

Anzacs and Ireland: the Gallipoli Connection

Introduction

To Australians and New Zealanders the Gallipoli campaign is so well known as to form part of the cultural makeup of our two nations. We first imbibed the mythology of the Anzac legend with our mother's milk and it has been reinforced ever since, while we were at school and generally through the media, particularly each year on 25 April, officially known as Anzac Day and a public holiday to boot. It says a lot about the sense of self irony of our two peoples that we so enthusiastically celebrate the defeat of our armed forces in battle.

So imbued are our two nations with this mythology and the tales of the glorious deeds of the Anzacs that many Australians and New Zealanders are surprised to learn that other nationalities took part on the allied side in that faraway campaign against the Turks and that the British and French armies suffered many more casualties at Gallipoli than either the Australians or New Zealanders.

They are even more surprised to learn that among the British army contingent were Irishmen, who died in greater numbers than New Zealanders, and that Irish regiments actually served alongside Anzac units in some of the most important battles of the campaign, including Lone Pine and Chunuk Bair, names that to this day respectively resonate with Australians and New Zealanders.

Memory of the close association between Anzacs and Irishmen at Gallipoli remained alive during the post-war period. In 1931 the commanding officer of the 5th Connaught Rangers wrote to the British official war historian:

I must say I liked soldiering with the A. & NZ Division, they were delightful to serve with – they remember all this even now in Australia, and they look back with much pleasure to those days in August 1915 – when they were with us in Gallipoli.¹

Since then, it seems, memories have faded. But it is not only today's antipodeans who have forgotten the Irish presence at Gallipoli. The Irish themselves have little idea of the part their soldiers played in that campaign.

In both cases the cause of this social amnesia can be traced to the impact that the war in general and the Gallipoli campaign in particular had on the national aspirations of the people of each country. For the people of Australia and New Zealand, the First World War has conventionally been regarded as the crucible in which our young nations were forged. Apart from some critics, notably former Australian prime minister Paul Keating, Gallipoli retains the focus of national sentiment, even though more lives were lost on the Western Front and the Anzacs were much more successful there than at Gallipoli. So much so that the antipodean nations have claimed Gallipoli exclusively for themselves – no one else was there, apart from the Turks, that is.

For the people of the ancient nation of Ireland, their social amnesia has a different aetiology. The war was conventionally regarded for many decades as a shameful episode best forgotten. A war in which Irishmen sold their national birthright to take the king's shilling.

In this paper I will briefly recount some of the battles in which Anzacs and Irishmen fought together at Gallipoli and discuss the way in which the Gallipoli campaign impacted on their

1 The National Archives (TNA): WO 95/4296, letter dated 11 February 1931 to CF Aspinall-Oglander.

national aspirations before finishing up by looking at the situation in Ireland today where there is revived consciousness of the part the Irish played in the First World War, in general, and at Gallipoli, in particular.

Campaigning Together

Let me start with a brief overview of the Gallipoli campaign. Originally conceived as a naval operation to force the Dardanelles and put pressure on the Turks, who had sided with the Germans, Churchill's plan to relieve pressure on the Western Front by attempting to knock out one of Germany's props in the east developed into a major amphibious operation, one of the first of its kind, involving 75,000 soldiers with naval support.

The Landings

The operation involved two separate landings on the morning of 25 April 1915: at Z Beach on the western side of the Gallipoli peninsula, to be undertaken by the two divisions of the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps, from which the acronym Anzac derives; and at Cape Helles on the southern tip of the peninsula by two British divisions, the 29th Division and the Royal Naval Division. Diversions were also planned for Bulair in the far north of the peninsula by British forces and at Kum Kale on the Asian side of the Dardanelles by French troops.

Among the landing points at Cape Helles were X Beach, where Irishmen of the 1st Battalion Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers, who participated in one of the few Allied successes that day, and V Beach, where the 1st Battalion Royal Dublin Fusiliers and the 1st Battalion Royal Munster Fusiliers suffered horrendous casualties, far worse proportionally than the Anzacs. So heavy were the Irish losses, that for three weeks after the landing the Dublins and the Munsters ceased to exist as separate units, being amalgamated into a composite battalion known as the 'Dubsters'.

As we know, the Allies failed to take their first day objectives and for the next eight or nine months grimly held on to the thin toe holds they held in both sectors, hardly advancing beyond what they had seized on the first day. It was in one of the early Allied attempts to break out at Cape Helles that Anzacs and Irishmen fought alongside each other.

Second Battle of Krithia

The first day objective for the Cape Helles landing was the heights of Achi Baba just north of the town of Krithia. Over the next few months there were a series of battles in which the Allies tried to capture Krithia and Achi Baba, but to no avail. In the second such attempt men of the 2nd Australian Infantry Brigade under Irish-born Colonel James McCay and the New Zealand Infantry Brigade were sent to Cape Helles to assist the 29th Division with the planned assault. Between 6 and 8 May Major General Hunter-Weston launched not one, not two, not three, not four, but five failed attempts to advance the Allied frontline, sending men into the withering fire of Turkish machine guns, which were immune to the ineffectual artillery barrage intended to give cover to the infantry. The Second Battle of Krithia was conducted in a manner that resulted in a dreadful and avoidable tragedy – one of the many during the Gallipoli campaign.

On the third day of the battle the Anzacs, who had been in reserve, were called upon to take part. The New Zealanders attacked first, with the Irish in support. As Major CB Brereton of the Canterbury Battalion led his company out of the Dubsters' trench, one of the Irishmen

called out, 'It's no good advancing, sir, you'll all be killed. It's no good, sir'.² He was not far wrong. By midday the attack was once more brought to a halt, with only a minimal gain of ground. Later that day it was the turn of the Australians and they too were mown down. Charles Bean wrote that the advance had been made 'in the teeth of rifle and machine-gun fire such as Australians seldom again encountered during the war'.³

Three nights later, the Anzac brigades were withdrawn from the front line and within the week they were back at Anzac Cove. Like the Irish, they were unimpressed by their short period of service alongside and under the command of the regulars of the British army.

August Offensive

The stalemate continued for months with the Turks defeating each Allied attempt to break out of their beachheads and the Allies beating off the numerous attempts of the Turks to drive them back into the sea. The Allies decided to launch a major offensive in August with the main objective being to seize the heights of the Sari Bair range to the east of the Anzac sector and to link up with a new beachhead to be established at Suvla Bay by the British IX Corps, which included the 10th (Irish) Division, a New Army division made up of citizen soldiers, unlike the regulars of the 29th Division.

The Anzacs would be reinforced for the attack on Sari Bair by the 29th Indian Brigade, comprising regular battalions of Gurkhas and Sikhs, and by four brigades of the British New Army, including the 29th Brigade of the 10th (Irish) Division, comprising the 6th Battalion Royal Irish Rifles, the 6th Battalion Leinster Regiment and the 5th Battalion Connaught Rangers and an English battalion.⁴

In the main attack on the Sari Bair range, the 4th Australian Brigade and the 29th Indian Brigade were to make their way up Aghyl Dere gully to the top of Koja Chemen Tepe, while the New Zealand Infantry Brigade was to capture Chunuk Bair. Diversions were planned for Helles and at Lone Pine, with smaller diversions all along the Second Ridge including at Quinn's Post and Courtney's Post. A further plan involved the Australians advancing from Russell's Top across the Nek to meet up with the New Zealanders sweeping down from Chunuk Bair in the rear of the Turkish position at Baby 700.

As we know the August offensive was a failure. In the Anzac sector the only success was at Lone Pine, where the 1st Australian Division captured the Turkish trenches on the 400 Plateau at great expense (2000 Australian and 5000 Turkish casualties) and much courage – seven Australians were awarded the Victoria Cross. During the action the 5th Battalion Connaught Rangers first saw action, supporting the Australians and helping to clear the dead from the choked Turkish trenches, dragging the bodies to Brown's Dip for burial.

Meanwhile, two companies of the 6th Battalion Leinster Regiment relieved Australians holding Courtney's Post and Quinn's Post, both precarious positions on the Second Ridge, where throughout the night the Turks kept up a stream of rifle and machine-gun fire.⁵ General

2 Robert Rhodes James, *Gallipoli*, Pimlico, London, 1999, p. 153.

3 Bean, CEW, *The Official History of Australia in the War of 1914–1918: The Story of Anzac*, Vol. 2, p. 36.

4 Recruiting in Ireland had yielded insufficient recruits to form the required 12 infantry battalions and 1 pioneer battalion of the division, so an English unit had been added.

5 TNA: WO 95/4296, War Diary of the 6th Leinster Regiment; Bryan Cooper, *The Tenth (Irish) Division in Gallipoli*, Herbert Jenkins, London, 1918 (republished by Irish Academic Press, Dublin, 1993), p. 56; Myles Dungan, *Irish Voices from the Great War*, Irish Academic Press, Dublin, 1995, p. 54.

Godley later wrote to the commander of the 29th Brigade that ‘the work of the Leinster Regiment at Quinn’s Post & Russell’s Top has been excellent throughout’.⁶

But these were only diversions. The main action was the assault on the Sari Bair range and in this the Allies failed dismally. The 4th Australian Brigade and the 29th Indian Brigade got hopelessly lost, while the New Zealand Brigade almost suffered the same fate but eventually made it to Rhododendron Ridge, which ran up to the summit. However, the leading battalions were so exhausted when they reached there they halted to await the rest of the brigade, thus allowing the Turks opportunity to strengthen their position on the top of Chunuk Bair. As a result, all attempts to seize the summit during the day were beaten back at great expense to the attackers.

In the early hours of the next morning, 8 August, the Wellington Battalion commanded by Lieutenant Colonel William Malone, a New Zealander of Irish descent, took the crest at the southern shoulder of Chunuk Bair. But their meagre toehold was shortlived and they were soon pushed off. The Anzac commander General Birdwood sent two battalions of Irishmen to help out.

The 6th Battalion Royal Irish Rifles after an exhausting climb reached a small plateau beneath Chunuk Bair called ‘the Farm’, where British and New Zealand troops occupied trenches around its outer edge. Charles Bean wrote in the Australian Official History:

As they lay there, an order came to a company commander of the [Royal Irish] Rifles to advance over the terrace. ‘Surely you won’t do it – it can’t be done,’ said an officer of the Maoris who lay next him. ‘I’m going – I’ve been told to,’ was the reply. He led forward the men round him, and, according to the testimony of the Maori officer, none came back.⁷

Bean recorded in a footnote to his account that bodies of men of the Royal Irish Rifles were found after the war within 20 metres of the crest of Chunuk Bair.

The Royal Irish Rifles fought desperately to hold the Farm, but lost almost all its officers before withdrawing from the position. The 5th Battalion Connaught Rangers later reoccupied the Farm. But with the Turks in command of the high ground, their position was untenable and they were ordered to withdraw.

The 6th Battalion Leinster Regiment was also committed to the fight, arriving on the night of 9 August at the Apex, a knoll on Rhododendron Ridge a few hundred metres from the summit. But by then the Turks, under Mustapha Kemal, were assembling on the far side of Chunuk Bair in readiness for a counterattack that was unleashed the next morning. Waves of Turkish infantry swept over the summit. The advance position at the Pinnacle, occupied by the Loyal North Lancashires, was overwhelmed and the way was open for the Turks to push the British Empire troops off the ridge. In front of them was the Apex held by the remnants of the Wellington Battalion, the Leinsters and the massed machine-guns of the New Zealand Infantry Brigade.

It was essential that the defenders hold the Apex as the New Zealand machine-gunners, who had been concentrated there, were able to pour a withering fire into the Turks, stopping their further advance. And the Leinsters played their part. Major Bryan Cooper, an officer with the 10th (Irish) Division, described the action at the Apex:

6 TNA: WO 79/49, Material for History of the Connaught Rangers.

7 Bean, *Official History*, Vol. 2, p. 699.

On the right the Leinsters stood their ground. At last the moment had arrived to which they had so anxiously looked forward. Turk and Irishman, face to face, and hand to hand, could try which was the better man. ... In spite of the odds, the two companies in the front line succeeded in checking the attack, and at the crucial moment they were reinforced by 'B' and 'C' Companies from the support line ... Shouting, they flung themselves into the fray, and drove the Turks back after a desperate struggle at close quarters.⁸

However, New Zealand military historian Chris Pugsley in his book *Gallipoli: The New Zealand Story* mistakenly defames the Leinsters, claiming 'Panic spread and the Leinsters at the Pinnacle also fled.' However, it was the Loyal North Lancashire Regiment that was at the Pinnacle. The Leinsters were at the Apex, and they held on as described by Major Cooper, whose account is supported by both the Australian and British official histories. Furthermore, after the battle Major General Godley sent for the commanding officer of the Leinsters and complimented him on the work of the battalion that morning.⁹

Hill 60

Although it was clear that the offensive had failed it was necessary to secure the intersection of the new beachhead at Suvla and the Anzac sector. Dominating that intersection was a low pimple of a knoll, which gloried in the name 'Hill 60' and which was held by the Turks. At 3.30 pm on 21 August Anzacs and Irishmen launched their attack. The 5th Battalion Connaught Rangers was on the left of the attacking force and had the task of seizing the Kabak Kuyu well, which could provide much needed water for the parched troops fighting in the heat of the Gallipoli summer.

Much to the annoyance of Lieutenant Colonel Jourdain, commanding officer of the 5th Battalion Connaught Rangers, Sir Ian Hamilton in his dispatches attributed the capture of the wells to the 29th Indian Brigade without mention of the Rangers. This erroneous account was published in *The Times*, fuelling complaints by the Irish that their efforts were not being recognised. After correspondence between Jourdain, Godley and Hamilton, *The Times* eventually acknowledged the Rangers' part in the attack, but not until 1920.¹⁰

After capturing the well, the Rangers charged Hill 60 in support of the New Zealanders. In the words of Charles Bean:

They were seen dashing up the seaward end of the hill, the Turks running before them. This fine charge called forth the admiration of all who beheld it, and such a movement, if it had been concerted and delivered along the whole line of attack with the flanks well guarded, would probably have carried Hill 60. As far as it can be ascertained it crossed the first trench on the western face of the hill, but, as it approached the summit, withered under fire poured upon it by the enemy. The losses were heavy, and no ground was gained.¹¹

8 Cooper, *Tenth (Irish) Division in Gallipoli*, p. 58.

9 Chris Pugsley, *Gallipoli: The New Zealand Story*, Reed Books, Auckland, 1998, p. 309. But he cites no source. Cf. Bean, *Official History*, Vol. 2, pp. 707–11 and CF Aspinall-Oglander, *Military Operations: Gallipoli*, William Heinemann Ltd, London, 1932, Vol. 2, pp. 304–306. See also TNA: WO 95/4296, War Diary of the 6th Leinster Regiment.

10 TNA: WO 79/49, Material for History of the Connaught Rangers, 1915–1916.

11 Bean, *Official History*, Vol. 2, p. 732.

In their wild charge the Rangers lost 12 officers and 248 men, of whom 46 were killed.¹² They were not the only ones to suffer. In less than two days, the attacking force lost over 1300 men – one third of its number. Nevertheless, it had a toehold on Hill 60, and General Birdwood ordered another assault on 27 August. The Australians launched the fresh attack at 4 pm, again suffering severely for little gain as wave after wave was cut down. The New Zealanders and Connaught Rangers, however, managed to gain access to a section of Turkish trench. From there, as night fell, the battle became one of hand-to-hand fighting with bayonet and bomb in the maze of trenches that crisscrossed the hill.

As dawn broke, the Allied forces held disconnected sections of the Turkish line. During the day both sides deepened and extended their trenches and in between bombing duels tried to rest in preparation for the night to come. But for the Connaught Rangers the fight was over. Reduced to only 164 men out of an original 750, they were relieved and replaced by men of the 10th Australian Light Horse Regiment.

The Allies never did capture the summit of Hill 60. Nevertheless, they continued to hold the seaward slopes, securing the Anzac flank and keeping open the link with Suvla.

The Irishmen of the 29th Brigade did no more fighting at Anzac. Reduced to under effective strength, they were employed mostly in work parties until 29 September, when they marched down to the shore and, with their compatriots of the 30th and 31st Brigades from Suvla, boarded ships for Lemnos. Moved by the sight of his men filing down to the beach, Major Bryan Cooper wrote:

We had passed that way less than two months before, but going in the opposite direction full of high hopes. Now we were leaving the Peninsula again, our work unfinished and the Turks still in possession of the Narrows. Nor was it possible to help thinking of the friends lying in narrow graves on the scrub-covered hillside or covered by the debris of filled-in trenches, whom we seemed to be abandoning. Yet though there was sorrow at departing there was no despondency.¹³

The 10th (Irish) Division's reprieve was brief, for in December it was sent to Salonika to fight the Bulgarians who, sensing the way the war was then going, had allied themselves with Turkey. The Irishmen's experiences in that theatre would prove no more uplifting than their brief but tragic sojourn at Gallipoli. In September 1917 the division was transferred to Palestine, where it fought alongside the Australian Light Horse in battles such as Beersheba and in the capture of Jerusalem. During its time there the Irish component was steadily diluted due to declining enlistments until by the end of the war it was effectively an Indian division.

The Impact of Gallipoli on the Emerging Nations

Gallipoli was a severe defeat for the military forces of the British Empire, and was to have a profound effect on its emerging nations. Anzacs and Irishmen both came away from the peninsula convinced they had been mucked about and butchered by the incompetence of the British generals. Among the Anzac and Irish soldiers, however, there was a mutual respect. Lieutenant Colonel Jourdain recounted how in November 1915 a party of Australian soldiers who had been evacuated wounded to England met John Redmond MP, leader of the Irish National Party, while visiting the House of Commons and expressed to him their 'highest

12 TNA: WO 95/4296, War Diary of the 5th Battalion Connaught Rangers

13 Cooper, *Tenth (Irish) Division in Gallipoli*, p. 131.

admiration for the fighting qualities of the Irish soldiers. One charge by the Connaught Rangers was, they said, the finest thing they had seen in the war'.¹⁴

For Australians and New Zealanders, eager to impress the mother country of their worthiness, Gallipoli, despite the cost, had a salutary effect on the nation-building process without rupturing relations with the British Empire. In contrast, nationalist Irishmen, who sought to impress no-one as they wanted to become not a nation so much as 'a nation once again', were not so forgiving. Separatist nationalists, who were opposed to the war, exploited the Dardanelles fiasco to whip up anti-British sentiment, while moderate nationalists began to lose faith in the idea that supporting Britain in the war effort would assure home rule, leading to a decline in recruiting.

For some in Ireland it was Gallipoli rather than the Easter Rising of 1916 that marked 'the moment their feelings towards the British began to turn'.¹⁵ In her 1919 memoirs, Katharine Tynan, Irish poet and novelist, wrote:

So many of our friends had gone out in the 10th Division to perish at Suvla. For the first time came bitterness, for we felt that their lives had been thrown away and that their heroism had gone unrecognised. Suvla – the burning beach, and the poisoned wells, and the blazing scrub, does not bear thinking on. Dublin was full of mourning, and on the faces one met there was a hard brightness of pain as though the people's hearts burnt in the fire and were not consumed. ... One met the mourners everywhere ... At least we started with utter enthusiasm for the war and its purposes. One did not know all that would happen, how it would drag and drag, till weariness of it and longing for it to end overcame all other feelings.¹⁶

The bad experience of the Irish at Gallipoli would soon be overshadowed in 1916 by the Battle of the Somme with the crippling losses of the 36th (Ulster) Division on the first day of the battle and the severe losses by the 16th (Irish) Division in September at Guillemont and Ginchy. After its near-destruction at Gallipoli, the 10th (Irish) Division spent the rest of the war in the backwater of the eastern theatre, eventually becoming an Indian formation in May 1918, while the 16th (Irish) Division suffered the ignominy of annihilation during the German offensive of March 1918.¹⁷ By contrast, the Australian divisions ended the war on a high note with a series of brilliant victories.

In *The Irish at the Front*, an exaltation of the Irish contribution to the war effort published in 1916, Michael MacDonagh made the following prediction (wrongly as it turned out): 'Because of those [Irish] dead Gallipoli will ever be to the Irish race a place of glorious pride and sorrow'.¹⁸ In fact, prior to the mid 1980s, when Irish historians rediscovered the Great War, the popular understanding in the south was that Ireland had played only a minor part in the war. Most people in the 26 counties were infinitely more acquainted with the rising in Easter week in which 64 rebels and 254 Irish civilians were killed than with the four years of

14 HFN Jourdain, *Record of the 5th (Service) Battalion, The Connaught Rangers from 19th August 1914 to 17th January 1916*, privately published, 1916, p. 72.

15 Ben Novick, *Conceiving Revolution: Irish Nationalist Propaganda during the First World War*, Four Courts Press, Dublin, 2001, pp. 17, 56-64, 196.

16 Katharine Tynan, *The Years of the Shadow*, Constable, London, 1919, pp. 178, 186.

17 For a history of the changing national identity of the Irish divisions during the war see Nicholas Perry, 'Nationality in the Irish Infantry Regiments in the First World War', *War & Society*, Vol. 12, No. 1, May 1994, pp. 65-95.

18 Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1916, p. 102.

the Great War that involved over 200 000 Irishmen and claimed the lives of more than 35 000, in excess of 3,000 at Gallipoli.

The harsh treatment of the leaders of the rising ‘created an atmosphere in which the achievements of Irish soldiers in the Great War was never glorified’.¹⁹ Furthermore, in seeking to establish its own sense of nationhood during the postwar years, a nationhood which, unlike Australia’s and New Zealand’s, claims an ancient heritage predating English occupation, ‘the Irish Free State had little use for the memory of Irishmen who served in the British army’.²⁰

For the citizens of the new Irish state, the Easter Rising, as it came to be imagined with all the overlays of heroic romanticism and blood sacrifice, provided a memory that was both compelling and effective in bolstering a sense of national identity. Thirty-five thousand Irishmen might have died at Gallipoli and in Flanders and Picardy, but as far as most nationalists were concerned they had been simply in the wrong place at the wrong time.

Remembering Gallipoli in Ireland Today

Following the pioneering work of David Fitzpatrick in the 1980s,²¹ a spate of publications in the 1990s, some by journalist-historians whose work is accessible to a mass readership, raised the awareness of the Irish people to the significant contribution which nationalist Ireland made during the war. These included books by Tom Johnstone, Terence Denman, Tom Dooley and Myles Dungan.²²

Awareness was also raised on 11 November 1998, when the Irish Peace Park at Mesen, Belgium was dedicated in a ceremony in which the Irish President Mary McAleese stood beside Queen Elizabeth to remember the *all* Irishmen who had served, regardless of politics or religion. A number of groups have been formed to promote the memory of the Irish war dead, such as the Royal Dublin Fusiliers Association, and in recent years new war memorials have been erected in a number of towns in Ireland: Bandon, County Cork, in 1996; Leighlinbridge, County Carlow, in 2002; Tipperary, County Tipperary, in 2005. In October 2006, the then Taoiseach, Bertie Ahern, unveiled a new war memorial at Fermoy, County Cork.

At a popular level, Sebastian Barry’s *A Long Long Way*, a best-selling novel about the Dublin Fusiliers during the war, informed a new Irish generation of their long-forgotten past.²³ But perhaps the most significant recent development was the Irish government’s commemoration of the 90th anniversary of the Battle of the Somme, which involved a ceremony in Dublin attended by the President and the Taoiseach, as well as ministerial representation at commemorations in France. It was the first time the Irish state has commemorated that battle,

19 Mark McCarthy (ed.), *Ireland’s Heritages: Critical Perspectives on Memory and Identity*, Ashgate Publishing Ltd, Aldershot, 2005, p. 22.

20 Jim Haughey, *The First World War in Irish Poetry*, Bucknell University Press, Lewisburg, 2002, p. 37.

21 David Fitzpatrick, *Ireland and the First World War*, Trinity History Workshop Publications, Dublin, 1986.

22 Tom Johnstone, *Orange, Green and Khaki: The Story of the Irish Regiments in the Great War, 1914–18*, Gill and Macmillan, Dublin, 1992; Denman, *Ireland’s Unknown Soldiers*, 1992; Thomas P Dooley, *Irishmen or English Soldiers?: The Times and World of a Southern Irish Man (1876–1916) Enlisting in the British Army During the First World War*, Liverpool University Press, Liverpool, 1995; Myles Dungan, *Irish Voices from the Great War*, Irish Academic Press, Dublin, 1995; Myles Dungan, *They Shall Grow Not Old: Irish Soldiers and the Great War*, Four Courts Press, Dublin, 1997.

23 Faber & Faber, London, 2005. It was shortlisted for the Man Booker Prize for 2005.

so long the exclusive preserve of unionists.²⁴ In 2008 RTE commemorated the 90th anniversary of the end of the war by broadcasting a ten-part series on various aspects of the war with an accompanying book significantly entitled *Our War*.

As regards the Gallipoli campaign, for a number of years now an Anzac Day service has been held in Dublin, organised alternately by the Australian embassy and the New Zealand Irish Association. The ceremony involves a church service and reception. In 2006, the Irish government was represented for the first time by a minister of state, while senior Irish military officers have attended for a number of years, as have members of Irish ex-service associations. Since 2007 the commemorations have included a dawn service at Grangegorman Military Cemetery near Phoenix Park where seven Australian and three New Zealand soldiers from the First World War are buried.

In 2009 the National Museum of Ireland marked the anniversary of the landing at Gallipoli with a full day's program of tours, talks and workshops at Collins Barracks, including a talk by Professor Stuart Ward on the memory of Gallipoli in Australia and Ireland. Next year the Royal Dublin Fusilier's Association plans to hold a conference on Gallipoli to mark the 95th anniversary of the landing.

The story of the Irish at Gallipoli was first told in a handful of books that appeared during and immediately after the war but thereafter it was largely forgotten.²⁵ Since the 1980s, however, the Gallipoli campaign has been included in some general works on the Irish in the First World War.²⁶ As interest in the war has increased in Ireland more specialised works have begun to appear, including books specifically on Gallipoli. For example, in 2006 Philip Orr published *Field of Bones* describing the experiences of the 10th (Irish) Division at Gallipoli,²⁷ while Philip Lecane is presently working on an even more specialised book that deals with the Irish on the first day of the Gallipoli campaign.

Conclusion

I do not need to persuade this audience of the deep and broad historical and cultural relationship between the peoples of Australia and New Zealand on the one hand and Ireland on the other. Each Australasian Irish studies conference reinforces and reminds us of that fact. Nevertheless, some aspects of our shared past are not as well understood as they might. The Gallipoli connection, which so strongly binds the peoples of Australia and New Zealand, is one such aspect that deserves closer consideration.

24 In 2006, the Taoiseach's website added a page entitled 'Irish Soldiers in the First World War', which includes a reasonably detailed narrative of Ireland's role in the war
<<http://www.taoiseach.gov.ie/eng/index.asp?docID=2517>>.

25 For example: HFN Jourdain, *Record of the 5th (Service) Battalion: The Connaught Rangers from 19th August 1914 to 17th January 1916*, Antony Rowe Ltd, Eastbourne, 1916; Michael MacDonagh *The Irish at the Front*, Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1916; Bryan Cooper, *The Tenth (Irish) Division in Gallipoli*, Herbert Jenkins, London, 1918 (republished by Irish Academic Press, Dublin, 1993); Cyril Falls, *The History of the First Seven Battalions: The Royal Irish Rifles in the Great War*, Gale & Polden, London, 1925, vol 2.

26 For example: Tom Johnstone, *Orange, Green and Khaki: The Story of the Irish Regiments in the Great War, 1914-18*, Gill and Macmillan, Dublin, 1992, chs 10-13; Myles Dungan, *Irish Voices from the Great War*, Irish Academic Press, Dublin, 1995, chs 2 and 3..

27 Philip Orr, *Field of Bones: An Irish Division at Gallipoli*, The Lilliput Press, Dublin, 2006.