

typeface, pagination and illustrations are all retained, but the essays are consecutively numbered and that helps with the index. The really useful thing about this volume is to have all these essays in one place, representing as they do the contribution over many years of one historian to our understanding of British exploration of the Pacific in the eighteenth century. And I would be hard pressed to think of anyone who has made a greater contribution.

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*Return to Gallipoli: Walking the Battlefields of the Great War.* By Bruce Scates. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2006. 273 pp. NZ price: \$44.95. ISBN 9-78052168-1521-3.

FEW PLACES INVEST THE IMAGINATION of Australians and New Zealanders like Gallipoli. As the horror of direct memory has vanished with the passing of the Anzacs, the Gallipoli Peninsula has become the central shrine in a national legend (perhaps more aggressively in Australia than New Zealand) which, Bruce Scates reminds us, has drawn visitors since the end of the campaign. In *Return to Gallipoli*, he mounts a careful and useful exploration of the 'Anzac pilgrimages' made by government officials and private citizens since 1915. Limited though he is by the nature of the evidence, Scates's study of battlefield pilgrimage provides a fitting complement to Ken Inglis's studies of the Australian national rituals of public commemoration. Scates makes occasional reference to New Zealand throughout the book but rightly sees the New Zealand experience as worthy of separate investigation.

*Return to Gallipoli* explores the battlefields of the First AIF as sacred sites in four parts. The first of these, 'Loss, Memory, Desire', explores the records through which Australian families at home learned of killed and missing soldiers across the seas. From the first, Scates reminds the reader, the true horror of war was euphemized, sacramentalized and redacted in ways which could lead to tension both for those who conveyed (soldiers, nurses, chaplains) and those who received the news. Noting both the profound centrality, and limitation, of the written word in the grieving process, he allows the Red Cross files to tell 'both sides of the conversation' as families sought to mourn loved ones physically removed forever. As written testimony of death in the field was shepherded by the Red Cross Wounded and Missing Bureau, the care of the body (often unidentified) was to become the duty of the War Graves Commission. Chapter two traces the development of the battlefields as a site of pilgrimage from Charles Bean's 1919 Gallipoli visit onwards, as the War Graves Registration Unit located bodies and began to memorialize the landscape.

Part Two offers perspective on 'family pilgrimages' to the war graves of Europe and Turkey from the 1920s for those few Australians with the economic means to make the journey. As the official agencies of national commemoration used their energies to memorialize the dead within Australia, the battlefields remained beyond the reach of all but the most privileged despite desperate attempts from mourning families to obtain state subsidy. For those who could visit, personal loss was, it appears beneath the surface, the abiding motivation for battlefield pilgrimage. 'Travel, in this context', Scates notes, 'acquires knowledge through suffering . . . . And it is very much the province of the bereaved, those who nursed their grief and clung desperately to memory' (p.81). As elsewhere in Australian life, the character of remembrance was contested in the 1920s, so that plans for an ex-soldiers' pilgrimage were abandoned as incompatible with shared pilgrimage involving women and families. Those who have followed

the brouhahas surrounding more recent Gallipoli gatherings will take interest in the competing commercial and historical tensions at work between the government, returned servicemen and the general public in the first 'official' pilgrimage from Australia to Gallipoli in 1929.

Battlefield pilgrimage continued, in a patchy way, through the 1930s depression and the Second World War and then faced growing ambiguity as the Anzacs aged among a new generation of Australians in the Vietnam era. From chapters four to eight *Return to Gallipoli* moves to the 'age of air travel' and 'a very different kind of journey' (p.99). Increasingly Scates leaves the evocative but patchy records of the early visitors (soldiers and loved ones) — for whom the battlefields were the site of visceral, personal tragedy — for more plentiful 'pilgrimage' reflections, tied to family identity and national commemoration, undertaken in recent decades. The back half of the book draws extensively from around 700 surveys conducted among Australians and New Zealanders who have journeyed on pilgrimage to Gallipoli and the Western Front.

Here Scates explores the 'pilgrimage industry' and the motivations of those — ranging from ageing children born to the soldiers of the First AIF to today's school children — who have participated in 'the politics of commemoration' through battlefield pilgrimage. He acknowledges (as all historians who follow Alistair Thomson must do) a need to interrogate the prism of constructed memory through which a 'national' memory of Anzac has been formed — but he does so with a gentle touch. And his survey respondents, quoted appropriately and often at length, serve to remind the reader that those who construct the rituals of memory cannot control their varied effects on those who participate within them. As the numbers grow, Scates notes, pilgrimage 'has become fashionable, especially at Gallipoli and especially amongst the young' — but it has always 'straddled a vast emotional and political spectrum, incorporating conflicting strands of nationalism and pacifism, skepticism and nostalgia, commemoration and adventure' (p.214). His respondents allow the author to question the relationships at work between the official and unofficial sources and rituals which help to shape and perpetuate family and national memory centred on the Anzac legend.

As the author notes, this book 'owes as much to surveys, interviews and e-mail exchanges as it does to neatly catalogued papers of library collections' (p.xx). Thankfully, he allows the words of his respondents, and the written records of those earlier generations he studies, to speak without excessive theoretical interjection or interpretation. His confident deployment of a broad pastiche of personal, anecdotal correspondence adds greatly to the vitality of the work and the breadth of perspective. Indeed, as he moves between historical sources at once evocative and frustratingly ambiguous, Scates creates an engaging style reminiscent of Greg Denning in his earliest (and perhaps best) stage of historical writing.

*Return to Gallipoli* is a lucid and important book. It must be hoped that it is read beyond an academic audience, at a time when a politically and media-driven commemoration industry threatens to warp perspective. Cleverly constructed and carefully researched, it offers mostly predictable but equally powerful insights into a fundamental and often elusive area of historical research on 'Anzac' — the relationship between those destroyed by war, those drawn to silence by it, and those who remain to remember.

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