

# Australian First-World-War Photography

## Frank Hurley and Charles Bean

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On the twenty-sixth of September 1917, during the Third Ypres Campaign on the Western Front in Flanders, Frank Hurley and Charles Bean began a long argument about photographic verisimilitude. Captain Frank Hurley, one of Australia's newly appointed war photographers, wanted to combine several different negatives into a single battle tableau, and C. E. W. Bean, Australia's long-standing war correspondent and official war historian, prohibited it.

An amateur photographer himself, Bean valorized photographic objectivity in his own reportage writing. After he was appointed official Australian 'eyewitness' to the war in 1915, he referred to himself in his diary as an 'Australian recorder' and was angered when Australian newspapers preferred to publish the more lurid and fanciful accounts of the Reuters pool reporters over his own official dispatches, which ended up being described as 'colourless' by the *Bulletin*.<sup>1</sup> To Bean, however, 'the private interests of papers are something which cut right across the interests of the country — scoops, competition, magnification and exaggeration are out of all harmony with what is best for country'.<sup>2</sup> In 1916 he began a campaign to establish an Australian War Records Section which would 'preserve and tenderly care for the sacred things which will some day constitute the greatest public possession Australia will have'. It would collect war relics (a term he preferred to trophy),<sup>3</sup> which would act as both vivid historical expository devices, and as spiritual shipping containers in which to bring some essence of the experience of the Anzacs<sup>4</sup> back to Australia from France, where many thousands of their bodies were to remain. It would also collect photographs as 'sacred records — standing for future generations to see forever the plain simple truth'.<sup>5</sup>

To Bean, both photographs and relics sat on the same continuum, because both received and retained direct indexical impressions of the fighting. For example, in July 1918, Bean had two, front-and-back, anthropological-style photographs taken of two diggers<sup>6</sup> when they came out of the fighting.<sup>7</sup> Then he had their uniforms and all their gear taken from them and replaced by a completely new outfit. In the words of Bean's biographer: 'Everything that was taken from these soldiers, with all the emanations evocative

of battle, fear, death, endurance and heroism, was to be sealed up, just as it came from these men, and sent back to Australia so that their countrymen might feel these emanations and be reminded what manner of men these had been'.<sup>8</sup>

To Bean both the war relic and the record photograph would also provide a ready-made archaeological substratum for the nascent Australian nation. For example, in 1919, after the Armistice, Bean returned to Gallipoli with the Australian Historical Mission and, in a scrupulous valedictory labour, combed the ground for relics which he referred to as "'antiquities" only four years old'.<sup>9</sup> These were then forensically examined to determine how far inland the Australians had penetrated on the morning of the first landing. Significant finds were photographed *in situ*. A seemingly insignificant photograph of a water bottle lying under a bush, *Australian relics on the north-eastermost spur of Battleship Hill*, is only activated into historical, and spiritually mnemonic life by its caption: 'This was probably the point reached by Tulloch's Company on 25th April 1915'.<sup>10</sup>

The Australian War Records Section was established in June 1917, and two Australian photographers, Hubert Wilkins and Frank Hurley, were appointed to the Section shortly thereafter. If Bean revered the photograph as an inviolable historical record and immutable spiritual artefact, to Hurley it was a manipulable, spectacular showcase. Frank Hurley was much more than just a photographer. At the time of his appointment to the Section he was a household name as a polar explorer and a showman film maker, photographer and adventurer.<sup>11</sup> He already had extensive experience with the production of popular attractions, all of which used the latest film and photographic technology, and all of which featured himself as showman. A youthful apprenticeship in Sydney as a postcard photographer specializing in spectacular subjects and unusual effects prepared him for the heroic work he produced on the Mawson Antarctic expedition of 1911–13 and the Shackleton Antarctic Expedition of 1914–16. Hurley produced and appeared with theatre presentations of the cinema film and lantern slides he shot on these expeditions. His film of the Mawson expedition, *Home of the Blizzard*, was screened in Sydney in 1913 whilst Mawson was still stranded in Antarctica. Hurley

appeared at each screening as the figure of the returned imperial explorer to give a personal recitation to accompany the film.

After receiving the honorary rank of Captain from the AIF,<sup>12</sup> Hurley established with Bean a clear separation between the duties of himself and Lieutenant Hubert Wilkins: 'Wilkins will attend to the records, and I myself to the publicity pictures and aesthetic results'.<sup>13</sup> Bean saw the division of labour between the two photographers in similar terms, but placed quite different weightings on their relative importance. Whilst admitting that both photographers were 'utterly daring fellows', Bean always felt more affinity for Wilkins. To him Hurley was merely a 'keen commercial man' devoted to publicity and propaganda, whereas Wilkins was committed to providing future historians with records accurate enough to be relied on as historical evidence.<sup>14</sup> Bean not only saw these as 'conflicting activities',<sup>15</sup> but to him the publicity photographer was necessarily excluded from the urgent historical imperatives of military, and therefore national, destiny. Only the record photographer who risked his life out of 'his own sense of duty'<sup>16</sup> truly 'played [his] part as [an] Australian soldier'.<sup>17</sup> After the Third Ypres Campaign, Bean warmly recommended Wilkins for a Military Cross, and rather lukewarmly recommended Hurley for a Mention in Dispatches.<sup>18</sup> Wilkins received his Military Cross but Hurley never received his Mention in Dispatches.

However, like Bean, Hurley was overwhelmed by the horror of the Front and greatly impressed by the futile bravery of the Anzac soldiers, which he immediately saw in the same nation-forming terms as Bean. His picturesque imagination was excited by the weird juxtapositions of modern warfare, where expansive scenes of pastoral beauty existed within a few kilometres of the compacted hell of the trenches, and everything was overseen by awesome new technologies. Hurley had trouble scenographically encompassing this visual sweep. During the Battle of Polygon Wood the speed and intensity of battle were his biggest problem. Both Hurley and Wilkins wanted to capture the random instantaneity of aerial bombardment: 'In spite of heavy shelling by the Boche, we made an endeavour to secure a number of shell burst pictures. ... I took two pictures by hiding in a dugout and then rushing out and snapping'.<sup>19</sup>

It was that evening that Hurley and Bean began their argument: 'Had a great argument with Bean about combination pictures. Am thoroughly convinced that it is impossible to secure effects, without resorting to combination pictures'.<sup>20</sup> Composite printing was a staple technique with which Hurley was well acquainted. He had already produced composites from his Shackleton Antarctic Expedition negatives. The technique was widely used by amateurs to add moodily artistic cloud effects to landscapes, but postcard companies and illustrated newspapers also occasionally used it to recreate complex scenarios.<sup>21</sup>

The dispute was important to both men because the Australian High Commission in London was planning an exhibition of war pictures at the Grafton Galleries in May 1918. Bean also sought to get a perspective on the argument by retreating to his diary: '... had a long argument with Hurley who wants to be allowed to make "composite"

pictures for his exhibition — i.e. to put in a shell burst made by trench mortars at St Pol. I can see his point, he has been nearly killed a dozen times and has failed to get the pictures he wants — but we will not have it at any price'.<sup>22</sup> Five days after their initial confrontation Hurley and Bean continued their argument, and both hardened their stances. Bean got General Headquarters to prohibit Hurley from making composites and Hurley, banking on his prestige as a famous polar explorer, tactically responded by upping the ante:

Had a lengthy discussion with Bean re pictures for exhibition and publicity purposes. Our authorities here will not permit me to pose any pictures or indulge in any original means to secure them ... . As this absolutely takes all possibilities of producing pictures from me, I have decided to tender my resignation at once. I conscientiously consider it but right to illustrate to the public the things our fellows do and how the war is conducted. They can only be got by printing a result from a number of negatives or re-enactment. This is out of reason and they prefer to let all these interesting episodes pass. This is unfair to our boys and I conscientiously could not undertake to continue to work.<sup>23</sup>

I sent in my resignation this morning and await result of igniting the fuse. It is disheartening after striving to secure the impossible and running all hazards to meet with little encouragement. I am unwilling and will not make a display of war pictures unless the Military people see their way clear to give me a free hand.<sup>24</sup>

However, Hurley continued to photograph and film. Called to General Headquarters to photograph the 1st Anzac staff, he spoke to General Birdwood who promised to 'fix matters up'.<sup>25</sup> A few days later Hurley was able to report in his diary: 'Headquarters have given me permission to make six combination enlargements in the exhibition so I withdrew my resignation ... . However it will be no delusion to the public as they will be distinctly titled, setting forth the number of negatives used, etc. All of the elements will be taken in action'.<sup>26</sup> In early November Hurley was sent to Palestine to cover the Australian Light Horse. Away from the strictures of both the Front and Bean, he flourished. He found the battalions, and battalion commanders, extremely amenable to staging re-enacted 'stunts' for his camera.

Hurley returned to London in May 1918 to prepare for the exhibition of Australian war pictures at the Grafton Galleries. He arranged to have 130 negatives printed, his six composites and other images enlarged to mural size at Raines & Co in Ealing, and colour lantern slides made from the Paget colour plates. He enthusiastically described the exhibition in his diary:

The exhibition was well patronised today. The colour lantern is working excellently. The colour slides depict scenes on the Western Front, Flanders and also Palestine. They are gems and elicit applause at every showing. A military band plays throughout the day. ... Our largest picture 'THE RAID' depicting an episode at the Battle of Zonnebeke [is a combination of twelve negatives] and measures over 20ft x 15'6" high. Two waves of infantry are leaving the trenches in the thick of a Boche Barrage of shells and shrapnel. A flight of bombing aeroplanes accompanies them. An enemy plane is burning in the foreground. The whole picture is realistic of battle, the atmospheric effects of battle smoke are particularly fine. Another sensational picture is 'DEATH THE REAPER'. This remarkable effect is made up of two negatives. One, the



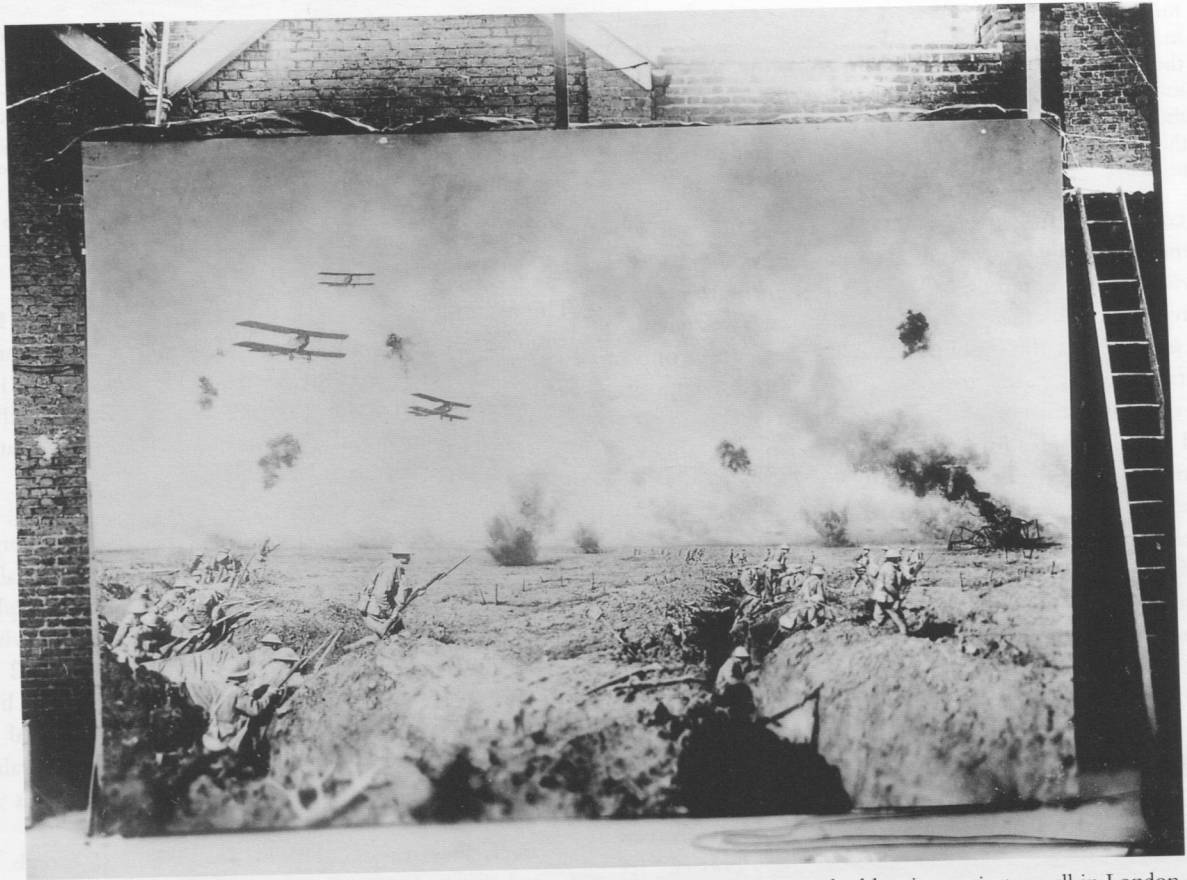


Figure 1. Frank Hurley, *An episode after the Battle of Zonnebeke*, 1917–18 (photographed leaning against a wall in London, May 1918). Australian War Memorial neg. no. P1438/01.



Figure 2. Frank Hurley, No Title, 1917. Captioned: 'A photograph taken in France in June 1919 [sic] illustrating the commencement of an attack' (negative used in the composite *An episode after the Battle of Zonnebeke*). Australian War Memorial neg. no. E5429.

foreground, shows the mud splashed corpse of a boche floating in a shell crater. The second is an extraordinary shell burst: the form of which resembles death. The Palestine series are magnificent ... It is some recompense to see one's work shown to the masses and to receive favourable criticism after the risks and hardships I have taken and endured to secure the negatives.<sup>27</sup>

The composite Hurley referred to as 'The Raid' was subsequently variously known as *An episode after the Battle at Zonnebeke*,<sup>28</sup> or sometimes *Over the Top*<sup>29</sup> (figure 1). The foreground is constructed from the final two images of a rapid sequence of three photographs he shot of a group of soldiers going over the top (figure 2). In the composite, these sequential images of the same soldiers become spatialized two lines of advancing troops, and planes, shrapnel and smoke have been added into the background. The original sequence was most probably taken during a training exercise or a re-enactment since they have been accessioned out of series by the Records Section; in addition, it is extremely unusual to see any photographs, let alone a sequence of three, taken from such an exposed position during a battle; and, finally, the actual battle was fought in torrential rain and a quagmire of mud, whilst in the composite the ground appears dry.<sup>30</sup>

Although oil and water colour sketches were exhibited in a separate room, the photographs received most press attention. In particular the colour lantern slides received notices that confirm Hurley's enthusiastic diary entries.<sup>31</sup> A day or so later Wilkins visited London sporting his Military Cross. Hurley commented darkly, 'Strings have been pulled'.<sup>32</sup> Bean also came to London and visited the exhibition. He had already discovered that Hurley had attempted to smuggle some colour plates out of France for the exhibition without going through the censor — he was angry, but not surprised, at Hurley's unscrupulousness.<sup>33</sup> He was further angered when he realized that Hurley now intended to abandon the task of photographing the continuing trials of the Anzacs in France in order to return to Australia to continue his showman career. And he did not like what he saw when he visited the exhibition either:

Our exhibition is easily the best I have seen, although there is too much Hurley in it — his name is on every picture with few exceptions — including some that Wilkins took; and what should be a fine monument to the sacrifice of Australians in France is rather an advertisement for Hurley. ... Hurley was married in Egypt and is determined to go back to Australia straight. I shall see that he does not have management of this exhibition there.<sup>34</sup>

As the exhibition continued to attract larger and larger numbers of visitors (on one Sunday a thousand people saw it in three hours) Bean mobilized his forces against Hurley's plans. Hurley recorded it all in his diary, only hinting that he knew who might be pulling the strings:

I am urging that the present set of enlargements be sent to Australia for propaganda. No better medium could we possibly have. The exhibition has been pronounced by experts to be the best since the beginning of the war.<sup>35</sup>

I have omitted a week from my diary, having been so disgusted with the treatment I have received from the High Commissioner's office and the A. I. F. It has worried me

considerably. A deadlock has been arrived at which excludes me from taking the Exhibition of my own pictures to Australia ... The only reason Australia House ascribe to their attitude is because I am soliciting publicity. They accuse me of making a Hurley show of the exhibition, which is an infernal lie. ... It seems beyond conception that government officials can assume such an attitude which is nothing but the outcome of personal jealousy. ... I do not intend to let the matter drop here, but will have it taken up further by the Australian press.<sup>36</sup>

The exhibition was sent on a provincial English tour. Hurley unsuccessfully tried to persuade Australia House to produce a duplicate set to take to Australia. He resigned on 11 July and received permission to make smaller versions of the AIF photographs, including the composites, for his private use, paying for the materials himself.<sup>37</sup>

Meanwhile, Bean was, in his own way, attending to the propaganda potential of photographs. His attempt to prohibit Hurley from taking his composite tableaux to Australia did not mean that he was ignoring the value of photography for propaganda altogether. Whilst Hurley was arguing with the High Commissioner, Bean was organizing for 72 small 4 × 6 cm photographs to be available for purchase by the troops, at a shilling each. Bean also produced several series of lantern slides for the recruiting authority in Australia. As Bean admitted, 'the originator of this scheme was really Hurley'.<sup>38</sup>

Back in Australia, Hurley was amongst friends once more. In early 1919, after the Armistice, he got permission from the Minister for Defence to exhibit his personal collection of the smaller AIF photographs at Kodak's Sydney Salon, which paid for the framing and mounting. The proceeds of the exhibition, some £300, were donated to the Red Cross. He used the press consummately to complain about his treatment in London. A talk he gave to the Photographic Society of New South Wales was reported under the headline 'Australian War Pictures Kept In England',<sup>39</sup> and two correspondents wrote letters of support to the *Sydney Morning Herald*, which conveniently allowed Hurley to reply:

Sir, After seeing Captain Frank Hurley's wonderful war pictures ... I cannot help wondering how it is that we have not become acquainted with them before. They are the real thing, and are of historic value. ... I believe this collection is only one third of the pictures he has photographed on the battlefield, the others are in the keeping of military authorities in London. Why have they not reached Australia? Isn't it worthwhile making some effort to obtain them for our National Art Gallery or Mitchell Library or some other place where they could have a permanent home, and serve as a memento of what our soldiers actually did in the great war, when they travelled 12 000 miles to help the Motherland. I write as an Anzac's sister. I am etc. May Summerbelle.<sup>40</sup>

... The last I heard of the collection of pictures was that they rested in peace, or rather pieces, in the vault of Australia House, London, in a shroud of red tape and cobwebs. Surely, indeed, this is gross injustice to the people, and a poor tribute to those who had deeply at heart the immortalisation of doings great in the history of our nation. ... I am etc. Frank Hurley, Captain.<sup>41</sup>

Hurley's Kodak Salon exhibition received much publicity. The composites were reproduced in many different newspapers and magazines. Hurley had assured the AIF that there would be 'no delusion to the public',<sup>42</sup> and in the catalogue





Figure 3. Frank Hurley, No Title, c.1917 (negative used in the composite *Morning After the Battle of Paeschendaele*). Australian War Memorial neg. no. E5430c.

that accompanied the exhibition he freely admitted that: 'In order to convey accurate battle impressions, I have made several composite pictures, utilising a number of negatives for the purpose'.<sup>43</sup> However, the catalogue does not identify the composites, and when they were reproduced sometimes their composite nature was noted, sometimes not. All the time, however, the authenticity of the composites was stressed. Considerably stretching the truth, the catalogue stated that 'The elements of these composites were all taken in action and submitted to the G. O. C. A. I. F. who gave his approval for their production'.<sup>44</sup> It was crucial for the reception of the images as authentic that all the component parts of the composites be assumed to be taken in action. Newspaper reviews certainly worked on that assumption.

War Pictures  
Realistic Collection  
Capt. Hurley's work

'The Dawn of Passchendaele' immediately arrests attention, this is a very striking picture with all the sinister suggestions appropriate to that dreadful day. It was taken under machine gun fire at a spot where some stretcher-bearers had laid down their stricken burdens overnight to await for a relief party. The recumbent, shrouded figures — the attitude of complete exhaustion in which a guarding bearer leans against a wall — tell a mute story of suffering and endurance which gives the heart a sharp pang and stirs the imagination to a perhaps more intimate realisation of what prodigies of devotion and sacrifice those shell swept trenches of Flanders witnessed.<sup>45</sup>

The pictures ... are photographs taken at great risk during battles, and not fancy pictures faked from a safe position behind the lines. I received this news from the mouth of a returned soldier who said, 'They are the goods, in the thick of the fight was Hurley with his camera; both he and his camera must have been charmed'.<sup>46</sup>

These responses to Hurley's composites (figures 3–5) are themselves a kind of composite: the reading of the 'sinister suggestions' produced by the addition of heavy clouds conforms to a conventional mode of pictorial decipherment which uses a generic lexicon derived from salon painting, whilst, at the same time, the assumption that the component parts are actual adds a 'sharp pang' of authenticity. The word 'faked', here, is used to distinguish composites supposedly comprising authentic components from staged re-enactments.

Hurley, explaining himself to a camera club readership, appropriated their word 'impression' in order to further validate his composites. Within camera clubs, 'impression' was normally used to describe 'artistic' or 'pictorial' photographs, but Hurley used it more generally to describe an authorized auteurial mode of photographic malleability:

Special permission was granted ... for the making of 'Photographic Impression Pictures' ... None but those who have endeavoured can realise the insurmountable difficulties of portraying a modern battle by camera. To include the event on a single negative, I have tried and tried, but the results are hopeless. Everything is on such a vast scale. Figures are



Figure 4. Frank Hurley, *The First Battle of Passchendaele, Australian infantrymen, wounded, round a blockhouse, near the site of Zonnebeke railway Station, October 12, 1917*. Australian War Memorial neg. no. EO1202.



Figure 5. Frank Hurley, *Morning After the Battle of Paesschendale, 1917-1918*. Composite print. National Library of Australia.



scattered — the atmosphere is dense with haze and smoke — shells will not burst where required — yet the whole elements are there could they but be brought together and condensed. The battle is in full swing, the men are just going over the top — and I snap! A fleet of bombing planes is flying low, and a barrage burst all around. On developing my plate there is disappointment! All I find is a record of a few figures advancing from the trenches — and a background of haze. Nothing could be more unlike a battle. It might be a rehearsal in a paddock. Now if negatives are taken of all the separate incidents in the action and combined, some idea may be gained of what a modern battle looks like.<sup>47</sup>

Ironically, Hurley had, in fact, used photographs taken of 'a rehearsal in a paddock' to create his most hyper-real and convincing battle scene. Besides dexterously fudging the truth, Hurley also took the opportunity to reply, *inter alia*, to Bean's interdiction by citing the ultimate authority — the digger:

During a recent exhibition held in London by the High Commissioner for Australia, one such picture, depicting a scene near Zonnebeke, was enlarged up to 300 square feet. Attired in civilian dress, I often mingled with the 'diggers' to hear their scathing criticism. When I find they approve and pass favourable judgement, then I feel convinced such impression composites are justified.<sup>48</sup>

Immediately after his exhibition Hurley offered to sell his prints to the National Art Gallery (now the Art Gallery of New South Wales) and they were eventually acquired by the Mitchell Library. Two years later, in August 1921, the first photographic exhibition from Bean's Australian War Museum opened at the Melbourne Aquarium, and was seen by 83 000 people in five weeks. Mural-sized enlargements and colour prints were on display, and particular photographs could be ordered to raise money for the future Memorial. Like Hurley's show, the exhibition reproduced the horror of the war on an immediate level:

There, most truly and vividly, war in all its frightfulness is pictured ... The horror of all those things so vividly shown in these photographs makes itself most terribly felt ... Every phase of the war is presented without trimmings or politeness. It is a real record, and one which Australians will value and be proud of. The photographs have been selected from 20 000 negatives in the possession of the War Museum's committee. They were so accurate and complete that the military censors in France insisted on their being treated as secret documents.<sup>49</sup>

But this exhibition, compiled on Bean's terms, was able to achieve more, even, than had Hurley's own exhibition: the archival monumentality of the 20 000 negatives in the nation's collection, plus their ontological status as 'real records' which at one time even had the strategic status of 'secret documents', gives these images an extra artefactual solidity. In addition, the exhibition was a mnemonic event that directly addressed itself to each returned digger and each grieving relative individually:

[I]t is estimated that nearly 60 percent of the personnel of the A. I. F. appear in the views, which are 'keyed' and indexed so that it is possible to identify nearly every man who was 'snapped'. ... By means of a unique system of indexing, hundreds of relatives have been able to see photographs of men who were killed or missing, and soldiers who have returned have identified themselves and their comrades on the battle fronts.<sup>50</sup>

Two years after that, in 1923, the twelfth volume of Bean's Official History was devoted entirely to photographs, 753 in all, each one meticulously captioned and each one, Bean was careful to note in his introduction, 'as far as possible, scrupulously genuine. ... The pictures here printed have not been retouched in any way except to remedy scratches or other obvious flaws in the negatives'.<sup>51</sup>

In photography the division between the fake and the not-fake has always been unstable. Bean's argument with Hurley took place before the full development of the documentary genre in the 1920s and '30s which established the technical slice of the shutter-blade, guillotining and encapsulating a contingent moment, as the only guarantor of truth. However, in the case of Hurley's composites, photographic authenticity is guaranteed by the manual virtuosity of scenographic effect which is able to assemble multiple moments into a single tableau, with a second-degree pictorial expressivity to provide legibility, and an exegetic, performative testimony from the impresario/witness to provide authenticity. To the contemporaneous viewer Hurley's composite techniques were not illicit fakery, but licit special effects tacitly deployed to produce a legitimate scenario worthy of emotional and phenomenological investment.

Hurley's argument with Bean also took place when the specific gravity of the photograph as artefact was still high — before photography's atomization during the age of its mechanical reproduction — when the photograph was primarily encountered as an object to be pasted into an album or placed on a mantelpiece. Bean's pious reverence for the purity of the photograph related as much to its status as a potent relic to be eternally expositied by his larger history, as to its putative 'documentary' ability to contain a self-evident historical truth. For Bean the main game was long-term national memory, and that needed artefactually stable images which interlocked into a monumental reliquary archive. In that context, Hurley's composites were dangerous fakes because they drained the indexical charge from the relic.

Hurley's composites are quaint historical footnotes now, and would not move audiences even if they still existed in their original salon picture size. The heroic stories they told, and their rich pictorial embroidery, now seem threadbare and slightly disreputable. On the other hand, none of Wilkins's record photographs have become iconic either, despite being reproduced many times. Many do, indeed, look like rehearsals in a paddock, and tend to be crippled without Bean's meticulous captions. Hurley's sensational effects compromised the photograph's optical and temporal specificity, but strategically produced an immediate, though evanescent emotion. Bean's collection of indexical photographic records did become integral to his highly successful Memorial, but they are only able to act as a monument to the dead within larger sustaining institutional structures and mythic mnemonic mechanisms.

Despite the subsequent historical slippage of the terms in which it was couched, their argument lined up along either side of a dialectic that has remained persistently entrenched within photography. The major theorists of photography within modernity (Benjamin, Bazin, Barthes) all subsequently elaborated on this dialectic when they

distinguished, in various ways, between the indexical charge of the photograph as artefact and the semiotic mutability of the photograph as image. Current postmodern developments in digital technology have added new twists to their argument. Recent journalistic anxiety over the supposed threat of the digital to the autonomous authority of the news photograph would have had a familiar ring to Bean. Photography's role within the newly digital mass media is less now as a provider of an endless series of rectangular, guillotined slices of time and space, and more as a font for a continuous stream of mutable visual data to be assembled and reassembled into various pictorial configurations. Exegetic protocols are currently being established within the media to set the various levels of agreed fakery, from factual reportage to editorial illustration. In addition, the media's own ubiquitous presence throughout the real means that the distinction between a spontaneous and an enacted profilmic event is more and more difficult to make. And the growing archive of historical photography and film, which distinguishes less and less between documentary and fictional sources, means that the past is known as much through fabulated as actual historical images.<sup>52</sup>

As the twentieth century progressed, the guillotining blade of the camera shutter became the core of photography's technical ontology. The documentary movement entrenched the snapshot image as photography's normative style, and the indexical photograph became our culture's key historical and mnemonic artefact. But although it might once have appeared that the issue of fakery had been settled for good, it now seems that an argument of eighty years ago is far from over yet.

# Notes

1. D. McCarthy, *Gallipoli to the Somme: The Story of C. E. W. Bean*, Sydney: John Ferguson 1983, 233, 270.
2. C. E. W. Bean, *C. E. W. Bean Diary*, Australian War Memorial, AWM38, 3DRL606, series 1, item 88, 19 September 1917.
3. C. E. W. Bean, *Gallipoli Mission*, Canberra: Australian War Memorial 1948, 6.
4. Members of the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps.
5. M. McKernan, *Here is Their Spirit*, Brisbane: University of Queensland Press 1991, 42.
6. Australian colloquialism for an Australian soldier, particularly those that served in the First World War.
7. AWM E2818, E2819, 'Two diggers from the 5th Australian Division', 30 July 1918.
8. D. McCarthy, *Gallipoli to the Somme*, 34.
9. Bean, *Gallipoli Mission*, 4.
10. *Ibid.*, 111.
11. J. Thomas, *Showman*, Canberra: National Library of Australia 1990; D. Millar, *Snowdrift and Shellfire*, David Ell Press 1984.
12. Australian Imperial Force.
13. F. Hurley, *My Diary*, *Official War Photographer, Commonwealth Military Forces, from 21 August 1917 to 31 August 1918*, typewritten manuscript, National Library of Australia, MS883, Series 1, Item 5, 5 September, 1917.
14. Bean, *Gallipoli Mission*, 20.
15. C. E. W. Bean and H. S. Gullett, *Photographic Record of the War: Reproductions of Pictures taken by the Australian Official Photographers*, Sydney: Angus and Robertson 1923, vii-viii.
16. C. E. W. Bean, *Wilkins and Hurley recommendations*, Australian War Memorial, AWM38, DRL6673, item 57, 24 October 1917.
17. Bean and Gullett, *Photographic Record of the War*, vii-viii.
18. C. E. W. Bean, *Wilkins and Hurley recommendations*.
19. Hurley, *My Diary*, 26 September 1917.
20. *Ibid.*
21. For example, the Australian War Memorial holds a composite postcard by Underwood, 'Battle in Skies During Zeppelin Raid on England', AWM, H18216.
22. C. E. W. Bean *Diary*, 71-2.
23. Hurley, *My Diary*, 1 October 1917.
24. Hurley, 2 October 1917.
25. Hurley, 3 October 1917.
26. Hurley, 6 October 1917.
27. Hurley, 26, 27, 28 May 1918.
28. C. F. Hurley, *Catalogue of an Exhibition of War Photographs*, Sydney: 1919, Cat. No. 77.
29. F. Hurley, *Press cuttings*, National Library of Australia, MS883, series 2, items 29-36, *Newsy Notes* (August 1919), n.p.
30. The first shot from the sequence was exhibited as 'Fix Bayonets', Australian Infantry preparing to resist a counter attack at Zonnebeke', State Library of New South Wales Collection PXD19-PXD31. Catalogued in C. F. Hurley, *Catalogue of an Exhibition of War Photographs*, Sydney: 1919, cat. no. 36; and D. O'Keefe, *Hurley at War*, Sydney: The Fairfax Library 1986, 53. The second shot from the sequence was exhibited, as a detail from the larger composite, as 'A wave of infantry going over the top to resist a counter attack, Zonnebeke', SLNSW Collection. Catalogued in C. F. Hurley, cat. no. 41; and D. O'Keefe, 51. The third shot from the sequence is in the Australian War Memorial at E5429 as 'A photograph taken in France in June 1919 [incorrect date] illustrating the commencement of an attack'. The background aircraft montage was also exhibited separately as 'Shrapnel bursting amongst reconnoitring planes. Picture taken over the tail of a leading machine', SLNSW Collection. Catalogued in C. F. Hurley, cat. no. 45. (However, Hurley did not take his first flight until he was sent to Palestine at the end of 1917.)
31. 'Colour Photographs. Capt. Hurley's Work in Palestine', *The Times*, London, (6 June 1918), 5.
32. Hurley, *My Diary*, 4 June 1918.
33. D. McCarthy, *Gallipoli to the Somme*, 333.
34. C. E. W. Bean *Diary*, 5, 6, 7 June 1918.
35. Hurley, *My Diary*, 4 June 1918.
36. Hurley, *My Diary*, 14-21 June 1918.
37. Information given by Captain Frank Hurley (Official Photographer A. I. F.) during interview with Principal Librarian on 27/6/19, State Library of New South Wales, 27 June 1919.
38. C. E. W. Bean *Diary*, 26 June 1918.
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