Somme. These stamps were produced by the Lord Roberts Memorial Fund for Disabled Soldiers and Sailors which had been founded in 1914. The stamps were produced to raise funds for the disabled war soldiers and sailors and were to be attached to letters. They were printed in England by Fawcett and Company of the Strand, London. They were successful and £500,000 was soon raised to open the first workshop for disabled soldiers.<sup>256</sup> Two of these stamps were particularly important to New Zealand and were circulated there. The portrayal of Cyril Bassett, who won the Victoria Cross at Chunuk Bair, appears to be particularly important in relation to propaganda to promote recruitment, he being the only New Zealander to win a Victoria Cross at Gallipoli.<sup>257</sup> The Cinderella stamp has on its reverse side a brief account of how he won his medal and his army citation (figure 29f).<sup>258</sup> His early personal history is well described in the National Library of New Zealand.<sup>259</sup> The war time premier, William Massey, an advocate of conscription, is represented on another stamp of this series (figure 30).

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<sup>255</sup> *Greymouth Evening Star*, 25 March 1916, 3; Tim Shoebridge, *Recruiting and conscription*, <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/war/recruiting-and-conscription> accessed 24/3/2022; Paul Baker, *King and country call: New Zealanders, conscription and the Great War*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1988; David Littlewood, "Willing and eager to go in their turn: appeals for exemption from military service in New Zealand and Great Britain, 1916-1918", *War in History*, 2014; 21: 338-354; Kirstie Ross, *Fraught with serious even terrible possibilities: conscription in World War 1*, <http://www.ww100.govt.nz/conscription-in-WW1> accessed 24/3/2022; David Littlewood, "Should he serve? The Military Board's operations in the Wellington Provincial District, 1916-1918", MA Thesis, Massey University, 2010.

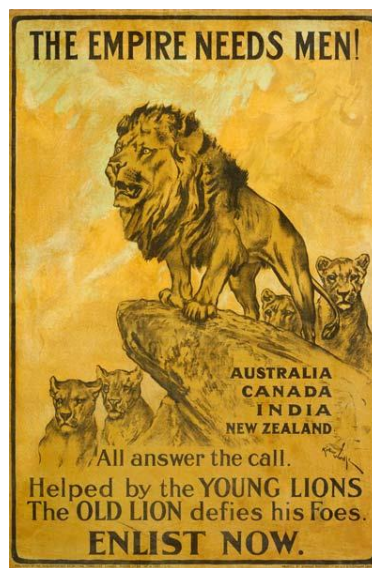
<sup>256</sup> Lord Roberts was the British military commander during the South African war. He died in France in November 1914 while visiting the troops. Rodney Atwood, *The life of Field Marshal Lord Roberts*, London: Bloomsbury Academic: 2015; David Stirling, *The Lord Roberts Memorial Fund*, Alnis Guide 12; Stampboards <https://www.stampboards.com/viewtopic.php?t=13571> accessed 30/4/202.

<sup>257</sup> His medal is displayed at the Army Museum at Waiouru, Archives New Zealand, record R574562.

<sup>258</sup> Glyn Harper and Colin Richardson, *Acts of Valour: the history of the Victoria Cross and New Zealand*, Auckland: HarperCollins Publishers, 2016: 103-7; Laurie Barber. 'Bassett, Cyril Royston Guyton', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, 1996. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/3b15/bassett-cyril-royston-guyton> accessed 3/4/2020.

<sup>259</sup> Cyril Bassett, National Library of New Zealand, 4/515 of record R23523695.

At the time when the war was not progressing well, after the withdrawal from Gallipoli, a souvenir Cinderella stamp was produced in Auckland, in 1915. The details of who actually sponsored this stamp are now unknown, but it is listed in the catalogue of Cinderella stamps.<sup>260</sup> Its purpose was to pay tribute to the South African Prime Minister, General Louis Botha. This followed the successful campaign, between 14 August 1914 and 9 July 1915, to occupy German South West Africa.



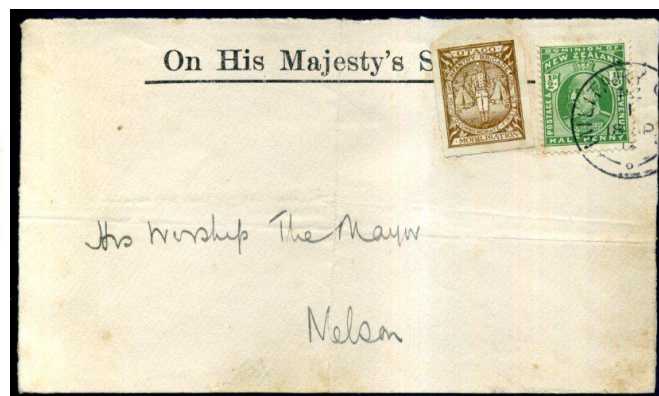
(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)

<sup>260</sup> Heslop Catalogue of New Zealand Cinderella Stamps as number J15.



(e)



**CORPL. BASSETT, V.C.**

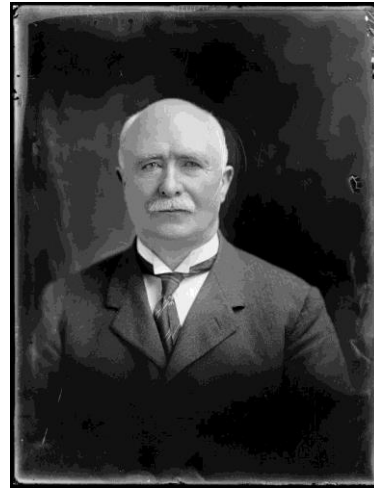
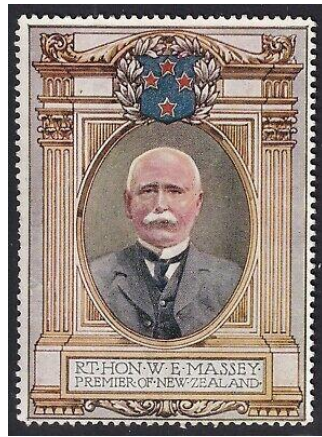
The first New Zealander to win the Cross. At Chunuk Bair, in Gallipoli Peninsula, Aug. 7, 1915, following an attack, he succeeded in a desperate attempt to establish communication with the old position by laying a telephone wire. This was done in full daylight and in a storm of shell and machine gun fire. Since then he has also been continually brought to notice for repairing and laying wires both by day and night under heavy fire.

Handwritten notes at top: *Handwritten notes and signatures for report of his work as follows.*

Employment or Corps	Place	Date	Officer	Particulars	Authority for Entry
<p><i>For most conspicuous gallantry and devotion to duty on the Chunuk Bair Range on the Gallipoli Peninsula on the 7th Aug. 1915. After the N.Z. Infantry Brigade had established and established itself on the ridge, Capt. Bassett, in full daylight and under a continuous and heavy fire succeeded in laying a telephone line from the old position to the new one on Chunuk Bair. The work was subsequently brought to notice by further accident and work of great merit connected with the repairs of telephone lines by day and night under heavy fire.</i></p> <p><i>London Gazette 15th August 1915.</i></p>					
<p>Special instances of gallant or meritorious conduct: <i>V.C.</i></p>					
Name of Medal		Class		Date of Grant	
Victoria Cross				7th Aug. 1915	

PARTICULARS OF MARRIAGE

(f)



(g)

Figure 30. Propaganda in New Zealand, (a) Poster ‘The Empire needs men’, source: Te Papa collection online, (b) Postcard ‘The war-dog of New Zealand’, Source: Christchurch City Libraries, PCOLL-91-06a, (c) Otago Infantry mobilisation stamp, 1913-1914, (d) Envelope bearing a normal stamp and Sutton Camp Cinderella, (e) Volunteers at Sutton Camp c.1913, Source: Owaka Museum and Catlins Information Centre, (f) Corporal Bassett VC stamp and award description on reverse, actual citation description from his army records and photograph (Source: New Zealand Herald)<sup>261</sup>, (g) War time premier, William Massey on Cinderella stamp and his photograph in 1916, (Source: Wikimedia Commons).

*The Auckland Star* outlined the issue of these stamps and explained that they were sold in booklets of ten stamps and each stamp sold for one shilling. The newspaper article states that the “subjugation of German South West Africa added a territory three times the size of New Zealand to the British Empire”. This would seem a somewhat premature statement, as the Mandate was not approved until the Versailles Treaty settlement. However, a surprising source of additional information was in the Welsh language newspaper, *Llais Llafur*, which informed its readers of the tribute stamps produced by New Zealand and added that 50,000 were issued and stated the purchase price.<sup>262</sup> General Botha was the South African Prime Minister from 1910-1919. His image does not appear on the tribute stamps, but it does so on the Cinderella set of 144 stamps referred to above (see figure 31a and b). The *Nelson*

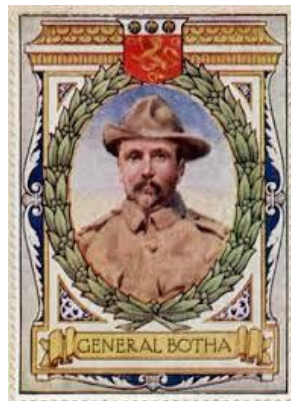
<sup>261</sup> Cyril Bassett, Victoria Cross citation, National Library of New Zealand, record R23513639.

<sup>262</sup> *Auckland Star*, 30 July 1915, 2 and 11 September 1915, 2; *Llais Llafur*, 30 October 1915, 4 (via National Library of Wales); *Marlborough Express*, 28 October 1915, 4.

*Evening Mail* reported that following the German surrender, General Botha was congratulated on the magnificent role played by his troops. The General had stated that the greatest enemy in occupying South West Africa was not the enemy itself, but the natural conditions of the country.<sup>263</sup> The tribute to General Botha reached to the House of Representatives, where it was proposed that a formal honour be awarded.<sup>264</sup> Tribute was also paid to General Botha by *Punch* magazine's cartoon paying enthusiastic compliments to General Botha as he "Sweeps Wilhelm II out of South West Africa" (figure 31c). A postage stamp of South Africa makes the point that South West Africa was now in Empire hands despite having a cancellation using the German hand stamp (figure 31d), and finally, a stamp of the South West Africa, following the declaration of a mandate, obtained by overprinting of a South African stamp (figure 31e). The choice of such a subject for a New Zealand stamp suggests its purpose was propaganda to remind the population that progress was being made in the war and that German territory in Africa had been captured by Empire troops, as well as the occupation of the German colonies in the South Pacific.



(a)



(b)



(c)

<sup>263</sup> *Nelson Evening Mail*, 24 July 1915, 2.

<sup>264</sup> *Sword of Honour for General Botha*, Parliamentary Debate, House of Representatives, 1915, volume 172: 213.



(d)



(e)

Figure 31. (a) New Zealand Cinderella stamp of 1915, paying tribute to General Botha, (b) Cinderella stamp showing General Botha, (c) Cartoon indicating the removal of Germany from South West Africa, (Source: *Punch* magazine, 1915), (d) Stamp of South African occupation of South West Africa, (e) George V stamp of South Africa following the mandate of the territory.

Illustrated in figure 32b is a stamp label dating from the war period relating to the New Zealand Branch of the British Navy League. The New Zealand Branch of the Navy League was inaugurated in February 1896, accompanied by a programme of patriotic music and a lecture “The British Navy, its duties, and its strengths”. Among its objects, the League’s function was “To spread information showing the vital importance to the British Empire on the naval supremacy upon which depends its trade empire and national existence”.<sup>265</sup> One way information was spread was using Cinderella stamps, and figure 32a shows the British stamps on which the New Zealand version is based. The New Zealand issue was dated from 1918 and the stamp was added to postal letters to promote the work of the Navy League and inform the people of the location of the Auckland Branch. The stamp labels were also used to identify the legitimacy of collection boxes of the League.<sup>266</sup> The British version of the stamp is intended to remind the population that each letter delivered from overseas was dependent upon the presence and actions of the Royal Navy and a label was affixed to letters that arrived safely to that effect.

The original intention of the Navy League was to support and develop the New Zealand Sea Cadet Corps in its five branches from Northland to Canterbury. During

<sup>265</sup> Navy League: <http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-Stout74-t3.html> accessed 23/12/2021; W.J. Napier, *The British Navy League: its duties and its strengths*, Auckland: Auckland British Navy League, 1896, *New Zealand Herald*, 14 January 1896, 2; *Otago Witness*, 27 November 1918, 24.

<sup>266</sup> *New Zealand Times*, 3 November 1917, 6.

Lord Kitchener's visit to New Zealand in 1910, he stated that the cadet force had an important role to play in the defence of the Empire and this proved to be correct in that many cadets became commissioned and non-commissioned officers in the New Zealand Expeditionary Force.<sup>267</sup> By the onset of 1914, the League saw as their role "To influence, promote, and educate maritime thinking in New Zealand and internationally".<sup>268</sup> This also harks back to the words of General Kitchener on his 1910 visit to New Zealand, "In future the Auckland harbour is to be the bases for the British Navy in the South Pacific".<sup>269</sup> He stated further "it is an axiom held by the British Government that the Empire's existence depends primarily upon the maintenance of adequate and efficient naval forces".<sup>270</sup> However, this conflicts with the views expressed by Sir James Allen, Minister of Defence, in 1913, who promoted the creation of New Zealand's own substantial naval force and this force would be part of an imperial naval contingent in the Pacific.<sup>271</sup> The Royal Navy would still remain the main source for naval training, and Allen had persuaded the British Government to loan the *Philomel* to New Zealand as a training ship to aid the development of her future navy (figure 32c).

The Navy League, thereafter, became a potent force in the politics associated with the development of the New Zealand Navy and prior to the First World War. Their main focus was on propaganda to support the Navy and to support British sea power as outlined by Lord Kitchener. The league was supported by prominent and powerful people. The Christchurch branch had among its members George Laurenson, who was the Member of Parliament for Lyttleton and later a cabinet minister. In 1912, the Otago Branch President was none other than Sir James Allen, himself. Phineas Selig was also a Christchurch member and was very influential in the newspaper world and later the owner of the *Press*. J.A Johnstone was not only the Chairman of the Otago Branch but also the chief executive of the Navy League nationally. The branches employed different strategies to get their message to the public and especially the

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<sup>267</sup> Grant Howard, *A century of service: the Navy League (Auckland Branch)*, Auckland: Auckland Navy League, 1997; *Hastings Standard*, 24 February 1910, 5.

<sup>268</sup> *New Zealand Times*, 6 August 1912, 4; *Evening Post*, 15 July 1914, 10; *Dominion*, 21 August 1915, 6; *Wanganui Herald*, 30 September 1916, 5.

<sup>269</sup> "Auckland fortifications", *New Zealand Times*, 4 March 1910, 5.

<sup>270</sup> *Memorandum on the Defence of Australia: Lord Kitchener's Report*, Archives New Zealand, R3885316.

<sup>271</sup> "Allen, James", *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, 2015.  
<https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/3a12/allen-james>

youth. The Otago Branch had its members visiting senior students in schools and giving talks on the national situation at the time in relation to the navy. Christchurch, on the other hand, ran essay competitions for schools with such titles as “Maintenance of the British Empire at sea”. Auckland ran and funded a regatta. The annual general meeting of the League in Dunedin was reported in detail in the *Otago Daily Times* with such titles as “An enthusiastic gathering” and reporting the plans for a naval policy conference.<sup>272</sup> The Cinderella stamp thus played an important part in promoting the League, its role, and the need for a substantial naval force in New Zealand. Directly or indirectly, the League’s activities could be considered as agents for recruitment to the Navy as the war progressed. Even at the end of the First World War, the Navy League informed the Naval Advisor to the New Zealand Government that “The Branches of the Navy League are prepared to assist, by all means in their power, naval recruitment in New Zealand”.<sup>273</sup>



(a)



(b)

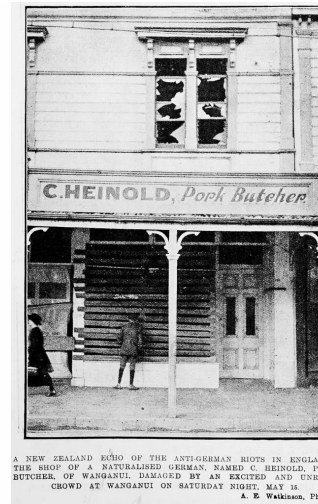
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<sup>272</sup> *School members roll, 1916*, Dunedin: The Navy League Otago Branch, 1916; Thomas Farnie, *Navy League prize*, Christchurch: Willis and Aiken Press, 1907; *Evening Star*, 30 May 1914, 14; *Otago Daily Times*, 26 April 1913, 5.

<sup>273</sup> Minutes from the Conference of the New Zealand Branches of the Navy League, 31 May 1921, 2 pm. Referenced to Archives New Zealand, record R21467101.



(c)



(d)

Figure 32. (a) British Cinderella label of the First World War and the naval protection of the postal services, (b) 1918 label from New Zealand stressing the importance of naval security, (c) HMS *Philomel*,<sup>274</sup> (d) Conrad Heinold's shop in Whanganui after the riots on 15 May 1915, *Auckland Weekly News*, Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland Library, AWNS 19150527-48-3.

Most of the propaganda Cinderella stamps for New Zealand can be interpreted as having some recruitment or war advancing purpose. It is thus apparent also that the propaganda Cinderella stamps used in New Zealand were more subtle in their means of encouraging recruitment, rather than bestowing great attributes to the New Zealand soldier or by denigrating the enemy. Even the stamps used for fund raising, described earlier, portrayed a fighting soldier as one simply doing his duty. There is some academic evidence that this subtle type of approach, in other fields, can be successful in changing behaviour and may have radical outcomes.<sup>275</sup> Be that as it may, it was clear that all propaganda aimed at recruitment was insufficient in helping to meet the criteria and recruitment numbers set by the Prime Minister and hence the need to move to conscription.

As discussed above, the circulation of anti-German Cinderella stamps found an accepting audience. There was considerable anti-German feeling in New Zealand

<sup>274</sup> HMS *Philomel*, photograph by John Dickie, National Library of New Zealand, John Dickie Collection, reference 1/2-017312-G.

<sup>275</sup> L. Wallack, L. Dorfman, D. Janigan, and M. Themba-Nixon, *Media advocacy and public health: power for prevention*, California: Sage Publications Inc., 1993; R.S. Thaler and R. Cass, *Nudge: Improving decisions about health, wealth and happiness*, London: Penguin Books, 2008.

during the First World War, ignited by propaganda, and fueled by the heavy casualty rate on the Western Front. The news of the sinking of the *Lusitania* was said to be the trigger which caused a riot and subsequent damage to Conrad Heinold's shop in Wanganui and the result is illustrated in the photograph in figure 32d.<sup>276</sup>

Organisations such as the Women's anti-German League devoted their energies into blackening the name of anyone of German descent or suspected to be so.<sup>277</sup> The President of the League, Lady Anna Stout, summed this up in her statement reported in the *Hawkes Bay Tribune* when she said: "this meeting views with alarm the amount of duplicity carried on throughout the British Empire".<sup>278</sup> The League was prominent, along with John Payne M.P., in the bringing of charges against Lieutenant Alexander Grierson and accusing him of being a German sympathiser. Their views of the case were published in *Philistine*, a paper edited by Payne.<sup>279</sup> When Grierson was found to be loyal but indiscreet, the *Philistine* wrote:

The League rests content having done its duty – and public opinion has been wakened to the extent that the German danger in our midst is a real danger and no chimera in the brain of ultra-enthusiastic and loyal Britishers.<sup>280</sup>

The newspapers helped to promote this prejudice and reported any bias against Germany or anything German.<sup>281</sup> However, in the Grierson case, the *Dominion* outlined the case in a balanced fashion.<sup>282</sup> What is surprising is that few newspaper cartoons were used to encapsulate this anti-German feeling. However, several examples of such cartoons do exist.<sup>22</sup> There are no reported or discovered Cinderella

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<sup>276</sup> Paul Diamond, *Anti-German violence reaches New Zealand*, National Library Blog, 2015.

<sup>277</sup> Steven Loveridge, "A German is 'always' a German? Representations of enemies, Germans, and race in New Zealand c1850-1918", *New Zealand Journal of History*, 2014; 48: 51-77; Jean King, "Anti-German Hysteria during World War I", in James Bade, ed., *Out of the shadow of war: The German connection with New Zealand in the Twentieth Century*, Auckland: Oxford University Press, New Zealand, 1998: 19; Andrew Francis, 'To be truly British we must be anti-German': *New Zealand, enemy aliens, and the Great War experience, 1914–1919*, New York, 2012: 46; Andrew Francis, *The enemy in our midst*, <https://www100.govt.nz/germans-germans-in-new-zealand-ww1> accessed 30/3/2022.

<sup>278</sup> "Anti-German League", *Hawkes Bay Tribune*, 20 June 1916, 2.

<sup>279</sup> "The Grierson Case", *Philistine*, 1916; 1: 1.

<sup>280</sup> Anti-German League, Archives New Zealand, record R22434690.

<sup>281</sup> *Dominion*, 22 March 1916, 6, *Rangitikei and Manawatu Argus*, 26 June 1916, 4; Andrew Francis, "Anti-Alienism in New Zealand during the Great War: The von Zedlitz affair, 1915", *Immigrants and Minorities*, 2006; 24: 251-276.

<sup>282</sup> "Report on the Grierson Case", *Dominion*, 13 April 1916, 6.

stamps from New Zealand specifically with anti-German themes, although issues from the United Kingdom did circulate at the time (see examples in the Australian discussion below). Cinderella stamps issued in New Zealand for different purposes could not be interpreted as demonstrating any specific anti-German connotation and especially the fund raising examples (see chapter 3).

## **Australia**

The Australian use of Cinderella stamps for war publicity and propaganda was quite different to that of New Zealand. Australian propaganda was centered on two main themes: the debate over conscription, and the need to engender anti-German feelings among the population. Despite the War Precautions Act of 1914, which included legislation to suppress propaganda against conscription, the Labor movement and the anti-conscription lobby persisted in producing propaganda against conscription.<sup>283</sup> While posters and cartoons were the method most frequently used to disseminate propaganda (see figure 33), there was an increasing use of Cinderella stamps to aid in achieving the intended goals. This was particularly so prior to the first conscription referendum in 1916.

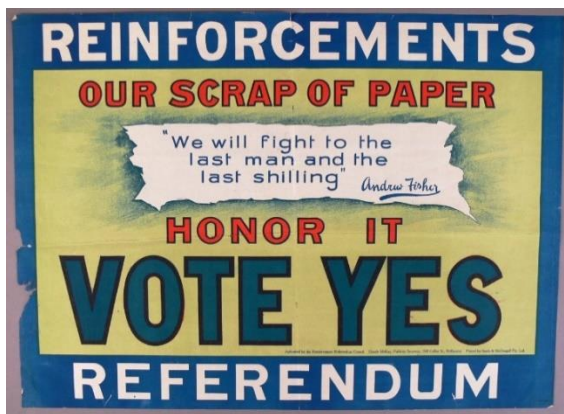
The basis for the national division over conscription is very well summarised by Joan Beaumont in her book, *Broken Nation*, and more detailed assessments have been carried out by several other authors.<sup>284</sup> Margaret Levi, for example, suggested that the ‘no’ vote was a result of the population’s distrust that Prime Minister Hughes could introduce conscription fairly. The first vote on 28 October 1916, resulted in a victory for the ‘no’ campaign by 3.2%, and the second referendum held on 20 December 1917 had a bigger margin with 54% voting against conscription and 46% in favour. It was the pro-conscription group who used Cinderella stamps to promote their views, while the anti-conscription forces depended more upon posters. The pro-conscription lobby produced Cinderella stamps which met both the propaganda aims of

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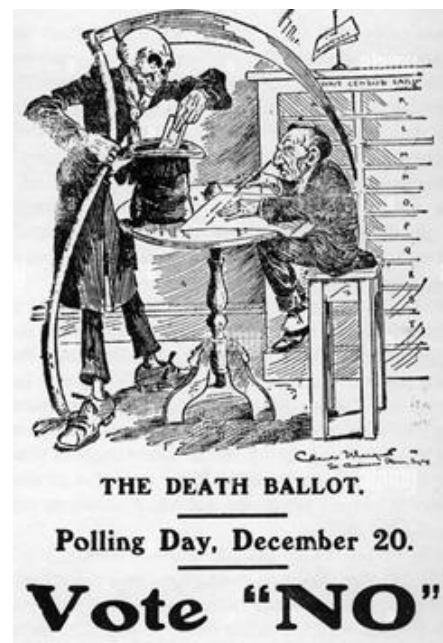
<sup>283</sup> Australian Government, Federal Register of Legislation, *War Precautions Act*, number 10, 1914, <https://www.legislation.gov.au/Details/C1914A00010> accessed 26/12/2021; Emily Robertson, “Propaganda at home (Australia)”, in *The International Encyclopaedia of the First World War*, 1915.

<sup>284</sup> Joan Beaumont, *Broken Nation: Australians in the Great War*, 2014: 258-261; Margaret Levi, “The institution of conscription”, *Social Science History*, 1996; 20: 150-154; Glenn Withers, “The 1915-1917 conscription referenda: a cliometric reappraisal” *Historical Studies*, 1982; 20: 36-47; Joan Beaumont, “Similar, yet different: the conscription issue in Australia and New Zealand, 1916-1917”, *Journal of New Zealand Studies*, 2018; NS27: 2-15; Robin Archer, *The conscription conflict and the Great War*, Clayton, Victoria: Monash University Publishing, 2016.

conscription and to promote anti-German feelings. A series of eight Cinderella stamps were issued, two of which were clearly engendering anti-German feelings as well as encouraging the introduction of conscription (figure 34 a-h). Australian honour, the German threat of the occupation of Australia, with its resultant tyranny, and the waning of voluntary recruitment to the army, are the thrusts of these propaganda stamps. All carried the date 28 October 1916, the date of the first referendum. The stamp shown in figure 34i is a separate issue from the series of eight. It was produced by an organisation called the Reinforcement Referendum Council and carries the name George Foster as the secretary of the council. It was a pro-conscription group, and they also produced the poster shown in figure 34j. The Council was a nation-wide organisation, and its activities were widely reported in the press. The *Seymour Express and Goulburn Valley Avenal*, for example, reported the Seymour committee welcoming “all loyalist women”. The *Register of Adelaide*



(a)



(b)

Figure 33. Examples of conscription related posters, (a) ‘Yes’ vote (source: Australian Museum of Democracy), (b) ‘No’ vote for the second referendum (source: Wikipedia).

described the meeting’s view that those who did not volunteer were likely to be “jabbering horses rather than mettlesome steeds”. The secretary of the Council, George Foster, was secretary also of the RSA in Tasmania and had been a soldier

himself with the rank of lieutenant.<sup>285</sup> On the reverse of the stamps produced by the Council there was one of five messages: “Don’t be led by the Noes”, “Help the men of Anzac and Pozieres”, “I.W.W.” means ‘I won’t win’, “Shall Australia quit?” and “Yes for Australia, No for Germany”.<sup>286</sup> One hundred years later, Australia Post issued a postage stamp to commemorate the referendum of October 1916 (figure 34k) despite the referendum’s prior divisive effects upon Australia.

While the anti-conscription group did not respond with their own set of Cinderella stamps, they did so by posters such as that shown in figure 34l, and a contrasting pro-conscription poster in figure 33m. Much debate occurred in the newspapers regarding the necessity of conducting active propaganda against conscription.<sup>287</sup> A leading anti-conscription group was the Australian Freedom League, who were opposed to the Australian Defence Act of 1903 and had a membership of 55,000.<sup>288</sup> They referred to this Act as the “Black Statute” and their philosophy was outlined in such statements as:

Citizens of our beloved land, proud of the freedom the British name has bestowed upon you, at once uphold the standard of our ancient liberties. Help us abolish the tyranny of Conscription in Australia. Now is the time to protest. Join the Australian Freedom League and work for the abolition of Conscription.<sup>289</sup>

Many anti-conscription publications circulated at this time, such as that entitled *Child Conscription: Our Country’s Shame*, which sold for one penny. Letters from the late Dr. Thomas Hodgkin against conscription were recirculated and submitted to the London newspapers such as the *London Daily News and Leader*.<sup>290</sup> The divide within Australia over conscription had, certainly, developed prior to the First World War,

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<sup>285</sup> *Seymour Express and Goulburn Valley Avenal*, 7 December 1917, 2; *Register*, 26 November 1917, 9; *Zeehan and Dundas Herald*, 27 May 1919, 1.

<sup>286</sup> I.W.W. was the initials of the Industrial Workers of the World, and hence the inscription was mocking this anti-conscription movement.

<sup>287</sup> *West Australian*, 4 September 1916, 7; *Daily Mercury*, 12 December 1917, 2; *Daily Herald* (Adelaide), 11 December 1917, 6; *Daily Standard*, 3 November 1916, 3.

<sup>288</sup> *Manifesto of the Australian Freedom League*, Sydney 1914, National Library of Australia, identification number 681272.

<sup>289</sup> Papers relating to New Zealand Freedom League and Australian Freedom League. MS Papers 0445-X/3, 1913-1918, Alexander Turnbull Library.

<sup>290</sup> *Ibid*, MS papers 0445.

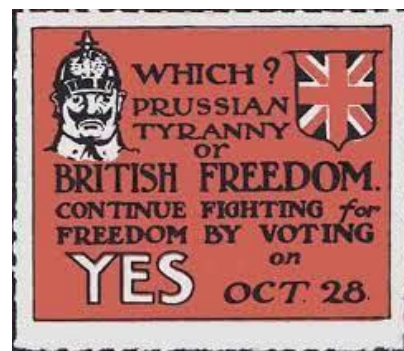
and, in particular, with regard to cadets or boy-soldiers. The Lord Mayor of Melbourne stated in 1909 that he hoped that the military training of boys would become compulsory.<sup>291</sup> These views fitted well with the declaration of Lord Roberts that “Military training improves the morale of the people”.<sup>292</sup> In contrast, in July 1910, military training along the lines of the Swiss model of compulsory military training was regarded by a Labour M.P., as “too ridiculous to consider as a working proposition for the British Empire”.<sup>293</sup>



(a)



(b)



(c)

<sup>291</sup> *Argus* (Melbourne), 22 February 1909, 6.

<sup>292</sup> F.W. Avelling, *Boy soldiering*, London: Alexander and Shepheard, 1910.

<sup>293</sup> *Ibid*, *Views of a Labour M.P.*, July 1910, number 11. Alexander Turnbull Library MS Papers 0445.



(d)



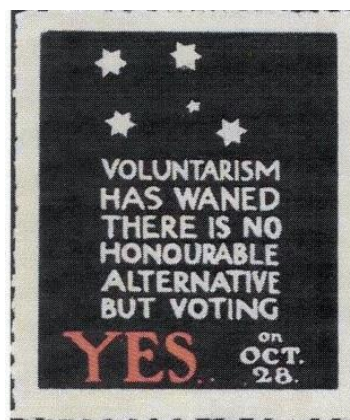
(e)



(f)



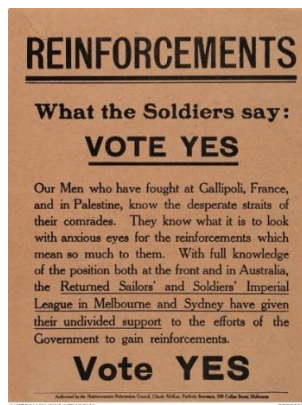
(g)



(h)



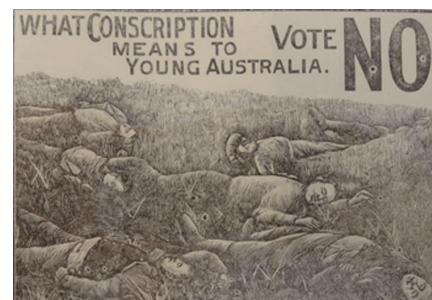
(i)



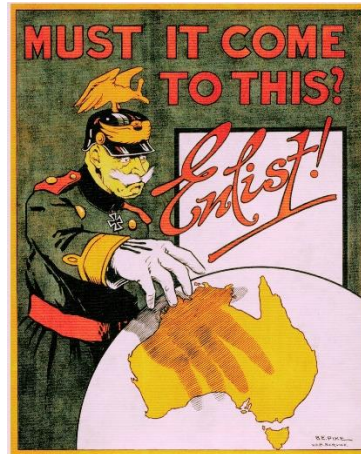
(j)



(k)



(l)



(m)

Figure 34. Material related to the conscription referendum of 1916, (a-h) The series of eight pro-conscription stamps of 1916, (i-j) Reinforcements Referendum Council Cinderella stamp and supporting poster (Source: Australian War Memorial), (k) Australia Post postage stamp celebrating the centenary of the 1916 referendum, (l) Anti-conscription poster, (Source: Museum of Australian Democracy), (m) Pro-conscription poster, (Source: Australian War Memorial).<sup>294</sup>

While not directly linked to the conscription debate, several Cinderella stamps were produced to encourage further recruitment to the Australian Imperial Force and to pay tribute and support a memorial to those who had served. The first two illustrations were released by a private company, Citizen's Life Assurance Company Limited of Sydney, and relate to Lieutenant John Hutton Bisdee of the Tasmanian Imperial Bushmen, who was the first Australian to win a Victoria Cross in the Boer war in 1900.<sup>295</sup> The purpose of these stamps was to encourage Australians to volunteer for the armed forces by reminding them of the deeds of John Bisdee alongside self-promotion by the company by pointing out that they had awarded him a pension of £52 per annum in light of his achievements in the Boer War (figure 35a and b). The stamps were khaki in colour and showed Bisdee's profile and full face. John Bisdee went on to serve with distinction during the First World War.<sup>296</sup>

<sup>294</sup> B.E. Pike, *Must it come to this?* C.1914-18, ARTV06030, Australian War Memorial.

<sup>295</sup> *Fair Play*, magazine, 2 July 1894, 81.

<sup>296</sup> *Daily Telegraph* (Sydney), 21 November 1900, 8; *Mercury* (Hobart) 15 January 1930, 7; Bisdee, John Hutton (1869-1930), *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Volume 7, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1979.

To aid recruitment, a special ribbon was also produced (figure 35c). “Come on Australia” was the call presented in the *Federal Standard* on 30 July 1915 spurring on Australians to join up and Anzacs to fight on for the country.<sup>297</sup>

On the other hand, *The Australian Worker* of the previous day, while paying tribute to those who lost their lives, was also very concerned about the need to look after the war maimed and stop the prolongation of the war.<sup>298</sup> Among the postal matters on that day was a concession by the Postal Department that articles labelled “Australia Day, July 30” in the corner of the envelope could be posted without a surcharge as a special contribution by the postal authorities.<sup>299</sup> Another rare stamp was directed at volunteer recruitment to the armed forces (35d). This took the format of a Cinderella stamp in red, dark blue and pale buff and was imperforate. It was either modelled on, or linked with, the recruitment poster, also shown in figure 39d. Both carry the message “There is still a space for you. This space is reserved for you a ‘fit man’. Will you fill it”.

A more indirect appeal for recruitment was made in a series of ten propaganda Cinderella stamps issued in 1915. Five of these were labelled “War souvenir stamps”, while similar issues carried the title “War stamps”, or “Advance Australia”. All can be regarded as war publicity or propaganda in nature. There are three different frames associated with the stamps and examples of these are given in figure 36. In figure 36 a-c, it will be noted that the frame is based upon the then current King George V postage stamp with the image of the King replaced by one of four different figures. The second group (f-h), have patriotic flower symbols at each corner, but the design does not follow any current or past postage stamp. The group g-h, carry inscriptions of all the allied counties fighting against the Central Powers. The stamps are printed on sepia photographic paper, but the figures are not identified. However, the use of photo paper has led to the concept that the purchaser of the stamp had their photo image placed on the stamp creating a personal stamp to use on their mail to confirm their patriotic feelings. Current research suggests that the stamps were produced by Stubbs Studios, 398 Chapel Street, South Yarra, Victoria as a business venture.<sup>300</sup>

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<sup>297</sup> *Federal Standard*, 30 July 1915, 3.

<sup>298</sup> *Australian Worker*, 29 July 1915, 11.

<sup>299</sup> *Sydney Sunday Times*, 4 July 1915, 9.

<sup>300</sup> Stamp Boards search engine: <https://www.stampboards.com/viewtopic.php?f29&t=26570> assessed 13/1/2022.

Alan Jackson suggested that the Post Office may have attempted to suppress these stamps, as their design too closely resembled true postage stamps.<sup>301</sup>

The group of Cinderella stamps intended to promote anti-German feelings in Australia is exemplified by the illustration featured on the Commonwealth war saving certificates and is based upon one of four Cinderella stamps initiated in the United Kingdom but widely circulated in Australia (figure 37).<sup>302</sup> The topic is the sinking of the passenger ship *Lusitania* on 7 May 1915 by a German U-boat. This event caused outrage in the Allied countries as well as in the United States, as many of the passengers who drowned were American citizens.<sup>303</sup>



(a)



(b)



<sup>301</sup> Alan Jackson, *First World War patriotic labels*, 1958, 47.

<sup>302</sup> Gerhard Fischer, *Enemy aliens. Internment and the homefront experience in Australia, 1914-1920*, St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press: 1989; Gerhard Fischer, *Fighting the war at home. "The Campaign Against Enemy Aliens in Australia during the First World War"*, in: Panayi, Panikos (ed.): *Minorities in wartime: national and racial groupings in Europe, North America and Australia during the two World Wars*, Oxford 1993: 263-269; Emily Robertson, "A much misunderstood monster: the German ogre and Australia's final and forgotten recruiting campaign of the Great War." *History Australia*, 2016; 13: 351-67; *Cumberland Argus and Fruitgrowers Advocate*, 9 September 1915, 5; *Wingham Chronicle and Manning River Observer*, 25 September 1915, 4. The two newspaper articles cited, are examples to illustrate the anti-German feelings in Australian rural settings.

<sup>303</sup> Frank Trommeler, "The 'Lusitania effect', America's mobilization against Germany in World War 1", *German Studies Review*, 2009; 32: 241-266.



(c)



(d)

Figure 35. Recruitment Cinderellas stamps, (a-b) Celebration of the deeds of Lieutenant J. H. Bisdee, photograph of Lieutenant Colonel Bisdee VC, (Source: Australian War Memorial, H19225) (c) Australia Day associated heroes ribbon, (d) Recruitment Cinderella stamp and recruitment poster (Source: Australian War Memorial, ARTV00075).



(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)



(e)



(f)



(g)



(h)



(g)



(h)

Figure 36. Examples of war souvenir stamps, (a-d) Stamps with the pattern of the George V stamp, (e) The then current George V stamp, (f-h) patriotic flower frame, (g-h) With allied countries' names attached.

The action was regarded as an example of the barbaric behaviour of Germany. The events surrounding the sinking of the Cunard liner *Lusitania* with the loss of 1,000 lives were widely reported in the Australian press in 1915 and for many years afterwards. *The Sydney Mail* described the sinking as “A monstrous crime” while the *Queenslander* called it “Callous brutality which Germany is prepared to inflict”.<sup>304</sup> A Cinderella stamp was issued by the Commonwealth Government in the form of an advertisement for War Saving Certificates. The stamp image showed the sinking of the *Lusitania* and clearly had a propaganda motive based upon the outrage the sinking of the ship had provoked. The stamp was based upon a British designed and privately issued Cinderella intended to provoke anti-German feelings in the Empire and the stamp circulated widely there. Figure 37 illustrates the modified Australian stamp and the original that was issued by Louis Campbell-Johnson and published by Winnox Ltd. of Surrey, England. In addition, cartoons including one by Horatio Robley inferred it was the sinking of the *Lusitania* that brought the United States and American troops into the war (figure 37d and e). The impact of this event, off the coast of Ireland, was recalled one hundred years later in a postage stamp from Eire (figure 37c). Such issues as the torpedoing of *Lusitania* and newspaper statements fed the anti-German feelings in Australia and led to the removal of German names given

<sup>304</sup> *Sydney Mail*, 12 May 1915, 6; *Queenslander*, 15 May 1915, 20.

to towns in German areas of settlement.<sup>305</sup> A postal example of this is given in figure 38. A town settled by German immigrants and called Hoch Kirk was subsequently renamed Tarrington, but the stamp cancellation records the original name High Church in German.<sup>306</sup>

Much has been written about the anti-German propaganda in Australia and elsewhere. David Welch has described how anti-German propaganda was portrayed in the First World War often by cartoon (see figure 39a) and Celia Kingsbury has written of the effects of such propaganda on the home front. Within Australia, articles in the newspapers discussed the formation of the Anti-German League. The League was formed in 1915 as a political organisation and developed many branches in the main city suburbs of Australia during the First World War. Their members pledged not to deal with or employ Germans, and advocated for their internment along with all disloyal persons.<sup>307</sup> Numerous propaganda cartoons exist as in figure 39b. One extreme was the adoption, in Australia, of the medieval punishment of “tar and feathering”. A socialist and anti-conscriptionist of German parentage was tarred and feathered outside his office in Melbourne, and a politician in Ararat who expressed anti-war views received a similar fate. Their perpetrators received the minimal legal punishment.<sup>308</sup> These brutal acts moved the famous Australian painter, Sydney Nolan, to paint the scene in his inimitable way as shown in figure 39c.<sup>309</sup>

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<sup>305</sup> *Advertiser* (Sydney), 22 June 1915, 10; *Observer* (Adelaide), 31 July 1915, 41; *Evening News* (Sydney), 1 June 1915, 1.

<sup>238</sup> Jeremy Lee, *Tarrington*, 2011, <https://www.abc.net.au/local/stories/2011/02/02/3128008.htm> Accessed 30/3/2022; Victorian places, <https://www.victorianplaces.com.au/tarrington> accessed 30/3/2022; *Hamilton Spectator*, 23 February 1918, 4.

<sup>239</sup> David Welch, “Images of the Hun: the portrayal of the German enemy in British propaganda in World War 1”, in *Propaganda, power and persuasion*, London: I.B. Tauris, 2014; Celia Malone Kingsbury, *For home and country: World War 1 propaganda on the home front*, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2010; “Anti-German League”, *Nepean Times*, 29 January 1916, 7; Bobbie Oliver, “All British or anti-German? A portrait of Western Australian pressure group during World War 1”, *Studies in Western Australian History*, 1991; 12: 28-39; Murray G. Phillips, “The unsporting German and the athletic Anzac: Sport, propaganda and the First World War”, *Sports History Review*, 1996; 27: 14-29; Allison Alexander, “Discrimination against Germans in Tasmania in the First World War”, *Papers and Proceedings of the Tasmanian Historical Society*, 2016; 63: 19-49; Paul Diamond, “The heart-breaking calamity that has befallen us all”, *Blog*, National Library of New Zealand, 7 May 2015.

<sup>308</sup> Explanatory notes in the Canberra Museum and Gallery, Canberra, 15 March 2023.

<sup>309</sup> Sydney Nolan Foundation Collection, *Tarred and Feathered*, 1945, Canberra Museum and Gallery, Canberra.



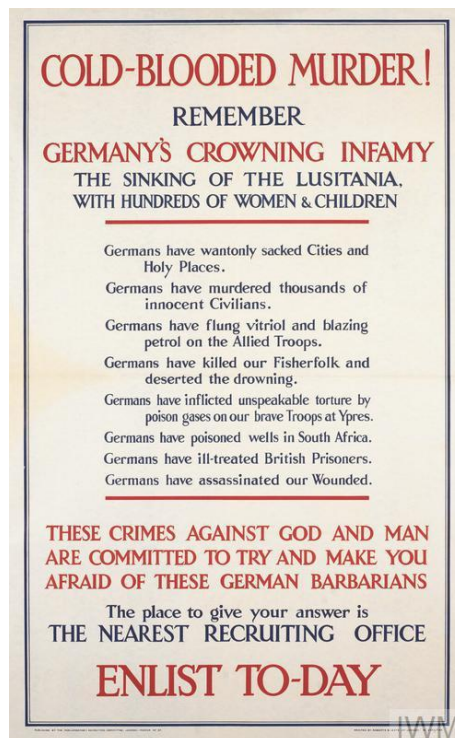
(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)



(e)

Figure 37. (a) Australian war saving certificate Cinderella stamp featuring the sinking of the *Lusitania* and based on the original stamp, (b) Original stamp published by Winox Ltd. Surrey, United Kingdom, (c) Irish postage stamp recalling the centenary of the sinking of RMS *Lusitania* in 1915, (d) British propaganda poster following the *Lusitania*'s sinking (Source: Imperial War Museum, Art Pst 11821), (e) Cartoon, Horatio Robley, *What ship brought these troops over*, (Source: National Library, New Zealand, Ref: E-024-q-2-028).



Figure 38. Postal cancellation on stamps from the town of Hochkirk, Victoria (High Church), on 13 February 1915, and renamed Tarrington subsequently.



(a)



(b)



(c)

Figure 39. Germany consuming the world, by Jack Walker, 1914, Source: Propaganda, power and persuasion, 2014, (b) German hegemony, Source: Australian War Museum, Museum, (c) *Tarred and Feathered*, Sydney Nolan, 1945, Canberra Museum and Gallery.

The sinking of the *Lusitania* was again used in another anti-German Cinderella stamp that originated from the United Kingdom but was widely circulated in Australia. It was produced by the Fine Art Trade Guild in 1917, an organisation founded in 1910, with a role of setting standards and guidelines for prints. The stamp they produced carried the slogan “Remember always nothing German” and was issued in seven different colours (figure 40a,b,c). These anti-German sentiments were supported by the formation of the Anti-German League in Australia, whose intention was to remove all people of German origin from influential positions.<sup>310</sup> Indeed, the Attorney-General’s Department had on file a list of German firms carrying on businesses in Sydney but outlined those who were safe from prosecution.<sup>311</sup> The badge and letterhead of the organisation is displayed in figure 40d and stresses the links with Britain.<sup>312</sup> In contrast to the German trade ban at the end of the war, the

<sup>310</sup> “Anti-German League”, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 24 November 1915, 13; Julja Szuster, “Specific people. The injustice of 1914 assault on Herman Heincke”, *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia*, 2105; 43: 99-110.

<sup>311</sup> German firms: “Any naturalised person of enemy origin who was not guilty of any disloyalty was entitled to all privileges of a British subject”. National Archives of Australia, NAA A3201, TE45.

<sup>312</sup> Anti-German League letter head, *ibid*, ID 233201.

stamp produced in 1920 pleaded for trade with Britain (40e). Anti-German feelings and scare tactics were used in recruitment posters as demonstrated in figure 40f.

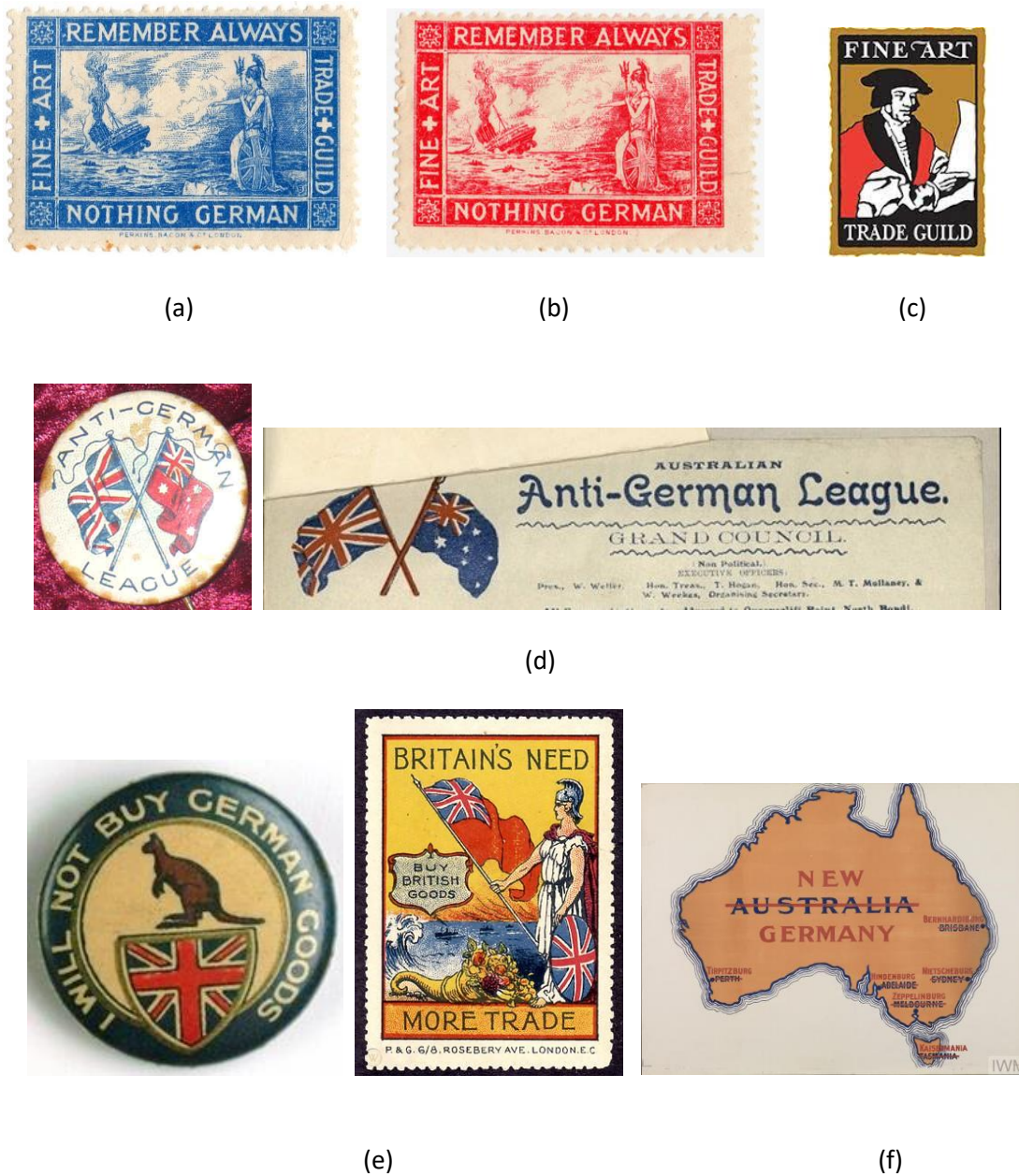


Figure 40. (a-b) Anti-German stamps of 1917, (c) Stamp issued by the Trade Guild, London, (d) Badge of the anti-German League, and their letterhead, (e) “I will not buy German goods” and “Buy British goods”, 1920.<sup>313</sup> (f) Anti-German, First World War recruitment poster.<sup>314</sup>

<sup>313</sup> “I will not buy German goods”, circa 1915, Museums Victoria, HT 34630.

<sup>314</sup> Recruitment poster, Imperial War Museum, London, IWM ART PST 8712.

The execution or murder of Nurse Edith Cavell on 12 October 1915, caused further outrage throughout the Empire and exacerbated anti-German feelings. The arrest of Cavell, and her subsequent trial for treason, resulted in a guilty verdict and a death sentence. The arrest and subsequent decision to execute her by a firing squad drew the United States, as a neutral country, into the complex situation. The United States had offered protection to British Subjects in areas under German control. Brand Whitlock, the United States Minister and Ambassador to Belgium, used all his powers to convince the German Governor, Baron von den Lancken, that the death penalty should be mitigated. In the correspondence between them, dated 11 October 1915, he referred to the “drastic sentence” while appealing for it to be reduced. In his reply, the Baron stated “that there was no hope (of commuting the sentence) under the circumstances and even the Emperor could not intervene”. Later direct conversations between the two were to of no avail.<sup>315</sup> In Australia, the execution prompted the making of a film, “The Martyrdom of Nurse Cavell” in 1916, that was produced by Jack Gavin.<sup>316</sup> It also resulted in the wide circulation of a further Cinderella stamp in Australia which depicted the execution of Cavell (figure 41a). In addition to this propaganda stamp, a post-card was produced for publicity purposes (figure 41b). Within the Empire the reactions to Cavell’s execution took many forms, and by 1926, Australia had erected a monument to her memory (figure 41c) and a further Cinderella stamp was issued as part of the large issue of stamps referred to above (figure 41d).<sup>317</sup> In New Zealand, a bridge was designed by Frederick Furkert and built over the Shotover River and named after Cavell (figure 41e).<sup>318</sup>

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<sup>315</sup> Lincoln Efford Papers, Alexander Turnbull Library, MS 0445-S/4, *Correspondence with the US Ambassador respecting the execution of Miss Cavell at Brussels*, London: Darling and Sons Ltd., 1915, copy contained within the Efford Papers; The Lansing Papers, 1914-1920, volume 1, papers relating to foreign relations of the United States, *The Minister in Belgium (Whitlock) to the Secretary of State*, Office of the Historian, USA, Document 51.

<sup>316</sup> Copy held within the National Film and Sound Archive of Australia.

<sup>317</sup> Shane M. Barney, “The mythic matters of Edith Cavell: propaganda, legend, myth, and memory”, *Historical Reflections*, 2005; 31: 217-233; Katie Pickles, *Transnational outrage: the death and commemoration of Edith Cavell*, Hampshire: England: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007; Catherine Speck, “Edith Cavell: martyr or patriot”, *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Art*, 2001; 2: 83-98.

<sup>318</sup> Frederick Furkert was the Engineer-in-Chief of the Public Works Department, New Zealand, reference Alexander Turnbull Library, PA00438. In addition, personal communication with Paul Furkert, Frederick’s grandson, 6 December 2022.



(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)



(e)

Figure 41. (a) Cinderella stamp of the execution of Edith Cavell. “Remember Edith Cavell murdered October 12 1915”, (b) Propaganda postcard of 1916, (c) Australian monument to Edith Cavell (Source: Monument Australia), (d) Cinderella stamp of 1916 from the Lord Robert’s collection (e) Cavell Bridge, Queenstown, New Zealand, circa 1920,<sup>319</sup>

Two other important propaganda Cinderella stamps, designed by Louis Raemaekers, circulated in Australia, and are further examples of anti-German propaganda. They are related to the bombing of Britain by the German airships.<sup>320</sup> Both of these stamps infer the loss of civilisation and the barbarity of the German people as judged by their war activities. The theme plays upon the innocent bystanders of the bombing attacks “Mother has done nothing wrong” but she faced death and injuries by these indiscriminate attacks. The other stamp proposes that civilisation has vanished by the bombing of civilians (figure 42a).<sup>321</sup> The newspapers in both Australia and New Zealand followed the pattern of Zeppelin attacks on Britain, and reported the details to their readers. The *Week* in Brisbane commented “the wholesale murder of women and children may provoke retaliation... and still another breach in international law”.<sup>322</sup> In New Zealand, the *Wanganui Herald* reported the news that German “baby killers feted” on their return home.<sup>323</sup>

The material presented in this chapter has contained examples of, and a discussion about, the background to many of the relevant Cinderella stamps produced or available in New Zealand and Australia during the First World War. New Zealand used this type of propaganda far less often than Australia, but the latter used Cinderella stamps as important vehicles for political propaganda especially in relation to the conscription referenda. The power of these stamps lies in their directness and the possibility of a German threat directly to the homeland. Two of the referendum

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<sup>319</sup> Photograph of Cavell Bridge, Alexander Turnbull Library, circa 1920, reference 1/2-020017-G.

<sup>320</sup> Adam Claasen, *Fearless: the extraordinary untold story of New Zealand’s Great War airmen*, Auckland: Massey University Press, 2017: 221-223; *Evening Star*, 5 April 1916, 6.

<sup>321</sup> Kramer J. Horne, *German atrocities, 1914: a history of denial*, London: Yale University Press, 2001; Emily Robertson, “Propaganda and ‘manufactured’ hatred: a reappraisal of the ethics of First World War British and Australian atrocities programme”, *Public Relations Inquiry*, 2014; 3: 245-266; Mark Jones, “Inside World War One?” In *First World War and its Witnesses*, eds., Richard Bessel and Dorothy Wierling, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018.

<sup>322</sup> *Week* (Brisbane), Friday 22 October 1915, 19.

<sup>323</sup> *Wanganui Herald*, 20 August 1915, 3.

stamps contain not only a demand for a vote for conscription but also invoke anti-German sentiments to do so.



Figure 42. (a) Block of two stamps depicting the barbarity of the Zeppelin attacks on innocent civilians; “But Mother had done nothing wrong had she Daddy”, photograph of night attack on Hull, England, 1915, (Source: *My Learning*),

In relation to the first of the research questions, there is strong evidence that Cinderella stamps were used for propaganda purposes in Australia and to a lesser degree in New Zealand and examples are presented to support this view. The first Australian referendum on conscription stimulated production of some highly political stamps and these were countered by similarly political posters.

The question of profit from postage stamps and their use as propaganda agents is further developed in Chapter 5. The role of stamps in the occupied territories of German Samoa, New Guinea and Nauru is highlighted as examples. Analysis shows that illegal stamp profiteering did take place.

## Chapter 5. Postage Stamps and the Occupations of the German Pacific Colonies: for Postage, Profit or Propaganda?

“I can assure you that Samoa is, indeed, the pearl of the South Seas”.  
Wilhelm Solf, German Governor of Samoa (1900-1911).

The focus of this chapter moves to the use of postage stamps in wartime for a specific propaganda purpose. In doing so it proposes that postage stamps, even in wartime, can become misused for profiteering. Finally, the use of the Monarch’s cypher as a stamp overprint reflects the continuing control by Britain over newly acquired territory.

Following the outbreak of the First World War, the British Government requested the governments of New Zealand and Australia to occupy the German colonies in the south-west Pacific. Japan, at this time, was encouraged to occupy the German territories of the Mariana, Caroline, and Marshall Islands.<sup>324</sup> Australia and New Zealand took up this request immediately and an Expeditionary Force was sent to occupy German New Guinea, the Bismarck Archipelago, the island of Nauru, and German Samoa. The force was led by Rear Admiral Sir George Patey.<sup>325</sup> The force comprised a naval squadron and a New Zealand military contingent.<sup>326</sup> Once the colonies were taken over, the military administration produced stamps by overprinting contemporary postage stamps. Overprinting postage stamps to indicate political change dates from 1898, when the Spanish monarchy was overthrown after a revolutionary junta took power. The Spanish, Puerto Rican and Cuban stamps of the time were overprinted “habilitado por la nacion” (valid for the nation). Similarly, stamps for political propaganda date from 1896, when Venezuela made claims to territory in British Guiana, west of the Essequibo River. This was achieved by means of a map on a Venezuelan stamp showing the disputed region to be part of Venezuela. The first occupation stamp followed the occupation of Austria by Prussian forces in 1864.<sup>327</sup>

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<sup>324</sup> William C. Louis, “Australia and the German Colonies in the Pacific, 1914-1919”, *The Journal of Modern History*, 1966; 38: 407-42. The Governor-General of Australia was informed by the British colonial secretary to confine its occupation the German islands south of the equator, cited by Louis (1966), 409; William C. Louis, *Great Britain and Germany’s lost colonies, 1914-1919*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967.

<sup>325</sup> “The first commander in chief of the Australian Navy”, *The Town and Country Journal*, 1 October 1913, 29.

<sup>326</sup> The ships involved were HMAS *Australia*, HMAS *Melbourne*, the French ship *Montcalm*, and the British ships HMS *Psyche* and HMS *Pyramus*.

<sup>327</sup> James Mackay, *The Guinness Book of Stamps*, 1982: 158, 162, 168.

It is proposed in this chapter that while there was, indeed, postal use made of these stamps, they became used for profit and to a lesser degree for propaganda. To examine this hypothesis, the postage stamps produced in each colony will be examined and the background to their use explored. Details of the stamp numbers, origins, and methods of production will be presented to support this contention and evidence of their trading for profit. It will be argued that the occupying troops and local residents were well aware that the early stamps had the potential to become very valuable.

## German Samoa

Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Logan led a 1383-man expeditionary force from New Zealand to annex German Samoa arriving in Apia on 29 August 1914.<sup>328</sup> Logan was a Scottish-born farmer, who had little military experience, but had a record of business ability. The British flag was hoisted at 12.30pm and all the troops were landed by 1pm (figure 48). Colonel Logan took over the administration of Samoa from the German Governor, Dr Schultz, at 2.30pm.<sup>329</sup> The men under his command were all volunteers drawn from the New Zealand Territorial Force.<sup>330</sup> Their action was the second to occupy a territory under German sovereignty during the First World War, the Anglo-French invasion of Togo a few days earlier being the first.<sup>331</sup> It was also New Zealand's first military involvement in the war. The troops' arrival was well described by an eyewitness and reported in the *Otago Daily Times*. The soldier described their first action "We landed and hoisted the "Jack" hauling down the

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<sup>328</sup> "European War: occupation of German Samoa by an Expeditionary Force from New Zealand, 1915", *Appendix to the Journal of the House of Representatives, 1915*, H-19c., correspondence relating to the occupation.

<sup>329</sup> Telegram from the Senior Naval Officer to the Governor-General of New Zealand, signed Marshall, see R17708876. Dr. Shultz was later transported from the island on the New Zealand ship *Monowai*.

<sup>330</sup> S.J. Smith, "The seizure and occupation of Samoa", in *The War effort of New Zealand*, Chapter 2, Auckland: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1923: 23-41; S.J. Smith, *The Samoa (NZ) expeditionary Force, 1914-1918. An account based on the official records of the seizure of the German Islands of Western Samoa*, Auckland: Fergusson and Osborn, 1924; Glyn Harper, *Johnny Enzed: The New Zealand soldier in the First World War*, Auckland: Exisle Publishing, 2018: 30-43; Sir Ronald Ferguson, Governor-General of Australia, claimed that New Zealand only took Samoa thanks to the protection of the Australian fleet, cited by Louis (1964), 408.

<sup>331</sup> Stuart W. Allan, "Anglo-French co-operation in Togoland, 1914 Lieutenant G. M. Thompson and General Order no. 9 of the French West African Command", *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, 1996; 74: 96-101.

German flag” (see figure 51b, c).<sup>332</sup> On arrival the New Zealand force did not encounter any opposition and following the formal German surrender on the 30 August 1914, Logan became the military administrator of Samoa for the duration of the war.<sup>333</sup>

One of the major reasons given for the occupation of German Samoa was a response to the Imperial Government’s request to capture the radio transmitter located in the hills above Apia:

If your ministers at the same time desire and feel themselves able to seize German wireless station at Samoa, we should feel that this was a great and urgent Imperial service. You will, however, realise that any territory now occupied must be at the disposal of the Imperial Government.<sup>334</sup>

The transmitter adjoined a plantation and was well hidden by surrounding bush and could not be seen from the sea.<sup>335</sup> This radio was able to send morse code messages to Berlin, as well as to the ninety warships in the German naval fleet.<sup>336</sup> The Commander of HMS *Psyche* reported that at the time of landing, essential parts of the wireless transmitter had been removed and the aerials tampered with. Immediate repairs were carried out and the transmitter was capable of receiving messages again by 30 August 1914.<sup>337</sup> The New Zealand Post and Telegraph Department sent a six-man detachment with the expeditionary force, three of whom were wireless operators.<sup>338</sup> The Post

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<sup>332</sup> Janneen Love, *Telling the story of the 1914 occupation of German Samoa*, <https://www100.govt.nz/telling-the-story-of-the-1914-occupation-of-german-s%C4%81moa> accessed 16/2/2022; *Otago Daily Times*, 25 September 1914, 8; *Te Aroha News*, 16 September 1914, 2; Mary Boyd, “The Military Administration of Western Samoa”, *New Zealand Journal of History*, 1968; 2: 148-165.

<sup>333</sup> Herman Joseph Hiery, *The neglected war: the German South Pacific and the influence of World War 1*, Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1995; Doug Munro, “Logan, Robert”, *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/312/loga-robert> accessed 5/5/2022.

<sup>334</sup> Telegram from the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Governor-General of New Zealand, 7 August 1914 marked ‘very secret’ and referenced Harcourt, GH No. 8bc/2814. Archives New Zealand, record R17708876.

<sup>335</sup> *Military Expedition Samoa*, Secretary of War Diary, January 13-31 1916, Archives New Zealand, R23935605.

<sup>336</sup> Harold Kidd, “The military invasion of Samoa, August 1914”, *Boating New Zealand*, October 2014; 114-17; James Wylie and Michael McKinley, “Information war” in *Code Breakers*, London: Ebury Press, 2013: 4.

<sup>337</sup> Dispatch number 2 from Colonel Logan to the Governor-General of New Zealand, 5 September 1915. *ibid* Archives New Zealand R17708876.

<sup>338</sup> New Zealand Post: [https://www.cps.gen.nz/files/P\\_T\\_Dept\\_in\\_Great\\_War.pdf](https://www.cps.gen.nz/files/P_T_Dept_in_Great_War.pdf) accessed 19/2/2022.

Office and Telegraph Corps had been formed in 1911 and were an integral part of the Territorial Force and thus came under the direction of the military commander in Samoa. Following the landing, one of the first places to be seized was the post office and telegraph exchange (see figure 43). When the post office was occupied all the German postage stamp stock encountered was seized and confiscated.



Figure 43. German post office in Samoa and the German postal service arms (Source: Alexander Turnbull Archival Collection).

No field post office or postal equipment was issued for the expeditionary force, so on arrival several men were assigned to set up a postal service. A railway engineer, Corporal E. J. Dingle, was appointed Postmaster at Apia by the military administration and subsequently promoted to Second Lieutenant.<sup>339</sup> He was later replaced by Corporal E.E. Coughlan in 1915. One of Dingle's first tasks was to acquire postage stamps to service the proposed new mail service. The lack of suitable postage stamps was overcome by overprinting the confiscated German Samoa stamps. He arranged the overprinting of German (and later of New Zealand) stamps and had the stamps on sale by 16 September 1914. The stamps sold out within three days, and it was reported that soldiers and residents vied with each other to purchase them and that, thereafter, there was much auctioning and selling of the stamps between parties. The *Samoanische Zeitung* confirmed this and reported some years later "Stamps soon

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<sup>339</sup> Stephen J. Smith, "Expedition roll - Samoan Expeditionary Force", in *Samoan Expeditionary Force, 1914-1918*, Ferguson and Osborn Ltd., 1924: 133-178; "Dispatches from Robert Logan to the Governor-General", *Appendix to the Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1915, Session 1.

changed hands at increased prices”.<sup>340</sup> The printing took place at the *Samoanische Zeitung* owned by the Emil Lübke Press and the newspaper printers were tasked with the overprinting of the stamps (see figure 44). The actual printing was performed by James Ah Sue on a jobbing press and due to its limitations and the dearth of type available, only one page could be set up at a time. This resulted in numerous variations in the overprints produced.<sup>341</sup> The overprint consisted of letters G.R.I. (Georgius Rex Imperator) and value in pence and shillings (see figure 45d). There was marked difference in the numbers of each value printed.<sup>342</sup> Ah Sue was shrewd as he acquired a stock of these stamps as he knew they would, in time, be valuable. With an eye to making a profit, many residents of Samoa who had stocks of the previous German stamps took their stamps directly to the printer to obtain the overprint on them.<sup>343</sup> This action produced even more errors and variations of the overprint. The New Zealand authorities did not authorise nor recognise the results of these activities. Indeed, they went to great lengths to oversee the postal use of the stamps. The *Evening Star* reported that “Stamps cannot be bought up and obtained unless letters are produced to affix them”<sup>344</sup> In today’s stamp market the early Samoan and New Guinea “G.R.I.” overprints can fetch prices in excess of £11,000 for an individual stamp with an error, and an overprinted Marshall Islands stamp has been sold for over £40,000.<sup>345</sup>

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<sup>340</sup> *West Australian*, 27 July 1928, 20; *Auckland Star*, 14 September 1914, 8; *Auckland Star*, 14 October 1914, 9; *Western Star*, 6 August 1915, 3; *Samoanische Zeitung*, 10 February 1928, 3.

<sup>341</sup> Dirk HR. Spenneman, *Gedruckt in Samoa*, Albury, New South Wales: Charles Sturt University, 2007: 73-74; “Estate of James Ah Sue”, *Samoan Times*, 14 December 1918, 5; Robin Startup, *Postal History of World War 1*, Christchurch: Christchurch Philatelic Society Inc., 2018: 10-14; Robin Startup, *Western Samoa postal history*, Mail Coach Publications, 1960; Nigel Sawyer, *The British occupation of German Samoa: a postal history, 1914 to 1921*, Self-published, Nigel Sawyer, 1996; *Samoan Zeitung*, 28 December 1918, 5.

<sup>342</sup> The numbers ranged from 19,700 for the 2 1/2d. on 20 pfennigs, 16,700 for the 1/2d. on 3 pfennigs, to only 335 for the 5/- on 5 marks.

<sup>343</sup> *Auckland Star*, 10 November 1914, 4.

<sup>344</sup> “Precautions by authorities”, *Evening Star*, 21 November 1914, 8.

<sup>345</sup> Stanley Gibbons, *Commonwealth and British Empire stamps, 1840 – 1970*, Ringwood: Stanley Gibbons Ltd., 2008: 66, 515; “Valuable stamps”, *Nelson Evening Mail*, 3 October 1914, 6.



(a)



(b)

Figure 44. (a) The Samoan newspaper building, where the German stamps were overprinted, (Source: Spenneman, see footnote 5.), (b) Current newspaper issue (Source: National Library of New Zealand).

Figure 45 outlines the progression of Samoan stamps before the occupation, from German Empire stamps being used and postmarked in Samoa (45a), to the formation of a protectorate and the overprinting of German stamps “Samoa” (45b). Thereafter, formal stamps for Samoa were produced by the German postal system (45c).<sup>346</sup> It also shows a selection of the German Samoan stamps overprinted “G.R.I.” (45d).



(a)



(b)



(c)

<sup>346</sup> German colonies used a standard stamp with name of the colony inserted. The Kaiser's yacht *Hohenzollern* was the commonly used format as in figure 45c.



(d)

Figure 45. (a) German Empire stamp cancelled in Apia, Samoa, (b) German Empire stamp overprinted “Samoa”, (c) German colonial stamp inserted Samoa, (d) The range of German stamps overprinted “G.R.I.” and values in sterling.

The German overprinted stamps were used until October 1914, when they were replaced by New Zealand Post and Telegraph’s stamps overprinted “Samoa”. Thereafter, a variety of overprinted stamps remained in circulation until New Zealand was given the Mandate over Samoa on 1 May 1920. At that time definitive Samoan stamps were issued. Figure 46 shows a selection of the New Zealand stamps overprinted “Samoa”.



Figure 46. New Zealand stamps overprinted “Samoa”, used from September 1914 until July 1920.

The question arises as to why these initial overprinted German stamps were issued with such haste - within two weeks of the landing in Samoa - and rapidly overprinted at a newspaper press with limited facilities. The obvious answer would be for the use of the troops on active service, but New Zealand troops on active duty, like the Australian forces, did not require stamps for their mail (see figure 47).<sup>347</sup> While it is true that examples can be found of overprinted stamps on soldiers’ correspondence, it was proposed in the press that these were souvenirs for home consumption. The *New Zealand Times* reported that letters were, indeed, being received in Wellington bearing the new stamps, while the *Auckland Star* reported that “Received by the last boat from Samoa, letters bearing German stamps overprinted G.R.I.”<sup>348</sup> The alternative proposal is that their rapid issue was for propaganda purposes to inform Germany and the local population of the change in regime and the defacing of the German stamps. This can be supported by the fact that mail to and from Germany was not halted until 6 November 1914.<sup>349</sup> By this time the original stamps with “G.R.I.” had been replaced by New Zealand stamps overprinted “Samoa”.

One other strong possibility is that the stamps were produced for mainly financial reasons, as it must have been obvious to the administration that these stamps had potentially great value. Judged by the rush to purchase these stamps it would appear to the soldiers that there was money to be made from the later sale of the stamps, and

<sup>347</sup> R.M. Startup and Edward B. Pound, *History of the New Zealand Military Postal Services, 1845-1991*, East Sussex: Postal History Publishing Company, 1992: 71-72; Personal communication from Professor Glyn Harper, March 2022.

<sup>348</sup> *New Zealand Times*, 29 September 1914, 5; *Auckland Star*, 14 September 1914, 8.

<sup>349</sup> Spenneman, 2007: 42.

they were proven to be correct.<sup>350</sup> Later in the war, German stamp dealers made money by their hording of stamps of German occupations for later sale.<sup>351</sup> The Samoan newspaper recognised this in reporting a case of attempted forgery of the stamps, and the *New Zealand Times* questioned why 60 sets of the stamps were sent to the Admiral on board the flagship *Australia* while in Samoa. These stamps were clearly of no postal value to them.<sup>352</sup> It was soon recognised that one single sheet containing 100 stamps had a major error and 40 of these had already been sold for £20 each in 1916. It was reported in the *Clutha Leader* that the stamps were being bought up by troops and sold for these high prices.<sup>353</sup>



(a)

<sup>350</sup> *Nelson Evening Mail*, 3 October 1914, 6; "War and philately", *Auckland Star*, 27 October 1914, 9.

<sup>351</sup> *Auckland Star*, 25 March 1915, 7.

<sup>352</sup> *Samoanische Zeitung*, 5 February 1915, 5; "Postage stamp romance", *New Zealand Times*, 6 September 1916, 6.

<sup>353</sup> *Clutha Leader*, 4 February 1916, 6; *Lyttleton Times*, 30 August 1915, 6.



(b)



(c)

Figures 47&48. (a) Field postcard from 1915, it did not require a postage stamp, (b) New Zealand troops landing at Samoa, 29 August 1914 (Source: National Library of New Zealand, reference 1/4-017332-F photograph by Malcolm Ross), (c) Samoan Post issue commemorating the centenary of the event, 2014.

The evidence suggests that the reasons for the rapid issue of these early stamps in Samoa was more complex than would first appear. The possibility that these stamps were partly or fully printed to establish and broadcast the changed regime cannot be excluded. To explore further the concept that stamp issues, following the occupation of the German colonies, were mainly directed at profit or propaganda, a review of the stamps of Nauru will be discussed.

## **Nauru**

Nauru is a small island of about 8 square miles situated in an isolated position northeast of Australia and Papua and north-west of Fiji. On 15 October 1885, Nauru was annexed as part of the German Marshall Islands group and the first post office was opened in 1897. Nauru had important strategic functions for the German navy in the Pacific and a powerful radio station was built on the island. In addition, it had developed as an important source of phosphate for Australia and New Zealand. The Germans regarded Nauru as part of the Marshall Islands and hence stamps of the German Marshall Islands were used there. The outbreak of the First World War produced a manpower problem, as there were many non-German staff working within the Pacific Phosphate Company who were then forced to leave Nauru and shipped to

the Gilbert and Ellice Islands.<sup>354</sup> However, after the onset of the war German control of Nauru was short-lived and the crew of HMAS *Melbourne* brought about the surrender of the island on 8 September 1914 in the name of Great Britain. The ship had been part of the fleet concerned with the capture of Samoa but left soon after and headed for the planned capture of Nauru.<sup>355</sup> The initial action was to destroy the wireless station, arrest the German administration and confiscate the stock held of Marshall Islands postage stamps.<sup>356</sup> These stamps were then shipped to Rabaul in New Guinea, overprinted “G.R.I.” with values in pence (figure 49) and issued there on 16 December 1914. Subsequently, the Australian administration replaced the stamps of the Marshall Islands with Australian stamps overprinted “N.W. Pacific Islands” for use in Nauru. These stamps were used until 1916, when Great Britain took over the issuing of stamps for Nauru and used stamps of Great Britain overprinted ‘Nauru’. These were used until the Mandate by the League of Nations was approved (see figure 50).<sup>357</sup>

It is hard to justify the small island of Nauru, with a population of approximately 2,000 in 1914, having a postal service with its own specific stamps.<sup>358</sup> It is true, however, that at the peak of the phosphate development, under German control, there was an increased mail volume from commercial and private sources. In 1912, for example, the postal system received 13,720 letters and sent out 11,209.<sup>359</sup> This all changed with the war after the non-Germans were deported. Following the Australian occupation, it would have been simpler to use Australian stamps and not send Marshall Island stamps to New Guinea for overprinting. It is suggested from the

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<sup>354</sup> Nancy Viviani, *Nauru: phosphate and political progress*, Canberra: ANU Press, 1970: 49-55; Alan Kerr, *Federation in these seas*, ACT: Commonwealth of Australia, 2009.

<sup>355</sup> *Capture of German outposts in the Pacific*, 1914, Anzac portal, Australian Government Department of Veteran Affairs, 2021, <https://anzacportal.dva.gov.au/wars-and-missions/ww1/where-australians-served/captured-german-outposts> accessed 8/5/2022; *Capture of German Colonies*, Australian Navy report, September-November 1914, Australian War Memorial, <https://www.awm.gov.au/collection/C1416820>, accessed 8/5/2022; S. S. Mackenzie, *The Australians at Rabaul: The Capture and Administration of the German Possessions in the Southern Pacific*, Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1941: 58-69; C. D. Rowley, *Australians in German New Guinea 1914-1921*, Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1958.

<sup>356</sup> Anzac Portal: <https://anzacportal.dva.gov.au/wars-and-missions/ww1/where-australians-served/captured-german-outpost> accessed 27/2/2022.

<sup>357</sup> Dirk HR. Spennemann, *British occupation issues of Nauru, Marshalls*, Digital Micronesia, 1999, <https://marshall.csu.edu.au/Marshalls/index.html> accessed 28/2/2022.

<sup>358</sup> Nauru Bureau of Statistics, Report 2002, Spennemann, 1999 page 7.

<sup>359</sup> *Baghdad in British occupation*, British Library, <https://blogs.bl.uk/untoldlives/2018/09/baghdad-in-british-occupation-the-story-of-overprinted-stamps.html> accessed 8/5/2022

above that it was seen as more important to announce the occupation and the fall of the German regime than it was to streamline the postal system.



(a)



(b)

Figure 49. (a) Marshall Island stamps used in Nauru circa 1910, (b) Marshall Island stamps captured in Nauru and overprinted “G.R.I.” for use in New Guinea.



Figure 50. A selection of the range of British overprinted stamps used in Nauru from 1916-1923.

## German New Guinea

On 6 August 1914, the Governor-General of Australia, Sir Ronald Munro Ferguson, received the following telegram from the British Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lewis Vernon Harcourt :

If your ministers desire and feel themselves able to seize German Wireless stations at New Guinea, Yap in the Marshall Islands, and Nauru on Pleasant Island, we should feel that this was a great and urgent Imperial service. You will realise, however, that any territory now occupied must at conclusion of the war be at the disposal of Imperial Government for purposes of an ultimate settlement. Other Dominions are acting on the same understanding in similar way, and, in particular, suggestion to New Zealand is being made in regard to Samoa.<sup>360</sup>

The Australian Government responded to this request and following the capture of the German colony of New Guinea, and the surrender of German forces, the Union flag was raised on 13 September 1914. However, prior to this the wireless station at Bita Paka was captured with the loss of three killed and five wounded.<sup>361</sup> The site of this important wireless station has been painted by Charles Bryant and is illustrated in figure 51g.<sup>362</sup>

Previously, German colonial stamps had been plentiful, and the *Canberra Times* stated “The authorities in Berlin made them freely available” as the German Government had a policy of making their colonial stamps readily available to collectors, for political and financial reasons.<sup>363</sup> All German colonial stamps of this period were based upon a photograph of Kaiser Wilhelm’s personal yacht called *Hohenzollern II* (see figure 51f). German officials tried their best to destroy all stocks of postal material as the Allied invasion progressed and occupation became imminent.

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<sup>360</sup> Report by the Minister of Defence on military occupation of German New Guinea, National Archives of Australia, NAA: A1 1922/5786, page1.

<sup>361</sup> C.D. Rowley, *The Australians in German New Guinea, 1914-1921*, Carlton, Victoria: Melbourne University Press, 1957; P. Jinks, P. Biskup and H. Nelson, eds., *Readings on New Guinea History*, Sydney: Angus and Robertson Publishers, 1973: 203-206 and 215.

<sup>362</sup> *Wireless Station, Bita Paka*, Charles Bryant, oil on canvas, 1923, Australian War Memorial ART 03639, viewed 17 March 2023. The station was located at Herbertshohe on the island of New Britain and was only completed a month before the Australian landing.

<sup>363</sup> *Canberra Times*, 29 August 1981, 2.

Nevertheless, limited stocks of stamps and registration labels were found and seized in certain towns viz. Rabaul, Frederich-Wilhelmshafen, Manus, Stephansort as well as Herbertshohe.<sup>364</sup> These stamps were then overprinted “G.R.I.” by the Government printer in Rabaul and under the command of Lieutenant J.S. Lyng, and a value in sterling was also added to the overprint. On receipt of the Marshall Islands stamps from Nauru, these were similarly overprinted. The actual printing was performed on a small hand press which could only accommodate one horizontal row of stamps at a time (figure 51).<sup>365</sup> The German colonial stamps had been printed in Berlin in sheets of one hundred stamps for the 3 pfennig to 80 pfennig, while the higher value 1 mark to 5 marks were in sheets of twenty stamps. Both sets of stamps were subsequently put on sale on 17 October 1914. The first stamps offered were sold out within eight hours of being placed on sale and the total supplies were exhausted by the end of the year.<sup>366</sup> The purchasers were the troops and residents who realised the potential value of these stamps as judged by the rapid sale of those stamps available.<sup>367</sup> In late December 1915, an even larger supply of colonial stamps was discovered in an inland post office. These were duly overprinted and put on sale (see figure 51). From the 6,000 sets obtained and overprinted, many sets were sent to museums in Britain and, on his request, a corner block of stamps of each set was sent to King George V.<sup>368</sup> The King was already known to be an avid philatelist and collected every Empire stamp produced.<sup>369</sup>

The overprinting of these postage stamps gave rise to an unexpected diplomatic incident. The Director General of the Belgian Government Post Office, in exile in Le

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<sup>364</sup> *Capture of German outposts in the Pacific, 1914*, Anzac Portal, Australian Government, Department of Veteran Affairs <https://anzacportal.dva.gov.au/wars-and-missions/ww1/where-australians-served/captured-german-outpoststps://www.awm.gov.au/collection/C2620486> accessed 3/2/2022; “New Guinea – overprints of German colonial stamps”, volume 2, *Australian War Memorial*, <https://www.awm.gov.au/collection/C2642941> accessed 2/3/2022.

<sup>365</sup> Stanley Gibbons, *Commonwealth and British Empire stamps, 1840 – 1970*, Ringwood: Stanley Gibbons Ltd., 2008: 66.

<sup>366</sup> Australian War Memorial, Philately Collection, AWM 2018 20 38.

<sup>367</sup> *Western Star*, 6 August 1915, 3.

<sup>368</sup> This process has continued through to the reign of Queen Elizabeth II. “Postage stamps sent to London for Royal collection”, letters from Queen’s secretary, W J McKell to Prime Minister Menzies, 13 January 1953, and letter to the Governor-General of Australia, 1 January 1953, National Archives of Australia, NAA A2880.

<sup>369</sup> *King George V*, Stamp Collecting World, <https://www.stamp-collecting-world.com/kinggeorgev.html> accessed 9/5/2022, *King George V*, Smithsonian National Stamp Museum, <https://postalmuseum.si.edu/people/king-george-v> accessed 9/5/2022.

Harve, France, wrote to the Postmaster General of the British General Post Office in London on 7 January 1916. He drew to his attention that the war stamp overprints of New Guinea were not valid for international use. The Belgians pointed out that the stamps would only be valid when three complete sets were sent to the Universal Postal Union's International Bureau in Berne, Switzerland. This letter triggered a response from the Postmaster General, E. W. Farnell, to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, suggesting that Australia and New Zealand should be reminded of the need to supply copies to Berne.

The British response to the Belgians was that the required three copies of stamps for Nauru, Samoa and Togo had been sent already to the International Bureau. This apparent minor matter then reached the British Prime Minister's Office, and a letter was sent on the 25 February 1916 to the Governor General of Australia by the then administrator Mr. Bonar Law, stating that the regulations "should be complied with".<sup>370</sup> Further correspondence occurred between the Australian Prime Minister and the Governor General reporting that the Administrator in New Guinea had been instructed to comply with the regulations and Bonar Law in London be informed of this fact.<sup>371</sup>

The officer in charge of the Treasury in New Guinea, Captain Fry, had decided that stamps would be necessary for the postal service. He appointed as chief postmaster in Rabaul Sergeant, later Second Lieutenant, George Moore. In 1915, Moore was charged with having had an illegal commercial interest in these stamps and was found guilty, by court-martial, of selling the stamps to interested parties unofficially and for profit and above the designated total value of ten shillings. Captain J. Dowie Wilson of the Australian Intelligence Corps prosecuted, assisted by counsel in the person of Mr. Mitchell. Outlining the case for the prosecution, Mr. Mitchell said, "Although the charge might seem an innocent sort of one, he would show the court that a very serious breach of internal discipline was involved, and that if the matter had not been detected when it was the accused may have had an opportunity of putting into his pocket sums of money ranging from £1,000 to £2,000". Moore was found guilty and

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<sup>370</sup> Andrew Bonar Law later served as Prime Minister of the United Kingdom from October 1922 – May 1923.

<sup>371</sup> National Archives of Australia, NAA A11803 1914/89/221, letter from Postmaster General to Secretary for the Colonies, 9 February 1916, number 13.136/16, dispatch number 179, Bonar Law to Governor General, 25 February 1916, Prime Minister of Australia's Office to Governor General, 31 May 1916, reference 163835/2.

was reduced to the ranks for this offence and dismissed from the service.<sup>372</sup> Part of the evidence presented at Moore's court-martial was a parcel of overprinted stamps. Following the trial, and with a clearance by the Crown Solicitor, External Affairs instructed the Department of Trade and Industry to dispose of the stamps by sale. An extract from their letter of the 27 July 1916 reads: "Offer ten times the face value for the entire parcel "overprinted" New Guinea and other stamps from Lieutenant Moore's trial, Sydney, May twelfth, please place cable in right quarter".<sup>373</sup> Not only was George Moore profiting from the production of these stamps, but it would appear that the Australian authorities were following suit. There is some additional evidence that the postal authorities in Rabaul had taken advantage of their position. Complaints were received that money sent for the purchase of the later Australian overprinted stamps was received but the stamps were never dispatched back to Australia. Letters of inquiry to the Military Headquarters in Rabaul were responded to by saying the then Postmaster in Rabaul had returned to Australia and interviews with him would be attempted. These appeared to have stalled as no further action was taken.<sup>374</sup>

Despite a further official reprint, a dearth of colonial stamps at the lower price ranges occurred. The official overprinted numbers were, for example, for the 2d. on 20pfg. 5,290 and for the Marshall Islands stamps it was 12,800, although many more did not reach the postal system as described above.<sup>375</sup> The dearth of low range stamps was addressed by using registration labels for postage that had been seized with the colonial postage stamps. There were eleven districts, and each had its own named label, hence a variety of slightly different issues occurred, some now extremely rare (figure 52).<sup>376</sup> The solution to the overall problem was that the Australian Postmaster-General, William G. Spence, on the 21 November 1914, approved of the Department of Defence being supplied with Australian stamps being overprinted "N.W. Pacific

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<sup>372</sup> *West Australian*, 27 May 1915, 7; details of the trial are reported in *Daily Telegraph*, Sydney, of 18 May 1915 on page 4 and <https://www.stampboards.com/viewtopic.php?f=13&t=2177> accessed 6/3/2022.

<sup>373</sup> National Archives of Australia, NAA: A1 1916/31684, ID 35400.

<sup>374</sup> Stamps from Rabaul, National Archives of Australia, AWM 93 id. 937704, letters to and from the Headquarters, Colony of German New Guinea (in British Military Occupation), Rabaul, 30 July 1920.

<sup>375</sup> Official figures (for German stamps overprinted for use by the public) are: 21,851 German stamps of New Guinea, 29,314 German stamps for the Marshall Islands of varying denominations, 10,939 German stamps were overprinted with O.S. for official usage - these were designated with a dual overprint of "GRI" and the additional letters, "O.S."

<sup>376</sup> *Weekly Times* (Melbourne), 14 October 1939, 40.

Islands” for use in the German Pacific colonies occupied by Australia. The current ‘kangaroo stamp’ and later King George V designs of Australia was used initially for this task and examples of those used are shown in figure 53 along with precursor stamps. The first stamps were sent to Rabaul on 24 November 1914 but were not put on sale until 4 January 1915.<sup>377</sup> The unused high values had been retained by the postal authority and were later sold by tender in Australia and referred to as “war souvenirs”.<sup>378</sup>



(a)



(b)



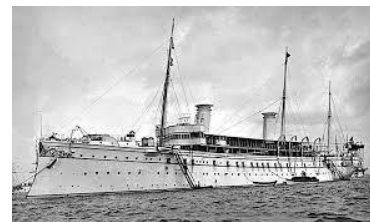
(c)



(d)



(e)



(f)

<sup>377</sup> *New Guinea – The overprinted Australian stamps*, The Australian War Memorial, <https://www.awm.gov.au/collection/C2646809?image=1> accessed 8/5/2022.

<sup>378</sup> *Telegraph* (Brisbane), 26 May 1917, 2.



(g)

Figure 51. (a) German Empire stamp over printed “German New Guinea”, (b) German colonial stamp (yacht series) for New Guinea, (c & d) Australian overprint G.R.I., (e) Marshall Islands overprinted stamp for New Guinea and Nauru, (f) Photograph of Kaiser Wilhelm’s yacht *Hohenzollen II*, (Source: *Super Yacht Times*, March 2019), (g) *Wireless Station, Bitu Paka*, by George Bryant, 1923.



Figure 52. Scarce War Provisional registration stamps from New Guinea districts of "Herbertshöhe" and "Kawieng".



Figure 53. Examples of the overprinted Australian stamps used in New Guinea, Nauru, and the Bismarck Archipelago from 1915 to 1923.

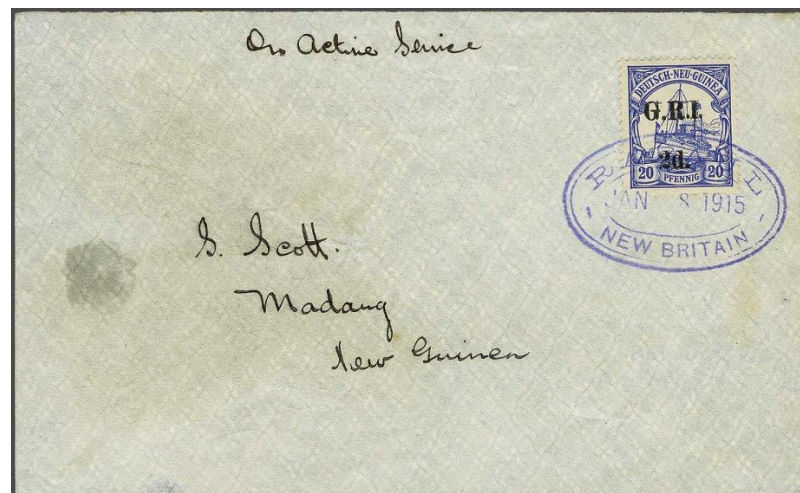


Figure 54. Overprinted German colonial stamp, date stamped 1915 from Rabaul. Labelled “on active service”.

The overprinted stamps of Samoa, Nauru and New Guinea were introduced to indicate political change and nominally to maintain the postal system set up by the German colonial service. The overprinting of the German stamps signified the political change and hence must be regarded as a propaganda move. This was not as extreme or as blatant as the Nazi regime stamp overprints that were carried out during the Second World War, nor was it an attempt to validate the occupations as was seen

in the German occupations.<sup>379</sup> During 1914, the attempts by the German authorities to destroy their stock of stamps prior to their surrender does suggest that they were conscious of the propaganda potential of their stamps being defaced by being overprinted, and this, of course, was exactly what happened when they failed to eliminate their total stock.

It is difficult to believe that the administration in Samoa and New Guinea would not be aware that overprinting a small stock of German stamps would create items that were unique and of potentially great monetary value. The rapidity in the sale of these stamps to the soldiers and residents, as well as the subsequent trading that took place, supports the contention that the soldiers were well aware of the money that could be made in the future due to their rarity. There is one small clue to support the view that many of these stamps were sold for gain rather than postal use. This lies within the revenue obtained from the sale of stamps in New Guinea. In 1915 this equated to £4,000 but by 1918 the revenue from the sale of stamps had fallen to £1,884.<sup>380</sup> Philately had become very well established as a popular hobby by 1914 and stamp dealers were always on the lookout for rare items related to postage.<sup>381</sup> Papua and German New Guinea were not exceptions and German stamp dealers keenly sought their stamps.<sup>382</sup> The court-martial of the postmaster in Rabaul for his illegal dealing with the stamps adds even more evidence that it was widely appreciated that money could be made from these special issues. What cannot be determined is the involvement of the military administration in the creation of these overprints and the subsequent trading and profiteering in them. However, the donation of many sets of stamps to the officers of HMAS *Australia*, when they were of no postal value, certainly raises this possibility. What was not revealed at the time was that many of

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<sup>379</sup> Olivia Philips, "Vestiges of propaganda: postage stamps issued by the Third Reich in Poland and the Netherlands during the Second World War", BA Honours Thesis, Portland State University, 2021: 13; Frederick Lauritzen, "Propaganda art in the postage stamps of the Third Reich", *The Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts*, 1988; 10: 62-79.

<sup>380</sup> *Report by the Minister of Defence on military occupation German New Guinea*, page 20, National Archives of Australia, NAA: A1 1922/5786.

<sup>381</sup> William A.R. Jex Long, "The Philatelic Index (1904)", *Classic Reprint Series*, 2018; Lincoln Financial Foundation, "Philately: post cards, excerpts from newspapers and other sources (1911)", *Classic Reprint Series*, 2018.

<sup>382</sup> An extreme case was that of Gebruder Senf, a stamp dealer from Leipzig, Germany, who claimed that he sent £10 for stamps of Papua on 5 May 1914 but did not receive them due to the outbreak of the war. In view of this he wanted his money returned from the Custodian of Expropriated Territories. He lodged his first for claim for recompense via Australia House in London, in March 1931! National Archives of Australia, NAA: CP176/70, 544.

the high value overprinted stamps, and especially those with known errors, were retained by the military authorities and not released for sale. In addition, part of the seized stock of German colonial stamps were also held back. These stamps were placed for tender and sold in 1917 in Australia. Clearly, they were sold for profit and not for postage.<sup>383</sup> Many soldiers had sent some of the available stamps home on their letters via the mail service, when it was actually not necessary, and thus obtained “used” copies of the stamps as opposed to “mint or unused” copies and in so doing increased further the potential sale value of the stamps. In Samoa, the actual printer of the stamps was well aware of the future value of the stamps by keeping many sets unofficially to himself and reaping a financial benefit as revealed by his will in later years.<sup>384</sup> The whole situation, in both jurisdictions, was compounded by the fact that the printing of the stamps was rushed, and the overprints produced on inadequate presses. The result of this was that many printing errors occurred and hence there was a production of even rarer stamps which commanded very high prices on the stamp market.

In terms of financial gain, the situation in Nauru differed from Samoa and New Guinea. The German authorities used Marshall Islands stamps in Nauru until 8 September 1914 (see figure 49a). Following the capture of the island by Australian forces, none of the Marshall Islands “G.R.I.” overprints were available or used there as in New Guinea itself. The first stamp issues used in Nauru after the occupation date from 4 January 1915 and these were the Australian stamps overprinted “N.W. Pacific Islands”. The only way of detecting the stamps used in Nauru is by the postal cancellations as shown on figure 55. Thus, there were no small print numbers associated with or a limited series produced for Nauru and no evidence of financial gain. This would suggest that the stamps used after the occupation were intended to announce the occupation and supply the very limited mail needs of the Island.

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<sup>383</sup> The stamp tender was widely advertised throughout Australia and included the fact that the rare double printed stamps were included in the sale lot, see *Telegraph*, 26 May 1917, 9; *Mercury (Hobart)* 30 May 1917, 7; *Argus (Melbourne)*, 30 May 1917, 4.

<sup>384</sup> “In the Estate of James Ah Sue, GRI stamps” *Samoanische Zeitung*, 7 December 1918, 3 and 5.



Figure 55. Two examples of the N.W. Pacific Islands overprint on stamps used and cancelled in Nauru.

A further insight regarding the financial aspects of the overprinted German stamps of New Guinea was provided in 1919. Officials of the United States National Museum wrote to the Governor General of Australia on 11 March 1919, with a request for specimens of war stamps issued by Australia for inclusion in their developing philatelic section. About the same time, the National War Museum in London, and the National War Memorial in Canberra made similar requests for Australian stamps of the war period. The Governor General, R. M. Ferguson, in response to these requests, corresponded with Prime Minister's Office to seek approval. The reply to the Governor General, in a letter of 3 November 1919, was from the Prime Minister's private secretary, Malcolm Shepherd.<sup>385</sup> He stated that specimens of the New Guinea stamps could be sent to these museums, but regarding to the German overprinted stamps he wrote "There are no German overprinted stamps available except by purchase from private individuals, a matter of considerable expense. I believe complete sets cost from £50 to £100".<sup>386</sup>

In summary, there is good evidence to support the contention that the early overprinted stamps of Samoa and New Guinea were traded for profit, and it is unlikely that the administrations were naïve as to this situation. The German stamps of the Marshall Islands used in Nauru prior to the occupation, when overprinted, were not used again in Nauru. The later overprints of Australian stamps did not command

<sup>385</sup> Malcolm Lindsay Shepherd (1873-1960) was the private secretary to successive Australian Prime Ministers. He enjoyed a special relationship with Prime Minister Billy Hughes, see the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, volume 11 1988.

<sup>386</sup> National Archives of Australia, NAA A11804; 1920/492, ID 1608302, letter to the Governor General from Prime Minister's Office reference F19/668/6, 3 November 1919.

the interest of the early editions. It is concluded that while the overprinting did reveal the new occupants of the German territories, as a form of propaganda, they were frequently used, by many, as a means of making money.

The following chapter addresses the second research question with regard to the commemoration and remembrance of the First World War. It is devoted to the early remembrance of the Gallipoli Landings in 1915, and subsequent remembrance stamps up to the conclusion of the twentieth century.

## Chapter 6. Postage stamps used for commemoration and remembrance of the First World War (1919-1999)

The shape of remembrance has changed again and again, even as some of elements appear sacrosanct.

Laura Clouting, 2018.<sup>387</sup>

This chapter examines the use of postage stamps by New Zealand and Australia for commemoration and remembrance of the First World War, from 1919 to the end of the twentieth century. It is proposed that during this period, the scope of remembrance via postage stamps was very narrow in that the stress was placed on the Anzacs and the Gallipoli Campaign at the expense of the deeds of the Western Front, Palestine and Mesopotamia. It is proposed further that this concentration on Anzac celebration may be related to the debated notion that the Anzac landings at Gallipoli, and subsequent battles, were the events which were the catalyst for the evolution of full nationhood for the two Dominions. The chapter opens with a description of the somewhat controversial “Victory” stamps of New Zealand which celebrated the end of the First World War.

### Victory stamps

After the cessation of hostilities in November 1918, the Honourable Charles Louisson, a politician, and C.R. Ingram, a stamp clerk at Wellington Post Office, made a suggestion to the Post and Telegraph Department that a special stamp be produced to commemorate the establishment of peace.<sup>388</sup> This suggestion was accepted by Sir Joseph Ward, the New Zealand Postmaster-General, who approved the concept and had input into the production of these special stamps to celebrate the end of the war and the ratification of the Treaty of Versailles.<sup>389</sup> However, the stamps produced did not carry the title ‘peace’ but that of ‘victory’. The approval for their production was given in 1919 by Sir Joseph Ward with a rider and instructions that the stamps should be imperial in theme and that there should only be a modest indication of the country of origin. This was a reflection of Ward’s support for the Empire and his expressed views, “Throughout my political career I have been a strong

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<sup>387</sup> Laura Clouting, *A century of remembrance*, London: Imperial War Museum, 2018: 232.

<sup>388</sup> *Evening Post*, 13 June 1919, 8.

<sup>389</sup> *Southland Times*, 11 April 1925, 19.

and persistent supporter of the Empire” (see figure 56e) .<sup>390</sup> This support was most notable in his 1909 proposal that New Zealand should meet the cost of providing a battleship for the Royal Navy, which led eventually to the launching of HMS *New Zealand*.<sup>391</sup> The stamps were to be designed in London by Thomas De La Rue and Company and the plates prepared by P.B. Waterlow.<sup>392</sup> The actual printing was carried out by the Government Printer in Wellington. The first black and white proof printing of the threepenny stamp is shown in figure 55f. The series of six stamps were produced in large numbers, with 46 million of the penny halfpenny, 30 million of the sixpence, and two million each of the threepence and the shilling being printed. The actual stamps are shown in figure 56a, along with an example of a rejected design in figure 56b. The basis for these large numbers was that the issue was to be a definitive issue and not a commemorative one.<sup>393</sup>

Before the stamps were even released in New Zealand there was controversy. The stamps were placed on sale on 9 November 1919 in London, over two months before they were available in New Zealand.<sup>394</sup> The stated reason for this was so that members of the ‘new issue’ services of dealers in Great Britain could receive sets before other collectors were able to purchase the stamps. The new issue service was a business arrangement in which stamp dealers would supply philatelists with the latest stamps automatically at the time of their release. The stamps were eventually placed on sale in New Zealand two months after their release in London (27 January 1920). The severe criticism of this action stemmed from returned servicemen, New Zealand philatelists and the public at large. The *Greymouth Evening Star* went as far as saying it was a “humiliation” and “the government has seized an opportunity for base huckstering”. The article went on to cite the words of the *New Zealand Stamp Collector*, “Unseemly trafficking in a foreign market, this indecent haste to make a lot of money out of an issue that should be noble in its conception”.<sup>395</sup> This is a further reference to the use of postage stamps as a source of profit for the postal service or for

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<sup>390</sup> *Evening Star*, 25 February 1920, 2.

<sup>388</sup> *New Zealand Herald*, 4 May 1911: 5.

<sup>392</sup> *The Postage Stamps of New Zealand* (Volume I), eds. R. J. G. Collins and H. T. M. Fathers, Wellington: The Philatelic Society of New Zealand, 1938: 320-325.

<sup>393</sup> *Press*, 10 November 1919, 6.

<sup>394</sup> *Colonist*, 23 January 1920, 2.

<sup>395</sup> *Greymouth Evening Star*, 4 February 1920, 3; “Victory stamps”, *Sun* (Christchurch), 16 January 1920, 8.

an individual. The *Sun* described the events as “shamelessly trafficking in these stamps”, and as there was a large demand for the stamps in New Zealand, their release in London first, “was without regard for what these stamps were meant to represent”.<sup>396</sup>



(a)



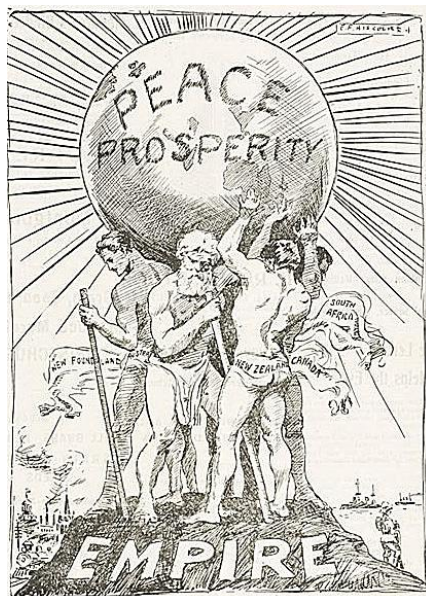
(b)



(c)



(f)



(d)



(e)

Figure 56. New Zealand Victory stamps of 1919, (a) The halfpence green stamp features the British Lion representing the British Empire with the allegorical figure of Peace sitting with him. The one penny red stamp also features the British Lion, this time standing with the allegorical figure of Peace walking beside him. The 1½d stamp features a Māori Chief wearing the tail feathers of the now extinct Huia and a Whakakai or ear pendant made from shark teeth. The three-penny stamp features the British Lion again - this time one of the lions which flank Nelson's Column in Trafalgar Square, London. The 6d stamp shows 'Progress' attendant on the angel of Peace. The design alludes to peaceful uses of knowledge and technology rather than the horrific uses inflicted on soldiers in the trenches in the First World War. The shilling stamp features King George V flanked by traditional Māori carvings.

(Source: [https://stampsnz.com/1920\\_victory.html](https://stampsnz.com/1920_victory.html))

(b) Rejected Victory design by Henry W. Barr of De La Rue, based upon the fact that the coat of arms was not the official one, (c) Photograph of Sir Edwin Landseer's designed lions at Nelson's Column, London, the basis of the 3d stamp, (Source: The Victorian Web), (d) Cartoon published in *Quick March*, January 1919<sup>397</sup>, (e) Sir Joseph Ward, 1928, (Source: Wikipedia), (f) First official black and white proof printing of 3d Lion stamp.<sup>398</sup>

The complaints also went directly to the Prime Minister, William Massey, who gave an assurance that this situation would not happen again, and stamps would not be placed on sale outside of the country. Once the stamps were eventually issued in New Zealand there was further controversy. Public opinion was divided regarding the design and substance of the stamps. The *Evening Post* described the stamps as "having remarkable beauty and hence were in great demand" but did not explain why they considered this so. The *Thames Star* felt the stamps had won favourable comments by everyone. This newspaper also reported that *The Times* of London had stated that the stamps constituted "one of the most effective issues that have been seen for some time", while the *Manchester Guardian* stated the imposing use of the lion "created good looking stamps".<sup>399</sup> The distinguished New Zealand historian, editor and war correspondent, Guy H. Scholefield, was less enthusiastic. While accepting the stamps were artistic, he felt they were too large to be practical. He took specific exception to the wording on the sixpenny stamp – "Peace and progress" and questioned what this extraordinary inscription meant, as it was more suitable for a neutral country than for New Zealand.<sup>400</sup> Scholefield's views were not shared by the Returned Soldiers' Association (RSA) who published a cartoon in 1919, originally by E.F. Hiscock, celebrating the British victory in the South African War. The cartoon carried the heading "Empire: Peace and Prosperity" and the RSA journal, *Quick March*, suggested that the wording and message of the cartoon had "a much better application to the present time" (figure 56d).<sup>401</sup> Among the other criticisms was that of the *New Zealand Herald*, which claimed that the Victory stamps "should honour the boys" and should "display naval action by dreadnoughts and plucky airplanes".

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<sup>397</sup> *Quick March*, official paper of the Returned Soldiers' Association, January 1919, 25. Available through Auckland Council Libraries.

<sup>398</sup> Victory stamp, New Zealand Postal History (1914-1919), Archives New Zealand, record R20936838.

<sup>399</sup> *Evening Post*, 27 January 1920, 2; *Thames Star*, 12 February 1920, 3.

<sup>400</sup> "Victory stamps", *Evening Post*, 19 February 1920, 10.

<sup>401</sup> *Quick March*, 1919; 1: 25. This journal was the official publication of the RSA at that time.

These sentiments were echoed by the *Press*, in later years, stating that the issue should have displayed a war memorial. In 1920 the same newspaper had written that the stamps were like “stickers” and looked untidy.<sup>402</sup>

The harshest criticism of the Victory issue came from Australia. The *Wairarapa Age* described in some detail the comments that had been made in the *Australian Stamp Journal*. The editor of the journal failed to see the necessity for issuing such an elaborate set and saw the issue as a means of advertising New Zealand and its contribution to the Allied victory. The journal stated that “their loud-voiced patriotism is of the pocket variety”. They further stated that it was not the business of any government to cater for stamp dealers abroad and New Zealand’s approach was “prostitution of philately”.<sup>403</sup> The new Postmaster-General in the Reform Government, Gordon Coates, vigorously denied these accusations.<sup>404</sup> At first the Australian authorities refused to recognise the stamps as valid, but a trans-Tasman controversy broke out when the Australian postal authorities placed a surcharge on letters from New Zealand bearing Victory stamps, citing obscure provisions of the Convention of the Universal Postal Union that postage stamps had to be definitive issues and not commemorative for overseas use at that time. A letter from the Deputy Postmaster-General had been sent to all public offices informing them that unless a “T” stamp had been placed on letters bearing New Zealand Victory stamps, they were not to be accepted. The New Zealand authorities had already advised the Australians that the stamps were intended for international use and the Australian postal authorities had sent telegrams to the public offices informing them of this fact.<sup>405</sup> Despite this, the stamps were still regarded as unacceptable. It will be recalled that large numbers of the Victory stamps were printed on the basis that they would be a definitive issue and they were used for several years. The Australians also claimed that through this stamp issue, New Zealand was not only “advertising the country” but

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<sup>402</sup> *New Zealand Herald*, 29 February 1919, 3; *Press*, 4 August 1920, 6, and 14 November 1935, 2.

<sup>403</sup> “The Victory stamps”, *Wairarapa Age*, 30 March 1920, 4, accessed 21/3/2022, <http://virtualnewzealandstamps.blogspot.com/2013/07/victory-peace.html>

<sup>404</sup> Victory Stamps: <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/war/first-world-war-postal-service/after-war> page 7, accessed 10/5/2022; Gordon Coates, 1878-1943, farmer, politician, soldier, prime minister, independent Liberal and Reform Member of Parliament for Kaipara 1911-1943, Prime Minister 1925-1928.

<sup>405</sup> Peace Victory Stamps, letter from the Deputy Postmaster-General dated 1 May 1920 and telegram to all public offices dated 13 April 1920, National Archives of Australia, NAA D959 1A 1920/859.

also asserting that it had “in particular contributed to the victory of the Allies”.<sup>406</sup> The New Zealand Post and Telegraph Department maintained that the stamps were not commemorative within the regulations of the Universal Postal Union and hence could be used for addresses outside New Zealand.<sup>407</sup> However, these Australian criticisms soon disappeared, as did the surcharge, as more peace and victory stamps were issued from other postal authorities.<sup>408</sup>

The final manipulation of the Victory stamps occurred in 1922. The halfpenny stamp had been used mainly for the postage of newspapers. When the newspaper rate was increased to one penny, the stamp became almost redundant. It was then surcharged in red to the value of two pence (see figure 56a).<sup>409</sup> In 1920 when the Victory set was released, 186,687,000 items of mail were handled by the mail services and hence there was plenty of demand for postage stamps and the need for the large numbers of Victory stamps produced can be easily defended.<sup>410</sup>

In terms of New Zealand nationalism and self-identity, the Victory stamp issue marks an important milestone. On one hand, we have the Postmaster-General, Sir Joseph Ward, an avowed Empire loyalist, taking a direct interest in the design of the stamps and ensuring they reflected an Imperial viewpoint over the winning of the war.<sup>411</sup> He even visited London in 1919, just prior to the stamps’ release, to oversee the official launch and release of the stamps for public sale in Britain.<sup>412</sup> On the other

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<sup>406</sup> This is somewhat ironic in that the former Prime Minister of Australia, W.M. (Billy) Hughes wrote an article in 1929 entitled “Who won the War? The A.I.F. were there”, *Reveille* (RSL Journal of New South Wales), 31 July 1929, 4.

<sup>407</sup> *Press*, 22 April 1920, 6.

<sup>408</sup> Barbados, Victory stamps, 1919, set of 12 stamps; Japan, Restoration of Peace, 1919, 2 varieties; Bahamas, Peace, 1920; British Honduras, Peace, 1921, source: *Stamps of the World*, volumes 1-6, Hants, UK: Stanley Gibbons Ltd., 2021.

<sup>409</sup> *Northern Advocate*, 7 August 1922, 6.

<sup>410</sup> Postal items: <https://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/1966/post-office/page2> accessed 24/3/2022.

<sup>411</sup> *Evening Star*, 25 February 1920, 2, “There was never a suspicion as to my loyalty to the Empire”.

<sup>412</sup> Sir Joseph Ward played a key role in the development and production of the Victory stamps during his period as Postmaster-General between 1915-1919. He had previously held this position in 1899 and again in 1912. Following his death in 1930, attempts were made to have a statue erected in Parliament grounds as a memorial to him. This was declined on the grounds that it would set a precedent and would also be too expensive. The cost would be more than the Seddon statue which had cost £1,254. However, a portrait medallion was decided upon at the cost of between £200-£400.<sup>412</sup> The basis of this award was to recognise his services as “Postmaster-General and his introduction of the Universal Penny Postage stamps”. There was no mention in these papers as to his work on the Victory stamp issue, (Sources: Letter to the Minister

of Internal Affairs from the Under Secretary, 19 July 1940, copied to Prime Minister Fraser, Archives New Zealand, record R14991983, Cabinet papers, 14 September 1937, *ibid* R14991983,

hand, in 1920 at the time when the stamps were released in New Zealand, the High Commissioner in London, Sir James Allen, made a speech to the Victoria League. He was quoted as saying “the relations of the Dominions with the Motherland had materially changed since the war; New Zealand was now grown up. Her signature to the Peace Treaty and membership of the League of Nations amounted to a recognition of New Zealand as a separate entity. There were in the future possibilities of separation and independence...”<sup>413</sup> As would be expected, at this pivotal time, there were critics of his speech and in particular *The Times* newspaper. Lord Milner, the Secretary of State for the Colonies presented a balance view in saying “the Parliament and peoples of the United Kingdom frankly accepted the Dominions as partner nations of equal status”. The *Press* article went on to say that the future did hold possibilities of independence and separation from the Motherland.

### **First World War and Anzac commemoration in New Zealand (1919-1999)**

Australia produced a stamp in 1935 to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of the Anzac landings (see discussion later). An initial proposal to the New Zealand Postmaster-General by the RSA in November 1934 that New Zealand should follow suit was declined on the basis that there was insufficient time to produce a stamp of such significance for the twentieth anniversary of the Gallipoli Landings.<sup>414</sup> Later, the secretary of the Dunedin Branch of the RSA, Mr. O.L. Ferens, suggested that New Zealand should now have a postage stamp to commemorate the twenty-first anniversary of the Gallipoli landings.<sup>415</sup> He suggested that the stamp should be modelled upon the New Zealand health stamps. The health stamps were charity stamps introduced in 1929 as a method of raising money for anti-tuberculosis work but were later used to raise money for children’s health camps. The principle was that the stamps carried a surcharge in addition to the postage rate. The surcharge money raised went to the health camp organisation. However, on this occasion it was proposed that money raised should be used to assist returned soldiers and their

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The Universal Penny Post issue featuring *Zealandia* is illustrated in figure 9c, Universal Penny Postage, papers relating to, *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives*, 1907, Session 1, F-07).

<sup>413</sup> *Press*, 28 June 1920, 6.

<sup>414</sup> Christopher Moor, “The 1936 Anzac stamps”, *New Zealand Memories*, 2016; 119: 10.

<sup>415</sup> R.J.G. Collins and H.T.M. Fathers, editors, *The postage stamps of New Zealand*, Wellington; The Philatelic Society of New Zealand, 1938: 391-392.

families. In particular, it should be aimed at those who, for various reasons, were debarred from the patriotic, trust and other funds available. One group who fell within this category were New Zealand nurses who served with the Imperial forces but on their return were not under the care of the New Zealand Government. Half the proceeds of the sale were to go to returned soldiers and the stamps were to be surcharged to this effect.<sup>416</sup>

The government and the postal authority accepted the concept after a meeting in mid-1935 between the Postmaster-General and the Dominion Council of the RSA. Special legislation had been introduced in order that the health stamps' revenue could be shared between the Post Office and the health agencies.<sup>417</sup> At this point the Auditor-General reported that the Finance Act only covered health stamps, and it would require further special legislation to cover the production of stamps where the face value was more than the postal charge.<sup>418</sup> The original plan was that the design of the stamps should come from a member of the RSA. However, the fifty-one designs submitted were deemed unsuitable. Subsequently, several New Zealand artists were invited to submit their suggestions for the stamp design.<sup>419</sup> Again, no design was considered completely acceptable, but that submitted by Leonard Mitchell of Wellington was eventually accepted and this was based upon a photograph of a soldier taken by Mr. S. Hall.<sup>420</sup> The stamp was produced by intaglio and engraved by the Commonwealth stamp printer in Melbourne.<sup>421</sup> The final design of the two stamps is shown in figure 57, along with the official First Day Cover that was provided by the Returned Soldiers' Association.

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<sup>416</sup> *Waikato Times*, 28 April 1936, 8; *Otago Daily Times*, 22 April 1936, 6.

<sup>417</sup> New Zealand Finance Act, 1929, section 34, authority for the creation of special postage stamps.

<sup>418</sup> New Zealand Finance Act, 1931, number 4, section 11, amendment for charity stamps.

<sup>419</sup> *New Zealand Herald*, 22 April 1936, 9; Christopher Moor, "The 1936 Anzac stamp", *New Zealand Memories*, 2016; 119: 10-13; R.J.G. Collins and H.T.M. Fathers, editors, *The postage stamps of New Zealand*, Wellington: The Philatelic Society of New Zealand, 1938: 391-392.

<sup>420</sup> "Twenty-first anniversary", *Northern Advocate*, 24 April 1936, 5.

<sup>421</sup> Technical details of the stamp have been reported by the author in: Kenneth Dawson, "Commerce or commemoration? The role of the postage stamp in Great War remembrance", M.A. Thesis, Massey University, 2019: 32-35.



(a)



(b)



(c)

Figure 57. (a) Halfpenny and one penny Anzac stamps of 1936 with equivalent surcharge, (b) Official Anzac First Day Cover released 27 April 1936, (c) Original photograph by S. Hall (1935) which formed the basis of the 1936 Anzac stamp (Source: Te Papa, Wellington)

The Returned Soldiers' Association went to considerable lengths to promote the sale of the stamps (see figure 58b).<sup>422</sup> The Governor-General, Lord Galway, made a radio broadcast appeal the evening prior to the launch and referred to the Anzac stamp as “a

<sup>422</sup> The stamps were withdrawn on 20 June 1936, after 1,840,810 penny stamps and 1,179,218 twopenny stamps had been issued to post offices; unsold stamps were destroyed.

most worthy cause". He stated further that the sale of the stamps had now become necessary "to endeavour to supplement State forms of aid in a multitude of cases which cannot be covered by the terms of any statute".<sup>423</sup> The first stamps were sold in Dunedin at 8am on the 27 April and Mr. O.L. Ferens, the Returned Soldiers' Association Dunedin secretary, received the first stamps sold from the chief postmaster in Dunedin, Mr. N.R. McIssac (see figure 58).

The eventual choice of the soldier at Trentham Military Camp superimposed upon an image of Anzac Cove is important. It strongly suggests that the intent was to demonstrate that the presence of New Zealand soldiers at Gallipoli was as an independent national force while still part of Anzac. This is reinforced by the fact the soldier is wearing the "lemon squeezer" felt hat, an iconic symbol of the New Zealand military. In reality, the "lemon squeezer" was initially introduced by William Malone for the Taranaki Rifles only, as a symbol of Mount Taranaki. Moreover, even those soldiers abandoned it soon after the landings at Gallipoli, as it made those who wore it easy targets, with the hats being replaced by caps.<sup>424</sup> The lemon squeezer was not adopted by the rest of the New Zealand infantry until 1916, and this adds further evidence that its inclusion in the stamp, while historically inaccurate, was to demonstrate New Zealand self-identity.<sup>425</sup> The *Otago Daily Times* described the design of the stamps as "well worthy of this historic subject".<sup>426</sup> It further reported that there was a strong demand for the stamps from the Dominions and the United States and predicted that the 110,000 First Day Covers would be greatly sought after.<sup>427</sup> This proved to be correct and the chief postmaster, Mr. J.P.P. Clouston of Auckland, reported great success with sales and the raising of £2,220. In Feilding, the public contributed £58-9-3d, a sum greater than that raised for their health stamps. Large amounts were raised in Dunedin (£2,695), Wellington (£1,900) and Christchurch (£1,785) and the total proceeds amounted to £8,500 net and these funds went to the Anzac Commemoration Fund.<sup>428</sup> The Dunedin Executive Committee of

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<sup>423</sup> *Evening Star*, 27 April 1936, 6; *Thames Star*, 27 April 1936, 2.

<sup>424</sup> Lemon squeezer hat, <https://www.armymuseum.co.nz/the-lemon-squeezer/> accessed 10/8/2022; Jock Phillips, *A history of New Zealand in 100 objects*, Penguin Random House, 2002, see object 56.

<sup>425</sup> C. J. Andrews, "History of the iconic "lemon squeezer" felt hat of the New Zealand Army", *Volunteers*, 2013; 39: 36-47.

<sup>426</sup> *Otago Daily Times*, 5 May 1936, 4.

<sup>427</sup> *Whanganui Chronicle*, 28 July 2016.

<sup>428</sup> In addition, 6,000 First Day covers were sold, and Christchurch chief post office could not meet the demand for the covers.

the RSA passed a resolution of “Grateful thanks and appreciation of the wonderful support accorded to the sale of Anzac stamps”. A more fitting comment came from the Dominion President of the Returned Soldiers’ Association: “The response clearly indicates that remembrance is still strong in the hearts of our people”.<sup>429</sup> An interesting anecdote arising from the stamps was reported by the *Evening Post*. A New Zealand veteran of Gallipoli sent copies of the stamps to General Sir Ian Hamilton, the commander of the Peninsula forces, who responded, “I congratulate you on possessing a sympathetic mind....to send your old commander so interesting a memento as one of the first issues of the New Zealand Anzac stamps”.<sup>430</sup>

On 21 July 1936, the Director-General of the Post Office, Mr G. McNamara, wrote to the Controller and Auditor-General at the Government Offices pointing out that the sale of Anzac stamps had taken place during May and June 1936 and the amount payable to the RSA, as one half of the value of the stamps, was between £8,000 and £9,000. He had noted that the necessary legislation had not yet been passed. The Director-General, however, stated “It would not be politic to withhold the money until legislation is passed” and requested payment before the promised legislation was actually passed.<sup>431</sup> Meanwhile, internal correspondence between Government Departments pointed out:

The Anzac stamps have been created without the anticipated statutory authority, and this precludes the Controller and Auditor-General from passing a cheque or voucher for payment of the amount due to the Returned Soldiers’ Association.<sup>432</sup>

Annotated on this letter were the following comments:

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<sup>429</sup> *New Zealand Herald*, 22 June 1936, 11; *Manawatu Times*, 23 June 1936, 3; *Evening Star*, 17 July 1936, 6; *Manawatu Times*, 7 August 1936, 9.

<sup>430</sup> *Evening Post*, 22 July 1936, 3.

<sup>431</sup> Letter from the Director-General of the Post Office to the Controller and Auditor-General at the Government Offices, Wellington, 21 July 1936, reference P&T 1935/1588. Archives New Zealand M-S Group 4438-089 reference R11740943.

<sup>432</sup> Audit Office letter, number 2, 1936, Archives New Zealand, record R11740943.

I have discussed this matter with the Prime Minister and Minister of Finance. Government undertakes to bring down validating legislation this coming session. Kindly arrange. F.J. 17.7.1936.<sup>433</sup>

The necessary legislation was eventually forthcoming in the form of a clause inserted into the Finance Act (1936).

All payments heretofore made to the Dominion Executive of the Returned Soldiers' Association out of the proceeds of the sale of "Anzac Stamps" are hereby validated, and any payments that may hereafter be made to or on account of the said Association out of such proceeds shall be deemed to be lawfully made.<sup>434</sup>

While the annual Anzac services continued to take place, there were no official discussions about a further stamp for First World War remembrance until 1940. As New Zealand approached the centenary of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1940, the Government appointed a National Historical Committee to compile a list of historical topics which might prove suitable for inclusion in a proposed issue of stamps.<sup>435</sup> They listed, as number 14 on the ranked list, "The landing of the New Zealand Expeditionary Force at Gallipoli on April 25, 1915". However, the Department of Internal Affairs through the National Historical Committee appointed a sub-committee, which consisted of three members of the Historical Committee, two officers of the Department of Internal Affairs, and two prominent philatelists, to make the final decision on which topics would feature in the Centennial issue.<sup>436</sup> This sub-committee rejected the suggestion of an Anzac stamp on the basis that "The Expeditionary Force had been featured in the Anzac stamps of 1936" and thus no stamp issue was included.<sup>437</sup> Further attempts to have another Anzac stamp issue were

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<sup>433</sup> "Anzac stamps", Archives New Zealand, record R11740943.

<sup>434</sup> "Validation of payment to the New Zealand Returned Soldiers' Association", Statutes Amendment Act, volume VI, page 861, 1936.

<sup>435</sup> National Historical Committee's secretary was E.H. McCormick (Ministry of Internal Affairs) and the advisor on publications was J.C. Beaglehole (Victoria University); *Evening Post*, 11 June 1937, 6 and 6 August 1937, 8.

<sup>436</sup> "Centennial Postage Stamp Issue", *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives of New Zealand*, F1, page 16, 1940.

<sup>437</sup> R.J.G. Collins and C.W. Watts, editors, *The postage stamps of New Zealand*, volume 2, Wellington:

reported in the *Review*, the journal of the RSA, which stated that a further issue was unlikely as preference was to be given to provincial centenary celebrations.<sup>438</sup> As early as 1937 there were newspaper comments relating to the need to act immediately to feature an Anzac stamp in the centenary of New Zealand issues. It was pointed out by the *Manawatu Standard* that the first Anzac stamp had been placed second in a competition for the best stamp design, implying the high standard of the Anzac stamps should make them suitable to be included in the centenary programme.<sup>439</sup>

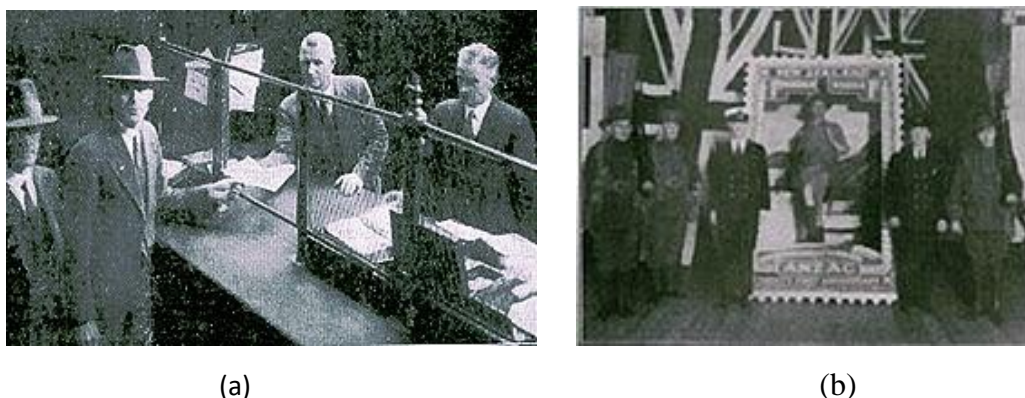


Figure 58. (a) Mr O.L. Ferens (Secretary, Dunedin Branch RSA) receiving the first Anzac postage stamps, 27 April 1936 (Source: *Otago Daily Times*<sup>440</sup>), (b) RSA promotion of Anzac stamp (Source: Royal New Zealand RSA).

In 1958, as the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Gallipoli campaign drew near, the RSA suggested to the New Zealand postal authority that an issue of stamps be produced to commemorate the landing of Anzac troops on 25 April 1915. At the same time, the RSA contacted the Australian servicemen's association suggesting the idea of a joint issue of stamps for the occasion and that Turkey should also be invited to participate.<sup>441</sup> The Post Office and the government agreed to these suggestions. The Director General of the Post Office, J.B. Darnell, wrote to the President of Posts and Telegraphs in Ankara on 21 January 1964 regarding the proposed joint issue. He did not receive a reply and wrote again on the 14 May 1965, by registered airmail,

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The Royal Philatelic Society of New Zealand Inc., 1950: 88; "Annual Report of the Post and Telegraph Department for the year 1939-1940", *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives*, 1940, session 1 F-04.

<sup>438</sup> The Returned Soldiers' Association changed its name to the Returned and Services' Association in 1940, *Press*, 22 March 1956, 15.

<sup>439</sup> "Act now", *Evening Post*, 20 November 1937, 21; *Manawatu Standard*, 24 May 1937, 2.

<sup>440</sup> *Otago Daily Times*, 28 April 1936, 4.

<sup>441</sup> D.E.G. Nash and K.J. McNaught, editors, *Postage stamps of New Zealand*, volume vi, Wellington: The Royal Philatelic Society of New Zealand, 1975: 142-144.

enclosing fifteen First Day Covers of the New Zealand stamps following their issue and reminding him that no reply had been received to original first letter with regard to a joint issue.<sup>442</sup> The joint issue with Turkey and/or Australia did not eventuate, but there was a mutual agreement with Australia to release their individual stamps on the same day.<sup>443</sup>

Following the Post Office and the government's agreement to issue stamps, fourteen designers were invited to submit designs for the stamps with the theme "Landing at Gallipoli". The selection committee studied the rough designs submitted and awarded the commission to R. Maurice Conly, a Christchurch artist, and the official artist to the Air Force.<sup>444</sup> When Conly's designs were made public, the Gallipoli Veterans Association immediately made the criticism that the jetties and permanent buildings were not there at the time of the landings. Further, they objected that both designs, 4d and 5d, contained large poppies. Their contention was that the poppy was not common at Gallipoli, and it was a feature of the Western Front.<sup>445</sup> The latter comment is in contrast to the words of Major Fred Waite, who wrote in his *The return to Anzac*: "Three years in succession the Valleys of Anzac were flooded with the crimson poppies of the Aegean spring".<sup>446</sup> The comments of the veterans and the RSA were taken heed of, and the final design contained neither jetty, buildings, soldiers nor war memorials. Only the 5d design contained a poppy and this was of a reduced size.<sup>447</sup> The issued stamps, as produced by Messrs Harrison and Sons in London, are shown in figure 59a and 59d, along with two official First Day Covers. Anzac Day fell on a Sunday in 1965, so the stamps were released for sale on 26 April. New Zealand Post arranged for a special cancellation date to be added to the First Day Covers, "First day of Issue", and thus made them as issued on 25 April.<sup>448</sup> Figure 59c also shows a photograph of Mr. M.M Agar buying a sheet of the stamps at the Chief Post Office.<sup>449</sup>

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<sup>442</sup> Copy of the original correspondence held by Te Papa Tongarewa, Museum of New Zealand, and viewed through the courtesy of the Curator of Stamps at Te Papa Tongarewa.

<sup>443</sup> *Press*, 22 January 1965, 1.

<sup>444</sup> Paul Harrison with Maurice Conly, "Send for the artist", in *Maurice Conly: 54 years as the Air Force official artist*, Auckland: Random House, 1995: 171.

<sup>445</sup> *Press*, 16 June 1964, 1; *Press*, 18 June 1964, 9.

<sup>446</sup> *The official history of the New Zealanders at Gallipoli*, Archives of Te Papa Tongarewa, Museum of New Zealand.

<sup>447</sup> *Press*, 20 June 1964, 1.

<sup>448</sup> *Press*, 10 April 1965, 24.

<sup>449</sup> *Press*, 15 April 1965, 16.

The format of this issue contrasted markedly with how the earlier Anzac stamp had clearly foregrounded New Zealand's participation in the campaign. The fiftieth anniversary stamps simply show Anzac Cove, and the word Anzac, with no other indication of New Zealand's involvement other than the required stamp's national name. It could be argued that this may reflect the onset of the anti-war feelings that followed the Second World War, the Korean War, and possibly during the Vietnam War (1954-1975).<sup>450</sup> In contrast, the Australian stamp for the fiftieth anniversary was nationalistic and military in content (see later description). The inclusion of a poppy was the main reminder that these were remembrance stamps also. The illustrated first day cover envelope (figure 59b) has nationalistic elements with New Zealand flags dominating and the associated stamp contrasts with this feature.

Unlike the first issue of Anzac stamps in 1936, this issue was not of semi postal stamps, meaning that they did not carry a surcharge for charity. Despite this the stamps sold well, and the Chief Post Office in Christchurch reported the first day sales, on the 26 April, as numbering 23,000 pairs and 6,000 First Day Covers with a total sale price of £850. By the 28 April, the revenue had risen to £1,250 and 10,000 First Day covers had been sold and 4,000 copies of the special cancellation on 25 April.<sup>451</sup>



(a)

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<sup>450</sup> Stephen Clarke, *After the war: the RSA in New Zealand*, New Zealand: Penguin Random House New Zealand, 2016: 176 and 180; Rowan Light, "Mobilising memory: Anzac commemoration in Australia and New Zealand, 1965-2015", PhD Thesis, University of Auckland, 2019.

<sup>451</sup> *Press*, 15 April 1965, 16; *Press*, 23 April 1965, 8.



(b)



(c)

9-12-340

Date: 8/4/65 Credit Line: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Place: CAPRENSHILL  
 Photographer: W. HALL  
 Remarks: \_\_\_\_\_  
ANZAC STAMPS 1965



(d)

Figure 59. (a) Final issued design of the 4d and 5d stamps, (b) Special First Day Cover designs, (c) First sale of a stamp sheet to Mr M. M. Agar in Dunedin: Source; *The Press* <sup>452</sup>, (d) Original black and white proofs of Anzac stamps. <sup>453</sup>

Despite the ignored invitation to the Turkish postal authorities for a joint issue, the Turkish authorities went ahead with their own remembrance stamps. These were

<sup>452</sup> *Press*, 15 April 1965, 16.

<sup>453</sup> Second Anzac stamps, Archives New Zealand, record R20937077.

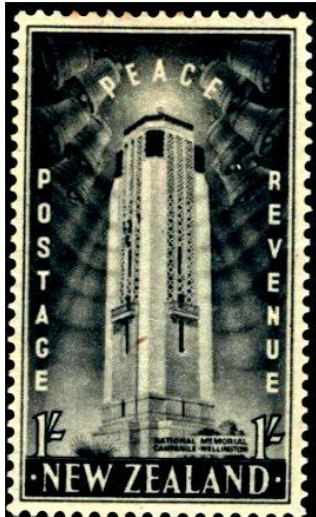
issued, well ahead of New Zealand's, on 7 March 1965, the Turkish Day of Remembrance, and were semi-postal in type and carried a ten kuruş surcharge. The stamps are illustrated in figure 60 and show a map of the battle scene, soldiers paying homage to the fallen and the large Turkish monument at Gallipoli. The Turkish stamps were issued also to remember their victory at Canakkale.



Figure 60. (a) Three Turkish remembrance stamps of the Canakkale Campaign, 1965, (b) Photograph of Canakkale Martyr's Monument, (Source: Wikipedia).

New Zealand did not issue a further Anzac remembrance stamp until 1998. It did issue a stamp in 1946 as a peace issue following the Second World War. This stamp illustrated the War Memorial Campanile with its carillon that had been dedicated in 1932, but had its origins in the government grant of £100,000 in 1919 towards a national war memorial (figure 61a and b). In 1984, New Zealand Post produced a 40c stamp as part of its military history series. This stamp portrayed the New Zealand Engineers in France in 1917, but was not a remembrance stamp per se. These stamps are illustrated in figure 64c. The design of the stamp in figure 61c was based upon a photograph taken in 1917 and featured members of the Māori Battalion (figure 61d).<sup>454</sup>

<sup>454</sup> Some insight into the Post Office's process for selecting the designs of New Zealand stamps can be gained by looking at the method in which the new 1970 definitive stamps were chosen. Unlike five years earlier, when the 1965 Anzac stamps were chosen as a result of inviting certain designers to submit designs, the new definitive stamps were to be a result of an open competition. In 1967 an



(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)

Figure 61. (a) The National War Memorial Campanile peace issue, 1946, (b) Photograph of the dedication of the National War Memorial on Anzac Day 1932 to

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Advisory Committee was set up by the postal authorities who designed a three-stage competition process. The first stage required designers to submit sketches or line drawings of their ideas for which the selected winners received \$1,700. The second stage required a fully finished design for which a further sum of \$70 was paid. The final stage required artwork from which the finished stamps could be prepared. The Advisory Committee made the final selection at all stages. The process harks back to the comments of the *New Zealand Herald* in 1930: "It is a superstition in the official mind that stamp designing is an act which comes by nature to postal officials", ( The Advisory Committee initially consisted of: EW. De Lisle, Assistant Director-General of the Post Office, chairman, Sir John Meed, formerly Secretary, Department of Internal Affairs, Professor HJ. Simpson, Faculty of Fine Art, University of Canterbury, GC. Docking, Director, City of Auckland Art Gallery, CW. Watts, Federation of Philatelic Societies, LT. Heath and AW. Griffith of the Post Office. Stamp Competition),( Source: Archives New Zealand, record R20935262; *New Zealand Herald*, 26 December 1930, 11).

those who died in the First World War,<sup>455</sup> (c) Issue of 1984, New Zealand Engineers in France, 1917, (d) Photograph of Engineers and Māori Battalion, France, 1917, (Source: Archives New Zealand).

Both Australia and New Zealand issued postage stamps in commemoration of the twentieth/twenty-first anniversary of the Gallipoli landings, as well as the fiftieth anniversary and the centenary. It would have been expected that the seventy-fifth anniversary (1990) would have been similarly celebrated by postage stamps. Surprisingly, this did not happen. The personal papers of Lieutenant Colonel Peter J. Fry cast much light on the politics behind this decision and also provide an insight into the views of both countries on the concepts of national identity and nationalism in the late 1980s.<sup>456</sup> Fry was the Director of Public Relations in the New Zealand Defence Force at this time and his correspondence and papers also provide important information on how the lobbying for such a stamp issue took place, in both New Zealand and Australia, and how it reached the highest levels of government.

On 13 October 1988, Ian Gollings, the National Secretary of the Returned Services League of Australia (RSLA) wrote to the Australian Prime Minister, Bob Hawke, requesting his assistance in the issuing of a postage stamp to commemorate the seventy-fifth anniversary of the Gallipoli Landings.<sup>457</sup> Within this letter Gollings made the following statements:

All Australians remember the ANZAC traditions of courage, loyalty, dedication, service and mateship, qualities that are as valid now as they were 73 years ago.

It would be appropriate, that as ANZAC day and its traditions have played such a vital role in the evolution of Australian Society, that this day should be recognised by the issue of a commemorative set of stamps on 25 April 1990.

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<sup>455</sup> Photograph by Charles Smith, Alexander Turnbull Library, reference 1/1-020293G.

<sup>456</sup> Peter J. Fry. Papers relating to the 75<sup>th</sup> Anzac anniversary commemoration, Alexander Turnbull Library, reference 0111, MS papers 4438.

<sup>457</sup> Letter from Ian Gollings to Prime Minister Hawke, 13 October 1988, National Archives of Australia, reference IJG:BH R2-6-22.

The RSL is aware of the Australian Post's policy that stamps should only be issued for 50- and 100-year anniversaries but suggest that not many war veterans would be alive to appreciate this gesture in 2015. The League believes this policy should be waived and that Australia Post be urged to commemorate this important day in our history.

The letter went on to request that he supported a waiver of this policy. On the same day, Gollings wrote to the General Manager of Australia Post seeking a waiver of their stamp issuing policy on the grounds that:

This day has reached such prominence in the Australian annual calendar that there have been calls, including one from a Government Federal Minister, for Anzac day to become Australia's National Day.<sup>458</sup>

The letter concluded that should this be acceptable; would they further consider a joint stamp issue with the New Zealand Postal Authorities. The following day, Gollings wrote to the RSA seeking their support for a joint stamp issue to celebrate the seventy-fifth anniversary of the Gallipoli landings also copying this letter to Prime Minister Hawke and to Australia Post.<sup>459</sup> On 28 November 1988, Jan Robinson, Senior Administration Officer, RSA, replied to the National Secretary of the RSL informing them that the RSA "is in wholehearted support of your suggestion that there should be a joint stamp issue between New Zealand and Australia to commemorate Anzac Day 1990".<sup>460</sup> Robinson copied her reply to the New Zealand Prime Minister, David Lange, Major Fry of the New Zealand Defence Force and the Executive Director of the 1990 Commission.<sup>461</sup> In a separate letter to the Prime Minister, the Dominion President of the RSA, A.R. Johnston, made three important points in his letter seeking the support of David Lange in a joint stamp issue with Australia:

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<sup>458</sup> Letter from Ian Gollings to General Manager, Australia Post, 10 November 1988, National Archives of Australia, reference IJG:BH C2-8-8.

<sup>459</sup> Letter to D. B. Quigley, Chief Executive, RSA, 11 November 1988, *ibid*, reference IJG:BH C2-8-5

<sup>460</sup> Letter from Jan Robinson to Ian Gollings, 28 November 1988, not referenced.

<sup>461</sup> The New Zealand 1990 Commission was established to initiate events for the 150 anniversary of the Treaty of Waitangi, 1000 years of habitation of New Zealand, and the 75 anniversary of the Gallipoli Landings, Alexander Turnbull Library, reference 2012-028-01.

It is commonly accepted that the debacle that was Gallipoli saw the emergence of New Zealand as a nation rather than a colony of “Mother” Britain, surely a concept worth commemorating.

As stated by the RSL of Australia the Anzac connection provides a forum for New Zealand/ Australian relations.

The 1990 Commission in its own promotional material has laid emphasis on the 75<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Gallipoli (NZRSA’s proposals to commemorate Anzac Day 1990 are currently under consideration by the 1990 Commission).<sup>462</sup>

Prior to these events described above, and independently, Major Peter Fry of the Ministry of Defence, had written to the New Zealand Post in September 1988, on behalf of the Chief of the Defence Staff, Lieutenant General J.A. Mace, regarding the production of a special stamp to mark the seventy-fifth anniversary of the Gallipoli Landings. This letter had been prompted by discussions in the Defence Public Relations Department that one strategy to commemorate the event would be the production of a postage stamp. The design and artwork for such a stamp would be by the official army artist.<sup>463</sup> In their reply to Major Fry’s letter, the Business Manager for Philatelic informed him that, while acknowledging the significance of the event, they received between 40-50 requests each year and were not in a position to release a special stamp issue for this occasion. There was an offer to provide a special date cancellation on letters and this would be free.<sup>464</sup> Major Fry was clearly disappointed by this reply and wrote further to Mr. Bignell pointing out several factors that he should consider. Stamps were being produced for the fiftieth anniversary of Air New Zealand and 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the adhesive postage stamp. He further stressed that the 1990 Commission had placed importance on the events of the 1915 landings and

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<sup>462</sup> Letter from A.R. Johnston to David Lange, 28 November 1988, unreferenced within MS papers 4438, National Library of New Zealand.

<sup>463</sup> Defence Public Relations Department, official minute, 28 August 1988 reference A/DFR, *ibid.*

<sup>464</sup> Letter from D.A. Bignell, NZ Post to Major Fry, 28 September 1988, reference GJS RH, *ibid.*

this should be recognised by a stamp issue.<sup>465</sup> Finally, he made the point that the Army artist was available and that advice on the design and configuration was available from Lieutenant Colonel C.J. Pugsley, the author of *Gallipoli: the New Zealand Story*. In response to this letter, Bignell replied that the stamp programme had been decided before receipt of his letter and they were aware of the 1990 Commission's views prior to establishing the stamp programme.<sup>466</sup>

The final blow to the hope of an Anzac stamp and a joint issue with Australia came with a letter from David Lange in January 1989 to the RSA. In the letter the Prime Minister stated that there was no interest shown by Australia Post and New Zealand Post in the suggestion of a joint stamp issue. Further, New Zealand Post had reviewed their position on a Gallipoli stamp, but for the reasons given before, they could not dedicate an issue to this subject. The Prime Minister apologised that he could not bring better news to the RSA.<sup>467</sup> In Australia, a specific stamp for the seventy-fifth anniversary in 1990 did not eventuate either. However, Australia Post did release a set of five stamps entitled "Anzac Traditions" in that year without a specific dedication to the seventy-fifth anniversary (see figure 66).

The failure of commemorative stamp to eventuate in 1990 has revealed much information about the perceived value of postage stamps and the strong views that can be held about their place in commemoration and the politics behind their production. The campaign by the RSA and RSL and others also reveals the attitudes of the organisations to the development of national identity. Certainly, the RSA's attitudes to Empire had changed radically from the immediate post First World War concepts and in one letter there was almost a sense of hostility towards Britain.

In 1984, an agreement between the Turkish, Australian, and New Zealand Governments took place about mutual commemoration of the Gallipoli Campaign. Turkey, on its part, agreed to rename Ari Burnu as Anzac Cove and the New Zealand and Australian governments agreed to erect appropriate monuments in Wellington and Canberra, respectively. The New Zealand monument, featuring a memorial to Atatürk, was unveiled on 25 April 1990, and was designed by Ian Bowman, while the

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<sup>465</sup> The New Zealand 1990 Commission was established on 3 December 1988 to initiate activities and events for celebrating the 150th anniversary of New Zealand as a nation, the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, 1000 years of known human habitation of New Zealand, and the 75th anniversary of the landing at Gallipoli.

<sup>466</sup> Letter from D.A. Bignell to P. Fry, 4 November 1988, reference CSD PHIL 55/11/1 *ibid*.

<sup>467</sup> Letter from David Lange to the RSA president, 9 January 1989, referenced R/10 *ibid*.

Australian memorial was unveiled earlier on the 25 April 1985.<sup>468</sup> With this new remembrance understanding in place, the third issue of stamps to commemorate the Gallipoli campaign was released on 18 March 1998. On this occasion a joint issue with Turkey was successful and each country released the same format, but the actual printing of the stamps took place in the home country and the stamps differed only by their postal currency value and national name. The memorial theme was “Statues to the fallen”. The Turkish statue was entitled “With great respect to the Mehmetçik” (Turkish soldiers) and was designed by the sculptor Professor Tankut Oktam. It features a wounded Anzac soldier being carried to safety by a Turkish soldier. The New Zealand contribution featured a statue from the National War Memorial Hall of Memories and is entitled “Mother with children”. It is not specifically about Gallipoli but portrays the plight of women and children in wartime.<sup>469</sup> Both stamps are illustrated in figure 62 along with the New Zealand First Day Cover designed by Dianne Prosser and photographs of the actual statues used for the stamps. The Turkish choice of the stamp design showing the statue from the graveyard at Gallipoli may relate to the fact that the statue is now regarded as a national symbol of peace, while the New Zealand statue acts as a focal point for the House of Memories in the National War Memorial in Wellington.<sup>470</sup>



(a)

<sup>468</sup> Ataturk memorials: <https://mch.govt.nz/nz-identity-heritage/national-monuments-war-graves/atat%C3%Bcrk-memorial> accessed 11/8/2022; <http://honesthistory.net.au/wp/ankara-calling-the-rush-to-build-the-ataturk-memorial-in-anzac-parade-canberra-1984-85/> accessed 11/8/2022.

<sup>469</sup> Memorial statues: <https://collectables.nzpost.co.nz/memorial-statues-joint-issue-with-turkey/> accessed 20/4/2022; Prime Minister welcomes stamp issue: <https://www.beehive.govt.nz/release/prime-minister-welcomes-joint-stamp-issue> accessed 20/4/2022.

<sup>470</sup> Stamp designs: <http://virtualnewzealandstamps.blogspot.com/p/military-anzac.html>



(b)



(c)



(d)

Figure 62. (a) joint issue stamps of 18 March 1998, (b) New Zealand First Day Cover, (c) “Mother with children statue” (Source: National War Memorial), (d) Turkish sculpture, Canakkale Graveyard, (Source: photograph by the author).

The question remains as to why the First World War commemorative stamps in the twentieth century only featured the Anzacs at Gallipoli. It is a striking omission that there were no stamps reflecting the other major events and battles of historical and national importance during the war period. Four issues were dedicated to the 1914-1918 war, with three to the Anzac landings and one to the final victory celebration, in the 82-year period after the end of the hostilities. It could be argued that commemorative stamps were less frequent in the earlier years of the twentieth century, and that considerable bureaucratic difficulty was experienced in establishing new issues. Be that as it may, between 1918 and 1960 315 stamps were issued at a

rate of over 8 per year. In the period 1961 to 1974, 240 stamps were produced, including 55 definitive issues, 36 Health Stamps and 27 Christmas issues averaging over 12 stamps per year. In the final period, 1975 to 2000, 1,244 new stamps were printed, averaging 49 per year.<sup>471</sup> These observations make it hard to explain why there were no issues for the remembrance of occasions such as the Battle of the Somme, the Third Battle of Ypres (Passchendaele), the storming of the Messines Ridge or the Palestine Campaign, where New Zealanders fought and died.<sup>472</sup> No recognition has been made of the fact that the two and half years at the Western Front had cost New Zealand 13,250 men dead of wounds or sickness and nearly 35,000 wounded. No mention has been made either by the postal authorities of such events as the naval and air forces participation by New Zealanders or to the wireless troops in Mesopotamia.<sup>473</sup>

It should also be remembered that it was only through the lobbying by the RSA that the first two issues, 1936 and 1965, were eventually issued.<sup>474</sup> Even the design and production of these stamps was subjected to much bureaucratic scrutiny and political agreement before their eventual approval and release. However, this in itself does not explain the lack of initiative by the postal authorities in commemorating the other military engagements of the New Zealand forces. The government's lack of initiative over the 1965 Anzac issue is likely explained by the politics and societal changes at this time. By the fiftieth anniversary of the Gallipoli Campaign, much had changed within New Zealand's society and its relationship with Britain and the diminishing Empire. There had been a marked decrease in attendance at Anzac ceremonies both in New Zealand and Australia. Much scholarly work has been published on this phenomenon and among the explanations offered have been the falling numbers of veterans by attrition, changed legislation regarding the sanctity of the day and its apparent lack of relevance to the new generations.<sup>475</sup> Further, the day intended for

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<sup>471</sup> Stanley Gibbons, *Stamps of the World*, volume 3, London: Stanley Gibbons Ltd. 2003: 595-609; B.G Vincent, *The postage stamps of New Zealand*, volume iv, Wellington: Royal Philatelic Society of New Zealand, 1998: 189-190.

<sup>472</sup> Glyn Harper, *Dark Journey: Passchendaele, the Somme and the New Zealand experience on the Western Front*, Auckland: HarperCollins Publishers, 2015: 121.

<sup>473</sup> Glyn Harper, *Johnny Enzed: the New Zealand soldier in the First World War 1914-1918*, Auckland: Exisle Publishing Ltd., 2015: 481-537.

<sup>474</sup> The RSA no longer hold any archival material relating to their lobbying during this period. Personal communication with Dave Foley, Operational Manager, RSA, 31/5/2022.

<sup>475</sup> Rowan Light, *Anzac Nations: the legacy of Gallipoli in New Zealand and Australia, 1965-2015*,

national unity had become one of protest due to Australia's involvement in the Vietnam War and the later New Zealand participation, which changed public attitudes to war. Protest later developed from the feminist movement and, in particular, from members of the Women Against Rape (WAR) group.<sup>476</sup> It was during this period that the Government's policy was to distance itself from the Anzac commemoration and place the responsibility on the shoulders of the RSA.<sup>477</sup>

Both the 1936 and 1965 stamps contained images of Anzac Cove but neither stamp included the name 'Anzac Cove', only the name 'Anzac'. This could be interpreted as suggesting the image of Anzac Cove was so well entrenched in the minds of New Zealanders that to add the name to the stamp was redundant. Ironically, the only stamp to carry the name 'Anzac Cove' was one of the fourteen rejected design essays that had been submitted for the 1936 stamp under the title "Landing at Gallipoli."<sup>478</sup>

As noted above, the production of several other stamps and topics did not appear to be hindered by the processes involved. The argument that relates to Anzac commemoration being linked to the full development of self-identity and nationhood will be analysed after the review of the Australian stamps of the period.

### **First World War and Anzac commemoration in Australia (1919-1999).**

Like New Zealand, the dominant theme of Australia's twentieth century stamps of remembrance was the Gallipoli landings and the role played by the Anzac soldiers in the subsequent events.

The first relevant postage stamp was issued in 1935 to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of the Gallipoli Campaign and for remembrance of those who died. As early as 1932, several branches of the Returned Sailors and Soldiers Imperial League of Australia (RSSILA) resolved to request the Federal Government to commemorate

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Otago: Otago University Press, 2022: 19-52; Helen Robinson, "Lest we forget? The fading of New Zealand war commemorations, 1946-1960", *New Zealand Journal of History*, 2010; 44; 10; Jeff Doyle, "Dismantling the Anzac legend: Australian popular culture and the Vietnam War", *Vietnam Generations*, 1992; 3: 10-125; Maureen Sharpe, "Anzac Day in New Zealand, 1916-1939", *New Zealand Journal of History*, 1981; 15: 97-114 Scott Worthy, "A debt of honour" *New Zealand Journal of History*, 2002; 36: 185-200.

<sup>476</sup> Light, *ibid*, 2022: 35

<sup>477</sup> Light, *ibid*, 2022: 30 and 44.

<sup>478</sup> Anzac Cove 1965, Postage Stamp Archive, Te Papa Tongarewa, Museum of New Zealand, Wellington.

the Gallipoli Campaign by the issue of a postage stamp, no later than 1935.<sup>479</sup> At their annual conference in 1933, the RSSILA confirmed this desire and moved that a special stamp be issued in 1935 depicting the historic landing. In the same year, 1932, the New South Wales branch of the RSSILA directly approached their Postmaster-General (Mr. Fenton) and proposed that 1935 would be the appropriate year for the stamp issue. In reply, Fenton informed them that a resubmission in 1934 would be appropriate “In light of the circumstances then obtaining”.<sup>480</sup> The subsequent proposals did obtain government approval and by February 1935, the *Star* in New Zealand even reported the imminent release of the stamp and described its Cenotaph design.<sup>481</sup>

In March 1935, two stamps, 1d red and one shilling black, were released and their design was based upon the Cenotaph in Whitehall, London (see figure 63). The design of the stamp was that suggested by the RSSILA, but the actual drawing, engraving and printing was by the Commonwealth Printing Office.<sup>482</sup> This Cenotaph design was chosen as Australia, at that time, did not have its own national memorial. *The Northern Standard* of Darwin went to some lengths to describe the stamp design and comment upon it: “The design was of the Cenotaph in London, surrounded by a laurel leaf with ‘Anzac Commemoration, 1915-1935’ inscribed on it and the postal values placed upon a tilted shield”. The newspaper further commented “The department is to be congratulated upon the selection of the design – simple dignity fitting the occasion”.<sup>483</sup> An important comment was made by the *Canberra Times* when it stated that the RSSILA proposed special issue was a “commercial proposition”.<sup>484</sup> This comment is highly relevant to what happened with stamp production in the twenty-first century, as will be described later. The Postmaster-General’s office sent a letter to all postmasters in Australia on 13 March 1935, regarding regulations governing the forthcoming Anzac issue. These stated that: (1) the stamps had not to be placed on sale before 18 March 1935 and should continue until further notice be given (2) the

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<sup>479</sup> In June 1916, the Returned Sailors and Soldiers Imperial League of Australia was formed. It changed its name to the Returned Services League of Australia in 1940, and in 1990 the name was changed once more to Returned and Services League (RSL).

<sup>480</sup> *Brisbane Courier*, 1 September 1932, 3; *Herald* (Melbourne), 14 September 1933, 5; *Sun* (Sydney), 18 September 1932, 11.

<sup>481</sup> *Star*, 18 February 1935, 6.

<sup>482</sup> Anzac Commemorative Stamps: 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Anzac Day, National Archives of Australia, NAA D959 1A.

<sup>483</sup> *Northern Standard* (Darwin), 2 April 1935, 9.

<sup>484</sup> *Canberra Times*, 19 March 1935, 2.

sale of the regular stamps should be suspended during this period, unless a specific demand was made for them (3) no letter that was pre-paid with the stamps should be cancelled before 18 March.<sup>485</sup> Further advice was sent with regard to the stock of stamps, of each value, that should be held in stock in each post office.<sup>486</sup> Despite these regulations, envelopes with stamps dated prior to the 18 March were found soon after the formal release of the issue on the nominated day (see figure 63e). This immediately prompted a letter from the Director General of the Postmaster-General's office to the Superintendent of Mails informing him of a proposed enquiry into this situation.<sup>487</sup> Even with this remembrance issue, the commercial aspects of stamp production became apparent when each state was billed for its share of the Anzac stamp printing. Adelaide postal services were charged £31 per 1,000 stamps they sold.<sup>488</sup>

In considering this stamp and the concept of national identity, it must be remembered that during the twentieth century the two governments held a monopoly over the design, approval and release of national postage stamps. Their images, therefore, reflected the political establishment's view on such concepts as nationalism. Be that as it may, up to the 1960s, there was still some tension caused by the move from a settler society to that of an independent sovereign nation. Humphrey McQueen has drawn attention to the fact that following the release of this first Anzac remembrance stamp, Anzac being held up as the growing symbol of Australian nationhood, the next stamp issued was of an imperial nature. It celebrated the Silver Jubilee of King George V which fell a week after Anzac Day of that year. The stamp was not released until May 1935 and bore the image of the King seated upon his horse with an almost empty background. Ironically, the horse was called "Anzac", which had been gifted to him by the Queensland Government. McQueen suggests that the stamps were issued separately on purpose, and he considers it is pertinent to consider them as a linked pair in which ideological exchanges were represented by visual transfers. The King appeared astride a horse named for the two dominions, monarch and steed are shown against a horizontal landscape, empty except for low hills in the far distance. Here, he claims, is imperial posing within an antipodean dimension

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<sup>485</sup> Letter from Arthur J. Fay, for the Postmaster-General, 13 March 1935, telegram to all postmasters dated 12 March 1935. National Archives of Australia, NAA D959 1A.

<sup>486</sup> Stock to be held: 2d to the value of £5,734/15/6, 3d to the value of £1, 441/1.

<sup>487</sup> Anzac stamps, *ibid*, National Archives of Australia, NAA D959 1A.

<sup>488</sup> Printing cost of Anzac stamps, letter dated 11 August 1935, *ibid* NAA D959 1A.

(figure 63).<sup>489</sup> Jeffery has stated that the Jubilee provided an opportunity for a great outburst of imperial postal activity that might be called “the philatelic apotheosis of crown and empire”.<sup>490</sup> Joan Beaumont has succinctly summarised the situation at this point by writing:

Imperial loyalty was entrenched as the dominant ideology, providing itself able to accommodate the growing sense of national singularity.<sup>491</sup>

Beaumont expands this further by stating that while imperial loyalty is now regarded as anachronistic, it did allow the assertion of the rights of the Dominions to a more independent role within the imperial relationship.

In 1958 and again in 1991, stamps were issued that had major relevance to the First World War remembrance. The 1958 issue was a dual set of stamps commemorating the unveiling of the National War Memorial on 11 November 1941. The foundation stone was laid in April 1929.<sup>492</sup> The design depicts the dome of the Hall of Memory and its courtyard, and the stamps differ in that each one has a representative figure of members of the services. One stamp represents a sailor and an airman while the other shows a soldier and a servicewoman and each stamp appears alternatively in each sheet. The design of these figures is based upon the mosaics developed by Napier Waller and displayed within the Hall of Memory. The stamps are displayed in figure 64 along with a photograph of the actual Hall of Memory and an example of the mosaic representing the Army. The details of these stamps were originally announced by the Postmaster-General, C.W. Davidson, in 1957 and information about their release in early 1958 and his description appeared widely in the press at the time.<sup>493</sup> He explained that their unusual postal value of five and a half pence was to cover second class mail such as catalogues and circulars.<sup>494</sup> These stamps were seen as

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<sup>489</sup> Humphrey McQueen, “The Australian stamp: image, design and ideology”, Jillian Bradshaw Memorial Lecture, *Curtis University of Technology*, 24 October 1987: 5.

<sup>490</sup> Keith Jeffery, 2006: 58.

<sup>491</sup> Joan Beaumont, “United we fought: imperial loyalty and the Australian war effort”, *International Affairs*, 2014; 90: 411.

<sup>492</sup> *Canberra Times*, “Anzac Day and the Memorial”, 25 April 1929, 4.

<sup>493</sup> *Western Herald* (Bourke), Postage stamps depicting Australian War Memorial, 29 November 1957, 8.

<sup>494</sup> *Canberra Times*, 14 August 1957, 3; *Western Herald*, 6 September 1957, 4.

important to the extent that following their release, the special printing die cuts used to make the stamps were presented to the national president of the RSL, Sir George Holland, along with an official first day cover bearing a special postal cancellation to celebrate the occasion.<sup>495</sup>

The second National Memorial stamp was issued on 14 March 1991 as part of a three-stamp issue entitled “In memory of those who served”. The \$1.20 stamp shows a scene of the opening of the National Memorial and celebrates the fiftieth anniversary of the scene in 1941. This stamp is also shown in figure 64 along with a photograph of the actual event depicted.

The 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Anzac Campaign was celebrated by the issue of an omnibus edition of stamps.<sup>496</sup> The Postmaster-General, Alan Hulme, made the announcement that an issue of the stamps would be made in January 1965 to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the Anzac landings and later described their release date as 14 April 1965. He also described the design of the stamps and stated that issues would be made for the Australian territories, and these would also have a similar design.<sup>497</sup> The format of the stamp was a reproduction of the sculpture in the National War Memorial in Canberra of Simpson and his donkey, Duffy.



(a)

<sup>495</sup> *Canberra Times*, 1 February 1958, 2-3.

<sup>496</sup> An omnibus edition refers to several territories issuing the same stamp for the same event, see James Watson, *The Stanley Gibbons book of stamps and stamp collecting*, 1990: 107. On this occasion the stamps were for: Nauru, Papua New Guinea (not independent in 1965) Norfolk Island, Christmas Island and Cocos (Keeling) Island.

<sup>497</sup> *Canberra Times*, 9 January 1965, 6; *The Beverley Times* (Western Australia), 9 April 1965, 6.



(b)



(c)



(d)



(e)

Figure 63. (a) The Anzac 1d and one shilling issue of 1935, (b) A postcard of the London Cenotaph parade in 1935 at the time of the stamps' release, (c) Present day Cenotaph c.2021 (Source: Wikipedia), (d) The silver jubilee stamp for King George

V, Australia 1935 and contemporary photograph on which it is based (Source: Press photo, 1934), (e) Envelope bearing Anzac stamps, backstamped 25 March 1935.

This design was by Carl Andrew, and it was based upon the statue by Wallace Anderson at the Shrine of Remembrance.<sup>498</sup> The stamps consisted of a set of three, each of a different value and colour, the latter to emphasise aspects of the Gallipoli Campaign. The 5d. value was khaki in colour, and the 8d. blue, to represent the parts played by the army and navy. The two shilling and three pence value was maroon in colour and represented the Victoria Cross, as a sign of sacrifice and heroism (figure 65).<sup>499</sup>



(a)



(b)



AUSTRALIAN WAR MEMORIAL  
ART90409.004

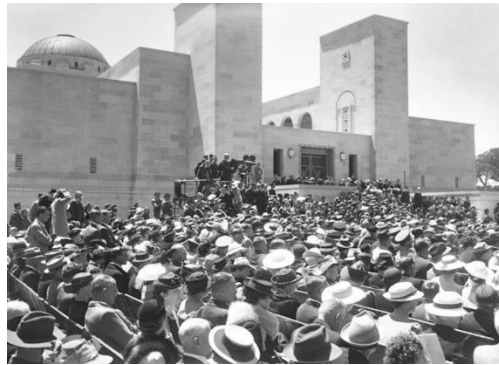
(c)

<sup>498</sup> Parliament of Australia, <http://www.parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlinfo/search/display/display> accessed 2/6/2022.

<sup>499</sup> John Higgs, ed., *The Australasian stamp catalogue*, New South Wales: Seven Seas Pty., 1996: 26.



(d)



(e)



(f)

Figure 64. (a) The dual pair of National War Memorial stamps issued on 10 February 1958, (b) Actual photograph of scene depicted on the stamps (Source: National War Memorial Archives), (c) Mural from Hall of Memory depicting a soldier as used on the stamp, (d) Stamp commemorating the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the National War Memorial opening, (e) Actual photograph of the opening of the War Memorial (Source: Archives of the National War Memorial), (f) Laying the foundation stone for the Australian War Memorial, 29 April 1929.<sup>500</sup>

When the fiftieth anniversary of the Anzac Landings was approaching, the Australian Government went to considerable lengths to approve and prepare several events and steps to celebrate this occasion. Among these approvals was to be an issue of special stamps.<sup>501</sup> Early notes from the Prime Minister's Office state:

<sup>500</sup> Laying the foundation stone, National Archives of Australia, NAA A3560 5254, accession number 415613.

<sup>501</sup> The other steps approved by the Prime Minister were: financial assistance for the RSL for a Gallipoli pilgrimage, work on Anzac Park in front of the war memorial, and the preparation of a documentary film on Anzac. The Prime Minister's Department, reference KWP/HS 63/2537, National Archives of Australia NAA A63 1964/3192.

I understand that the Postmaster-General has had a deal of correspondence with the RSL about a special stamp to mark the Jubilee. There are also some discussions going on with Turkey and New Zealand about the possibility of a joint issue by the three countries of a stamp having the same design.<sup>502</sup>

However, no agreement was forthcoming, as outlined in the failed attempts by the New Zealand Post to make contact in Ankara. The final design for the Australian stamps is illustrated in figure 65a. The choice of John Simpson Kirkpatrick and his donkey to represent the fifty-year anniversary is an interesting one. There is a striking contrast between the first Anzac stamp and this second one in terms of it being a depiction of an Australian icon and hence is in marked contrast to the imperial connotation of the first Anzac stamp. The concept of Kirkpatrick being the quintessential larrikin Anzac and a symbol of Australian courage and “mateship” has been much challenged. His birth in England and his early life and later his four-year residence in Australia, prior to enlisting in the Australian Medical Corps, has been detailed by Pearn and Gardener-Medwin and others.<sup>503</sup> Much has been written about him and his place in Anzac history. Lord Moran, for example, describes him as having “incalculable personal factors, the essence of courage”. Les Carlyon has commented that he was “being brave, but he was not a saint, despite being beatified in Australia’s collective mind”. Others have described his making of a legend, while others have described the legend as a myth and delusion.<sup>504</sup> This apart, the stamps of 1958 and 1991 show a marked contrast in content with the original Anzac stamps of 1935. They are undoubtedly wholly Australian in their orientation and devoid of any obvious links with Britain or Empire. These stamps provide further evidence of the development of a separate Australian identity.

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<sup>502</sup> The Prime Minister’s Department, letter, reference GB. CGJ, National Archives of Australia, NAA A463 1963/2537.

<sup>503</sup> John H. Pearn and David Gardener-Medwin, “An Anzac’s childhood: John Simpson Kirkpatrick (1892-1915)”, *Medical Journal of Australia*, 2003; 178: 400-402; Mike Donaldson, “Jack Simpson, the man with the donkey”, *Australian Socialist*, 2015; 20: 9.

<sup>504</sup> C. Moran. *The anatomy of courage*, London: Constable, 1945: 171; Les Carlyon, *Gallipoli*, Sydney: Pan MacMillan, 2001: 266-268; Graham Wilson, *Dust donkeys and delusion – the myth of Simpson and his donkey*, New South Wales: Big Sky Publishing, 2012; Peter Cochrane, *Simpson and his donkey: the making of a legend*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2014.

The production of the fiftieth anniversary Australian stamps based upon Simpson, “the man with the donkey”, gave rise to a political, remembrance and commercial incident. A Mr. Tom Walsh of the New Zealand News Service wrote to the Australian Postmaster-General’s Office and suggested that it would be a good idea to present a set of Anzac stamps to Mrs Annie Pearson, John Simpson’s sister and next of kin. His idea arose from his recent contact with Mrs. Pearson to whom he had sent a set of photographs of her brother taken at Gallipoli. This concept was supported by the Prime Minister’s Department who wrote to the Postmaster-General’s Department asking if it could be done.<sup>505</sup> The Director-General of the Post Office, Frank P. O’Grady, wrote to Sir John Bunting of the Prime Minister’s Office informing him that the request to send Mrs. Pearson a set of stamps was refused and this refusal was the direct decision of the Postmaster-General, Alan Hume.<sup>506</sup> A file note in the Prime Minister’s Office revealed the basis for the refusal of the request. This decision was based upon the grounds “that it was only an oblique suggestion from a man in New Zealand and we have had no direct request from Mrs. Pearson”. More importantly, it was stated “the reason was due to the unfavourable publicity the Post Office has been getting on the question of distributing die proofs and presentation sets of new stamps to members of the Stamp Advisory Committee”.<sup>507</sup> It appears that a subsequent telephone conversation took place between the Prime Minister’s Office and the Director General, Frank O’Grady, as a further letter of the 27 April from O’Grady stated “further to the telephone request, a complete set of Anzac stamps, hinged into a small folder has been sent to Mrs Pearson by air mail”.<sup>508</sup> The sting in the letter to the Prime Minister was an account for seven shillings and two pence to cover the cost of the stamps and the payment to be sent to the Officer-in-Charge of the Philatelic Bureau in Melbourne.<sup>509</sup> On receipt of the stamp package, Mrs. Pearson wrote a personal letter directly to the Prime Minister, Robert Menzies, on 3 May 1965,

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<sup>505</sup> Prime Minister’s Department, letter, reference GJY: BAS, National Archives of Australia, NAA A463 1964/3192

<sup>506</sup> Letter from Frank O’Grady to Sir John Bunting, reference 65/1304, 251/22/308, 9 April 1965. NAA A463 1964/3192

<sup>507</sup> File note, Prime Minister’s Department, signed G.M. Brownbill, dated 2 April 1965, reference GB:GC 65/1304, *ibid* NAA citation.

<sup>508</sup> Australia, 5d., 8d., 2/3d., Papua and New Guinea, 2/3d., Norfolk Island, 5d., Cocos Island, 5d., Nauru, 5d., and Christmas Island, 10c.

<sup>509</sup> Letter to G.M. Brownbill, from F.P. O’Grady, 22 April 1965, reference 65/1304, Anzac stamps, *ibid* NAA citation.

expressing her thanks for the stamps that “depicted my beloved brother, John, who we always knew as Jack”.<sup>510</sup>

This episode presents an example of how a set of postage stamps, issued for remembrance, can have political and even financial repercussions. It would appear that Prime Minister Menzies had been in prior letter communication with Mrs. Pearson. When he received the “curt” response from the Director-General of the Post Office regarding the stamp gift, he overrode his decision. In turn, the Director-General appeared to be spiteful in demanding his seven shillings and six pence, so he could be seen not to donate free stamps. This whole scenario has to be viewed in the context that Annie Pearson had already donated to the Australian War Memorial many of her brother’s personal items.<sup>511</sup> She had also to write a letter to the Prime Minister to inquire if they had been received safely as she had not received an acknowledgement. Eventually, she received a reply from the Office of the new Prime Minister, John Gorton, via the Australian War Memorial administration informing her of the receipt of her donation of her brother’s personal items.<sup>512</sup> Overall, Mrs. Pearson seems to have been treated poorly, as she had been invited to the fiftieth anniversary of Anzac by Robert Menzies, but this never eventuated. In 1968 the Federal Government did bring her to Australia for a few days after much campaigning.<sup>513</sup>

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<sup>510</sup> Letter from Mrs Annie Pearson to Prime Minister, Robert Menzies, sent 3 May 1965, citation, National Archives of Australia, NAA 463 1965/1304.

<sup>511</sup> Simpson’s personal items were: British War Medal, British Victory Medal, 1914/15 Medal, Bronze oak leaf emblem – mention in despatches (with accompanying documents and correspondence), Large Bronze Medallion (with accompanying documents), Identity Disc.

<sup>512</sup> Letter to Mrs Annie Pearson from Ainsley Gotto, private secretary, sent 24 October 1969. National Archives of Australia, NAA A463 1965/1304.

<sup>513</sup> Letter from R.H. Whittorn, Federal Member for Balaclava, to the Prime Minister, J.G. Gorton, 17 May 1968, and letter from F.R. Hocking, secretary, The Gallipoli Legion of Anzacs, 15 May 1968, National Archives of Australia, *ibid* A463 1965/1304.



(a)



(b)



(c)

W.A. No. 26234		Correct name KIRKPATRICK, John Simpson	
Paybook No.	Name SIMPSON, John	Unit C/Ord	FLD AME
Regtl. No. 20E	Rank E16.		
Name of Allocation		Relationship	Address of Allocation
1291			
Date from	To	Rate	Remarks
26/10/14	6/-	1/-	4/-
Allot.		SEPN.	REPN.
4/-			
Reason and Authority for Variation		Post office	Comm. No.
Pte. at Embkn.		C.S.BK.,	
		Perth	
EXTRA DUTY PAY		CALCULATED AFFECTING PAY	
Amount No.	Particulars	Date	Particulars
3773			
Allot. paid to 30/6/15		Deceased List No. 64	
DECEASED		SCHEDULE No. 7	

(d)

Figure 65. (a) Australian Anzac stamps for the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Gallipoli Campaign and similar issues for Australian territories, 1965, (b) Sculpture of Simpson and his donkey, Canberra, photograph by author, (c) Photograph of Simpson and his donkey, Gallipoli.<sup>514</sup> (d) Simpson’s pay book from Gallipoli.<sup>515</sup>

In summary, the design of the first Australian Anzac stamp of 1935 thus seems to reveal the conflict between Empire and imperial loyalty and the rising nationalism and patriotism within Australia. The subject of the stamp does not display an Australian soldier or “digger” nor Anzac Cove, but instead uses the very symbol of Empire sacrifice, the Cenotaph in Whitehall, London. With the RSL involved in the stamp design, it does suggest that Australian veterans still saw themselves as part of the British Empire.<sup>516</sup> In contrast, the New Zealand Anzac stamp of 1936 was designed to show a New Zealand soldier at Gallipoli and suggested that these soldiers were of an independent country but still played their part within the Anzac forces. The Australian Anzac stamp of 1935 also contrasted with the statement by the Postmaster-General Charles Frazer: “A postage stamp is one of the best advertising mediums the country can have” and argued that an Australian stamp with a British monarch does not represent Australia.<sup>517</sup>

<sup>514</sup> National Archives of Australia, <https://www.naa.gov.au/learn/learning-resources/learning-resource-themes/war/world-war-i/private-simpson-and-his-donkey-gallipoli> accessed 25/4/2022.

<sup>515</sup> Paybook, National Archives of Australia, NAA, NABK 1144, Simpson J.

<sup>516</sup> Humphrey McQueen, “The Australian stamp: image, design, and ideology”, *Jillian Bradshaw Memorial Lecture*, Curtin University of Technology, 24 October 1988.

<sup>517</sup> Tom Lawrie, “On this day in history: Australia’s first stamp released”, *Australian Geographic*,

The final relevant stamp issue in the period under review was in 1990 and was entitled ‘Anzac Tradition’. The set consisted of five stamps each of which was composed of a montage of images covering a different aspect of war. The stamps are illustrated in figure 66 along with their specific titles. While the stamps were issued in 1990, corresponding to the 75<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Anzac landings, there is no specific mention or reference or commemoration to the 1915 landings within the series as discussed earlier. An image of First World War soldiers is shown in one of the 41c. stamps and the 65c. stamp carrying the message “Lest we forget” certainly relates to the First World War.



Figure 66. Stamps of the “Anzac tradition series”, issued on 12 April 1990, 41c. ‘At the front’, 41c. ‘They also serve’, 65c. ‘Lest we forget’, \$1 ‘Casualties’, \$1.10 ‘News’.

There was a radical change in Australia’s stamp for the fiftieth anniversary. The image of Simpson and his donkey was used to portray the selfless heroism of the Australian digger at Gallipoli and thus reflect Australian national characteristics. New Zealand, on its part, produced another stamp for the fiftieth anniversary focussed on Anzac Cove and again devoid of any imperial symbolism or connotation. Its format was certainly influenced by the views of the RSA, which suggests that, in the New

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<http://www.australiangeographic.com.au/journal/on-this-day-in-history-australias-first-stamp-released.htm> accessed 1/6/2022.

Zealand case, the decline in veteran numbers further distanced the organisation from allegiance to the concepts of Empire.<sup>518</sup>

In the eighty years following the First World War, New Zealand released only three issues that could be regarded as remembrance stamps. Australia, for its part, issued only two sets that were remembrance related and one other set that was non-specific but related to Anzac traditions that had developed over several conflicts. During this period, the postal services were a direct government responsibility and hence politically controlled. Despite this, it took considerable lobbying by the returned servicemen's organisations, in both countries, to persuade the government and the post office that stamps were necessary to help commemorate the twentieth and fiftieth anniversaries of the Gallipoli Campaign. Indeed, in Australia the RSL sought the distribution of a specific Anzac medal to the former Anzacs at the time of the fiftieth anniversary. Prime Minister Menzies dismissed the idea on the basis that there were fewer veterans left and he would have to discuss this with the New Zealand Government.<sup>519</sup> Somewhat peripheral to the theme of active remembrance were the stamps about the opening of the National War Memorial in Canberra and the Second World War 'peace' issue from New Zealand. The Australian post office did not directly commemorate the seventy-fifth anniversary of Gallipoli but produced a series, in 1990, about general war events that had involved the Anzacs and labelled 'Anzac Tradition'. While the stamps were issued in the year of the anniversary, they made no reference to this event. These actions suggest that both governments felt that there was little need to produce more remembrance stamps and this is in stark contrast to the situation in the twenty-first century (see Chapter 7). The explanation that new stamps were rarely issued prior to the twenty-first century seems to carry little weight. New Zealand issued over 1,100 stamps and Australia over 1,879 in the period under review. In this time, Australia issued 16 stamps alone to celebrate the Australian Football League and 26, in one series, entitled 'living together', while in New Zealand 21 stamps were issued in 1970 featuring flowers and birds in one issue.<sup>520</sup> This supports the contention, proposed in the introduction to this chapter, that the scope of the remembrance stamps was narrow and their release infrequent.

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<sup>518</sup> Christopher Moor, *Dominion Post*, 14 April 2015.

<sup>519</sup> Rowan Light, *Anzac Nations*, Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2022: 26.

<sup>520</sup> *Stamps of Australia*, 10<sup>th</sup> edition, Banksmeadow: Rennik's Publications, 2006; Stanley Gibbons, *New Zealand concise catalogue*, London: Stanley Gibbons Publications Ltd., 1990; *The Len Jury New Zealand stamp catalogue*, New Plymouth: Philatelic Distributors Ltd., 2019.

The choice by both postal services and governments to commemorate the First World War only by stamps depicting the Anzac involvement at Gallipoli relates to the much-debated topic of self-identity and nationhood building.<sup>521</sup> The shaping of both countries by the bravery and sacrifice displayed by their soldiers at Gallipoli and the subsequent formation of the concept of ‘mateship’, formed the basis of the so-called ‘Anzac myth’ or ‘legend’ and the resultant proposal that it formed the flowering of full nationhood by both countries.<sup>522</sup> Peter Weir’s 1981 film *Gallipoli* has been an important milestone in the formation of Australia’s views of the Anzac legend and the search for the roots of national identity at Gallipoli. Rowan Light has described the film as one that has become “a kind of cliché for accounts of Anzac Day in Australia” and suggests that Maurice Shadbolt’s play *Once on Chunuk Bair* had more impact in New Zealand and was imbued with a nationalist agenda.<sup>523</sup> Anzac Day did not seem to hold the same position in New Zealand as the major founding event of the country. Glyn Harper has expressed the view, “I do not think the New Zealand myths around Gallipoli are as strong as in Australia, where the term “Anzac” has become almost sacred”.<sup>524</sup> Another historian, Danny Keenan, from a Māori perspective, has gone further and stated, “New Zealand did not come of age on the beaches of Gallipoli, it came of age on our own battlefields, like Rangiriri. ....we fought on our own soil”.<sup>525</sup> The differences in approach by the two governments to the importance of Gallipoli, was illustrated by their response to the seventy-fifth anniversary of the Anzac landings. The Australians made a major political investment in the event. Light has described this as “an event dominated by Australian prerogatives and priorities”<sup>526</sup> In

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<sup>521</sup> C.E.W. Bean, *The official history of Australia in the War of 1914-1918*, volume ii, Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1924: 90; Graham Seal, *Inventing Anzac: the digger and national mythology*, Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 2004; Jed Donaghue, Bruce Tranter, *The Anzac myth and Australian national identity*, 2014, <https://www.e-ir.info/2014/05/08/the-anzac-myth-and-australian-national-identity/> accessed 11/5/2022; Alistair Thomson, *Anzac memories: living with the legend*, Clayton: Monash University, 2013; Joan Beaumont, *Broken Nation*, 2014: xxiii-xxiv, 153.

<sup>522</sup> Mark Haltof, “In quest of self-identity: Gallipoli, mateship and the construction of Australian national identity”, *Journal of Popular Film and Television*, 1993; 21: 27-36; Nick Dyrenfurth, *Mateship: a very Australian history*, Brunswick, Victoria: Scribe Publications, 2015; Alistair Thomson, “Anzac memories: putting popular memory theory into practice in Australia”, *Oral History*, 1990; 10: 25-31.

<sup>523</sup> Rowan Light, *Anzac Nations*, 2022: 67-70; Peter Weir, “I felt somehow, I was really touching history”, *Literature Film Quarterly*, 1981; 9: 4.

<sup>524</sup> Anzac Day: commemorate or celebrate? <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-australia-32246077> accessed 2/5/2022.

<sup>525</sup> Danny Keenan, “We came of age on the battlefields of New Zealand”, *New Zealand Herald*, 20 April 2006.

<sup>526</sup> Light, *Anzac Nations*, 2022: 77.

New Zealand, the priority was different, as the year marked the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. The government prioritised this event and gave some funding to the RSA to organise the seventy-fifth commemoration.<sup>527</sup>

In chapter 2 the stamps of the two countries that were issued prior to 1914 were described and discussed and a conclusion drawn that their design and texts were in keeping with a dawning of self-identity and nationalism but still within in the context of the British Empire. The immediate post-war Victory issue was very much a celebration of Empire and had been directed politically to be so. The specific war related Anzac stamps of 1914-1999 did have designs that would indicate the development of specific nationalistic elements with time. Their impact lies in their reflection on and illustration of what became the Anzac legend and the nationalism which was distancing itself from Britain and the Empire. In the words of W. M. Hughes, the Prime Minister of Australia, “Australia was born on the shores of Gallipoli” and “The change in the status of the dominions now and twenty-five years ago is very great”<sup>528</sup>. With regard to New Zealand, the oft quoted words of Ormond Burton are appropriate “Somewhere between the landing at Anzac and the battle of the Somme, New Zealand very definitely became a nation” although this is now debated as described above.<sup>529</sup> This concept would explain why the other major battles of the First World War, with their greater loss of life and casualties, have not been commemorated specifically by postage stamps during the twentieth century.

In conclusion, the Anzacs and Gallipoli theme has been the sole area of commemoration, in stamps, in both Dominions during the twentieth century. The explanation of this would fit with the concept that the Anzacs of Gallipoli became the symbol of the increasing development of nationhood and independence in both countries.

The New Zealand war remembrance stamps of the early twenty-first century are examined in chapter 7. The rapid expansion of stamp issues in general and First World War remembrance stamps specifically, is discussed in depth. It deals with remembrance stamps from 2000 to the end of the centenary celebrations of the First

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<sup>527</sup> Ibid, 78.

<sup>528</sup> Inscribed on the Australian War Memorial, quoted by Joan Beaumont in *Broken Nation*, page 55, William (Billy) Hughes speech to the Imperial Conference, 1921.

<sup>529</sup> Ormond Burton, *A rich old man*, unpublished autobiography, page 138.

World War in 1918. The commercial, social, and financial aspects and postal service changes are discussed in detail. The chapter is thus directed at answering research question 2 in relation to New Zealand.

## Chapter 7. Postage stamps issued by New Zealand for commemoration and remembrance of the First World War (2000-2019).

“We have never, in fact, outgrown the shadow  
Of that war, which our fathers had fought.  
It brooded over our thoughts and emotions.”  
John Mulgan, 1947.<sup>530</sup>

In these final two chapters, the focus is upon the change of approach to the issue of postage stamps that developed during the first twenty years of the twenty-first century and the probable factors involved in these changes. The result was a vast increase in the number of stamps issued and a widened range of topics covered, especially those issued in the name of commemoration and remembrance of the First World War. A description of the range, numbers, and topics of these stamps will be outlined, and examples illustrated. It is proposed and argued that while these issues were directed towards remembrance of the First World War, and, in particular, the centenary of the war, an important motivation for their production was commercial and profit based. In addition, attention will be paid to the concepts of national identity as displayed through the stamp issues of the twenty-first century and, in particular, those relating to the centenary of the First World War.

A key factor in the changed approach to stamp production in the first twenty years of the twenty-first century lies within the postal organisations in New Zealand and Australia responsible for mail delivery and stamp production. In New Zealand, the first official post office opened in the Bay of Islands in 1840 and ongoing legislation from that time regulated the Post Office’s business activities.<sup>531</sup> By 1984, the postal system was controlled by a specific government department that was responsible for the postal system, telegraphic services and a savings bank. A major change occurred in 1986, when the Post Office business was split into three different businesses all owned by the Crown and called State Owned Enterprises (SOE), and the postal system was renamed New Zealand Post Ltd.<sup>532</sup> While New Zealand Post had become

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<sup>530</sup> John Mulgan, *Report on experience*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1947: 33.

<sup>531</sup> Government of New Zealand, Post Office Act of 1928, and amendment to the Act, 1959 number 30.

<sup>532</sup> State Owned Enterprises Act, 1986, Schedule 1, New Zealand Post Ltd., assent 18/12/1989, Postal Services Act, number 113, 1987.

a full commercial business, in 1989 a Deed of Understanding was introduced which committed the organisation to social, price and service undertakings, and this Deed was further modified in 2013.<sup>533</sup> By far the greatest financial impact on the viability of the postal services came in 1998, with the introduction of the Postal Services Act. The Act deregulated the postal service and introduced full competition and the removal of New Zealand Post's monopoly after 150 years of operation. However, the Act permitted only designated operators the right to issue stamps with the inscription "New Zealand".<sup>534</sup> The Act engendered intense political and philosophical debate and Mathew Palmer has written, "The state-owned policy of the present Labour Government has fundamentally affected New Zealand's constitutional and business arrangements".<sup>535</sup> A similar and parallel process was occurring in Australia. The first postmaster had been appointed in New South Wales in 1809, and following Federation in 1901, Sir John Forrest was appointed Commonwealth Postmaster-General, in June 1902, with the responsibility for mail and telegraph services throughout the whole country.<sup>536</sup> In 1975, the Department was abolished, and the Australian Postal Commission formed, and on the 1 July 1989, the name was changed to the Australian Postal Corporation or Australia Post. In November 1993, the Post Office was reformed and deregulated with Australia Post losing its monopoly on letter mail and was now regarded as a government business enterprise. Much has been written about these reforms, and Maurice Castro commented,

These latest measures, however, make the first significant change for a considerable time to the letter monopoly-the services reserved for Australia Post.<sup>537</sup>

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<sup>533</sup> *Postal Services in New Zealand*, Ministry of Business, Innovation, and Employment, "Postal deed of understanding", 1989, Deed of Amendment and Re-statement, 2013.

<sup>534</sup> Parliamentary Service Office, New Zealand Legislation, *Postal Services Act*, 1998, Number 2, 18 March 1998.

<sup>535</sup> Mathew S. R. Palmer, "The State-Owned Enterprises Act 1986: accountability?", Victoria University Law Report, 1988: 169.

<sup>536</sup> National Archives of Australia, Post Office records, fact sheet 50, <https://web.archive.org/web/20111018044257/http://www.naa.gov.au/collection/fact-sheets/fs50.aspx> accessed 18/5/2022, Commonwealth of Australia, Australian Postal Corporation Act, 1989.

<sup>537</sup> Maurice C. Castro, "Deregulation of Australia's Postal Services", in: M.A. Crew and P.R. Kleindorfer, eds, "Commercialization of Postal and Delivery Services: National and International Perspectives", *Topics in Regulatory Economics and Policy Series*, vol 19, Boston: Springer Link, 1995:38.

The importance of these facts relates to the financial viability of both countries' postal systems.<sup>538</sup> In relation to New Zealand, Jeffery Kung and Rachel Poo, writing in 1996, claimed that New Zealand Post had been one of the most successful examples of the transfer of a government department into a commercial trading enterprise. Prior to 1987, the postal department was incurring trading losses and in 1986, for example, the losses amounted to \$38 million. It was these losses that led to the conversion of the department to an SOE. These changes reflected the major economic changes that were taking place globally. In New Zealand, they were initiated by the Fourth Labour Government under the direction of Sir Roger Douglas (1984-1990), while in Australia macroeconomic and microeconomic reforms were introduced to improve economic performance.<sup>539</sup> In New Zealand, the new company followed an efficient service model by selling off unnecessary assets and by 1993 had achieved a trading profit of \$36.7 million.<sup>540</sup> An early warning of things to come was offered by the *Dominion* in 1993, when they discussed the government plans to deregulate postal systems by writing “Revenue loss would come from the loss of business to competition and from price reductions the company would have to make to business mailers”.<sup>541</sup> Similar doubts about the future financial viability of Australia Post were being expressed in Senate reports about the restructured model, “However it was argued that such business changes alone will not be sufficient to ensure the long-term sustainability of Australia Post”.<sup>542</sup>

Prior to the deregulation process, mail letter delivery had been the core business of both postal authorities. However, in New Zealand there was a rapid decline in total mail handled from 1.1 billion items in 2002 to 835 million by 2012.<sup>543</sup> This decline

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<sup>538</sup> Performance Reviews – Crown Enterprises, public organisations, and State Enterprises: In Committee, <https://www.vdig.net/hansard/content.jsp?id=57184> accessed 6/8/2022, *Financial Review to the Commerce Committee*; *New Zealand Post*, 13 February 2014, [https://www.parliament.nz/resource/en-NZ/50SCCO\\_ADV\\_00DBSCH\\_FIN\\_12720\\_1\\_A378332/73c5468d984dd1ee186d2f1caab0ae287bd8a905](https://www.parliament.nz/resource/en-NZ/50SCCO_ADV_00DBSCH_FIN_12720_1_A378332/73c5468d984dd1ee186d2f1caab0ae287bd8a905) accessed 6/8/2022; Australia Post; letter pricing 2015.

<https://www.accc.gov.au/system/files/LPO%20Group.pdf> accessed 6/8/2022.

<sup>539</sup> *The Australian economy in the 1990s*, editors, David Gruen and Sonia Shrestha, Reserve Bank of Australia, 2000.

<sup>540</sup> Jeffery Kung and Rachel Poo, *New Zealand Post-a success story*, Case Research Series CRP 2/96, 1996, Wellington: Victoria University of Wellington, 1996.

<sup>541</sup> *Dominion*, 27 April 1993.

<sup>542</sup> Senate Report, Australia, “Opportunities and challenges for Australia Post”, Chapter 5, section 5.2, [https://www.aph.gov.au/Senate/ec\\_ctte/report](https://www.aph.gov.au/Senate/ec_ctte/report) accessed 22/5/2022.

<sup>543</sup> *Review of the Deed of Understanding*, Proposal by New Zealand Post, <https://www.mbie.govt.nz/dmsdocument/1506-nz-post-discussion-document> accessed 23/5/2022.

was attributed to the widespread use of email, and the curtailing of services by New Zealand Post. The perception of the public about this situation is well described by Grant Hand in a letter to the *Dominion Post*:

New Zealand's postal service was butchered by the Lange Labour government, with more than 400 post office closures. In one fell swoop it was changed from a popular public service to a profit-driven state-owned enterprise.... Emailing has played a role in the reduction of postal services, but it's a bit like ripping up the tram tracks and then wondering why people are using buses.<sup>544</sup>

The decline in mail volumes continued during the second decade of the century, between 2018 and 2019 a further decline occurred with 65.8 million fewer letters posted in that period, a 12% decline.<sup>545</sup> In Australia, during the first two decades of the twentieth century a similar situation was happening. Allan Attwood commented in the *Sydney Morning Herald*: “The digital disruption of our traditional core business of letters increasingly seems like the paper equivalent of landline telephones”.<sup>546</sup> He further wrote that over the period 2008-2019, parcel numbers had increased greatly while the volume of letters fell by 45%. Jenny Wiggins wrote in the *Financial Review* that Australia Post had experienced a \$222 million loss as letter post was in “terminal decline”.<sup>547</sup> Figure 67 indicates diagrammatically the fall in the number of letters and packets from the years 2003 until 2019 and the anomalous situation in which the delivery points have rapidly increased. This equates to a 5.2% fall in volume from 2009-2019, while delivery points have increased by 1.2%. The significance of these changes in both countries, regarding their relevance to First World War commemoration stamps, will be discussed after review of another important factor in the equation.

In Chapter 6, attention was drawn to the decline in interest in Anzac celebration and to the fact that they became a source of protest. The nadir of popular interest in the First World War and the Anzac legend occurred in the 1960-1970s. Thereafter, there was a steady increase in interest in these past events especially among the younger

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<sup>544</sup> Grant Hand, “NZ post demise caused by reforms”, *Dominion Post*, 30 October 2013.

<sup>545</sup> *New Zealand Post Annual Report*, 24 August 2018, Letter from the Chairman of New Zealand Post, <https://www.treasury.govt.nz/sites/default/files/2018-03/nzp-sti-15.pdf> accessed 6/8/2022.

<sup>546</sup> Allan Attwood, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 February 2021.

<sup>547</sup> Jenny Wiggins, *Financial Review*, 25 September 2015.

generation. Historians have much debated the reasons for this change in the public's attitude and the term Anzac 'revival' has been coined.<sup>548</sup> Among the many explanations offered for this change in attitude are increased media coverage, and especially the film *Gallipoli*, and the development of battlefield tourism being regarded as a rite of passage for many young people. Rowan Light has developed the theme that in New Zealand, Anzac Day has become a focus for the creation of a specific New Zealand national and cultural identity. With regards to Australia, Light argues that Anzac events presented an opportunity "to break away from imperial relationships and make new claims on the place of Gallipoli".<sup>549</sup>

By the early years of the twenty-first century, the situation had developed in that the two postal systems were experiencing severe financial problems, exacerbated by the continued fall in letter postage. Further, they were being hindered in their business development plans by their legal requirements and social obligations.<sup>550</sup> In parallel to these postal concerns, the public interest in war commemoration and the history of the First World War was peaking as the centenary of the war was approaching.<sup>551</sup> It would, at first, seem a paradox that as part of the agencies' new business plans, and at the time of falling postage letter rates, they should launch into a programme of rapid expansion of stamp production and a widening of the range of stamp topics and themes being issued.

The answer to this paradox lies in the fact that postal agencies now realised that the postage stamp had a greater potential as a saleable item, in its own right, than had been used in the past for such events as Olympic Games celebrations. The postage stamp was no longer regarded as simply a receipt for the pre-payment of mail. The

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<sup>548</sup> Carolyn Holbrook, *Anzac: the unauthorised biography*, Sydney: New South Books, 2014: 1-10; Paul Fussell, *The Great War and modern memory*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2013; Jay Winter, *Remembering War: The Great War between memory and history in the 20<sup>th</sup> century*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006; Bruce Scates, *Return to Gallipoli: walking the battlefields of the Great War*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009: 103; Jenny Macleod, "The fall and rise of Anzac Day: 1965-1990 compared", *War and Society*, 2002; 149-168; Rowan Light, *Anzac Nations*, 2022: 10-18; George Davis, "Anzac Day meanings and memories: New Zealand, Australia and Turkish perspectives on a day of commemoration in the twentieth century", PhD Thesis, University of Otago, 2008.

<sup>549</sup> Light, *ibid*, 77.

<sup>550</sup> Malcolm Abbott and Bruce Cohen, "The changing nature of community services obligations in the postal sector and the future of Australia Post", *Journal of Policy Development Analysis and Reform*, 2020; 27: 35-57.

<sup>551</sup> Carolyn Holbrook and M. Hutchison, "Representing war: cultural histories of the First World War in Australia and New Zealand", *Journal of Australian Studies*, 2020; 44: 410-426; Joan Beaumont, "Commemoration in Australia: a memory orgy?", *Australian Journal of Political Science*, 2015; 50: 536-544.

Universal Postal Union (UPU) have recognised this situation and have published what this international organisation perceives as the range of functions of the modern postage stamp. These functions are outlined in Table 1.<sup>552</sup>

Table 1. The Various Functions of the Postage Stamp

1. Commercial function
2. A means of pre-payment of postal charges and postage, a quasi-currency status.
3. Use as a tax stamp and bearing the notion "Fiscal-postal",
4. Collector's item and philatelic product,
5. Savings and investment vehicle,
6. Source of inspiration for other philatelic products
7. Source of inspiration for non-philatelic products,
8. Source of revenue and commercial instrument for the private sector: traders, resellers, printers, industrialists.
9. Remembrance for non-collectors.
10. Cultural and patrimonial function.
11. Representation of the identity of the country.
12. Affirmation of sovereignty.
13. Reproduction of commemorative images.
14. Artistic and cultural work.
15. Brand image of the designated operator.

Source: Universal Postal Union, 2018.

In terms of item 1 on the table, the commercial function will include the situation where a stamp is unused, lost, damaged or simply collected, then the post office makes a direct profit. Conversely, a used stamp, in the current circumstances, results in a loss or a breaking even for the post office. Hence, a change in consumer stamp usage patterns can significantly impact on post office revenue. The dependence of certain countries' economies on postage stamp sales has been studied by Joel Slemrod and he has classified the income gained as akin to that accrued from tax havens or from money laundering. He has coined the term 'stamp pandering' and refers to issues of stamps produced in very large numbers, being inappropriate for the size of the

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<sup>552</sup> Universal Postal Union, *Stamp protection methods*, article 6, UPU Convention, 2018, <https://www.upu.int/UPU/media/upu/DL.PHIL/Presentations/2018%20Saint%20Petersburg/5-UPU-Stamp-protection-measures.pdf> accessed 26/5/2022.

country and topics unrelated to the country's history or culture. He gives examples such as Disney characters, pop stars and such items as compact disc stamps from Bhutan.<sup>553</sup> Brunn and Thomas have labelled the generation of commercial stamps for profit only to a world-wide clientele as “geopandering”.<sup>554</sup>

Following the passing of the Adhesive Stamp Act of 1939, the Post Office in New Zealand became responsible for the creation of postage stamp designs and their custody. The Act stated, “The Postmaster-General may from time-to-time cause to be created special stamps of such denominations as he thinks fit, which shall be available only for the payment of postage on postal packets”.<sup>555</sup> In 2000, a stamp business section was formed which planned themes and the number of issues to be released in the following year. A similar process had occurred in Australia, where Australia Post became responsible for the design and production of postage stamps and postal stationery. In 1927, the postal agency widened its range of stamps by introducing commemorative designs, but strict criteria have been subsequently introduced as to the range of stamp subjects that can be issued and an external design committee advises on these selected designs.<sup>556</sup>

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<sup>553</sup> Joel Slemrod, “Why is Elvis on Burkina Faso postage stamps? Cross-country evidence on the commercialisation of state sovereignty”, *Journal of Empirical Legal Studies*, 2008; 5: 683-712.

<sup>554</sup> Stanley Brunn and Thomas Bell, “Geopandering”, *Geographical Review*, 2020: 1-6.

<sup>555</sup> “Annual Report of the Post and Telegraph Department for the year 1939-1940”, *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives*, 1939 Session I, F-01, New Zealand, Adhesive Stamp Act, 1939, number 10, 22 September 1939.

<sup>556</sup> Australia Post design process: <https://australiapostcollectables.com.au/articles/how-australia-post-stamps-come-to-be-design> accessed 3/6/2022.

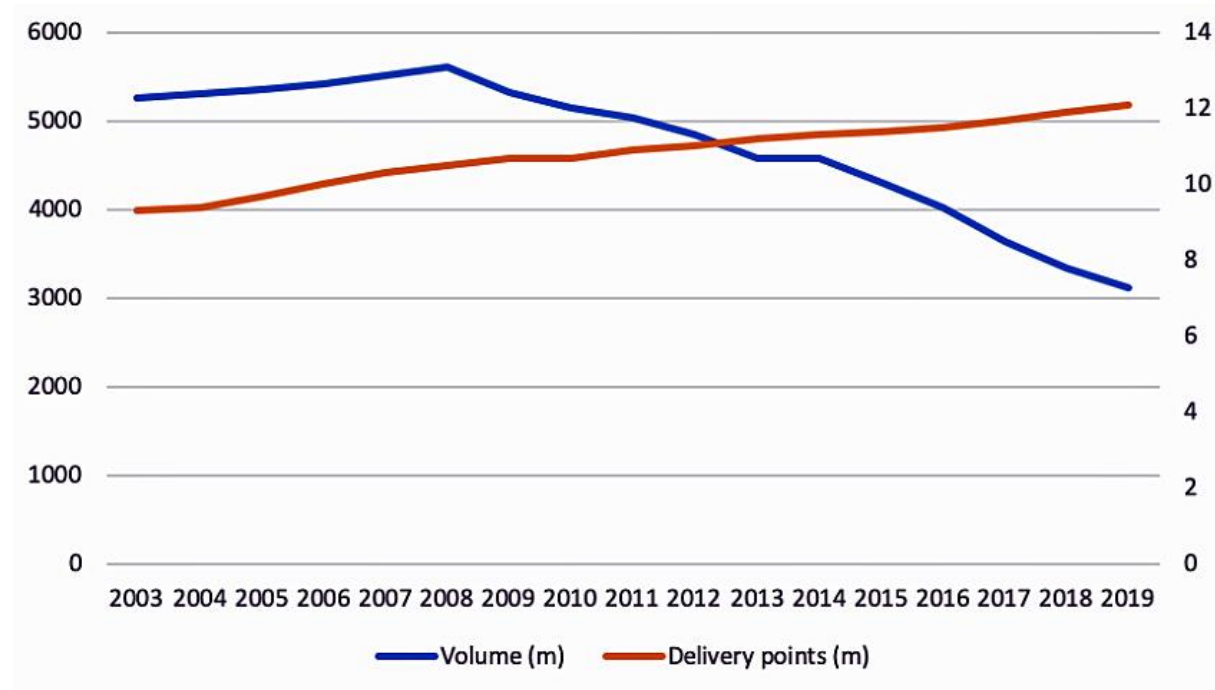


Figure 67. Australia Post: Decrease in letter and package volumes and increase in delivery points expressed in millions, 2003-2019, Source: Australia Post Annual Reports and *Industry Edge*, 2020.<sup>557</sup>

Between 1855 and 1999, the New Zealand postal services issued 1,475 stamps that included special sets and miniature sheets. While it is axiomatic that there was a profit motivation in the production of items such as miniature sheets, this was small scale compared to later events. This gave an average yearly rate of 10.2 stamps issued during this period. The figures for Australia date from 1913 (first Australian Commonwealth stamp) to 1999 and during this period 1,164 stamps were released, giving an average of 13.5 per year. For the period 2000 to 2019, New Zealand issued 1,467 stamps giving an average of 77.2 per annum, while Australia during the same period issued 1,551 stamps at an average of 81.6 per year.<sup>558</sup> When the stamps from these two terms are specifically examined for those carrying the label “Anzac”, but excluding the actual war centenary years (2014-2018) then prior to the millennium, New Zealand produced six stamps (three issues) and Australia nine stamps (three issues).<sup>559</sup> Post-millennium, New Zealand produced twenty-five stamps from the

<sup>557</sup> “Stamps stomped”, *Industry Edge*, <https://industryedge.com.au/stamps-stomped-in-2020/> Accessed 5/6/2022.

<sup>558</sup> *The Len Jury New Zealand Stamp Catalogue*, New Plymouth: Philatelic Stamp Distributors, 2019; Mickel Smits, editor, *Stamps of Australia*, 17<sup>th</sup> edition, New South Wales: Renniks Publications, 2020.

<sup>559</sup> War centenary stamps are excluded at this point as they are examined specifically in Chapter 8.

seven issues. This figure excludes the 2014 series that related to Anzac posters of the Second World War. Australian figures for this period were six stamps from two issues. However, for the first time both countries produced stamps that were related to the war but not directly related to the Gallipoli Campaign, except for the 1984 stamp of New Zealand recording the contribution of the New Zealand Engineers to the First World War.

The information presented above raises many points for discussion. First, the cut-off point at the year 2000 was chosen as it represented the period when both postal authorities were facing deregulation and seeking new business strategies to cope with this change. Further, it represents a period prior to the preparation of political and social activities to mark the centenary of the First World War.

Examination of the stamp production rates for both countries show a reasonably close correlation for both the periods selected. The enormous increase in rates of stamp releases and a small increase in Anzac-related stamps after the millennium is in keeping with a business strategy of selling stamps for revenue purposes. What has changed has been a broadening of the topics related to the First World War. It could be argued that it was an improvement in stamp production technology, and especially photogravure, over this period that has simplified and eased the rate at which stamps can be produced, hence allowing increased numbers.<sup>560</sup> However, this does not explain why it was necessary, in Australia, to produce a series of 123 stamps to celebrate the Commonwealth Games of 2006 in Melbourne. The data does support the contention that, at a time of falling letter volumes, there has been a dramatic increase in stamp numbers. In addition, a widening range of topics, not previously covered, is revealed in the catalogues referenced earlier.

New Zealand Post, as an organisation, is aware of the criticism that commemorative and remembrance stamps for the First World War could be exploited solely for financial gain.<sup>561</sup> They have, however, still to be conscious of the financial and commercial aspects of stamp production and as a company they are required to return a profit, despite the downturn in letter volumes and a difficult trading period nationally. Issues that focus on the interests of specific sectors of the population have

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<sup>560</sup> Fred Baumann, "What was once stamp printing is now stamp production", *Linn's Stamp News*, 28 April 2021.

<sup>561</sup> Exemplified by newspaper statements such as "Royal Mail now produces more than a dozen sets of special stamps a year in an attempt to create demand among collectors", *Guardian*, 4 July 2022.

been introduced and a good example of these are the issues that relate to the Chinese New Year.<sup>562</sup> Despite the above information provided by New Zealand Post, the situation where there is no external input into the number and quality of stamps produced could permit a change in policy should a new philosophy occur in New Zealand Post. A change to stamp ‘pandering’ could easily occur.

### **The Post-millennium stamps of New Zealand**

The first issue of the new century that had a relationship to the First World War was an issue of twenty-five stamps, in 2003, on the topic of military uniforms of which three were illustrated uniforms worn by the New Zealand armed forces during the conflict (figure 68a). These stamps showed a naval petty officer, a staff officer and an infantryman’s attire, all of which pertained to the war period. This issue was released to mark the one hundred and fortieth anniversary of the New Zealand armed forces.<sup>563</sup> In 2008, a six-stamp series entitled “Stories of nationhood” was released, under an Anzac title, and labelled “Lest we forget”. One of the stamps illustrated the importance of, and New Zealand’s involvement in, the battles on the Western Front. This was the first occasion that other avenues of the First World War, apart from Gallipoli, had been recorded, in stamps, as being important to the nation. Such a delay in recognising this fact is in keeping with the words of Glyn Harper: “It is a tragedy that the events of Passchendaele are largely unknown to the majority of New Zealanders”.<sup>564</sup> This stamp and a similar one about Gallipoli, from the above series, are illustrated in figure 68b and c, under the title ‘Lest we forget’. This stamp issue corresponds to a period when historians were beginning to analyse aspects of the war that had not been studied previously. In particular, the roles played by women, medical services, Māori and those on the home front.<sup>565</sup> This is in contrast to the earlier historic writing which in the 1920s was concerned with military campaigns

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<sup>562</sup> Personal communication with Mr. Simon Allison, manager of stamp production for New Zealand Post, and Mr. John Hollows of the same department, January 2019.

<sup>563</sup> Military uniforms, <https://collectables.nzpost.co.nz/military-uniforms> accessed 7/8/2022.

<sup>564</sup> Glyn Harper, *Dark Journey: Passchendaele, the Somme and the New Zealand experience on the Western Front*, Auckland: HarperCollins Publishers, 2015: 138.

<sup>565</sup> Alison Fletcher, “Recruitment and services of Māori soldiers in World War one”, *Itinerano*, 2014; 38: 59-78; Sara Martin, “Women and WW1- feminist and non-feminist women between collaboration and pacifist resistance”, *First World War Retrieved*, 2011, August; Susan Cohen, *Medical services in the First World War*, London: Bloomsbury, 2014.

centred upon the battlefields of Gallipoli and the Western Front. The subsequent Anzac commemoration stamps were in keeping with this approach being focussed only upon Gallipoli. The revival of interest in the First World War, during the late 1980s, saw a resurgence of historical works which now were directed at the social aspects of the war.<sup>566</sup>

The ninetieth anniversary of the end of the First World War was celebrated by the issue of a miniature sheet which incorporated the three stamps previously issued in the “Stories of nationhood” set and placed within a background photograph of the celebrations at the end of the war (figure 68d). This sheet was part of a joint issue with Australia and Belgium, both issuing their stamps on the same day but with different designs (figure 68d and e). The *New Zealand Herald* reported the release of this stamp sheet and quoted the words of the General Manager (stamps) at New Zealand Post, in relation to the stamp issue, when he said, “The pride the original Anzacs took in that name endures to this day as a tradition in both countries”.<sup>567</sup>

In 2011, there was an issue of twenty-two stamps entitled “Victoria Cross: the New Zealand Story” and this featured the portraits of the Victoria Cross holders from the past wars. Included in this profile were the New Zealanders who won the Victoria Cross (VC) in the First World War. Figure 69 shows six examples of the stamps from this series. The first listed was Cyril Bassett, the only New Zealander to win the VC in the Gallipoli Campaign, and



(a)

<sup>566</sup> Examples of early historic writing on the First World War are: Fred Waite, *The New Zealanders at Gallipoli*, Auckland 1919, <https://archive.org/details/newzealandersatg00waituoft> ; H. Stewart, *The New Zealand Division, 1916-1919. A Popular History Based on Official Records*, Auckland 1921; C. Guy Powles, *The New Zealanders in Sinai and Palestine*, Auckland 1922, <http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-WH1-Sina.html>

<sup>567</sup> “Special stamps to mark the end of WW1”, *New Zealand Herald*, 10 November 2008.



(b)



(c)



(d)

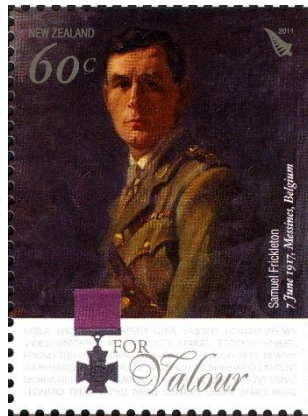


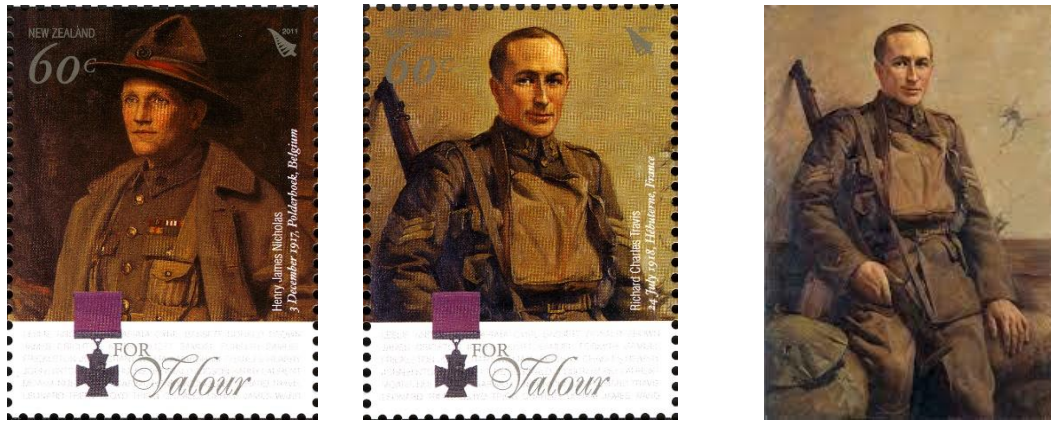
(e)

Figure 68. (a) New Zealand military uniforms of the First World War: staff officer, petty officer and infantryman, issued 2003, and photograph of a Staff Officer 1918 by Henry Sanders (Source: Wikimedia Commons), (b) *Stories of Nationhood*, 2008, the Western Front, 1916-1918, (Source: Alexander Turnbull Library), Gallipoli, 1915, photograph of New Zealand troops landing at Gallipoli, 1915, (Source: photo by Joseph McBride), (c) Miniature sheet, 2008, 90<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the end of the First World War, (d) Belgium, 2008, joint celebration with Australia and New Zealand, Last Post at the Menin Gate, (e) Photograph of Last Post, probable source for the Belgian stamp, (Source: *Amazing Belgium*).



(a)





(b)

Figure 69. Six of the recipients of the VC from the First World War: (a) Cyril Bassett (1915) and stamp design origin, (Source: *The Free Social Encyclopaedia*), signed photograph 1916,<sup>568</sup> (b) Donald Brown (1916), Samuel Forsyth (1917), Leslie Andrew (1917), Henry Nicholas (1917), Richard Travis (1918), stamp origin painting, (Source: *New Zealand Herald*).

reference has been made to this event earlier in Chapter 4, when his portrait was shown on a Cinderella stamp. The first Victoria Cross was awarded in 1856 and the first New Zealand award in 1864. This series presents a good example as to the sequence of events that takes place in New Zealand for the issue of an official stamp to mark an event that took place in the First World War. New Zealand Post's collectables business division decides one year in advance the topics for the forthcoming year. On this occasion, the Stamps and Collectables business manager, Alan Hollows, commissioned Mark di Somma to market the stamps, books and special presentation packs, and for Aaron Brown to research the background to the historical events. The final stamp design was created by Cue Design of Wellington and the stamps were printed by Southern Colour Print by offset lithography.<sup>569</sup> The stamp issue was launched with some show by the Prime Minister, John Key, by celebrating the event in the Parliament Building on 13 April 2011. About 300 people attended the launch, including around 40 family members of 10 of the Victoria Cross recipients and Willie Apiata VC, the most recent recipient of the award. Among them were family members of Reginald Stanley Judson whose acts of bravery during July

<sup>568</sup> Archives New Zealand, record R24184878 dated 1916.

<sup>569</sup> Victoria Cross, <http://virtualnewzealandstamps.blogspot.com/2013/09/2011-victoria-cross.html> accessed 9/9/2022; <https://collectables.nzpost.co.nz/victoria-cross-the-new-zealand-story-book/> accessed 7/8/2022; personal communication from Dr. Stephen Clarke, September 2022.

and August of 1918, saw him awarded not only the Victoria Cross, but also the Distinguished Conduct Medal and the Military Medal.<sup>570</sup> One further set of stamps, unrelated directly to the Anzac series, were the four stamps of 2018 celebrating the centenary of the Armistice of 11 November 1918. Stamps represent the three military services along with military medical personnel, with the final stamp celebrating the RSA symbolically by means of a poppy (figure 70a). The stamps feature stained-glass windows bordered by an archway of doves, ferns and koru, symbolising a future of peace. A good example of the impact a stamp can have on a topic, such as the 1918 armistice, was that produced by Canada in 2018. It is also shown in figure 70b, and a comparison can be made with the New Zealand stamp.

In addition to the Anzac stamp “Stories of Nationhood” described earlier, four other Anzac-labelled stamps were produced by 2019. Of importance is the issue of 2009 entitled “Comrades in arms”, which displays a photograph of the Māori Pioneer Battalion on



(a)



(b)

<sup>570</sup> Victoria Cross, <https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/anzac-day/4915203/Stamped-in-history> accessed 9/9/2022.

Figure 70. (a) Armistice Stamps of 2018; remembrance of New Zealand medical services, air force, army, navy and RSA, (b) Canadian stamp issued for the centenary of the armistice, 2018.

the Western Front. Some two thousand Māori were involved in the First World War following the formation of the Māori Pioneer battalion in 1917, but prior to this there were Māori contingents at Gallipoli. Much has been written by scholars on the various aspects of their participation in the war.<sup>571</sup> The stamp itself shows a group of soldiers working on developing a trench in 1918 and is based upon an original photograph (figure 71a). The other relevant stamp relating to a soldier from the First World War is that shown in figure 71b. It commemorates the disinterment of a New Zealand soldier from France and his reburial as the New Zealand unknown warrior at the National War Memorial in Wellington. The prior arrangement, with an unknown soldier in Westminster Abbey representing the Empire was well described in a letter to the American Legion.<sup>572</sup> Details of the changed situation, the selection of a New Zealand soldier as the unknown warrior and the events leading up to this are well described by Light along with details of the involvement of historians and politicians in the decisions around this event.<sup>573</sup> The stamp design came from a photograph of the actual procession prior to the burial. The *Dominion Post* described the event, “Dignified and solemn, smooth and seamless – there were no gaffes or embarrassing hitches. It was a remarkable effort pulled off by a cast of thousands shedding more than their share of sweat and tears”.<sup>574</sup>

In 2010, a series of six stamps called “Anzac Remembrance” was released. Only two stamps in this series could be regarded as relevant to the First World War. The first is a silhouette of an Anzac soldier and the second a depiction of the opening of the Anzac memorial in Egypt in 1932 and a photograph of the original scene on which the stamp is based (figure 72).

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<sup>571</sup> Christopher Pugsley, *Te Hokowhitu a Tu: the Māori Pioneer Battalion in the First World War*, Auckland: Libro Publishers, 2015; Franchesca Walker, “Descendants of a warrior race: the Māori contingent, New Zealand Pioneer Battalion, and martial race myth, 1914-1918”, *War and Society*, 2012; 31: 1-21; Alison Fletcher, “Recruitment and service of Māori soldiers in World War 1”, *Itinerio*, 2014; 38: 59-78.

<sup>572</sup> Letter from W.W. Heenon, undersecretary, representing the Governor-General, to Robert Munro, The American Legion, 19 May 1935, Archives New Zealand, record R24523385.

<sup>573</sup> Light, *Anzac Nations*, 2022: 100-106.

<sup>574</sup> *Dominion Post*, 13 November 2004.



(a)



(a)

(c)

Figure 71. “Commarades in Arms” series (a) Māori Pioneer Battalion in First World War, photograph of the Māori Pioneer Battalion, Gommecourt, France, 25 July 1918, (Source: New Zealand History) (b) Funeral procession of the Unknown Warrior, 2004 (c) Photograph of funeral procession, (Source: *Dominion Post*, 13 November, 2004).

The Desert Mounted Corps Memorial (Light Horse Memorial) commemorates New Zealand and Australian soldiers who died in service or were killed in action in Egypt, Palestine and Syria during the First World War. It commemorates the men of the Australian Light Horse Brigade, the New Zealand Mounted Rifles, the Imperial Camel Corps and the Australian Flying Corps who served in Egypt, Palestine and Syria between 1916 and 1918. The statue formed part of a memorial erected at Port Said, Egypt, in 1932, and it shows a mounted Australian Light-Horseman defending a New Zealand Mounted Rifleman standing beside his wounded horse. It was erected in the grounds of the Casino Palace Hotel gardens in Port Said. The Light-Horsemen themselves contributed £6,000 and the Australian and New Zealand Governments a

further £9,000 towards the erection of the monument.<sup>575</sup> It is said to be based on an incident in the charge at El Arish in 1917. On 23 November 1932, it was unveiled on behalf of the Australian and New Zealand Governments by Australia's war time Prime Minister W.M. Hughes who was on his way back from a League of Nations meeting in Europe. The proceedings were broadcast by radio telephone over the 15,000 miles (24,000 kilometres) between Egypt and Australia, the first such direct broadcast between those two countries. The original Anzac Memorial was damaged at Port Said in the Suez crisis in 1956. In 1960, the New Zealand and Australian Governments successfully negotiated to have the damaged memorial shipped to Albany, Australia, to be restored. It was found on arrival to be too badly damaged, and a decision was made to produce a replica of the memorial. The Australian Prime Minister, Sir Robert Menzies, unveiled the replica Anzac Memorial at Albany, Western Australia, on 11 October 1964.<sup>576</sup> At the time of the Anzac Jubilee in 1965, the Australian Prime Minister suggested to Cabinet that a second statue be made from the original plaster cast and erected in Canberra. The cost of this would be £13,000. The cabinet rejected the idea.<sup>577</sup> The importance of this Anzac memorial stamp lies in the fact that it was the first, in ninety-two years, to acknowledge and remember the New Zealand troops who died in Egypt, Palestine and Mesopotamia during the First World War. The Mounted Rifles lost 575 officers and men in Palestine and of those the Auckland Mounted Rifles, alone, lost six officers and 84 other ranks.<sup>578</sup> The relevant stamp and associated material is illustrated in figure 72.

Two further issues relating to the Anzacs and to the war were issued in 2015 and 2016. The first was a joint issue between the two countries to celebrate the centenary of the landing of Anzac troops in Gallipoli. The two stamps that formed this issue are described in detail in the Introduction and illustrated in figure 1. Both the chief executive officers of the postal services issued statements in relation to this important issue. Ahmed Fahour of Australia Post said, "The Anzac stamp issue honours those who served during the First World War and whose service forged a lasting bond

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<sup>575</sup> *Reveille*, (RSA Journal for New South Wales), 31 July 1929, 12.

<sup>576</sup> Charlotte Peevers, "A deathless story: the Anzac memorial, memory and international law", *London Review of International Law*, 2017; 5: 153-184; Monuments: <https://monumentaaustralia.org.au/themes/conflict/ww1/display/60012-desert-mounted-corps-memorial> accessed 13/6/2022; *Canberra Times (ACT)*, 28 July 1964.

<sup>577</sup> Anzac Jubilee, 1965, National Archives of Australia, NAA A463 1964/3192.

<sup>578</sup> Mounted Rifles, Deaths in Palestine, Archives New Zealand, record R26112281.

between Australia and New Zealand”, while Brian Roche, for New Zealand Post, said, “New Zealand and Australia enjoy a close relationship, which deepened with the combined service of our troops during World War One”.<sup>579</sup> The second issue celebrates the centenary of the RSA and its service to returned soldiers. This set of six stamps illustrates the activities of the RSA in supporting those who served.<sup>580</sup> Figure 73 illustrates two examples of the series. During the first nineteen years of the twenty-first century, apart from those issues directly related to the centenary of the war, thirty-four stamps had some aspect of the First World War as their principal feature. This contrasts with the ten stamps issued between 1920 and 1999. One explanation for this situation could lie in the decline of war-themed material after the Vietnam War, in both countries, and the anti-war sentiments that were common at that time. The upsurge in interest in the First World War corresponded to the success of the First Gulf War and the positive slant on aspects of war that were presented in the media at that time and the burgeoning mood of nationalism.<sup>581</sup>



(a)

(b)

<sup>579</sup> New Zealand Post, press release, 1 April 2015.

<sup>580</sup> Stephen Clarke, *After the war: the RSA in New Zealand*, New Zealand: Penguin Random House, 2016; “Special issue puts stamps on centenary”, *RSA Review*, Autumn 2015.

<sup>581</sup> Among the popular war films of the period were: *The Hunt for Red October* (1990), *Saving Private Ryan* (1998), and *Stalingrad* (1993). Stephen Clarke, *After the war: the RSA in New Zealand*, New Zealand: Penguin Random House, 2016: 216-217.



(b)



(d)

Figure 72. Anzac Remembrance; (a) Anzac Memorial stamp of 2010, (b) Silhouette stamp for Anzac remembrance, (c) Original photograph from which the stamp was designed, Port Said, Egypt, 1932, (Source: C. Peevers, 2017), (d) Construction of Lighthouse Monument in Albany, Western Australia.<sup>582</sup>



Figure 73. 2016, Centenary of the Returned and Services Association featuring “We will remember them” and the poppy for remembrance.

<sup>582</sup> Light Horse Monument, National Archives of Australia, NAA A1200 L50901 5254.

## The Centenary of the First World War

The onset of the centenary of the First World War appeared to be a pivotal period in which New Zealand Post broke new ground with the number of issues and the scope of the stamps produced. Overall, fifty stamps were issued with ten stamps that related specifically to aspects of each year of the conflict. This resulted in the wider aspects of the war being illustrated, such as the effects upon the home front and the resettlement of veterans. This parallels the historiography of the period with historical research being directed at different facets of the war.<sup>583</sup> New Zealand Post's principles behind the selection of the First World War topics in relationship to remembrance, commemoration and memorials were:

The philosophy behind their theme was to recall the effects of the war on everyday New Zealanders and not just the medal winners. Hence, this led to the inclusion of an 'ordinary' New Zealander and his family. Interviews were carried out with families and extensive research was undertaken on each topic. To view all aspects of the war, and portray these by stamps, thus required more stamp numbers per issue and hence required a longer period for production and preparation of each stamp.<sup>584</sup>

While there was, at that time, a genuine upsurge in interest in the centenary of the First World War, the postal service had responded to this by producing well thought-out and designed stamps. The plan was to present the key events and the impact of the war on those New Zealanders who served and those at home.<sup>585</sup> Fifty stamps were issued to fulfil this objective and the commercial aspects may have played a part in this decision. It would be impractical to discuss in detail all fifty stamps, hence the

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<sup>583</sup> Kate Hunter and Kirstie Ross, *Holding on to home: New Zealand stories and objects of the First World War*, Wellington: Te Papa Press, 2014; Steven Loveridge, *Calls to arms: New Zealand society and commitment to the Great War*, Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2014; David Littlewood, "'Willing and eager to go in their turn'? Appeals for exemption from military service in New Zealand and Great Britain", 1916–1918,' *War in History*, 2014; 21: 338–54; Jock Phillips, "Lest we forget: remembering, and forgetting New Zealand's First World War", in Charles Ferrall and Harry Ricketts (eds), *How we remember: New Zealanders and the First World War*, Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2014.

<sup>584</sup> Personal communication with New Zealand Post representatives, Simon Allison and John Hollows, 2019.

<sup>585</sup> Centenary stamps, <https://blog.tepapa.govt.nz/2014/08/04/commemorating-ww1-a-five-year-stamp-and-coin-programme/> accessed 8/8/2020.

stamps will be illustrated, and examples will be selected for further examination. One example has been selected from each year's output which has relevance to the topics discussed already in this thesis. In figure 74, miniature sheets of all the stamps produced in each year of the war centenary are presented with the topics covered in that year. Figure 75 (a-e) illustrates the selected stamps chosen from each year's output.<sup>586</sup>

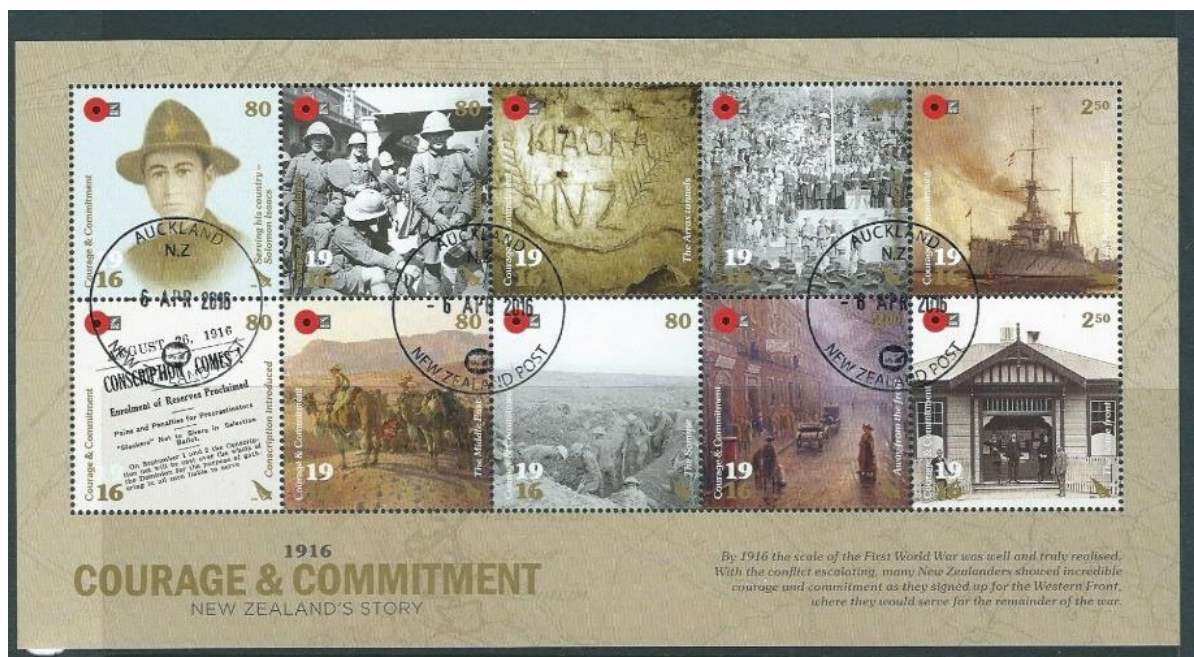


2014 For King and Empire: Top row, left to right: Lord Kitchener, called to prepare, war announcement, training camp, letters and stories from Samoa, Bottom row, left to right: Melville Merfin, family portrait, troopships depart, the home front, serving abroad.

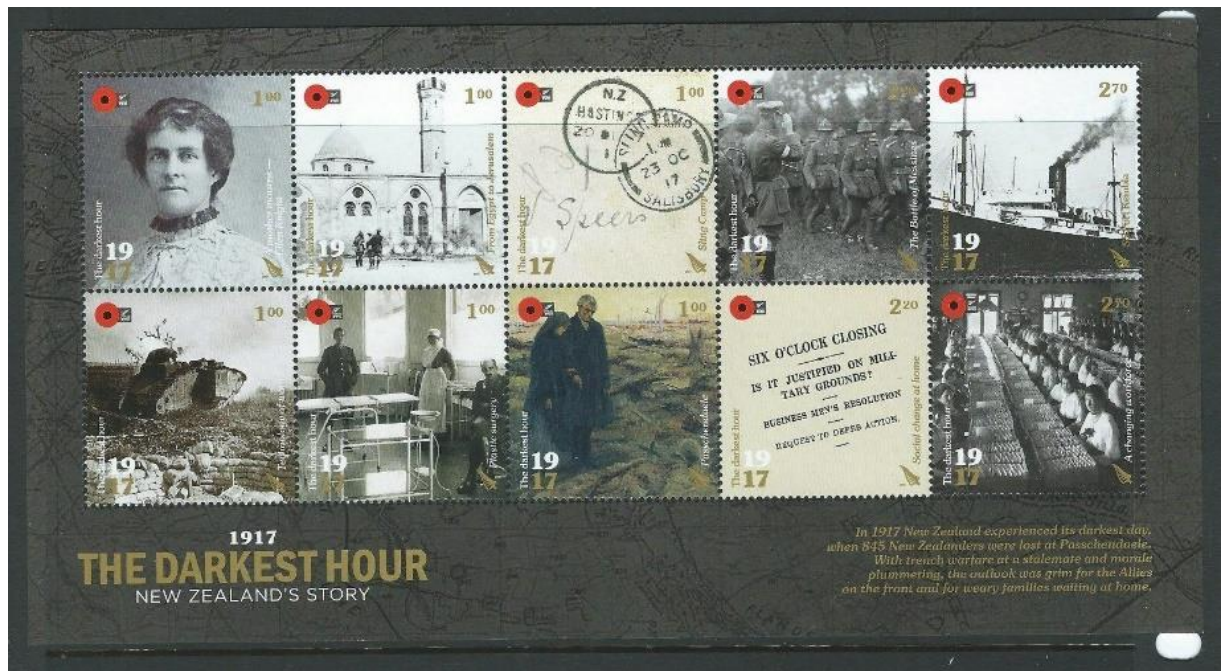
<sup>586</sup> Miniature sheets are defined as a block or set of stamps with wide inscribed or decorative margins issued as a commemorative sheet for collectors. Some, but not all, have postal validity in the sheet form, but individual stamps when removed are valid for postal use.



2015 The Spirit of Anzac: Top row, left to right: serving her country, post card from Egypt, landing at Anzac Cove, sapper and donkey, the *Maheno*: Bottom row, left to right; Chunuk Bair, casualties return, Marquette memorial, war census, the enduring bond.



2016 Courage and Commitment: Top row left to right: Solomon Issacs, The Pioneer Battalion, The Arras tunnels, The first Anzac Day, The Battle of Jutland, Bottom row left to right: conscription, The Middle East, The Somme, away from the front, the home front.



2017 The Darkest Hour: Top row, left to right: Ellen Knight, from Egypt to Jerusalem, Sling Camp, The Battle of Messines, SS *Port Kembla*, Bottom row, left to right: technology at war, plastic surgery, Passchendaele, social change at home, a changing workforce.



2018 Back from the Brink: Top row, left to right: Arthur Gordon, hundred days offensive, flu pandemic, armistice, Le Quesnoy, Bottom row, left to right: demobilisation, resettlement, great air war, return of the Pioneer Battalion, rehabilitation.

Figure 74. New Zealand Post's miniature stamp sheets commemorating the First World War, 1914-1918.

The use of a postal service from Samoa in 1914 is the subject of the stamp shown in figure 75a. It is a reminder of the setting up of the postal service after the arrival of New Zealand troops in 1914 as discussed in Chapter 5. It is also the first stamp recognition of the occupation of Samoa from the war period until Samoa became independent in 1961. The stamp depicts a post card home dated 4 October 1914 and it should be noted that no postage stamp is shown on the card. An example of a post card relating to this period in Samoa, by William Blomfield, is included in the figure. A detailed account of the postal history of the occupation of Samoa during the war has been written by Nigel Sawyers.<sup>587</sup>

Figure 75b, again, is the first postage stamp to recognise the hospital ships at Gallipoli, by showing a picture of the *Maheno*. In Chapter 3, reference was made to the role of the *Maheno*, and its image was used on a Cinderella stamp from Tokomaru Bay to raise money for the Wounded Soldiers' Fund. This was the first postage stamp ever bearing the image of the *Maheno* in relation to its role at Gallipoli. The postage stamp appears to be based upon a painting by Walter Bowring, entitled *Departure of the hospital ship Maheno, 1915*.

Reference has been made in this chapter to the stamps commemorating the Australian Light Horse in Palestine. The stamp shown in figure 75c relates to the New Zealand Camel Corps in the Middle East. There were two New Zealand companies in the Imperial Camel Corps which was founded in 1916. They played a vital role in the Sinai and Palestine campaigns and some 450 New Zealanders fought with the Camel Corps. The Corps was a separate organisation to the New Zealand Mounted Rifles who also fought in the Middle East alongside the Australian Light Horse.<sup>588</sup> The painting by the Australian war artist, H. Septimus Power, *Camel Corps at Magdhaba* would appear to be the design basis of this stamp (figure 75c).

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<sup>587</sup> Nigel Sawyers, *British occupation of German Samoa: a postal history, 1914-1921*, Self-published, 1996, (copy held in the Alexander Turnbull Library).

<sup>588</sup> Camel Corps: <https://NZhistory.govt.nz/camel-corps/> accessed 21/6/2022; Frank Reid, *The fighting cameliers*, London: Leonaaur, 2006.

Figure 75d illustrates the first stamp in one hundred years to mark what is regarded as the worst day in New Zealand military history. Of this event, the historian Glyn Harper has written,

It is a tragedy that the events of Passchendaele are largely unknown to the majority of New Zealanders. As a nation we have inherited a reluctance to explore fully our war experience, and thus we emulate those silent soldiers of the Great War. Consequently, what should have been an unforgettable experience, has all but disappeared from our collective memory.<sup>589</sup>

The event is portrayed by a stamp based upon the painting by George Edward Butler called *Butte de Polygon* which was painted in 1926. The stamp and an image of the painting is shown in figure 75d along with a contemporary photograph of the battlefield in 1917.

The stamp selected from the 2018 output represents the last major engagement of New Zealand troops on the Western Front.<sup>590</sup> It commemorates the liberation of the French town of Le Quesnoy on 4 November 1918, prior to the Battle of the Sambre.<sup>591</sup> The New Zealand Rifle Brigade scaled the fortified walls of the town by ladder and were led by Second Lieutenant Averill, who was the first to scale the ramparts and captured the town from the Germans.<sup>592</sup> The stamp is a reproduction of the stained-glass window from Saint Andrew's Church in Cambridge, New Zealand, which is in remembrance of those who took part in the event.<sup>593</sup> The stamp and a picture of the stained-glass window are shown in figure 75e.

This series of stamps does present an overview of New Zealand's part in the First World War. There is little recognition, through the eyes of twenty-first century stamp designers, that the New Zealand forces were fighting for the British Empire's cause. Instead, the stamps look at the war solely as it affected New Zealand and hence are a

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<sup>589</sup> Glyn Harper, *Dark Journey*, Auckland: HarperCollins Publishers, 2015: 138; Ian McGibbon, *New Zealand's Western Front campaign*, David Bateman Ltd., 2016; Lyn MacDonald, *The story of the Third Battle of Ypres, 1917*, London: Penguin Books Ltd., 2013.

<sup>590</sup> History of the war, Base Records, New Zealand Defence Department, Archives New Zealand, record R23247102.

<sup>591</sup> Military History, One of the last scenes in the Drama, Le Quesnoy, Archives New Zealand, record R20935451.

<sup>592</sup> Christopher Pugsley, *Le Quesnoy: New Zealand's last battle*, Auckland: Oratia Books, 2018.

<sup>593</sup> *Evening Star*, 17 December 1925, 15.

marker of New Zealand's self-identity and nationalism. What is new in the celebration of the centenary of the war are the stamps that recognise the involvement of those on the home front and the toll that the war took on the nation and its people. The individuals presented on the stamps were likely unknown to most New Zealanders and required the purchase of the special stamp packs to determine the background and the reason for their selection. Authenticity is created using original photographs of war scenes on which to base certain of the stamp designs. Where possible the original photograph has been identified and included with the stamp illustration to stress this point. The selected topics also make it clear that the war involved much more than the Gallipoli Campaign and that great sacrifices were made at the Somme and at Passchendaele, and in the Levant. The large number of stamps produced by both countries for the war centenary reflects the great amount of research that was required to present a balanced view of the many aspects of the war as it affected the whole population. It also required considerable skill to further balance the sensitivity of the subject with the need to make a commercial profit.

There is minimal published information about the planning and background to the large output of fifty stamps by New Zealand Post for the centenary of the First World War. To address this deficiency, and after obtaining the necessary ethics permission, a series of questions were posed to New Zealand Post.<sup>594</sup> Lynette Townsend, Programme and Content Manager, New Zealand Post Collectables responded to the questions on behalf of New Zealand Post.<sup>595</sup>

The first question sought information about the individuals or stakeholders who were responsible for the concept of having an annual issue of ten stamps over the five-year period, 2014-2018, and, additionally, what factor/s determined the large number of stamps over this period. The major stakeholder was, as expected, New Zealand Post Collectables, aided by their own lead researcher Aaron Brown with Sarah Lang as the primary writer.<sup>596</sup> The other involved stakeholders were the Returned and Services Association (RSA), the New Zealand Defence Force, the

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<sup>594</sup> Massey University Human Ethics Committee reference 40000267761.

<sup>595</sup> Initial contact letter: 6 November 2022. First response 7 November, and supplementary questions sent 7 December 2022.

<sup>596</sup> Aaron Brown is Managing Director of Future Workshops Ltd. Between 2008 and 2020 he was head of research and conceptual advice for New Zealand Post and Collectables, and also lead in product development.

Museum of New Zealand (Te Papa Tongarewa), the Auckland War Memorial Museum and the Ministry for Culture and Heritage. The main consultant for the RSA was Dr. Stephen Clarke.<sup>597</sup> Input from the Ministry for Culture came from David Green, Senior Editor and historian.

With regard to the reason for such a large number of stamps, the answer presented was that the large number of events and themes that occurred during the war demanded the high number of stamps. The method by which the events and themes were prioritised and selected was not revealed, but the Post Office Group, as described above, made the actual selection. It is, however, interesting that of all the events of 1915, a postcard from Egypt was selected and for 1917, the six o'clock bar closing time was featured. Inquiry was then made as to who was actually responsible for the design of each stamp and if there were guiding instructions given as to their content. In response, it appeared that New Zealand Post Collectables arranged consultation with the stakeholder that they considered appropriate for the subject and content of a particular stamp. The final design of all fifty stamps was carried out by Strategy and Advertising, Wellington, and the stamps were actually printed by Southern Colour Print Limited. The major historian involved in the project was Aaron Brown but consultation on historical matters occurred with the RSA historian and the Defence Force personnel and both agencies vetted the final designs. The final inquiry related to whether any specific issue sold better than others and why this was so. It appeared that the most popular was the 2015 issue called "Spirit of Anzac". The Collectables team thought the reason for this was related to the extent of the publicity that was occurring around the Gallipoli Anniversary and its celebrations and the stamp series being issued on the 23 March 2015.

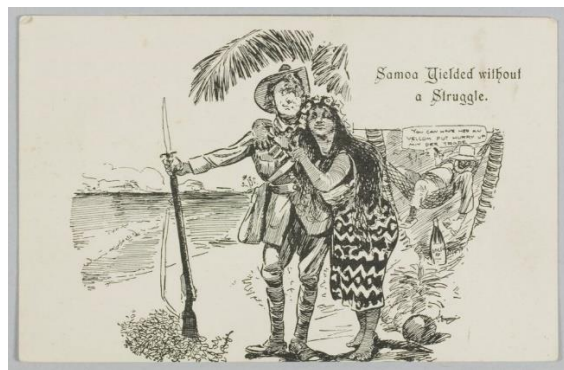
The results of this interview indicate that the New Zealand Collectables did involve several other agencies in the preparation of the centenary issue. In reality, it is clear that all major decisions were taken by the Collectables group, as illustrated by the information received that the Auckland War Museum was involved only in image gathering and Te Papa Tongarewa was rarely consulted. It is not surprising that the

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<sup>597</sup> Dr. Clarke is an historian and former President of the RSA. He is also author of the prior referenced book, *After the War*, which deals with the history of the RSA.

Anzac issues sold best, but the financial benefit to the company was not released for commercial sensitivity reasons.

A similar examination of the Australian remembrance stamps takes place in Chapter 8. It will also reveal that similar changes were taking place in the Australian postal services and an expansion of stamp production was taking place there, at a time of diminishing postal letter use. As to whether this increased stamp production was for profit or commemoration is further analysed. Thus, research question 2 has been addressed in both Chapters 6 and 7.



(a)



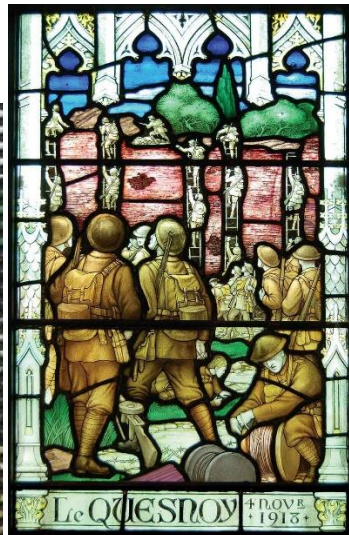
(b)



(c)



(d)



(e)

Figure 75. (a) The 2014 postcard stamp and William Blomfield's postcard "Samoa yielded without a struggle", *New Zealand Observer* print, 1914-15, (b) The 2015 stamp of the hospital ship *Maheno*, and the painting by Walter Armiger Bowring "Departure of the hospital ship, *Maheno*, 1915", National War Collection, Archives of

New Zealand, (c) The Imperial Camel Corps stamp, 2016, and "Camel Corps at Magdhaba" by H. Septimus Power, National War Collection, Archives of New Zealand, (d) The 2017 stamp commemorating the Battle at Passchendaele and the "Butte de Polygon" painting by George Edward Butler, National Archives of New Zealand, (e) Liberation of Le Quesnoy stamp, 2018, and image of the stained-glass window from Saint Andrews Church, Cambridge, Lord Milner unveiling the New Zealand memorial at Le Quesnoy, 1923.<sup>598</sup>

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<sup>598</sup> Alexander Turnbull Library, reference 1/2-053830.

## Chapter 8. Postage stamps issued by Australia for commemoration and remembrance of the First World War (2000-2019).

“All we know of freedom, all we use or know  
This our fathers bought for us long and long ago”.  
Rudyard Kipling *The old issue*, October 1899.

### The Post-millennium stamps of Australia

During the twentieth century, the two governments held a monopoly over the design, approval and release of national postage stamps. In the twenty-first century, the control of the numbers and design of Australian stamps passed to Australia Post. Subsequently, the organisation issued 1,442 new stamps prior to 2014 of which three sets could be regarded as having relevance to the First World War and a further set in 2015 independent of the war centenary issues. Two further issues related peripherally to the war. Australia Post commenced the twenty-first century’s commemorative stamp output by issuing a block of four stamps, in 2000, called “The last of the Anzacs”. The stamp featured photographs of the last three living Anzacs from the Gallipoli Campaign, namely Walter Parker, Roy Longmore and Alec Campbell, along with a depiction of the War Star Medal awarded to those who fought at Gallipoli (figure 76).<sup>599</sup> Alec Campbell became the last of the trio to die on 16 May 2002 aged 102, and his photograph is included in figure 76 when he was a boy soldier aged sixteen. The *Sydney Morning Herald* reported his death and also the comments made by the Prime Minister, John Howard, on the occasion. Howard said, “Mr. Campbell was the last living link to that group of Australians that established the Anzac legend. It is a story of great valour under fire, unity of purpose and a willingness to fight against the odds that has helped to define what it means to be Australian”.<sup>600</sup> These words contrast with those of Alec Campbell when he said, "For god's sake, don't glorify Gallipoli - it was a terrible fiasco, a total failure and best forgotten". He later said, "I joined for adventure. There was not a great feeling of defending the Empire. I lived

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<sup>599</sup> War Star Medal was instigated in 1918, as a British Empire campaign medal and was awarded to those British and Imperial forces who had served in any theatre of the First World War. It was awarded along with the British War Medal and the Victory Medal.

<sup>600</sup> Tony Stephens, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 May 2002.

through it, somehow. I enjoyed some of it. I am not a philosopher. Gallipoli was Gallipoli”.<sup>601</sup>

The 2008 Anzac Day stamp release not only remembers the fallen and those who served, but also the effects of war on families and the younger generation (figure 77). Each stamp has incorporated into the design a line of the fourth verse of Laurence Binyon’s now-famous poem, *For the Fallen*. The set consists of five stamps carrying the title ‘Lest we forget’ issued on 16 April 2008, just prior to Anzac Day. This could be argued to be a thoughtful and modern appreciation of war remembrance and certainly not glorifying war. Somewhat disconcerting is the fact that the issue immediately prior to this one, on the topic of rugby league players, merited twelve stamps. Hopefully this did not reflect the subject matter priority of Australia Post.



(a)



(b)

Figure 76. The last of the Anzacs series, 2002, (a) The last three survivors and the Anzac war medal, (b) Alec Campbell, aged sixteen, as a boy soldier, Source:

<http://www.anzacs.org/campbell.html>

<sup>601</sup> <https://www.smh.com.au/national/its-anzac-day-not-the-big-day-out-20130419-2i5a4.html>  
<https://military-history.fandom.com/wiki/AlecCampbell> accessed 15/6/2022, Jonathan King, *Gallipoli: our last man standing, the extraordinary life of Alec Campbell*, Milton: John Wiley and Sons, Australia Ltd., 2003.



Figure 77. The five-stamp set of 2008 entitled “Remembrance Day”, and featured a verse from Laurence Binyon’s poem, *For the Fallen*.

Two commemorative stamps were issued on 2 November 2011, for Remembrance Day. Remembrance Day, initially known as Armistice Day, marks the anniversary of the armistice on 11 November 1918, which led to the end of the First World War. Remembrance is observed through one minute’s silence at the 11th hour on the 11th day of the 11th month in honour of those who have died or been wounded in all theatres of war. The stamps were made available for the dates 11/11/11 (2011), recalling the date 11/11/18 (1918). The stamps also mark the ninetieth anniversary of the war’s end. The two striking stamps carry extracts from John McCrae’s poem, *Flanders Fields*. One portrays a bugler (60c) and the other two soldiers at the front (\$1.60). Figure 77 displays the stamp images and contemporary wartime photographs of similar scenes.



(a)



(b)

Figure 77. Remembrance Day, 2011, (a) Stamps showing a bugler, soldiers in the field, poppies and extracts from John McCrae's poem, *Flanders Fields*. Source for photographs: Australian War Memorial.

An important issue of 2013 was the joint issue of two stamps with Israel. The first commemorates the actions of the Australian Light Horse in Palestine, while the second relates specifically to the Battle of Beersheba on 31 October 1917. These are the first Australian stamps to remember the Palestine sector of the First World War. The first stamp (\$2.60) shows mounted Australian troops in a desert location, while the second (60c) features a sculpture of a light horseman representing those who fought at the Battle of Beersheba (figure 78a). The actual sculpture is in the Park of the Australian Soldier in Beersheba, Israel, and was the work of Peter Corlett (figure 78c). Much has been written about the Battle at Beersheba and how the Light Horse outflanked the Turks in a classical cavalry charge.<sup>602</sup> In 1974, Australia Post issued a stamp series about Australian paintings and included in this series was George Lambert's painting of *A sergeant of the Light Horse in Palestine* (figure 78d), and 78b is a contemporary photograph of Light Horsemen.<sup>603</sup> Lambert's oil painting of the *Battle of Beersheba* is shown in figure 78e.

<sup>602</sup> Paul Daley, *Beersheba: A journey through Australia's forgotten war*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2009; Roslyn Shepherd, "Mounted troops at the Battle of Beersheba", *Sabretache*, 2008; 49: 9-20; Susan Balderstone, "Memorialising Beersheba", *Historic Environment*, 2018; 30: 10-23.

<sup>603</sup> George Lambert was an Australian painter and First World War war-artist. His painting *A sergeant of the Light Horse* was painted in 1920, after his war experiences in Palestine, and resides in the National Gallery of Victoria.



(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)



(e)

Figure 78. (a) Joint issue stamps with Israel, 2013, commemorating the Battle of Beersheba, 1917, and the Australian Light Horse, (b) Contemporary photograph of Light Horsemen, (Source: State Library of Queensland), (c) Photograph of Corlett's Sculpture in Beersheba, (Source: [www.centenaryww1orange.co.au](http://www.centenaryww1orange.co.au)), (d) George

Lambert's *Sergeant of the Light Horse*, Australian stamp of 1974, (e) *Battle of Beersheba* by George Lambert, 1920.<sup>604</sup>

In 2011, there was an issue celebrating the Australian navy. One of the stamps produced is of relevance to the occupations of German Samoa and New Guinea as discussed in Chapter 5 and it includes a photograph of the battlecruiser HMAS *Australia*. This warship was part of the naval convoy that escorted the New Zealand Expeditionary Force to Samoa in 1914 and stood off Apia while the troops landed. It left Samoa on 31 August and headed for New Guinea and took part in the capture of the territory on 15 September. The ship was built in Scotland in 1911 and was scuttled in 1924 as part of the post-war weapons limitation agreements. The stamp is illustrated in figure 79.



Figure 79. HMAS *Australia* portrayed in the stamp issue of April 2018 and photograph of the ship in Sydney harbour circa 1913-1924, (Source: Wikipedia Commons, unknown photographer).

The joint issue with New Zealand in 2015 has been described already and is illustrated in figure 1. The final issue, prior to discussing the centenary war stamps, is that of 10 April 2018, relating to the centenary of military service in Australia. The issue comprised five stamps all remembrance in nature. Each stamp displays a remembrance site, and the topics include the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, the

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<sup>604</sup> *Battle of Beersheba*, George Lambert, oil on canvas, Australian War Museum, ART 02811, viewed 17 March 2013, George Lambert's work depicts the impact of men and horses on the Turkish troops and trenches. A tangled mass of horses and soldiers is shown against a backdrop of barren and undulating landscape. The buildings of the town are just visible on the horizon at left.

Cenotaph in Darwin, the Avenue of Honour, Ballarat, Legacy Memorial, Melbourne and the Cobbers Statue at Fromelles, France (figure 80a-e).

The final stamp is of importance as it recalls the battle of Fromelles and it represents the first postal recognition of this terrible event since it took place in 1916 (figure 80e). The Cobbers Statue at Fromelles was commissioned by the Australian War Graves Commission and designed by Peter Corlett to commemorate the men who fought and fell at the Battle of Fromelles on 19 and 20 July 1916. The figure is based upon the actions of Sergeant Simon Fraser who rescued wounded comrades from the field after the Battle of Fromelles. The Battle of Fromelles has been described as the bloodiest twenty-four hours in Australian military history, when the Australians suffered 5,533 casualties of whom 1,917 were killed or died of wounds, 3,146 wounded and 470 taken prisoner. In 2006 the remains of two hundred and fifty soldiers were discovered in a mass grave near Fromelles and a specialist team worked to identify the soldiers by DNA analysis and nine men have been identified to date.<sup>605</sup> An outline of the battle is well presented by Joan Beaumont, and many other authors have provided detailed accounts of the battle.<sup>606</sup>



(a)

<sup>605</sup> Sir John Monash Centre, <https://sjmc.gov.au/fromelles-australias-worst-24-hours> accessed 19/6/2022; "Scientists identify lost Diggers at Fromelles", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 March 2010.

<sup>606</sup> Joan Beaumont, *Broken Nation*, 2014: 189-200; Roger Lee, *The Battle of Fromelles, 1916*, Canberra: Big Sky Publishing, 2010; Geoff Lewis, "Forgotten sacrifice: the Battle of Fromelles, 19-20 July 1916", *Teaching History*, 2011; 45: 18-21; *Uralla Times*, 24 July 1920, 2; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 21 July 1930, 8; *Western Australian*, 30 April 1932, 4.



(b)



(c)



(d)



(e)

Figure 80. The five remembrance stamps of 2018, (a) Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, Canberra, stamp, and photograph of tomb (Source Australian War Memorial), (b) Cenotaph, Darwin stamp, and photograph of Cenotaph, (Source: City of Darwin library), (c) Legacy Memorial, Melbourne, stamp, and photograph of memorial, (Source: Shrine of Remembrance, Melbourne), (d) Avenue of Honour, Ballarat, stamp, and photograph of Avenue, Ballarat, (Source: *The Courier*),<sup>607</sup> (e) Cobbers Statue, stamp and photograph of the Cobbers Statue at Fromelles Memorial Park, France, (Source; Fromelles Discussion Group).

## The Centenary of the First World War

Australia Post issued five stamps per year for five years in order to commemorate the First World War from 2014-2018.<sup>608</sup> Australia Post achieved this by establishing five recurring key themes, ones that could be condensed and yet convey the complex history across the five years. The themes were key events (such as the landing at Gallipoli), conflicts (the key theatres and territories of war), the home front (such as

<sup>607</sup> *Courier*, Ballarat, 21 April 2014.

<sup>608</sup> Australia Post, war centenary stamps, <https://www.centenarynews.com/article?d=1633> accessed 23/6/2022; <https://australiapostcollectables.com.au/articles/the-centenary-of-world-war-i-on-stamps> accessed 24/6/2022

the conscription referenda that took place), individuals (military officials and regular soldiers; men and women), and a general category.

The stamp designs were developed after consultation with the staff of the Australian War Museum. Aaron Pegram, an historian at the Australian War Memorial, who was involved with the stamp designs, has been quoted as saying that in addressing the rationale behind the series:

When most Australians think of World War I, they think of Gallipoli. What we have tried to do throughout the duration of the centenary series is to bring a sharper focus on to the Western Front, which is where Australia made its greatest contribution and suffered its greatest losses.<sup>55</sup>

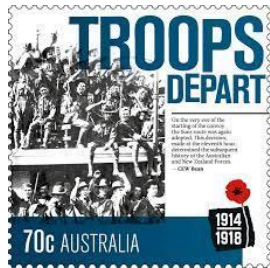
He further added that the stamps were designed to reflect “victories and losses” and though the war resulted in an Allied victory “it came at an immense cost”. The Director of the War Memorial, Dr. Brendan Nelson, commented upon the stamps and he stated,

The centenary stamp issue complements the War Memorial’s planned centenary activity. Through our centenary commemorations we hope to encourage Australians, young and old, to reflect upon and learn more about Australia’s military history. These stamps are a brilliant visual representation of Australia’s involvement in World War I, but more importantly, each tells a significant story that we can learn from and be proud of.<sup>609</sup>

As with the New Zealand issue of centenary stamps, the large number of stamps in this series prevents a discussion of each individual stamp per se, but figure 81 displays the overall five-year series. Again, at least one stamp from each year has been selected and displayed in figure 82.

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<sup>609</sup> Dan Jervis-Bardy, “Beyond Gallipoli”, *Canberra Times*, 28 September 2018; <https://www.watoday.com.au/politics/act/beyond-gallipoli-memories-of-wwi-come-alive-in-new-stamp-series-20180927-p506h6.html> accessed 23/6/2022; <https://quickmail.com.au/australia-post-commemorates-anzacs-with-stamp-series/> accessed 24/6/2022.



2014: War declaration, volunteers, training and departure.



2015: Gallipoli landings and battles.



2016: The Somme, conscription, Western Front, Nursing, looking homeward.

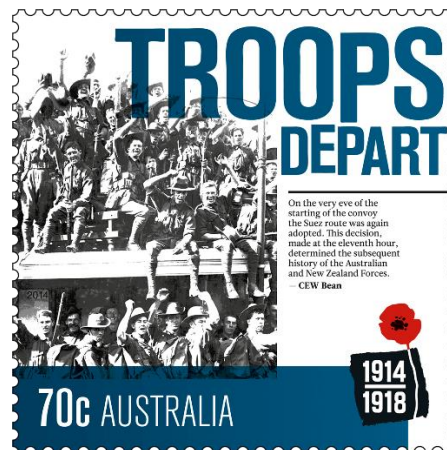


2017: Air warfare, Ypres, Palestine, and war correspondent.



2018: The last 100 days, General Monash, armistice, return home and remembrance.

Figure 81. Five-year series of Australian First World War stamps per year of issue.



(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)



(e)





(f)

Figure 82. Selected stamps from Australia Post's five-year series, (a) Departure of the troops, 1915, leaving for Egypt (Source: Australian War Memorial, A03272), (b) Landing at Anzac Cove, 1915, Photograph of troops landing (Source: Australian War Memorial, accession number C00903), (c) Somme offensive, 1916, Photograph of troops (Source: Australian War Memorial, EZ0079), (d) War correspondent, Charles Bean, (Source: Sir John Monash Centre), (e) Third Battle of Ypres, (Source: British library, E (Aus)1220), (f) The last hundred days, photograph of the 5th Australian Division during the Battle of Amiens, 8 August 1918, (Source: Imperial War Museum E2790).

Many of the stamps have been based upon original photographs from the First World War and have been modified to fit in to a stamp format. The 2014 stamp relates to the departure of Australian troops for Egypt and carries the words of C.E.W. Bean, the war correspondent figure 82a,

On the very eve of the starting of the convoy the Suez route was again adopted. This decision made at the eleventh hour, determined the subsequent history of the Australian and New Zealand Forces.<sup>610</sup>

The 1915 stamp of the Gallipoli landings was described by Australia Post to the effect:

In the early hours of 25 April 1915, the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps (ANZAC) landed to the north of British and French troops on Gallipoli Peninsula, at what became known as Anzac Cove. They came

<sup>610</sup> C.E.W. Bean, *The story of ANZAC from the outbreak of the war to the end of the first phase of the Gallipoli Campaign*, Volume 1, 4 May 1915, 11<sup>th</sup> edition 1941, accessed Australian War Museum, RCD191069750.

ashore on a narrow beach below steep, ridged slopes on which the enemy waited. The strength of Turkish forces had been seriously underestimated, and so the allied force's strategy quickly shifted from taking territory to consolidating any ground gained (figure 82b).

The Somme offensive forms the theme for the 2016 issue, figure 82c. Of this event Joan Beaumont has written:

The Somme saw a dramatic escalation in the rate at which Australian troops were killed and wounded. In the seven weeks after 19 July, the AIF lost at least 23,000 casualties, of whom more than a quarter were killed or died of their wounds.<sup>611</sup>

Charles Bean features in the selected stamp for the 2017 period (figure 82d). He was selected in 1914 to be Australia's first war correspondent. He wrote six-volumes on the history of the First World War and this writing has been claimed as of great importance in fostering the Anzac 'legend' or 'myth'.<sup>612</sup> Of great importance in 1917 was the Third Battle of Ypres and this is featured in another of the stamps for that year (figure 82e). It recalls the violence, mud and misery of this battle around the Belgian village of Passchendaele. The actual stamp is based upon a photograph by Frank Hurley, the Australian photographer.<sup>613</sup> The final stamp for 2018 shows an under-strength platoon of the 5th Australian Division being addressed by an officer near Warfusee-Abancourt during the Battle of Amiens, 8 August 1918 (figure 82f). At 4.20am on 8 August 1918 the Battle of Amiens began. It was a morning of heavy fog, and the Germans were taken completely by surprise. The Australian Corps and Canadian Corps spearheaded the attack and advanced quickly behind the 534 tanks, reaching their objectives within hours.

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<sup>611</sup> Joan Beaumont, *Broken Nation: Australians in the Great War*, 2014: 213.

<sup>612</sup> C.E.W. Bean, *The story of Anzac: Official History of Australia in the War of 1914-1918*, 1942; 1: 124-125 and 1096; David Kent, "Anzac and the marketing of the Anzac Legend", *Kunapipi*, 1996; 18: 27-39.

<sup>613</sup> Frank Hurley: Australian gunmen on a duckboard track in Chateau Wood, near Hooze, 29 October 1917.

The stamps released by Australia Post from the year 2000 and related to the First World War are all totally focussed upon the remembrance and the actions of Australian troops during the war and the effects of the war on the Australian Home Front. There can be little doubt about the stamps' reflection on self-identity and nationalism here, as there is no recognition of the involvement of Britain and other Empire countries during the conflict nor the other nations such as France, Belgium and the USA. It could be further observed that the frequent reflection on Anzacs, their traditions and later service involvement, could be incorrectly interpreted, as the term "Anzac" was synonymous with Australia and overlooking New Zealand's role. What is new in the centennial stamps is the recognition and acknowledgement that Gallipoli was not the only campaign fought by Australian troops and stamps have been specifically dedicated to the conflicts in Palestine, and the battles of the Western Front such as the Somme and the Third Battle of Ypres.

In order to assess the claim that postage stamps relating to the First World War have been produced in excess, inappropriately, and for commercial gain during the twenty-first century, there is first a requirement to list the numbers, describe the topics, and present the images displayed by the stamps and the rationale for their production and this, by necessity, has required many stamp images to be presented. It has been shown in a previous chapter that there has been a steady increase in stamp numbers over time. The stamps dedicated to remembrance of the First World War were few in numbers until the onset of the twenty-first century. Thereafter, there has been a dramatic increase in stamp production, while at the same time the rapid fall in letter postage has continued. Between them, Australia and New Zealand have issued seventy-five stamps for commemoration of the centenary of the First World War alone. Initially, both countries restricted their war issues to commemorating the Anzacs and the Gallipoli Campaign, but subsequently have expanded the scope of their issues leading up to the centenary releases, by including the other aspects of the war and its effects on the Home Front. While the expansion of war topics would seem to be an important advance, it raises the question as to whether the number of stamps for these occasions is necessary for commemoration of the events. Hand in hand with this argument is the observation that vast numbers of stamps have been produced for other events such as the production by Australia Post of twenty-five stamps under the title of 'Faces of Australia' in the year 2000. In 2006, over one hundred and ten stamps were released to mark Australia's successes in the Commonwealth Games.

New Zealand has been no different, issuing eighteen stamps for the “Kiwi kitchen” in 2015, and twenty stamps for “Legendary landscapes” in 2014.

The information provided by the New Zealand Post representatives and the statement released by Australia Post confirm that both organisations claim to be sensitive to the requirements of balancing the need for stamps of good design and content with their commercial interests. The sheer numbers of stamps produced suggests that the commercial needs were important factors in dictating the topics and designs of the stamps. There is little doubt that a great deal of effort and thought is put into the design of the war-related issues. The question then posed is whether the increase of popular interest in the First World War produced enough clamour and demand from the public to justify the greatly increased number of war-related stamps and extended war topics involved. The New Zealand Post had already conceded that their stamp production was not only intended for letter mail or for philatelists, but to cater for any sector of the population prepared to purchase them out of interest or as souvenirs.

There is an alternative viewpoint to that expressed by the postal services in that their large output of stamps was only a response to popular demand and interest in the war centenary. Chris Yardley has claimed that both postal services planned to release their centenary issues over a five-year period and in so doing were able to “cajole” collectors and casual buyers of stamps into a five-year commitment to stamp purchases.<sup>614</sup> Steven Loveridge has discussed the commercialising of these war events in New Zealand by using the term “Anzackery”.<sup>615</sup> He condemns the exploitation of Anzac remembrance by commercial enterprises and states its roots lie in the “marketing of war”. A further term “Brandzac” has also been used to condemn the crass exploitation of war related remembrance. Ron Palenski has commented that the commercialisation of Anzac Day was “trite and disrespectful”, citing as an example, bakers calling their bread an Anzac loaf.<sup>616</sup> Loveridge’s conclusion was that the war’s centenary saw marketing efforts tap public awareness and interest, along with their emotional involvement by advertising and linking goods to the conflict. He gives

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<sup>614</sup> Chris Yardley, “Military history on postage stamps: WW1 centenary commemoratives”, *Sabretache*, 2017; 58: 26-34.

<sup>615</sup> “Anzackery” is defined as the promotion of the Anzac legend in ways that are perceived to be excessive or misguided.

<sup>616</sup> Ron Palenski, *Otago Daily Times*, 22 April 2017, 26.

several examples of this practice but does not mention postage stamps per se.<sup>617</sup> Sales of postage stamps which are directly linked to emotional scenes of the First World War, and being produced in great numbers, could well fit into the concept of commercialisation of the war and hence “Anzackery” by New Zealand Post. From the Australian perspective, Andrew Bonnell has written about the A\$150 million spent in Australia for the centenary of the war and the resultant wave of “jingoistic Anzackery” that had gripped the country, but he does not specifically mention postage stamps or the role of Australia Post.<sup>618</sup>

There can be little doubt as to the quality of the design of the war stamps and many of the centenary issues have been drawn and adapted from actual photographs, as has been shown above. There is no evidence of stamp pandering as the subjects portrayed are all highly relevant to New Zealand and Australia. They have been designed to appeal to collectors with miniature sheets and special packs and are clearly designed as commercial objects with no relevance as receipts for the prepayment of mail. There is good evidence to support the contention that these stamps, while being respectful to the remembrance and commemoration of the First World War, are primarily designed as commercial entities, but perhaps do not reach the level of “Anzackery”.

The following conclusion summarises the findings of the research of this and preceding chapters with regards to the three research questions and discusses the place of this current work in the New Zealand and Australian historiography of the First World War.

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<sup>617</sup> Steven Loveridge, “They’ll go like British shells’: a historical perspective on commercial “Anzacking” in New Zealand”, *Journal of New Zealand Studies*, 2021; 32: 134-152.

<sup>618</sup> Andrew Bonnell, “The great catastrophe: 1914 and the end of the second international”, *Queensland Journal of Labour History*, 2014; 19: 19-29.

## Conclusions

It [Passchendaele Battle] is the most awful and appalling sight I have Ever seen.

Frank Hurley<sup>619</sup>

The introductory chapter to this thesis opened with the joint New Zealand and Australia Anzac stamp issue of 2015. The sentries and buglers silhouetted against Anzac Cove illustrated the importance of the First World War to the trans-Tasman neighbours. Both Dominions answered Britain's call to war and paid a heavy price for their involvement. To many it became the seminal coming-of-age moment in their national stories and its enduring importance has been emphasised every Anzac Day in the decades that followed. While their involvement in the First World War has been examined and viewed through many lenses since, such as scholarly and popular publications, films, documentaries and dramas, this thesis breaks new ground by exploring the war and its remembrance through postage and Cinderella stamps.

Looking at the war through stamps is part of a growing utilisation of ephemera in historical work.<sup>620</sup> Like posters and postcards, stamps are now recognised as windows into historical periods, places, people, and ideas that produced them. Many authors, from a wide range of disciplines are increasingly capitalising upon their potential, but this is the first time they have been employed to answer questions related to the First World War, its commemoration and within a comparative analytical framework. The shared "Tasman World" of mass European migration, transplanted British institutions and values, relative isolation from the centre of the Empire and First World War involvement, offered considerable potential to uncover similarities and dissimilarities in their postage and Cinderella stamps and what these convergencies and divergencies might have to say about their respective war experiences, remembrance, and national identity.<sup>621</sup>

Extensive research in both countries was undertaken to identify primary sources including the identification and classification of relevant postage and Cinderella stamps. A core sample of 350 stamps were analysed through three research questions:

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<sup>619</sup> Frank Hurley, *War diary*, 23 August 1917, Mitchell Library, Mss Box 5, 20.

<sup>620</sup> Stamp collecting and collecting ephemera, <https://www.ephemerasociety.org/we-are-all-one/> accessed 9/10/2023.

<sup>621</sup> Geoffrey Blainey, *The tyranny of distance: how distance shaped Australia's history*, Melbourne: Sun Books, 1983.

1. Why and how successfully did the governments, patriotic societies and similar organisations in New Zealand and Australia use postage stamps and Cinderella stamps for the war effort, for increasing popular support for the war and for propaganda?
2. How did New Zealand and Australia use postage stamps for war remembrance?
3. Do these stamps reflect a sense of self-identity and developing nationalism in New Zealand and Australia?

### Raising Wartime Funds

The first research question has many parts. Although stamps were frequently used by both countries to raise funds for the war effort, provide comfort funds for the troops at the front and to assist their families at home, it was only the New Zealand Government that used postage stamps as a method and a vehicle to raise war funds. By overprinting the current George V halfpenny stamps of 1916 with the words “tax stamp”, the postage stamps were transformed into tax receipts, as a tax of half a penny, which had to be added to the postal item along with the stamps to cover the normal postal charges.<sup>622</sup> The Australian Government did not use postage stamps to raise a war tax, but simply doubled the postage rates as a war tax.

In New Zealand, the Government did not use Cinderella stamps for the raising of war funds, but instead went directly to war loan certificates. The public were exhorted to buy these by the widespread use of advertising posters (see figure 83). Joseph Ward, the finance minister, promoted these posters under his name. There were several instances when the Australian Government agencies used Cinderella stamps to raise funds for their various War Loans. The Australian Government’s War Loan Cinderella stamps used propaganda techniques and played upon the peoples’ sense of patriotism to raise money. A major theme, found in nearly all the thirteen issues was the inference that money could act as a good soldier and thus by subscribing one became a good patriot (see figure 24). In contrast to the War Loan scheme, the War

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<sup>622</sup> The repeat overprinting of these stamps gave rise to several variations in the lettering in the overprint and vertical and horizontal shifts in the position of the overprint within the stamp.

Saving Certificates scheme, and associated Cinderella stamps, was different in that the method did not employ propaganda images but displayed the monarch's head. It also differed in that the savings stamps had to be purchased by the public as a form of savings and to be used as intermediaries prior to the purchase of a £1 War Loan Certificate (see figure 28 a-e).

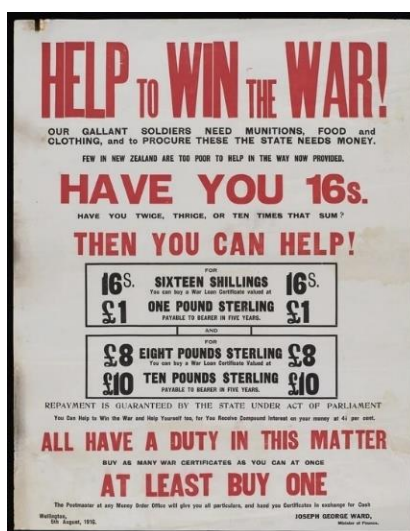


Figure 83. New Zealand Government poster of 1916 promoting the purchase of war loan certificates (Source: Alexander Turnbull Library, Ephemera-D-1916-02).

Cinderella stamps were used extensively by Patriotic Societies and similar organisations in both New Zealand and Australia, to raise money for the benefit of their soldiers. After the onset of the First World War, there was a proliferation of individual Patriotic Societies throughout both countries, all raising money by a host of different methods. This situation resulted in governmental concerns over the management and use of these funds and regulations were introduced. In New Zealand, several of the Patriotic Societies introduced their own Cinderella stamps for sale as part of their fundraising activities to support wounded soldiers and their families. More than eight different varieties of these stamps have been identified and described here. There was no unified national approach to the distribution of the funds so raised, and the Societies, in general, supported soldiers recruited in their own geographic area or in nominated battalions such as the Māori Battalion.

Considerably more fund-raising Cinderella stamps were produced in Australia and can be identified from Australian sources. More than twelve varieties of War Chest stamps were produced, along with some Cinderella stamps that are now rare and some

dubious issues from many other sources. David Elsmore has made attempts to catalogue these issues and he has recorded that there were nine issues which formed appeals for funds for the Red Cross activities rather than specific war related funds.<sup>623</sup>

In summary, Cinderella stamps were widely used by the Australian Government in helping to raise money for their war effort. The Australian Patriotic Societies added Cinderella stamps to their fund-raising repertoire which was wholly directed at providing comfort funds for Australian servicemen. In comparison, the New Zealand Government agencies did not use Cinderella stamps to aid in the funding the war effort. However, Patriotic Societies did use Cinderella stamps for fund raising but in a more limited way than in Australia. In terms of postage stamps, the New Zealand Government raised a fairly substantial amount of money through war tax stamps, while the Australian Government simply doubled the postage rates as a form of war tax and raised a proportionally greater amount of money. This is explained by the fact that in New Zealand the war tax was not applied to all mail and in certain instances the mail was tax free.

Domestic postage stamps were not used by either country as a form of propaganda during the war years and the normal definitive issues were used during the five-year period. There was, however, a marked difference between the two nations in relation to the use of Cinderella stamps. In Australia, even the war loan stamps contained propaganda, such as phrases like “He [the Australian sailor] expects you to do your duty” (figure 24-4). The more powerful Cinderella stamps were directed at supporting of the conscription referenda of 1916 and 1917. While supporting the government’s viewpoint and policy, these stamps were not an official government issue but from voluntary groups. Strong anti-German sentiments were expressed in two of these pro-referendum stamps as shown in figures 34b and c. Most Australian Cinderella stamps were directed at voluntary recruitment to the forces, often stressing the deeds of past Australian soldiers. One unusual series of 1915 labelled ‘war stamps’, contained photographs of individuals supporting the war and the Empire, and some mimicked the current Australian stamps, many containing patriotic symbols. The argument has been presented in Chapter 5 that the overprinting of German colonial stamps was not simply for postal use, but to give a strong propaganda message that the former German territory was now in the hands of the Empire.

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<sup>623</sup> David Elsmore, [www.ozrevenues.com/Australia-ww1-cinderella.html](http://www.ozrevenues.com/Australia-ww1-cinderella.html)

An intermediary group of propaganda stamps are those that circulated in both Australia and New Zealand and are anti-German propaganda Cinderellas, probably originating in Britain. Their purpose was to highlight the “atrocities” carried out by Germany during the war. They focused on the sinking of the *Lusitania*, the murder of Edith Cavell and the Zeppelin raids on Britain. The image on one of these was incorporated directly into an Australian Cinderella stamp which emanated from the Commonwealth of Australia Government in support of the purchase of war saving certificates. The *Lusitania* sinking image utilised anti-German feelings to promote the war savings stamps (see figure 37a).

New Zealand’s Cinderella stamps of a propaganda nature were much less political than the referendum stamps of Australia, as the question of conscription had already been decided in New Zealand. The early issues were more associated with preparation for the impending conflict and encouraging voluntary recruitment to the armed forces. The Cinderella stamp featuring Corporal Bassett is a good example of showing the bravery to be found in soldiers of the New Zealand forces and in so doing highlighting the army in a positive fashion. Subtle recruiting propaganda is evident in the Navy League Cinderella label, and these are clearly based upon the British model. It promotes the League, itself, as well as navy recruitment. The General Botha Cinderella stamp is an example of direct war propaganda, especially when viewed alongside the contemporary cartoons and a good example is shown in figure 32a. In summary, the New Zealand stamps were more subtle than the Australian examples which often displayed anti-German features.

### Remembrance

New Zealand was the first of the Dominions to remember the First World War by the release of postage stamps, with its somewhat controversial “Victory” issue in 1920. Further remembrance of the war, via postage stamps, took twenty years in Australia and twenty-one years in New Zealand, after the landing of the Anzacs at Gallipoli in 1915. Much deliberation, politically and socially, was carried out in both countries prior to the release of their respective stamps in 1935 and 1936. The main stimulus to produce Anzac commemorative stamps came from the RSL in Australia and RSA in New Zealand, and not from the postal services of their governments. It is surprising that there was reticence by the postal systems to produce commemorative stamps for the twentieth anniversary of Anzac, when there were still many living

veterans of the world war. The later fiftieth anniversary stamps, in remembrance of the Gallipoli landings, were again due to the activity of the veterans' organisations. However, the returned services leagues had an unsuccessful outcome in their promotion of an issue of stamps to commemorate the seventy-fifth anniversary of the Anzac landings. It is further surprising that the only remembrance stamps produced by both countries in the fifty-one years from the onset of the war were directed at the Anzacs at Gallipoli. Ignored were the terrible losses on the Western Front and in the Middle East. The latter could be explained by the weight and importance placed on the Gallipoli Campaign and its relationship to Australia's national identity and development, and may have temporally overshadowed events like the Battle of the Somme. Ben Wellings has gone as far as to say that "at the beginning of the twenty-first century "Anzac" had become the dominant expression of Australian nationalism".<sup>624</sup> However, in New Zealand less stress has been placed on these events. While important, they were not paramount in the sense of developing the concept of nationhood in New Zealand.<sup>625</sup>

The concept of remembrance was more evident in the New Zealand stamps of 1998, when they were released jointly with three Turkish commemorative stamps for the Gallipoli Campaign (Cannakkale). By using appropriate sculptures in their designs, the themes of the stamps were clearly intended to recall the losses of life and the injuries sustained during the conflict at Gallipoli. Much has been written about the period from the mid-sixties to the nineties when anti-war sentiments followed the Korean War and more so after the Vietnam War. At the same time the decline in attendance at the Anzac Parades was being reported.<sup>626</sup> This background was certainly not conducive to the production of war related postage stamps. The 1998 stamps reflected the period, when there was a major revival of interest in the past wars and the involvement of the younger generation in these events and their celebration. During this period the concentration of remembrance, via postage stamps, remained

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<sup>624</sup> Ben Wellings, in Sumartojo and Wellings, editors, *Nation, memory and Great War commemoration: mobilizing the past in Europe, Australia and New Zealand*, Bern: Peter Lang Publishing, 2014: 45.

<sup>625</sup> Rowan Light, *Anzac nations: the legacy of Gallipoli in New Zealand and Australia 1965-2015*, Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2022: 78.

<sup>626</sup> Helen Robinson, "Lest we forget? The fading of New Zealand war commemoration, 1946-1966", *New Zealand Journal of History*, 2010; 44: 1; Rowan Light, *Anzac nations: the legacy of Gallipoli in New Zealand and Australia 1965-2015*, Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2022: 45-54.

on Gallipoli and no issues were directed at the remembrance of the other campaigns that involved the Anzacs and the expeditionary forces of both countries.

Prior to the twenty-first century, Australia, like New Zealand, produced few stamps related to the First World War. The Australian issue for the fiftieth anniversary of the Gallipoli Campaign is interesting. While it is commemorative in the sense of celebrating a person or event, the remembrance aspect appears to be directed at a specific person and his actions rather than remembrance of the wider aspects of the First World War (see figure 65). The image of Simpson and his donkey rescuing wounded soldiers has become an Australian icon and could be seen as reflecting the sense of self sacrifice and heroism that are regarded as important attributes which gave rise to the founding of the Australian nation.<sup>627</sup> The stamps then can be seen as remembrance of Simpson and his actions rather than the wider Gallipoli Campaign or the world war sacrifices. As discussed above, there was no specific stamp authorised, in Australia, for the seventy-fifth anniversary of the Anzac landings but instead a generalised issue of four stamps reflecting “Anzac traditions” (figure 66). Here we have, for the first time in seventy-six years, a single stamp that refers to and illustrates events of the First World War in general and is labelled “at the front”.

In the late 1990s and early twentieth century in New Zealand and Australia, what can only be described as a very marked change in stamp production occurred. Many of the new issues contained four to six different stamps, and by the year 2000, some stamp series numbered 22 individual stamps. There was also a parallel increase in stamps that were relevant to the First World War. Australia now remembered the Battle of Beersheba in stamps and several of a true remembrance nature. Much discussion relating to this change took place in Chapter 7, with the argument put forward that this development was a result of the postal systems having been placed on a profit related business model. The pressure of market forces now required a profit to be made from stamps and they no longer were to be regarded as simply receipts but as commercial entities in their own right. These changes resulted in a large output of stamps, far more than needed for the postal services. Attention was being paid to stamps which would be purchased as mementos, and with the increased

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<sup>627</sup> Typified by the poem of J.H.M. Abbott (1874-1915), *Soul of Australia*, “And the sun shone down on the scene of strife where the soul of Australia came to life”, *Brisbane Courier*, 25 April 1916, 7.

interest and awareness of matters relating to the First World War, the market responded to this interest.

This output of war-related stamps reached its apogee with the celebration of the centenary of the War. New Zealand Post issued fifty stamps over the centenary period while Australia produced twenty-five. Stamps were only part of the commercial output, and many special products, stamp package variations and themes were produced, as well as coins.<sup>628</sup> The format of the centenary issues for both countries followed a similar pattern with a release of stamps each centenary year for five years (2014-2018). The topics of each year mirrored what had happened one hundred years before and portrayed how these key events had impacted on the troops, individuals, and the home front. The selection of the topics on each stamp was different in each country and biased towards events that had impacted on New Zealand or Australia specifically. “What gets commemorated and by whom in 2014-2018”, noted Ben Wellings, “is significantly conditioned by the demands of the nation-state within the dynamics of the international state system”.<sup>629</sup>

The use of actual war photographs to form the basis of many of the centenary stamps and the inclusion of images of New Zealanders or Australians respectively adds to the overall visual and emotional effect of the specific stamps. They demonstrate a parochial approach to the celebration of the war and none of the stamps refers to Britain or other participants and allies, apart from showing the flags of the other nations on the armistice stamp.

The direct discussions held with New Zealand Post have revealed that while the profit aspect of the stamps was important, the organisation had gone to considerable lengths to make the centenary issues high quality, historically accurate and respectful of the feelings of the community. However, the production of such items as silver proof coins and medallions does suggest that profit ranked highly in the centenary issues.

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<sup>628</sup> Apart from the single stamp issues, there were mini-sheets, special published booklets on the war, stamp packs, maxicards, medallion covers, gutter strips, prestige booklets and postal numismatic covers, and silver proof coins issued.

<sup>629</sup> Ben Wellings, Shanti Sumertojo and Mathew Graves, *Commemorating race and Empire in the First World War*, Presses Universitaires de Provence, 2018: 7.

## Semiotics and Self-identity

The third research question asks whether a sense of self-image and even developing self-identity, in the two Dominions, was reflected in the semiotics of their stamp issues. This question could not be answered by simply looking at the issues around the war period but required a longer-term view. Hence, the issues prior to the First World War and following through until the centenary issues was well justified, as a much clearer picture of the changes in the sense of self-identity over time could be obtained for both Dominions.

A useful yardstick which helped to judge the development of self-identity in New Zealand and Australia, as seen through their postage stamps, can be found in the writings of James Belich.<sup>630</sup> Specifically, the question of national identity was certainly related, and importantly so, to the relationship of New Zealand and Australia with Britain. Belich argues that in New Zealand signs of early independence appeared in the mid- to late nineteenth century. Closer ties were then forged when the introduction of refrigeration allowed exports of chilled meat to the United Kingdom and thus secured a long-term market for New Zealand and established commercial ties. Belich referred to these events as the beginning of “recolonisation”.<sup>631</sup> The rallying call of Empire was responded to by New Zealand and Australia for the South African War and later on the Battlefields of Europe and in Palestine, and subsequently into the late twentieth century, by their active involvement in these conflicts supplying armed forces and material to support Britain. Certainly, ten years after the end of the First World War the RSL’s views were expressed in a leading article which included the words:

Australians and New Zealanders covered themselves with undying glory and honour in close comradeship with splendid men from the mother country. We shall remember them as long as the Empire lasts.<sup>632</sup>

If Belich’s arguments hold true, then these changes could be reflected in the postage stamps of each period. Inferences about the complex development of true nationalism

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<sup>630</sup> James Belich, *Paradise reforged: a history of the New Zealanders: from the 1880s to the year 2000*, Honolulu; University of Hawai’i Press, 2001.

<sup>631</sup> *Ibid*, 200: 47-52 and 53-58.

<sup>632</sup> “In foreign land: Anzac memories”, *Reveille*, 31 July 1929, 3.

cannot be drawn from the study of the presented stamps, only the early indications of self-awareness within the wider Empire and later in the commemoration stamps. Other writers such as Peter Beilharz and Lloyd Cox have presented a detailed account on nationalism in Australia and New Zealand.<sup>633</sup> They point out that both countries commenced as imperial artifacts as a result of expansion of the British Empire into the southern hemisphere and while their development of nationalism has many parallels, there are striking contrasts. This applies particularly to New Zealand in that development of settler nationalism and the resurgence of Māori nationalism had, and still have, to be resolved.

Belich claimed that there was a sense of self-identity in New Zealand from the middle to the end of the nineteenth century. The only evidence to support this viewpoint is that from the first postage stamps of 1855, there was the clear use of the heading “New Zealand” above the monarch’s portrait and the inclusion of “NZ” in the watermark. In 1891, the imperial symbols had been dropped only in the Government Life stamps, which carried the title “NZ Government”. Conflicting signs of self-identity and Empire allegiance occurred at the end of the century. The innovative scenic views of New Zealand stamp issue contrasted with the rallying call to Empire in the 1900 stamps for the South African War. This event was closely followed by the nationalistic “Zealandia” release associated with the establishment of New Zealand as a Dominion and no longer a Crown Colony. At the same time, the stamps bearing symbols of unique New Zealand birds was released supporting the concept that New Zealand was different and unique. The return to stamps bearing the King’s head was in keeping with Belich’s suggestion that there was a return to closer Empire ties.

It is difficult to compare the New Zealand ideas of self-identity for this early period with that of Australia. New Zealand is a small fertile country with a history of nationhood dating back to 1840 contrasted with a vast arid land containing five separate colonies, all identifying themselves on a regional and local basis and not as a national entity. As described in Chapter 3, each of the Australian colonies reflected their individual views on self-identity and empire allegiance, but there was no sense of a nation state and hence no national identity until federation in 1901. Following federation, the eventual appearance of national stamps revealed the clash between a

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<sup>633</sup> Peter Beilharz and Lloyd Cox, “Nations and nationalism in Australia and New Zealand”, in Gerard Delanty and Krishnan Kumar, editors, *The Sage handbook of nations and nationalism*, London: Sage Publications, 2006: 555-564.

national image and Empire, with the first stamps portraying national symbols and the second issue being that which reflected the monarchy. For the period between the war and the middle of the twentieth century, the time Belich claims that there were closer ties with Britain, the stamps indicate a gradual change from both Australia and New Zealand being equal members of an Empire, to the recognition that both countries were independent sovereign states. Katie Pickles has observed that one factor that was influential in helping maintain closer ties between New Zealand and Britain were organisations such as the Victoria League. She has explored the role of women's part in imperialism. Women of "white" settler societies worked to promote strengthening and unity of the Empire and this continued well into the twentieth century.<sup>634</sup> With regard to Australia, Beilharz and Cox state that in the absence of a founding revolution to create nationalism, the Imperial landings at Gallipoli became symbolic of Australian nationalism. The Anzac myth was formed. Ironically, the first Australian stamp to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of the Anzac landings was based upon the cenotaph in London, which contrasted with the New Zealand issue for the twenty-first anniversary showing a New Zealand soldier and Anzac Cove. There was certainly a change in the Australian approach by the fiftieth anniversary of the landings with many stamps portraying the iconic story of Simpson and his donkey, while New Zealand had reverted to a simple picture of Anzac Cove. Reviewing the immediate post war period, it was New Zealand that was first to produce a war related stamp, the Victory issue. These stamps were designed with a directive from the Postmaster-General, Sir Joseph Ward, that they should be "imperial" in design. It is hard to judge whether this reflected the views of the country or simply that of a man known for his Empire loyalty. Australia rejected the issue as quasi-illegal and claimed that it overrepresented New Zealand's contribution to the war. Clearly, by this time the concept of a "New Britannia" and New Zealand joining the Australian Commonwealth were rapidly evaporating.<sup>635</sup>

There was a dearth of war related stamps from both countries until late into the twentieth century. This has been attributed to societies' changing views of warfare

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<sup>634</sup> Katie Pickles, "A link in 'the great chain of Empire friendship': the Victoria League in New Zealand", *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 2005; 33: 29-50.

<sup>635</sup> Peter Beilharz and Lloyd Cox, "Nations and nationalism in Australia and New Zealand", in Gerard Delanty and Krishnan Kumar, editors, *The Sage handbook of nations and nationalism*, London: Sage Publications, 2006: 555-564.

and the role of Anzac Day. The stamps that were produced in New Zealand were related to the National War Memorial and a celebration of the New Zealand Engineers in France in 1917. Australia produced a series related to the Anzac Traditions, which were very Australian orientated. There can be little doubt that by this time, these stamps were reflecting independence and a clear self-identity in both Dominions. By the twenty-first century the issues of both countries reflected independent states, with no reference to each other or to Britain or to the Commonwealth. However, in reality the self- image of New Zealand was beginning to fray with the resurgence in Māori political activism leading to the non-Māori population having to accept the concept of bi-culturism. While not war related, there was an increase in stamps devoted to Māori subjects and the use of Māori language.

In summary, following the Second World War there was a steady dissolution of the British Empire. With the growing prominence of the Commonwealth, increasing self-awareness and independence is reflected in the stamps of both countries leading up to the First World War centenary stamps, which are discussed separately. The concept of a self-identity and image within the British Empire had long passed and both countries saw themselves as individuals on the world's stage.

This thesis has shown that postage stamps and Cinderella stamps can offer a fresh, and at times a unique view on the historical events of the First World War and how they have been commemorated, as well as the wider question of national self-identity in New Zealand and Australia. In particular, Cinderella stamps provide a contemporary viewpoint divorced from the official government stance. This study further indicates that researching stamps in their historical context can shed new light on understandings of citizenship, national identity and patriotism across other nations, and periods of time.

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## **Appendix I**

### **Postage Stamps**

Listed by country, year, and topic of issue.

#### **Australia**

1913, First Commonwealth stamp, 1913, King George V, 1915, Hochkirk postal cancellations, 1918, King George V with war tax included, 1935, Anzac (2 stamps), 1935, King George V Silver Jubilee, 1954, National War Memorial (2 stamps), 1965, Anzac 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary (3 stamps), 1974, Sergeant of the Light Horse, 1990, Anzac Tradition, (5 stamps), 1991, Fiftieth anniversary of the National War Memorial, 2002, Last of the Anzacs (4 stamps), 2008, Remembrance Day (4 stamps), 2011, Remembrance Day (2 stamps), 2013, Joint issue with Israel, Battle of Beersheba (2 stamps), 2013, HMAS *Australia*, 2018, Remembrance (5 stamps), 2014-2018, Centenary of the First World War (25 stamps).

#### **Australian Territories (Christmas Island, Norfolk Island, Cocos (Keeling) Islands).**

1965, Anzac, 1915-1965.

#### **Belgium**

2008, Joint issue with New Zealand and Australia, Remembrance.

#### **Canada**

1895, Empire stamp, 1915-1916, war tax stamps (5 stamps), 1930-1, Mount Edith Cavell, 2018, Armistice centenary.

#### **Eire**

2015, Sinking of *Lusitania*.

#### **Germany**

1886-92, Apia cancellation, 2014, Centennial anniversary of the First World War.

#### **Marshall Islands (including Nauru)**

1901, German colonial stamps (2 stamps).

#### **Nauru**

1915, NW Pacific Islands overprint used in Nauru (2 stamps), 1916-1923, overprinted British stamps (2 stamps), 1965, Anzac 1915-1965.

#### **New Guinea**

1898, German Empire stamp overprinted 'German New Guinea', 1901, German colonial stamp, 1914, Marshall Island stamps overprinted GRI, New Guinea colonial stamps overprinted GRI (2 stamps), Marshall Islands overprinted GRI, Registration stamps (2 stamps), 1915-1923, NW Pacific Islands overprints (9 stamps).

#### **New South Wales**

1850, First issue, 1888-9, map of Australia, 1888-89, early colonial issue (2 stamps), 1890, "Australia" allegorical figure (2 stamps), 1897, Tuberculosis charity.

### **New Zealand**

1855, Queen Victoria, 1891, Government Life, 1898, First pictorial stamp, 1898-1900, Pictorial stamps (10 stamps), 1900, South African War, 1901, *Zealandia*, 1906, International Exhibition (4 stamps), 1915, war tax stamp (3 examples), 1919, Victory (7 stamps), 1936, Anzac (2 stamps), 1946, National War Memorial, 1965, Anzac (2 stamps), 1984, New Zealand Engineers, 1998, Joint issue with Turkey, 2003, Military Uniforms (3 stamps), 2008, Stories of Nationhood (2 stamps and miniature sheet), 2010, Anzac Day, Anzac Remembrance (2 stamps), 2011, Victoria Cross (6 stamps), 2015, Anzac, joint issue, 2016, Centenary of RSA (2 stamps), 2018, 2018, Armistice Centenary (5 stamps), 2019, Comrades in Arms (2 stamps), 2014-2018, Centenary of the First World War (50 stamps),

### **Queensland**

1900, Patriotic Fund (2 stamps)

### **Samoa**

1900, overprinted German stamp, 1900-01, German Samoa, 1914, German Samoa stamps overprinted GRI, (14 stamps), 1914-1920, New Zealand stamps overprinted 'Samoa', (4 stamps and a block of 4), 2014, New Zealand troops landing in 1914.

### **South Australia**

1894-1906, early colonial stamp

### **South West Africa**

1915, South African occupation, 1920, South African mandate.

### **Spain**

1876, Second Carlist War, 1898, Cuban Independence War.

### **Turkey**

1965, Cannakkale Campaign (3 stamps), 1998, Joint issue with New Zealand (2 stamps).

### **United Kingdom**

1840, Penny Black, Queen Victoria.

### **Victoria**

1900, Patriotic Fund

### **Cinderella Stamps.**

Illustrative general examples from 1864-1924, France, Germany, New Zealand, United States of America, United Kingdom.

Political and War related Cinderella stamps:

### **Australia**

1915, War Souvenir stamps (9 stamps), War Savings Stamps, Sinking of the *Lusitania*,  
1916, Conscription Referendum (8 stamps), Lord Roberts Fund, Edith Cavell.  
1917, War Loan Bonds and Liberty Loans (13 stamps), 1917, War Chest (12 stamps),  
War savings stamps (2 stamps), Anti-German stamps (2 stamps), Trade Guilds.  
1918, Recruitment, Lieutenant Bisdee (2 stamps), Australia Day, AIF monument.  
1920, Buy British goods.

**Belgium**

1916, Nurse Edith Cavell

**Germany**

1914, War propaganda stamp

**Ireland,**

1914-1918, Home Rule,

**New Zealand**

1910, Lord Kitchener and army recruitment (3 stamps), 1913, Otago Infantry Brigade,  
1915-1918, Auckland Provincial Fund stamp, Poverty Bay Patriotic Fund, Tokomaru  
Bay patriotic stamp, Whakatane overprinted stamp, Manawatu Patriotic Society,  
1917, Lord Roberts Memorial Fund (3 stamps), Navy League (2 stamps).

**United Kingdom**

1914, War seal

c1917, Zeppelin attacks.