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Commerce or Commemoration? The Role of the Postage Stamp in Great War Remembrance.

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

The Great War of 1914-18 was a major and catastrophic event in the 20th century. The remembrance and commemoration of the war dead and the war's events and consequences has taken many forms. A less well recognised genre is that played by the humble postage stamp.

This study has addressed the role played by the postage stamp, not only in remembrance, but in fund raising for war matériel and for war-related charities. The extent and scope of stamp use for commemoration, over the hundred years since the armistice of 1918, was examined. Their frequency, scope and the subject matter of their design and form has been described and most stamps are illustrated within the text. Special attention was paid to issues of the former British Empire and especially New Zealand's contribution. However, the issues of France were also selected as a non-British Empire state, yet a major combatant and having a population who suffered greatly by the war.

The study reveals that postage stamps played a small, but important, role in fund raising when employed as war tax stamps. Their use for raising money for war charities was widely practiced in France and many other European countries, but was infrequently used by British Empire countries. The early commemorative stamps of the Dominions were relatively few in number, but were carefully considered and designed. The absence of issues by the United Kingdom prior to 2006 is a confounding factor. As the 20th century drew to a conclusion, there was a proliferation of postal issues and also commemorative stamps which reached a peak during the centenary of the First World War in 2014-18. This change corresponded to the changes in postal authorities moving from a social service model to a business and revenue model. Despite this, and a general reduction of letter mail, there continued a steady increase in the number of new stamps produced and an increase in set size.

Evidence presented suggests that the production of postage stamps for true remembrance reasons may well have become a secondary role to that of revenue seeking. These former important historical documents are being overshadowed by commercialism. In turn, stamps themselves may have a limited future due to automation and electronic mail.

Acknowledgements

My interest in the history of the First World War was engendered by my wish to understand what my Grandfather must have experienced in the Great War and in particular what he must have endured as a veteran of the Passchendaele battles. I wish to acknowledge my gratitude to him for stimulating my interest in war history and encouraging me to pursue a career in medicine.

My wife, Mairi, has been, as ever, a supporter, confidant and a source of encouragement in the pursuit of my goal of 'learning for life'. To her I shall be forever grateful.

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Setting the scene



Figure 1. Commemorating the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand on the 28th June, 1914. Issued for use in Bosnia Herzegovina by the Austrian Military Post, 28th June, 1917. Charity stamp for the Fund to establish a Memorial Church at Sarajevo.

“The assassination acted as a lever, prying the various powers into predictable paths.”
J. Bowyer Bell, historian.¹

“Tell the innocent visitor from another world that two people were killed at Sarajevo, and that the best that Europe could do about it was to kill eleven million more.”
A.A. Milne, *Peace with Honour*.²

Frontispiece: *For the Fallen* after Laurence Binyon. Postage stamp issued by the Royal Mail, United Kingdom, 28 July, 2014.

¹ Boyer Bell, www.alphahistory.com/worldwar1/assassination-in-Sarajevo accessed 15/11/2018.

² A. E. Milne, www.goodreads.com/work/quotes/4469012-peace-with-honour accessed 15/11/2018.

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Introduction

Stamps constitute the tip of an iceberg
of the nexus of cultural and historical
forces of the society to which they
belong.

David Scott, 1995.³

The people of New Zealand and France commemorated the centenary of the liberation of the French town of Le Quesnoy on the 4th of November, 2018 and this event was followed seven days later by the centenary of the armistice of the 11th of November 1918 (figure 2). In 2018, the centenary of the armistice is now not only a time of commemoration but a time of remembrance of the massive loss of life and the devastation wrought by the First World War. After one hundred years, the war's after-effects are still influencing the politics of the world today, hence it is still appropriate to study some of the less obvious aspects of war remembrance such as the role played by the simple postage stamp and its part in helping to fund "the war that will end war".⁴ The aim of this dissertation is to examine the relevance of postage stamp use during the conflict and its use as a tool afterwards for the remembrance and commemoration of the horrors of 1914-1918.



Figure 2. Le Quesnoy, France, liberated on 4th November, 1918, stamp issued 1st June, 1957, and a painting depicting the scaling of the walls of Le Quesnoy by Second Lieutenant Averill, executed in 1920 by George Edmund Butler Archives New Zealand under the records number NCWA 535), New Zealand Post, 2018, Back from the brink – Le Quesnoy.

³ David Scott, *European stamp design: a semiotic approach to designing messages*, London: Academy Editions, 1995: 198.

⁴ W. Warren Wagar, *H.G. Wells: Traversing Time*. Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 2004: 147.

The adhesive postage stamp was first introduced into Great Britain in 1840, by Sir Rowland Hill, for the pre-payment of mail. Its success led to many other countries adopting the use of postage stamps for their mail systems and by the beginning of the 20th century, their use was almost universal.⁵ However, following their initial success in postal delivery, it soon became apparent that there could be an important secondary function for the humble postage stamp. Governments quickly recognised that these miniature objects could be used for a host of other purposes, such as advertisement, propaganda and education in the arts and culture. Thereafter, it was soon appreciated by academics that these functions deserved serious study.

It was an American philosopher, Charles Pierce, whose writing and research outlined the basic ideas of what is now known as semiotics.⁶ He developed the concept of a basic three class typology labelled 'icons', 'indices' and 'symbols'. Pierce later developed these three into 10 main subdivisions and subsequent further subdivisions.⁷ David Scott applied Pierce'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 in Swiss stamps), the 'index' was the pointer sign as to the country of origin – printed name, map, abbreviation (e.g. United States - USA, German Democratic Republic - DDR) or sovereign's head (United Kingdom). The 'symbol' is represented by the numbers or letters of the value. However, when it comes to the secondary function of the stamp, the 'symbol' represents some aspect of a country such as commemoration, anniversary or celebration.⁸ It is this secondary symbolic function of the postage stamp that we are concerned with here. Historical or cultural themes can be expressed via metonyms (partial representations of the whole image) or as the full picture.⁹

One of the first academics to utilise Scott's theories on the semiotics of stamp design was Jack Childs, working in the USA. In seminal publications, he examined the politics and semiotics of Latin American postage stamps. Within these publications he stressed the importance in the distinction between 'definitive' stamps and 'commemorative' stamps. The former portrays general iconic messages and these are not time-sensitive as they are carrying mail for extended periods. Commemoratives, on the other hand, are issued to celebrate a special timed event such as an anniversary or historical or cultural landmark and tend to be time-limited as they were only sold for a short period.¹⁰

⁵ The International Postal Union (UPU) was established by the Treaty of Bern in 1874, with its headquarters in Switzerland. French was adopted as its working language.

⁶ Defined here as the study of signs and symbols.

⁷ Charles S. Pierce, *Pierce on signs: writings on semiotic*, ed. James Hooper, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991.

⁸ David Scott, *European stamp design: a semiotic approach to designing messages*, London: Academy Editions. 1995: 198.

⁹ Metonymy works by contiguity (association) between two concepts – examples would be the "red poppy" and war graves and the "silver fern" and New Zealand.

¹⁰ Jack Child, "The politics and semiotics of the smallest icons of popular culture: Latin American postage stamps", *Latin American Research Review*, 40(2005): 108-137.

Jack Child, *Miniature Messages*, Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2008, p16.

Are postage stamps then a legitimate subject for study by historians? The idea and concept put forward by Eric Hobsbawm that postage stamps were merely for antiquarian chroniclers is now long rejected.¹¹ Donald M. Ross in 1984 discussed the importance of postage stamps to the historian and detailed the types of valuable historical evidence to be found in the study of postage stamps. The first type of information Ross put forward was the study of the physical properties of the object – paper, ink, glue and the actual printing process itself. The second level of information can supplement written records providing evidence of postal services. His third group, relevant to this study, is their bearing of symbols. Such symbolic stamps can percolate throughout the world where postal services exist.¹² Even earlier, in 1923, it was pointed out by Basil Reed that philately could help in history teaching as its study, for example, reflected the fidelity and swiftness of the rise and fall of a state.¹³ The early diffidence of historians about postage stamps is long gone. Keith Jeffery has well reviewed the possibilities for imperial history using philatelic evidence¹⁴, and academic publications relating to stamps range from science and social studies to finance and business use.¹⁵

The Great War forever changed the map of the world resulting in the disintegration of Empires and the rise of nationalistic and irredentist movements that took advantage of the post-war chaos. All these new governments, no matter how permanent or transient rapidly recognised the importance of producing postage stamps to announce their arrival and to exploit the propaganda benefit that would arise and help establish their credentials. This is exemplified by the creation of Memel as a separate territory as determined by the Treaty of Versailles (figure 3).

¹¹ Eric Hobsbawm cited by Keith Jeffery, "Crown, communication and the colonial post: stamps, the monarchy and the British Empire", *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 34(2006): 45-70.

¹² Donald M. Reid, "The symbolism of postage stamps: a source for the historian", *Journal of Contemporary History*, 19(1984): 223-249.

¹³ Basil Reed, "Philately and the teaching of modern history", *History*, 7(1923): 266-273

¹⁴ Keith Jeffery, "Crown, communication and the colonial post: stamps, the monarchy and the British Empire", *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 34(2006): 45-70.

¹⁵ JStor currently lists over 1200 academic papers as of 2018.



Figure 3. French stamp overprinted for use in Memel, 1921-22 and map of the location of Memel (1921-39).

Similarly, during the period of open warfare, postage stamps were employed whenever there was an occupation of enemy territory. The New Zealand occupation of German Samoa is but one early example of this propaganda move by the overprinting the German stamps and rapidly introducing a more permanent issue (figure 4).



Figure 4. Samoa, 1914, New Zealand Occupation, overprinted German stamp, and New Zealand stamps overprinted for use in Samoa, 1914-24. G.R.I. abbreviation indicates George Rex Imperator (The King Emperor). Raising the Union Jack outside the courthouse, Apia, 29 August, 1914 (Photograph - Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington).¹⁶

The purpose of this thesis is to pose and address three research questions related to postage stamp use in the Great War and its aftermath. This research is not related to postal history per se, but to the secondary function of the stamp or where its use is contingent to the postal function. As its name implies the First World War was a global conflict involving many countries and their military forces and civilian populations. Due to the extent of the conflict, the thrust of

¹⁶ Annual Report, Post and Telegraph Department, 1916-17, Appendix to the *Journal of the House of Representatives*, p6.

this research must look at the approach of several countries to answer the specific question, but will always include what is relevant to New Zealand, and the United Kingdom and other major present-day Commonwealth countries. Data pertaining to France, as a allied combatant country, will be provided and compared and reference will be made to the other involved countries when it is appropriate and relevant. To place the postage stamps in the context of the Great War, relevant information will be included regarding the history of the events displayed and the background of the people who feature in certain issues. The specific research questions posed are: To what extent were postage stamps employed to raise revenue for the various aspects of the war effort and its ensuing short term aftermath? What was the scope and extent of postage stamp use for commemoration and remembrance of the War and the resulting peace between 1918 and 2000? Why has there been a proliferation of remembrance and commemoration stamp issues prior to and during the centenary of the Great War and how does this compare with the stamp-based remembrance over the preceding one hundred years? What accounts for any change?

The first methodological step employed was to identify the appropriate philatelic material required as the primary data and source material and hence to act as supportive evidence. The most important and productive site proved to be the published stamp catalogues and, in particular, those issued by Stanley Gibbons Limited.¹⁷

There is a vast published literature pertaining to the Great War and hence the initial search was limited to the simple term “World War One/First World war and postage stamps”. Once the articles were identified a more refined search was directed to each specific topic. The resultant findings from the literature search have been included in the appropriate chapters rather than in an isolated literature review. Apart from background book reading, additional specific websites were searched viz. The Smithsonian Institute National Postal Museum, Washington, USA, The British Postal Museum, The Imperial War Museum, United Kingdom, The National Library of New Zealand, Wellington, The Wellington Central Library, the Library of Massey University and the Library of the Victoria University of Wellington, and the National Library of Australia via Trove. Site visits were made to the Archives New Zealand and The Turnbull Library to view original primary source material as well as the other main libraries in Wellington as above. In addition, advice was also sought, in person, from the secretary of the Federation of Philatelic Societies of New Zealand about war-related stamps and literature. Once the stamp material was obtained it was scanned using a Brother MFC laser scanner and printer and then manipulated using Adobe Photoshop Elements (Adobe Systems).

To help illustrate and augment the narrative, a large number of relevant images have been included. This strategy is based upon the established power of visual imagery that portrays

¹⁷ Stanley Gibbons, *Stamps of the World*, Ringwood, England: Stanley Gibbons Ltd., 2017.
Stanley Gibbons, *Commonwealth and Empire Stamps (1840-1970)*, Ringwood, England: Stanley Gibbons Ltd., 2017.

events and prevents information overload and verbosity.¹⁸ When appropriate, a photographic image of the stamp topic will be included so the reader can judge whether the stamp depiction is a true representation of the original.

The format of the dissertation is divided into an introduction, six chapters and a conclusion. Each chapter will be devoted to one of the research questions and analysis and discussion of the specific research question will occur within that chapter. By the nature of the questions posed, there will be considerable descriptive material included, as evidence, in each chapter. Chapter 1, for example, examines the information available about the gathering of funds for the Great War via taxes placed upon the postal system and looks at New Zealand's method of doing this, in detail, and that of comparable Commonwealth and foreign countries. Chapter 2, and 3 assesses the level of commemoration and remembrance portrayed in stamps from the end of the Great War until the end of the 20th century in New Zealand and other countries. Chapter 4 relates this theme specifically to France. Chapter 5 discusses the various approaches countries have adopted to post-millennium stamp production, and Chapter 6 analyses the factors that have led to an upsurge in First World War commemoration by the public and the postal service's large output of war-related stamp issues in the early 21st century.

This research thus provides primary information, based upon philatelic evidence, on the role played by postage stamps in the commemoration of the events of the First World War. It reveals the contribution of stamps in raising funds for war matériel and charity purposes. It adds to the knowledge base regarding the historical background of the major changes that are now taking place in postal services and in the production of postage stamps that are specifically related to the First World War.

¹⁸ David Isaacs, "Power of visual images", *Journal of Paediatrics and Child Health*, 52(2016): 859-860.

Chapter 1. Raising Revenue for the War and Gathering Funds for the Aftermath.

Nothing is certain but death and taxes.
Latin Proverb¹⁹

In terms of cost, the Great War resulted primarily in a massive loss of life, but it also incurred an immense financial burden for each involved country. The cost for New Zealand alone has been estimated at £286,572,919 (\$US378,750,000).²⁰ The enormous amount of money needed to conduct the Great War caused governments to seek new ways of raising funds. Despite these strategies, the New Zealand government still faced a national debt of £201 million at the end of the war and this included £80m of war loans that were due for repayment.²¹ During the conflict radical changes were made in the tax system to meet the ongoing expenses of the war effort. These included personal income tax increases from 6.67% in 1913 to 43.75% by 1921²². Income tax revenue rose eleven-fold over the four years of the war, surpassing customs duties as the single most important tax. This increase was not always popular as figure 5 suggests.

In an attempt to develop new sources of revenue, a war tax was levied on all forms of postage – letters, parcels and packets except newspapers. The tax commenced on 24, September, 1915 and continued to the end of the hostilities. This was not altogether a surprising move as requests were made for special stamps to the Postmaster-General as reported in the Press at that time (figure 6).²³

The new tax stamp took the form of an overprint 'WAR TAX' on the then current King George V stamp and was equivalent to a halfpenny in value. This stamp had to be attached to the postal package along with the definitive stamps to the value of the postal rate for the article. Figure 7 shows the original order for the introduction of the stamps and figure 8 gives examples of the use of the stamps. The authority given was for "the levying of an impost of 1/2d. on each article of postal matter other than newspapers – excepting packets to which Postal Union rates applied".²⁴

¹⁹ D.C. Browning, *Dictionary of quotations and proverbs*, Great Britain: Octopus Books Ltd., 1951: 403.

²⁰ John Simkin, *First World War Encyclopedia*, Spartacus Educational, 2014,
Hew Strachan, *Financing the First World War*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014: 95-99.

²¹ War loans, www.NZhistory.govt.nz/media/image/first-world-war-loans. accessed 7/11/2018. Dollar equivalent of \$378,750 m. c.f. Germany \$37.5 billion debt.

²² Paul Goldsmith, "Taxes, depression and increased taxes, 1914-1935". *Te Ara, The Encyclopedia of New Zealand*. www.TeAragovt.nz/en/taxes/page3. accessed 7/11/2018.

²³ Annual Report, Post and Telegraph Department, 1915-16, Appendix to the *Journal of the House of Representatives*, p6.

²⁴ R.J.G. Collins, H.T.M. Fathers, editors, *The postage stamps of New Zealand*, Wellington: The Philatelic Society of New Zealand, 1938: 320-325, in book 656 of 1000.



Figure 5. Taxes, Source: New Zealand Observer, 1915.²⁵

²⁵ New Zealand Observer, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/observer>

POSTAGE STAMPS. AND PATRIOTIC FUNDS

(By Telegraph—Press Association.)
WELLINGTON, Tuesday.

A deputation from the Wellington branch of the New Zealand Patriotic Society interviewed the Hon. R. Heaton Rhodes, Postmaster-General, to-day, to suggest that his department grant permission for a special stamp to be affixed to letters, with the view of augmenting the patriotic funds generally, and in the first instance the funds of the forthcoming Wellington Carnival.

Mr Rhodes pointed out that he had had similar applications from several sources since the war began, and if he made a concession to one organisation, he would have to make it to all. The matter had already received the consideration of Cabinet. Mr Rhodes mentioned that another suggestion was that the postage rates should be increased as a war tax; but no decision had yet been arrived at by the Cabinet. He informed the deputation that he had just received a specimen of a Canadian 1 cent stamp, over-printed "war tax." This stamp was apparently required to be attached to every posted letter in addition to the regular postage.

Figure 6. Source: Postage Stamps. Wairarapa Daily Times, Volume LXIX, Issue 14294, 26 May, 1915.

Postage and Telegraph Rates.

LIVERPOOL, Governor.

ORDER IN COUNCIL.

At the Government House at Wellington, this twenty-third day of September, 1915.

Present:

HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR IN COUNCIL.

IN pursuance and exercise of the power and authority vested in him by the Post and Telegraph Act, 1908, and of all other powers and authorities enabling him in this behalf, His Excellency the Governor of the Dominion of New Zealand, acting by and with the advice and consent of the Executive Council of the said Dominion, doth hereby make the regulations and fix the rates and charges given in the Schedule hereto for the posting of postal packets and the despatch of telegrams respectively; and doth order and declare that any regulations and charges of similar purport heretofore made are hereby revoked in so far as they are not in agreement with the regulations and charges made in the said Schedule, but that otherwise any such other regulations and charges shall remain in full force and virtue, and shall be read and applied together with the regulations and charges hereby made and fixed; and doth further order and declare that such regulations and charges first hereinbefore mentioned shall have effect on and after the date of the publication of this Order in Council in the *New Zealand Gazette*.

SCHEDULE.

POSTAGE RATES.

In addition to the rates of postage heretofore levied, an additional charge of $\frac{1}{2}$ d. each shall be levied on postal packets of every kind, except newspapers, posted in New Zealand: Provided that no such additional charge shall be levied on any postal packet addressed to any country beyond New Zealand to which the postage rates or any postage rate are or is the maximum rates or rate fixed by the Universal Postal Union Convention of Rome (1906), Article 5—that is to say, for letters, the rates of $\frac{1}{2}$ d. for the first ounce, and $\frac{1}{4}$ d. for each succeeding ounce or fraction thereof; $\frac{1}{2}$ d. and $\frac{1}{4}$ d. for single and reply postcards; for commercial papers, $\frac{1}{2}$ d. for the first 10 oz. and $\frac{1}{4}$ d. for each succeeding 2 oz. or fraction thereof; for books and printed papers, $\frac{1}{2}$ d. for each 2 oz. or fraction thereof; for pattern and sample packets, $\frac{1}{2}$ d. for the first 4 oz. and $\frac{1}{4}$ d. for each succeeding 2 oz. or fraction thereof; for magazines, $\frac{1}{2}$ d. for each 2 oz. or fraction thereof.

TELEGRAPH CHARGES.

The charges for transmission of a telegram shall be—

1. For Ordinary Telegrams.

DELIVERED WITHIN THE DOMINION.			
On weekdays—			
For 12 words or less, including address and signature—		s.	d.
Urgent .. .. .	..	1	2
Ordinary .. .. .	..	0	8
Extra words, $\frac{1}{2}$ d. and $\frac{1}{4}$ d. each respectively.			
On Sundays the rates to be charged at all offices shall be—			
For 12 words or less, including address and signature—		s.	d.
Urgent .. .. .	..	2	2
Ordinary .. .. .	..	1	2
Extra words, $\frac{1}{2}$ d. and $\frac{1}{4}$ d. each respectively.			

2. For Cable Messages.

The charges set out in the table of rates published from time to time in the *New Zealand Post and Telegraph Guide* for transmission of telegrams beyond New Zealand, plus $\frac{1}{2}$ d. for each telegram.

J. F. ANDREWS,
Clark of the Executive Council.

Figure 7.

Source: *New Zealand Gazette*²⁶²⁶ *New Zealand Gazette*, 112(1915): 3302

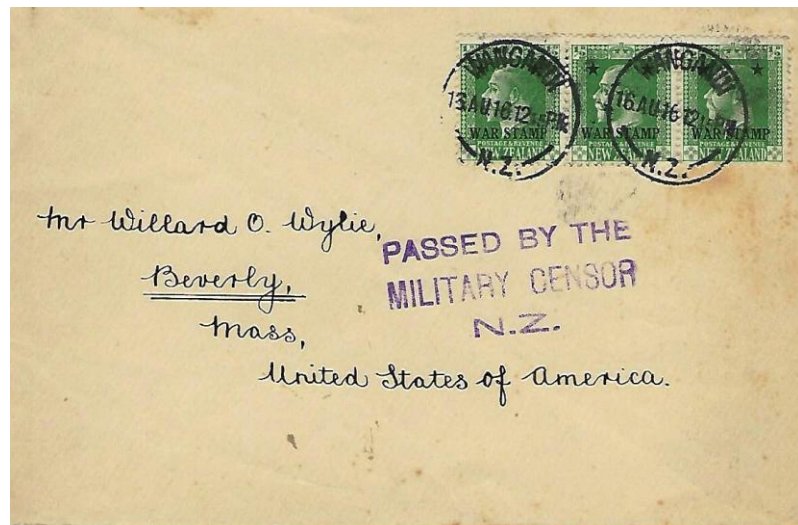


Figure 8. New Zealand War Tax overprint on King George V stamp and an example from an envelope fragment with the definitive and a war tax stamp added. Note the cancellation date of 1916 and the total charge of 1d. +1/2d. for the penny postage rate. The envelope cover shows three war tax stamps and is dated 1916. It has been passed by the Military Censor despite it not possessing the non-overprinted definitive stamp. Envelope cover by kind permission of Mr. Bob Watson, Wellington, New Zealand.

The postal tax did raise a steady amount of revenue for the war costs. It was reported in the press that the annual financial return was £273,055 more than the pre-war stamp revenue (figure 9). This amount was identical with that reported by the Ways and Means Committee of Parliament, in that the loss of revenue by the return to the penny post i.e. the dropping of the halfpenny tax, amounted to revenue loss of £250,000 per annum.²⁷

²⁷ Ways and Means Committee, Financial Statement, 3rd July, 1923, Appendix to the *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1923.

HALF-PENNY STAMP TAX.
PRODUCING BIG REVENUE
(By Telegraph.—Press Association)
WELLINGTON, June 26.

The Post and Telegraph Department's revenue for the year ended March 31 from postages totalled £913,458, compared with £639,903 in 1913-14. The increase is chiefly due to the halfpenny war tax.

Figure 9. Source: Halfpenny Stamp Tax, *Northern Advocate*, 26 June, 1917.

The concept of raising money for the war effort by taxing mail services was not an original idea by the New Zealand Government (see figure 10).

CANADA'S WAR TAXES
DETAILS OF IMPORTS.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

WELLINGTON, July 1.

Details of the war taxes imposed by Canada have been supplied in an interview by Mr M. Myers, who has just returned to Wellington after an extended trip through Canada and the United States.

"In the first place in Canada," says Mr Myers, "there has been imposed a war tax of one cent. ($\frac{1}{2}$ d) by way of postal duty on letters, post-cards, and postal notes, and a tax of two cents (1d) on money orders. In regard to the postal tax a special war stamp has been issued, but so long as the extra postage due is paid this can be interchangeable with the ordinary stamp. There is also a tax of one cent on all telegraphic and cable messages, and a war tax imposed on banking documents. Prior to the war

Figure 10. Canada's War Taxes: *Otago Daily Times* 2-7-1915.

The concept was first introduced by the Canadian Government on 1 March, 1915, following the passage of the Special War Revenue Act of February 1915.²⁸ The idea and use of war tax stamps was not even an original Canadian idea either, as they were first introduced by Spain in 1874 and 1879 to fund the Carlist wars (figure 11).²⁹



Figure 11. War tax postage stamp 'Impuesto de Guerra', Spain, 1875, 5 centimos added in addition to the normal postal fee.

After Canada introduced war tax stamps, New Zealand soon followed and later, 26 colonies of the British Empire followed suit by producing their own war tax stamps during the war period. However, British protectorates and Newfoundland, a dominion, did not issue such stamps. As in Canada and New Zealand, users of the postal service paid a standard postal charge but were required, in addition, to pay the war tax by adding the tax stamp. Failure to do so resulted in postage due stamps being added and the fee levelled by this means. While the actual tax amount was relatively small, the volume of mail resulted in a substantial monetary tax gain for these territories. The use of tax stamps thus called upon the public to demonstrate their patriotic duty by using the stamps and it appears they were well received and supported.³⁰

The general format used in the colonies was to overprint their current issues with either 'War Tax' or 'War Stamp', with British Honduras simply adding 'War' (figure 12). On the other hand both Britain and Australia imposed taxes on the mail but did not issue tax stamps, but simply increased the mail charges by doubling the postal rate as a tax.

²⁸ The financial cost to Canada of the war is estimated to be \$US 1,665,576,000 , (Simkin, 2014).

²⁹ The Carlist movement began in 1833, when King Ferdinand VII abrogated the Salic Law which debarred women from ascending the throne of Spain, thus assuring his daughter Isabella would succeed. Ferdinand's brother Don Carlos was thus deprived of his throne. In 1872, Don Carlos's grandson claimed the throne as Carlos VII, but could not make good his claim.

³⁰ John G. M. Davis, *War tax stamps of the British Empire – The West Indies*, London: Royal Philatelic Society, 2009.



Figure 12 & 13. Examples of three war tax overprint varieties found in British colonial stamps, 1915-1918, Dominica, British Honduras, the Falkland Islands. Figure 13 is an example of Antigua's war tax series of overprints.

After the original overprint 'War Tax', Canada modified their current King George V stamp by a die change, introducing the words 'War Tax' into the design. This was later followed by adding '1Tc', with 'T' meaning tax. The stamps were made compulsory for postal use. Similarly, stamps used for Inland Revenue and fiscal purposes were overprinted 'War Tax' or 'Inland Revenue War Tax'. Thereafter, a specially designed and printed stamp was used (figure 14). According to Canadian government papers these taxes raised \$8 million, but the money so raised was not placed directly into war materials but was used to help pay interest on War Loans and capital expenditure.³¹



Figure 14. Canadian postal war tax stamps and Canadian inland revenue stamps, 1915-1918.

³¹ Canadian Government Papers, *Debates of the House of Commons, 1915*, pages 372-373. Christopher D. Ryan, "Canada's Provisional War Tax Revenue Stamps", *Canadian Revenue Newsletter*, 61(2008): 80-85.

It should be noted that France did not issue war tax stamps for revenue purposes during the war. After the armistice, France experienced a major financial crisis. This was due to heavy borrowing to finance the war, the subsequent reconstruction costs and a failure on Germany's part to pay the due reparations. The French franc fell significantly in value to such an extent that by the mid-1920s inflation was rampant. One indication of this was that the basic internal postage rate for letters had quintupled from 10 centimes, at the start of 1917, to 50c in August, 1926.³² Commencing in 1927, the Prime Minister, Raymond Poincaré introduced issues of postage stamps with premiums that were designed to support a 'sinking fund' that was intended to help pay the enormous financial debts of the First World War. Initially, the premium was an overprint "Caisse d'Amortissement" or "C.A.", but by 1928 purpose-printed stamps became available (figure 15). It was hoped that the public, and especially stamp collectors, would purchase these stamps with enthusiasm. In reality, only about 10% of those produced were sold and the rest had to be destroyed.³⁰



Figure 15. 1927-32, Sinking Fund (*Caisse d'amortissement*) stamps to help pay France's National War debt.

The other main aspect of this chapter is to consider how stamp revenue could assist those who had suffered physically, mentally and socially during and after the conflict. The enormous loss of life, the degree of destruction and disability as well as the societal disruption due to the conflict drew heavily upon the financial, medical and social resources of the countries involved. In France alone, 1.4 million men had died, equating to 10% of the active male population.³³ Study of the military personnel of the New Zealand Expeditionary Forces who left New Zealand on troopships in 1914 has revealed striking findings. Examination of a cohort demonstrated that 25% of the

³² Larry Rosenblum, "What France's special sinking fund stamps raised money for". *Linn's Stamp News*. www.linns.com/news/world-stamp-postalhistory.html accessed 9/11/2018.

³³ Richard Bessel, "Post War Society", in *International Encyclopedia of the First World War*. <http://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/article-post-war-society> accessed 8/11/2018

group died in the conflict and of these, 94% of deaths were from injury and 6% from disease. However, subsequent follow up of the survivors revealed that they lost 8 years of their lives when compared to a control cohort, and this was due to an increased risk of premature death.³⁴ Not only was the impact felt by the troops but there is good evidence to show that during the war period it was also experienced by the civilian population and this is exemplified by the finding of an increased infant mortality in London during the war years.³⁵ The most recent publication dealing with the health of New Zealanders after the war has revealed the serious health impact of the war and the need for much more research to occur.³⁶

In light of such disasters, the contribution made to fund steps to correct and ameliorate this situation by revenue from postage would appear minute. However, study of the postage stamps issued by the warring countries shows that they did make great efforts to address the human aspects of this disastrous situation by trying to raise funds for relief of wounded soldiers, and the war orphans of the disrupted societies. Additionally, the physical health of civilians and soldiers was addressed and, in particular, the scourge of tuberculosis, which had been exacerbated by the conditions of war. The Red Cross contribution to the relief of civilians and the military was well recognised by many of the combatant countries in their stamp issues that were seeking additional funds for the Red Cross Organisation. A good example of this type of issue is to be found in the simple, but striking, issues from Greece such as the 1918 stamp depicting a wounded soldier and the earlier issue depicting the Red Cross symbol itself (figure 16). The humanitarian relief offered by this Society extended to the 10 million, servicemen and civilians, who were captured and held in detention during the war and hence one can appreciate their desperate need for funds to cover these costs.³⁷



Figure 16. Greek Red Cross Stamps: 10 lepta 1924, 5 lepta 1915 and 5 lepta 1918.

³⁴ Nick Wilson, Christine Clement, Jennifer Summers et al., "Mortality of First World War military personnel comparison of two military cohorts". *British Medical Journal*, g7168(2014): 349.

³⁵ Jay Winter, Jon Lawrence, Jackie Ariouat, "The impact of the Great War on infant mortality in London", *Annales de Démographie Historique*, 11(1993): 329-353.

³⁶ Nick Wilson, George Thomson, Jennifer Summers, Glyn Harper et al. "The health impact of the First World War on New Zealand: a summary and a remaining research agenda". *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Public Health*, 2018. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1753-640S.12837> accessed 8/11/2018.

³⁷ Red Cross, <http://grandeguerre.icrc.org> accessed 9/11/2018.

While New Zealand had been early in introducing the war tax issues, she did not produce any official stamps to raise funds for war charity. It will have been seen from figure 6 that many applications had been made to the Postmaster-General for special stamps to be affixed to letters for charity purposes, but these requests had been turned down.³⁸ These requests had come mainly from the many Patriotic Societies that had sprung up from 1915, as a means of raising funds. These funds were intended to provide additional comforts and relief for the military on active duty and for their families at home. The one thousand or so patriotic societies formed during the First World War were a somewhat disparate group and although attempts were made to unify them, in order that the distribution of funds could be more equitable, it did require an Act of Parliament, in 1915, to control, legally, the collection and distribution of any money raised. Among the numerous methods used to raise funds was the use of Cinderella stamps.³⁹ This process has been well described by Simon Johnson:

Another regular source of revenue was the sale of war seals, which appeared in 1915. Issued by the larger patriotic societies, war seals took the form of a half penny depicting a wounded soldier or something equally appropriate. Such seals were affixed to letters, no doubt as a testament to the patriotism of the sender.⁴⁰

Examples of these cinderella labels are shown in figure 17 below and they represent a random sample of the many such labels that were produced and could be purchased for charity fund raising for that particular patriotic society.



Figure 17. War seals (Cinderella stamps) from Auckland, Manawatu and Tokomaru Bay Patriotic Societies.

³⁸ "Special stamps for War Funds, suggestion to the Postmaster General", per the Press Association, *Timaru Herald*, volume C11, issue 15666, 27 May 1915.

³⁹ Cinderella stamps are defined as stamp-like labels without official postal value or use. They are, however, not considered bogus or fake.

⁴⁰ Simon Johnson, *The home front: aspects of civilian patriotism in New Zealand during the First World War*. MA Thesis, Massey University, 1975: 51.

As early as 1914, France issued overprinted and special stamps to support charity and especially the Red Cross. These were called semi-postal stamps as they feature a value added as surtax, being the charitable contribution, as well as the required postal payment. In the years between 1917 and 1919, in a further bid to raise more money for charity, France issued the renown 'War Orphans Fund' stamps which carried a high level of surtax. The 5 franc edition, for example, required a contribution of an additional five francs. Figure 18 illustrates this issue and the chosen subjects of the series. It will be noted that while ostensibly aimed at the plight of the war orphan, the stamps portray a mixture of nationalism, contrasted with trench warfare and war graves. By 1922 there was a change in premium and this was reduced by overprinting the stamps with new surcharge values.⁴¹ The reduction in premium was confirmed by the reissue, during 1926-27, of the War Orphan stamps with imprinted premiums.



Figure 18. France: 1917-1918 War Orphans Fund: charity surcharge ranges from 3c to 5 francs. Features: war widow standing at grave (3c), orphans (5c), women replacing men performing ploughing (15 c, 25c), front line trench with bayonets (35c), Lion of Belfort (50c), Spirit of War “La Marseillaise” (1 franc and 5 francs). The

⁴¹ Changes were 2c+1c, 5c+2c, 15c+5c, 25c+5c, 35+5c, 50c +10c, 1Fr.+ 25c, 5fr.+1Fr.

lion of Belfort symbolises the heroic resistance during the siege of Belfort by the Prussians in 1870-1871 (photograph: Michelin Travel).

France followed the British Empire pattern and overprinted stamps in 1915 that were in current mail use throughout her colonies to raise more funds for the Red Cross. This overprint was similar to that shown in figure 19. The overprint was used in countries like Morocco with their predominantly Muslim populations and no recognition of the Red Crescent was made at that time.⁴²



Figure 19. France: August 11, 1914, Definitive stamp, *The Sower*, made into charity stamps, 5 cents surcharge for the Red Cross, and in August, 1918 a special stamp, 5c surtax for the Red Cross and illustrating a sinking hospital ship and a bombed field hospital.

While the money raised by the charity stamps helped to ameliorate the social and medical aspects that resulted from the war, The Principality of Monaco presented an interesting paradox at the onset of the Great War. On 2 August, 1914, Prince Albert declared Monaco's neutrality and suspended the constitution. Despite this declared neutrality, hospitals and convalescent homes were established for allied troops in Monaco and Prince Louis served in the French army during the conflict. In 1914, to fund the hospitals caring for allied wounded, Monaco surcharged its stamps 5c in aid of the Red Cross. By 1919, specific war orphans stamps were produced with a surtax ranging from 5c to 1 franc (figure 20).⁴³



⁴² Stanley Gibbons, "French Morocco", Gibbons's *Stamp Catalogue*, Part 6. London: Stanley Gibbons Publications, 2006.

⁴³ Monaco war orphans, www.schudak.de/timelines/monaco1856-1949.html accessed 12/11/2018.

Figure 20. Examples of Monaco's War orphan stamps of 1919, showing a war widow and Mount Agel, Monaco. Photograph of present day Monaco and Mount Agel (Wikipedia).

Unlike France and her allies, Germany did not utilise the postage stamp to raise war revenue, or for propaganda during the war period, which is in sharp contrast to her activities in World War Two.⁴⁴ She did, however, in 1919, overprint a set of definitive stamps for the 'War Wounded Fund' with a surcharge of 5 pfennigs (figure 21). On the other hand, Austro-Hungary did utilise the revenue potential of stamps, though by 1914, Hungary and Austria had separate and independent postal systems. On 1 January, 1915, Hungary overprinted 18 of her definitive stamps of 1900-04 with the words "Hadisegély özvegyeknek és árváknak két filler" (Aid to military widows and orphans two filler). Hungary later added a surcharge to her 1916-17 War Charity Stamps which depicted soldiers in the trenches (10+2 filler) and hand to hand combat (15+2f) (figure 22). In 1920, a series was produced to raise funds for returning prisoners of war, a fairly graphic issue showing a prisoner, a prison camp and a family reunion, all bearing a surtax of between 1 and 5 koruna (figure 23). By the time of the issue of the second series, Hungary had severed her relationship with Austria completely.



Figure 21. Germany, 1919, War Wounded Fund, 5 pfennig on 15 pfennig postage. Photograph: German Historical Museum, Berlin (BA90/5740).

⁴⁴ Kenneth Dawson, *Disputes over small territories*, MA Thesis, Massey University, 2016: 19-23.



Figure 22. Hungary: War Charity, 1916-1917.



Figure 23. Hungary: 1920, returning prisoners charity stamps. Photograph: Hungarian prisoners in Russia (Getty Images).

Austria herself produced two sets of war charity stamps between 1914 and 1915. The first of these was based upon the 1910- 80th birthday portrait of Franz Josef I, but bearing the date '1914' with a two heller surtax added. The 1915 issue (surtax 1-3 heller) showed war scenes, all of which seem somewhat paradoxical for a charity issue (figure 22). Following the annexation of Bosnia- Herzegovina by Austro-Hungary in 1908, mail stamps were issued by the Military Post (labelled 'KuK Militarpost') for use in the country. With the advent of the Great War, a fund was set up for war invalids and stamps were issued, with a 2 heller surcharge, to help fund it, in 1914, 1915 and in 1918. These issues include a striking emotive image of a blinded soldier being led by a nurse that has formed a classical First World War image and is shown in figure 24. Other examples of overprinted charity stamps for the "wounded war veterans" are shown in figure 25.



Figure 24. Bosnia Herzegovina, War Invalid Fund, 1916, additional 2 heller of tax added. Poster of blind soldier, Central Powers, 1917 (Library of Congress, United States).



Figure 25. Examples of charity overprints of 1914 and 1915 used to raise money for wounded veterans in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The final combatant to discuss is Russia. While her war ended in 1917, she did produce a series of war charity stamps in 1914-15 of a very symbolic nature with a somewhat jingoistic appeal. Each stamp was sold for 1 kopeck above the face value and the proceeds were directed to various charities during the First World War (figure 26).



Figure 26. The four pictorial Charity Russian stamps shown above were issued in 1914 and 1915. Each stamp sold for one Kopeck over the face value, with the surtax being donated to various charities during World War I.

The four central designs are as follows:

- 01 K. - Ilya Muromets, legendary Russian hero.
- 02 K. - Don Cossack bidding farewell to his sweetheart.
- 07 K. - Allegory of charity.
- 10 K. - St. George slaying the dragon.

While Canada was first to adopt the postage tax stamp for First World War revenue, New Zealand soon followed and accrued over £1 million from the proceeds of the tax from 1915-1918 and spent it directly on the war effort. However, in Canada there was much debate in Parliament as to how the raised money was to be spent and whether paying off war-loan interest was an appropriate way of spending the tax money that was raised with the intention of buying materials such as armaments that were needed urgently for the war effort.⁴⁵ The United Kingdom merely doubled the postage rates, as a blanket tax, and used the extra income gathered for general and war purposes. This move was accompanied by an increase in the standard rates for personal income tax from 6% in 1914 to 30% in 1918⁴⁶. It is a paradox, compared to the United Kingdom itself, that the majority of British colonial territories and one dominion overprinted their current stamps so they acted as revenue gatherers as well as postage paid receipts. It may well have been felt politically unwise to raise further personal taxes in the colonies at such a delicate time and the remembering of the American colonies cry of 'no taxation without representation'. In terms of the Caribbean territories it seemed to have worked

⁴⁵ 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. www.bnaps.org/ore/Ryan-wartxstamps.htm accessed 13/11/2018.

⁴⁶ Taxation during the First World War. <https://www.parliament.uk> accessed 13/11/2018.

well, as purchasing these stamps was a personal choice and perhaps may have been seen as supporting the “Empire’s fight for freedom” (see figure 27).



Figure 27.

“Defend the Empire”, Source: Pinterest

As discussed previously, New Zealand did not issue formal national charity stamps for the victims of war until the later Health Stamps from 1928-9 onwards. The informal Cinderella stamps that were printed for the Patriotic Societies were the only charity funding issues. The colony of New South Wales was the first territory in the world to release recognised charity stamps in 1897. These stamps sold at 1/- and 2/6d., including the 1d. postal charge, the balance going to support the victims of consumption (tuberculosis). At the onset of the First World War, the Australian Commonwealth had only just started issuing national stamps for the new federation of 1901. Indeed, up to 1912 some states were still using their colonial issues. Perhaps, this is the reason that Australia did not attempt to produce specific tax or charity stamps for the war and simply doubled the postage rate. The Government of Australia did, however, release savings stamps with a military and war theme but not for charity per se (see figure 28). There was interest in Australia, however, in war stamps and this was reported by later review articles in the local and national newspapers and this interest may have helped, at that time, in the sale of war savings stamps and an appreciation of why postal rates had to increase.⁴⁷

Similarly, the other major empire countries such as Canada, United Kingdom and South Africa did not utilise this method of charity funding or war victim support during 1914-1918 or immediately afterwards. The United Kingdom mail services, in particular, have not favoured charity stamps, save on one occasion.⁴⁸ However, three British colonies did produce war charity stamps, namely Trinidad and Tobago, North Borneo and the Bahamas to support charity and the Red Cross.

⁴⁷ *War Postage Stamps*, The Telegraph, Brisbane, 1 September, 1923, *Stamps from War Zones*, The Telegraph, Brisbane, 1 September, 1923.

⁴⁸ 1978, Health and Handicap Fund. “It was not successful and has not been repeated”. James Mackay, *Guinness Book of Stamps: Facts and Feats*, Enfield, UK: Guinness Publishing, 1988: 138.

These took the form of an overprint and/or a Red Cross symbol, the Bahamas issue bearing the date 1. 1. 1917 and Trinidad's 19.10.1916 (see figure 28). The production of charity stamps and overprints for Red Cross funds began during WW1 and subsequently nearly every stamp issuing country or postal administration has supported the Red Cross or Red Crescent by special issues and have continued to do so up to this date.



Figure 28. Colonial Red Cross Charity Stamps and Australian War Savings Stamp in the First World War.

In terms of the New Zealand war economy, the raising of revenue by the war tax stamps appears to have been a worthwhile financial endeavour. Between 1 April 1915 and 31 March, 1916, 193,793,248 stamps were produced creating overall revenue of £911,469-14 shillings. Between 1 April, 1917 and 31 March, 1918, a further 148,459,000 stamps were printed and a sales revenue of £973,773 was obtained. The increased revenue was due to the increased use of the postal system over the war period. The number of stamps produced does not relate directly, of course, to the revenue produced. It should be remembered that the tax stamp of a halfpenny was attached to every package and while the local rate was a penny, there were different postal rates for such variables as weight. Thus the tax revenue was only proportionally related to the overall sales. The introduction of the special war tax stamp in New Zealand required not only permission from the New Zealand Government but also from the Secretary of State for the Colonies in Great Britain. There was also a requirement to notify the Universal Postal Union in Switzerland of the change. These actions were carried out and the issues are recorded in the Government records.⁴⁹

New Zealand with a population of one million in 1914 was set the task of funding and maintaining 65,000 - 100,000 fighting men on the other side of the world for four years thus

⁴⁹ *Appendix to the Journal of the House of Representatives*, Printing and Stationery Department, Annual Report, 1916, H 36 and 1918 H 36.

Appendix to the Journal of the House of Representatives Despatches from the Governor of New Zealand (Lord Liverpool) to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Despatch number 18 "War Stamp", 11 May 1916.

Appendix to the Journal of the House of Representatives, Despatches from the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Governor of New Zealand, "Special issue of the war postage stamps", Despatch Number 24, 25 February 1917, p18.

generating considerable postage.⁵⁰ While New Zealand had a guarantee of purchase of all her food exports to Britain, further revenue was essential. Taxation is the usual answer to revenue gathering and personal income tax rates were rapidly increased as discussed earlier. Borrowing did not solve all the current needs; hence an additional income from stamp tax was welcomed. Indeed, with the increase in overseas postage revenue was boosted from the stamp tax. Mail volumes increased markedly with the letters and post cards to and from the war fronts. The receiving of letters were very important to the troops as is revealed in their mail and war diaries.⁵¹ However, despite all these methods, by 1920 the New Zealand Government deficit stood at £86.2 million.⁵²

This chapter has revealed that war tax stamps played a small, but distinctive, part in revenue gathering to defray the enormous financial costs of the war for New Zealand and Canada. The twenty-five British colonies, despite their small populations, did raise money from their war tax stamps and this method was generally supported by the people who saw this as a way to support the Empire cause.

Charity stamps were widely used in continental Europe and contributed an important part in raising money quickly to help fund public charities connected with the war wounded, orphans and other related causes. As early as 1915, Fred Melville listed in his catalogue ninety-eight charity stamps that had been issued between 1914 and 1915, as well as two tax stamps and seven commemoratives. He later outlined in detail all the stamps that had been issued for war relief during the Great War.⁵³ While New Zealand did not officially issue any charity stamps during the war, the patriotic labels were attached to letters and supported by the postal authorities who gave special discounts for postal activities by the patriotic societies.⁵⁴ Within the text, reference has been made to the early issues of the New Zealand Health Stamps as charity issues. These charity stamps stem directly from the ill health of New Zealanders that was related to the consequences of the Great War. The success of charity stamps has been reflected in the Health Stamps continuing into the twenty-first century along with the Pro-Juventute charity stamps of Switzerland which have been produced regularly since 1913.

In terms of the first research question, regarding raising revenue, it can be concluded that there was limited use of war tax stamps, their use being confined mainly to Canada and New Zealand and some twenty-five smaller British colonies. When these stamps were used they did raise significant revenue due the high turnover of letters and parcels during the war period. On the other hand, charity stamps were used more readily on the European continent and only

⁵⁰ David Green, *Death and Taxes*, www.w100.govt.nz/death-and-taxes accessed 26/11/2018.

⁵¹ Glyn Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, Auckland: Exisle Publishing, 2015: 268, 277, 343.

⁵² Brian Easton, The impact of the Great War on the New Zealand economy, www.eastonbh.ac.nz/2014/02/the-impact-of-the-great-war-on-the-NZ-economy/ accessed 26/11/2018.

⁵³ Fred J. Melville, *Catalogue of war stamps, 1914-1915*, London: J.F. Springs Ltd., 1915. Fred J. Melville, *The postage stamp in war*, London; self published, 1915.

⁵⁴ Annual Report, Post and Telegraph Department, 1915-16, Appendix to the *Journal of the House of Representatives*, p5.

occasionally by British colonies such as Trinidad and Tobago during 1914-1918. On these occasions it was the Red Cross funds that benefitted from any revenue raised. France used charity stamps successfully and less successfully in relation to attempts to gain money for the national war debt. War tax stamps have been rarely used since 1918, but charity stamps have become an established means of revenue gathering for major disasters such as hurricanes. The idea behind both tax and charity stamps originated before the Great War, but only found prominence during the conflict.

Chapter 2. The Postage Stamp's Contribution to Remembrance and Commemoration of the Great War, 1918-2000.

1. New Zealand

Praising what is lost makes the
remembrance dear.
William Shakespeare⁵⁵

Postage stamps can be regarded as important conveyors of messages, and as Pauliina Raeto, a human geographer and an expert in this field of study, has written- "It is the visual qualities which make a stamp an important messenger that implements the state's official outlook in the everyday life of ordinary citizens".⁵⁶ Stamps are familiar printed icons and when applied to remembrance, the state's control of the postal services can influence, promote and mould the national identity and memory of the war-time events.⁵⁷ The degree of the state's intervention and influence is reflected in the frequency of First World War remembrance stamps which can range from nil, during this study period, as in the United Kingdom, to regular and focused, as in the case of France.

Of course, commemoration and remembrance took many forms in the post-war period and both religious and lay communities devoted themselves to the task of commemoration. The commonest form was that of monumental art which provided a focus and a place where people could mourn.⁵⁸ However, many other forms of dealing with bereavement developed such as literature, poetry, graveyard sculpture and art.⁵⁹ Figure 29 demonstrates a dramatic example of this from a German cemetery in Belgium. In New Zealand and Australia, the main national memorials developed, additionally, into National Museums. Local memorials not only carried the names of the dead but often the names of those who served and survived. It was the major memorials, however, whose images easily lent themselves to reproduction on postage stamps. Thus, on a small space, symbols of war and memorials to the loss of life could have wide circulation and could subtly convert these features to symbols of national pride rather than to those of state mourning and remembrance.

The theme of this chapter and the next two chapters is the scope and extent of postage stamp use for commemoration and remembrance in the first eighty-six years from the onset of the First World War. To achieve this aim the initial approach will be to describe in detail the origins, background and history of the early New Zealand remembrance stamps. To illustrate the wider

⁵⁵ William Shakespeare, *All's Well that Ends Well*, V iii 19.

⁵⁶ Pauliina Raento, Stanley D. Brunn, "Visualizing Finland: postage stamps as political messengers". *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography*, 87(2005): 143.

⁵⁷ Stanley D. Brunn, "Stamps as messengers of political transition", *Geographical Review*, 101(2011): 19-36.

⁵⁸ Jay Winter, *Sites of memory, sites of mourning*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014: 85.

⁵⁹ Winter, *Sites of memory*, 204.

range and extent of stamp usage during the post war period, the stamp practice in several British Empire countries and that of France will be described in some detail.



Figure 29. Emil Krieger, *Bronze sculpture of four figures*, Langemarck Cemetery, Belgium.
Photograph: The author.

New Zealand

The postage stamp follows the flag.
Fred Melville.⁶⁰

New Zealand was the only British Dominion or Colony to celebrate the end of the First World War with an issue of Victory postage stamps. Immediately after the cessation of hostilities in November, 1918, suggestions were made to the Post and Telegraph Department by the Hon. C. Louisson and Mr. Ingram, of the Wellington Post Office, that a special stamp should be issued to commemorate the declaration of peace. This suggestion was accepted by the Postmaster-General, but in reality a series celebrating 'Victory' rather than 'Peace' was approved. The Victory series went on sale in London on 27 January, 1920 and consisted of six stamps with values ranging from a halfpenny to one shilling (figure 30). The Postmaster-General, Sir Joseph Ward, approved the design and confirmed that they should be "imperial in character" and hence reflect symbols of the British Empire.⁶¹ The issue led to a great deal of controversy, not only in

⁶⁰ Fred Meville, 1915, 7.

⁶¹ Victory, <https://stamps.nzpost.co.nz/new-zealand/1920/victory> accessed 5/12/2018, Richard Wolfe, *It's in the post*, Nelson: Craig Potton Publishing, 2010: 64-71, The Post and Telegraph Department at War, <http://nzhistory.govt.nz/war/firstworld-war-postal-service/after-war> accessed 6/12/2018.

New Zealand but overseas (figure 30). This criticism centred on the celebration of victory rather than peace, in light of the terrible losses that had been sustained.⁶² A typical letter of the time regarding this controversy is demonstrated in figure 31. The stamp release in London, before that in New Zealand, led to criticism from returned veterans and from philatelists. The stamps were designed and printed by De La Rue and Company in England and hence were readily available there. The stated reason why these stamps were released in London two months before New Zealand was so that British dealers of new issues stamp services could receive sets before the local collectors could purchase the stamps at the post office.⁶³ Eventually the Prime Minister, having received so many protests (see figure 31), agreed that there would be no more stamp releases outside of New Zealand.

Initially, Australia refused to recognise the stamps on the grounds that they contravened the Universal Postal Union convention. They cited an obscure provision that forbid countries to advertise themselves. They then clamped a surcharge on letters bearing Victory stamps. Later the objection from the Australians centred on the fact that New Zealand was claiming a special place in the victory of the allies over the Central Powers. Interestingly, Australia issued three stamps to recognise the end of World War 2 but labelled them a 'peace' issue the stamps carrying the word 'peace'.

The letter to the *Evening Post* newspaper displayed in figure 31, and referred to above, is a typical example of the type of criticism that the series attracted. The author, Guy Scholefield, points out in his letter that he is puzzled by the extraordinary inscription of 'peace and progress' on the sixpenny stamp.⁶¹ It is fairly obvious that New Zealand had little peace and even less progress when she lost 18,166 military personnel who died as a result of the First World War. The importance of Raeto's quotation (paragraph 1, page 28) is relevant here in that the postal services were totally controlled by the state, at this time, and design of the stamps was ultimately controlled by political dictates, unlike today's situation.

R.J.G. Collins, H.T.M. Fathers, editors, *The postage stamps of New Zealand*, Wellington: The Philatelic Society of New Zealand, 1938: 380-384. From book 656 of 1000 printed. Christopher Moor, "New Zealand's 1936 ANZAC stamps". *Gibbon's Stamp Monthly*, Ringwood, England: Stanley Gibbons Ltd. May, 2016: 82-5. This article appears to be a replica of New Zealand Post's website information.

⁶² Guy Scholefield, "Victory Issue", *Evening Times*, Volume XCIX, 10 February, 1920, page 10. Scholefield was a noted journalist, archivist and historian and was responsible for the 1940 version of the *New Zealand Dictionary of Biography*.

⁶³ Victory, <https://stamps.nzpost.co.nz/new-zealand/1920/victory> accessed 2/2/2019.



Figure 30. New Zealand Victory Issue, 27 January, 1920.

1/2d.- British Lion representing the British Empire, with allegorical figure of Victory representing Peace.

1d.- British Lion and allegorical Victory.

1 1/2d.- Traditional Maori chief with badges of high rank (e.g. huia feathers) representing the contribution by Maori to the war effort.

3d.- The Lion copied from Nelson's Column in Trafalgar Square, London, representing the victorious British Lion.

6d.- Angel of Peace accompanied by a child representing progress.

1/- King George V flanked by wheku (human faces).

Sir,—Most people will agree that the Victory stamps, if rather large for practical purposes, are nevertheless a very artistic set. But who on earth conceived the extraordinary inscription on the sixpence—"Peace and Progress, 1914, 1919"? And what does it mean?

It can only have any meaning at all on stamps issued by a nation of permanent neutrals, which New Zealand certainly was not.—I am, etc.,

GUY H. SCHOLEFIELD

Wellington, 9th February.

Figure 31. "Victory Stamps", *Evening Post*, 10 February, 1920, volume XCIX, page 10.

After the issue of the Victory stamps in 1920, no further relevant stamps were issued until April, 1936. What prompted the next issue of war-related stamps was an anniversary of one of the most pivotal events for New Zealand during the First World War and New Zealand's subsequent history. This important war event gave rise eventually to a large series of postage stamps over time and these continue to the present day. The landings on the Gallipoli Peninsula at dawn on 25 April, 1915, and the subsequent actions of the Australian and New Zealand forces (ANZACs),

until their withdrawal eight months later, have become entrenched in the folklore of New Zealand and Australia. Memorial and remembrance services for the 2,779 dead and 5,212 wounded have been held since 1916 and Anzac Day, since its formal establishment, has become an increasingly more meaningful commemoration day ever since.⁶⁴

On the twenty-first anniversary of the Gallipoli landings on Anzac Cove, New Zealand marked the occasion by the issue of two postage stamps in April, 1936 (figure 32). The stamps had the additional function of raising funds for the Returned Soldiers Association by the doubling of the postal value of each stamp thus making it a charity issue or semi-postal stamp. The money so raised was intended help the soldiers and their families deal with post-war settlement. The original idea for these stamps had come from a resolution of the Dominion Council of the New Zealand Returned Soldiers Association. An application was then made for a stamp issue to the Postmaster-General who supported the idea. He left, however, the 81 Branch Associations to obtain designs, preferably from the work of members.⁶⁵ This action did require special legislation and amendment to the Finance Act of 1929, as previously only Health Stamps were permitted to be sold above their postal value.

The stamps were designed by Leonard C. Mitchell and were based upon a photograph taken by Mr. S. Hall, of an unknown New Zealand soldier dressed in a First World War Gallipoli uniform at the Trentham Military Camp (figure 33). Figure 33 outlines the evolution of these stamps from the original two photographs taken up to the final processing. It will be seen that each stamp has the value repeated in the top corner. In light of the fact that this was a charity issue, for an important cause, considerable effort was put into the marketing of the stamps. Viscount Galway, the Governor-General, made a radio appeal broadcast the night prior to the stamps coming on sale. He referred to the Anzac stamp as “a most worthy object” and said further:

It has now become a necessity to endeavour to supplement State forms of aid in a multitude of cases which cannot be covered by the terms of any statute. To this end, the New Zealand Post Office, at the request of the Returned Soldiers Association (RSA), is marking the 21st anniversary of the historic landing at ANZAC Cove by the issue of special commemorative ANZAC stamps which will be on sale tomorrow morning. The stamps are not only commemorative: they will give the people of New Zealand an opportunity of showing in a practical sense their continued recognition of the sacrifices made by their young men at a time of the Empire’s greatest need.⁶⁶

These promotional activities have been described as follows:

⁶⁴ Gallipoli casualties by country, <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/interactive/gallipoli-casualties-country> accessed 3/2/2019. Richard Stowers, *Bloody Gallipoli*, Auckland: self published, 2005: 275.

⁶⁵ R.J.G. Collins, H.T.M. Fathers, editors, *The postage stamps of New Zealand*, Wellington: The Philatelic Society of New Zealand, 1938: 391-392, from book 656 of 1000.

⁶⁶ Stanley Gibbons, *1936 Anzac Stamps* <https://www.stanleygibbons.com/blog/new-zealands-1936-anzac-stamps/> accessed 6/12/2018.

Efforts were made to promote the stamps. RSA branches nationwide launched successful campaigns to promote the sale of the stamps, which included writing letters to councils and power boards. Newspaper reports recorded the generosity of councils with their ANZAC stamp purchases of up to £10 (\$20) for use on their mailings. The RSA also produced a flier in the form of a letter which was available free from post offices. It asked customers to buy six ANZAC stamps and include the letter in envelopes they posted to six friends. This aspect of the RSA's promotion appears not to be as well remembered as some of the others.

The letter referred to above is reproduced in figure 34.



The 1936 Anzacs stamps, 1/2d + 1/2d and 1d + 1d. charity surcharge. Figure superimposed on Anzac Cove drawing.



Figure 32. Anzac Day Official First Day Cover, released 27/5/1936.



Figure 33.

Copies of the two original photographs by S. Hall (1935), which formed the basis of the of the 1936 ANZAC stamp design of Leonard Mitchell, along with photographs of the first die print of the soldier's image and the colour testing die sheet for the 1d stamp. Presented by courtesy of the Curator for Stamps, Mr. Patrick Brownsey, at Te Papa Tongarewa, Museum of New Zealand, Wellington. Photographs: the author.

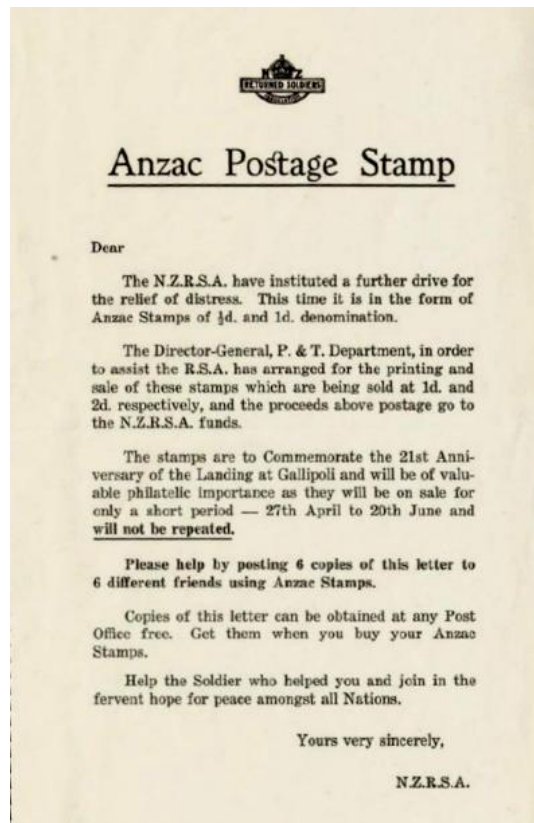


Figure 34. The Returned Soldier's Association letter encouraging purchase of Anzac stamps.⁶⁷

The stamps were released for sale on the 27 April 1936 and withdrawn from sale on June 20, 1936 and all the unsold stamps were destroyed; however, remaining stamps in circulation were demonetised in 1942.⁶⁸ The financial gain for the Returned Soldiers Association from the sale of the stamps was £8,491 19s. 2d. (2019 = circa \$926,032) with £305 of this being raised alone on the first day of sale (2019 = circa \$22,723).

As New Zealand approached its centenary in 1940, the government asked the National Historical Committee to compile a list of historical topics which might prove suitable for inclusion in a proposed issue of stamps to celebrate the centenary. 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 government sub-committee responsible for the selection of the final topics rejected this suggestion on the basis that "The Expeditionary Force had been featured in the Anzac stamps of 1936" and thus no stamp issue was included.⁶⁹

As the 50th anniversary of the Gallipoli landings grew near, the Returned and Services Association once again approached the government with the idea of a commemorative postage stamp to be issued in 1965. At the same time the Association brought to the attention of the ex-servicemen in Australia the desirability of a joint stamp commemorative issue and even the desirability of

⁶⁷ The Returned Soldier's Association changed its name to The Returned and Services Association in 1940.

⁶⁸ Demonetised means that they had no monetary value and hence could no longer be used for postage purposes.

⁶⁹ R.J.G. Collins, C.W. Watts, editors, *The postage stamps of New Zealand*, volume 2, Wellington: The Royal Philatelic Society of New Zealand Inc., 1950: 88, in number 656 of 2,000 copies.

including Turkey in the issue. The initial proposal was to produce a similar stamp design with Australia and Turkey or simply to produce a separate design for New Zealand. However, after much discussion, the joint stamp plan did not eventuate due to the failure of the Turkish postal president to respond to the suggestion and invitation (see letter in Appendix 1).

After government approval of the concept, fourteen designers were invited to submit designs for the New Zealand stamps and were informed that the subject should be the 'landing at Gallipoli'.⁷⁰ Following the study of the 'rough' designs by the selection committee, the commission to design the stamps was awarded to the Christchurch artist and official Air Force artist, R. Maurice Conly. His design was that of an elevated view looking down on Anzac Cove. The original sketches included a jetty and huts but he was asked to remove these as they were erected two weeks after the landing. Thus the final design contained neither soldiers, nor memorials nor battle scenes and is a reflection of the Cove before the landings took place (figure 35).⁷¹ The design, with its view of Anzac Cove and the Gallipoli landscape, may give a feeling of affinity and a sense of place for New Zealanders. However, another New Zealander, Horace Moore-Jones, an artist, saw the scene differently. His water colour painted landscapes of 1914-15 reveal a sterile, inhospitable area with a physically daunting terrain (see end piece, figure 46).⁷² Figure 35 shows the 4d and 5d versions of the stamp. It will be noted that the 5d includes a large red poppy which is missing from the 4d version. The inclusion of this poppy caused some debate, some arguing that the poppy was related to action in Flanders only. It was established by the designer, Maurice Conly, that the flowers grew in profusion at Gallipoli and he wrote:

There was much public debate about the poppy being included, as it was felt by some that poppies relate to the Corps' later action in Flanders, rather than Gallipoli. In fact, poppies grew in profusion at Gallipoli and a charge was made by New Zealanders across a field of red poppies.

Three years in succession the Valleys of Anzac were flooded with the crimson poppies of the Aegean spring.

Major Fred Waite DSO, *The Return of the Anzacs*⁷³

Subsequently, one of the areas near the landing site at Anzac Cove had been named Poppy Valley.⁷⁴ The high terrain depicted on the stamp above the landing beach holds true as can be seen in the photographs in figure 36. The initial Post Office Bulletin of the announcement of the stamps is shown in figure 37. The evolution of this pair of stamps from the original painting of Maurice Conly until their final printing is shown in figure 38.

⁷⁰ D.E.G. Naish, K.J. McNaught, *The postage stamps of New Zealand*, volume vi, Wellington: Royal Philatelic Society of New Zealand Incorporated, 1977: 142-144.

⁷¹ Richard Wolfe, *It's in the post*, Nelson: Craig Potton Publishing, 2010: 120.

⁷² Horace Moore-Jones, Gallipoli landscapes, Ministry for Culture and Heritage, <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/photo/moore-jones-painting-of-gallipoli> accessed 3/2/2019

⁷³ *The Official History of the New Zealanders at Gallipoli*, Archives at Te Papa Tongarewa, accessed 11/12/2018.

⁷⁴ Paul Harrison with Maurice Conly, "Send for the Artist", *Maurice Conly: 54 years as the Air Force Official Artist*, Auckland: Random House New Zealand, 1995: 171.

Examples of fourteen submitted stamp essays, which were eventually rejected, are shown in figure 39. Among these rejected submissions there is one entitled *The Ghost Army of Gallipoli listening to the bells of the Carillion* that is of relevance and interest. This submission is based upon a painting by William Longstaff, an Australian war artist, called *Carillion*. Longstaff had also painted a similar themed painting in 1927 with a host of ghostly soldiers in his *Ghosts of Menin Gate*. In Abel Gances's film, *J'accuse*, made in 1918, there is a sequence in which the dead soldiers arise from their graves. This has been described by Jay Winter as one of the greatest scenes in early cinema, although others have included the last scene in the 1930 film *All Quiet on the Western Front* as equally moving.⁷⁵ The stamp submission attempts to reflect this dramatic scene but the impact appears to be lost when it is reduced to such a small format. Two of the other submissions feature the poppy as the dominant feature and this certainly could be justified as discussed above.

It should be noted that the stamps were released on 14 April, 1965. Anzac Day, 25 April, fell on a Sunday that year and the Post Office made special arrangements that the mail could be cancelled on the 25 April for those who wished to have such a cancellation.

⁷⁵ Jay Winter, *Sites of memory, sites of mourning*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014: 15-17. *All Quiet on the Western Front* based on the novel by Erich Maria Remarque, cited by Laura Clouting, *A century of remembrance*, London: Imperial War Museum, 2018: 202-203.



Figure 35. The 1965 issue of Anzac stamps 4d and 5d, and First Day covers, 14/5/1965. *Stamps New Zealand*⁷⁶.

Source:

⁷⁶ Stamps of New Zealand, https://stampsnz.com/1965_anzac_50th_anniversary_gallipoli_landing.htm



Figure 36. Photograph: The author - War Memorial, Gallipoli Battlefield



Figure 36. Photograph: The author – Heights above Anzac Cove, Gallipoli.

PHILATELIC BULLETIN

- 0 -

Inquiries about New Zealand and Island Dependencies Stamps are to be addressed to the Director-General, Postal Division, G.P.O., Wellington, N.Z.

No. 33.

February, 1965.



3. Anzac Stamps

Two stamps will be issued by the New Zealand Post Office to commemorate the 50th Anniversary of the landing at Gallipoli on 25th April, 1915, by Anzac troops in the First World War.

The denominations are 4d. and 5d. The 4d. stamp is light brown in colour and depicts Anzac Cove with the cliffs in the background. The 5d. stamp is similar in design but is green in colour and has a red poppy in the right-hand foreground. The stamps are 37 mm x 21 mm, in horizontal format, and are being printed by the photogravure process in sheets of 120 stamps in 10 rows of 12. The imprint of Messrs Harrison and Sons Ltd., London, will appear in the bottom left-hand corner of each sheet and the plate number 1A in the 4d. denomination,

and 1A 1A in the 5d. denomination, will be shown beneath the third stamp from the same corner. The sheet value will be printed on the top right-hand selvage.

The date of issue is 14th April, 1965.

Special information about the datestamping of covers on Sunday, 25th April, appears in paragraph 14.

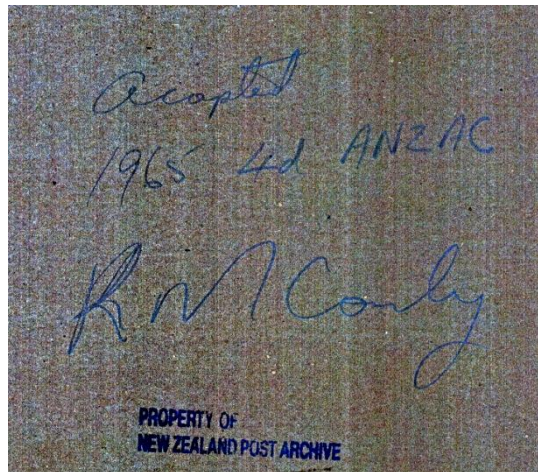
Advice has been received from the Australian Post Office that on the same date, Anzac stamps depicting Simpson and his donkey will be issued in the Australian Commonwealth and the Australian Territories.

Particulars are:

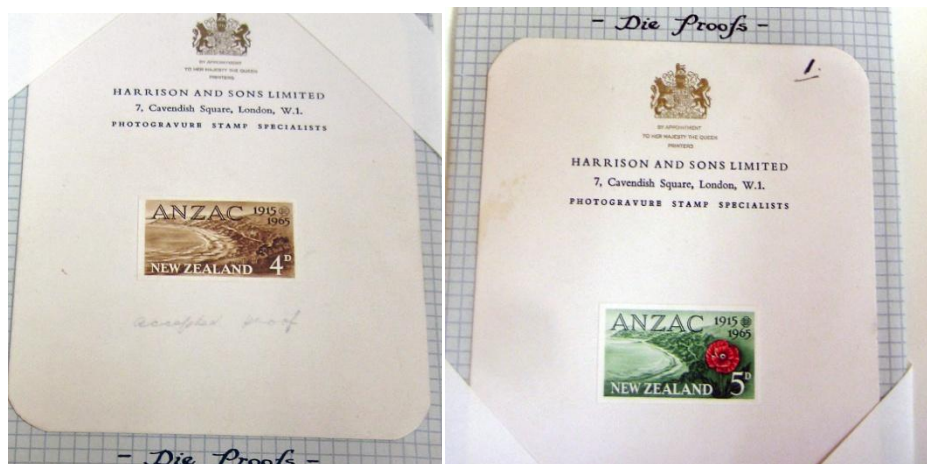
<u>Country</u>	<u>Denomination</u>	<u>Country</u>	<u>Denomination</u>
Australia	5d.	Cocos (Keeling Is.)	5d.
Australia	8d.	Nauru	5d.
Australia	2s.3d.	Norfolk Is.	5d.
Christmas Is.	10c.	Papua & New Guinea	2s.3d.

The Australian Commonwealth and Australian Territories stamps will be available for purchase by mail order at face value on and from the date of issue at the Philatelic Bureau, Postmaster-General's Department, 664 Bourke Street, Melbourne, C.1., Victoria.

Figure 37. New Zealand Post Bulletin announcing Anzac 50th anniversary issue.



Photographs of the original drawings by Maurice Conly which formed the basis of his stamp design. His signature is displayed from the back of each painting for authentication. It should be noted that the final stamp design shows the 4d without a poppy and the 5d with a poppy. Photographs: the author.



The final die proof for the 4d and 5d stamps.



Figure 38. A final imperforated plate proof sheet of the 5d design. All these exhibits are from the collection of Te Papa Tongarewa and are shown with permission of the Curator of the postage stamp archives.





Figure 39. Examples of rejected designs for the 1965 Anzac stamp. Source: Postage Stamp Archives of Te Papa Tongarewa with permission.

The third issue to commemorate the Gallipoli campaign was released in 1998. Despite the previous failed attempt to produce a joint issue with Turkey, it was successful on this occasion (see Appendix 1). Two stamps were printed and released in the same format in each country but carrying their own national name and currency value (figure 40). Figure 41 shows a photograph of the actual Turkish statue in the graveyard area at Canakkale and the monument, situated in Anzac Cove, with Ataturk's conciliatory words that are copied onto the First Day Cover in figure

40. However, recent 'renovation' of the monument has resulted in the removal of the famous words attributed to Atatürk. There is also debate as to whether these were, in fact, his words.⁷⁷



Figure 40. The New Zealand and Turkish Gallipoli issue, 1998, and a First Day Cover from New Zealand Post. See figure 41 for original monument containing the envelope quotation.

⁷⁷ Turkish Islamist push may be to blame for removal of Atatürk inscription at Anzac Cove.
<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/jun/16/turkish-islamist-push-may-be-to-blame-for-removal-of-ataturk-inscription-at-anzac-cove> accessed 3/1/2019.



Figure 41. Turkish sculpture at Canakkale Graveyard, Gallipoli. Photograph: The author.



Figure 41. The words of Atatürk, 1934, Anzac Cove, Turkey. Photograph: The author.

The New Zealand \$1.80 stamp (Turkey 125,000 Lire) shows the 'Mother and Child' statue created by Lyndon Smith in 1964. It is a permanent memorial to New Zealanders who have fallen in past conflicts. The statue is located in the National War Memorial's Hall of Mirrors and depicts a mother and her two children holding the family together while the husband is away on active service.

Before the Millennium celebrations of the year 2000 and onwards, the Anzac stamps of 1996, 1965 and the joint issue of 1998 were the principal stamps of First World War commemoration. It should be noted that there had been no major specific references or commemoration with regard to the actions in France, Belgium or Palestine or New Zealand's naval contribution. The 1920 'Victory' stamp simply commemorated the end of the war and not any specific episode within it. However, there were three other issues which directly or indirectly reflected remembrance of the Great War. While the eleven stamps of the 1946 Peace issue were related to the Second World War, the one shilling stamp was dedicated specifically to "Remembrance", and features the National Memorial Campanile in Wellington. The Memorial Campanile was originally erected in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, England, and later transferred to Hyde Park, London. It was shipped to New Zealand in 1930 and erected as the National Memorial for New Zealand for those who fell in the war of 1914-1918. Inscribed within the memorial are the words:

Let us remember the great sacrifices of those who fell in World Wars I and II and let us strive to ensure that future generations will always walk in the paths of peace.

The stamps of the series were designed by James Berry of Wellington (figure 42). The only changes to Berry's original design of the Carillion War Memorial were the addition of a more prominent depiction of the sound waves emanating from the bells.⁷⁸

⁷⁸ R.J.G. Collins, C.W. Watts, editors, *The postage stamps of New Zealand*, volume ii, Wellington: The Royal Philatelic Society of New Zealand, 1950: 136-138.



Figure 42. The 1946 Peace Issue of the War Memorial Campanile, 1/4/1946. Dedication of the Memorial, 1932, photograph, William Raine, Alexander Turnbull Library number 1410.

On 7 November, 1984, New Zealand Post released a set of four stamps relating to New Zealand military history. One stamp (40c) is related to the New Zealand Engineers and illustrated an Engineers' officer in the uniform of the period and wearing the traditional 'lemon squeezer' hat (figure 43). He is shown in a battle field location and in the background is a motorised truck navigating a "plank" road across a wasteland of bomb and shell-mutilated land. It reflects the fact that the Engineers having served at Gallipoli initially, and following their withdrawal from there, were transferred in 1917 to the Western Front of France and Belgium.⁷⁹ During the build up to the Third Battle of Ypres (Passchendaele), the Engineers were employed to build roads at night, using logs and planks of wood, as displayed in the stamp. This night activity was to avoid German gunners but the latter knew exactly where the roads were and shelled them the next day.⁸⁰



Figure 43. New Zealand Post, 7 November, 1984, Engineers in France 1917.

The 1985 issue of military naval history makes a fleeting reference to the formation of the New Zealand naval forces in 1913 with the commissioning of H.M.S. (H.M.N.Z.S) *Philomel* which could be described as the foundation on which the future Royal New Zealand Navy was laid. This ship is illustrated in the 25c stamp (figure 44). When the First World War was declared, the cruiser went

⁷⁹ *Military History*, The New Zealand Stamp Collection – 1984, Published by New Zealand Post, 1984.

⁸⁰ Philip Warner, *World War 1, a narrative*, London: Cassell Military Classics, 1998: 149.

to war operating in the Mediterranean, Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. She was decommissioned in 1947. The old ship's fittings and parts were removed and she was towed out to sea and ceremoniously sunk on 6 August, 1949. However, the designation Royal New Zealand Ship was only formally applied in 1941.⁸¹

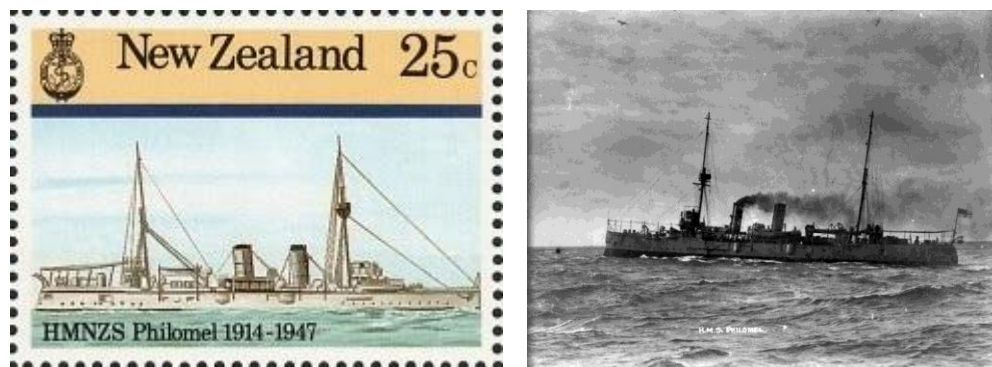


Figure 44. HMS Philomel on 1985 postage stamp and postcard photograph.⁸²

Finally, brief mention should be made to the 1990 issue entitled 'Achievers' which celebrated 150 years of New Zealand's establishment. The one dollar stamp portrayed Lieutenant-General Bernard Freyberg (1889-1963) as a soldier and a former Governor-General of New Zealand (figure 45). The stamp depicted him in his role in World War 2 in which he is better known. However, while serving in the British Army during the First World War he was awarded the Victoria Cross.⁸³ At the Gallipoli landings he was one of the first to swim ashore and light decoy fires to confuse the enemy. He later became the youngest General in the British Army during the First World War. His further fame and honours came after his exploits in the Second World War. He became New Zealand's seventh Governor-General from 1946-1952.

⁸¹ B.G. Vincent, *The postage stamps of New Zealand*, volume iv, Wellington: Royal Philatelic Society Incorporated, 1998: 189-190.

⁸² Ref: 1/2-015492-G. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. <http://natlib.govt.nz/records/23080346> accessed 3/1/2019.

⁸³ Glyn Harper, Colin Richardson, *Acts of valour*, Auckland: HarperCollins Publishers, 2016: 128-129.



Figure 45. Stamp of Lieutenant-General Bernard Freyberg, VC, GCMG, KCB, DSO. Issued 1990 and photograph of the General in 1919. Source: Wikipedia.



Figure 46. Horace Millichamp Moore-Jones, *The coast north of Anzac Cove*, 1915, National Collection of War Art, Archives New Zealand.

This chapter has concentrated on New Zealand stamp issues from 1918 to 2000 that reflect remembrance and commemoration of the events of the Great War. Overwhelmingly, the remembrance has focussed upon and been directed towards the landings at Gallipoli by the ANZACS in 1915 and the sacrifices made by the troops. However, 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 have been 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 20th century, and, as it has been described earlier, considerable difficulty was experienced in establishing new issues. Be that as it may, between 1918 and 1960, 315 stamps were issued at a rate over 8 per year. In the period 1961 to 1974, 240 stamps were produced, 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.⁸⁴ These observations make it hard not to justify issues for the remembrance of

⁸⁴ Stanley Gibbons, *Stamps of the World*, volume 3, London: Stanley Gibbons Ltd. 2003: 595-609.

occasions such as the Battle of the Somme, Third Battle of Ypres (Passchendaele), the storming of the Messine Ridge and the Palestine Campaign, where New Zealanders fought and died. 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 to such events as the naval and air forces participation by New Zealanders or to the wireless troops in Mesopotamia. However, commemoration stamps have been produced to promote vintage motor cycles (1986) and New Zealand ferry boats (1984).

By necessity, this chapter section has required a large degree of descriptive detail to address the answer as to the use and scope of war-related stamps in New Zealand. It is clear that during the early years, new stamps underwent much scrutiny and there was a requirement for political and bureaucratic agreement before their release. This, in itself, is likely to have hindered the ready production of new stamp issues. It was only due to the lobbying of the Returned Soldiers Association that even the Anzac stamps were introduced. However, this does not explain why commemoration of other events where New Zealand forces were involved was not remembered as outlined above. Later in the century there was an increase in the production of stamp issues and a freeing of the control of their production and a widening of topics used, orchestrated by the introduction of changes in the organisation of postal services.

The next chapter will report on how specific Empire countries used stamps for the purpose of war remembrance and commemoration.

Chapter 3. The Postage Stamp's Contribution to Remembrance and Commemoration of the Great War, 1918-2000. 2. The British Empire

Newfoundland

Newfoundland became a self-governing dominion in September, 1907 (at the same time as New Zealand) having rejected confederation with Canada in 1869. The ties with Britain were still strong and there was universal support for the British war effort. The Dominion of Newfoundland raised a regiment of two battalions to fight in the Great War, many of the men coming from the island's capital, St John's.⁸⁵ The 1st Battalion served at Gallipoli (Suvla Bay) and, following the withdrawal from there, went to France. They went into action on the Western Front for the first time at 0905 hours on 1 July, 1916, attacking a German position at Y Ravine at Auchonvillers, near Beaumont-Hamel on the Somme front. Some 800 officers and men went towards the German lines and into machine gun fire. Within a few minutes the battalion lost 710 men killed and wounded. No officers survived and only 74 men were fit for duty the next day. Newfoundlanders have still not recovered from these losses to the present day as is reflected in their continued remembrance of these events.⁸⁶ This is exemplified by the modern St. John's artist Rod Hand creating a painting in tribute to members of the Newfoundland Regiment who fought at Beaumont-Hamel on July 1, 1916. The work is entitled *Forget-Me-Not*, and is painted in acrylic and depicts some of the soldiers who went into No Man's Land at Beaumont-Hamel (figure 48). The trench area is now preserved as a Canadian memorial and hence the relevance of Hand's painting. The *Forget-Me-Not* is thus regarded as a flower of remembrance due to its abundance at the scene of the battle.

The contribution of the Newfoundlanders to the war was soon observed with the issue of twelve Newfoundland 'commemorative' postage stamps which were issued on January 2, 1919, about eight weeks after the armistice, to pay homage to the sacrifice of the Newfoundland Contingent during the First World War and to those who served in the navy and merchant fleet (figure 49).⁸⁷ Planning for the issue in 1918 took account of a stamp shortage and the government's desire to make a patriotic gesture. Hence the issue commemorated the achievements of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment and the thousands of other Newfoundlanders who served in the British Navy and other branches of the service.

The series is comprised of twelve values from one to thirty-six cents and all share a common, basic design. This was based on a composite design derived from sketches submitted by J.H.

⁸⁵ Melvin Baker, Peter Neary, "A real record for all time": Newfoundland and Great War Official History. Newfoundland and Labrador Studies, 2012. <https://journals.lib.unb.ca/index.php/NFLDS/article/v> accessed 5/2/2019.

⁸⁶ Robin Neillands, *The Great War Generals on the Western Front 1914-1918*, London: Robinson Publishers Ltd. 1999: 227-228.

Martin Gilbert, *The Somme: heroism and horror in the First World War*, New York: Henry Hold and Co., 2006: 64.

⁸⁷ Commemorative postage stamps have been issued for significant events or dates since 1860, the first being the Province of New Brunswick in present-day Canada. Britain did not issue a commemorative until 1924.

Noonan, a Customs official in St. John's; the centrepiece is an animal's head facing left that has the features of a caribou combined with a moose's antlers (figure 47). The caribou had already been chosen in 1914 as the badge of the Newfoundland Regiment.



Figure 47. Noonan's original sketches for the design of the "Trail of the Caribou" series.⁸⁸

Thus the intention of these stamps was not only to commemorate the services of the Newfoundland Contingent during World War I but all other actions on land and sea. The first group of stamps are inscribed Royal Naval Reserve, and these refer to the contributions of the Royal Newfoundland Naval Reserve forces during the First World War. Each of these stamps is also inscribed with the Latin word "ubique" meaning "everywhere". The second group of stamps are inscribed as the "Trail of the Caribou", and these referring to the contributions of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment ground forces during the First World War. Each of these stamps is inscribed with the name of a military engagement in which Newfoundland troops took part. Following the stamps' appearance, Sir Charles Alexander Harris, the Governor, criticized the issue for not portraying any likeness of their Majesties and asked that it be withdrawn from sale. As Newfoundland was a self-governing Dominion, its government, however, took the position that

⁸⁸ Newfoundland stamps, <http://www.nfldstamps.com/CCC.html> accessed 19/12/2018

there was no slight intended and furthermore that Newfoundland's stamps were not required to bear their likenesses.⁸⁹



Figure 48. Rod Hand, *Forget-Me-Not*, The Newfoundland Shop, Open Edition Prints, 2018.

This commemorative series has been named the “Trail of the Caribou”, as the caribou is regarded as a national symbol of Newfoundland and Labrador. The “Trail of the Caribou”, was a phrase first proposed by Lt. Col. Thomas Nangle, the Roman Catholic chaplain of the Newfoundland Regiment, and soon found general acceptance.

The loss of so many men at Beaumont-Hamel from such a close-knit community, often referred to as Pals’ regiments, not only resulted in a change in British military policy but triggered a demand for a national memorial at the site of the battle field in France. A 74-acre site was

⁸⁹ J.H. Noonan, *Newfoundland essays and proofs*, page 14, <http://www.nfldstamps.com/userfiles/files/CCC/1919%20Caribou%20issue%20digital%20files.pdf> accessed 20/12/2018

opened in 1925 with a memorial and the preservation of the original trenches (figure 50). However, earlier, in 1921 a memorial statue was erected in St. John's to the "Fighting Newfoundlander" and very soon afterwards a postage stamp set was issued to celebrate the statue, as well as other important locations in the dominion (figure 51). Newfoundland continued to remember the war dead in postage stamps with an issue in 1927 dedicated to the War Memorial in St. John's. This is an elaborate memorial dedicated to the First World War and was designed as the National Memorial of Newfoundland and Labrador. It was unveiled by Field Marshal Earl Haig on Memorial Day, 1 July, 1924 (figure 52).



Figure 49. 1919 Issue celebrating The Newfoundland Contingent, the Trail of the Caribou stamps.

Ubique, 2c, 5c, 8c, 12c.

1 c. Suvla Bay, Turkey (Gallipoli Campaign - 1915, 1916)

3 c. Beaumont-Hamel, France (Somme Campaign - 1916)

6 c. Monchy, France (Battle of Arras - 1917)

10 c. Steenbeck, Belgium (2nd Battle of Ypres - 1915)

5 c. Langemarck, Belgium (3rd Battle of Ypres - 1917)

24 c. Cambrai, France (Battle of Cambrai - 1917)

36 c. Combles, France (Somme Campaign - 1916)⁹⁰

⁹⁰ Thomas F. Nemel, *Newfoundland postage stamps, 1857-1947: a brief historical and iconographic study*, St. John's: Walsh Newfoundland Specialised Stamp Catalogue, 2018: 71.

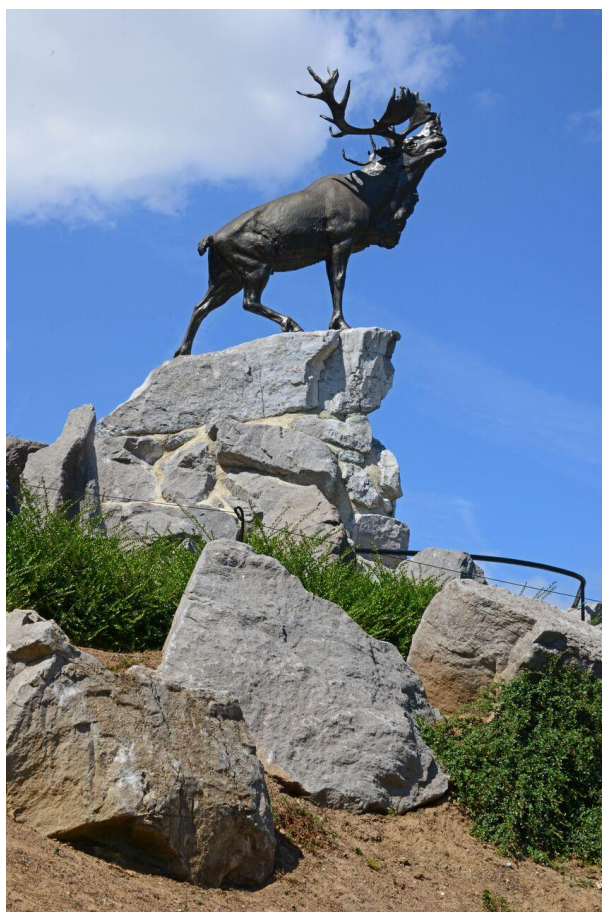


Figure 50. The Beaumont-Hamel Newfoundland Memorial stands as an important symbol of remembrance and a lasting tribute to all Newfoundlanders who served during the First World War. It is now a Canadian memorial park. At the heart of the memorial stands a great bronze caribou (the emblem of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment). Its defiant gaze forever fixed towards its former foe, the caribou stands watch over rolling fields that still lay claim to many men with no known final resting place.⁹¹

⁹¹ Beaumont-Hamel, <http://www.veterans.gc.ca/eng/remembrance/memorials/overseas/first-world-war/france/beaumont-hamel> accessed 21/12/2018



Figure 51. Statue of “The Fighting Newfoundlander”, St John’s, Newfoundland, issued 9 July, 1923. Photograph: Great War 100 Reads.



Figure 52. Memorial Stamp, opening ceremony, and current view. “There are many ties which unite the British Commonwealth of Nations, but no bond should be stronger or more enduring, than that bond of common sacrifice to which, in all quarters of the world, memorials such as this bear lasting testimony”. Earl Haig, 1 July, 1924, at the unveiling of the National Memorial, St. John’s.⁹²

⁹² Earl Haig, <https://www.heritage.nf.ca/first-world-war/gallery/commemorations/haig.php> accessed 22/12/2018, Earl Haig’s address, *The Veteran*, The Rooms Provincial Archives, October, 1924, pp.53-54.

The memories of the 1914-1918 events continued to be reflected in Newfoundland stamps. Issued on 2 January, 1932 was the 5c 'Caribou' stamp which was based upon the original sculpture of Basil Gotto (figure 53). This sculpture had formed the basis of the memorials placed in six sites in Newfoundland, France and Belgium. The caribou stamp and a similar Inland Revenue stamp were thus intended to reflect the monuments at 1. Bowring Park, St John's, 2. Gueudencourt, France, 3. Monchy-le-Preux, France, 4. Masnière, France, 5. Courtrai, Belgium, 6. Beaumont-Hamel, France. All these sculptures, representing the Trail of the Caribou and placed at sites in which the Newfoundlanders had seen action, acted as monuments of remembrance of these events and subsequent losses of life that were sustained.



Figure 53. The 5c Caribou issue of 1932 and a similar Inland Revenue stamp. The caribou was also used as a national recruitment sign (source *Pinterest*).⁹³

In 1937, a further 'Caribou' sculpture stamp was released, which, on this occasion, bore the image of King George VI and was valued at 7c. In 1925 a University College was founded in remembrance of the First World War dead and was hence named Memorial University College. It was later renamed Memorial University and continued to espouse its role in remembrance of the First World War fallen. In 1943, a special stamp was released to celebrate the Memorial College and what it stood for (figure 54). Newfoundland joined the Canadian Confederation on 31 March, 1949 and thus ceased issuing its own stamps thereafter.

It can be concluded that during the period of being a separate Dominion, Newfoundland, presents a very good example of the use of postage stamps to reflect her war history and its remembrance. The actual stamp designs illustrate the actual war monuments, and in doing so, readily remind Newfoundlanders of the great losses they sustained. The stamps themselves were appreciated by the people and this can be supported by the following comments about the 1919 Caribou issue:

⁹³ Enlist now, www.pinterest.nz/pin/173881235589628414/ accessed 30/1/2019.

We lost more sailors in the War than all the rest of the Colonies and Dominions put together!... I have a parish of about 300 families, and from these 75 young men took part in the fighting on land and sea. Of those, 22 laid down their lives.... Our Caribou Issue of stamps shows to the world something of what our Newfoundland boys did.

Rev. E.A. Butler, 1928.⁹⁴



Figure 54. 1943 and overprinted 1946 issues of the Memorial University College, Newfoundland.

General Haig was invited to officially dedicate the National War Memorial in St. Johns in 1924, despite his association with the Somme Battle losses (figure 52). This probably more reflects his wish to devote his post-war career to the welfare of ex-servicemen and his establishment of the Haig Fund for their assistance. Newfoundland experienced economic and governmental collapse in the 1930s and had to revert to British Commission administration until eventual confederation with Canada in 1949. However, the Royal Newfoundland Regiment was retained within the Canadian forces and its traditions and war memories and feats were not lost.

United Kingdom

While Newfoundland used her postage stamps to augment her commemoration of the First World War, Great Britain did not do so prior to the year 2000. There are peripheral references in two stamp issues relating to the First World War. A Maritime Heritage issue in 1982 acknowledged Lord Fisher and HMS *Dreadnought*. However, this battleship did not take part in any sea battles during the war and its only claim to fame was the ramming of a submarine. The ship was scrapped in 1921. More relevant was the 1986 issue celebrating the Royal Air Force (RAF) in which Lord Trenchard is acknowledged as the Commander of the Royal Flying Corps until the creation of the RAF in 1918. Under his command the Flying Corps contributed to the Battle of Loos and later the successful bombing of German targets. He supervised the introduction of the Lewis Gun into the planes of the Flying Corps to good effect.

⁹⁴ Reverend Butler, <http://www.bnaps.org/ore/Burnett-CanadianPhilatelyOutline/enacpao9.pdf> accessed 22/12/2018

Commemoration of World War 2, however, was made in British stamps in 1965, 1994 and 1995, and associated topics such as the RAF (1968, 1986) and Gallantry Awards in 1990. The large series of stamps celebrating the events of the millennium (1999-2000) contained no reference to the wars but featured such topics as the singer Freddy Mercury! Thus, the commemoration of the First World War was clearly not considered a topic for inclusion in British stamps in any of the 82 years following the Great War. One might question the reason for this and the fact that Teddy Bears were celebrated on three occasions (1990, 1991 and 1989) and the comic character, Dan Dare (1994), were thought important enough to warrant a postage stamp in their own right.⁹⁵ The background to this situation will be discussed in detail in a later chapter, but was not related to any degree of reluctance to raise war memories regarding Germany, as in 1965, Great Britain issued stamps for the anniversary of the Battle of Britain in which swastikas and German planes were part of the stamp content.⁹⁶

There is little doubt that Great Britain has remembered and commemorated its war dead of the 1914-18 war. There are over 10,000 public memorials throughout the country to remember the fallen, along with a National War Memorial and even a National Arboretum to the war dead. Although Great Britain introduced the modern postage stamp in 1840, its subsequent stamp policies have been ultraconservative. The first British commemorative stamp was only issued in 1924 and it was late into the 20th century before a more relaxed attitude developed with regard to stamp topics. This went hand in hand with the changes in philosophy and business management of the Royal Mail. It was the changes from a government department with a public service role to the eventual total independence of the organisation as a non-governmental owned business in 2011 that saw the issue of the First World War stamps, over 90 years after the armistice.

The only postal event from the Royal Mail in the United Kingdom at the time of the First World War was the use of stamp cancellation marks aimed at revenue rather than having a social or support purpose (figure 55). During the First World War, the British Post Office was reluctant to use slogan postmarks on its mail in order to help with the war effort, despite being in the unique position of being able to get a message to almost every address in the country. This reluctance stems from the fact that the special die printing machines used for special cancellations were very expensive. However, they started to be introduced between 1914 and 1922.⁹⁷ It was not until 10 December, 1917 that the first 'War Bonds' slogans appeared on mail in London with roll-out across the country coming soon afterwards. The Post Office was then in a unique position to assist in the war effort by attaching a simple message to its postmarks. It thus took the Post Office more than three years after war was declared to assist the government in this way.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ Stanley Gibbons, *Collect British Stamps*, London: Stanley Gibbons Ltd., 2005.

⁹⁶ *Collect British Stamps*, 2005: 21.

⁹⁷ Paul T. Carter, "Universal machine postmarks: part 21". *British Postmark Society Journal*, Supplement 21, 2018:10.

⁹⁸ The Royal Mail, <https://www.thesun.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/NINTCHDBPICT000431250628-e1536188997327.jpg?w=960> accessed 23/12/2018



Figure 55. “Buy National War Bonds” slogan stamp cancellations, 1917.⁹⁹

Canada

Canada issued nine stamps related, directly or indirectly, to the First World War, excluding the tax stamps discussed earlier. The first of these was in 1930 when an issue depicting Mount Edith Cavell in the Jasper National Park in Alberta was released (figure 56). This stamp recalls the renaming of Mount Gieke (La Montagne de la Grande Traverse) as Mount Edith Cavell in 1916 in memory of the English nurse executed by the German Military authorities on 13 October, 1915 on a charge of espionage. Nurse Cavell was praised for saving the lives of soldiers of both sides and helping 200 Allied soldiers escape to the Netherlands from German-occupied Belgium.¹⁰⁰

On the release of the postage stamp, a memorial service for Edith Cavell was held on the slopes of the 3,363 metre mountain in 1931 (figure 57).¹⁰¹ This recalls Cavell’s religious background and her quoted words on October 11th, 1915: “Standing as I do in view of God and eternity, I realise that patriotism is not enough. I must have no hatred or bitterness towards anyone.”



Figure 56. The Canadian one dollar stamp of 1930 showing Mount Edith Cavell.

⁹⁹ David Pollard, “Postmarks that have caused offence”, *Stanley Gibbons Stamp Monthly*, 2017: 34-35.

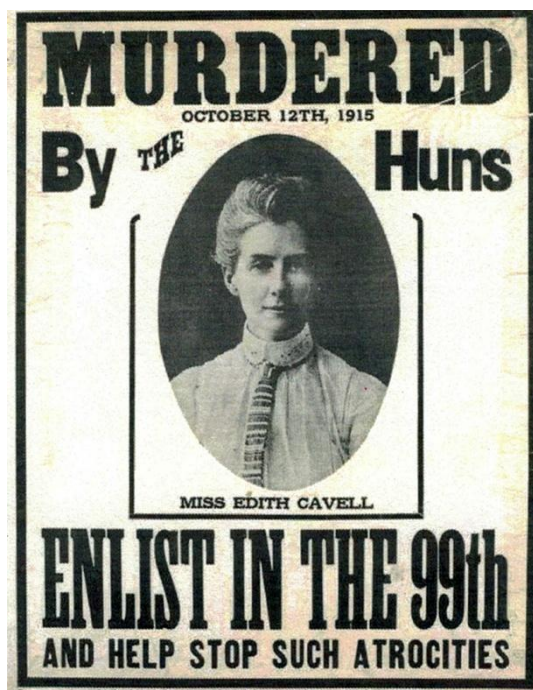
¹⁰⁰ Shane M. Barney, “The Mythic Matters of Edith Cavell: Propaganda, Legend, Myth and Memory”, *Historical Reflections / Réflexions Historiques*, 31 (2005): 217-233.

¹⁰¹ Edith Cavell, <https://edithcavell.org.uk/edith-cavells-life/monuments-and-plaques-relating-to-edith-cavell/a-canadian-commemoration/> accessed 23/12/2018



Figure 57. A 1931 Memorial Service on the Slopes of Mount Edith Cavell in Canada.¹⁵

Nurse Cavell's death resulted in an outburst of anti-German propaganda and promotion of the concept of the "barbarity of the Germans". In Canada her execution was also used as a means of military recruitment (see figure 58). The relevance of the actions of Edith Cavell and their importance was the fact that a high proportion of the assisted soldiers were Canadian and hence this led to the renaming of the mountain and the postage stamp. Propaganda cards such as that in figure 58 further helped to fuel the enthusiasm to volunteer as did propaganda stamps as illustrated in figure 59.



Recruitment poster for the 99th Battalion, Canadian Expeditionary Force. Like many battalions throughout the Empire, this Ontario Regiment, raised in the County of Essex, used the execution of Edith Cavell to drive recruitment.¹⁰²

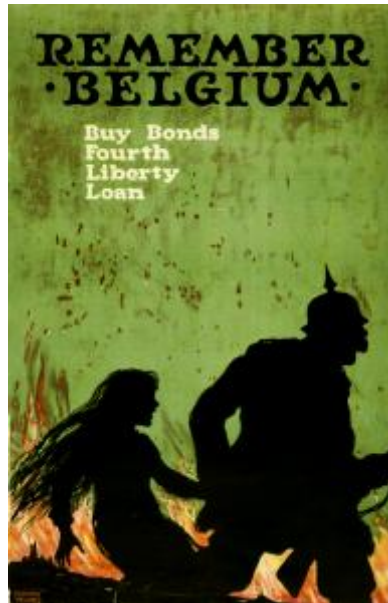


Figure 58. World War I poster, the silhouetted German soldier with his thick Kaiser moustache drags a young girl away while the ruins of the city are burning in the background.



Figure 59. British propaganda stamp, circa 1916, anonymous. Source: Wikipedia.

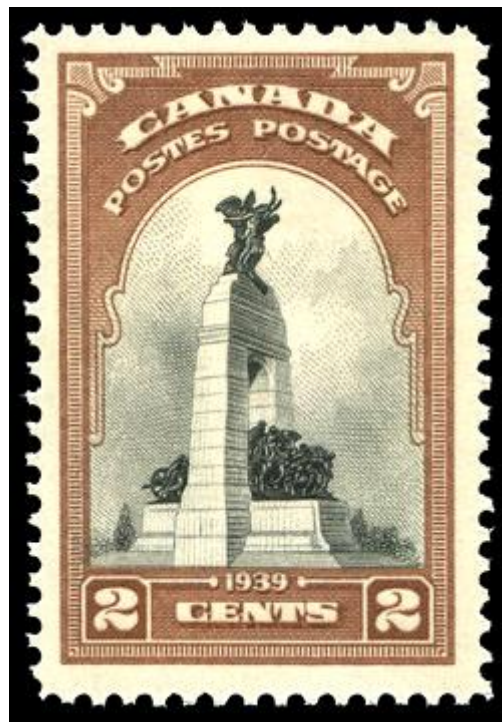
Two stamps were issued in 1937 and 1939 both directly relating to commemoration by memorials. The first reflects the Memorial Chamber in the Canadian Parliament building in Ottawa. It takes the form of a church altar of sacrifice and remembrance which contains the roll

¹⁰² Imperial War Museum, <http://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/30888> accessed 23/12/2018

of those Canadians who gave their lives during the War. The second stamp was issued in 1939 and was timed to correspond to the Royal visit of King George VI and Queen Elizabeth on 15 May, 1939. It portrays the National War Memorial in Ottawa (figure 60).



Figure 60. Parliamentary Memorial (1937)



National War Memorial, Ottawa (1939)

Two stamps that were issued in 1968 make direct reference to the First World War events. The first commemorated the 50th anniversary of the death of the Canadian John McCrae and it depicts his image, a scene of war graves and an extract from his now famous poem, *In Flanders Fields* (figure 61).

In Flanders fields the poppies blow
Between the crosses, row on row,
That mark our place; and in the sky
The larks, still bravely singing, fly
Scarce heard amid the guns below.¹⁰³

Lieutenant Colonel John McCrae (1872-1918) was a Canadian physician, soldier and poet who died during the period of the Second Battle of Ypres from pneumonia and meningitis. He wrote his best known poem following the death of his friend Lieutenant Alexis Helmer, aged 22.

¹⁰³ While the 1915 version of the poem published in *Punch* reads “the poppies blow,” various handwritten drafts and copies by McCrae end the line with the word “grow.”



Figure 61. Canadian remembrance stamp of John McCrae and his grave at Wimereux cemetery, Pas de Calais, France. Source: Wikipedia.

The second stamp of 1968 commemorates the 50th anniversary of the signing of the armistice in 1918 (figure 62). The stamp thus marks 11 o'clock on 11/11/1918. The armistice signing took place in a railway carriage in the Forest of Compiègne, north of Paris. The main German representative was Matthias Erzberger and for the Allies, Marshall Foch was the major signatory (see figure 91). While the stamp marks the armistice signing, it actually shows the “Defenders and the breaking of the sword”, one of the sculpture groups decorating the Canadian Vimy Ridge Monument at Vimy Ridge near Arras in France. This monument was unveiled in 1936 and was designed by W.S. Allward of Toronto. Inscribed are the names of 11,285 of Canada’s war dead who have no known grave. The military success at Vimy Ridge is regarded by Canadian historians as nation-founding event as Gallipoli is regarded by New Zealanders and Australians.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁴ Vimy Ridge, <https://www.canadianpostagestamps.ca/stamps/15798/armistice-1918-1968-1968-canada-postage-stamp> accessed 23/12/2018



Figure 62. Canadian National Memorial, Vimy Ridge, photograph: Australian Government, Veterans Affairs.

An issue of 1975 makes a direct reference to the First World War as it celebrates the 50th Anniversary of the Royal Canadian Legion (figure 63). While the Legion celebrates its foundation as of 1925, its roots lay in the War Veterans' Association founded in 1917 by Lillian Freiman. Numerous like-minded organisations merged in 1925 to form the present day Canadian Legion which was granted the 'Royal' title in 1960. The Legion supports Veterans of the Canadian Armed Forces and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, financially and socially. The organisation promotes the tradition of 'Remembrance' to honour the fallen and to thank all who served Canada. It promotes the poppy as the "sacred symbol of Remembrance" and encourages the wearing of the poppy between late October and the 11th November each year. It was at the request of the Legion that the government of Canada created the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier at the National War Memorial in Ottawa.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁵ Royal Canadian Legion, <https://www.legion.ca/> accessed 28/12/2018



Figure 63. Celebration of the 50th Anniversary of the Royal Canadian Legion and National War Memorial, Ottawa. Photograph source: Royal Canadian Legion.¹⁰³

Three remaining relevant stamps prior to 2000 are all related directly to the Canadian Armed Forces. The 60th anniversary of the Royal Canadian Air Force was observed in 1984. This stamp displays three pilots; one pilot is of 1914-1918 War vintage and in the flying attire of this period (figure 64 & 65). However, the Canadian Air Force was not actually formed as an independent force until 1924. Canadians were invited to join the Royal Flying Corps but this caused some controversy and eventually there was a move to form Canadian Air Squadrons within the Royal Flying Corps and later the Royal Air Force. Figure 66 shows the relevant advertising and propaganda card relating to this, and this story is well outlined in Canada's Official History of her Air Force.¹⁰⁶

A 1994 stamp is in remembrance of William Bishop VC (Billy Bishop), a Canadian flying ace in the First World War. His record of 72 victories made him the top Canadian and Empire ace of the war. He later rose to be an Air Marshall in the Canadian Air Force. His Victoria Cross was awarded for his solo mission over German lines and his destruction of three enemy planes. However, his award was in violation of the warrant requiring witnesses (figures 65 and 67).

¹⁰⁶ S. F. Wise, "Canadian Airmen and the First World War", *The official history of the Royal Canadian Air Force*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981: 48-53.



Figure 64. Air Force pilots, Remembrance of Billy Bishop, Trench raid, France 1914-18, by the Royal 22nd Regiment.



Figure 65. Billy Bishop and a Nieuport 17 fighter, Files Camp, France, c1917. Source: Wikipedia.

The Young Man's Element —the Air



THE keen eye, the cool clear brain, the courage of youth, have won for the Allies supremacy of the Air. The world-famous aviators are young men.

In the profession of Military Aeronautics the rewards are all for the keen young man. No calling offers greater scope for individual accomplishment and bravery.

The Imperial Royal Flying Corps conducts in Canada its most efficient and most completely equipped training school. Young men of fair education, alert men 18 to 30 years old, are instructed in the highly specialized work of aerial observation and warfare. While training for their commissions, cadets receive \$1.10 per day. Class 1 men under the M.S. Act are eligible.

An interesting Booklet "Air Heroes in the Making," describes fully, the R.F.C. course of training. A copy will be sent post-paid to anyone who contemplates entering military life. Write to one of the following addresses

Imperial
Royal Flying Corps

Figure 66. Advertisement encouraging Canadians to join the Royal Flying Corps.²⁰



Figure 67. Post card dated August, 1916, dropped from an aircraft of the Curtiss School, Toronto, urging the creation of a Canadian Air Service.²⁰

The final Canadian stamp to be discussed is the 1989 issue celebrating the 75th anniversary of the Canadian Army regiments, the Princess Patricia Light Infantry and the Royal 22nd Regiment, both founded in 1914. Figure 64 illustrates members of the Royal 22nd Regiment “going over the top” from a First World War trench, as a remembrance of their service to Canada in the Great War. The regiment was raised as francophone only and was based in Quebec City. It moved to France in September, 1915 and took part in all major engagements thereafter, two members subsequently being awarded the Victoria Cross.

This Chapter has revealed to date that the Newfoundland postal authorities used postage stamps liberally to commemorate and remember the actions and losses of the Newfoundland armed forces during First World War. Good supportive observation of this fact comes from the words of the Reverend Butler. In direct contrast, the United Kingdom, the “Mother Country”, did not use postage stamps to remind its population of the events of the First World War, even up to the year 2,000. The explanation for this appears to be the conservative approach of the tightly controlled public institution and their restrictive business model. Canada, on the other hand, while slow in introducing stamps as a means of remembrance and commemoration of its armed forces’ contribution to the First World War, later used stamps for this purpose regularly and appropriately up to the end of the 20th-century.

The first part of this chapter has shown that postage stamps had found a place in the commemoration and remembrance of the First World War in Canada and Newfoundland and Canada has made regular use of this medium until the year 2000. The scope of the specific topics used in the stamp design has centred on war memorials, individuals contributing to the war effort in a special way, and war-related organisations such as the Royal Canadian Legion. To determine whether these patterns have been replicated elsewhere, examination of Australia

now follows. To widen the range of enquiry into stamp use, this section explores the way Australia has made use of postage stamps for remembrance.

Australia

The dominant feature of 20th century Australian First World War commemorative stamps has been the remembrance of the Gallipoli campaign of 1915 and the role the ANZACs played in it. These events have been so fundamental in the shaping of Australia, along with the battles of the Western Front that an expanded background is presented here with the stamp details. The event of the First World War still cast a shadow over Australians and still results in continued examination of the events of the war in their literature.¹⁰⁷ Five stamp issues were released to commemorate the Gallipoli Campaign between 1918 and 2000. The first of these commemorated the 20th anniversary of the landings and illustrated the National War Memorial Cenotaph in Whitehall, London. The issue consists of two similar designs in different colours and values, red for 2d and black for 1/-. The choice of the London monument relates to the fact that Australia, at that time, did not have its own National War Memorial. This was corrected in 1941 with the opening of the Australian National War Memorial in Canberra. It was formally dedicated on 11 November, 1941. In 1993 the Tomb of the Australian Unknown Soldier was officially established at the site also.

Two sets of postage stamps have been issued to commemorate the formation of this National War Memorial, the first in 1958 and the second in 1991 (figure 68), the latter celebrating the 50th anniversary of the creation of the Memorial's opening. In the 1958 issue it should be noted that there is a subtle difference between the two issued stamps in that the 'nurse' and the 'soldier' have had their positions reversed as shown below. The memorial, itself, has three functions – commemoration (shrine), a memorial and gallery (museum) and a site for the national war records.

Like New Zealand, Australia recalled, in stamps, the 20th and 50th anniversaries of the Gallipoli landings. The 50th anniversary stamps were an omnibus edition in that similar stamps were issued for Norfolk Island, Christmas Island, Cocos (Keeling) Island and the colonies (as they were then) of Papua New Guinea and Nauru (figure 69).¹⁰⁸ This stamp features Simpson and his donkey and is based upon the sculpture at the National Memorial in Canberra (figure 69). The history of Simpson and his donkey is well summarised by John Pearn and David Gardener-Medwin:

John Simpson Kirkpatrick, generally known as "Simpson", is one of the most famous Anzacs of the Gallipoli campaign. From the Gallipoli landing on 25 April, 1915 until his

¹⁰⁷ Peter Fitzsimons, *Gallipoli*, Australia: William Heinemann, 2014.

Idem, *Victory at Villers-Bretonneux*, Australia: Random House, 2017.

¹⁰⁸ Omnibus Issues refer to several Commonwealth territories issuing stamps for the same event, see James Watson, *The Stanley Gibbons Book of Stamps and Stamp Collecting*, 1990: 107.

death 25 days later, Simpson and his donkey retrieved perhaps 300 casualties from the battlefield. He did this work independently, sometimes in disregard of orders, and frequently with a disregard for danger that kept the on looking soldiers in the trenches enthralled as they watched him moving calmly to rescue wounded soldiers while under direct fire from the enemy. He is often thought of as the quintessential larrikin Anzac, although he was born in England and only spent four years in Australia before enlisting in the Australian Army Medical Corps in 1914. Simpson's childhood was spent in Tyneside, United Kingdom, where his selfless military service is also well remembered.¹⁰⁹

These authors believe that Simpson's bravery was, as Lord Moran describes, as having "incalculable personal factors, the essence of courage".¹¹⁰ Thus, his bravery became a symbol of Australian courage, tenacity and "Mateship". However, Les Carlyon describes him as "being brave, but he was not a saint, despite being beatified in Australia's collective mind".¹¹¹



Figure 68. The 1935 Anzac stamp, commemoration of the Australian Armed Forces and The Australian War Memorial stamps of 1958 and 1991. Photograph from Australian War Memorial collection.

¹⁰⁹ John H. Pearn, David Gardener-Medwin, "An Anzac's childhood: John Simpson Kirkpatrick (1892-1915)", *Medical Journal of Australia*, 178(2003): 400-402.

¹¹⁰ C. Moran, *The anatomy of courage*, London: Constable, 1945: 171.

¹¹¹ Les Carlyon, *Gallipoli*, Sydney: Pan Macmillan, 2001: 266.

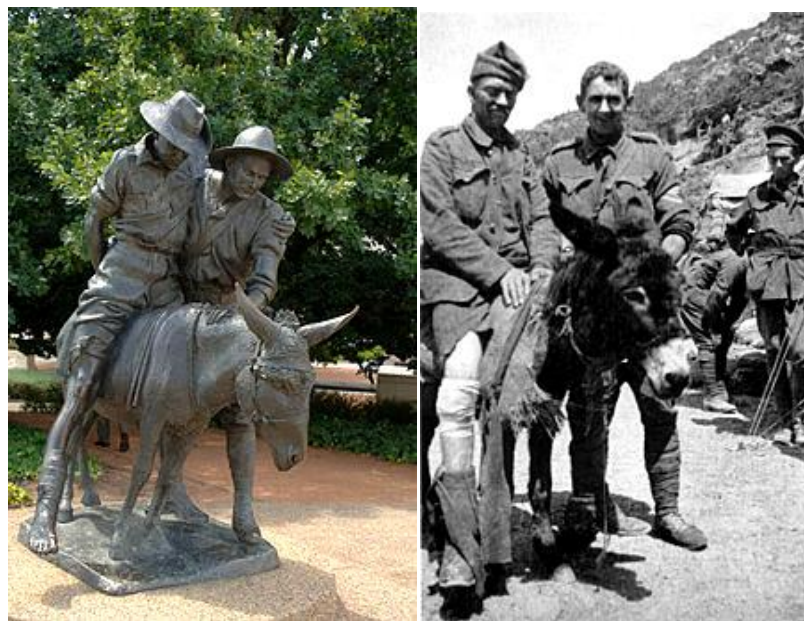


Figure 69. The 50th Anniversary of the Gallipoli landings, featuring John Simpson and his Donkey. Photograph source: Wikipedia, bronze sculpture by Peter Corlett.¹¹²

Not only did New Zealand produce stamps at the time of the commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the Gallipoli Campaign, but also Turkey issued her own stamps to mark this occasion. Turkey issued the stamps under the title of “Victory at Canakkale” (figure 70). Hence,

¹¹² Simpson and his donkey, <https://www.awm.gov.au/visit/exhibitions/forging/australians/simpson> accessed 1/1/2019

after many years of trying, attitudes had changed enough to have these simultaneous stamp releases.



Figure 70. The 1965 Turkish issue commemorating the Gallipoli (Canakkale) Campaign.

In 1990, an issue labelled the “Anzac Tradition” was released by Australia Post. Although not marked as such, the timing of the issue corresponded to the 75th anniversary of the landings in Turkey and consisted of five stamps (figure 71). They represented the following aspects of the campaign: 41c: ‘at the front’, 41c: ‘they who serve’, 65c: ‘lest we forget’, \$1: ‘casualties’, \$1.30c: ‘news from the front’.

The stamps thus represented a montage of images focussing on the experiences of war, both on the front and at home. They also represented all the experiences of the Anzacs from 1915 until 1990. The tradition of Anzac Day, itself, dated from 13 October, 1915 when the first patriotic carnival was held in Adelaide and it was transformed in later years into a solemn commemoration day. The tradition of Anzac Day is well described by David Watt.¹¹³



Figure 71. Anzac tradition, 1990.

By the year 2000, the final Anzac commemorative stamps of the 20th century were issued. This series was entitled ‘The last of the Anzacs’ and it featured images of the last three living Anzacs, namely Walter Parker, Roy Longmore and Alec Campbell and the 1914-1915 War Star Medal. Alec Campbell eventually became the last of this trio and he died on 17 May, 2002. His death was reported in the Sydney newspaper:

¹¹³ David Watt, *Anzac Day traditional rituals: a quick guide*, Parliament of Australia. https://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/rp/rp1617/Quick_Guides/TraditionsRituals accessed 2/1/2019.

The Sydney Morning Herald

Last Anzac is dead

17 May, 2002 — 10:00am

The last of the Anzacs, Alec Campbell, died peacefully in Hobart last night. He was 103. He never recovered from a chest infection that struck him down earlier this week. Prime Minister John Howard described Mr Campbell as 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 an Australian".¹¹⁴

The stamp series is illustrated in figure 72 along with a photograph of Alec Campbell aged 16 at Gallipoli. Prior to his death, Campbell is quoted as saying "For God's sake don't glorify Gallipoli – it was a terrible fiasco, a total failure and best forgotten".¹¹⁵



Block of the "Last of the Anzacs" series, 2000.



Figure 72.

Alec Campbell aged 16 as a boy soldier.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ Tony Stephens, Anzac Day, <https://www.smh.com.au/national/last-anzac-is-dead-20020517-gdfad1.html> accessed 12/1/2019.

¹¹⁵ Alec Campbell, <https://www.smh.com.au/national/its-anzac-day-not-the-big-day-out-20130419-2i5a4.html> accessed 2/1/2019.

To complete the Australian First World War profile, there are two further issues to be recorded. The first of these was a tribute to the Australian Armed Forces in general and especially the nurses attached to them (see figure 68). While this stamp was issued in 1940 it clearly acknowledges the past deeds of the military and nursing corps in 1914-18.

The birth centenary of General Sir John Monash was honoured by an Australian stamp issue in 1965 (figure 73). Much has been written about General Monash and his exploits in the First World War. Among the many tributes, John Terraine has written:

When war came he moved up from command to command and enhanced his reputation every time his responsibility was enlarged. It was his steady grasp of fundamental simplicities that put Monash into a very special category of men.¹¹⁷

Monash reflected upon the way the war had been conducted, and in particular, how the infantry had been used:

The true role of the infantry was not to expend itself upon heroic physical effort, nor to wither away under merciless machine gun fire nor to tear itself to pieces in hostile entanglements.....but to advance under the maximum possible array of mechanical resources, in the form of machine guns, tanks and aeroplanes.¹¹⁸

The above quotations help support the reasons why Australia Post felt that Monash, with his new ideas, was such an important general and leader of the Australian Anzacs that he should be one of the few military leaders remembered through a specific stamp issue. However, others have argued that his elevation came at the time the war was turning in favour of the allies.¹¹⁹ It should be noted that the other rising Dominion soldiers such as Lieutenant-General Sir Arthur Currie of Canada has never been honoured by a stamp by Canada and neither has Earl Haig nor General Russell, by their respective countries.

¹¹⁶ Alec Campbell, <http://www.anzacs.org/campbell.html> accessed 2/1/2019

¹¹⁷ John Terraine, *To win a war, 1918, the year of victory*, London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1978: 85-86.

¹¹⁸ Sir John Monash, *The Australian victories in France in 1918*, Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1936: 96.

¹¹⁹ Neillands, *Great War Generals*, 520.



Figure 73. Sir John Monash, birth centenary, 1965, photographed in 1918 (Wikipedia).

In terms of remembrance of Gallipoli, Australia has produced stamps at all major anniversaries of the landings; 20, 50, 75 years after these pivotal happenings. Thus the memory of Gallipoli and the Anzacs has remained an important and prominent event in Australian society and a reason to celebrate each anniversary. Nevertheless, this is in striking contrast to the absence of stamps invoking remembrance and memories of the Australian involvement in the battles of the Western Front. However, recognition was given to Sir John Monash and his leadership on the Western Front. The National War Memorial has been featured twice, to mark its inauguration and the 50th anniversary, and to herald the further development of this stunning complex.

A very important point to consider, when assessing the early stamps of Australia, is in relationship to the federation of the Australian colonies on 1 January, 1901. Prior to this event, all the colonies produced their own postage stamps and continued to use them until the first Commonwealth of Australia stamps of 1913, some 12 years after federation. Even then there was great controversy over their design and the absence of the monarch's face. It was not until 1927, that the first commemorative stamp was issued by Australia to mark the opening of Parliament House. Thereafter, it took eight years before the first Anzac stamp was issued. In light of these facts it is understandable as to why there were not more war related issues following the Great War. However, ironically, it was the colony of New South Wales that issued the first true commemorative stamp by any postal administration in 1888 to celebrate 100 years of British settlement at Sydney Cove.¹²⁰

¹²⁰ James Mackay, *The Guinness Book of Stamps – facts and feats*, Enfield: Guinness Superlatives Ltd.1988: 143.

British Colonies

The majority of British colonies appear to have followed the United Kingdom example in not using postage stamps as a potential potent force for war remembrance and commemoration. Several Caribbean colonies did not subscribe to this British policy, and this is probably due to their direct contribution in manpower to the war effort. Men from the Caribbean did enlist directly with British, Canadian and later United States regiments. However, 15,600 men joined the British West Indies Regiment, two thirds of who came from Jamaica, with the small island of Barbados contributing 737 alone. The Regiment lost 1,200 men killed and 2,500 wounded.¹²¹

At the end of the War, the Legislature of Barbados suggested a 'Victory' stamp issue should be produced. Initially the thought was that the War Tax stamps should be overprinted 'victory', but the consensus was that a more impressive issue should be created (see Chapter 1). Thus, the 12 stamp issue came about. The design was prepared by the Colonial treasurer of Barbados and the following letter was sent to the Crown Agents in London:

It is proposed that at the conclusion of the Declaration of Peace a Victory Stamp should be issued, and I am directed by the Governor to ask you to select a design and submit for approval with information as to the cost of the die and printing and within what time it would take to supply the Stamp.

A suggestion has been put forward that the Stamp should show a winged figure of Victory in profile with drapery out flowing and with a wreath in outstretched hand, with the words Barbados at the top, Postage at the bottom, and the values in the lower corners, 1d, 2d, &c., &c. The year '1919' and the word 'Victory' to be printed below 'Barbados'. But the Government is not committed in any way to this design.¹²²

The twelve-stamp issue was finally released in September, 1920 (figure 74).

¹²¹ Kathleen Wunderly, *Linn's Stamp News*, February 9, 2017, Ohio: Amos Media Company.

¹²² Edmund A. Bayley, "Barbados 1920-1921 Victory issue", in *The stamps of Barbados*, Barbados: Coles Printery, 1989.



Figure 74. 1920, Barbados Victory issue, stamps marked “specimen” indicating their use for purposes of identification and record. 1/4d-6d, show the Winged Victory of Samothrace (c 190BC) now in the Louvre. The 1/- to 3/-, show the Statue designed by Sir Thomas Brock that surmounts the Queen Victoria memorial in front of Buckingham Palace. The additional 1d stamp is a later printing and had a different watermark. The ‘lion’ use is related to the colonial status and the British Lion.

Jamaica produced two unusual stamps, the first in 1919 and the second in 1921 (figure 75). These commemorate the departure, by ship, of the Jamaican contingent to the Great War and the 1921 return issue celebrates their return after the War. The troops are seen aboard the ship due to leave for Europe and the second stamps sees them landing back in Jamaica. However, no stamp was produced to commemorate the many men who did not return. Behind these stamp issues lies a grim story. It is described in article from the Jamaican newspaper the *Kingston Gleaner* and is paraphrased here:

British West Indian Regiment troops were held for close to a year at the end of the war by the British War Office at a camp in Taranto, Italy. They were virtually kept prisoner in large barracks by their British Commanding Officer who, as a result of colour prejudice, not only assigned them hard labour but also demeaning labour such as cleaning toilets for white troops. He also refused to allow day passes and recreational time. On December 6, 1918 tensions at Taranto reached a boiling point and the soldiers of the BWIR who did not understand why they had not been sent home and wanted nothing more than to go home, mutinied. They attacked their officers and severely assaulted their unit commanders, sending shock waves throughout the British Army. After four days the mutineers surrendered and the entire regiment suffered the humiliation of being disarmed. The mutineers were severely punished, one was shot, one executed by firing squad and another sentenced to time in prison. When the last of the BWIR troops

were finally repatriated in September, 1919, they were accompanied by three cruisers in order to prevent unrest once the ships docked at ports in Jamaica, Barbados and Trinidad. These BWIR soldiers were not given a heroes' welcome because there was simply great fear on behalf of colonials that these soldiers, well-trained and now more politically aware, could create havoc for the status quo under which colonial life was governed.¹²³



Figure 75. The departure of the Jamaican troops for Europe and their post-war return home. Original photograph of the sailing of the first Jamaican contingent for the Great War.¹¹³

The final issues of relevance are the 'Peace' issues of the Bahamas and British Honduras. The latter produced a single 2c rose-red stamp as the 'Peace' issue in 1921 with the word 'peace' placed near the King's head. The same issue was released again in 1922 with the word 'peace' omitted; a new colour (slate) and a new value (4d) (figures 76 & 77). British Honduras's set consisted of five stamps of differing colours and values (1/2d to 1/-), but the postal services did

¹²³ *Pieces of the Past* <http://old.jamaica-gleaner.com/pages/history/story0014.html> accessed 6/2/2019.

Photograph: National Library of Jamaica D0003764

Richard Smith, *Race, masculinity and the development of national consciousness*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004.

not release further stamp without ‘peace’ inserted into the area surrounding the crown, as the Bahamas issue had done.



Figure 76. The five values of the Bahamas “Peace” stamp of 1920.



Figure 77. 1921 British Honduras ‘peace’ stamp and similar ‘non-Peace’ issue, with ‘peace’ inserted around the crown.¹²⁴

Trinidad and Tobago’s commemoration of the First World War was the creation of a memorial garden in Port of Spain. It took the form of City Park and a cenotaph to commemorate the Trinidadian veterans who served in the First World War and later the Second World War. It was reported in the *Port of Spain Gazette* in 1916 that Dr. E. Prada had stated—“It is the opinion of the Council that it is desirable that a memorial recording the part taken by the Colony in the Great War be erected in the City of the Port of Spain.”¹²⁵

Figure 78 illustrates two stamps that have been issued to celebrate the formation of the park and for what it stands for. The first was in 1935 and then again in 1938 in which the portrait of King George VI was also added.

It is, therefore, clear that certain Caribbean colonies did wish to commemorate their wartime involvement and remember their citizens killed during the war. There is little evidence that the Crown Agents, acting for the British Government, raised much objection, but the bureaucratic process involved resulted in several years’ delay before the stamps were finally issued. While many stamps pay homage to the West Indians who volunteered to fight for the Empire and the ‘Mother Country’, many returned disillusioned having experienced racism in the forces and, on

¹²⁴ Stanley Gibbons, *Commonwealth and Empire Stamps 1840-1970*, London: Stanley Gibbons Ltd., 2009: 119.

¹²⁵ “Victory through Sacrifice”, The National Archives of Trinidad and Tobago, <https://nationalarchivestt.wordpress.com/2015/11/06/victory-through-sacrifice-trinidads-war-memorial/> accessed 4/1/2019

their return, an absence of job opportunities and the continuation of colonialism as it was prior to the war.



Figure 78. Trinidad and Tobago postage stamps of 1935 and 1938 illustrating Trinidad's Memorial Park and Cenotaph in Port of Spain and photographs showing the actual memorial illustrated in the stamps.¹¹⁵

It will be noted that most Caribbean colonies not only raised money through tax stamps but a few of them, as described above, used stamps to commemorate the peace following the war and also to remember those who served.¹²⁶ This is in sharp contrast to the large countries like South Africa and the colonies of Africa and the Far East who carried out neither of these activities by the use of postage stamps.

India raised many regiments for the war yet did not, in the 20th century, use postage stamps regularly to commemorate its contribution and to remember the many Indians that lost their lives during 1914-1918. Only one stamp, released in 1931, is relevant and illustrates the War

¹²⁶ These tax stamps were obligatory on all mail and there is no evidence they were used to obtain local revenue from philatelists, see John G.M. Davies, *War tax stamps of WW1- West Indies*, London: Royal Philatelic Society, 2018.

Memorial Arch (India Gate) in New Delhi. Emperor George V is shown with an engraving of the War Memorial Arch and was issued for the official inauguration of New Delhi (figure 79).



Figure 79. India Gate: "To the dead of the armies who fell and are honoured / in France and Flanders, Mesopotamia and Persia, East Africa, Gallipoli and elsewhere / in the Near and Far East and in sacred memory also of those whose names are here/ recorded and who fell in India or the North-West Frontier and during the Third Afghan War." ¹²⁷

In relationship to British territories, this chapter reveals that many, but not all, Caribbean colonies did use postage stamps as a medium for remembrance of the First World War. Seventeen Caribbean colonies (including Bermuda) produced war tax stamps (see Chapter 1) but only five followed this up with remembrance stamps after the war. South Africa and India and other African and Asian countries did not produce war-related stamps in a similar fashion to the United Kingdom. One could possibly attribute this, in India and South Africa, as being related to their own internal political situations at the time and their attitudes to Britain and their support of the Great War. With regard to Australia, there was a gradual increase in the output of war-related stamps after the initial Anzac stamp of 1936 that could be explained by the slow development and establishment of Commonwealth stamp production overall.

¹²⁷ India Gate, <http://www.victorianweb.org/art/architecture/lutyens/12.html> accessed 6/1/2019.

Chapter 4. The Postage Stamp's Contribution to Remembrance and Commemoration of the Great War, 1918-2000. 3. France

As was described in Chapter 1, the French authorities readily used postage stamps to raise funds for charities and money to address the national war debt. This chapter examines France's use of postage stamps for remembrance and commemoration of the Great War during the 20th century. In doing so, an alternative approach to that of the British Empire will be obtained to help address and answer the question as to the extent and scope of stamp usage for war commemoration. From the information gained to date, it is obvious that the Gallipoli landings and the ANZAC troops have formed a focal point for war commemoration for Australia and New Zealand. In France, above all, the great Battle of Verdun in 1916 has had a prime position in the national consciousness and memory of the French people and is, therefore, an obvious focus for commemorative stamp issues. In light of this, a brief introduction to the Battle of Verdun is appropriate to appreciate the stamp issues produced and their frequency and significance.

The Battle of Verdun was the longest continuous battle of the First World War. Its major impact upon the French army was a prime reason for the early onset of the Battle of the Somme, by the British, to give some relief to the French defenders by drawing German army divisions away from Verdun. The German attack ('Judgement') started on 21 February 1916 with a ferocious bombardment with one million shells fired on the first day alone. It ended on 16 December, 1916 with a French victory. General Philippe Pétain became a hero of France, after being appointed by Marshal Joseph Joffre as Commander of the French forces for the defence of Verdun. The French losses in terms of dead, wounded and missing amounted to 500,000 while the German total was around 400,000.¹²⁸ The battlefield of Verdun has become a sacred area and some 21 individual memorials have been erected there, apart from the graveyards themselves. These memorials include the "Trench of Bayonets", the memorial to André Maginot, and that commemorating General Robert Nivelle's famous declaration "Vous ne les laissez pas passer, mes camarades", often rendered as "they shall not pass".¹²⁹

It is not surprising then, that France has issued stamps regularly to mark the anniversaries of the battle and by the year 2,000, four separate issues had been released (figures 80-83). These corresponded to the 23rd, 40th, 50th, and 60th anniversaries of the battle, the sequence being interrupted by the Second World War and the reappearance of Pétain in another guise as leader of France under the Vichy regime. His appearance, at that time, on Vichy stamps could be regarded as a fall from hero to villain.

¹²⁸ Keith Robbins, *The First World War*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993: 53-54.

Alistair Horne, *The price of glory: Verdun*, 1916. London: Penguin Books, 1994.

B. H. Liddell Hart, "The mincing machine – Verdun", *History of the First World War*, London: MacMillan Publishers, 1997: 217-226.

¹²⁹ Peter Simkins, Geoffrey Jukes, Michael Hickey, *The First World War; the war to end wars*, Oxford: Osprey, 2014: 77.



Figure 80. 1939, 23rd Anniversary of the Battle of Verdun. The 90 centime denomination commemorative stamp was issued on June 23, 1939; the design features a view of the City of Verdun and the Porte Chaussée which is the main-gate to the City of Verdun, built during the 15th Century as part of the city's fortifications. It is located at the end of the bridge crossing the Meuse River. Photograph: Trip Advisor.¹³⁰



Figure 81. 1956, 40th Anniversary of the Battle of Verdun. 30F denomination portraying French troops in the Battle trenches at Verdun. Photographs of Verdun trench warfare from the Getty Archives.



Figure 82. 1966, 50th Anniversary of the Battle of Verdun. "The Angel of Verdun", 30c +5c issued on 28 May, 1966. 5 centimes were added to a charity fund for soldiers' families. Victory Parade, Paris, 1919 from Imperial War Museum, London.

¹³⁰ www.tripadvisor.co.nz/Attractions-g187165-Activities-Verdun-Meuse-Grand-Est.html accessed 13/5/2019



Figure 83. 1976, 60th Anniversary of the Battle of Verdun, the Verdun memorial 1F., issued 19 June, 1976, after March, 1916, along the 72 km of the "Voie Sacrée", transport vehicles were on the move day and night ferrying troops, armaments, and supplies to the Verdun battlefield. Photograph: Wikipedia.

One year prior to what would have been the 70th anniversary of Verdun, France issued a stamp in 1985 that commemorated a National Memorial Day instead (figure 84). It shows an allegory of 'Marianne', the national symbol of France and a personification of liberty and reason, and simply adds "France - to her Dead". However, still related to Verdun is the 1995 issue celebrating André Maginot (1877-1932) and his time as Minister of War, despite the fact that the Maginot line, that was named after him, failed in World War 2 (figure 85).



Figure 84. National Memorial Day, 11 November, photograph: French tombstones at Douaumont ossuary (The Atlantic).



Figure 85. 1995, André Maginot (1877-1932).The Maginot Memorial at Verdun, photograph source: Wikipedia.

When the Great War began, André Maginot enlisted in the army and was posted along the Lorraine front. In November, 1914, Sergeant Maginot was wounded in the leg near Verdun. He was awarded the Médaille Militaire and for showing extreme valour at Verdun. After the war he went into politics and became Minister for War and made repeated demands that France construct a line of defensive fortifications along its eastern frontiers to prevent a renewed German attack. During his second term as Minister of War he reorganized the army and directed the beginning of construction, on the French northeast frontier, of the Maginot Line. Maginot died in early 1932, but his project continued and was completed in 1938.¹³¹

The 1918 Armistice and the subsequent hope for long-lasting peace have been themes for French stamps of this epoch. Figures 86-94 present the images of these stamps. It should be noted that two separate stamps were produced to celebrate the armistices of 1918. The earliest was signed by Bulgaria with the Allied powers thus ending its participation in the War. General Louis d'Espèrey signed on behalf of the Allies and his portrait appeared on a stamp of 1956. Marshall Foch signed the November armistice in the dining car of a train in the forest of Compiègne some distance from the station of Rethondes. The treaty was signed for Germany by its chief German negotiator, Matthias Erzberger, who was later remembered in a West German stamp of 1975.



¹³¹ [Maginot Line, https://www.britannica.com/biography/Andre-Louis-Rene-Maginot](https://www.britannica.com/biography/Andre-Louis-Rene-Maginot) accessed 8/1/2019

Figure 86. This 65 C. + 35 C. denomination commemorative French stamp was issued on 8 October, 1938 to celebrate the 20th Anniversary of the Armistice that ended World War I on "the eleventh hour of the eleventh day of the eleventh month" in 1918. Photograph: Encyclopaedia Britannica (Getty Images).



Figure 87. The 1958, 15F stamp for 40th anniversary of the armistice.



Figure 88 & Figure 89. The 1958 15F stamp for 40th anniversary of the armistice of November, 1918 (figure 88) and the 1968 40c stamp commemorating the 50th anniversary of the armistice of 29 September on the Salonika Front (figure 89) and the 25c issue for the 11 November armistice on the Western Front (figure 90). Photograph from Getty Images.



Figure 90.



Figure 91.

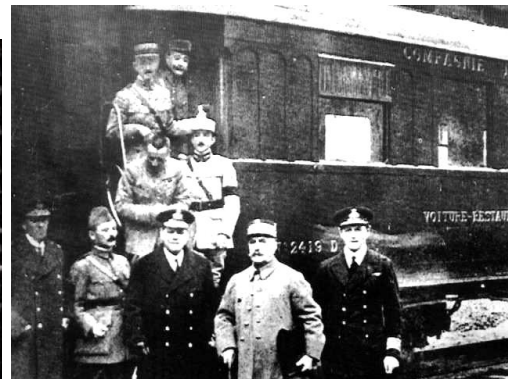


Figure 92. Marshall d'Espèrey who signed the Salonika armistice (figure 90), Marshall Foch, who signed the November armistice (figure 91) and the rail car in which the final First World War surrender was signed by Germany (figure 92). Marshal Ferdinand Foch (1851-1929), the Supreme Allied Commander during the final year of World War I (1F + 50c stamp). Marshalls d'Espèrey and Foch photographic source was Wikipedia. Armistice train source: the *Toronto Sun*.



Figure 93 & Figure 94. The 1.50 Franc stamp was issued on 1 October, 1936 to publicise the Rally for International Peace in Paris, in light of the perceived recurrence of aggression by Germany against its neighbours (figure 93). The 1.50 Franc stamp of February 20, 1934 promoting "peace" in light of political changes in Germany (figure 94). The design features the Dove of Peace and an Olive Branch.

In addition to the above topics, two other important battles have been remembered by French stamps and those associated with the battles. Marshall Joseph Joffre was Commander-in-Chief of the French forces on the Western Front until 1916 and was remembered for his role in the defeat of the Germans in the First Battle of the Marne in September, 1914. The second stamp about the Battle of the Marne recalls the events of 5 September 1914, when a shortage of military motor vehicles resulted in the military Governor of Paris, General Gallieni ordering the police to commandeering every taxi in Paris. The 600 empty taxis were used to transport 4,000 troops, 40 miles to the French 6th Army lines to help in the defence of Paris and the eventual victory at the Marne (figures 95 & 96).¹³²

The second major battle to be remembered, by a two stamp series, was that of Vimy Ridge. The stamps portray the Canadian War Memorial at its opening on the 26 July, 1936. The battle took place between 9th and 12th of April, 1917 and formed the beginning of the Battle of Arras on the Western Front. The four divisions of the Canadian Expeditionary Force fought together for the first time to capture the high ground that formed Vimy Ridge. In doing so, their success formed a symbol of Canadian national achievement and sacrifice and a defining moment for Canada as a nation. The Canadian National Memorial at Vimy is part of the old battlefield on Hill 145, the highest part of the ridge, and acts as a memorial park for the 11,285 Canadian soldiers killed in France who have no known grave (figure 97). Altogether, however, 60,661 Canadians were killed during the Great War.¹³³ Brief mention of Vimy Ridge is made earlier in this Chapter from the Canadian perspective (see figure 62).



Figure 95. 80 C. + 45 C. - Marshal Joseph Joffre (1852-1931), Commander-in-Chief of the French forces on the Western Front in World War I until 1916 and the winner at the First Battle of the Marne. Photograph: Wikipedia.

¹³² Philip Warner, *World War One: a narrative*, London; Cassell Plc., 1995: 31.

B. H. Liddell Hart, *History of the First World War*, London: MacMillan Publishers, 1997: 87-88.

¹³³ John Terraine, *The Great War*, Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Editions Ltd., 1998: 288-291.



Figure 96. Postage stamp for the 50th year commemoration of the First Battle of the Marne and the transport of soldiers to the front by taxi. A contemporary photograph of the taxis being prepared for the event.¹³⁴



¹³⁴ Taxi to the front, <https://www.express.co.uk/news/world-war-1/508053/The-WWI-taxis-of-the-Marne> accessed 7/2/2019



Figure 97. Canadian War Memorial, Vimy Ridge, Source: Richard Frost, *The Canadian Encyclopedia*.

The two commemorative stamps shown above were issued on July 26, 1936 to celebrate the Unveiling of the Canadian War Memorial at Vimy Ridge. The Canadian War Memorial was erected on the actual site of the Battle of Vimy Ridge.

Three further First World War memorials are presented and illustrated by stamps (figures 98-100). One stamp, issued in 1938, depicts the monument honouring the war efforts of the French Army (Military) Medical Corps (Service de Santé des Armées) that is located in Lyon. It is a 22 metre high concrete and steel structure, within which there is a six metre allegorical statue of the “Motherland” (figure 98). The second stamp was the 1939 charity issue to raise funds for the Boulogne Monument for sailors lost at sea (figure 99). Finally, of relevance to this study, is the Civilian War Victims Monument charity stamp that was issued on the 1 February 1939. The monument is dedicated to the victims of the First World War, but later adapted for victims of the Second World War also. In March, 1915, mechanical failure forced a British plane to land in a suburb of Lille. The Resistance managed to conceal the pilot and return him to Great Britain. A few months later the pilot, Robert Mapplebeck, flew over Lille to thank those that helped him escape and to drop leaflets mocking Governor Von Heinrich. A few months later 200 members of the network were betrayed and arrested. The leader of the resistance, Eugene Jacquet, and his comrades were shot on 22 September, 1915, in the dungeons of the citadel, for aiding escaped soldiers and many others in the group were either sent to prison or deported (figure 100).¹³⁵

¹³⁵ Eugene Jacquet, <https://www.cairn.info/revue-cahiers-bruxellois-2014-1E-page-105.htm?contenu=resume> accessed 10/1/2019, <https://www.tracesofwar.com/upload/8289120309200355.JPG> accessed 10/1/2019.



Figure 98. The 55 C. + 45 C. denomination charity stamp was issued on May 25, 1938. The surtax was for a fund to erect the monument honouring the Army Medical Corps now built in Lyon. Photograph of central figure “Motherland”, source reference shown in photograph.¹³⁶



Figure 99. The 70 C. + 50 C. denomination stamp was issued on July 20, 1939. The surtax was used to benefit the dependents of French seamen lost at sea. The design features a statue of a widow and her children. Photograph: Calvaire des Marins Perdus, Côte-d’Opale tourism.¹³⁷

¹³⁶ Motherland photograph, <https://statues.vanderkrogt.net> accessed 10/1/2019.

¹³⁷ www.tripadvisor.co.nz/Tourism-g4011061-Cote-d-Opale.html accessed 13/5/2019.



Figure 100. French stamp celebrating the Lille Resistance during World War I and the remembrance monument in Lille. Source: Wikipedia

A further three remembrance stamps were issued to commemorate individuals who had played important roles in different arenas of the Great War and these stamps are displayed in figures 101-103.

Georges Guynemer (1894-1917) was a French flying ace and was commemorated on a postage stamp issued on 7 November, 1940 (figure 101). Guynemer was born into a wealthy aristocratic family. Despite his rejection from military service based upon medical grounds, he eventually managed to become a pilot in 1915. Subsequently, he was regarded as a flying ace with 54 recorded victories. One special day was 25 May, 1917 when he was credited with downing four German planes on that single day. He failed to return from a mission on 11 September, 1917 and his body was never found. He, thereafter, became a French hero and legend having received both the Légion d'Honneur and the Croix de Guerre.¹³⁸

Colonel Emile Driant (1855-1916) a French writer, politician and army officer, was commemorated on a French stamp of the 21 February 1956 (figure 102). He criticised General Joffre for removing artillery in December, 1915 from the Verdun area. Verdun was attacked in February 1916, proving his criticism as being pertinent and to have a sound basis. Driant was in charge of two battalions during the Verdun Battle. He was killed during a tactical withdrawal and became the first high ranked French officer to die in battle. He and his men's actions were regarded as being heroic during this aspect of the battle and later a memorial was raised for them to celebrate their bravery and to the memory of Colonel Driant.

Tribute was paid to General George Pershing (1860-1948) and thus the contribution of the American Army in the First World War by a postage stamp released in 1987 by France (figure 103). General Pershing commanded the American Expeditionary Force on the Western Front during 1917-1918. He always insisted that the American Forces would fight together as a single unit under his command. They made their contribution in the fighting at Cantigny, Chateau

¹³⁸ John Guttman, "Georges Guynemer World War 1 ace pilot", *Aviation History*, September, 2006.

Thierry and Belleau Wood. He was criticised for continuing frontal attacks when these had been abandoned by the other Allies who had developed newer tactics.¹³⁹



Figure 101. The 50 Fr. Stamp was issued on November 7, 1940 to honour Georges Guynemer, and his Memorial at Poelkapelle, Belgium and a contemporary photograph. The stork was his squadron symbol. Source: Chemin de Mémoire.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁹ John Terraine, *To win a war: 1918 the year of victory*, London; Sidgwick and Jackson, 1978: 68-69.

¹⁴⁰ Chemin de Mémoire, <http://www.cheminsdememoire.gouv.fr/en/> accessed 12/1/2019, War graves, <http://www.greatwar.co.uk/organizations/ministere-des-pensions.htm> accessed 12/1/2019



Figure 102. French commemorative stamp of Colonel Emile Driant, 1956, his photograph and his and his troops' Memorial at Bois des Caures, Flabas. Source: Wikipedia.

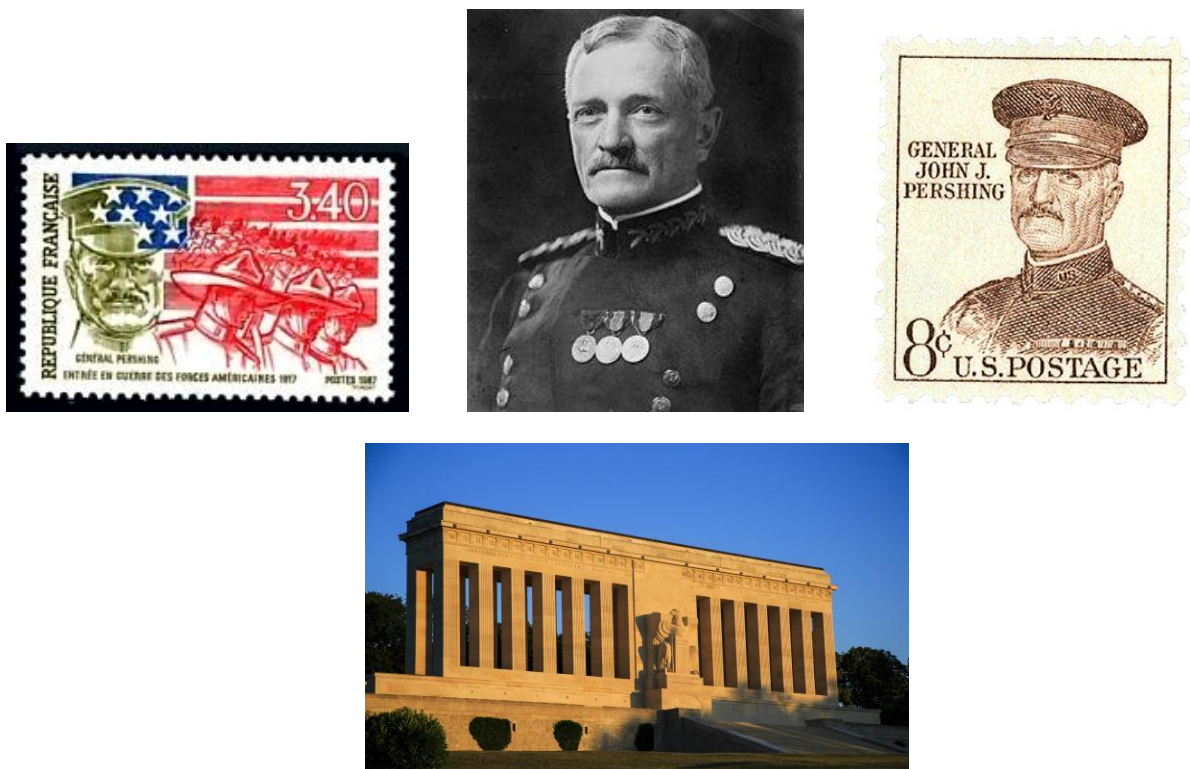


Figure 103. French 1987 stamp of General Pershing, his photograph, (source: Wikipedia) and United States stamp of 1961, and a photograph of the United States Memorial at Chateau-Thierry (American Aisne-Marne Memorial).

Three different aspects relating to the First World War are demonstrated in three further stamps of the 20th century (figures 104-106). A pair of pictorial stamps was released (55+70c and

65+1F10c) as semi-postal charity stamps to help raise funds for the erection of a monument to be dedicated to the “Glory of the French Infantry of 1914-1918”. The stamps show a French soldier (*poilu*) with a fixed bayonet within a trench system. The monument was funded and was designed by Paul Landowski, and erected in the Place du Trocadero in Paris. The group of soldiers forming the monument measure over five metres creating a striking sculpture (figure 104).

In a different vein is the 1971 issue illustrating a field post office as it would have functioned during the war and it reflects on the importance for the troops of contact with their loved ones during the war period (figure 105). The stamp release also marks the formal Stamp Day commemoration. The third stamp is certainly an appropriate one to be considered relevant to remembrance of the war dead and is that issued by France in 1977, corresponding to the 90th anniversary of the establishment of the French War Graves Organisation (figure 106). This organisation comes under the direction of the Ministry of Pensions in France and its function is best described in the following:

Le Ministère des Pensions is the French war graves agency which cares for the French military cemeteries from the 1914-1918 war to the present day. There are 265 cemeteries in France classed as “nécropoles nationales” - national cemeteries - for those who have died for France, “Mort pour la France”. These cemeteries contain the remains of almost 730,000 bodies, of which 240,000 are in ossuaries, who served with the French army from 1855 to 1986. It includes members of the Resistance, deportees and foreigners who fought under the French flag in the wars of 1870-71, 1914-18 and 1939-45.¹⁴¹



¹³⁴ Ministry of Pensions, <http://www.greatwar.co.uk/organizations/ministeredespensions.htm> accessed 12/1/2019



Figure 104. The two pictorial stamps were issued on May, 16, 1938. The surtax on these stamps was for the erection of a monument dedicated to the Glory of the French Infantry which is illustrated by the photograph and is located in Paris in the Place de Trocadéro.¹⁴²



Figure 105. Field post office stamp issued on 27 March, 1971 and a photograph of a French Postman delivering to British Troops.¹⁴³

¹⁴² Landowski monument, http://memorial14-18.paris.fr/memorial/document?id=113&id_attribute=63 accessed 7/2/2019.

¹⁴³ Post Office mail, <https://ayearofwar.com/the-post-office-mail-service-in-wwi/> accessed 12/1/2019



Figure 106. Stamp of 4 March, 1977, celebrating the 90th Anniversary of the French War Graves Organisation “Le Souvenir francais”. Photograph of France’s largest 1914-18 military cemetery at Ablam St, Nazaire, Arras, source: Ministry of Pensions, France.

The final item to be illustrated in this section is the use of stamps for propaganda, such as that used by the Souvenez-vous Organisation, to bring to the attention of the French public the perceived horrors perpetuated by the Germans (figure 107). In addition, several ‘cinderella’ stamps were circulated which were relevant to the war and the effects upon the troops and two examples are included in figure 108.



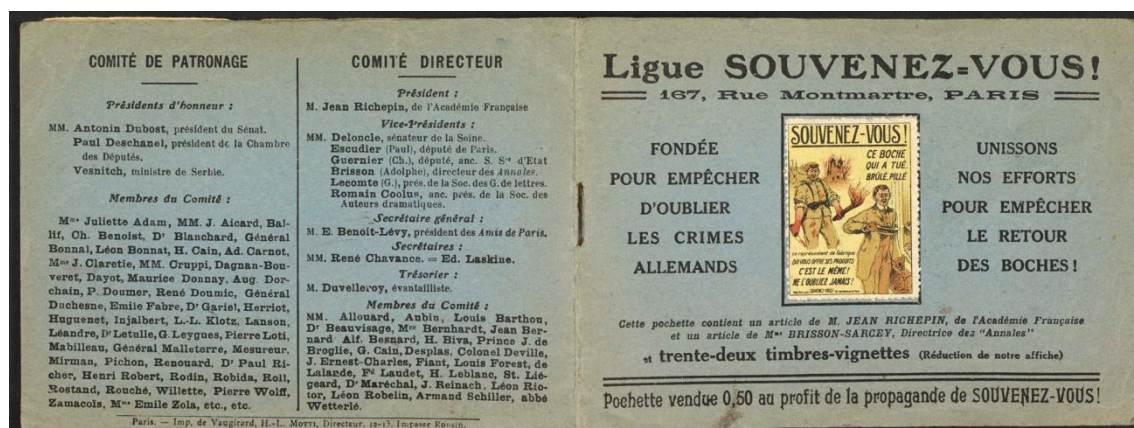


Figure 107. This ensemble, which includes a booklet, a postcard and a collection of stamps, was created during the First World War by the league *Souvenez-vous* (French for ‘remember’) based in Paris. The postcard and the stamps show a German soldier holding a bloody knife and a torch with the cathedral of Reims burning in the background. On the right, the same man is represented as a respectable seller. The booklet explains the goals of the league, perpetuates the memory of German crimes after the war, and lists the league’s more prominent members.¹⁴⁴



Figure 108. “See you soon” and “Think about our wounded”, issued by the French Red Cross and the French Women’s Union.

Chapter 4 clearly shows that France capitalised upon the use of postage stamps for remembrance of the First World War. In particular, she has not failed to commemorate the Battle of Verdun and the Frenchmen who died defending their country in this protracted and horrific event. Above all she has remembered and paid tribute to the ordinary soldiers and officers who sacrificed so much. While World War 2 brought new horrors and reasons for remembrance, France has not forgotten the trauma of the First World War, which has remained a poignant memory for the French people. Thus, French stamps have had a wide scope and have commemorated battles and individual heroes and have helped raise funds for war memorials. Even mundane subjects such as postal delivery have kept the memory of the war in the public

¹⁴⁴ Remember, www.bl.uk/collections accessed 14/1/2019

consciousness of France. The ubiquitous travels of postage stamps and cinderella stamps have encouraged organisations to spread their war-related messages in France as can be seen in the two examples given in figures 107 and 108.

Overall, Chapters 2 to 4 have required a great deal of description to convey the large range of material used in stamp commemoration and have demonstrated that there has been a widespread use of stamps for the commemoration of the First World War. Analysis of the findings indicates that France, in particular, has led the way in demonstrating that stamps can be used for this purpose and be aesthetically pleasing, practical and yet carry an important message. The important battles of Verdun, Vimy Ridge and the Marne have all been remembered and in particular the subsequent anniversaries of the Battle of Verdun. Canada and France have also demonstrated the importance of the Vimy Ridge battle to both countries by their joint stamp issues. Not only have both Australia and France recognised, by stamp issues, the valuable input by their generals, such as Joffre and Monash, but also each has commemorated the sacrifices made by their common soldiers both Anzac and *Poilu* – ‘the hairy ones’. The stamps of both countries reflect the war memorials built to remember those airmen, soldiers and sailors who served and those who gave their lives for their respective countries. Individual soldiers and airmen, who carried out conspicuous acts of bravery, such as Simpson of Australia and Georges Guynemer and Emile Driant of France, are not forgotten and are remembered by stamps acknowledging their individual contributions. Australia’s final relevant stamp issue of the century, ‘The Last of the Anzacs’, pays tribute also to those who were ordinary Anzac soldiers and who were the last survivors of the Gallipoli campaign. However, it is only in recent years, that it has been deemed fit to represent living people on postage stamps, other than Kings and Queens and Heads of State. Presumably more living heroes would have been remembered in this way in past years should this convention not have been in place.

A mixed picture is revealed by the study of the British colonies and Dominions, other than New Zealand, Canada and Newfoundland. There were colonies such as Trinidad and Tobago and Barbados whose people felt it important to remember the war by means of their postage stamps and reflect also upon the memorials they had installed in remembrance of their fallen. However, in terms of Jamaica with their stamps only portraying the departure and return of their troops to and from the war, these stamps concealed darker facts. These ranged from the absurdity that the soldiers had to pay for their own transport to England and once there, the volunteer soldiers’ treatment was far from acceptable.

Chapters 2 to 4 have been directed towards seeking data to answer the research question: What was the scope and extent of postage stamp use for the commemoration and remembrance of the Great War and in the subsequent peace between 1910 and 2000? Examining information gathered from the study of stamps produced by New Zealand and British Dominions and colonies along with France, the following postulates are supported.

Remembrance stamps were produced within two years following the armistice. Subsequently, there has been a steady increase in the frequency and range of such stamps over the study

period. Further, the scope of the subjects used in war commemoration is very wide and includes specific battle commemoration, war memorials, distinguished war generals and outstanding individuals and homage to ordinary soldiers, soldier poets and war medals. During this study period not all Empire countries produced war commemorative stamps. In particular, the United Kingdom, many African and Asian colonies and some dominions did not utilise this method of remembrance.

It is concluded that war commemoration stamp use was a feature of the postal systems of New Zealand, Australia and Canada, which produced a small but steady output of stamps. Their frequency increased with time with a greater range of topics but the stamp numbers per issue tended to be only one or two, but major exceptions to this rule were the New Zealand's Victory issue, the Newfoundland and Barbados early commemoratives.

Chapter 5. The Great War Commemoration: the Pattern of Post-Millennium Stamp Issues

War's grim record inscribes itself in
many strange and unexpected
quarters, but nowhere more
prominently than upon the postal
issues of the nations concerned.
Douglas Armstrong, 1914.¹⁴⁵

The theme of Chapters 5 relates to addressing three major objectives. The first of these aims concerns general and commemorative stamp production in the early part of the 21st century. The New Zealand output of stamps will be used, as a general example, to illustrate and closely examine the trends in stamp production during this period. The subsequent parts will illustrate and record the equivalent changes in Commonwealth countries and in France. Finally, an analysis will be made of the rationale and *raison d'être* behind the production of war commemoration stamps during this period.

Trends in New Zealand

The total production of all new issues in New Zealand between the years 1914 and 2000 was 1,446 giving an average of 16 per year. For the period from 2001 and 2018 inclusive, 1,333 new issues were released with the average being 78 per year.¹⁴⁶ The New Zealand Post annual reports over the last ten years have expressed concern at the rapid decline in letter postage over this period, after a peak in 2008 of one billion letters handled that year. The decline has been at the rate of 12% per year with a current, 2018 figure, of 454 million letters as is outlined in Table 1.¹⁴⁷ At this point in 2018, New Zealand Post issued 86 new stamps and 16 miniature sheets at a time when the letter handling rates were at their lowest for over fifty years. The reasons for this will be discussed in Chapter 6.

If the issues that are relevant to the First World War commemoration are looked at specifically, then a similar pattern emerges. For the period 1914-2000, a mean of 0.2 of a stamp was produced per year, while the 2000-2018 figure was 6 stamps per year. The actual release topics and numbers for both periods are listed in Tables 2 and 3 respectively.

¹⁴⁵ Douglas Armstrong, *Postage stamps of war (1854-1914)*, London: Holloway Press, 1914: 1.

¹⁴⁶ *The Len Jury New Zealand Stamp Catalogue*, 49th edition, New Plymouth: The Philatelic Distributors Ltd., 2019.

¹⁴⁷ New Zealand Post annual results – impacted by continual letter decline.

<https://www.nzpost.co.nz/about-us/media-centre/media-release/nz-post-annual-results-impacted-by-continual-letter-decline> accessed 17/1/2019

Table 1. Yearly volume of letter mail handled by New Zealand Post, 1894-2018.¹⁴⁸

Year	Letter volumes in millions
1894	53.16
1900	68
1920	161
1930	260
1940	288
1950	344
1960	464
1964	534
1996	561
2008	1,000
2018	454

¹⁴⁸ "Mail Services", *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, ed. A.H. McLintock, 1966. NZ Post annual results – impacted by continual letter decline.
<https://www.nzpost.co.nz/about-us/media-centre/media-release/nz-post-annual-results-impacted-by-continual-letter-decline> accessed 15/3/2019.

Table 2. New Zealand's First World War relevant stamp issues: 2014-2000.¹⁴⁹

Year	Number of stamps issued
1916 War Tax stamp	1
1920 Victory issue	7
1936 Anzac	2
1965 Anzac	2
1969 Dr. Gunn	1
1984 France 1917: Engineer (Military)	1
1990 General Freyberg (Achievers, First World War and Second World War)	1
1998 Gallipoli and Turkey	2
	Total: 17
	0.2 stamps/year

¹⁴⁹ *The Len Jury New Zealand Stamp Catalogue*, 49th edition, New Plymouth: Philatelic Distributors, 2019

Table 3. New Zealand's First World War relevant stamp issues: 2000-2018.¹⁵⁰

Year issued	Number of stamps
2003 Military Uniforms Staff Officer, Petty Officer, Infantry, Engineer, Matron, WAAC .	6
2005 One hundred and fifty years of postage stamps 1965 Anzac stamp	1
2008 Anzac 1: Stories of Nationhood	6
2009 Anzac 2: Comrades in Arms	6
2010 Anzac 3: Remembrance	6
2011 Victoria Cross: series of 22 stamps (11 Great War awards)	11
2013 Anzacs: serving abroad	6
2014 For King and Empire	10
2015 Spirit of Anzac	10
2015 Anzac: Joint issue with Australia	2
2016 Anzac: Courage and commitment	10
2016 RSA: 100 years of service	6
2017 The darkest hour	10
2018 Armistice	5
2018 Back from the brink	10
	Total: 105
	6 stamps/year

¹⁵⁰ *The Len Jury New Zealand Stamp Catalogue*, 49th edition, New Plymouth: Philatelic Distributors, 2019.

Not only has the number of commemorative stamps increased, but the scope of the First World War commemoration has widened and expanded, as the time of the centenary of the First World War approached, and this appears to have acted as a pivotal factor in this change. There were two stamps produced for the commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the Anzacs, while for the centenary, 46 stamps have been issued. Table 3 shows that these stamps have been produced over several years prior to the actual centenary period. In view of the large number of stamps, only an example of each relevant year is shown in figure 109. The Anzac issue has expanded even further by the issue of a stamp celebrating the 150 years of New Zealand stamps and showing the 1965 Anzac stamp within a stamp. While the numbers and scope have changed it could be argued that the visual and emotional impact has improved by the use of modern printing techniques and photogravature methods. This in turn, makes it easier to produce larger numbers of stamps per set when desired.



Figure109. Stamp examples from 2008 series (Stories of Nationhood), 2009 series (Comrades in Arms), 2010 series (Remembrance) and 2005 series (One Hundred Years of New Zealand Stamps).

It is not practical to analyse all the new issues produced since 2000; however, certain new topics are of special interest. A series of twenty-two stamps was issued in 2011 to celebrate the New Zealand holders of the Victoria Cross. Eleven of the stamps relate to New Zealanders who were awarded the medal for their acts of valour during the First World War, the greatest number of Victoria Crosses ever awarded in a war (figure 110). The background to the achievements of these brave men is well documented elsewhere.¹⁵¹

The six-stamp series commemorating the Returned and Services Association is directly related to the First World War commemoration, as the organisation was founded during the war as the Returned Soldiers Association. It has continued ever since to support returned soldiers and all other service personnel. Further, it has been through the efforts and interest of the organisation that the original Anzac stamps of 1935 and 1965 came about (see Chapter 2 and figure 111).

New Zealand Post has broken new ground with the issues relating to the centenary of each year of the War, and in these new areas, the wider aspects and consequences of the conflict have been commemorated and remembered for the first time. A 2003 stamp illustrates the military uniforms used by a range of participants from sailors to nurses during the First World War. Among these wider aspects are included: the home front, the armistice, the influenza epidemic, the role of aircraft in the war and an example of one individual soldier's plight. Figures 112 and 113 portray these aspects in minisheets labelled 'The Darkest Hour' and 'Back from the Brink' representing the years 1917 and 1918. Finally, it is appropriate to include New Zealand's final issue relating to the War, namely the Armistice of 1918, a topic discussed and illustrated earlier (see Chapter 2), and now illustrated in figure 114.

The conclusion that can be drawn from this section of Chapter 5 is that New Zealand has produced a vast output of stamps in the 21st century that have a direct relationship to the remembrance and commemoration of the First World War. The 105 stamps produced since the year 2000 is in very marked contrast to the 17 produced in the prior 86 years. It would be hard to criticise, however, the design, quality and relevance of these new stamps to the memory of the war, the fallen and its major consequences at home and abroad.

¹⁵¹ Glyn Harper and Colin Richardson, *Acts of Valour*, Auckland: HarperCollins Publishers, 2016.

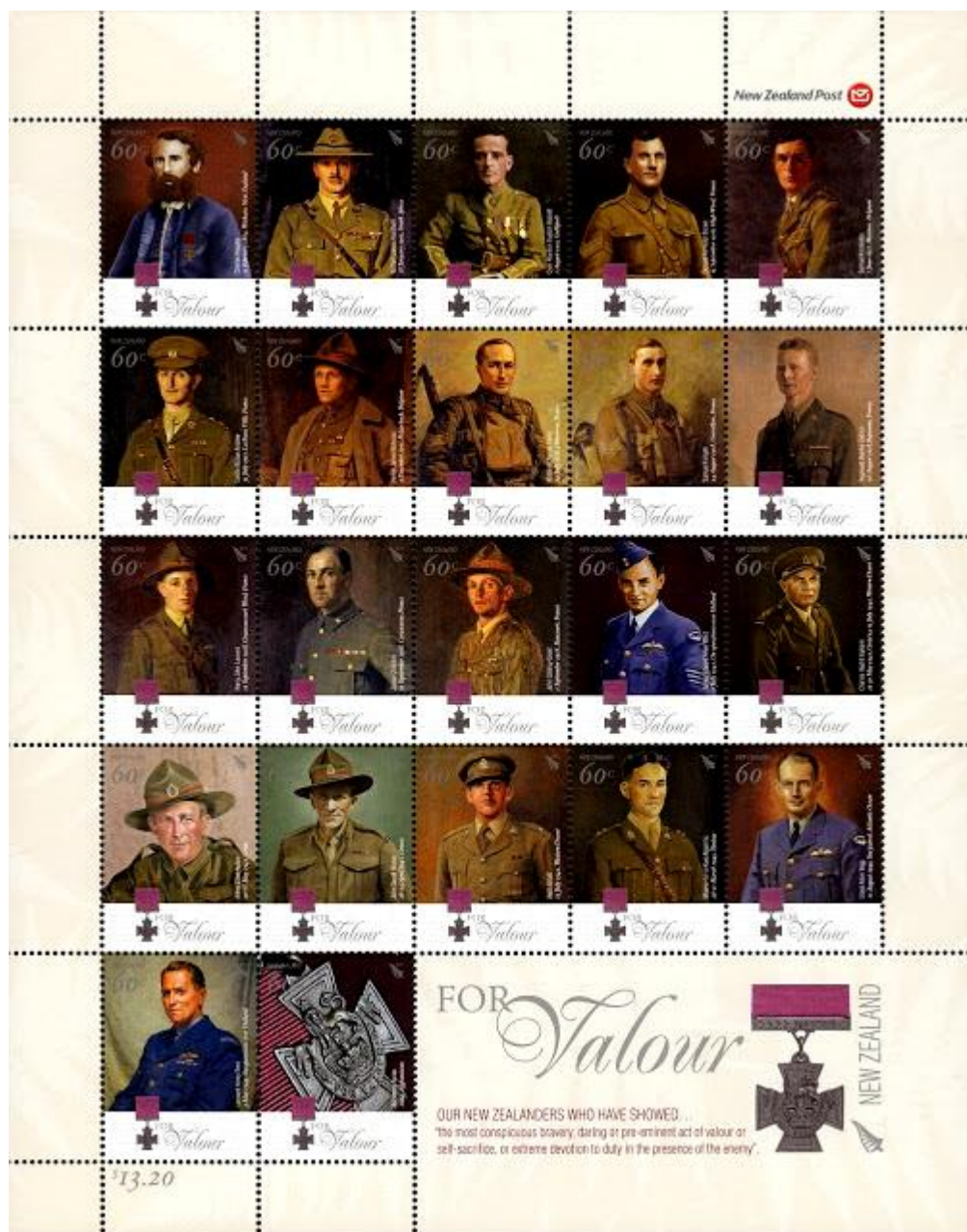


Figure 110. The postage stamps celebrating the 22 New Zealand winners of the Victoria Cross, including the 11 won during the First World War, and issued in 2011. The only living holder's photograph was not included for security reasons.



Figure 111. The Returned and Services Organisation: 100 years of service, 2016.

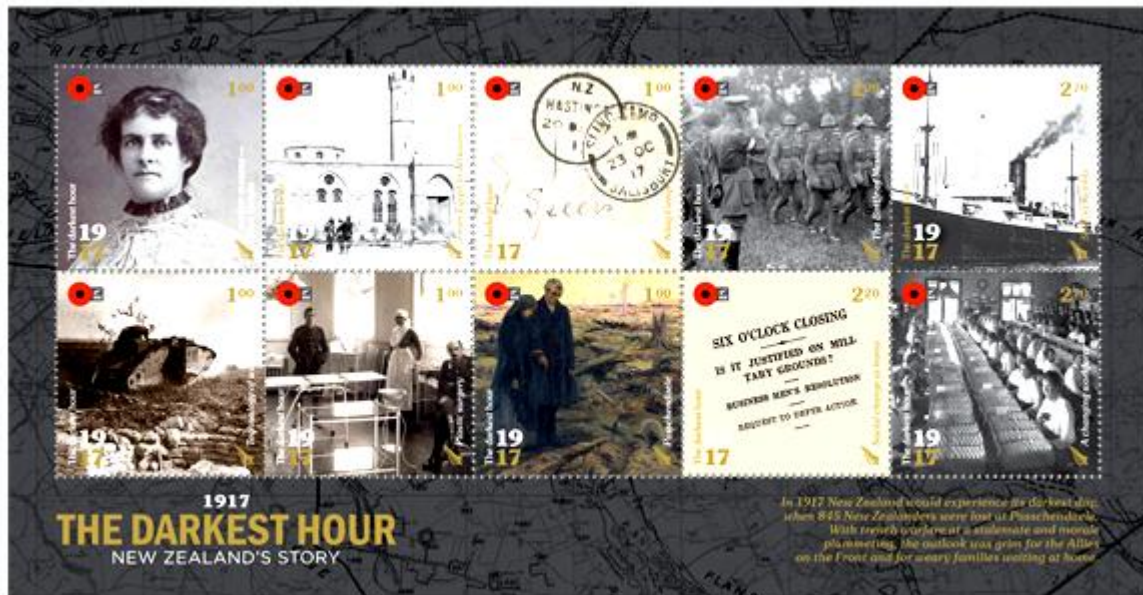


Figure 112. Miniature sheet 2017, entitled 'The Darkest Hour' at home and abroad. By 1917, soldiers and loved ones had begun to lose faith in the ongoing war. Those on the Western Front were living in cold, wet trenches, and those at home were doing what they could to keep the home fires burning. New Zealand would experience the deadliest day in its military history when 845 lives were lost in the Belgian town of Passchendaele.¹⁵²

¹⁵² The Darkest Hour, <http://virtualnewzealandstamps.blogspot.com/2017/04/2017-darkest-hour-1917.html> accessed 21/1/2019

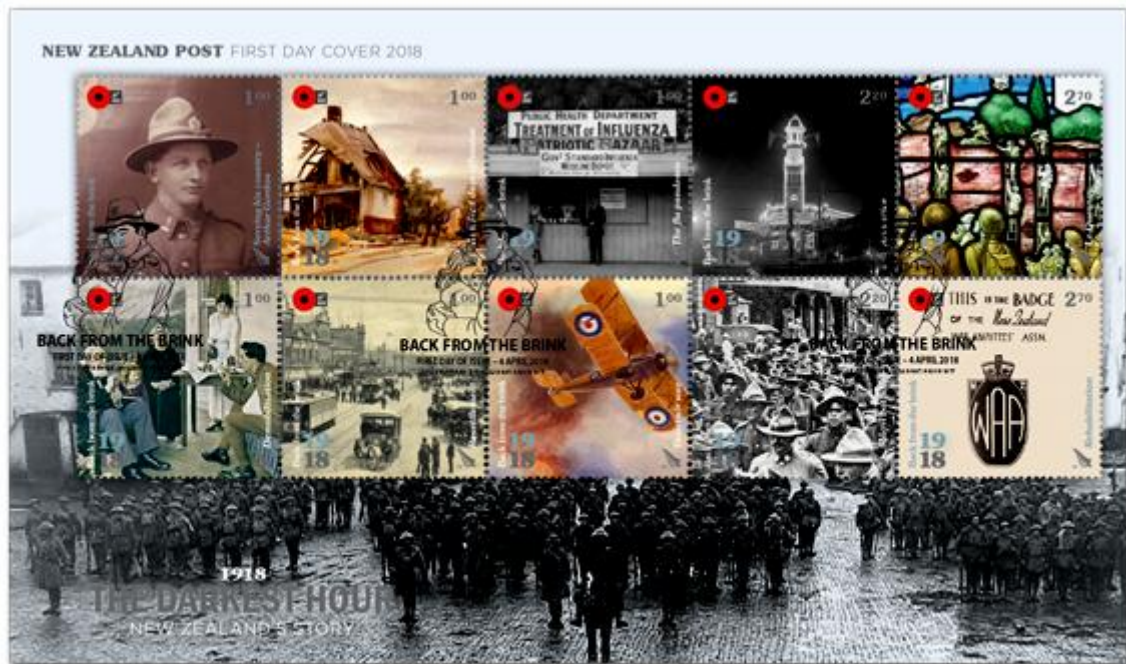


Figure 113. Miniature stamp sheet, 2018, of the 'New Zealand Story' of 1918 'Back from the Brink'. Photograph of New Zealand soldiers on parade at Le Quesnoy, 1918, and photograph of Arthur Gordon 'serving his country'. Stained glass window of New Zealand troops mounting the walls of Le Quesnoy, 1918.¹⁵³

¹⁵³ The stained glass window is inaccurate as only one ladder was used (see figure 2)



Figure 114. 2018 stamps celebrating the Armistice of 1918 and remembering the Air Force, Medical Services, Army, Navy and the over-riding Poppy of remembrance.

The Commonwealth's Commemoration Output

United Kingdom

In Chapter 3 it was pointed out that the United Kingdom postal services had, by the end of the 20th century, neither issued stamps to commemorate the events of the First World War nor to remember those who had served in the forces or on the home front. However, there was a change in policy by the years 2006 to 2008 when a single remembrance stamp was issued on each year under the title 'Lest we forget' (figure 115). Each stamp depicted a poppy and was

issued prior to Remembrance Day on the 11 November. The 2006 stamp was to recall the Somme Battles, the 2007 to recall Passchendaele and the 2008 the final Armistice.



Figure 115. ‘Lest we forget’, 2006, 2007 and 2008 stamps from the Royal Mail, United Kingdom. Poppies depicted on a stem of barbed wire, soldiers on the battle field and the faces of soldiers superimposed on the poppy.

To base the first British First World War remembrance stamps on the poppy is a fairly obvious choice. The poppy became the symbol of remembrance following the publishing of John McCrae’s poem (discussed in Chapter 2). The poppy symbol was then developed by Moina Michael in the United States as a way of honouring the war dead. Anne Guerin in France conceived the idea of making artificial poppies and selling them to raise money for France’s victims of the War. The concept soon spread to Britain, Canada, Australia and New Zealand and became an established remembrance symbol.¹⁵⁴

With the approach of the centenary of the First World War, the Royal Mail announced their plan to commemorate the occasion by issuing six stamps per year over the five year period (2014-2018), thus making a total of thirty stamps. The Royal Mail stated further that they had consulted the Imperial War Museum, the Armed Forces and the British Legion with regard to the format, design and content of the proposed issues. Six themes had been decided upon viz. poppies, poetry, participation, war art, memorials and artefacts related to the War. An example of each of these topics would be produced each year.¹⁵⁵

The British Government appointed Helen Gould, an MP, as ‘Minister for World War 1 Celebration’ (sic). In this role she made this statement about the Royal Mail: “It has a long and distinguished history of recording special events and anniversaries with commemorative stamps”. Speaking as Minister for War Commemoration her statement does not hold true for the First World War commemoration and appears somewhat bizarre in the circumstances.³

At first sight, the production of six stamps about the First World War in 2014 may seem generous; however, this must be placed in context as the reality is that the British Royal Mail released over 100 new stamps that year. Indeed, by 2018, the annual total had risen to 182 new issues, hence 30 stamps for the war commemoration does not give it a particularly high profile

¹⁵⁴ Erin Blakemore, “How the poppy came to symbolize World War 1”, *The Smithsonian Magazine*, 20 October, 2016.

¹⁵⁵ Minister for War Commemoration www.bbc/news/UK-26612018 accessed 24/1/2019.

when compared to the 600 stamps released during this period.¹⁵⁶ Further, it is illuminating to compare the six annual stamps for war remembrance with the stamp numbers of examples of other named series in each year:

2014: 12 stamps for children's television characters

2015: 10 stamps for Alice in Wonderland

2016: 10 stamps for Pink Floyd

2017; 10 stamps for David Bowie

2018: 8 stamps for Dad's Army.

The Crown Dependency territories of Jersey, Guernsey and the Isle of Man also published stamps for the centenary, each issuing 30 stamps, making a further 90 stamps in total. It should be noted that none of these territories had ever commemorated aspects of the First World War in stamps previously.

The sheer number of British stamps for the First World War remembrance series makes it impossible, in this dissertation, to analyse each one individually. If an individual were to purchase a mint copy of the remembrance stamps for these years, the total would amount to over £ 150 (circa NZ\$ 310). Figure 116, however, is a visual presentation of the series and thus shows the examples of the regular themes of the war commemoration stamps. There is one stamp particularly worthy of mention and this features Private W. C. Tickle who was killed on the 3rd July, 1916 at the Somme. He was accepted by 9 Battalion, Essex Regiment in 1914 when just 15 years of age and died aged 17 in the first Battle of the Somme. He is remembered on the Thiepval Memorial in France which commemorates soldiers killed at the Somme with no known grave.

In the same year as the Royal Mail released its first Remembrance stamp in 2006, one other series that had relevance to the First World War was issued. This comprised of six stamps celebrating six individuals who had been awarded the Victoria Cross and included John Cornwall and Noel Chevasse who earned their Victoria Crosses during the First World War.¹⁵⁷



¹⁵⁶ Hugh Jeffries, *Collect British stamps*, London: Stanley Gibbons Ltd., 2019.

¹⁵⁷ John Percival, *For valour: the Victoria Cross, courage in action*. London: Thames Methuen, 1986: 55.

2014: The first issue includes an excerpt from the poem *For the Fallen* by Lawrence Binyon; a portrait of Private William Tickle, who enlisted at the age of 15, one month after the start of the war. There is also an image of the Princess Mary Gift Box, sent to all Servicemen for Christmas 1914 and delivered by the postal service.



2015: Rifleman Kulbir Thapa, Cape Hellas, Gallipoli, The Kensingtons at Laventié, Irish Rifles Football.



2016: Munitions worker, Thiepval Memorial at the Somme and Battle of Jutland medal.



2017: Nurses, dry dock and Tyne Cot Cemetery, Belgium and life saving bible.



Figure116. 2018: Poppy, poem, making a new world, Lieutenant Tull, grave of the Unknown Soldier and airman's goggles.

Canada

In Chapter 3 it was reported that the Canadian postal authorities remembered the First World War events, memorials and people regularly with Canadian postage stamps prior to the year 2000. On each occasion only one or two stamps were released per event. However, by the onset of the 21st century there had been a steady increase overall in the total number of stamps issued per year and an increase in the number of stamps per set. By 2016, the annual total number of new stamps rose to 67 in that specific year, but this did not match the prolific number produced by Great Britain.

The first relevant stamp released by Canada in the new millennium commemorated the 75th anniversary of the final formation of the Royal Canadian Legion (1924-2001). The new stamp is displayed in figure 117; however, the role of the Legion has been outlined earlier in Chapter 3.



Figure 117. Stamp for the 75th Anniversary of the Royal Canadian Legion, 2001.

In 2004, a new theme was introduced to Canadian stamp issues in remembrance of those brave Canadians who had been awarded the Victoria Cross (figure 118). Altogether, 85 Canadians have been awarded the Victoria Cross with 64 gaining this distinction in the First World War. In 1993, Canada established its own award for the Victoria Cross, but to date there have been no awards. The design of the Canadian medal matches the Imperial one but is slightly altered to accommodate Canada's bilingualism, in that "For Valour" is replaced by the Latin inscription "Pro Valore".¹⁵⁸



Figure 118. The original Victoria Cross design and the new Canadian version with approval signed by Queen Elizabeth, stamps issued in 2004.

¹⁵⁸ Ken Reynolds, *Pro Valore, Canada's Victoria Cross*, Ottawa: National Defence Publications, 2008. Government of Canada, www.canada.ca/en/departement-national-defence/ accessed 28/1/2019.

In 2005 a stamp was released on the occasion of the opening of the new home for the Canadian War Museum in Ottawa (figure 119). The building has been constructed with symbols for remembrance as it is Canada's museum of military history over the last 125 years. One gallery is devoted solely to portraying the trench warfare of 1915-18 in France and Belgium during the Great War.



Figure 119. Canadian War Museum – Lest we forget, 2005.

The 2009 remembrance stamp – ‘Lest we forget’ was a dedicated remembrance issue of some 6.45 million copies, being released just prior to the November Remembrance Day. It shows a close up of the figures in the National War Memorial in Ottawa (figure 120). Lionel Gadoury, the Creative Director of the National Memorial, has described the issue thus:

It conveys a strong sense of humanity, with people coming together from all walks of life and sacrificing for what they believe in. The sculptor, Vernon March, was very clear that it was not to be a monument to the glory of war, but to the commitment of Canada's soldiers. We sought to convey this message on the stamp. Standing together, the two figures shown speak to the camaraderie that is the very nature of peacekeeping efforts. And by focusing on their faces instead of their armour and uniforms (which are reminiscent of the First World War), the image transcends the ages, allowing the human character of the work to shine through. Their upward glances are forward-looking and express a sense of hope and of pride in a strong nation and belief in a peaceful future.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁹ Lest we forget, www.canadianpostagestamps.ca/stamps/17837/lest-we-forget-2009-canada-postage-stamp accessed 28/1/2019.



Figure 120. Canadian War Memorial figures – ‘Lest we forget’, 2009. Photograph of actual figures from the War Memorial base. They are two of the 22 bronze figures, representing the eleven branches of the Canadian forces engaged in the First World War, viewed from the front, modified photograph from Wikipedia.

To celebrate the centenary of John McCrae’s poem *In Flanders Field* a new postage stamp was issued by Canada Post bearing the date 3 May, 2015, one hundred years since the writing of the poem. Details of John McCrae’s life have been described previously in Chapter 3. This new stamp features a soldier, the poppy and the crosses in Flanders fields and was also sold in a mini-sheet which bore a reproduction of McCrae’s original poem in script (figure 121).

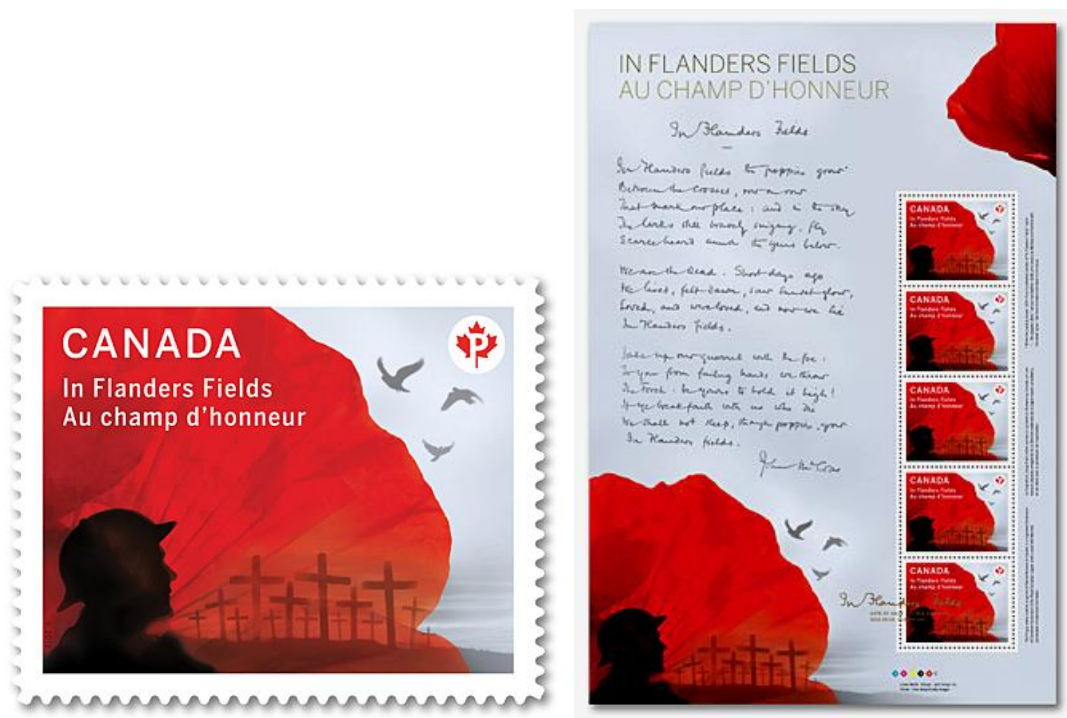


Figure 121. Centenary issue celebrating John McCrae and his poem “In Flanders Field”, 2015.

The centenary of the Battle of Vimy Ridge was marked in 2017 by stamp issues both by Canada and France as a complementary move to recognise the importance to France of the victory there in 1917. The background to this event has also been described in Chapter 3. In this more recent issue, the Canadian stamp concentrates on the twin pillars of the Vimy Ridge Monument that symbolise the two nations. On its part, the French stamp concentrates upon the poignant statue of a cloaked woman who represents “Canada bereft”, a country in mourning for its lost soldiers (figure 122).



Figure 122. The Canadian and French stamps remembering the centenary of Vimy Ridge battle, 2017.

Unlike New Zealand, Australia and the United Kingdom, Canada Post’s original annual announcement of its stamp programme for 2018 did not include any issue for remembrance of the 1918 armistice centenary. This was despite its prior issue for the 50th anniversary of this

event (see Chapter 3). A strong letter advocating for such a stamp was sent to the Chief executive of Canada Post by the President of the Ottawa Philatelic Society that included the following paragraph (see Appendix 2 for the complete letter).¹⁶⁰

Surely among all of the stamps to be issued in 2018 depicting sharks, bees, birds, sheep and flowers, there is a place to remember the sacrifice made by Canadians between 1914 and 1918.

It should be noted that the writer of the letter has raised the topic of the wide range of subjects of some of the prior stamp issues as has been mentioned in the discussion about British stamps earlier. The outcome of the letter was the release of a stamp by Canada Post to mark the centenary of the Armistice and the Ottawa Philatelic Society commented:

All our work has been rewarded. Canada Post announced the new Armistice stamp in August and was followed by an official invitation to the unveiling on October 24, 2018. Several of our members were able to attend this event.¹⁶¹

Canada Post's response was to simply state "that from time to time some topics are held back"! However, The Royal Canadian Legion described the situation as a "surprising and an inexcusable oversight".¹⁵⁹ However, the stamp when released was a striking offering. It depicts a dove suspended above barbed wire and includes a poppy image all of which symbolises the struggle for peace (the dove), the devastated landscape (as the return to peace in a devastated landscape) and the poppy for those who gave their lives (figure 123).¹⁶²

¹⁶⁰ Letter to Canada Post, Armistice 1918-2018, Ottawa Philatelic Society, www.ottawaphilatelicsociety.org/letters-regarding-armistice-1918-2018-stamp/ accessed 15/1/2019.

¹⁶¹ Ottawa Philatelic Club www.canadastampnews.com/armistice-stamp-coming-after-all-says-ottawa-club accessed 15/1/2019.

¹⁶² Canada Post https://www.canadapost.ca/web/en/blogs/collecting/details.page?article=2018/10/24/armistice_1918-2018&catttype=collecting&cat=stamps accessed 29/1/2019



Figure 123. The 2018 Armistice centenary issue.

Despite the hitch with the Armistice Day stamp, now renamed Remembrance Day (11th November), Canada has continued to commemorate the First World War with its postage stamps, but has not followed the example of other countries by producing a large number of stamps for each centenary year of the First World War. Canada Post has, however, steadily increased its overall production of stamps each year at a time when her postal system is under stress. As in other postal systems, Canada's letter post has fallen by over 40% from its peak in 2006 and continues to decline by 5% each year.¹⁶³ In light of Canada Post's rising stamp issuing rate, it is surprising that it took a campaign to encourage Canada Post to commemorate the Remembrance Day centenary.

Australia

Australia began to increase her output of stamp issues in the early 1990s and by the turn of the century there was even further expansion of new issues as well as an increased number of individual stamps in each issue. In 2005, for example, Australia Post released 108 new stamps for the year. However, in 2006, the year of the Melbourne Commonwealth Games, 104 individual and different stamps were issued for the Games alone. A new stamp was created for each Australian medal winner.¹⁶⁴ This occurred at a time when the volume of letter mail was declining rapidly. In 2008, Australia Post handled 5.2 billion letters and by 2017 this number had declined

¹⁶³ Even back to work, Canada Post is still plagued by deeper issues. www.theglobeandmail.com accessed 20/1/2019.

¹⁶⁴ Alan Pitt (ed.), *Stamps of Australia*, New South Wales: Rennik's Publications, 2006.

to 2.6 billion with an 11.8% decline between 2016 and 2107 alone.¹⁶⁵ Thus the same pattern emerges for Australia as it has for New Zealand, Canada and the United Kingdom, in that there is a rapid increase in stamp numbers and a steep decline in letter mail volumes.

It is of relevance to this study to detect whether there has been a change in the First World War commemoration through stamps, in tune with this massive increase in new stamp issues overall. Between 2001 and 2013, Australia Post issued 1,442 new stamps of which three sets could be regarded as having relevance to the First World War commemoration. Among this vast output of new issues, there was included Dame Edna Everage who was celebrated with five stamps and each of the signs of the Zodiac was well represented.¹⁶⁶

The 2008 stamp release does fit well with the theme of commemoration as it not only remembers the fallen and those who served, but also the effects of war on families and the younger generation (figure 124). Each stamp carries 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. However, the immediately prior stamp issue heralded rugby league players and consisted of 12 stamps. Hopefully these set numbers did not reflect Australia Post's priorities but their sale prospects.



Figure 124. 2008 Anzac Stamps featuring a verse of the Laurence Binyon poem.

¹⁶⁵ Australia Post Annual Report, page 14.

https://auspost.com.au/content/dam/auspost_corp/media/documents/Annual-Report-2017.pdf accessed 13/2/2019

¹⁶⁶ Universal Postal Union stamp registration

http://www.wnsstamps.post/en/stamps?search%5Bauthority_id%5D=7&search%5Byear%5D=2017 accessed 13/2/2019.

There was a further commemorative issue of two stamps in 2011. The release date was intended for 11/11/2011 to correspond to Remembrance Day (formerly Armistice Day). Figure 125 shows the stamps which contain extracts from John McCrae's poem, *Flanders Fields*.



Figure 125. 2011 Remembrance Day stamps showing poppies, soldiers and extracts from *In Flanders Fields*.

In addition, in 2010 a private, but legitimate, combination stamp was released to mark the 'Lost Soldiers of Fromelles'. This was achieved by combining a stamp which was purpose designed and labelled 'special occasion stamp', by Australia Post, and combined with a specially printed envelope (figure 126).

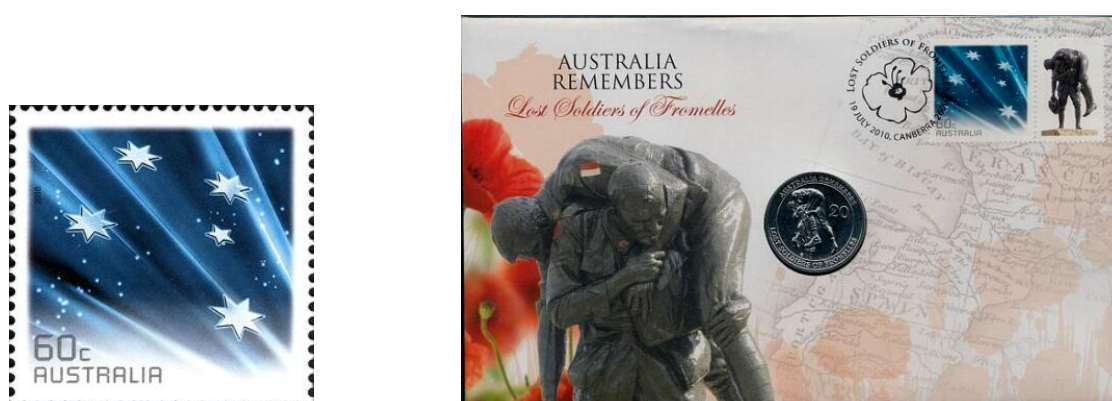


Figure 126. Special occasion stamp (2010) combined with envelope to remember the 'Lost Soldiers of Fromelles'.

The production of this commemoration envelope and purpose-made stamp combination, suggests that there was recognition by the public that this important event in Australian military history should have been remembered and should have been appreciated, by Australia Post, and that a dedicated stamp issue was necessary. It does seem ironic that on the very day the Fromelles envelopes were released, Australia Post issued a non-specific stamp for 'special occasions' and different from the one used in figure 126. Was such a remembrance stamp justified? The Battle of Fromelles took place on 19-20 July, 1916, and is still known as "the worst 24 hours in Australian history," as 5,533 Australian soldiers lost their lives in the battle.¹⁶⁷ Most of the men were reinterred after the war, but in 2006, the remains of two hundred and fifty soldiers were discovered in unmarked graves near Fromelles. In 2009, a specialist DNA team began to work with the Australian and British governments, as well as the Commonwealth War

¹⁶⁷ Sir John Monash Centre, <https://sjmc.gov.au/fromelles-australias-worst-24-hours> accessed 21/3/2019.

Graves Commission, to help identify nine of these soldiers. It could be argued that this was a more important event than a bronze medal in the Commonwealth Games and well justifies a commemorative stamp in its own right.¹⁶⁸ However, pressure must have been brought to Australia Post as later in 2018, a single stamp was produced to recognise the centenary of the Battle of Fromelles.

Australia Post issued five stamps per year for five years in order to commemorate the First World War from 2014-2018. This raises the question as to how one can condense four years of conflict into 25 postage stamps. Australia Post established 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 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 stated 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.

The Director of the War memorial, Dr. Brendan Nelson, described the stamps as "a brilliant visual representation of Australia's involvement in the First World War, but more importantly, each tells a significant story that we can learn from and be proud of".¹⁶⁹

The large number of stamps in this series prevents a discussion of each individual stamp per se, but figure 127 displays the overall five year series. In 2017, a separate stamp series was issued covering the contribution of women, in particular nurses, to the war effort. The stamp illustrated in figure 128 is the one of the series remembering the women of the First World War.

¹⁶⁸ Sir John Monash Centre, <https://sjmc.gov.au/fromelles-australias-worst-24-hours> accessed 15/2/2019. C.E.W. Bean, *The Australian Imperial Force in France, 1916: the official history of Australia in the war of 1914–1918*, vol. 3, Canberra: Australian War Memorial, 1941, [chapter 12](#) and [chapter 13](#). 2019 stamp issues, http://www.wnsstamps.post/en/stamps?page=10&search%5Bauthority_id%5D=7&search%5Border_by%5D=asc&search%5Byear%5D=2010 accessed 15/2/2019.

¹⁶⁹ Dan Jervis-Bardy, "Beyond Gallipoli: memories of WW1 come alive in new stamp series", Canberra: *The Canberra Times*, 2018, September 29. Australia Post announces five year First World War Centenary stamp series, <https://www.centenarynews.com/article?id=1633> accessed 15/2/2019.



2014: War declaration, volunteers, training and departure.



2015: Gallipoli landings and battles.



2016: The Somme, conscription, Western Front, Nursing, looking homeward.



2017: Ypres, Palestine, air warfare, and war correspondent.



Figure 127. 2018: General Monash, the last 100 days, armistice, return home and remembrance.



Figure 128. October, 1917, centenary of women at war.

There is a strikingly different pattern observed in the United Kingdom, Australia, and to a lesser degree, in Canada, with regard to their postage stamp production in the years preceding the centenary of the First World War and after the late 1990s. The volume of stamps produced per year was enormous compared to the twentieth century output overall. It is acknowledged that modern printing methods make stamp production easier and faster and thus permit a greater diversity in subject matter. The contradiction, however, is in the fact that all postal systems observed are experiencing a rapid downturn in the volume of letters posted and thus the requirement for postage stamps overall is diminished. This does not take into account the use of pre-cancellation machines and the newer bulk mail systems which do not need postage stamps on their envelopes. In contrast to the vast output of new stamps for important commemorations and a mass of popular culture subjects, the output of stamps for the First World War commemoration is very modest during the period 2000 to 2013. The United Kingdom and Australia produced 30 and 20 stamps respectively, for the centenary of the 1914-18 war. However, this output is dwarfed by the output of new stamps from Australia for the Commonwealth Games of 2016. Canada Post, on the other hand, has experienced a similar downturn in letter volumes, but has not followed the pattern of an abundance of stamps for each year of the centenary of the First World War. Paradoxically, as outlined above, Canada Post has seemed reluctant to even issue a stamp for the centenary of the Armistice until they were pushed by popular demand.

To widen the range of information on this topic, the next section will examine the pattern followed by a non-Commonwealth country, France, with regard to her postal system's approach to the war centenary. France, being a country overwhelmed by its partial occupation, military and civilian losses during the war and its subsequent social and financial problems in the years afterwards, provides an important perspective.

France

In Chapter 4 it was observed that prior to the year 2000, France had produced a steady output of appropriate memorial stamps following the armistice of 1918. In particular, the Battle of Verdun was always commemorated regularly. This section now looks at the stamp events in France after 2000, prior to and during the centenary of the First World War, to expand information further in addressing the third research question.

La Poste, the French postal authority, followed the commercial trend of all the nations studied so far, with a marked downturn in letter mail volumes of 6% in 2018 and at a similar rate for the previous five years.¹⁷⁰ This was associated with an escalation of new postage stamp issues, as exemplified by the release of 210 stamps in 2014 alone.¹⁷¹

There was an advanced release of a stamp in 1998 to herald the forthcoming 1914-1918 war centenary (figure 129). This stamp reflects that people from more than 100 states participated in the conflict, making it a truly global affair. Many of these were non-colonial countries and they ranged from Costa Rica to Thailand, all making a varying commitment to the war effort. France issued a further memorial stamp, in 2006, to those who died at Verdun in 1916, a de facto 90 year anniversary stamp (figure 130). It features Douaumont Ossuary (*Ossuaire*) where the remains of 130,000 unknown soldiers of France and Germany are interred. The final issue prior to the actual war centenary stamps is one commemorating the 90th anniversary of the armistice in 2008 (figure 131). This seems a slightly unusual anniversary to mark, in view of the pending centenary, but is well in keeping with France's pattern of regularly remembering the important war events.

¹⁷⁰ La Poste, <https://www.thelocal.fr/20180727/france-puts-up-stamp-prices-to-keep-dwindling-postal-service-alive> mail volumes down 6%/ year for 5 years. Accessed 12/2/2019.

¹⁷¹ French stamps for 2014, http://www.wnsstamps.post/en/stamps?search%5Bauthority_id%5D=43&search%5Byear%5D=2014 accessed 17/2/2019.



Figure 129. First World War centenary issue, 1998, with flag fragments of participating nations.



Figure 130. 2006 stamp for Verdun, the Douaumont Ossuary, and photograph: Wikipedia

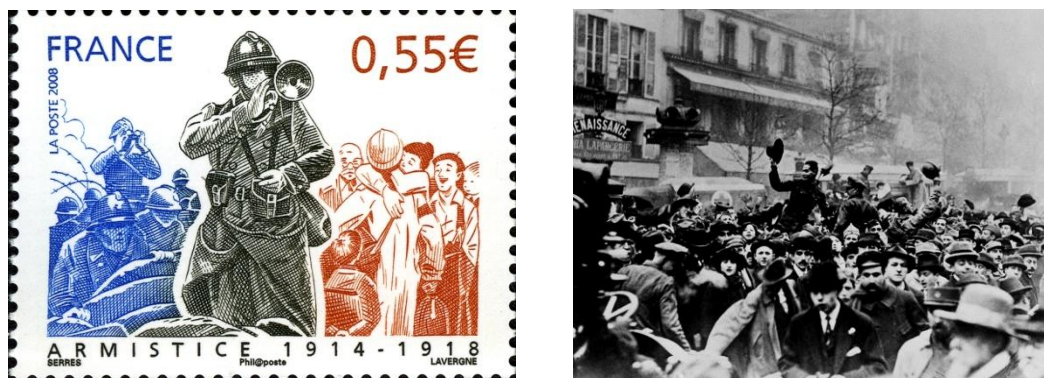


Figure 131. 2008, 90th anniversary of the armistice of 1918. Armistice Day on the Grand Boulevard, Paris, 11/11/1918.¹⁷²

Unlike New Zealand, Australia and the United Kingdom, France did not follow a themed approach to the war centenary commemoration in her stamp issues. The approach of La Poste

¹⁷² A.P. photo, <https://bloximages.chicago2.vip.townnews.com/journalstar.com/content/tncms/assets/v3/editorial/7/1b/71be192a-5e71-5d02-810c-0a69e5f6706b/5be6e8a6d5dd9.image.jpg>? Accessed 20/2/2019.

appears to be a more historical one, issuing a stamp or stamps for important occasions as they arose sequentially and producing some fifteen selected topics or events for stamp commemoration. Some of these events and people have been discussed previously and hence these stamps will be illustrated only. The first centenary stamp to be released was the 2014 one that recalls the mobilisation of the population for war service (figure 132). Between the 2 and 18 August, 1914, the French Army mobilised some three million men. The army had followed a system of conscription, with all men aged 21 years or older, serving three years in military service. The French army was, therefore, not a wholly professional force at this time, unlike the British Army. It is of relevance that two hours after French mobilisation, Germany followed suit.



Figure 132. General mobilisation in France, 2 August, 1914, stamp issued in 2014, and mobilisation poster of 1914.¹⁷³

One other relevant stamp was issued in 2014 and this commemorated the Battle of the Marne, which has been discussed earlier and one of these stamps again takes up the theme of the taxi transport to the war front (figure 133).

¹⁷³ 1914, *Armée de Terre et Armée de Mer. Ordre de Mobilisation Générale*. France, 1914. [Paris: Imp. Nationale] [Photograph] Retrieved from the Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/item/99613747/>. Accessed 18/2/2019.



Figure 133. The centenary issue for the Battle of the Marne, September, 1914.

Following the invasion of Belgium by the German forces, the Belgian government moved to France and formed a government in exile under Charles de Broqueville and it was located in Le Havre. However, the government only controlled a small strip of Belgian territory behind the Yser front (figure 134). The stamps show the cabinet members and where they were based in Le Havre.



Figure 134. French stamp of 2015 commemorating the Belgian government in exile. Photograph by M-R. Thielemans appears to be the source of the stamp illustration for the cabinet group. The post card of St. Adresse is from Wikipedia.

As the First Worldf War developed it was apparent that acts of bravery were not being recognised by the award of military medals. On the 2 April, 1915 the Croix de Guerre was

established by the French parliament after much debate. Different grades of valour are recognised, the highest being a bronze palm on the cross's ribbon. The centenary of the award was recognised by a postage stamp in 2015, showing the medal (figure 135).



Figure 135. Croix de Guerre centenary, 2015; medal photograph: Les Archives du Pas-de-Calais.

The final war issue of 2015 was a stamp for the remembrance of Le Hartmannwillerkopf (Au Vieil Armand) national monument and what it stands for. This memorial commemorates the 30,000 men who died in the trench warfare that lasted eleven months, in the defence of this area in the Vosges Mountains and a gateway to the rest of France from Alsace. Following these battles the front here stabilised as the Western front became the main focus of the fighting (figure 136). The monument grounds also included the extensive trench system that is still well preserved in this area.



Figure 136. 2015 issue for the Hartmannwillerkopf memorial, photographs: Wikipedia.

Between 2016 and 2018, five stamps were issued covering the Battles of Verdun, Somme, Vimy Ridge and the Chemin de Dames and these are illustrated in figures (137, 138, 140).

2016



Figure 137. Battle of the Somme, 1916, French and British contributions.



Figure 138. Battle of Verdun, centenary issue, 2016.



Figure 139. Veterans and war victims,

2017

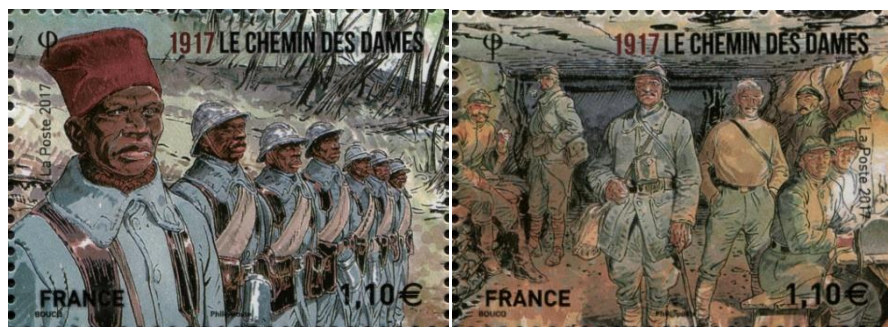


Figure 140. The Battle of Le Chemin de Dames, issued 2017.



Figure 141. 1917 entry of the United States into the War.



Figure 142. Centenary of the death of Georges Guynemer.

2018

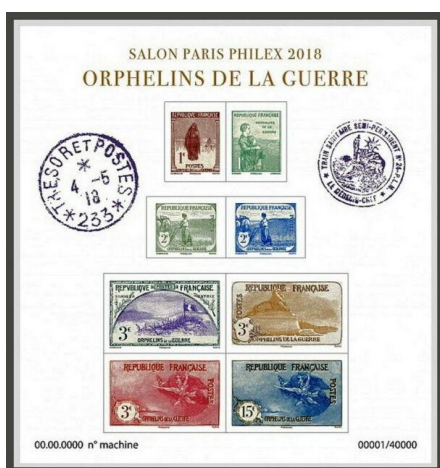


Figure 143. Centenary of the Orphans of the war charity stamps.



Figure 144. Celebrating the achievements French flying aces, Coiffard and Boyau.

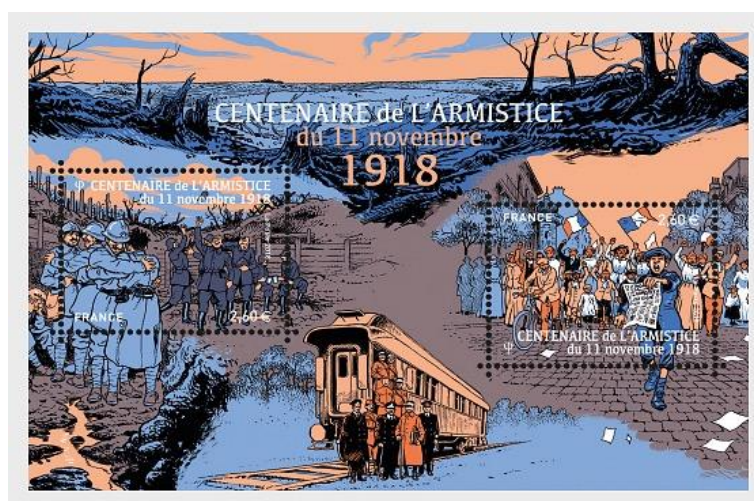


Figure 145. The centenary of the First World War Armistice, mini-sheet of 2018.

Several events and people have been regarded as important enough to have further commemorative stamps issued during the centenary stamp releases. These include the

remembrance of Georges Guynemer, the orphans of the war and the veterans and victims overall of the conflict. The centenary of the entry of the United States into the war in 1917 is again commemorated as it was in 1961. The Verdun battles have been regularly remembered and, as to be expected, the centenary of the events is recalled, but with a relatively modest stamp on this occasion. Apart from the events described in figures above, an important new event is included, namely the Battle of the Chemin de Dames (figure 140).

The Chemin de Dames refers to a ridge running east to west, north of Paris. It was the scene of three battles, 1916, 1917 and 1918. The ridge originally had a reputation as being regarded as a 'sanatorium' by the Germans but it was to become the scene of bitter fighting.¹⁷⁴ The stamp issue recalls the 1917 Second Battle of the Aisne in which Robert Nivelle led the French offensive of 16 April, which resulted in fruitless assaults and sacrifices, as it proved an unsuccessful intervention.¹⁷⁵

The final stamp topic which has not been discussed and commemorated previously is that intended to remember the two French flying aces, Michel Coiffard and Maurice Boyau who both were killed in 1918. They were credited with 34 and 35 victories respectively and were experts in destroying German observation balloons (figure 144). The stamp issues conclude with an Armistice remembrance issue in 2018 (figure 145).

This chapter, by necessity, has been largely descriptive to provide data to help address the research questions. However, in doing so it has provided information to support the fact that France has continued its 20th century practice of regularly producing postage stamps that have highlighted the contribution of its military's achievements and stressing the great losses sustained by France during the conflict, yet never glorifying the war itself or France's part in it. La Poste has followed the pattern of other Western countries in that the company experienced a marked downturn in the volumes of letter mail during the early 21st century. Part of La Poste's response to this situation has been to produce a greater output of stamps which have covered a host of topics, some obscure and many relevant to France's history, culture and scenic areas. During this period, La Poste has continued to produce First World War remembrance stamps, regularly and in increasing numbers. However, these issues have not reached the excessive numbers produced in the United Kingdom and its associated territories.

The increase in stamp numbers appears to follow the steady decreases in letter mail volumes. Table 4 reveals that there has been a steady increase in total stamp numbers in the ten year period prior to the World War centenary. In this period there have been 21 stamps associated with the First World War, while in the ten year period prior to the centenary, there have been 1,928 new stamps released overall (table 4).

Table 4.

¹⁷⁴ Neil Hanson, *The unknown soldier*, London: Transworld Publishers (Random House), 2005: 314.

Glyn Harper, *Dark journey*, Auckland: HarperCollins Publishers, 2015: 103.

¹⁷⁵ Liddell Hart, p321.

France: Postage stamp issues 2003-2013¹⁷⁶

Year	Number of stamps issued
2003	100
2004	100
2005	129
2006	135
2007	137
2008	196
2009	223
2010	204
2011	207
2012	220
2013	277

Total = 1928, mean = 175/year
First World War commemoratives = 1.1%

¹⁷⁶ Universal Postal Union,
<http://www.wnsstamps.post/en/stamps?search%5Bauthorityid%5D=43&search%5Byear%5D=2003-2013>
accessed 19/2/2019

When discussing tax and charity fund raising by postage stamps in Chapter 1, the case of Monaco was included. It provided an example of a so-called neutral state celebrating the events of the War. In this chapter, for completeness, a stamp example of Monaco's commemoration of the Chemin de Dames battle of 1917 is shown in figure 146. It features Prince Louis of Monaco, who served with the French Army, in a battle scarred landscape.



Figure 146. Monaco 2017, Centenary of the Battle of Le Chemin du Dames and Prince Louis II of Monaco. Portrait of the Prince by Phillipe de László, 1928.

The conclusion that can be drawn from this section is that the study of France's postage stamps provides a good example of a country that has a record of regularly issuing First World War commemorative stamps over the last 100 years, and has not been deflected from this by the recent changed commercial environment, nor has it produced an excessive number of stamps for the war centenary. Her pattern thus follows that of Canada and markedly differs from that of the United Kingdom. Again, unlike Australia and New Zealand, who had a slow beginning for war commemoration by stamp production, France has had a continuous record of using stamps for important remembrance and memorial occasions.

Chapter 6. The Upsurge in Commemorative War Stamps – Homage or Revenue?

Preamble

In the previous chapters, it has been shown that postage stamps have been used to commemorate the events and consequences of the Great War as early as the war years themselves. Postage stamps were used from 1917 to raise funds for war-related charities. By 1919, commemoration of the First World War victory and the sacrifices and deeds of the military were highlighted in postal issues of Empire stamps. The extent and scope of stamp usage, in the sample countries studied, has revealed a steady recognition of the place that postage stamps can play in the telling the war's history and its subsequent remembrance and commemoration. The very nature and use of stamps permit the widespread dissemination of this history, locally and internationally. This fits well with the global nature of the First World War and global nature of the former British and French Empires.

Along with the stamp illustrations there has been included a brief historical summary of the events or people represented in the stamp image. When appropriate, a photographic image has been included alongside the stamp. Jack Child has stressed the importance of accuracy in stamp images as they can be embodied in the national consciousness and identity of the countries concerned.¹⁷⁷ Skilful stamp design is then essential to convey the real significance of the events and impart an emotional impact. The major outlier here, with regard to these observations, has been the absence of stamp issues from the United Kingdom, whose first Great War commemorative stamp was not issued until 2006. According to James Watson the reason for this was a lack of enterprise and the rigid adherence to the concept that commemorative stamps are 'to celebrate events of national and international importance'.¹⁷⁸ If this were true, clearly there was a softening in views with the changing business model employed by the British postal services.

While most countries initially had restricted the topics of their stamps to a limited number of important war events, for example, Australia and New Zealand and the Anzacs, marked changes with time have been presented and documented. These changes have been characterised by a marked increase in overall stamp production by the end of the 20th century and thereafter, which incorporated a similar dramatic increase in the First World War commemorative stamps when compared with the previous eighty years of stamp production. The latter events apply to all the countries including the United Kingdom.

This chapter examines why the above situations have occurred and what the reasons for this may be, such as social, commercial or other factors. In doing so, the final part of the third research question relating to 'what accounts for any change that has occurred' will be

¹⁷⁷ Jack Child pp. 62-63.

¹⁷⁸ James Watson, *The Stanley Gibbons book of stamps and stamp collecting*. Ringwood, Hants.: Stanley Gibbons Publications Ltd., 1990:66.

addressed, which may prove to be the most difficult and contentious part of all the research questions posed.

Exploring the evidence

One hypothesis that may explain the rise in the First World War commemoration issues is related to a change in the population's attitudes to the war itself. An increased knowledge and awareness of these past events and their subsequent consequences, in terms of nation building and remembrance of fallen soldiers in their extended families, may be a pivotal factor. The increased sensitivity and approbation of these past happenings has been, thus, mirrored by the postal authorities' production of themed postage stamps to meet the expectations and demands of the public for such visible reminders of the Great War.

New Zealand

For New Zealand and Australia, Anzac Day remembrance and services attendance act as an excellent yardstick to judge any changes in the population's attitudes to war commemoration and to assess if any increase has actually occurred. Has this, indeed, happened? There is now a considerable body of research information upon which to answer this very question.

In New Zealand, Anzac Day was first made an official day of "universal sacrifice" on 7 October, 1921, following "a very widespread demand that the day should be treated as a holy day, as a Sunday".¹⁷⁹ Once established, the early post-war Anzac Day provided a substitute for the funeral services that relatives of the fallen had never been able to attend.¹⁸⁰ The subsequent trends in the popular appeal of the Anzac ceremonies, the changing perception and interpretation of Anzac Day, are all linked to the social and political changes that have occurred in New Zealand over the last one hundred years. These changes have been well documented by Maureen Sharpe for the years 1916 to 1939 and by George Davis from 1946 to 1990.¹⁸¹ In the inter-war years the day served as an opportunity to remember those who served and a day for reunion of returned soldiers.

By the 1950s there was a secularising of society and a downturn in attendance at ceremonies which reached a nadir in the late 1960s and 1970s.¹⁷⁴ These changes have been attributed to anti-war sentiments and protest movements along with the rise of feminism in this period. However, the Anzac Day services still retained a religious format. From the 1980s a dramatic change in attitude has occurred with a very steep rise in Anzac attendance and commemoration which has been attributed to many factors ranging from media coverage, films (for example, *Gallipoli*) and the involvement of the youth. The development of war battlefield tourism and this

¹⁷⁹ New Zealand Parliamentary Debates, 7 October, 1921, p385 and 26 January 1922, p698. Maureen Sharpe, "Anzac Day in New Zealand, 1916-1939". *New Zealand Journal of History*, 15(1981):97-114.

¹⁸⁰ Scott Worthy, "A debt of honour", *New Zealand Journal of History*, 36(2002): 185-200.

¹⁸¹ Maureen Sharpe, *Anzac day in New Zealand, 1916-1939: attitudes to peace and war*, MA thesis, University of Auckland, 1981. 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.

being regarded as a rite of passage for many young people, have all added to the creation of Anzac Day as ceremony of nationalism and national identity. This theme has been developed by Rowan Light, in that Anzac Day has become a focus for the development of a specific New Zealand national and cultural identity following the demise of the British Empire. It is seen as a source of common identity for both European and Maori New Zealanders following the rise in Maori cultural awareness.¹⁸² This increased adherence to Anzac Day and remembrance of the First World War peaked as the centenary of the Great War approached in 2014.¹⁸³ Record attendances at Anzac services have been reported by newspapers and radio with as many as 30,000 people attending the dawn services at Auckland Domain, although the Department of Statistics does not record attendance numbers. The peak attendance rates for dawn services reported in newspapers for Wellington for the centenary in 2015 was 25,000 and for Dunedin 20,000 people. The New Zealand Department of Foreign Affairs does report expanding overseas sites for proposed ceremonies in the United Kingdom and Ireland for 2019, with over 21 sites in England alone and three each in Scotland and Ireland.¹⁸⁴ In terms of actual attendance at the Gallipoli site, an oversubscribed ballot allowed a limit of 10,000 people to attend the centenary ceremonies at Gallipoli in 2015; however by 2017 this figure had fallen to 500 for the Anzac Day services at the battle field. The vagaries of statistics come into play here as there had been security warnings about possible terrorist attacks and actual incidents in Istanbul at that time. In Canberra, alone, on that day 45,000 people attended the War Memorial services.¹⁸⁵

The literature strongly supports the rationale that there has been a steady increase in society's interest in the history of the Great War and a marked increase in attendance at Anzac Day remembrance services in New Zealand. The pattern of Anzac Day commemoration in Australia and the reasons for this altered pattern have mirrored the findings that apply to New Zealand.¹⁸⁶ The perceived upsurge in interest in New Zealand around the centenary of the war led to the formation of a committee to coordinate the activities and commemorations related to the war centenary and it was given the name WW100. To date the committee has not reported on the success or otherwise of its activities.

It is with this background of rising popular interest in the Great War, and its remembrance, that the first hypothesis has to be considered. Was the clamour and demand from the population so great that the Post Office in New Zealand had to respond by a steady increase in stamp

¹⁸² Rowan Light, "Protest and patriotism", in *Flint and Steel*, 5(2019): 9-10.

¹⁸³ Bruce Scates and Stuart Ward, "'It was really moving mate': the Gallipoli pilgrimage and sentimental nationalism in Australia", *Australian Historical Studies*, 38(2007): 141-151.

¹⁸⁴ <https://www.mfat.govt.nz/en/countries-and-regions/europe/united-kingdom/new-zealand-high-commission/living-in-the-uk/anzac-day/anzac-services-outside-of-london/> accessed 25/2/2019. Philippa Werry, *Anzac day: the New Zealand Story*, Auckland: New Holland, 2013:44-45.

¹⁸⁵ "Anzac Day, 2017 - numbers fall away from Gallipoli service, hotel bookings at 39% capacity", *Sydney Morning Herald*, April 25, 2017. Australian War Memorial <https://www.awm.gov.au/media/press-releases/thousands-attend-anzac-day-2017-national-ceremony> accessed 27/2/2019.

¹⁸⁶ Kristy Hulm, Trends in the popularity of the Anzac Day legend throughout the twentieth century, Macquarie University, <https://makinghistoryatmacquarie.wordpress.com/2011/11/22> accessed 26/2/2019. Jay Winter, *Remembering war. The Great War between memory and history in the twentieth century*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006.

production? Was this steady rise in Anzac commemoration and the added factor of the centenary of the Great War the force which made the Post office produce an even greater number and range of stamps? Stated in this manner it would imply a lack of initiative on the part of the postal authorities.

Another hypothesis to consider is that the failing Post Office system with its falling letter rates has grasped the concept of Anzac Day and the war centenary as a means of raising revenue, based on the nostalgia and souvenir attraction of the postage stamps to the population, without necessarily having to provide the pre-paid postal service. In this proposed scenario the New Zealand Post has thus valued income over remembrance and hence commercialised a very special occasion for current New Zealanders.

To establish a balanced viewpoint, it would be essential to obtain the views of the New Zealand Post Office. The author made an approach to the Chairman of the Post Office Board requesting help in obtaining the Post Office's views on the suggested hypotheses and the company's current stamp policies. An agreement was reached and an interview arranged between the author and representatives of the Post Office.¹⁸⁷ The New Zealand Post Office's philosophy on postage stamp production and sales in light of the downturn in letter volumes handled is summarised as follows:

With regard to why has there been an increase in stamp issues related to the First World War, the response was:

1. There is recognition by the Post Office of an increased interest in the history of the Anzacs and the First World War. Stamp production has responded to this interest. There is also recognition of continued conflict around the world and specifically terrorism which may be related to the nation's resurgence of interest in its past military history.
2. The increased interest in the Anzacs has been associated with the public's desire to remember and commemorate the events of the First World War and in particular the centenary event.
3. Employees of the former company, Post and Telegraph, went in great numbers to serve during the First World War and the present day company is conscious of this fact and wishes to remember the service of these individuals.¹⁸⁸
4. Overall the Post office is aware of the impact of the First World War on the culture, history and people of New Zealand.

¹⁸⁷ This interview took place on the 20 January 2019 at New Zealand Post's headquarters at 7, Waterloo Quay, Wellington. Representing New Zealand Post was Mr. Simon Allison, manager of stamp production, and Mr. John Hollows of the same department.

¹⁸⁸ 3,000 Post and Telegraph (P&T) employees signed up for the New Zealand Expeditionary Force and were employed in mail sorting, laying telephone lines at the front and the operation of field wireless sets in Mesopotamia (Iraq). James Crichton who was awarded the VC was a P&T employee and in addition 1 DSO, 8 MCs and 39 Military Medals were awarded to other P&T staff.

The Post Office's stated philosophy regarding stamp production and the large number of stamp issues released currently was:

The stamp unit devises a programme for the coming 12-18 months. The criteria for stamp themes and subjects are dictated by the need to have a New Zealand orientation. The subjects include art and science, heritage and history. Stamps will always be politically neutral. It is only New Zealand Post that can legally add the name "New Zealand" to its stamps.

When asked what the principles behind the selection of the First World War topics in relationship to remembrance, commemoration and memorials, the reply was:

The war stamps required special research and 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. This process was reported by the staff as being a very emotional experience. To view all aspects of the war, as can be portrayed by stamps, requires more stamp numbers by issue and thus requires a longer period for production and issue.

With regard to the published decline in letter volumes, the principle that guides the increase in stamp production the reply stated:

The Post Office changed from a Government Agency to a State Owned Enterprise as New Zealand Post Ltd. As a company we have to be conscious of revenue but this in itself is not paramount in stamp numbers and design. The company is conscious of the marketing of stamps for purposes other than postal services. There has been a decline in philately as a hobby and hence a reduction in sales to stamp collectors. However, the increase in tourism has introduced new markets as tourists readily purchase stamps as souvenirs of their visits to the country. There is also an appeal of some special stamps to the ethnic groups within New Zealand by issues such as the Lunar New Year. These sales are increased by miniature sheets, special production booklets and increased numbers per special issue.

When asked if there was an external committee or government representative overseeing the quantity and quality of stamp releases. The response was:

No, there is an internal panel that oversees the stamp programme and its themes.

In terms of New Zealand, the statements from New Zealand Post suggest that neither of the proposed hypotheses explaining the increased number of stamp issues is correct. It would appear that the truth lies between the two extremes, in that there was a genuine attempt by New Zealand Post to depict the war remembrance and the centenary issues in a sensitive and thoughtful fashion. However, they were still conscious of the commercial aspects and marketing opportunities which presented themselves during this period. The Company was trading in a

difficult period, with the downturn of letter mail, yet it was expected to return a profit. The author was impressed by the respect and concern expressed for the past employees of P&T who had served in the Great War, many with distinction, and the fact that the postage stamps of the war period should take cognisance of this fact by their accuracy and quality.

One aspect of the commercial side which was revealed was that related to non-postal use of stamps. Formerly this lay in the province of philatelists, but with the fall in interest in stamp collecting, new markets have appeared. The upsurge in tourist numbers has been accompanied by increased sales of postage stamps to visitors as souvenirs and reminders of their visits to the country. The concept of the acquisition of stamps by non-philatelists, for a range of reasons, has not been considered, to date, in relation to stamp production and sales.

It can be concluded, in the New Zealand situation, there has been a genuine upsurge in interest in the history and remembrance of the First World War and the postal services have responded to this by increased stamp production that is not only for commercial purposes. Their other stated reasons include their perceived role in representing visually the history and culture of the country and to respect the memory of past employees who were veterans of the Great War. However, it is clear that the company has to balance commemoration with its revenue return from the stamp sales.

The Case of the United Kingdom

Within Chapter 3 it was noted that the United Kingdom had never produced a commemorative stamp with a First World War theme until 2006. Search of the British Postal Museum archives and the appropriate literature has not revealed any written information to explain this situation.¹⁸⁹ In light of the stamp production and actions of other postal systems with regard to the First World War, the British disinterest remains an enigma. The initial conservative approach of the Royal Mail as an organisation in terms of stamp themes and the numbers of stamp issues appeared to change when its ownership moved from a government agency to that of a privately owned business. This change corresponded historically with a rapid increase in stamp numbers and an extensive widening of the scope and themes illustrated in stamp issues and an increase in postal charges. While there remain some legal obligations and restrictions on this private business, the company is now a commercial business with a very limited social responsibility. The Royal Mail Company's response to the falling letter volumes appears to be a concentration on a vast number of new issues along with an assortment of gimmicks to promote the sale of these

¹⁸⁹ Personal communication: Barry Attoe, The Archives of the Postal Museum, 10-15 Phoenix Place, London, United Kingdom. 2 March 2019.

stamps. British stamps can now be purchased in a whole range of packages and formats.¹⁹⁰ If all the stamps for the First World War centenary period are purchased the cost is £150 (\$NZ 300).¹⁹¹ The Royal Mail has announced its latest 'blockbuster' (sic) for Spiderman, Harry Potter and Game of Thrones (a 15 stamp series alone).¹⁹²

It is argued that the inclusion of the First World War commemorative stamps, at a time when the diversification of subjects is standard, detracts from the expectation that these stamps are important symbols of respect and remembrance of the war dead. The available evidence now points to a 'revenue' motivation of the British Royal Mail rather than a true 'remembrance' motivation when it comes to the production of the First World War commemoration stamps.

The Rush to Remember

In attempts to boost stamp sales and their revenues, many postal authorities have resorted to a variety of tactics. The United States Postal Authority have reprinted a former 'misprinted' stamp, known as the 'Inverted Jenny', to attract sales and in doing so broke their own rules over rare stamps. They have also focussed their marketing upon commercial topics such as Harry Potter themes and American film and popular music artists. An alternative approach to their stratagems is to get rid of stamps altogether to save on the costs of design, printing and distribution. Devices such as postage stamp meters circumvent the need for stamps. The current novelty is to get the customers to print and design their own stamps on their home computers.¹⁹³

However, many states such as Bhutan depend upon revenue from their postage stamp sales to balance their national budgets and hence are reluctant to follow this stamp-less approach.

To illustrate this point, over thirty postal authorities have issued stamps to mark the centenary of the Great War and the stamp themes cover a range of war topics. Among these territories are Tristan da Cunha, Ascension Island and Union Island and examples of their war remembrance issues are shown in figure 147. These releases appear to be blatant commercialism to boost the country's economy, rather than the postal authority's coffers, by riding on the current wave of renewed interest in the First World War. The relevance of the topic to these micro states can only be regarded as distant, at the best. However, many countries who publish postage stamps realise that their regular issues will not be bought by anyone overseas, such as philatelists, and there will be no economic benefit to the state from them. It is for this reason that their issues

¹⁹⁰ These include: Mint stamps, sheets, presentation packs, prestige books, first day covers, mini-sheets, and stamp booklets, books on the topic of the stamps, framed stamp collections and descriptive booklets.
<https://shop.royalmail.com/special-stamp-issues/the-first-world-war> accessed 1/3/2019.

¹⁹¹ Presentation pack £7.20, mint stamps £6.66, prestige book £15.65, framed stamp collection £69.99, stamp booklet £4.02, envelopes 30p.

¹⁹² 'From moments in British history to latest blockbusters we have a Special Stamp issue for you to discover'.
<https://shop.royalmail.com/special-stamp-issues> accessed 1/3/2019.

¹⁹³ Postage on demand, <https://www.stamps.com> accessed 31/3/2109.

often contain popular themes, for example, Chad (Marilyn Monroe), Burkina Faso (Elvis Presley), and Mongolia (The Three Stooges). Most of these stamps never reach the shores of the named country of origin and are marketed by foreign agents.

The subject of the state's dependence on postage stamp revenue for its economy 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. Slemrod uses the term 'commercializing of state sovereignty' to describe the situation and feels that it is a form of pre-capital income generation by 'stamp pandering'. He describes the practice in the following terms:

I construct a single measure for stamp pandering, based on whether or not a country issues large quantities of distinct stamp varieties that depict what I refer to as a 'pandering' subject. I consider three examples of pandering subjects: stamps that depict Elvis Presley, stamps that depict Princess Diana (or one of her children), and stamps that depict a Disney character. These are subjects unrelated to the country's history or culture (other than for the United States and the United Kingdom), but that are widely collected throughout the world by philatelists.¹⁹⁴

Slemrod has further devised a method of determining 'pandering' and has listed a number of states that practise 'pandering'. Table 5 lists these and this table could prove helpful in deciding which states have published 'true' or 'meaningful' commemorative war stamps as opposed to 'commercial' issues. Bhutan's releases of stamps that are scented or made of silk or even as playable compact discs are easy to identify as commercial entities.

Caution should be observed when assessing certain stamps, however. Malta issued a stamp to mark the centenary of the Anzacs landing at Gallipoli in 1915. Closer assessment revealed that the Maltese people played an important and significant role during the campaign in Turkey. Malta provided the bulk of hospital facilities for the allied wounded who were evacuated from Gallipoli. Over eight hundred Maltese volunteers went to the battle areas to act as stevedores, muleteers and trench diggers (see figure 148). Conversely, Israel has released issues that have more political overtones than remembrance for the 1914-18 conflict (figure 149). They refer to the war in Eretz Israel (sic The Land of Israel) and they illustrate the German air force in Ottoman Palestine, the Turkish military railway and finally for 1918 the British Indian forces entering Haifa. The accompanying description of these stamps outlines the support of Jews by the German airmen and Bavarian soldiers and those Jews who joined the Ottoman Army.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁴ Joel Slemrod, "Why is Elvis on Burkina Faso postage stamps? Cross-country evidence on the commercialization of state sovereignty", *Journal of Empirical Legal Studies*, 5(2008): 683-712. Ronen Palan, "Tax havens and the commercialization of state sovereignty", *International Organizations*, 56(2002): 151.

¹⁹⁵ German airmen, <https://virtualstampclub.com/lloydblog/?p=4130> accessed 6/3/2019.



Figure 147. Examples of micro state 'stamp pandering', Tristan da Cunha, Ascension Island and Union Island.

Table 5. Stamp Pandering Countries

Anguilla; Guyana; Niue; Antigua and Barbuda; Jamaica; Palau; Belize; Korea, Democratic People's Republic of; Romania; Bhutan; Sierra Leone; Burkina Faso; Kyrgyz Republic; Somalia; Central African Republic; Lesotho; St. Kitts and Nevis; Chad; Madagascar; St. Lucia; Congo; Republic of Maldives; St. Vincent and the Grenadines; Cook Islands; Mali; Tanzania; Dominica; Marshall Islands; Togo; Gambia; Micronesia, Federated States of; Turkmenistan; Ghana; Mongolia; Tuvalu; Grenada; Mozambique; Uganda; Guinea; Niger; United States of America; Guinea-Bissau.¹⁹⁶

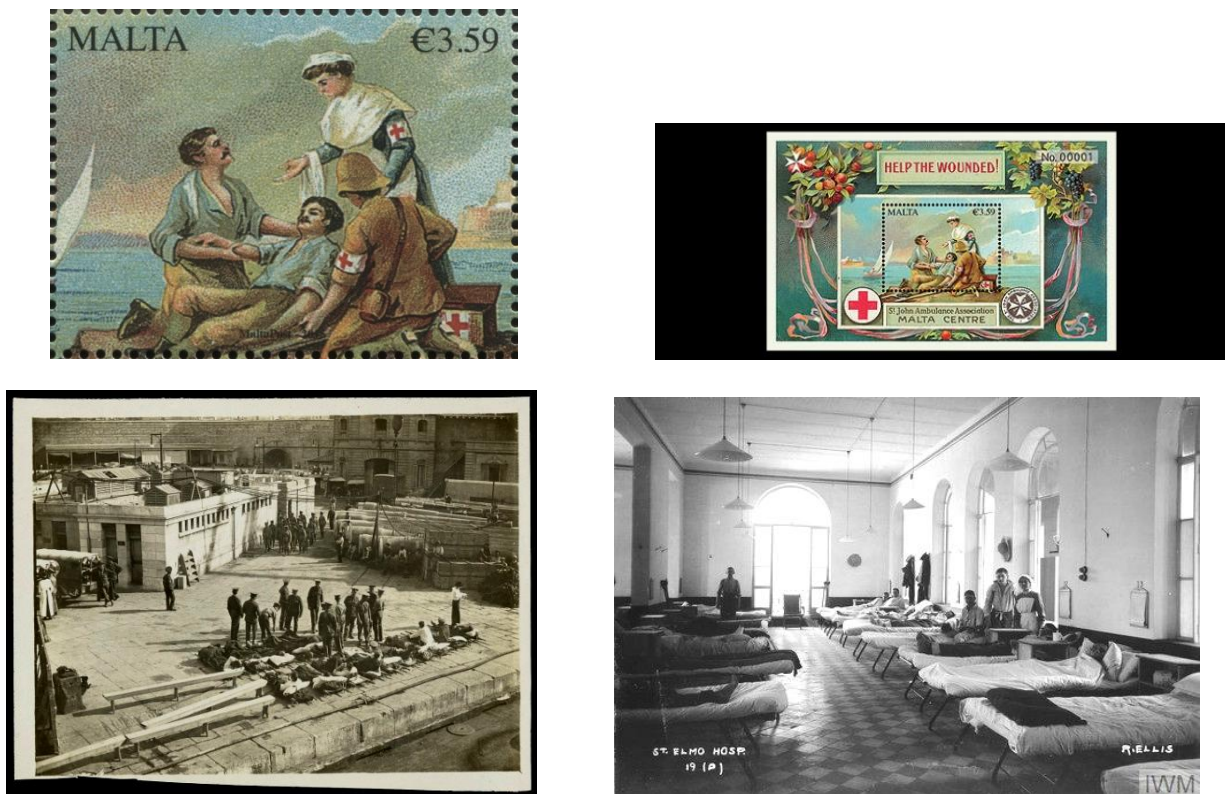


Figure 148. Maltese stamp for the centenary of the Anzac landings of 1915, and mini-sheet presentation, 2015. Photograph of injured soldiers disembarking in Malta (Wellcome Library Collection L006409) and St. Elmo Hospital for war wounded, Malta, 1915, (Imperial War Museum).

¹⁹⁶ Joel Slemrod, "Why is Elvis on Burkina Faso postage stamps? Cross-country evidence on the commercialization of state sovereignty", *Journal of Empirical Legal Studies*, 5(2008): 683-712.



Figure 149. Two Israeli stamps for the First World War centenary, 1916 and 1918; German air force based in Sinai and British Indian troops entering Haifa. Photographs: Wikipedia and the Imperial War Museum.

Special Homage and Remembrance Stamps

The United States Postal Authority has chosen a single stamp to commemorate the United States contribution to the First World War. This is surprising in light of that country's proclivity to issue a vast number of stamps in large sets. The stamp illustrated in figure 150 evokes the recruitment posters of the First World War and includes barbed wire, an aeroplane and battlefield smoke along with a United States soldier of the Expeditionary Force. The title 'Turning the Tide' alludes to the role played by America in the final victory of the allies. Thomas Marshall, of the United States Postal Authorities, said of the stamp issue "Today we pay tribute to the sacrifice of the soldiers, as well as millions of supporters on the home front". This issue has the hallmark of a true commemorative stamp rather than a revenue gathering issue.¹⁹⁷

An exhibition held in London in June, 2018 remembered the contribution of the Somali people of British Somaliland to the British war effort. The exhibition featured a photograph of Yosuf Dualeh

¹⁹⁷ Thomas Marshall, https://about.usps.com/news/national-releases/2018/pr18_058.htm accessed 4/3/2019.

Amarreh who fought for the British and appeared as the model for the iconic Somaliland stamp which honoured the contribution of Somali askaris (soldiers) to the war (figure 151). The photograph was submitted by his granddaughter Dr. Edna Adan a health pioneer in Britain.



Figure 150. United States issue of 2018, celebrating the contribution of the United States Expeditionary Force in First World War. *The statue Spirit of the American Doughboy* by E.M.Viquensey, in Akron, Ohio, United States. The statue honours the veterans and casualties of the First World War. Photograph: Wikipedia.



Figure 151. Yosuf Amarreh on Somaliland stamp of 1953, Somali veterans and exhibition poster of 2018.

It would seem pertinent to include in this section the true commemorative stamp issues that pay homage to the events and people where the war started and ended namely Serbia and Flanders. The Serbian stamp contribution is twofold; it recalls that after the offensive by Austro-Hungary in 1914, the Serbian Army was forced to retreat though Albania to Greece. In Greece it rallied and

defeated the Bulgarian Army at Kajmakealan. The four stamps of the series recall the plight of the Serbian army along with their flags, medals and awards (figure 152). The second issue remembers the five Scottish doctors and nurses who worked in Serbian hospitals during the conflict and the English woman who served with their military forces.

The Belgian stamp illustrates the Ypres War Memorial at the Menin Gate which was commissioned and unveiled in 1927. This memorial remembers the British and Commonwealth soldiers who were killed in the Ypres salient between 1914 and 15 August, 1917 and thus, 54,395 names are inscribed on the walls of the memorial. It contains the names of 1,179 New Zealanders who fell in two battles in October, 1917 and have no known graves. The New Zealand missing soldiers from Flanders are remembered at Tyne Cot Cemetery (figure 153).¹⁹⁸



Caption overleaf

Figure 152. Serbian issues for the remembrance of the Serbian Army and the six British women who provide medical and nursing services to Serbia. The stamps feature Captain Flora Sandes, Dr Katherine Stewart MacPhail, Dr Elsie Inglis, Dr Isabel Galloway Hutton, Evelina Haverfield and Dr Elizabeth Ross.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁸ Glyn Harper, *Dark journey*, Auckland: HarperCollins Publishers, 2015:15.

¹⁹⁹ British women, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-35039265> accessed 6/3/2019.



Figure 153. Belgian Ypres Memorial stamp, 1962 and Battle of Ypres Memorial: photographs, Commonwealth War Graves Commission and by the Author.

In answering the research question, as to why there have been changes in the First World War stamp commemoration, over time, several controlling variables have been recognised. This chapter has identified and tried to unravel the first of these, the distinction between true commemorations of the First World War, by postage stamps, from those seeking financial gain only in the name of remembrance. Slemrod's research contribution in this area is now recognised by his publications and his concept of stamp pandering explains much of the above paradox. This goes hand-in-hand with Palan's views on the commercialising of state sovereignty to further explain why there has been an upsurge in commemoration stamps.

In a less severe category lie the small territories like Jersey, whose people did contribute to the war in manpower but Jersey's stamp releases are disproportionate, by their sheer numbers, and have distinct overtones of postal authority profit making. Three hundred men served in the Great War from Jersey of whom 79 were killed, and they must be remembered. In an eight year period 2010 to 2017, Jersey Post has produced 824 new stamps with many themes.

Among the 'predator states' must lie the example of Union Island, illustrated in figure 147. Union Island is one of 32 islands forming the Grenadines of St. Vincent and is nine square kilometres in size and has 3,000 residents. Stamps and tourism appear to be its main source of income. While this in itself may be justified, the use of topics of a sensitive nature like war remembrance does seem much less acceptable.

In the commercial world of large postal authorities, stamp themes are certainly used as marketing tools. The extremes of stamp production and excess marketing countries appear to be the United Kingdom and the United States and lately Australia, while New Zealand is more moderate and balanced in its approach. The days of the postal services being a social service are long gone and the sale of stamps for non-postal use forms part of the business model. Be that as it may, certain postal services such as that in France keep up the tradition of regularly commemorating events from the Great War, such as the Battle of Verdun, in a respectful and sensitive manner as they have done over the past one hundred years. They have achieved, thus, the ability to balance remembrance with their profit based enterprise.

What then is answer to the posed question – homage or revenue? It appears that there can be a positive answer to both options and many countries combine both options in varying degrees of sensitivity and monetary gain in relation to the commemoration of the Great War by postage stamps.

Conclusions



Figure 154. Australia 2018, Centenary of Service, Legacy Memorial, Melbourne.

This dissertation has been concerned with the role that postage stamps have played, over the past one hundred years, in the commemoration of the Great War (figure 154). Overall, commemoration of the events of 1914-1918 has taken many forms and postage stamps are but one small part of the many strategies that have been employed. Despite their size, their ubiquitous nature has made them powerful agents with an impact far greater than their original purpose for prepayment of postal charges. In this thesis they have been regarded as primary source material and hence their image reproduction within the text in high numbers has been necessary, as the originals form historic documents in their own right.

This study has also outlined the role played by stamps in helping to raise funds for military matériel and to help the victims of the war, such as orphans, in addition to the part they performed in remembrance functions. In doing so, the study has revealed that certain stamp issuing authorities practice the less acceptable face of stamp production by their concentration on financial gains at the expense of the higher purpose of the Great War remembrance stamps.

The changing attitudes to remembrance of the war and the increasing interest in its commemoration have been examined here, through the example of the attendance and attitudes to Anzac Day in New Zealand. This interest is directly related to the increase in commemoration stamps by either exploitation of this societal change or by the demand of people to see visual representation of the events to augment their remembrance commitments. Jay Winter has written on the theme of increasing awareness of these past events, and has called the concept 'memory boom'. He attributes it, in part, to the rapid development of information technology since the 1960s and 1970s. Initially this was audio-visual and later computer-based data banks, which have preserved the voices and captured the stories of the veterans. By listening to and absorbing these stories, he claims that people enter the world of

these events and share them.²⁰⁰ Among the other factors that have influenced the 'memory boom' are economic changes with increasing affluence which has empowered people to visit the battle fields of France, Belgium and Gallipoli. Easy internet access has increased interest in genealogy and has led to families relating more with their forebears who have served or died in the Great War and hence feel more involved.

The interest in the war has also been fostered, by the increased number of historical books, novels and films on Great War subjects. Pivotal in this respect, has been the novel by Sebastian Faulks, *Birdsong*, in the United Kingdom and the film *Gallipoli*, in Australia, which have been important in changing people's knowledge of and attitudes to the war. A cautionary note must be raised here, in that some selection and imbalance of information does occur. With regard to the worst day in New Zealand military history 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.²⁰¹

This observation about Passchendaele is supported by the postage stamp concentration on the Anzacs and Gallipoli by New Zealand postal issues. In the hundred years since Passchendaele and the military disaster, there has been only one postage stamp produced to mark the occasion and that was in 2017 (figure 155). This suggests that New Zealand Post is following popular and remuneration trends rather than showing leadership. This aside, in relation to postage stamps commemoration, the 'memory boom' has been a key factor in the increase and more recent upsurge, in postage stamps for commemoration of war time events, not as an instigator per se, but as a visual medium for remembrance either initiated by the postal authorities or in response to public interest in the subject.

²⁰⁰ Jay Winter, "The generation of memory: reflections on the 'memory boom' in contemporary historical studies", *Canadian Military History*, 10(2001): 57-66. Jay Winter, *Remembering War: The Great War between history and memory in the 20th century*, USA: Yale University Press, 2006: 275-290.

²⁰¹ Glyn Harper, *Dark Journey*, Auckland: HarperCollins Publishers, 2015: 138.



Figure 155. New Zealand Post, 2017. 'The Darkest Hour', Passchendaele, 1917, and post battle image from the Library and Archives of Canada.²⁰²

In the determination of the scope, extent and role of postage stamps in commemoration of the Great War, large tracts of this treatise have been devoted, by necessity, to depicting the images of the stamps, issued over the last one hundred years by the selected former combatant countries. A written description alone of the stamps, without appreciating their visual impact would lessen their effect as objects to promote remembrance. The stamps, however, cannot be seen in isolation; hence brief background information and photographs has placed them in their historical and /or military context.

Can a small piece of paper truly convey the concepts of war remembrance and commemoration? Is it possible to place a design on these miniature messengers that will adequately pay homage to the subject and make remembrance a visual reality? The literature strongly supports the view that a well designed stamp, with a message, can have a major effect or even a devastating outcome. This is typified by the Dominican Republic's stamp showing a border change which resulted in Haiti sending troops to the 'disputed' border zone and much diplomatic tension occurred thereafter. The war between Bolivia and Paraguay, with much loss of life, was exacerbated by stamps indicating the ownership of the Chaco by the other country.²⁰³

Within Chapter 2 an outline was given as to the thought, supervision and design skills that were used to produce the first Anzac stamps of New Zealand and to make them accurate and respectful. Considering the printing techniques available at the time, these stamps did meet the requirement of making remembrance a visual reality. As printing technology improved, there

²⁰² The postage stamp is based upon the painting by George Edmond Butler entitled *Butte de Polygon: Thy Father and I have sought thee sorrowing*, 1920, National Collection of War Art, Archives of New Zealand.

²⁰³ Kenneth Dawson, *Disputes over small territories*, MA Thesis, Massey University, 2016, pp. 13-18. Frank Nuessel, "Territorial and boundary disputes depicted on postage stamps", *Studies in Latin American Popular Culture*, 11(1992): 123-141.

was no longer a need for the engraving of stamps, which resulted in an ability to produce stamps more quickly. This, in turn, led to less supervision from committees and less government oversight and as this became the norm, smaller issuing authorities became more interested in the financial returns obtained from stamps.²⁰⁴

The challenge for responsible issuing postal services was to select the best and most appropriate subjects and techniques that could respectfully convey the remembrance themes. Memorials, war graves and cenotaphs were commonly used as subjects to convey the human costs of the war. These can be accurately portrayed by stamps. Photographs have been included here in the text along with certain stamp images to reveal how accurate stamp reproduction can be. French stamps have often chosen people as subjects and included generals, flying aces and politicians. The Battle of Verdun has remained a constant subject of stamps over the last hundred years, characterising the traumatic event, and has remained in the forefront of French memory in terms of the Great War. The centenary of the Great War presented a real challenge to the stamp designers. Did they attempt an historical review or did they select certain important events? As documented by the stamp images included in the text, the United Kingdom, New Zealand and Australian postal services chose to take each year of the war separately and feature important aspects of that specific year. The British post included poetry extracts and artefacts relevant to the time period. The reported information and responses directly from the New Zealand Post did reveal the lengths that the authority had gone to, in order to make the stamps accurate and respectful, yet visually appealing.

The major intent of this thesis has been, of course, to address the posed research questions. The initial matter to be examined related to the extent to which postage stamps were used to raise revenue for Great War purposes. This amounted to either an additional tax at the point of sale or a wholesale rise in postal rates, which would include the tax, and in this latter situation, stamps of a higher denomination would be used and hence the tax amount was not revealed. There was a widespread implementation of war tax stamps, in the Dominions of Canada and New Zealand and many of the British Colonies, in which the cost was added to the mail postal charge. These stamps were successful in raising substantial sums of money for war related activities. However, in Canada there was some debate, as the money seemed to end up in War Bond interest repayments and not in the purchase of war matériel. War charities benefitted widely from the addition of a voluntary premium charge incorporated into the stamp at the time of its printing and purchased at postal pre-payment. In France the success of charity stamps influenced the government to issue stamps with a premium to help pay off the country's large war debts. These were not successful. The United Kingdom and Australia used the option of raising postal charges which amounted to a doubling of the postal charges, fifty percent being a war tax.

When assessing the use and extent of commemorative stamps up to the year 2000, the surprising fact was revealed that the British Post Office had never issued any postage stamps to

²⁰⁴ David Altman, *Paper ambassadors: the politics of stamps*. North Ryde, Australia: Angus and Robertson, 1991: 99-100.

commemorate any of the events of the Great War. There is no ready explanation for this situation and direct inquiry with the British Postal Museum found that they had no information or records that could be helpful. It is postulated that the conservative nature and business model of the government agency, with regard to commemorative stamps, is the probable explanation. It could be postulated further, however, that so many of the British public held the view that the war had been a futile waste of lives by the new 'industrial' warfare, that postage stamp commemoration of these events was not appropriate. New Zealand and other countries did produce commemorative stamps during this period. The stamps of Newfoundland are good examples of thoughtful remembrance issues. France was more consistent in its production of remembrance issues in the early years and continued throughout the century to remember the Great War and its consequences and in particular, the battles that took place at Verdun.

The final question relates to the sudden upsurge of commemorative stamps that began just prior to the 21st century's onset and continued thereafter, and to peak with the centenary of the Great War. This was found to be related to the general and increased overall production of stamps by postal authorities and the widening, and at times, trivialising of stamp topics and themes. The situation was complex but several factors were in play, principally related to the business model adopted by the stamp authorities. There had been a rapid and continued decline in letter volumes at this time and strategies were employed to address this situation and reverse the decrease in revenue that had resulted from the fall in letter postage. The increased stamp numbers were part of the strategies used to increase revenue from stamp sales, not just from postal pre-payment. The most profitable model was that in which revenue was gained from the sale of the stamps themselves, without having to provide the actual postal service. The traditional purchasers of such stamps had been philatelists, but there has been a decline in stamp collecting as a hobby, and more importantly a resistance to the purchase of the perceived production of just excess 'labels' by this group.²⁰⁵ The newer clients sought include tourists who may like to purchase stamps as souvenirs of the country visited. Unfortunately, some 'rogue' postal systems with no real association with the war have seen the renewed interest of the public in the First World War as an opportunity to produce large numbers of stamps with the First World War themes for a profit motive only. Often agencies such as that in the Channel Islands have combined good quality stamps with serious remembrance intention, but in large numbers with an eye to non-postal use profits from their sale.

Now that the commemorations of the centenary of the Great War have passed, except for the Treaty of Versailles, one has to consider that the future of postage stamps designed and designated specifically for commemoration of the war events may have passed. Indeed, the future of postage stamps, themselves, after 179 years of use may be in doubt. In the interim, Great War topics may be used to justify issuing more postage stamps, unlike the first Anzac stamps of 1936 which had support from veterans, the population in general, and the

²⁰⁵ Richard Lehmann, "The future of philately", *Forbes Magazine*, 28 August, 2016. Eugene L. Myer, "Stamped out", *New York Times*, 29 September, 2017.

government and represented a true feeling of a need to remember the fallen and the development of nationhood in a visual medium.

New Zealand Post has been held out earlier, in the text, to represent a balanced approach to commemoration and profit when considering Great War commemoration stamps. However, even this organisation's approach may have changed. In the first three months of 2019, twenty-five new stamps have been released already, and these include six stamps on the topic of the Anzac Day dawn services (see figure 156)²⁰⁶. These stamps seemed to be well designed and produced and relevant to the subject, but does this topic need six stamps to do it justice? Thus, twenty-five stamps have been released at a time when there is a further decline in letter post and there is a rise in the postal letter rate to \$1.30 per letter. To compound this state of affairs, there is a widespread closure of post offices in New Zealand and the franchising of postal services to convenience stores. One can, however, purchase framed and numbered, gold foiled miniature sheets of stamps for the Year of the Pig at the modest price of \$880 each!²⁰⁷ Stamps now, even in New Zealand, are items for sale and objects in their own right and no longer receipts for the pre-payment of mail. Stamps with First World War topics such as the Anzacs are no longer becoming subjects of commemoration but topics for easy stamp sales only and are to be included along with lighthouses and lunar New Year stamps which may appeal for purchase by wider audiences.

²⁰⁶ Stamp issues for early 2019; Anzac Day services – 6 stamps, The Year of the Pig – 4 stamps, Thailand World Stamp exhibition -3 stamps, Lighthouses – 6 stamps, Alpine flora – 6 stamps.

²⁰⁷ Gold foiled stamp sheets, <https://stamps.nzpost.co.nz/new-zealand/2018/2019-year-pig> accessed 14/3/2019.



Figure 156 New Zealand Post: Anzac dawn services, 2019.

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Canada:

War tax, 1915-6 (225, 228, 231), Inland Revenue, 1915-8 (463, 465), Mount Edith Cavell, 1930 (303), War memorials, 1957 (363), 1939 (373), 2005, John McCrae, 1968 (628) 2015, Vimy memorial, 1968 (629), Royal Canadian Legion, 1975 (828), 2001, Pilots, 1984 (1140), Billy Bishop, 1994 (1609), Trench raid, 1989 (1336), Victoria Cross, 2004, War memorial figures, 2009, Vimy battle centenary, 2107 (joint issue with France), Armistice centenary, 2018.

Newfoundland:

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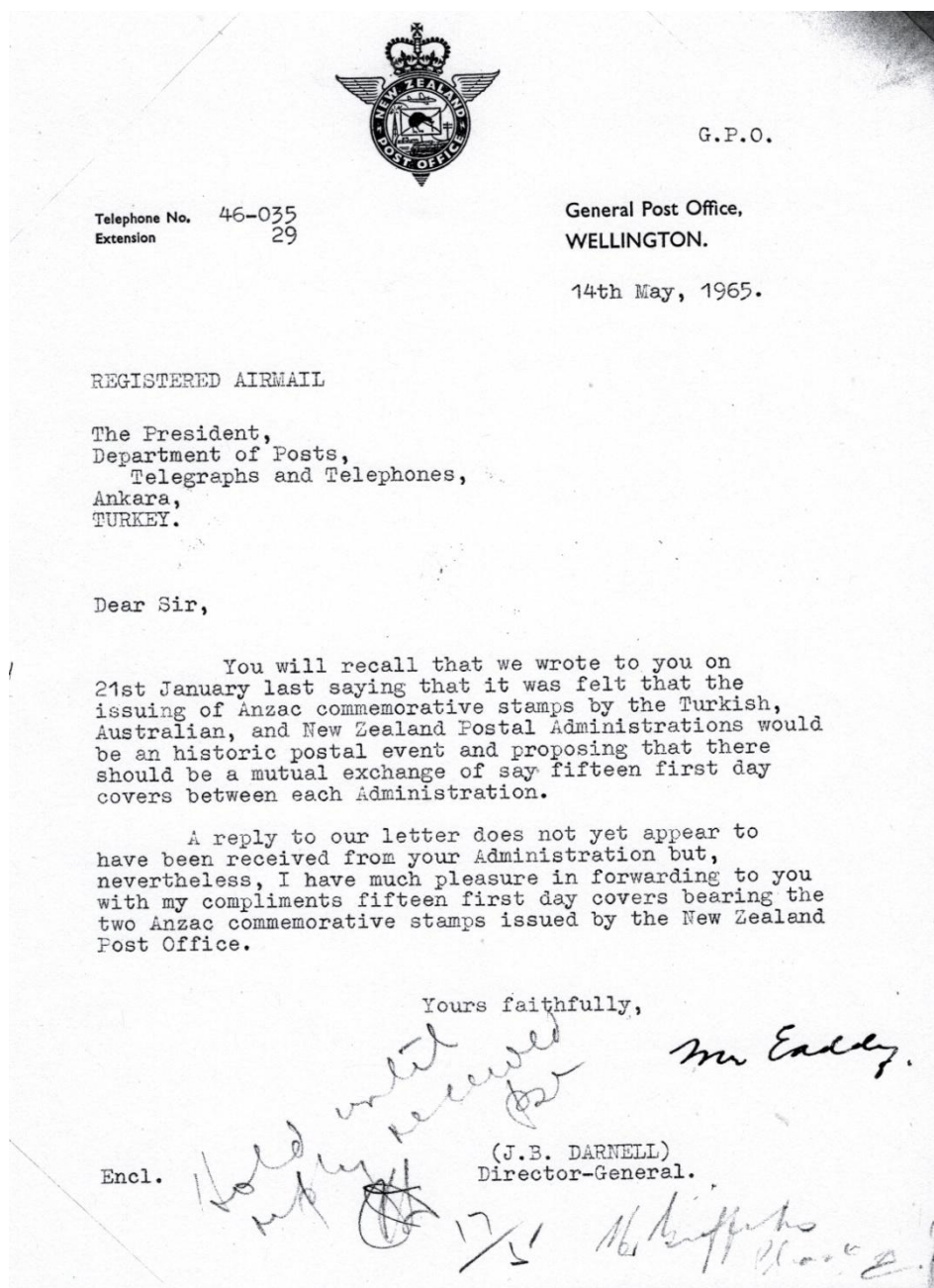
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A century after the assassination of Franz Ferdinand 1914-2014.



Figure 157. One hundred years after the assassination of Franz Ferdinand, Austria remembers the 28 July, 1914. Austrian Post mini-sheet, 2017. This issue is a contrast to that shown in figure 1 and perhaps reveals a more human aspect to the heir to the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Appendices



Appendix 1. Copy of the letter from the Director-General of the Post Office to the President of Posts in Ankara, Turkey, 1965. By kind permission of the Curator of Stamps, Te Papa Tongarewa, Museum of Zealand, Wellington.

New



December 3, 2017

Mr. Deepak Chopra,
President and CEO, Canada Post Corporation,
2701 Riverside Drive,
Ottawa ON K1A 0B7

ARMISTICE 1918

Dear Mr. Chopra,

I am writing on behalf of the Board of Directors and Membership of the Ottawa Philatelic Society, Canada's oldest stamp club, to express our deep concern that the program for Canadian stamps to be issued in 2018 completely ignores the end of World War I and the Armistice of Nov. 11, 1918.

Surely among all of the stamps to be issued in 2018 depicting sharks, bees, birds, sheep and flowers, there is a place to remember the sacrifice made by so many Canadians between 1914 and 1918.

Canada did issue a stamp in 2015 to commemorate the centennial of The McCrae poem, "In Flanders Fields" and another in 2017 to commemorate the centennial Battle of Vimy Ridge. Canada post had already issued stamps in 1968 to mark the 50th anniversary of these two events.

But there has been nothing at all, ever, to mark any other aspect of World War I. (We note that there will be a stamp to mark the centennial of the Memorial Cup in 2018; this is not in any way a substitute for a proper commemoration of the Armistice.)

Armistice Day 2018 will undoubtedly be a special occasion at cenotaphs across this country. France, Britain and other Commonwealth countries have already announced stamps to commemorate the Armistice. It is not too late for Canada Post to rectify this surprising and inexcusable oversight.

Sincerely,

John Tooth

cc Hon. Harjit Sajjan, Minister of National Defence
Hon. Seamus O'Regan, Minister of Veterans Affairs
Mr. Jim Phillips, Director of Stamp Services, Canada Post

Appendix 2. Letter to the President and CEO of Canada Post, dated December, 2017.