

CONTESTED MEMORIES OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR: THE INFLUENCE
OF TRAUMA AND LOSS ON BRITISH CULTURAL MEMORY, 1915-1939.

Polly Tetley

MA (Res) History

Awarded by the University of Huddersfield

August 2023

Copyright Statement

- i. The author of this thesis (including any appendices and/or schedules to this thesis) owns any copyright in it (the “Copyright”) and s/he has given The University of Huddersfield the right to use such Copyright for any administrative, promotional, educational and/or teaching.
- ii. Copies of this thesis, either in full or in extracts, may be made only in accordance with the regulations of the University Library. Details of these regulations may be obtained from the Librarian. This page must form part of any such copies made.
- iii. The ownership of any patents, designs, trademarks and any and all other intellectual property rights except for the Copyright (the “Intellectual Property Rights”) and any reproductions of copyright works, for example graphs and tables (“Reproductions”), which may be described in this thesis, may not be owned by the author and may be owned by third parties. Such Intellectual Property Rights and Reproductions cannot and must not be made available for use without permission of the owner(s) of the relevant Intellectual Property Rights and/or Reproductions.

Abstract

This study explores the experiences of trauma and loss in the First World War, and the influence they had on the ways in which the war was remembered in British culture. It argues that trauma and loss contributed to the development of contested memories of the war, which manifested in two main types of memory: firstly, the memory of the war as an honourable and somewhat glorified sacrifice, which was found in commemoration and newspaper articles. Secondly, the idea that the war had been a futile tragedy featured in contemporary literature. This has been achieved through the use of cultural history, studies of memory, public history, and material culture. The main primary materials that have been used include war memorials, literature in the form of memoirs and fiction, and newspaper articles. Sources such as memorials fall under the category of public history and material culture, and literature and newspaper articles have been used to indicate the cultural impact of the war.

Within the first chapter, the nature of trauma and loss in the First World War are examined and contested memories are introduced. This chapter explores how trauma influenced literary works that often endorsed the idea of a futile war, whereas loss fuelled the need for commemoration which enforced the comforting narrative of a heroic war. The second chapter builds on this by demonstrating the role of spirituality and the spiritualist movement in aiding this narrative in order to ease the suffering of the bereaved. In the third chapter, it is suggested that press coverage of war commemoration endorsed the soothing and often patriotic ideas conveyed by memorials. In contrast, the fourth chapter reveals how this type of remembrance was criticised; it highlights how the rise in modernist literary responses to the war represented backlash against the narrative pushed by commemoration. Ultimately, this thesis concludes that trauma and loss in the First World War fuelled different ways of remembering the war, which largely manifested in commemoration and modernist literature.

Table of Contents

Introduction.....	6
Historical Context and Rationale.....	6
Research Aims and Questions.....	11
Literature Review.....	12
Methodology and Primary Sources.....	22
Structural Overview.....	26
Chapter One: Trauma and Loss.....	28
1: Traumatic Experiences of the First World War.....	30
2: The Significance of Loss.....	39
Conclusions.....	46
Chapter Two: Religion and Spirituality.....	48
1: Religious Ideas in Mourning and Commemoration.....	50
2: Spirituality and the Spiritualist Movement.....	60
Conclusions.....	69
Chapter Three: The Propagation and Dissemination of Memory in Newspapers.....	71
1: A National Victory? Triumphalism and Patriotism in National Press Accounts of Commemoration.....	75

2: The Focus on Loss and Honouring the Dead in Local Press Accounts of Commemoration.....	84
Conclusions.....	90
Chapter Four: Modernism and ‘Modern Memory’ in the Literature of the First World War.....	93
1: Unconventional Modes of Remembering in Modernist Literature.....	96
2: A Futile War? Modernist Interpretations of War Trauma and Loss.....	115
Conclusions: Contested Memories of the First World War.....	119
Conclusion.....	122
Summary of Chapters.....	124
Reflections on the Contested Memories of the First World War during its Centenary Commemorations.....	127
Bibliography.....	130
Primary Sources.....	130
Secondary Sources.....	139

Introduction

Historical Context and Rationale

‘Memory of a traumatic event is like a ghost that cannot be laid to rest.’¹

The First World War created an upheaval of British society in ways that set it apart from other conflicts and constituted a traumatic experience for much of the British population, resulting in a collective need for comfort and to find meaning in the war as people came to terms with their memories of it. The quote above from Melissa Edmundson reflects the issue that will be explored in this work – the fact that the war could not be forgotten, and the subsequent difficulties concerning the ways in which it was remembered in British culture.

As recently recognised, the advent of total war in 1914 had introduced a new type of warfare with the use of modern weapons that led to mass death on an unprecedented scale.² The decade after the war has been described as an ‘emotional dam’ which burst in 1929 with the publication of the war novel *All Quiet on the Western Front* by Erich Maria Remarque, reflecting the inevitable mood of disillusionment that broke the silence after the First World War in Europe.³ This study engages with the idea that Britain faced difficulty in

¹ Edmundson, M. (2017). "The Cataclysm We All Remember": Haunting and Spectral Trauma in the First World War Stories of H. D. Everett. *Women's Writing*, 24(1), 53-65. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09699082.2016.1232502>. p. 61.

² Horne, J. (2019). End of a Paradigm? The Cultural History of the Great War. *Past & Present*, 242(1), 155-192. <https://doi.org/10.1093/pastj/gty039>. p. 167.

³ Remarque, E. M. (1929; first published 1928). *All Quiet on the Western Front*. Little, Brown & Company. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/allquietonwest00rema/mode/2up>. p.

managing its traumatic memories of the First World War, from the beginning of the conflict in 1914 until the eve of the Second World War in 1939.

This chapter will set out the basis of the thesis, firstly by offering insight into the historical context of the wartime and post-war periods, the chosen argument and rationale for this, and research aims and questions. This will then lead on to a review of the secondary literature on the subject plus the chosen methodology and primary sources, ending with a brief structural outline of the following chapters.

Firstly, it is important to consider some historical context of the First World War. As the conflict dragged on with no clear end in sight and casualties intensified at an alarming rate, people began to question the true meaning of the war and the pre-war world.⁴ The enormity of war was channelled through the traditional style and undertones of commemoration, often archaic and religious, but disillusionment found expression during the war and the interwar years - most notably in the 'War Books Boom' of 1928 to 1930, which saw the publication of memoirs by ex-soldiers including Siegfried Sassoon, Robert Graves, and Edmund Blunden.⁵ Perhaps the most important element of this was the

15. Sheffield, G. (2014). *Forgotten Victory: The First World War: Myths and Realities*. Endeavour Press. <https://b-ok.cc/book/5096559/c4d72e>. p. 20-22. Nicolson, J. (2009). *The Great Silence: Britain from the Shadow of the First World War to the Dawn of the Jazz Age*. John Murray. https://archive.org/details/greatsilence1918000nico_v8s9/mode/2up. p. 3-9.

⁴ Eksteins, M. (2000). *Rites of Spring: The Great War and the Birth of the Modern Age*. Mariner Books. https://archive.org/details/ritesofspringgre0000ekst_p5p9/mode/2up. p. 211.

⁵ King, A. (1998). *Memorials of the Great War in Britain: The Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance*. Bloomsbury Academic. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/hud/detail.action?docID=1609928>. p. 20. Frayn, A. (2014). *Writing Disenchantment: British First World War Prose, 1914-30*. Manchester University Press. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/HUD/detail.action?pq-origsite=summon&docID=4704968>. p. 201. Cocks, H. (2014). Modernity and Modernism. In

modernist movement which featured 'irony, detachment, paradox, disillusion with tradition and the repudiation of the past', also described as the 'tradition of the new', as seen in many of these war novels.⁶ The trauma of the First World War motivated artists and writers to abandon the Victorian ideals that had led to 'pointless slaughter on a vast scale', so the modernist approach became a dominating force in disillusioned war literature.⁷ Notably, not all of the literature protesting the war was modernist in nature so it may be wise to classify modernist works as a sub-genre in the broader trend of disillusionment.

This study aligns with the view that contested memories of the First World War developed during the years 1915 to 1939 due to the trauma and loss caused by the conflict.⁸ Such memories may be divided into two main categories which have been interpreted in different ways by historians. For instance, Jay Winter draws attention to the fact that

F. Carnevali, & J. M. Strange (Eds.), *Twentieth-Century Britain: Economic, Cultural and Social Change* (2nd ed., pp. 26-41). Routledge.
<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/HUD/detail.action?pq-origsite=summon&docID=1710693>. p. 33.

⁶ Cocks, H. (2014). Modernity and Modernism. In F. Carnevali, & J. M. Strange (Eds.), *Twentieth-Century Britain: Economic, Cultural and Social Change* (2nd ed., pp. 26-41). Routledge. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/HUD/detail.action?pq-origsite=summon&docID=1710693>. p. 27. Childs, P. (2017). *Modernism* (3rd ed.). Routledge. <http://libaccess.hud.ac.uk/login?url=https://dx.doi.org/10.4324/9781315679679>. p. 10; p. 17-21. See also: Levenson, M. H. (2011). *Modernism*. Yale University Press. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt5vkzjf>. p. 8. Sherry, V. B. (2003). *The Great War and the Language of Modernism*. Oxford University Press. <http://libaccess.hud.ac.uk/login?url=https://dx.doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195178180.001.0001>. p. 17.

⁷ Cocks, H. (2014). Modernity and Modernism. In F. Carnevali, & J. M. Strange (Eds.), *Twentieth-Century Britain: Economic, Cultural and Social Change* (2nd ed., pp. 26-41). Routledge. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/HUD/detail.action?pq-origsite=summon&docID=1710693>. p. 31.

⁸ Winter, J. (2014). *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*. Cambridge University Press. p. 2-3. Gregory, A. (1994). *The Silence of Memory: Armistice Day, 1919-1946*. Bloomsbury. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/HUD/detail.action?pq-origsite=summon&docID=1609910>. p. 93-94.

commemorative methods often encapsulated a soothing memory of the war as a great and glorious sacrifice to be honoured by the living.⁹ In contrast, Paul Fussell suggests that some literary works - especially those which surfaced during the War Books Boom - conveyed a darker and perhaps more realistic approach by drawing attention to the traumatic experiences of the war and labelling it a meaningless tragedy to ensure that people did not forget about it.¹⁰

This study will demonstrate how contested memories were similar but also diverged from each other to form two dominant interpretations of the war. In doing so, it will suggest that the experiences of trauma and loss during the war influenced how it was subsequently remembered in British culture by inspiring the growth of disillusionment and literary modernism. These often presented the war negatively, clashing with the image put forward by commemorative practices and the culture of commemoration that grew from the mass deaths experienced.¹¹

It is also worth noting that the connotations of 'tragedy' may be applied to both perspectives here, although each one has a different approach. War literature - especially that of a modernist nature - often drew on images of war as a hopeless tragedy that should have been prevented, yet the commemorative language used in relation to the war labelled

⁹ Winter, J. (2014). *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*. Cambridge University Press. p. 95.

¹⁰ Fussell, P. (2013). *The Great War and Modern Memory*. Oxford University Press. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/HUD/detail.action?pq-origsite=summon&docID=1183114>. p. 189.

¹¹ Horne, J. (2019). End of a Paradigm? The Cultural History of the Great War. *Past & Present*, 242(1), 155-192. <https://doi.org/10.1093/pastj/gty039>. p. 192.

it as a tragic but necessary and valiant event.¹² The use of tragedy in literature also highlighted the traumatic experience of war, often through ideas of tragedy employed by writers from the officer classes who were educated at public schools such as Robert Graves.¹³ This was unlike the tendency of commemoration to use tragedy in a more traditional way by representing the trauma of war as a crucial role in the battle for victory, reminiscent of archaic and often religious ideas about sacrifice.¹⁴ Overall, one of the arguments of this dissertation will be that the comforting nature of commemoration acted as a bandage for the trauma and loss of war, which was subsequently removed by the former dissenting view largely represented by modernism. It is important to mention that the two strains of memory noted above are by no means the only forms of memory stemming from the First World War; to be discussed shortly, memory - particularly cultural memory - is too complex and malleable to be categorised by 'one or the other'.

As will be examined, the contested memories borne from the war are still very much alive today, which is evident in the differing implications of the centenary commemoration from

¹² Smith, H. Z. (1989; first published 1930). *Not So Quiet: Stepdaughters of War*. The Feminist Press. p. 169. Graves, R. (1998; first published 1929). *Good-Bye to All That*. Anchor Books. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/goodbyetoallthat0000grav>. p. 245. Unknown Warrior, Dean's Yard, Westminster, Greater London. Westminster County Council. Available at: <https://www.westminster-abbey.org/abbey-commemorations/commemorations/unknown-warrior>. [Accessed December 2021]. St John The Evangelist Church – Cross, Paddington, Westminster, Greater London. Historic England. WMO ID: 196194. Available at: <https://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/item/memorial/11598>. [Accessed March 2022].

¹³ Fussell, P. (2013). *The Great War and Modern Memory*. Oxford University Press. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/HUD/detail.action?pq-origsite=summon&docID=1183114>. p. 220-221. Graves, R. (1998; first published 1929). *Good-Bye to All That*. Anchor Books. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/goodbyetoallthat0000grav>. p. 17-18.

¹⁴ Gregory, A. (1994). *The Silence of Memory: Armistice Day, 1919-1946*. Bloomsbury. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/HUD/detail.action?pq-origsite=summon&docID=1609910>. p. 31.

2014 to 2018, and modern memorials of the First World War. Likewise, historians have yet to reach a unified opinion of the memory of the war. Such instances call for further research into the meanings and connotations of the war's commemoration and its place in British culture. Although studies of memory have seen an increased interest in recent decades which has been labelled the 'post-war memory wave', this is beginning to fade; therefore this work represents the importance of continuing research into memory and its cultural impact, including commemoration.¹⁵

Research Aims and Questions

This study will concern the memories surrounding the First World War and how they have manifested in British cultural memory, specifically through and due to the British experience of trauma and loss. It will aim to explore these throughout the chosen time frame of 1915 to 1939 because this period saw the creation of contested memories of the war, paying attention to the ways in which memories of the war were formed and their implications. It is worth noting that although this dissertation examines some sources which fall under the national bracket, there is a particularly English focus which means that generalisations cannot be made about certain areas within Britain. This study will argue that the trauma and loss experienced in the war contributed to the formation of contested memories. The nature of these memories will be examined, particularly those which actively oppose one

¹⁵ Rigney, A. (2018). Remembrance as Remaking: Memories of the Nation Revisited. *Nations and Nationalism*, 24(2), 240-257. <https://doi.org/10.1111/nana.12388>. p. 244. Rosenfeld, G. D. (2009). A Looming Crash or a Soft Landing? Forecasting the Future of the Memory "Industry". *The Journal of Modern History*, 81(1), 122-158. <https://doi.org/10.1086/593157>. p. 122-123; p. 156.

another because they represent the main categories of contested memories. In doing so, the apparent 'culture of commemoration' that grew from the war will also be explored.

In addressing these aims, several research questions will be considered. The leading research question concerns the memory of the war: how did the resulting trauma and loss of the First World War influence the memory and commemoration of the conflict? Other research questions to be addressed will include: how did the British public attempt to find meaning in the war? How did the traumatic memory of the war influence British popular culture? To what extent were wartime literary outputs influenced by a modernist drive to assert a break with the past?

With these aims and research questions, this work will explore multiple aspects of the traumatic memory and commemoration of the First World War whilst maintaining a degree of sensitivity in approaching the profound trauma and losses faced.

Literature Review

The First World War has attracted considerable attention from historians over the years. Military histories dominated the years after 1918 with a focus on military strategy and generals on the Western Front, for example in accounts by Basil Liddell Hart in 1930 and John Terraine in 1960.¹⁶ Revisionist attitudes developed in the 1960s with the rediscovery of

¹⁶ Liddell Hart, B. H. (2014). *A History of the First World War*. Pan Books. https://archive.org/details/historyoffirstwo0000lidd_p9q5/mode/2up. p. x-xii. Terraine, J. (2002). *Mons: The Retreat to Victory*. Wordsworth Editions. <https://archive.org/details/monsretreattovic0000terr/mode/2up>. p. 11-19. Also see war memoirs of important military and political figures such as: Churchill, W. S. (1923). *The World Crisis 1911-1914*. Thornton Butterworth. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.211095/mode/2up>. p. 5-8. Lloyd George, D.

anti-war literature, shifting the prevailing narrative of the war from a just and honourable victory to a catastrophic and disorganised chain of events caused by insufficient leadership and resulting in the slaughter of innocent young men, as conveyed by Alan Clark's *The Donkeys* in 1961.¹⁷ This took into account the social and cultural effects of war on soldiers and civilians. In contrast, historians like Gary Sheffield have taken a controversial revisionist approach in recent years by attempting to debunk the 'lions led by donkeys' myth, arguing that the war was not futile; but even here he acknowledges the huge losses and overall traumatic experience of the war.¹⁸ Clearly the extremely traumatic impact of war pervades many aspects of First World War historiography.

The memory of the war has been at the forefront of recent historical consciousness, as seen in the influx of historiographical literature that emerged in the latter half of the twentieth century. *The Great War and Modern Memory* by Paul Fussell, published in 1975, pioneered the idea that the war instigated the creation of a modern memory which signalled a departure from pre-1914 culture.¹⁹ Despite being a literary criticism rather than a historical

(1933). *War Memoirs of David Lloyd George*. Ivor Nicholson & Watson. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.172878/mode/2up>. p. vii-ix.

¹⁷ Clark, A. (1991). *The Donkeys*. Pimlico.

<https://archive.org/details/donkeys0000clar/mode/2up>. p. 11; p. 16-17. Heathorn, S.

(2005). The Mnemonic Turn in the Cultural Historiography of Britain's Great War. *The Historical Journal*, 48(4), 1103-1124. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0018246X05004930>. p. 1118.

Hanna, E. (2014). Contemporary Britain and the Memory of the First World War. *Materials for the History of Our Time*, 113-114 (1-2), 110-117. <https://doi.org/10.3917/mate.113.0110>. p. 111.

¹⁸ Sheffield, G. (2014). *Forgotten Victory: The First World War: Myths and Realities*.

Endeavour Press. <https://b-ok.cc/book/5096559/c4d72e>. p. 12; p. 20. See also: Todman, D. (2013). *The Great War: Myth and Memory*. Bloomsbury Academic.

<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/hud/detail.action?docID=5327563>. p. 83-84.

¹⁹ Fussell, P. (2013). *The Great War and Modern Memory*. Oxford University Press.

<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/HUD/detail.action?pq-origsite=summon&docID=1183114>. p. xv; p. 25.

account, it triggered a wider debate concerning whether the war symbolised a continuity or change of traditional practices and how this was portrayed. Historians such as Modris Eksteins and Samuel Hynes built on Fussell's argument in the 1980s and 1990s. For example Eksteins wrote that the war encouraged the 'revolutionary renewal' that the avant-garde wanted, and Hynes noted that a modern movement challenging English institutions and traditions had begun to form before 1914 which led to disillusionment with the war.²⁰ These views were challenged by historians including Adrian Gregory, Jay Winter, and Alex King who pointed out the continued traditions of the war - especially concerning commemorative efforts - thereby implying that the memory of the war was not so different to previous conflicts and denouncing the impact of modernism put across by Fussell.²¹ Whilst Fussell's research enforced the idea that the war instigated the growth of modernist literature, Winter's landmark research in *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning* emphasises the traditional nature of British approaches to mourning and commemoration - for instance, through the utilisation of religious symbols.²² However each author considers the trauma

²⁰ Eksteins, M. (2000). *Rites of Spring: The Great War and the Birth of the Modern Age*. Mariner Books. https://archive.org/details/ritesofspringgre0000ekst_p5p9/mode/2up. p. 209-211. Hynes, S. (1992). *A War Imagined: The First World War and English Culture*. Collier Books. <https://archive.org/details/warimaginedfirst0000hyne/mode/2up>. p. 7-10.

²¹ Gregory, A. (1994). *The Silence of Memory: Armistice Day, 1919-1946*. Bloomsbury. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/HUD/detail.action?pq-origsite=summon&docID=1609910>. p. 9. Winter, J. (2014). *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*. Cambridge University Press. p. 5; p. 73. King, A. (1998). *Memorials of the Great War in Britain: The Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance*. Bloomsbury Academic. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/hud/detail.action?docID=1609928>. p. 123. See also: Frayn, A. (2014). *Writing Disenchantment: British First World War Prose, 1914-30*. Manchester University Press. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/HUD/detail.action?pq-origsite=summon&docID=4704968>. p. 5.

²² Fussell, P. (2013). *The Great War and Modern Memory*. Oxford University Press. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/HUD/detail.action?pq->

and losses felt during the war, with Fussell's focus on the harsh experience of trench warfare and Winter's suggestion that the traumatic experience of loss fuelled commemoration.²³ This debate will be used to answer the main research question as mentioned: how did the resulting trauma and loss of the First World War influence the memory and commemoration of the conflict?

This thesis will also utilise elements of the 'modern memory' theory, for instance in the field of modernism that grew during and after the war, and the idea that continuity was evident in commemorative efforts. For example, the 'Myth of the War Experience' which was first coined by George Mosse in 1990, suggests that the memory of the war was reshaped as a sacred and meaningful experience with the use of religious undertones.²⁴ This study will attempt to demonstrate how this myth emerged in Britain through commemorative practices and monuments.

Another significant debate amongst historians relates to the idea of war as a glorious sacrifice or an unnecessary tragedy. This can be closely linked to the 'continuity versus change' debate used by Winter because the image of war as a great sacrifice often featured in memorials and commemorative rituals which tended to be religious and therefore traditional, as opposed to the view of war as a meaningless tragedy in literature which was often modernist and symbolised a break with the past. Despite this, Winter acknowledges

origsite=summon&docID=1183114. p. 189. Winter, J. (2014). *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*. Cambridge University Press. p. 91-92.

²³ Fussell, P. (2013). *The Great War and Modern Memory*. Oxford University Press. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/HUD/detail.action?pq-origsite=summon&docID=1183114>. p. 51-53. Winter, J. (2014). *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*. Cambridge University Press. p. 28.

²⁴ Mosse, G. (1990). *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars*. Oxford University Press. https://archive.org/details/fallensoldiers00geor_0/mode/2up. p. 7.

that the ideas of sacrifice and tragedy were often combined in post-war memorials.²⁵ This also reflects the complexity of the issue and the fact that 'sacrifice' and 'tragedy', although generally separate, could be interlinked. This debate is important because it represents the two factions of memory relating to the war, both stemming from the same issues caused by the war.

Other topics of interest in the historiography of the First World War concern the different dimensions of trauma, which has garnered interest in recent years. Historians such as Julie Anderson represent a growing awareness of the varied nature of physical trauma sustained by soldiers on the Western Front, and the psychological implications of this.²⁶ Other views on the mental trauma of the war have also surfaced with works by Michael Roper in examining the psychological impact of trench warfare on soldiers.²⁷ An important part of this was the concept of shell-shock which came to symbolise the mental strain put on soldiers - although it is important to mention shell-shock as a dimension of trauma, it will not be a main focus of this thesis.²⁸ These works will be used in an attempt to convey the magnitude of mental and physical trauma as influencers of memory.

²⁵ Winter, J. (2014). *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*. Cambridge University Press. p. 85.

²⁶ Anderson, J. (2015). 'Jumpy Stump': Amputation and Trauma in the First World War. *First World War Studies*, 6(1), 9-19. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19475020.2015.1016581>. p. 9. See also: Biernoff, S. (2011). The Rhetoric of Disfigurement in First World War Britain. *Social History of Medicine*, 24(3), 666-685. <https://doi.org/10.1093/shm/hkq095>. p. 668; p. 673. Boyle, E. H. L. (2019). 'An Uglier Duckling than Before': Reclaiming Agency and Visibility amongst Facially-Wounded Ex-Servicemen in Britain after the First World War. *Alter*, 13(4), 308-322. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.alter.2019.08.003>. p. 312.

²⁷ Roper, M. (2011). Nostalgia as an Emotional Experience in the Great War. *The Historical Journal*, 54(2), 421-451. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0018246X11000082>. p. 425.

²⁸ Jones, E., & Wessely, S. (2014). Battle for the Mind: World War 1 and the Birth of Military Psychiatry. *The Lancet*, 384(9955), 1708-1714. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(14\)61260-5](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(14)61260-5). p. 1708. Loughran, T. (2012). Shell Shock, Trauma, and the First World

As mentioned, recent years have seen a renewed interest in the war and its cultural influence. The historiography of the First World War has evolved as historians have begun to focus on previously overlooked topics. This was especially prevalent in the centenary of the war from 2014 to 2018, which historians saw as an opportunity to reflect on the war and debate the nature of its commemoration since 1918.²⁹ For example, Ann-Marie Einhaus pointed out that the cultural memory of the war during the centenary was contradictory, suggesting that the opposing memories of the war are still very much alive in literature published during the centenary – namely the idea of war as ‘futile tragedy and meaningful sacrifice’ - which was seen in other historiographical accounts at the time.³⁰ Here it becomes apparent that the historiographical debates on the memory of the First World War are far from finished, even today.

Methodology and Primary Sources:

1: Philosophy and Approaches

War: The Making of a Diagnosis and Its Histories. *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 67(1), 94-119. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jhmas/jrq052>. p. 97.

²⁹ Spiers, E. M. (2015). The British Centennial Commemoration of the First World War. *Comillas Journal of International Relations*, (2), 73-85. <https://doi.org/10.14422/cir.i02.y2015.006>. p. 82. Mycock, A. (2014). The First World War Centenary in the UK: 'A Truly National Commemoration'?. *The Round Table*, 103(2), 153-163. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00358533.2014.898489>. p. 161.

³⁰ Einhaus, A. M. (2016). Cultural Memory, Teaching and Contemporary Writing about the First World War. *Literature and History*, 25(2), 187-204. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0306197316668055>. p. 201. For further historiography on the centenary of the war, see: Andrews, M. (2016). Tropes and Trench Cakes: The Home Front in the Media and Community History. *Twentieth Century British History*, 27(4), 506-512. <https://doi.org/10.1093/tcbh/hww049>. p. 508-510. Cornish, P. (2016). Imperial War Museums and the Centenary of the First World War. *Twentieth Century British History*, 27(4), 513-517. <https://doi.org/10.1093/tcbh/hww041>. p. 515-517.

In order to address the research aims and questions stated above, this work will employ the sub-discipline of cultural history. This is an area that has grown increasingly popular in recent years, with the cultural turn of the late twentieth century that saw the focus shift from political and economic history to 'history from below', which concentrates on the lives of ordinary people, as well as exploring personal identity and representations through sources like letters and diaries.³¹ Cultural history is defined as interdisciplinary, borrowing elements from anthropology, literary history, and art history, which may explain historians' struggle to agree on a complete definition of the term.³² Culture itself is described as 'the web of meanings that characterize a society and hold its members together', reconstructing the mental, emotional, and conceptual world of the past, so cultural history takes into account peoples' beliefs and the reasons behind them which involves the study of cultural activity like objects, images, and myths.³³ Due to this, it makes sense to acknowledge the collective beliefs and values in Britain during the First World War. Culture and cultural history relate to the meanings people assign to their own experiences; experience is a

³¹ Handley, S., McWilliam, R., & Noakes, L. (Eds.). (2018). *New Directions in Social and Cultural History*. Bloomsbury Academic.

<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/HUD/detail.action?pq-origsite=summon&docID=5287416>. p. 10-11. Horne, J. (2019). End of a Paradigm? The Cultural History of the Great War. *Past & Present*, 242(1), 155-192. <https://doi.org/10.1093/pastj/gty039>. p. 168.

³² Burke, P. (2008). *What is Cultural History?* (2nd ed.). Polity. <https://archive.org/details/whatisculturalhi0000burk/mode/2up>. p. 135. Arcangeli, A. (2013). *Cultural History: A Concise Introduction*. Taylor & Francis. <http://libaccess.hud.ac.uk/login?url=https://dx.doi.org/10.4324/9780203789247>. p. 3.

³³ Tosh, J. (2015). *The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methods and New Directions in the Study of History* (6th ed.). Routledge. p. 206. Jordanova, L. (2000). *History in Practice*. Arnold. <https://archive.org/details/historyinpractic0000jord>. p. 76-77.

significant component of culture and is shaped by representations.³⁴ Therefore, rather than discussing the objective ‘truth’ of the contested memories of the war – such as the idea that the war had been futile – this work will consider how the experience of war caused these memories to develop in British culture and how they manifested after 1918, particularly during the interwar years.

Additionally, it will employ studies of memory which are closely linked to cultural history.

Memory is defined as ‘a retroactive reconstruction of the past’; memory of an event is not the same as experiencing it, implying that personal experience such as trauma affects the formation and nature of the memory.³⁵ Developments came when the notion of ‘collective memory’ was coined by the philosopher Maurice Halbwachs in his influential book *The Collective Memory* in 1950. Halbwachs claimed that our memories are collective as the testimony of others influences our own remembrances, supported by John Tosh’s idea that collective memory refers to stories and assumptions about the past that account for key features of current society.³⁶ Collective memory also aids the creation of a group identity through acts of identification and commemoration, suggesting the importance of commemoration in constructing a collective memory.³⁷ This brings into question the idea of

³⁴ Horne, J. (2019). End of a Paradigm? The Cultural History of the Great War. *Past & Present*, 242(1), 155-192. <https://doi.org/10.1093/pastj/gty039>. p. 161; p. 165. Arcangeli, A. (2013). *Cultural History: A Concise Introduction*. Taylor & Francis.

<http://libaccess.hud.ac.uk/login?url=https://dx.doi.org/10.4324/9780203789247>. p. 16.

³⁵ Kasabova, A. (2008). Memory, Memorials, and Commemoration. *History and Theory*, 47(3), 331-350. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2303.2008.00458.x>. p. 332; p. 349.

³⁶ Halbwachs, M. (1980). *The Collective Memory*. Harper & Row.

<https://archive.org/details/collectivememory00halb/mode/2up>. p. 22-23; p. 25. Tosh, J. (2015). *The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methods and New Directions in the Study of History* (6th ed.). Routledge. p. 254.

³⁷ Assmann, A. (2008). Transformations between History and Memory. *Social Research*, 75(1), 49-72. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40972052>. p. 52.

cultural memory, which shares characteristics with collective memory and explores how narrative shapes the past, and how the media distributes such narratives.³⁸ The differences between history and memory have been stressed, for instance Pierre Nora states that ‘memory attaches itself to sites, whereas history attaches itself to events’, implying the significance of commemorative objects like memorials in the creation of memory.³⁹ It is clear that history and memory share a complicated relationship, and historians must approach them carefully when combining the two.

This thesis also uses public history in the form of primary sources like memorials, which allow members of the public to access history in non-academic settings. Public history refers to the study of the way in which professionals such as museum curators and amateur historians construct understandings of the past, and how they interact in doing so.⁴⁰ Public history gained traction in the late twentieth century as historians such as Ronald J. Grele

³⁸ Rigney, A. (2018). Remembrance as Remaking: Memories of the Nation Revisited. *Nations and Nationalism*, 24(2), 240-257. <https://doi.org/10.1111/nana.12388>. p. 242.

³⁹ Nora, P. (1989). Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire. *Representations*, (26), 7-24. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2928520>. p. 8; p. 9; p. 22. For further information on the distinction between history and memory, see: Halbwachs, M. (1980). *The Collective Memory*. Harper & Row. <https://archive.org/details/collectivememory00halb/mode/2up>. p. 78-82. Assmann, A. (2008). Transformations between History and Memory. *Social Research*, 75(1), 49-72. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40972052>. p. 63.

⁴⁰ Ramos Pinto, P., & Taithe, B. (2015). Doing History in Public? Historians in the Age of Impact. In P. Ramos Pinto, & B. Taithe (Eds.), *The Impact of History?: Histories and the Beginning of the 21st Century* (pp. 1-20). Routledge. <http://libaccess.hud.ac.uk/login?url=https://dx.doi.org/10.4324/9781315726533>. p. 16. De Groot, J. (2016). *Consuming History: Historians and Heritage in Contemporary Popular Culture* (2nd ed.). Routledge. <http://libaccess.hud.ac.uk/login?url=https://dx.doi.org/10.4324/9781315640754>. p. 2. See also: Tuathaigh, G. Ó. (2014). Commemoration, Public History and the Professional Historian: An Irish Perspective. *Estudios Irlandeses*, 9(9), 137-145. <https://doi.org/10.24162/EI2014-4028>. p. 138. Tosh, J. (2015). *The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methods and New Directions in the Study of History* (6th ed.). Routledge. p. 279-280.

acknowledged its potential which included employment opportunities, making history relevant 'once again', and enabling the public to construct its own history.⁴¹ Despite the usefulness of public historical representations, they are also seen as ambiguous in order to 'satisfy competing factions', so memorials are perhaps best used alongside other sources like literature which often have a more personal meaning.⁴² Forms of public history such as memorials and monuments may engage a wider audience, but their intended purpose must be carefully considered.

Public history also relates to material culture which entails using artifacts to study the beliefs and values of a community or society at a certain time, or referring to the artifacts themselves; as a potential branch of cultural history, it is both influenced by and influences human ways of living and displays how people have lived in the past.⁴³ War memorials such as monuments and cemeteries also fall under this category, acting as tangible evidence of the memory of the war. These sources are sites of memory, so material culture may assist in the construction of cultural and collective memory. This study combines written evidence such as literature with physical evidence like memorials which is described as the most effective way to reconstruct material culture.⁴⁴ Although material culture provides insight into the cultural value of objects and allows people to experience historical events, it may

⁴¹ Grele, R. J. (1981). Whose Public? Whose History? What Is the Goal of a Public Historian? *The Public Historian*, 3(1), 40-48. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3377160>. p. 45; p. 48.

⁴² Glassberg, D. (1996). Public History and the Study of Memory. *The Public Historian*, 18(2), 7-23. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3377910>. p. 13-14.

⁴³ Prown, J. D. (1982). Mind in Matter: An Introduction to Material Culture Theory and Method. *Winterthur Portfolio*, 17(1), 1-19. <https://doi.org/10.1086/496065>. p. 1. O'Toole, P., & Were, P. (2008). Observing Places: Using Space and Material Culture in Qualitative Research. *Qualitative Research*, 8(5), 621-639. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468794108093899>. p. 622.

⁴⁴ Grassby, R. (2005). Material Culture and Cultural History. *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 35(4), 591-603. <https://doi.org/10.1162/0022195043327426>. p. 602.

disregard the useful contributions of written sources in cultural history.⁴⁵ Therefore it makes sense for this study to take an inter-disciplinary approach to methodology and primary sources, combining the strengths of both material and literary sources.

2: Methodology and Primary Sources

This work will utilise a range of primary materials from 1915 to 1939 with an emphasis on the interwar years; however some reference will be made to more recent sources like modern memorials, to be examined in the concluding chapter which will briefly discuss the centenary of the war from 2014 to 2018. These sources comprise two main categories; firstly, war memorials, and secondly, war literature including novels, memoirs, and poetry. They have been chosen due to their significance in shaping British cultural memory of the First World War, closely representing the two opposing factions of this memory; as mentioned, commemorative practices often conveyed a soothing memory of war unlike the harsh reality that modernists and others wanted to remind people of. These sources will also be supported by newspaper articles.

Archetypal war memorials will be used, including the Cenotaph and the Tomb of the Unknown Warrior, which are 'archetypal' in the sense that they set the precedent for First World War memorials by commemorating the lives and efforts of soldiers.⁴⁶ They will be studied alongside other European memorials like the Thiepval memorial and the Menin

⁴⁵ Prown, J. D. (1982). *Mind in Matter: An Introduction to Material Culture Theory and Method*. *Winterthur Portfolio*, 17(1), 1-19. <https://doi.org/10.1086/496065>. p. 3.

⁴⁶ The Cenotaph, Whitehall, Westminster, Greater London. Historic England. WMO ID: 122342. Available at: <https://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/item/memorial/104>. [Accessed December 2021]. Unknown Warrior, Dean's Yard, Westminster, Greater London. Westminster County Council. Available at: <https://www.westminster-abbey.org/abbey-commemorations/commemorations/unknown-warrior>. [Accessed December 2021].

Gate which embody the traditional honouring and perhaps sanitising effect of commemoration.⁴⁷ The majority of the memorials that have been selected were chosen as they have been studied by prominent historians who focus on the cultural impact of the First World War. Many of the local memorials in this study were also found in secondary literature, as well as through researching the Imperial War Museums website. It must be clearly acknowledged here that this selection of memorials cannot be fully representative of the nature of commemoration at this time – for instance, this study only focuses on digitised memorials therefore it is not possible to cover the entire scope of commemoration. The issue of geographic location is also prevalent as some areas may have differed in the preferred type of commemoration and memorials that people wanted, which means it may be easy to assume a generalised and simplified view of how people wanted to remember the war. However, the decision to use both local and national memorials is an attempt to portray the complex nature of remembrance in as much detail as this dissertation may allow.

Literary sources will include modernist poetry like *The Waste Land* by T. S. Eliot, which displays the nature of post-war society, as well as *On Passing the New Menin Gate* by Siegfried Sassoon, and *In Parenthesis* by David Jones, which portray the violence and futility

⁴⁷ Thiepval Memorial, Authuille, Somme. Commonwealth War Graves Commission. Available at: <https://www.cwgc.org/visit-us/find-cemeteries-memorials/cemetery-details/80800/thiepval-memorial/>. [Accessed February 2022]. Ypres (Menin Gate) Memorial, Ypres, West Flanders, Belgium. Commonwealth War Graves Commission. Available at: <https://www.cwgc.org/visit-us/find-cemeteries-memorials/cemetery-details/91800/ypres-menin-gate-memorial/>. [Accessed December 2021].

of war.⁴⁸ These ideas are accompanied by soldiers' memoirs of the War Books Boom.⁴⁹ Additionally, fictional works like *All Quiet on the Western Front* by Erich Maria Remarque and *The Return of the Soldier* by Rebecca West will help in understanding the traumatic impact of war on soldiers and civilians.⁵⁰ Novels such as *All Quiet on the Western Front* - although not British by nature - still evoked a huge reaction and sustained popularity in Britain, reflecting its cultural impact in setting the tone for interwar disillusionment. This also applies to novels such as *Under Fire* by Henri Barbusse with its portrayal of the violence and futility of war from a French soldier's perspective, and memorials in France and Belgium which were often dedicated to the soldiers of several European countries.⁵¹ Some reference will also be made to non-modernist literature including Vera Brittain's *Testament of Youth*, revealing that contested memories were widespread in literary circles and not confined to

⁴⁸ Eliot, T. S. (1922). *The Waste Land*. Boni & Liveright. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/wasteland01elio/mode/2up>. [Accessed May 2022]. p. 14-15. Sassoon, S. (1968; first published 1928). On Passing the New Menin Gate. In *Selected Poems*. Faber & Faber. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/selectedpoems0000sass>. [Accessed May 2022]. p. 57-58. Jones, D. (1975; first published 1937). In *Parenthesis*. Faber & Faber. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.13580/mode/2up>. p. 6.

⁴⁹ Sassoon, S. (1997; first published 1930). *Memoirs of an Infantry Officer*. Faber & Faber. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/memoirsofinfantr00sieg>. p. 19; p. 64. Graves, R. (1998; first published 1929). *Good-Bye to All That*. Anchor Books. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/goodbyetoallthat0000grav>. p. 59. Blunden, E. (2000; first published 1928). *Undertones of War*. Penguin Classics. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/undertonesofwar0000blun/mode/2up>. p. 5.

⁵⁰ Remarque, E. M. (1929; first published 1928). *All Quiet on the Western Front*. Little, Brown & Company. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/allquietonwest00rema/mode/2up>. p. 21; p. 92. West, R. (2010; first published 1918). *The Return of the Soldier*. Virago Press. p. 18; p. 24-25.

⁵¹ Barbusse, H. (2014; first published 1916). *Under Fire*. Penguin Classics. Available at: https://archive.org/details/underfire0000barb_w1s7/mode/2up. p. 4-6; p. 154; p. 292; p. 302.

modernism.⁵² Finally, newspaper articles have been chosen because they give a sense of whether memorials were simply an outlet for the government's message or whether they were fully endorsed by the public. In order for the selection of newspapers to be as representative as possible, a variety has been chosen including tabloids such as *The Times*, the *Daily Mail*, and *The Manchester Guardian*, alongside provincial newspapers such as the *Chelmsford Chronicle* and the *Exeter and Plymouth Gazette*.

Despite the value of such sources, their limitations must be considered. Whilst contemporary literature offers a colourful and descriptive interpretation of the war, this view is not always historically accurate or representative of a whole group. For instance, the anti-war sentiments of Siegfried Sassoon and Robert Graves represented the views of a selective group of middle and upper-class male officers, and were not always shared by the public.⁵³ However, this subjectivity makes such sources historically significant as they reflect the way a small group managed to enforce an anti-war narrative that earned a permanent place in British culture, with some sources becoming more widely known in the 1960s and 1970s and being incorporated into primary school education. Similarly, commemorative practices and war memorials did not always reflect public attitudes towards the war and its memory - this becomes clearer in newspaper articles and literature - but they do indicate the message that the government wished to communicate about the war. Moreover, newspaper articles will be used with caution; although they indicate contemporary public opinions and values, the personal biases of each newspaper must be considered, for

⁵² Brittain, V. (2014; first published 1933). *Testament of Youth*. Phoenix. Available at: https://archive.org/details/testamentofyouth0000brit_q4k8/mode/2up. p. 145; p. 250; p. 397-398.

⁵³ Pugh, M. (2017). *State and Society: A Social and Political History of Britain since 1870* (5th ed.). Bloomsbury Academic. p. 309.

instance the organisations who funded newspapers may have held political views that dictated the contents of each newspaper. Also, this study mainly uses popular memorials located in England as these are the ones which are most commonly referenced in historiographical accounts. This may be classed as a limited sample, although they have contributed largely to the cultural memory of the First World War. The combination of these materials will allow for a balanced view.

These sources will be accompanied by other examples of literature. Art and music will be briefly discussed - for instance, art often overlapped with memorials as seen in paintings at the Sandham Memorial Chapel - although they are not the focus of this study.⁵⁴ This is because memorials and literature seem to offer greater insight into the traumatic effects of the war, as well as harbouring some of the most popular cultural representations of such effects. If art and music were to be included, it would require an extremely detailed analysis which is beyond the scope of this thesis. The primary sources used in this work have been selected because they assisted in creating common representations of the trauma of war through the cultural networks of literature and commemoration.

Structural Overview

This thesis will be organised thematically, with Chapter One introducing the two primary themes of trauma and loss. It will examine the mentally and physically traumatic experiences of the First World War, as well as loss as a cause of trauma. Chapter Two

⁵⁴ Sandham Memorial Chapel, Burghclere, Newbury, Hampshire. Historic England. Available at: <https://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/place/sandham-memorial-chapel>. [Accessed May 2022].

continues this by exploring the link between trauma and spirituality, which often manifested in the language and symbolism of memorials to provide comfort for the bereaved and contributed to the idea of war as a wholesome sacrifice. Alternatively, Chapter Three draws attention to the portrayals of trauma and loss in press accounts, which contributed to a specific type of memory. This chapter explores the idea that the cultural significance of memorials and commemorative rituals was heightened by the role of propaganda in newspaper coverage of commemoration which fed into the soothing memory of the war. These chapters address one type of memory of the war, whereas Chapter Four expresses a different approach largely surfacing in literary modernism. Finally, Chapter Five comprises a brief yet necessary analysis of the centenary of the war from 2014 to 2018 as it binds together the contested memories discussed in previous chapters, in relation to modern commemoration and memory. All will be summarised in the conclusion, which revisits the themes touched upon in this chapter and the discoveries of this thesis.

As demonstrated in this chapter, the trauma and losses suffered in the First World War had a multidimensional influence which became ingrained in British cultural and collective memory. Overall, this thesis will demonstrate that traumatic experiences, including loss, caused the formation of contested memories of the war. This involved the simultaneous approval and condemnation of commemorative practices.

Chapter One: Trauma and Loss

This chapter will provide necessary context for the study by analysing the historical context of two important concepts: trauma and loss. This chapter will support the claims by historians mentioned in the previous chapter that trauma and loss were crucial factors in the construction of memories regarding the First World War.⁵⁵ Although similar, trauma and loss were not synonymous; whereas trauma was often the resulting state of stressful wartime experiences, the loss of loved ones caused emotional trauma in the form of grief. Here, the 'traumatic experience of loss' is applicable. This chapter will initially introduce some important contextual information on the chosen topic and its relation to the contested memories of the First World War, moving into the main argument that the trauma and loss caused by the war contributed to the formation of contested memories soon after the conflict ended. The main body of the chapter will be divided into two sections: the first of which will introduce the idea of trauma as a primary influence on the memory of the war; it will then move on to examine loss as perhaps the most significant dimension of trauma. Overall, the aim is to understand the extent to which trauma and loss influenced the contested memories and commemoration of the war. This chapter therefore provides the foundations for this study by exploring the initial creation of these contested memories, and how people attempted to understand and find meaning in their own trauma. Although commemorative efforts had a soothing effect, perhaps being the mainstream attempt at dealing with the impact of war, this chapter focuses on more disturbing literary

⁵⁵ Winter, J. (2014). *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*. Cambridge University Press. p. 2-3. Gregory, A. (1994). *The Silence of Memory: Armistice Day, 1919-1946*. Bloomsbury. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/HUD/detail.action?pq-origsite=summon&docID=1609910>. p. 93-94.

accounts of war which conveyed ideas about trauma and loss that were often absent in commemoration.

Firstly, the brutality of modern warfare caused high numbers of casualties, exacerbated by the conscription of soldiers and the participation of the general population in the war effort which increased their chances of danger.⁵⁶ Ideas about trauma and loss have recently become a main focus in the history of the First World War, which may be no coincidence as historians have turned their attention to the social and cultural impact of the conflict - including the literary output of the war as referenced by Paul Fussell.⁵⁷ Jay Winter's *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning* explores how loss caused mental and emotional trauma, drawing attention to the role of mourning and memorials.⁵⁸ The recollection of physical trauma is one element of this process, and the works of historians such as Joanna Bourke and Ana Carden-Coyne have drawn attention to its implications; for instance, the effect of wounds on masculinity.⁵⁹ Although these works are insightful, the British memory of the

⁵⁶ Becker, A. (2015). The Great War: World War, Total War. *International Review of the Red Cross*, 97(900), 1029-1045. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1816383116000382>. p. 1029-1032.

⁵⁷ Fussell, P. (2013). *The Great War and Modern Memory*. Oxford University Press. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/HUD/detail.action?pq-origsite=summon&docID=1183114>. p. xv. Gregory, A. (1994). *The Silence of Memory: Armistice Day, 1919-1946*. Bloomsbury. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/HUD/detail.action?pq-origsite=summon&docID=1609910>. p. 7; p. 19-20. King, A. (1998). *Memorials of the Great War in Britain: The Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance*. Bloomsbury Academic. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/hud/detail.action?docID=1609928>. p. 172-173.

⁵⁸ Winter, J. (2014). *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*. Cambridge University Press. p. 1-2; p. 6.

⁵⁹ Bourke, J. (2016). Love and Limblessness: Male Heterosexuality, Disability, and the Great War. *Journal of War and Culture Studies*, 9(1), 3-19. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17526272.2015.1106756>. p. 5. Carden-Coyne, A. (2014). *The Politics of Wounds: Military Patients and Medical Power in the First World War*. Oxford University Press. https://hud.alma.exlibrisgroup.com/discovery/openurl?institution=44HUD_INST&rfr_id=inf

First World War has often focused on physical trauma as experienced by male combatants and loss as experienced by women on the home front, and these ideas do not fully reflect the complex nature of trauma and loss caused by war.

The different faces of this trauma have been recognised and categorised into mental and physical trauma, first beginning with the study of the veteran's war experience. However, it is acknowledged that the soldier's experience has long been at the forefront of the First World War narrative, and recent years have seen an expansion of literature focusing on the traumatic wartime experiences of previously overlooked groups such as women.⁶⁰

1: Traumatic Experiences of the First World War

It may be useful to consider why the First World War resulted in various experiences that many constituted 'traumatic'. There is no doubt that previous wars would have been traumatic for those who lived through them, but the nature of modern mechanised warfare that began in 1914 set the First World War apart from its predecessors.⁶¹

Firstly, physical trauma constituted much of the typical traumatic war experience. The experiences of soldiers may be the most obvious place to start here. *All Quiet on the*

o:sid%2Fsummon&rft_dat=ie%3D5192908470004221,language%3DEN&svc_dat=CTO&u.ign
ore_date_coverage=true&vid=44HUD_INST:Services. p. 5; p. 12.

⁶⁰ Noakes, L. (2018). 'My Husband is Interested in War Generally': Gender, Family History and the Emotional Legacies of Total War. *Women's History Review*, 27(4), 610-626. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09612025.2017.1292634>. p. 614.

⁶¹ Kramer, A. (2007). *Dynamic of Destruction: Culture and Mass Killing in the First World War*. Oxford University Press. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/HUD/detail.action?pq-origsite=summon&docID=5746771>. p. 2; p. 4. Eksteins, M. (2000). *Rites of Spring: The Great War and the Birth of the Modern Age*. Mariner Books. https://archive.org/details/ritesofspringgre0000ekst_p5p9/mode/2up. p. 143.

Western Front by Erich Maria Remarque alluded to the gruesome reality of battle wounds, perhaps as an attempt by Remarque to process his own traumatic wartime experiences in the German army which included physical wounding and to convey the brutality of war which had not been previously done in such a way.⁶² Battle wounds are also a dominant feature of soldiers' memoirs of the War Books Boom, perhaps influenced by Remarque's novel, such as those by Robert Graves and Siegfried Sassoon, with the latter describing his gunshot wound as a 'lucky escape'.⁶³ Being infantry officers on the front line, they witnessed the violence of war first-hand. It must be remembered that war memoirists 'remembered and reimagined' their experiences which had occurred years earlier, so it is best to approach this by considering the author's reasons for depicting things in a certain way instead of the objective truth of their accounts. As John Tosh suggests, autobiography centres around the author's personality and may be a way of justifying their own actions in retrospect.⁶⁴

These memoirs are also from a limited sample of the population – middle and upper-class male infantry officers who comprised the 'Lost Generation' – which highlights the topic of

⁶² Remarque, E. M. (1929; first published 1928). *All Quiet on the Western Front*. Little, Brown & Company. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/allquietonwest00rema/mode/2up>. p. 134-135; p. 227-228. Robinett, J. (2007). The Narrative Shape of Traumatic Experience. *Literature & Medicine*, 26(2), 290-311. <https://doi.org/10.1353/lm.0.0003>. p. 292; p. 296. Eksteins, M. (2000). *Rites of Spring: The Great War and the Birth of the Modern Age*. Mariner Books. https://archive.org/details/ritesofspringgre0000ekst_p5p9/mode/2up. p. 278.

⁶³ Graves, R. (1998; first published 1929). *Good-Bye to All That*. Anchor Books. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/goodbyetoallthat0000grav>. p. 218-219. Sassoon, S. (1997; first published 1930). *Memoirs of an Infantry Officer*. Faber & Faber. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/memoirsofinfantr00sieg>. p. 167-170.

⁶⁴ Isherwood, I. (2018). British Memoirs and Memories of the Great War. In P. Dwyer (Ed.), *War Stories: The War Memoir in History and Literature* (pp. 94-110). Berghahn Books. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvswx6zd>. p. 100. Tosh, J. (2015). *The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methods and New Directions in the Study of History* (6th ed.). Routledge. p. 77.

why they resonated so much with the public and became synonymous with the memory of the war.⁶⁵ Perhaps this was because they told their own 'truth' about the war and confirmed what many others felt. As people realised that wartime propaganda efforts had fed them unreliable information, the bleak and often bitter nature of war memoirs may have helped ordinary people make sense of the war and channel their anger towards the government.⁶⁶

Soldiers also wrote about the gruelling physical side effects of war including sleep deprivation and illness.⁶⁷ No doubt these factors affected soldiers' perspectives, especially as physical wounds acted as lasting evidence of the brutality of their war experiences; as Fiona Reid states, at the point of wounding it became impossible to return to their pre-war existence.⁶⁸ This is further stressed by the fact that amputation and wounds could be mentally traumatic, suggesting that the wounded had been changed not only physically but mentally.⁶⁹ This change often manifested in shame and anger at the war for causing their

⁶⁵ Pugh, M. (2017). *State and Society: A Social and Political History of Britain since 1870* (5th ed.). Bloomsbury Academic. p. 224.

⁶⁶ Tate, T. (2013). *Modernism, History and the First World War* (2nd ed.). Humanities-Ebooks. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/HUD/detail.action?docID=3306137&pq-origsite=summon>. p. 53; p. 59.

⁶⁷ Blunden, E. (2000; first published 1928). *Undertones of War*. Penguin Classics. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/undertonesofwar0000blun/mode/2up>. p. 138. Graves, R. (1998; first published 1929). *Good-Bye to All That*. Anchor Books. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/goodbyetoallthat0000grav>. p. 163. Sassoon, S. (1997; first published 1930). *Memoirs of an Infantry Officer*. Faber & Faber. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/memoirsofinfantr00sieg>. p. 48.

⁶⁸ Reid, F. (2016). "My Friends Looked at Me in Horror": Idealizations of Wounded Men in the First World War. *Peace & Change*, 41(1), 64-77. <https://doi.org/10.1111/pech.12173>. p. 66.

⁶⁹ Anderson, J. (2015). 'Jumpy Stump': Amputation and Trauma in the First World War. *First World War Studies*, 6(1), 9-19. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19475020.2015.1016581>. p. 11; p. 14-15.

wounds, especially in men with facial injuries, which affected their identity and undermined their masculinity.⁷⁰ These ideas have a distinctly modernist quality considering the impact that wounds had on individual identity and memory of the war. The physical trauma of war therefore contributed to the endurance and refocusing of the modernist movement in literature as many soldiers returned home both mentally and physically changed. Choosing to include these details in their memoirs may have also been an attempt to showcase the violence of modern warfare.

Women on the home front also faced physically dangerous conditions; the risks for female munitions workers included accidents and even death, especially when handling TNT which was highly explosive and poisonous, plus propaganda efforts to minimise this danger may have sparked anger at the disregard for women's welfare.⁷¹ In this aspect some women were permanently changed due to the war effort, sometimes with irreversible physical alterations to their appearance and state of mind like their male counterparts in the trenches. This may have enforced the idea that innocent people on both the Western Front

⁷⁰ Remarque, E. M. (1929; first published 1928). *All Quiet on the Western Front*. Little, Brown & Company. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/allquietonwest00rema/mode/2up>. p. 248. Biernoff, S. (2011). The Rhetoric of Disfigurement in First World War Britain. *Social History of Medicine*, 24(3), 666-685. <https://doi.org/10.1093/shm/hkq095>. p. 668; p. 677. Boyle, E. H. L. (2019). 'An Uglier Duckling than Before': Reclaiming Agency and Visibility amongst Facially-Wounded Ex-Servicemen in Britain after the First World War. *Alter*, 13(4), 308-322. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.alter.2019.08.003>. p. 311; p. 320. Reid, F. (2016). "My Friends Looked at Me in Horror": Idealizations of Wounded Men in the First World War. *Peace & Change*, 41(1), 64-77. <https://doi.org/10.1111/pech.12173>. p. 68. Tate, T. (2013). *Modernism, History and the First World War* (2nd ed.). Humanities-Ebooks. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/HUD/detail.action?docID=3306137&pq-origsite=summon>. p. 110.

⁷¹ Braybon, G., & Summerfield, P. (2013). *Out of the Cage: Women's Experiences in Two World Wars*. Routledge. <http://libaccess.hud.ac.uk/login?url=https://dx.doi.org/10.4324/9780203103968>. p. 84-86; p. 95.

and the home front were being harmed by the war effort, possibly contributing to the narrative of a futile war. Instances of bombing experienced by the civilian population also exhibited the true implications of total war as people learned to live with the ongoing threat of injury or death which infiltrated daily life.⁷²

Physical wounding was not the only source of trauma for soldiers. The mental strain of modern warfare was acknowledged, especially with the labelling of 'shell-shock' which encompassed a range of mental and physical symptoms caused by the distressing experiences of war.⁷³ Age is also important here - young unmarried soldiers were often less 'psychologically resilient' than older men and the war became part of their identity – because many of these soldiers were young when the war began, this may explain their disillusioned and negative stance.⁷⁴ Soldiers' attitudes towards death also changed; being in close proximity to mutilated corpses and witnessing the death of comrades in brutal ways, alongside the almost constant risk of dying themselves, is a major feature of such accounts and often occupied their dreams and thoughts afterwards.⁷⁵ This was likely a sign of post-

⁷² Becker, A. (2015). The Great War: World War, Total War. *International Review of the Red Cross*, 97(900), 1029-1045. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1816383116000382>. p. 1031.

⁷³ Ash, E. L. (1919). *The Problem of Nervous Breakdown*. Mills & Boon. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/39002010910744.med.yale.edu/mode/2up>. p. 269-275; p. 277-289. Reid, F. (2014). 'His Nerves Gave Way': Shell Shock, History and the Memory of the First World War in Britain. *Endeavour*, 38(2), 91-100. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.endeavour.2014.05.002>. p. 91-92. Grogan, S. (2014). *Shell Shocked Britain: The First World War's Legacy for Britain's Mental Health*. Pen & Sword History. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/hud/detail.action?docID=1832005>. p. 2-3; p. 11-12.

⁷⁴ Roper, M. (2011). Nostalgia as an Emotional Experience in the Great War. *The Historical Journal*, 54(2), 421-451. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0018246X11000082>. p. 449.

⁷⁵ Sassoon, S. (1997; first published 1930). *Memoirs of an Infantry Officer*. Faber & Faber. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/memoirsofinfantr00sieg>. p. 58; p. 175-176. Blunden, E. (2000; first published 1928). *Undertones of War*. Penguin Classics. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/undertonesofwar0000blun/mode/2up>. p. 16-17; p. 79; p. 97-98.

traumatic stress. Poems such as *In Festubert* by Edmund Blunden exemplify this trauma, using disturbing images of death to symbolise the inability to forget and contrasting with the heavenly themes of commemoration, which highlighted the differences between memory and commemoration.⁷⁶ This complex relationship with death was arguably the main influence on veterans' war memory.

However, mental and emotional trauma did not only affect soldiers; it reached the British population in different ways. This is supported by psychiatrist Vamik D. Volkan's assertion that: 'When members of a group experience a severe and collective trauma... such traumatic events affect all those under the ethnic or national tent, and often initiate unconscious societal or political processes.'⁷⁷ This may still be applied to the traumatic experiences of soldiers on the front line. These accounts seem to have been written as a way of processing and coping with the trauma of modern warfare, especially as some of these authors had experienced symptoms of shell-shock or mental breakdown caused by the war such as Graves.⁷⁸ As Eric Leed states, in traumatic memories - which recur against the will of those remembering - the past defines current actions and thinking, so writing

Graves, R. (1998; first published 1929). *Good-Bye to All That*. Anchor Books. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/goodbyetoallthat0000grav>. p. 114; p. 130; p. 211.

⁷⁶ Blunden, E. (1920). *In Festubert*. In *The Waggoner and Other Poems*. Sidgwick & Jackson. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/waggonerotherpoe00bluniala>. [Accessed May 2022]. p. 28-29.

⁷⁷ Volkan, V. D. (2001). Transgenerational Transmissions and Chosen Traumas: An Aspect of Large-Group Identity. *Group Analysis*, 34(1), 79-97. <https://doi.org/10.1177/05333160122077730>. p. 86-87.

⁷⁸ Graves, R. (1998; first published 1929). *Good-Bye to All That*. Anchor Books. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/goodbyetoallthat0000grav>. p. 198; p. 287-288.

may have been an effective outlet for such trauma.⁷⁹ These writings also impacted much of the population, so this focus on trauma influenced the cultural memory of the war. It must be noted that soldiers were not the only group to experience trauma, however their trauma arguably made the most significant contribution to the contested memories of the war. Soldiers' accounts proved popular with the British public, indicating a quality that was absent in other war stories. Notably, female war accounts were not as prominent as these stories, although the works of nurses such as Vera Brittain and female modernist writers may be an exception here.

As mentioned, mental and emotional trauma on the front line was not confined to soldiers. Medical personnel such as nurses had similar experiences to soldiers, living in confined conditions, under pressure of work and dealing with mutilated bodies with the added threat of air raids, and the sight of suffering invoked psychological pain that fed into their war writings.⁸⁰ The publication of nurses' accounts after the war perpetuated the idea of a horrific and violent conflict with the image of physical injury and death, corroborating the personal experiences of soldiers who either witnessed such sights or acquired wounds themselves and conveying the emotional impact on medical staff and their feelings of

⁷⁹ Leed, E. (2000). Fateful Memories: Industrialized War and Traumatic Neuroses. *Journal of Contemporary History*, 35(1), 85-100. <https://doi.org/10.1177/002200940003500108>. p. 87.
Tate, T. (2013). *Modernism, History and the First World War* (2nd ed.). Humanities-Ebooks. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/HUD/detail.action?docID=3306137&pq-origsite=summon>. p. 88.

⁸⁰ Higonet, M. (2002). Authenticity and Art in Trauma Narratives of World War I. *Modernism/Modernity*, 9(1), 91-107. <https://doi.org/10.1353/mod.2002.0009>. p. 95.
Keown, B. E. (2018). 'I Think I Was More Pleased to See Her Than Any One 'Cos She's So Fine': Nurses' Friendships, Trauma, and Resiliency during the First World War. *Family & Community History*, 21(3), 151-165. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14631180.2018.1555955>. p. 152; p. 156. See also: Smith, H. Z. (1989; first published 1930). *Not So Quiet: Stepdaughters of War*. The Feminist Press. p. 9-10; p. 52; p. 62-63.

isolation as a result of this.⁸¹ They were supplemented by the writings of American nurses such as Mary Borden and Ellen La Motte.⁸² A central feature of these works was the wounded and dead body of the soldier also seen in soldier's memoirs. For example, Helen Zenna Smith's *Not So Quiet* details the graphic sights of wounded soldiers from the perspective of a female ambulance driver; the mention of 'trainloads of broken human beings: half-mad men pleading to be put out of their misery...' stresses not only the horror at witnessing this but also the unthinkable reality for many men whose lives were changed by war.⁸³ It was commissioned as a response to *All Quiet on the Western Front* from a female perspective, indicating that this faction of traumatic memory of the war reached further than the trenches.⁸⁴ Some of these writers adopted a modernist style, including Smith, Borden, and La Motte which will be further discussed in Chapter Four.

Like soldiers witnessing dead bodies on the front line, nurses were unlikely to forget such experiences which would affect their memory of the war. Most of these works were written by or about young middle-class women who had led sheltered lives before 1914, making the shock of war more apparent as with the young inexperienced soldiers who harboured similar views. The focus on the violence of war in such accounts challenged the image of a

⁸¹ Brittain, V. (2014). *Testament of Youth*. Phoenix. Available at: https://archive.org/details/testamentofyouth0000brit_q4k8/mode/2up. p. 394; p. 409.
Bagnold, E. (1918). *A Diary Without Dates*. William Heinemann. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/diarywithoutdate00bagn/mode/2up>. p. 25-27; p. 64-65; p. 90.
⁸² Borden, M. (1929). *The Forbidden Zone*. William Heinemann. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/forbiddenzone00bord/mode/2up>. p. 57-59. La Motte, E. N. (1916). *The Backwash of War*. G. P. Putnam's Sons. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/backwashofwar00lamoiala/mode/2up>. p. 22-23.

⁸³ Smith, H. Z. (1989; first published 1930). *Not So Quiet: Stepdaughters of War*. The Feminist Press. p. 29-30.

⁸⁴ Kaplan, L. (2004). Deformities of the Great War: The Narratives of Mary Borden and Helen Zenna Smith. *Women and Language*, 27(2), 35-43. <https://www-proquest-com.libaccess.hud.ac.uk/docview/198814368?pq-origsite=summon>. p. 36-37.

peaceful and painless death often put forward in the language of commemoration, highlighting the tendency of commemoration to avoid directly addressing the reality of war. In turn, this corroborated ideas about the futility of war. Although helping them to process personal experiences of trauma and loss, nurses' accounts often seemed to ask the question: was it truly worth fighting a war that caused so many brutal and unnecessary casualties?⁸⁵ This focus on the destruction of the male body and subsequently of the female mind represents the idea that war bred a generation of disillusioned youth unable to return to their pre-war lives.

The experiences of women on the home front also suggested that mental trauma was not solely reserved for soldiers. Women and civilians in general did not share the same wartime experiences as those on the battlefield so their traumas were largely connected to the loss of loved ones, which will be closely examined in the next section. Historians such as Bridget E. Keown and Lucy Noakes recognise that female experiences of war have often been considered in relation to men, perhaps best embodied in *The Return of the Soldier* by Rebecca West which portrays the observance of male mental trauma from a female perspective and the effects of said trauma on women.⁸⁶ Its modernist style may be responsible for this; as an indication of the modernist tendency to 'break with the past', the

⁸⁵ Rathbone, I. (1988; first published 1932). *We That Were Young*. Virago Press. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/wethatwereyoung0000rath/mode/2up>. p. 227.

⁸⁶ Keown, B. E. (2018). 'I Think I Was More Pleased to See Her Than Any One 'Cos She's So Fine': Nurses' Friendships, Trauma, and Resiliency during the First World War. *Family & Community History*, 21(3), 151-165. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14631180.2018.1555955>. p. 151-152. Noakes, L. (2018). 'My Husband is Interested in War Generally': Gender, Family History and the Emotional Legacies of Total War. *Women's History Review*, 27(4), 610-626. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09612025.2017.1292634>. p. 617. Pulsifer, R. (2013). Reading Kitty's Trauma in Rebecca West's *The Return of the Soldier*. *Studies in the Novel*, 45(1), 37-55. <https://doi.org/10.1353/sdn.2013.0005>. p. 37; p. 45.

focus on war trauma may have been an attempt to bring the lasting effects of war to the forefront of public consciousness. Popular representations of female war trauma often portrayed it stemming from the loss of the men around them – for instance, in Vera Brittain's *Testament of Youth* – so it may be argued that these accounts, especially those of soldiers, were attempts on the authors' behalf to come to terms with this.⁸⁷

2: The Significance of Loss

Although trauma was an important influence on the memory of the First World War, loss greatly contributed to this. The huge losses sustained both during combat and on the home front caused much of this trauma, and its effects must not be overlooked. Here, the complex relationship between trauma and loss must be highlighted; loss was simultaneously a form of and a cause of trauma. It is also important to acknowledge that the concept of loss may not always be applied in the literal sense; the changing nature of warfare and the onset of total war meant a loss of life as it had been prior to 1914 which affected the collective population. However, this will be further discussed in Chapter Four in relation to literary modernism. Loss may also refer to the loss of a limb or the former self – most prevalent in shell-shock cases – but a main focus of this study is the loss of lives and how this was collectively remembered, notably in the growth of commemorative practices.

Such a high death toll caused an increased need for and interest in commemoration; as the British Empire's dead reached almost a million, with many bodies missing or unnamed due

⁸⁷ McClellan, A. K. (2016). "I Was My War; My War Was I": Vera Brittain, Autobiography and University Fiction during the Great War. *Paedagogica Historica*, 52(1-2), 121-136. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00309230.2015.1133676>. p. 122.

to disfigurement, commemoration was driven by the need to process grief.⁸⁸ It is important to focus on the reasons for this, for example those dying were mostly young men 'in their prime', signifying the loss of innocence that was caused by war. The premature deaths of these men also appeared to highlight the injustice of war. The loss of comrades in battle was also a common subject in soldiers' memoirs, revealing a link between trauma and loss and the way they impacted the memory of the war. This was clear in Blunden's desensitisation to the death of men in his battalion and his subsequent sense of impending doom that 'we should all die, presumably, around Ypres', a sentiment shared by Sassoon in *Memoirs of an Infantry Officer*.⁸⁹

This leads on to the importance of the physical body in commemoration, indicating that loss was also a material concept. As many bodies were lost completely, the absence of a body to mourn became a source of trauma – made worse when the British government banned the exhumation and repatriation of Imperial soldiers in 1915, partially on the grounds of equal treatment as bodies were then buried in military cemeteries - stressing the need for proper mourning rituals.⁹⁰ This aim for equality would influence memorials such as the Cenotaph at

⁸⁸ Macleod, J., & Inall, Y. (2020). A Century of Armistice Day: Memorialisation in the Wake of the First World War. *Mortality*, 25(1), 48-68. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13576275.2019.1611752>. p. 51-52.

⁸⁹ Blunden, E. (2000; first published 1928). *Undertones of War*. Penguin Classics. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/undertonesofwar0000blun/mode/2up>. p. 164-165. Sassoon, S. (1997; first published 1930). *Memoirs of an Infantry Officer*. Faber & Faber. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/memoirsofinfantr00sieg>. p. 87.

⁹⁰ Tate, T. (2013). *Modernism, History and the First World War* (2nd ed.). Humanities-Ebooks. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/HUD/detail.action?docID=3306137&pq-origsite=summon>. p. 77. Tradii, L. (2019). 'Their Dear Remains Belong to Us Alone': Soldiers' Bodies, Commemoration, and Cultural Responses to Exhumations after the Great War. *First World War Studies*, 10(2-3), 245-261. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19475020.2020.1779777>. p. 247.

Whitehall in London. A sense of collective mourning was cemented on Armistice Day in 1920, channelled through the influx of physical commemoration including monuments and war cemeteries and accompanied by rituals such as the two minute's silence.⁹¹ Armistice Day also saw the unveiling of two popular types of commemoration, the Cenotaph and the tomb of the Unknown Warrior, which brought comfort and closure to some bereaved people due to their symbolism of the vast numbers of unidentified soldiers.⁹² Other memorials such as the Thiepval Memorial and the Menin Gate were constructed in Europe throughout the 1920s and 1930s, encapsulating the theme of loss as the main aspect of and reason for commemoration.⁹³ Memorials often listed the names of the fallen which

⁹¹ Gregory, A. (1994). *The Silence of Memory: Armistice Day, 1919-1946*. Bloomsbury. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/HUD/detail.action?pq-origsite=summon&docID=1609910>. p. 18-19.

⁹² The Cenotaph, Whitehall, Westminster, Greater London. Historic England. WMO ID: 122342. Available at: <https://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/item/memorial/104>. [Accessed December 2021]. Unknown Warrior, Dean's Yard, Westminster, Greater London. Westminster County Council. Available at: <https://www.westminster-abbey.org/abbey-commemorations/commemorations/unknown-warrior>. [Accessed December 2021]. Macleod, J., & Inall, Y. (2020). A Century of Armistice Day: Memorialisation in the Wake of the First World War. *Mortality*, 25(1), 48-68. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13576275.2019.1611752>. p. 53. Gregory, A. (1994). *The Silence of Memory: Armistice Day, 1919-1946*. Bloomsbury. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/HUD/detail.action?pq-origsite=summon&docID=1609910>. p. 26. Winter, J. (2014). *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*. Cambridge University Press. p. 27; p. 104.

⁹³ Ypres (Menin Gate) Memorial, Ypres, West Flanders, Belgium. Commonwealth War Graves Commission. Available at: <https://www.cwgc.org/visit-us/find-cemeteries-memorials/cemetery-details/91800/ypres-menin-gate-memorial/>. [Accessed December 2021]. Thiepval Memorial, Authuille, Somme. Commonwealth War Graves Commission. Available at: <https://www.cwgc.org/visit-us/find-cemeteries-memorials/cemetery-details/80800/thiepval-memorial/>. [Accessed February 2022]. Winter, J. (2014). *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*. Cambridge University Press. p. 105. Stephens, J. (2009). 'The Ghosts of Menin Gate': Art, Architecture and Commemoration. *Journal of Contemporary History*, 44(1), 7-26. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022009408098644>. p. 10.

highlighted the role of commemoration as a comforting force; the confirmed death of loved ones would likely give people the closure they needed and an end to some of their trauma. This placed commemoration in the type of war memory that soothed and helped people to forget.

However, responses to memorials suggested a dissatisfaction with commemoration and a willingness to remember the losses that had occurred. The impact of loss was also explored through the traditional style of writers such as Rudyard Kipling in his poem *London Stone*, a response to the Cenotaph, which illustrates the complexity of grief and questions the role of commemoration with the suggestion that the theme of collective mourning – not commemoration – would ease grief.⁹⁴ Perhaps influenced by the death of his son in the war, Kipling's tone suggests that the trauma of loss could not be cured by commemoration.⁹⁵ Like *London Stone*, Sassoon's poem *On Passing the New Menin Gate* questioned the wider meaning of the war and commemoration:

'Who will remember, passing through this Gate,

The unheroic Dead who fed the guns? ...

⁹⁴ Kipling, R. (1940; first published 1923). *London Stone*. In *Rudyard Kipling's Verse: Definitive Edition*. Hodder & Stoughton. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.59153/mode/2up>. [Accessed May 2022]. p. 804.

⁹⁵ Gregory, A. (1994). *The Silence of Memory: Armistice Day, 1919-1946*. Bloomsbury. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/HUD/detail.action?pq-origsite=summon&docID=1609910>. p. 22.

Paid, with a pile of peace-complacent stone,
The armies who endured that sullen swamp.⁹⁶

Sassoon's pacifist ideals probably influenced this perspective, fuelled by his experience in the trenches with the loss of comrades and the closeness of death.⁹⁷ It may be argued that commemoration was not actually inadequate but outweighed by the enormity of war – the damage of which was too great to be expressed or rectified by material means such as memorials - as conveyed by Kipling and Sassoon when they questioned how to honour and remember the war dead. Ultimately this clarifies how conflicting memories of war were put forward by commemoration and literature, stemming from the losses caused by war, which happened almost immediately.

It will be useful to mention art and music here. Although they are not a main focus of this study, their role in connection to trauma and loss must be acknowledged due to the involvement of artistic and musical pursuits in commemoration. The use of art in memorials is most notably found in the Balcombe Victory Hall in West Sussex, and the perhaps more well-known Sandham Memorial Chapel in Hampshire. Commissioned in the 1920s, these memorials embodied the conflicted feelings many had when remembering the war.⁹⁸ These

⁹⁶ Sassoon, S. (1968; first published 1928). On Passing the New Menin Gate. In *Selected Poems*. Faber & Faber. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/selectedpoems0000sass>. [Accessed May 2022]. p. 57-58.

⁹⁷ Sassoon, S. (1997; first published 1930). *Memoirs of an Infantry Officer*. Faber & Faber. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/memoirsofinfantr00sieg>. p. 218.

⁹⁸ Balcombe Victory Hall – Frescoes, Balcombe, Mid Sussex, West Sussex. Victory Hall Management Committee. WMO ID: 208841. Available at: <https://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/item/memorial/16646>. [Accessed February 2022]. Sandham Memorial Chapel, Burghclere, Newbury, Hampshire. Historic England. Available at: <https://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/place/sandham-memorial-chapel>. [Accessed May 2022].

artists embarked on a personal journey of remembrance, with art providing an outlet for their trauma and grief - especially for those who had seen active service or lost loved ones in war – much like the literary modernists who will be referred to in Chapter Four.

The loss of the pre-war self is also important and perhaps best exemplified in shell-shock cases amongst soldiers. For instance, the shell-shocked character of Chris in *The Return of the Soldier* is referred to as an 'outcast' upon his return home, probably due to his memory loss which caused a literal and mental disconnection from his pre-war life and the lives of the women around him.⁹⁹ These sentiments were echoed by actual soldiers. Famous soldier memoirs of the war were similar in their descriptions of the visual and auditory aspects of the Western Front with a particular focus on shells and bombs, being exposed to new types of violent warfare that people on the home front had not experienced and probably could not envision.¹⁰⁰ While undoubtedly a mentally traumatic experience due to the risk of injury or death, this reaches further by emphasising that soldiers' experiences were completely different to those of civilians, suggesting a sense of isolation and loneliness.

Their relationship with death also changed, being simultaneously desensitised to the idea and sight of death but often describing the horror they felt at the corpses they found, as mentioned earlier.¹⁰¹ Ultimately, soldiers returning home could no longer relate to civilians

⁹⁹ West, R. (2010; first published 1918). *The Return of the Soldier*. Virago Press. p. 42; p. 29-33.

¹⁰⁰ Blunden, E. (2000; first published 1928). *Undertones of War*. Penguin Classics. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/undertonesofwar0000blun/mode/2up>. p. 12; p. 160; p. 169; p. 171-172. Sassoon, S. (1997; first published 1930). *Memoirs of an Infantry Officer*. Faber & Faber. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/memoirsofinfantr00sieg>. p. 27; p. 150. Graves, R. (1998; first published 1929). *Good-Bye to All That*. Anchor Books. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/goodbyetoallthat0000grav>. p. 112; p. 191.

¹⁰¹ Graves, R. (1998; first published 1929). *Good-Bye to All That*. Anchor Books. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/goodbyetoallthat0000grav>. p. 237.

and vice versa, highlighting a loss of former self as their war experiences affected their ability to reintegrate into civilian life as conveyed by Graves: 'England looked strange to us returned soldiers. We could not understand the war madness that ran about everywhere, looking for a pseudo-military outlet. The civilians talked a foreign language...'¹⁰² This may have also influenced veterans' views on British commemoration of the war, as seen in some modernist accounts. Perhaps these memoirs were personal attempts by the authors to process this change which was brought about by their own traumatic wartime experiences, as well as being a way of telling their own 'truth' when they felt unable to tell the people they had returned home to after the war. The fact that such interpretations have prevailed as the most popular memories of the First World War symbolises the importance of trauma and loss in cultural accounts and a preference for remembering the more violent aspects of war which were absent in traditional commemoration.

Loss meant people turned to commemoration as a way of processing their grief and to 'honour' the war dead in a respectful manner. Commemorative practices often involved remembering the dead such as the two minutes' silence and Armistice Day ceremonies, creating an image of worthy sacrifice. At the same time, the soothing nature of such commemorations encouraged people to forget the destructive and traumatic aspects of war which was addressed in some war memoirs and poetry. It is here that a marked difference in the nature and motivations of these mediums can be observed, thereby contributing to the splintered memories of the war.

¹⁰² Graves, R. (1998; first published 1929). *Good-Bye to All That*. Anchor Books. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/goodbyetoallthat0000grav>. p. 228. See also: Sassoon, S. (1997; first published 1930). *Memoirs of an Infantry Officer*. Faber & Faber. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/memoirsofinfantr00sieg>. p. 171.

Conclusions

This chapter has explored the foundations of the contested memories of the First World War. Trauma and loss were perhaps the most important influences on the memory of the First World War, resulting in the contested memories and the growth of commemorative practices discussed above. The physically taxing conditions of war alongside 'strained nerves' experienced by many people led them to question the meaning of the war. The ways in which people attempted to find and express meaning in their experiences of trauma and loss also revealed an indecisive approach to remembering the war. Memoirs acted as an outlet for these feelings, so they often contributed to the narrative of a futile and violent war - perhaps a partial response to the cleansing image sold by commemorative efforts. The War Books Boom helped to start this by bringing the disillusioned experiences of soldiers to the forefront of the First World War's memory, further dividing the memory of the war, but it must be noted that the foundations for contested memories were laid during - and immediately after - 1918. Notably, the depiction of war – whether fictional or not – reflected a cultural trend in the interwar years of revealing the brutality of the conflict.

This chapter has focused on the experiences of a select few groups: soldiers, medical staff, and women on the home front. Although the effects of trauma and loss reached a far wider audience, these groups are the central focus of this thesis because they were impacted by and perpetuated the contested memories of the war, representing the two factions of memory. It appears that depictions of the Western Front conveyed the horror and traumas of war, felt especially by returning soldiers, whereas commemorative efforts often attempted to conceal this.

Ultimately, the experiences of trauma and loss in the First World War could not be easily forgotten and they manifested in contested memories – this ‘haunting’ quality will be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter Two: Religion and Spirituality

This chapter will consider ideas about religion and spirituality, and their role within the wider frameworks of trauma and loss in the First World War. Traditional religious ideas such as sacrifice set the tone for mourning and commemoration, and perhaps acted as a precursor to the spirituality of the interwar years.¹⁰³ This is significant because such traditional and spiritual ideas fuelled the memory of the war as necessary and heroic and therefore a positive thing, as opposed to the strain of war memory that drew attention to the traumatic and arguably futile experiences caused by the conflict. The connection – and disconnection – between spirituality and commemoration will feature throughout the chapter, arguing that trauma and loss directly caused a growth in spiritual and religious interest which fed into and fuelled commemorative practices and contributed greatly to the memory of the war. A considerable contribution to this was the idea of a ‘Lost Generation’ – the concept that a generation of aspirational young men had been wiped out by the war - which could have emphasised trauma and the subsequent need to ‘immortalise’ the dead in commemoration.¹⁰⁴ It may also be noted that some of the topics to be discussed, such as this immortalisation of the dead, owed itself to both religion and spiritualist ideas and will be mentioned throughout this chapter.

¹⁰³ Gregory, A. (1994). *The Silence of Memory: Armistice Day, 1919-1946*. Bloomsbury. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/HUD/detail.action?pq-origsite=summon&docID=1609910>. p. 169.

¹⁰⁴ Grogan, S. (2014). *Shell Shocked Britain: The First World War's Legacy for Britain's Mental Health*. Pen & Sword History. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/hud/detail.action?docID=1832005>. p. 127. Winter, J. M. (1977). Britain's 'Lost Generation' of the First World War. *Population Studies*, 31(3), 449-466. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2173368?origin=JSTOR-pdf>. p. 449.

This chapter consists of two sections, firstly looking at religious ideas then spirituality and the spiritualist movement. These themes closely intersect although it is important to establish the differences between the two. Religion here usually refers to Christianity, whereas spirituality may refer to the broader trend of believing in the divine including religious ideas - spiritualism also borrowed elements of religion, such as the continuity of personality and communication after death, whilst challenging conventional views of the afterlife.¹⁰⁵

Having already acknowledged in the previous chapter that traumatic wartime experiences fuelled the need for commemoration for many people, this will be explored in further detail here, specifically in relation to the loss of lives in combat. The importance of keeping the memory of lost loved ones close perhaps came down to the brutal nature of the war in which many young and seemingly innocent men died by modern forms of weaponry, making their deaths more painful and difficult to process. This chapter will ultimately explore how spiritual themes, including religious imagery, were often used as modes of expression and comfort for these traumatic effects of war – most noticeably through commemorative efforts including memorials.¹⁰⁶ Similar displays of spirituality in literature will also be examined.

¹⁰⁵ Doyle, A. C. (1926). *The History of Spiritualism: Volume II*. Cassell & Company. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.218497/mode/2up>. p. 246-248; p260.
Davies, O. (2018). *A Supernatural War: Magic, Divination, and Faith during the First World War*. Oxford University Press. p. 75.

¹⁰⁶ Harrington, P. (2011). Religious and Spiritual Themes in British Academic Art during the Great War. *First World War Studies*, 2(2), 145-164.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/19475020.2011.613242>. p. 146.

Interest in the spiritual and religious themes of the First World War has developed over the past few decades with the growing recognition of the war's cultural impact. Historians have confronted the 'continuity versus change' debate in reference to spiritualism – as with Winter's claim that the spiritualist trend of the war borrowed from traditional practices.¹⁰⁷ Likewise, Owen Davies suggests that the war revived pre-existing spirituality, while maintaining that the supernatural was 'profoundly modern'.¹⁰⁸ This debate is useful for deducing the nature of spirituality and the ways in which it interacted with the traumatic memory of the First World War. Historians have also debated the influence and role of the spiritualist movement around the war, for instance with Jennifer Hazelgrove's claim that spiritualism after the war was a part of daily life.¹⁰⁹

1: Religious Ideas in Mourning and Commemoration

To begin with, it is useful to consider the effects of trauma and loss on the remembrance of the First World War. As suggested by Sigmund Freud in 1917, there were differing reactions to death including mourning and the more extreme state of melancholia - both including a loss of interest in the outside world and an inability to love - which demonstrated the more

¹⁰⁷ Winter, J. (2014). *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*. Cambridge University Press. p. 54; p. 57; p. 76.

¹⁰⁸ Davies, O. (2018). *A Supernatural War: Magic, Divination, and Faith during the First World War*. Oxford University Press. p. 41; p. 232.

¹⁰⁹ Hazelgrove, J. (1999). Spiritualism after the Great War. *Twentieth Century British History*, 10(4), 404-430. <https://doi.org/10.1093/tcbh/10.4.404>. p. 430. For the significance of spiritualism during and after the war, see also: Grogan, S. (2014). *Shell Shocked Britain: The First World War's Legacy for Britain's Mental Health*. Pen & Sword History. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/hud/detail.action?docID=1832005>. p. 132-133. Winter, J. (2014). *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*. Cambridge University Press. p. 57-58.

prolonged, and often extreme, state of trauma felt by the bereaved.¹¹⁰ Consequently, the importance of commemorating the war dead was more pronounced which may explain the soothing nature of memorials in avoiding a direct encounter with the brutality of war deaths.¹¹¹ The religious themes in commemoration directly fed the narrative of a tragic yet necessary and heroic war, using language to depict a great sacrifice; as Alex King notes, this often entailed a 'purgative blood-sacrifice which would cleanse the world not only of political, but also of social and moral evil' comparable to the sacrifice of Christ.¹¹² This was evident in many of the memorials constructed at the time, such as with the Cenotaph - its reference to 'the glorious dead' suggests patriotic triumph.¹¹³ However some mainstream monuments like the Cenotaph generally avoided inherently religious connotations, including an absence of prayers in 1919, as the focus was placed on royalty and politicians as seen with wreaths sent by the King and Queen and the Prime Minister.¹¹⁴ This suggests that the early nature of commemoration, although often endorsing religious ideas about life and

¹¹⁰ Freud, S. (1957; first published 1917). Mourning and Melancholia. In Rickman, J. (Ed.), *A General Selection from the Works of Sigmund Freud* (pp. 124-140). Doubleday Anchor Books. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/generalselection00freu/mode/2up>. p. 125-127.

¹¹¹ Eksteins, M. (2000). *Rites of Spring: The Great War and the Birth of the Modern Age*. Mariner Books. https://archive.org/details/ritesofspringgre0000ekst_p5p9/mode/2up. p. 253-254.

¹¹² King, A. (1998). *Memorials of the Great War in Britain: The Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance*. Bloomsbury Academic. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/hud/detail.action?docID=1609928>. p. 105.

¹¹³ The Cenotaph, Whitehall, Westminster, Greater London. Historic England. WMO ID: 122342. Available at: <https://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/item/memorial/104>. [Accessed December 2021].

¹¹⁴ Gregory, A. (1994). *The Silence of Memory: Armistice Day, 1919-1946*. Bloomsbury. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/HUD/detail.action?pq-origsite=summon&docID=1609910>. p. 17.

death, also perhaps held other - perhaps political - intentions due to its target audience of public figures who represented the British Empire.

Others such as the tomb of the Unknown Warrior – inspired and created by Chaplain David Railton and the Dean of Westminster, then unveiled in Westminster Abbey - bore explicitly Christian inscriptions, for example ‘for the sacred cause of justice and the freedom of the world’ and ‘they buried him among the kings because he had done good toward God and toward His house’.¹¹⁵ This corroborated the idea that survivors were expected to acknowledge and appreciate the magnitude of the ‘sacrifices’ made by the dead in order to give meaning to their deaths, also uniting patriotism with religion and demonstrating how a particularly standardised language of commemoration had emerged from the war.¹¹⁶ In 1920, the official Armistice Day ceremony in London appeared to amass a large public crowd with one newspaper article reporting that people ‘crowded pavements, roofs, and windows, and flowed in dense, packed masses up side streets and every open space’.¹¹⁷ This suggested that this type of commemoration and the memory of the war it portrayed was

¹¹⁵ Unknown Warrior, Dean’s Yard, Westminster, Greater London. Westminster County Council. Available at: <https://www.westminster-abbey.org/abbey-commemorations/commemorations/unknown-warrior>. [Accessed December 2021]. See also: Gregory, A. (1994). *The Silence of Memory: Armistice Day, 1919-1946*. Bloomsbury. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/HUD/detail.action?pq-origsite=summon&docID=1609910>. p. 24-27.

¹¹⁶ King, A. (1998). *Memorials of the Great War in Britain: The Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance*. Bloomsbury Academic. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/hud/detail.action?docID=1609928>. p. 155-156. Spiers, E. M. (2015). The British Centennial Commemoration of the First World War. *Comillas Journal of International Relations*, (2), 73-85. <https://doi.org/10.14422/cir.i02.y2015.006>. p. 77.

¹¹⁷ Anonymous. (1920). Armistice Day, 1920. *The Times*, (42566), 25-26, Friday 12th November 1920. Available at: <https://link-gale-com.libaccess.hud.ac.uk/apps/doc/CS419630956/TTDA?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-TTDA&xid=d0ed8e7b>. [Accessed February 2022]. p. 25.

deemed appropriate, further emphasised by the willingness of the public to fund memorials.¹¹⁸ The church's involvement in commemoration was also common so their intentions must be considered, such as using spiritual language to instil gratitude in the living for the sacrifices of the dead which could give meaning and justification to the war effort.¹¹⁹

Likewise, local memorials tended to adopt religious themes which was perhaps dependent on the popularity of religion in the area, although religion still featured in national life.¹²⁰ This was seen in the growth of street shrines in villages and towns throughout England. One shrine in East Hampshire used the biblical reference 'in peace from the battle' to reinforce the idea of a gentle death, perhaps alleviating the pain for loved ones of the deceased whilst maintaining patriotic fervour with the inscription 'for king and country', again to remind people of the sacrifices made by the dead and to allow them to commit to the war effort which suggests that memorials were part of the state's effort to control grief.¹²¹ However, contested memories soon became clear with some opposition to these shrines under the

¹¹⁸ King, A. (1998). *Memorials of the Great War in Britain: The Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance*. Bloomsbury Academic. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/hud/detail.action?docID=1609928>. p. 31.

¹¹⁹ Gregory, A. (1994). *The Silence of Memory: Armistice Day, 1919-1946*. Bloomsbury. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/HUD/detail.action?pq-origsite=summon&docID=1609910>. p. 139.

¹²⁰ Holmes, R. (2005). *Tommy: The British Soldier on the Western Front 1914-1918*. Harper Perennial. p. 503-504. Field, C. (2014). Keeping the Spiritual Home Fires Burning: Religious Belonging in Britain during the First World War. *War & Society*, 33(4), 244-268. <https://doi.org/10.1179/0729247314Z.00000000041>. p. 267.

¹²¹ Steep Shrine – WW1, Steep, East Hampshire. Historic England. WMO ID: 84155. Available at: <https://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/item/memorial/40371>. [Accessed March 2022]. King, A. (1998). *Memorials of the Great War in Britain: The Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance*. Bloomsbury Academic. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/hud/detail.action?docID=1609928>. p. 53-54.

guise of being too Catholic.¹²² Smaller areas such as villages also perhaps felt the most severe effects of their men enlisting for war, many of whom did not return, which again highlights a collective need for commemoration within local communities. Other small memorials such as the St John cross in London emphasised the sacrifice made by soldiers, drawing on images of the crucifixion of Christ alongside somewhat triumphalist messages such as the biblical reference: 'death is swallowed up in victory' and alluding to the freedom that had been fought for.¹²³ This was echoed by one church window memorial in Leicestershire depicting fallen warriors by a figure of Christ upon the cross which implied a peaceful and holy death in war and referenced the 'supreme sacrifice' made, ultimately using medieval ideas of knighthood to convey this.¹²⁴ Similarly, the cross of sacrifice fed into this narrative by using traditionally medieval imagery of warriors and knights, combining this with religion by placing a sword onto the cross.¹²⁵ Designed by Reginald Blomfield who was also responsible for the Menin Gate, the cross of sacrifice became an archetypal feature of war cemeteries in commonwealth countries and, with no mention of the violence of war,

¹²² King, A. (1998). *Memorials of the Great War in Britain: The Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance*. Bloomsbury Academic.

<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/hud/detail.action?docID=1609928>. p. 44.

¹²³ St John The Evangelist Church – Cross, Paddington, Westminster, Greater London. Historic England. WMO ID: 196194. Available at:

<https://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/item/memorial/11598>. [Accessed March 2022].

¹²⁴ St. Peter and St. Paul's Church – Window, Great Bowden, Harborough, Leicestershire. Leicestershire County Council. Available at:

<https://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/item/memorial/93532>. [Accessed February 2022].

¹²⁵ St Mary The Virgin Church, Rye, Rother, East Sussex. Historic England. WMO ID: 106976. Available at: <https://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/item/memorial/16951>. [Accessed March 2022].

probably helped to push the soothing idea that soldiers' deaths had been worthy whilst reminding people of the enormity and tragedy of the situation.¹²⁶

Triumphalism was also a common theme in memorials alongside religion. For instance, local memorials in Bradford featured allegorical angelic figures with patriotic inscriptions such as 'valour filled the space between', with references to 'our glorious dead' who 'gave their lives' implying heroic sacrifice and a 'purified memory of the dead'.¹²⁷ This was echoed by the Mountain Ash memorial in Wales, bearing a similar figure holding a palm of victory and a sword, in line with the traditional medieval fashion of many memorials, and the inscription 'let this of you be said: that you who live are worthy of your dead' with further reference to the 'dauntless courage' of the dead.¹²⁸ Unveiling ceremonies for local memorials were attended by people such as lieutenant colonels, mayors, and bishops.¹²⁹ The fact that the

¹²⁶ King, A. (1998). *Memorials of the Great War in Britain: The Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance*. Bloomsbury Academic.
<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/hud/detail.action?docID=1609928>. p. 104; p. 119.

¹²⁷ Eccleshill, Eccleshill, Bradford. Bradford City Council. WMO ID: 199158. Available at: <https://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/item/memorial/28826>. [Accessed February 2022]. Greengates, Apperley Bridge and District, Greengates/Apperley Bridge, Bradford. Historic England. WMO ID: 95748. Available at: <https://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/item/memorial/28482>. [Accessed February 2022]. King, A. (1998). *Memorials of the Great War in Britain: The Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance*. Bloomsbury Academic.
<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/hud/detail.action?docID=1609928>. p. 143-146.

¹²⁸ Mountain Ash Town and District, Mountain Ash, Mid Glamorgan, Wales. Cynon Valley Borough Council. WMO ID: 187630. Available at: <https://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/item/memorial/6777>.

¹²⁹ Eccleshill, Eccleshill, Bradford. Bradford City Council. WMO ID: 199158. Available at: <https://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/item/memorial/28826>. [Accessed February 2022]. Greengates, Apperley Bridge and District, Greengates/Apperley Bridge, Bradford. Historic England. WMO ID: 95748. Available at: <https://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/item/memorial/28482>. [Accessed February 2022]. Mountain Ash Town and District, Mountain Ash, Mid Glamorgan, Wales. Cynon Valley

unveiling of such memorials were attended by these important figures - and the ritualistic feel of unveiling ceremonies themselves – symbolises the cementing of this type of commemoration into British culture as it became a more public affair in the 1920s. This reflects the meanings and purposes of commemoration. Examples such as these may have been used for propagandist reasons to justify the war and its casualties - so the soothing memory of war that they perpetuated was a widespread view that certain groups capitalised on by diverting attention from the brutality of war to focus on survivors expressing gratitude for all that had been lost.¹³⁰

Despite this, other commemorative efforts took the traditional style of conventional memorials to confront the brutality of war such as the Royal Artillery memorial in London. The memorial – a stone pedestal depicting a howitzer and artillery men – was designed by Charles Sergeant Jagger who fought in the war, which adds personal meaning to its depiction of the army.¹³¹ It indicated a different relationship with death that was more common in literary accounts although this seemed to be an exception because of the controversy the memorial generated at the time, as seen in *The Times* which addressed this

Borough Council. WMO ID: 187630. Available at:
<https://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/item/memorial/6777>.

¹³⁰ King, A. (1998). *Memorials of the Great War in Britain: The Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance*. Bloomsbury Academic.
<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/hud/detail.action?docID=1609928>. p. 42.

¹³¹ Royal Artillery, Hyde Park, Westminster, Greater London. Historic England. WMO ID: 122319. Available at: <https://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/item/memorial/128>. [Accessed February 2022]. Black, J. (2010). Manifold Instruments of Carnage: Images of Weapons Technology and Imaginings of World War I Combat in Charles Sergeant Jagger's Royal Artillery Memorial, London (192125). *Journal of War and Culture Studies*, 3(2), 161-179. https://doi.org/10.1386/jwcs.3.2.161_1. p. 162; p. 164-166.

by publishing debates on the meaning and relevance of the memorial.¹³² Bearing a seemingly unique style to other commemorative monuments, the memorial focused on commemorating fallen soldiers rather than victory, and may have aimed to reveal the grim reality of war in which soldiers often faced violent and painful deaths on the battlefield.¹³³ It is evident that memorials had a wide and complex range of meanings and purposes, yet many were built for civilians who did not fight on the front line, either as propaganda to justify the war to civilians or as comfort for those who had lost loved ones.

Other memorials often conveyed a comforting effect with Christian images of the immortalisation of the dead, for instance the cross of sacrifice bore the inscription 'their name liveth for evermore'.¹³⁴ Other memorials followed this style including the Menin Gate whose arched structure allowed people to pass through - perhaps symbolising a gateway to heaven which was a typical Christian concept – which is no surprise considering Reginald

¹³² Royal Artillery, Hyde Park, Westminster, Greater London. Historic England. WMO ID: 122319. Available at: <https://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/item/memorial/128>. [Accessed February 2022]. King, A. (1998). *Memorials of the Great War in Britain: The Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance*. Bloomsbury Academic. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/hud/detail.action?docID=1609928>. p. 109-110; p. 113. Knox, M. G. (1925). Royal Artillery Memorial. *The Times*, (44097), 15, Tuesday 20th October 1925. Available at: <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CS253040980/TTDA?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-TTDA&xid=ff585c07>. [Accessed November 2022]. Image, S. (1925). Royal Artillery Memorial. *The Times*, (44099), 8, Thursday 22nd October 1925. Available at: <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CS134682966/TTDA?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-TTDA&xid=adb31bbc>. [Accessed November 2022]. Uniacke, H. (1925). Royal Artillery Memorial. *The Times*, (44100), 15, Friday 23rd October 1925. Available at: <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CS252778839/TTDA?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-TTDA&xid=5c64c34b>. [Accessed November 2022].

¹³³ King, A. (1998). *Memorials of the Great War in Britain: The Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance*. Bloomsbury Academic. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/hud/detail.action?docID=1609928>. p. 112.

¹³⁴ St Mary The Virgin Church, Rye, Rother, East Sussex. Historic England. WMO ID: 106976. Available at: <https://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/item/memorial/16951>. [Accessed March 2022].

Blomfield's preference for classicism and disdain for modernism.¹³⁵ This was echoed in the similar structure of the Thiepval memorial, and both could be described as softening the idea of death with this heavenly imagery.¹³⁶ The fact that these memorials were dedicated to missing soldiers emphasises the image of heaven in comforting the bereaved. Therefore spiritual ideas in commemoration had divisive meanings but ultimately they were used to help ease grieving, whether that be the creator's grief or that of the collective British population.

Additionally, religious themes of heaven in commemoration probably helped as attempts to comfort came with the idea of loved ones painless and at peace in heaven. Thus it can be suggested that traditional spiritual – most notably Christian – ideas were the main language used to commemorate the First World War. This was perhaps due to the religious nature of Britain at the time which consisted largely of Christian communities including Nonconformists and Catholics, the population of the latter group having increased by the beginning of the war.¹³⁷ Despite this, it may also be an example of certain ideas being transferred from authoritative figures to the general public – as Suzie Grogan writes, ministers 'wanted something to reinforce the view... that the huge numbers of men being

¹³⁵ Ypres (Menin Gate) Memorial, Ypres, West Flanders, Belgium. Commonwealth War Graves Commission. Available at: <https://www.cwgc.org/visit-us/find-cemeteries-memorials/cemetery-details/91800/ypres-menin-gate-memorial/>. [Accessed December 2021]. Stephens, J. (2009). 'The Ghosts of Menin Gate': Art, Architecture and Commemoration. *Journal of Contemporary History*, 44(1), 7-26. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022009408098644>. p. 16; p. 13.

¹³⁶ Thiepval Memorial, Authuille, Somme. Commonwealth War Graves Commission. Available at: <https://www.cwgc.org/visit-us/find-cemeteries-memorials/cemetery-details/80800/thiepval-memorial/>. [Accessed February 2022].

¹³⁷ Pugh, M. (2017). *State and Society: A Social and Political History of Britain since 1870* (5th ed.). Bloomsbury Academic. p. 114-116.

killed or wounded were not fighting and dying in vain.¹³⁸ Using religious imagery in commemoration may have been their solution to this.

Similarly, the Sandham Memorial Chapel, designed by Stanley Spencer, used religious motifs that may have acted as a coping mechanism. Perhaps the chapel signifies that art served a different purpose to memorials and commemorative practices, conveying ideas about the more personal meanings of war to each artist rather than being curated by the government in order to address and shape the narrative of the conflict. Images of resurrected soldiers on the battlefield at the Sandham memorial chapel were perhaps made for the creator's personal journey with loss and grief. As he had fought on the front line and lost a brother in the war, Spencer probably channelled this in his work.¹³⁹ One of the patrons of the chapel also wished for it to 'sanctify the memory' of her own brother who had died in the war, highlighting the role of religion as a means of healing from personal loss and grief.¹⁴⁰

Overall, the predominantly religious and spiritual iconography of memorials was perhaps employed to help people forget the harsh reality of war and divert their focus towards

¹³⁸ Grogan, S. (2014). *Shell Shocked Britain: The First World War's Legacy for Britain's Mental Health*. Pen & Sword History.

<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/hud/detail.action?docID=1832005>. p. 156.

¹³⁹ Rapport, N. (2016). *Distortion and Love: An Anthropological Reading of the Art and Life of Stanley Spencer*. Ashgate Publishing.

<http://libaccess.hud.ac.uk/login?url=https://dx.doi.org/10.4324/9781315562759>. p. 20-21; p. 85.

¹⁴⁰ Sandham Memorial Chapel, Burghclere, Newbury, Hampshire. Historic England. Available at: <https://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/place/sandham-memorial-chapel>.

[Accessed May 2022]. Rapport, N. (2016). *Distortion and Love: An Anthropological Reading of the Art and Life of Stanley Spencer*. Ashgate Publishing.

<http://libaccess.hud.ac.uk/login?url=https://dx.doi.org/10.4324/9781315562759>. p. 158.

mourning the loss of loved ones whilst reflecting on the seemingly glorious sacrifices made by the dead.¹⁴¹

2: Spirituality and the Spiritualist Movement

Religious themes in commemoration also appeared alongside the increasing appeal of spiritualism. Historians have debated the nature of memorials and their relation to loss - for instance Alex King disputes Winter's claim that memorials were solely for the bereaved - conveying the importance of memorials in not just honouring dead but helping people to mourn their loved ones.¹⁴² As will be explored, spiritualist symbols and ideas were often used to achieve this in commemoration.

Popular myths and legends such as the Angels of Mons and the White Comrade, which entailed supernatural sightings on the battlefield, also displayed the mystical aspects of war with the belief that spirits could transcend death and have a purpose in this – such as warning people of imminent danger or to offer help.¹⁴³ This reflected a desire to assign a

¹⁴¹ Winter, J. (2014). *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*. Cambridge University Press. p. 115. Gregory, A. (1994). *The Silence of Memory: Armistice Day, 1919-1946*. Bloomsbury. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/HUD/detail.action?pq-origsite=summon&docID=1609910>. p. 23. Harrington, P. (2011). Religious and Spiritual Themes in British Academic Art during the Great War. *First World War Studies*, 2(2), 145-164. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19475020.2011.613242>. p. 146-147.

¹⁴² Winter, J. (2014). *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*. Cambridge University Press. p. 94. King, A. (1998). *Memorials of the Great War in Britain: The Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance*. Bloomsbury Academic. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/hud/detail.action?docID=1609928>. p. 65.

¹⁴³ Machen, A. (1915). *The Angels of Mons: The Bowmen and Other Legends of the War*. Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Company. <https://archive.org/details/angelsofmonsbowm00machuoft/mode/2up>. p. 29-38; p. 73-76. Schaffler, R. H. (1920). *The White Comrade and Other Poems*. Houghton Mifflin Company.

deeper meaning to the often brutal deaths on the battlefield and the fact that these stories were often used for propaganda purposes and in war shrines indicates the narrative people wanted to enforce.¹⁴⁴ The use of these stories may indicate the importance ascribed to spiritual and mystical beliefs in the press. It is possible that these myths were born from the traumatic experience of war which comprised high mortality rates coupled with the intense mental and emotional stresses of the battlefield, including lack of sleep and exhaustion.¹⁴⁵ Regardless of the 'truth' about the angels, the popularity of this rumour suggested the powerful influence of spiritual ideas in providing solace and hope for people at the time. Spiritual ideas also appeared in non-modernist literature of the time, such as short stories written by H. D. Everett. Being written in the interwar years by a woman who did not see action first-hand during the war, it is likely that these stories were a way of coping and accepting the trauma and losses faced by many.¹⁴⁶ One such story refers to a man being contacted by the ghost of a former lover who died from illness due to shock - possibly severe mental trauma from witnessing atrocities, also portraying death as cleansing like in

<https://archive.org/details/whitecomrade00scharich/mode/2up>. p. 3-6. Clarke, D. (2002). Rumours of Angels: A Legend of the First World War. *Folklore*, 113(2), 151-173. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0015587022000015293>. p. 152.

¹⁴⁴ Clarke, D. (2002). Rumours of Angels: A Legend of the First World War. *Folklore*, 113(2), 151-173. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0015587022000015293>. p. 154. Davies, O. (2018). *A Supernatural War: Magic, Divination, and Faith during the First World War*. Oxford University Press. p. 60-62; p. 67-69.

¹⁴⁵ Davies, O. (2018). *A Supernatural War: Magic, Divination, and Faith during the First World War*. Oxford University Press. p. 70. Winter, J. (2014). *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*. Cambridge University Press. p. 67-68. Clarke, D. (2002). Rumours of Angels: A Legend of the First World War. *Folklore*, 113(2), 151-173. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0015587022000015293>. p. 164-165.

¹⁴⁶ Edmundson, M. (2017). "The Cataclysm We All Remember": Haunting and Spectral Trauma in the First World War Stories of H. D. Everett. *Women's Writing*, 24(1), 53-65. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09699082.2016.1232502>. p. 53-54; p. 57; p. 63.

memorials – hence the phrase ‘it will be easy now to die... soon I shall be washed clean’.¹⁴⁷ This highlights the relief of death for the traumatised - also a feature of commemoration – which raises the question of Everett’s intended audience. Like memorials, these stories perhaps used spiritual ideas to help the bereaved by assuring them that in some cases death put an end to the suffering of their loved ones and ensured their welcome into an idyllic heaven where they could fulfil opportunities that had been taken from them in mortal life.¹⁴⁸ Another story addresses the experiences of soldiers, detailing how two soldiers swapped minds; this employs principles of spiritualism such as the separation of mind and body, also found in commemoration that encouraged the idea of an afterlife with the body staying on earth and the soul going to heaven.¹⁴⁹ The story also applies a ghostly quality to the mental trauma of soldiers as shell-shock is blamed for the minds being swapped once the soldiers are cured, conveying the severity of trauma and its implications.¹⁵⁰

It may be obvious that spirituality comprised a large part of the spiritualist movement which, appearing around the mid-nineteenth century, has been described as ‘the claim of communication with deceased human beings’.¹⁵¹ Whereas religious aspects of

¹⁴⁷ Everett, H. D. (1920). *The Death-Mask and Other Ghosts*. P. Allan. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/cu31924013456953/mode/2up>. p. 210-211; p. 219-221.

¹⁴⁸ Byrne, G. (2010). *Modern Spiritualism and the Church of England, 1850-1939*. The Boydell Press. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7722/j.ctt163tb0c>. p. 191-193. Grogan, S. (2014). *Shell Shocked Britain: The First World War's Legacy for Britain's Mental Health*. Pen & Sword History. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/hud/detail.action?docID=1832005>. p. 135.

¹⁴⁹ Everett, H. D. (1920). *The Death-Mask and Other Ghosts*. P. Allan. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/cu31924013456953/mode/2up>. p. 289-290.

¹⁵⁰ Everett, H. D. (1920). *The Death-Mask and Other Ghosts*. P. Allan. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/cu31924013456953/mode/2up>. p. 296-297.

¹⁵¹ McCabe, J. (1920). *Spiritualism: A Popular History from 1847*. T. Fisher Unwin. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/Spiritualism/mode/2up>. p. 9-11. Doyle, A. C. (1926). *The*

commemoration adopted an archaic style, spirituality combined this traditionalism with modern features.¹⁵² Although spiritualism existed prior to 1914, it may be recognised that the First World War generated greater interest in the movement and its values as indicated by a rise in the number of spiritualists from 1914 to 1918.¹⁵³ This was perhaps influenced by huge losses and disillusionment with churches as seen with a decline in church attendance, caused by some people turning to other religions and the Spanish influenza epidemic which people tried to avoid by not attending church.¹⁵⁴ This demonstrates the disconnection between spiritualism and spirituality, namely religion, as the decline in public religious worship perhaps assisted the rise of spiritualism. However, it must be considered that this rise may have been partly due to people using the practice of spiritualism as an opportunity to 'cash in' on people's bereavement. This was observed in one newspaper article that covered a court case on the possibility of fraud being involved in a spiritualist seance, and another detailing people being charged for practicing spiritualism using methods such as fortune-telling.¹⁵⁵ Newspaper articles also illustrated the discomfort of many in regards to

History of Spiritualism: Volume II. Cassell & Company. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.218497/mode/2up>. p. 253.

¹⁵² Davies, O. (2018). *A Supernatural War: Magic, Divination, and Faith during the First World War*. Oxford University Press. p. 1.

¹⁵³ Doyle, A. C. (1926). *The History of Spiritualism: Volume II.* Cassell & Company. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.218497/mode/2up>. p. 225. Field, C. (2014). Keeping the Spiritual Home Fires Burning: Religious Belonging in Britain during the First World War. *War & Society*, 33(4), 244-268. <https://doi.org/10.1179/0729247314Z.00000000041>. p. 261-262.

¹⁵⁴ Grogan, S. (2014). *Shell Shocked Britain: The First World War's Legacy for Britain's Mental Health*. Pen & Sword History. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/hud/detail.action?docID=1832005>. p. 108. Field, C. (2014). Keeping the Spiritual Home Fires Burning: Religious Belonging in Britain during the First World War. *War & Society*, 33(4), 244-268. <https://doi.org/10.1179/0729247314Z.00000000041>. p. 266.

¹⁵⁵ Anonymous. (1937). Medium Charged with Fraud. *The Times*, (47719), 13, Thursday 24th June 1937. Available at:

this aspect of spiritualism, with some doubting its legitimacy, and others highlighting its negative impact on people's mental wellbeing; one doctor even labelled spiritualism as a cause of lunacy.¹⁵⁶ Indeed, the disconnection between spiritualism and spirituality was also clarified in newspapers, such as in one article in *The Times* which described the denouncement of spiritualism by the church due to lack of evidence.¹⁵⁷

Despite this, the potential of spiritualism in healing the bereaved was exemplified in the works of the writers Arthur Conan Doyle and Oliver Lodge which promoted spiritualist ideology, including spirit photography and the supposed credibility of popular myths such as

<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CS219361496/TTDA?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-TTDA&xid=86d37d67>. [Accessed November 2022]. Anonymous. (1924). Fortune-Telling Charge. *The Times*, (43540), 7, Friday 4th January 1924. Available at: <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CS118429220/TTDA?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-TTDA&xid=4b66b24b>. [Accessed November 2022].

¹⁵⁶ Anonymous. (1933). Sir Oliver Lodge and the Ether. *The Times*, (46478), 8, Friday 23rd June 1933. Available at: <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CS135080151/TTDA?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-TTDA&xid=90cb13ef>. [Accessed November 2022]. Anonymous. (1926). People Who Have Seen Ghosts: Modern Spiritualism: Results of Value to Science: Hypnotism and Telepathy. *The Manchester Guardian*, 6, Friday 17th December 1926. Available at: <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/people-who-have-seen-ghosts/docview/477314906/se-2?accountid=11526>. [Accessed November 2022]. Anonymous. (1923). Spiritualism Danger. *Daily Mail*, (8352), 7, Friday 19th January 1923. Available at: <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/EE1863080047/GDCS?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-GDCS&xid=84c3b065>. [Accessed November 2022].

¹⁵⁷ Anonymous. (1919). Spiritualism. *The Times*, (42233), 13, Friday 17th October 1919. Available at: <https://link-gale-com.libaccess.hud.ac.uk/apps/doc/CS218697041/TTDA?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-TTDA&xid=e5d11da0>. [Accessed November 2022]. See also: Anonymous. (1922). "The Mistakes of Spiritualism". *Tamworth Herald*, (2797), 3, Saturday 3rd June 1922. Available at: <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/EN3222764088/GDCS?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-GDCS&xid=36f91898>. [Accessed November 2022]. Bishop of Norwich. (1932). By the Bishop of Norwich. *Daily Mail*, (11273), 13, Saturday 11th June 1932. Available at: <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/EE1865616277/GDCS?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-GDCS&xid=3ed947bd>. [Accessed October 2022].

the Angels of Mons.¹⁵⁸ Having both lost sons in the war, spiritualist practices such as seances may have eased their grieving and perpetuated a veiled idea of death like memorials which was emphasised by the popularity of these works.¹⁵⁹ Despite both authors' claims that their perspectives were not affected by the death of their children and that their interest in spiritualism preceded the war, the link between grieving parents and spiritualism was strong.¹⁶⁰ As noted by Jay Winter and John Stephens, many casualties of the war had no known grave, meaning that their deaths were not confirmed; this ambiguity and the emotional distress it caused may have driven people to become involved in spiritualism, with practices such as seances providing this sense of comfort and closure that many searched for.¹⁶¹ With influential cultural figures such as Doyle advocating for this, it becomes easier to understand the growing appeal of spiritualism during and after the war.

Spiritualism infiltrated standard commemorative practices including Armistice Day in the 1920s and 1930s, for instance when a photograph by Ada Emma Deane was taken depicting

¹⁵⁸ Doyle, A. C. (1926). *The History of Spiritualism: Volume II*. Cassell & Company. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.218497/mode/2up>. p. 236-237; p. 242-244; p. 277. Lodge, O. (1916). *Raymond, or Life and Death*. George H. Doran Company. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/raymondorlifedea00lodg/mode/2up>. p. 83; p. 375.

¹⁵⁹ Davies, O. (2018). *A Supernatural War: Magic, Divination, and Faith during the First World War*. Oxford University Press. p. 85-86.

¹⁶⁰ Doyle, A. C. (1926). *The History of Spiritualism: Volume II*. Cassell & Company. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.218497/mode/2up>. p. 224. Lodge, O. (1916). *Raymond, or Life and Death*. George H. Doran Company. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/raymondorlifedea00lodg/mode/2up>. p. 374.

¹⁶¹ Winter, J. (2014). *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*. Cambridge University Press. p. 31. Stephens, J. (2009). 'The Ghosts of Menin Gate': Art, Architecture and Commemoration. *Journal of Contemporary History*, 44(1), 7-26. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022009408098644>. p. 11-12; p. 20. See also: Davies, O. (2018). *A Supernatural War: Magic, Divination, and Faith during the First World War*. Oxford University Press. p. 85.

the spirits of fallen soldiers.¹⁶² Although later outed as fraudulent, the widespread interest in these images suggested that they captured the feeling of grief and mourning at the time and the resulting desire to be closer to the dead which contributed to the soothing memory of the war by choosing not to focus on the disturbing aspects to benefit the bereaved.¹⁶³ In short, instances such as this symbolised how many people profited off the losses of the war and in turn contributed to the memory of these losses.

War poetry also embraced spiritual themes, as seen in *On Passing the New Menin Gate* by Siegfried Sassoon which challenged the immortalisation of soldiers in memorials. The poem expressed hopes for the dead to 'rise and deride this sepulchre of crime', creating an image of vengeful spirits.¹⁶⁴ Similarly, Edmund Blunden's *In Festubert* depicts death and decay with images of mummies, dead men, and a curse.¹⁶⁵ Clearly, spiritual imagery was present even in poetry that criticised commemoration which illustrates the universal quality of spiritual ideas in expressing feelings about the war. This will be further explored in Chapter Four, which recognises that spiritual ideas, for example apocalyptic imagery, were used in modernist literature reacting to the war. Unlike Sassoon's bitter tone aimed at the supposed

¹⁶² Deane, A. E. (1931). *Deane Extras, Service of Remembrance Day, 1931: Fig. 37*. [Photograph]. In Warrick, F. W. (1939). *Experiments in Psychics: Practical Studies in Direct Writing, Supernormal Photography and Other Phenomena*. E. P. Dutton & Company. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/ExperimentsInPsychics/mode/2up>. [Accessed October 2022]. p. 21. See also: p. 25.

¹⁶³ Winter, J. (2014). *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*. Cambridge University Press. p. 76.

¹⁶⁴ Sassoon, S. (1968; first published 1928). *On Passing the New Menin Gate*. In *Selected Poems*. Faber & Faber. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/selectedpoems0000sass>. [Accessed May 2022]. p. 57-58.

¹⁶⁵ Blunden, E. (1920). *In Festubert*. In *The Waggoner and Other Poems*. Sidgwick & Jackson. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/waggonerotherpoe00bluniala>. [Accessed May 2022]. p. 28-29.

inadequacy of commemoration and Blunden's bleak portrayal of death, G. K. Chesterton's *For a War Memorial* brought ideas of immortalising the dead in British cultural memory, hence the stanza:

'Still to the last of crumbling time
Upon this stone be read
How many men of England died
To prove they were not dead.'¹⁶⁶

This eternal quality assigned to fallen soldiers reflects the language of memorials, giving them an angelic characteristic perhaps even striking a resemblance to Christ. This is furthered by the phrase 'dead things cannot die', possibly a reference to the figurative immortality awarded by commemoration.¹⁶⁷ These immortal soldiers directly contrast with the frightening dead men and ghosts conjured up by Sassoon and Blunden. Its distinction is clear due to the author's Christian modernist style, as in David Jones' epic poem *In Parenthesis*, which also used traditional imagery to convey the horrors of war.¹⁶⁸ The

¹⁶⁶ Chesterton, G. K. (1922). *For A War Memorial*. In *The Ballad of St. Barbara, and Other Verses*. Cecil Palmer. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/ballad00chesuoft/mode/2up>. [Accessed May 2022]. p. 32.

¹⁶⁷ Chesterton, G. K. (1922). *For A War Memorial*. In *The Ballad of St. Barbara, and Other Verses*. Cecil Palmer. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/ballad00chesuoft/mode/2up>. [Accessed May 2022]. p. 32.

¹⁶⁸ Topping, E., Feldman, M., & Addyman, D. (Eds.). (2015). *Modernism, Christianity and Apocalypse*. BRILL. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/HUD/detail.action?pq-origsite=summon&docID=1840856>. p. 10. Hobson, S. (2015). Christian Prehistories of Literary Modernism in G.K. Chesterton and Allen Upward. In E. Topping, M. Feldman, & D. Addyman (Eds.), *Modernism, Christianity and Apocalypse* (pp. 67-79). BRILL. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/HUD/detail.action?docID=1840856>. p. 68. Schwartz, A. (2017). "Getting into History": The Great War and David Jones's Memory. *Religion & Literature*, 49(1), 71-81. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26571210>. p. 71-72.

spiritual and mythical imagery of *In Parenthesis* conveyed the horrors of war – for instance referring to the deity-like ‘Queen of the Woods’ who honoured soldiers in death during a battle, symbolising the brutal slaughter of troops and the poignancy of death in war.¹⁶⁹ Similar to the allegorical figures of sorrow and hope depicted in the Balcombe Victory Hall, and unlike the tendency of memorials to avoid directly acknowledging trauma, this suggested that spiritual ideas were used for different purposes when addressing the war.¹⁷⁰ Jones’ Christian modernism also disputes the idea that modernism was distinctly disconnected from the past with his use of traditional imagery, but this will be considered in Chapter Four. Ultimately, the spiritual imagery in soldiers’ writings displayed the gritty experience of war and the finality of death that came with it, contrasting with the spiritual ideas in literature by ordinary people and in memorials which emphasised the concept of life after death and spirits. This paradox would come to symbolise the contested memories of the war.

Spiritual ideas such as haunting were prevalent in the literature of the interwar years, as opposed to the more Christian iconography of memorials and commemorative rituals. This suggests a clash of ideas put forward by different mediums, resulting in an indecisive memory of the war. Female trauma was also expressed via spiritual imagery in *The Return of the Soldier* and *Not So Quiet* with images of ghostly soldiers which proved disturbing to each

¹⁶⁹ Jones, D. (1975; first published 1937). *In Parenthesis*. Faber & Faber. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.13580/mode/2up>. p. 42-43; p. 50; p. 185-186.

¹⁷⁰ Balcombe Victory Hall – Frescoes, Balcombe, Mid Sussex, West Sussex. Victory Hall Management Committee. WMO ID: 208841. Available at: <https://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/item/memorial/16646>. [Accessed February 2022].

protagonist.¹⁷¹ This focus on the morbidity of war suggests that the authors of these novels intended to provoke thoughts about the meaning of the war by drawing attention to the severity of war-induced mental distress.

Conclusions

The trauma and loss of the First World War led to an increased need and demand for commemoration, which was primarily expressed through religious iconography and - to a lesser extent - spiritual practices. Throughout the 1920s, an increase in spiritual and spiritualist imagery in depictions of the war appeared. Spiritual ideas in memorials were often shared by literary accounts, both fictional and autobiographical. Within memorials, spiritual ideas were mainly religious and closely connected to ideas of patriotic glory via sacrifice.

The limitations of memorials must be considered. They perpetuated the glorified idea of sacrifice whilst neglecting to reference the violence of war that made this possible, contributing majorly to the 'forgetting' strain of war memory that was so opposed by groups like literary modernists. However, it may be pointed out that the purpose of commemoration was not to directly confront the negative aspects of war, but largely to provide a site for the bereaved to mourn in an appropriate manner. As Suzie Grogan states: 'Spiritualism, at its peak after the Great War, was truly a temporary phenomenon of an era that needed something to believe in and a community in grief. When so much had been

¹⁷¹ West, R. (2010; first published 1918). *The Return of the Soldier*. Virago Press. p. 35.
Smith, H. Z. (1989; first published 1930). *Not So Quiet: Stepdaughters of War*. The Feminist Press. p. 162-163.

lost, many 'could see nothing but ghosts.'¹⁷² This summarises how spiritualism was a temporary remedy for the traumatic experiences of war, contributing to the comforting memory of the First World War. The same may also be said for spirituality in which people arguably used religious ideas to achieve the same goal of comfort from their losses in the war.

¹⁷² Grogan, S. (2014). *Shell Shocked Britain: The First World War's Legacy for Britain's Mental Health*. Pen & Sword History.
<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/hud/detail.action?docID=1832005>. p. 136.

Chapter Three: The Propagation and Dissemination of Memory in Newspapers

This chapter is concerned with the propagation and dissemination of ideas by the press concerning the traumatic memory and loss of the First World War. This requires an exploration of newspaper articles because they were part of the propaganda effort which reinforced cultural representations of commemorative practices that endorsed the soothing memory of war through ideas of patriotism and sacrifice.¹⁷³ It will aid in developing the arguments of the previous chapter by focusing on the ways in which newspapers cultivated a propagandist perspective of commemoration by drawing attention to the comforting aspects of memorials. This means that some arguments and themes from Chapter Two will be revisited throughout this chapter. The reason for placing such emphasis on the press ultimately comes down to the fact that they disseminated the messages conveyed by those who helped to create commemorative rituals and memorials as previously discussed, meaning newspapers played an important role in the making of one narrative of memory. It may not be possible to concisely demonstrate this in other chapters. The first section will explore how national newspapers covered commemorative practices, underlining the frequently patriotic glorification of such accounts; there will be a particular focus on the national newspapers *The Times*, the *Daily Mail*, *The Manchester Guardian*, and *The Observer* in order to demonstrate the more common press perspectives on the war. Alternatively, the

¹⁷³ Monger, D. (2012). *Patriotism and Propaganda in First World War Britain: The National War Aims Committee and Civilian Morale*. Liverpool University Press. <https://www-jstor-org.libaccess.hud.ac.uk/stable/j.ctt18kr72m>. p. 94-95; p. 106; p. 169. Buitenhuis, P. (1987). *The Great War of Words: British, American, and Canadian Propaganda and Fiction, 1914-1933*. University of British Columbia Press. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/hud/detail.action?docID=3412452>. p. xvii; p. 2.

second section draws attention to local press accounts which focused more on the aspects of commemoration that catered to the bereaved and the honouring of the dead. This will include regional newspapers including the *Chelmsford Chronicle* and the *Exeter and Plymouth Gazette* to reveal the press narratives that were offered to people on a local level. This selection is limited and so the analysis of this chapter will not be as thorough as it could be, but the newspaper articles will be discussed in as much detail as possible.

In terms of selecting local newspaper articles, extensive research has been conducted via online newspaper archives such as British Library Newspapers. As mentioned, this selection cannot be fully representative of local press views because it depends on the type of content that has been digitised; for instance, some perspectives may have been overlooked during this process. Another limitation is the fact that many of the newspapers found in these archives were from southern England, meaning that there may not be a fair representation of local press accounts throughout the country. Most of the chosen newspapers are English which also means that this chapter, and the dissertation in general, cannot provide in-depth coverage of national experiences. However, this chapter does not claim to be fully representative of such issues, as it would not be possible to evenly cover all newspaper articles.

The theme of propaganda will also be examined throughout because newspapers often contained material that served propagandist motives and agendas.¹⁷⁴ The focus will rest mainly on the attitudes of newspapers towards commemoration, with added discussion of

¹⁷⁴ Tate, T. (2013). *Modernism, History and the First World War* (2nd ed.). Humanities-Ebooks. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/HUD/detail.action?docID=3306137&pq-origsite=summon>. p. 52. Davies, O. (2018). *A Supernatural War: Magic, Divination, and Faith during the First World War*. Oxford University Press. p. 13.

the propagandist aspects of the press. Propaganda may refer to the promotion of certain ideas with a related objective, and as stated by J. M. Sproule:

‘Propaganda represents the work of large organizations or groups to win over the public for special interests through a massive orchestration of attractive conclusions packaged to conceal both their persuasive purpose and lack of sound supporting reasons.’¹⁷⁵

Newspapers often fell under this category as they were affiliated with powerful press barons such as Lord Northcliffe, the owner of *The Times* and the *Daily Mail*, who had been brought into government during the war.¹⁷⁶ These newspapers also operated on behalf of their owners’ personal political beliefs which inevitably fed into the content they selected for publication.¹⁷⁷

Propaganda is an important concept to consider when studying the interwar period. In this context, there is no doubt that wartime and post-war propaganda aimed to influence people’s memory of the war.¹⁷⁸ Ultimately, it will be argued that the press - and propaganda efforts that were involved in press accounts - portrayed trauma and loss in the war as a

¹⁷⁵ Jowett, G., & O'Donnell, V. (2012). *Propaganda and Persuasion* (5th ed.). SAGE Publications. https://archive.org/details/propagandapersua0000jowe_m3v7/mode/2up. p. 2-3. Sproule, J. M. (1994). *Channels of Propaganda*. EDINFO Press; ERIC Clearinghouse. <https://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED372461>. p. 8.

¹⁷⁶ Thompson, J. L. (1999). *Politicians, the Press, and Propaganda: Lord Northcliffe and the Great War, 1914-1919*. Kent State University Press. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/HUD/detail.action?pq-origsite=summon&docID=3120128>. p. 2.

¹⁷⁷ Zollmann, F. (2017). *Media, Propaganda and the Politics of Intervention*. Peter Lang. <https://doi.org/10.3726/b11346>. p. 40.

¹⁷⁸ Buitenhuis, P. (1987). *The Great War of Words: British, American, and Canadian Propaganda and Fiction, 1914-1933*. University of British Columbia Press. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/hud/detail.action?docID=3412452>. p. xvi-xvii.

great and honourable sacrifice, building on the strain of memory that was predominantly found in commemoration.

The contribution of newspapers to the memory of the First World War has been examined, although less attention has been given to the presence of wartime spirituality in newspaper articles. This is an important topic because the portrayal of spirituality in propaganda allows insight into how the press helped to create and emphasise contested memories of the war, with spiritual motifs being used to push the comforting notion of war and commemoration.¹⁷⁹ As Adrian Bingham and John Tosh have acknowledged, newspapers are seen as providing valuable insight into popular culture plus social and political views so this chapter is important for assessing the influence of newspapers on British cultural memory of the war.¹⁸⁰ This chapter will align with these views by demonstrating how newspaper coverage of commemoration and spirituality reflected and impacted British culture after the First World War. An important aspect of historiography to be addressed in this chapter is the role of propaganda during the war. For instance, Adrian Bingham and Martin Conboy state that the aim of the popular press in wartime was to ‘try to unite the national community around a patriotic vision of resolution, togetherness and virtue’ whilst supporting troops on the front line.¹⁸¹ Attempts will also be made to validate Jay Winter’s view that the war revived traditional ideas, which happened partially through the approval

¹⁷⁹ Davies, O. (2018). *A Supernatural War: Magic, Divination, and Faith during the First World War*. Oxford University Press. p. 53.

¹⁸⁰ Bingham, A. (2012). Reading Newspapers: Cultural Histories of the Popular Press in Modern Britain. *History Compass*, 10(2), 140-150. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1478-0542.2011.00828.x>. p. 140; p. 142. Tosh, J. (2015). *The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methods and New Directions in the Study of History* (6th ed.). Routledge. p. 78-79.

¹⁸¹ Bingham, A., & Conboy, M. (2015). *Tabloid Century: The Popular Press in Britain, 1896 to the Present*. Peter Lang Oxford. <https://doi.org/10.3726/978-3-0353-0700-9>. p. 24.

of traditional commemorative practices in press accounts.¹⁸² Overall this chapter will engage with the growing body of research on the subject in order to demonstrate how newspapers encouraged the idea of a patriotic and honourable war, therefore promoting the formation of contested memories.

1: A National Victory? Triumphalism and Patriotism in National Press Accounts of Commemoration

In this first section, it will be argued that national press coverage of First World War commemoration mainly used commemorative practices to convey ideas about the war as a symbol of patriotic and imperial glory, including heroic sacrifice for the benefit of the country. It will also be suggested that they used medieval ideas of chivalry and sacrifice in order to do this.

Firstly, national newspapers often adopted a similar archaic and religious language to memorials. Imperial themes were clear in a written appeal by Field Marshal Haig asking people to buy poppies and donate to the British Legion Appeal Fund; mentioning the sacrifices of the 'gallant dead', he then went on to say 'let the price paid be in some degree the measure of the purchaser's gratitude towards the dead'.¹⁸³ He also described the two minutes' silence as 'when we commemorate the memory of the million British men and women who gave up their lives in order that Britain, with her ideals and civilization, might

¹⁸² Winter, J. (2014). *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*. Cambridge University Press. p. 5.

¹⁸³ Haig, F. M. (1924). In Remembrance. *The Times*, (43806), 15, Tuesday 11th November 1924. Available at: <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CS252647275/TTDA?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-TTDA&xid=be84a3bd>. [Accessed February 2022].

maintain her rightful place in the comity of nations'.¹⁸⁴ These seemingly imperialist and patriotic undertones – alongside Haig's prestigious military status – may have been designed to garner support for the war and its commemoration. Here it may be identified that *The Times*, under the ownership of Lord Northcliffe who aimed to 'combine the patriotic with the profitable', used war losses to push an imperialist agenda as seen in articles that portrayed war as glorious and honourable.¹⁸⁵ The significance of poppies in commemoration is also worth noting; their association with opiates may be seen as a symbol for the comforting narrative of war, allowing commemoration to numb the trauma and losses of war and effectively help people to forget.¹⁸⁶ However, contested memories had surfaced during the war with opposition from conscientious objectors throughout Britain which demonstrates that this type of memory was not universal.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁴ Haig, F. M. (1924). In Remembrance. *The Times*, (43806), 15, Tuesday 11th November 1924. Available at:

<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CS252647275/TTDA?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-TTDA&xid=be84a3bd>. [Accessed February 2022].

¹⁸⁵ Thompson, J. L. (1999). *Politicians, the Press, and Propaganda: Lord Northcliffe and the Great War, 1914-1919*. Kent State University Press.

<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/HUD/detail.action?pq-origsite=summon&docID=3120128>. p. 11-12. Anonymous. (1930). Armistice Day. *The Times*, (45668), 15, Wednesday 12th November 1930. Available at:

<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CS253043564/TTDA?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-TTDA&xid=82c66c13>. [Accessed November 2022]. Anonymous. (1936). Remembrance. *The Times*, (47530), 14, Thursday 12th November 1936. Available at:

<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CS235089772/TTDA?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-TTDA&xid=35256f80>. [Accessed November 2022].

¹⁸⁶ Gregory, A. (1994). *The Silence of Memory: Armistice Day, 1919-1946*. Bloomsbury.

<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/HUD/detail.action?pq-origsite=summon&docID=1609910>. p. 80.

¹⁸⁷ Pearce, C., & Durham, H. (2015). Patterns of Dissent in Britain during the First World War. *War & Society*, 34(2), 140-159. <https://doi.org/10.1179/0729247314Z.00000000052>. p. 141-144.

Additionally, the publication of letters written by members of the public to editors of the national press alongside general newspaper articles expressed people's thoughts and feelings towards the war and its commemoration, including this religious dimension. One such letter titled 'Remembrance and Hope' - published in 1931 - displayed clear support for the involvement of Christian ideas in Armistice Day celebrations, as well as disdain for the mourning aspect of Armistice Day, and the fact that this was published indicates that it fit the narrative the newspaper wished to follow.¹⁸⁸ Furthermore, it enforced the idea that the trauma endured in the war had been necessary to bring about a better future. This is evident in the quote: 'To-day we prize their valour not merely as a memory to be honoured, but as an example we have urgent need to imitate', also hinting that there were lessons to be learned from the act of going to war and the traditional sacrificial quality of the willingness to die for one's country.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁸ Anonymous. (1931). Remembrance and Hope. *The Times*, (45977), 13, Wednesday 11th November 1931. Available at: <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CS218441067/TTDA?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-TTDA&xid=d988cc06>. [Accessed February 2022]. See also: Holland, M. (1939). Armistice Day. *The Times*, (48454), 7, Saturday 4th November 1939. Available at: <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CS118306148/GDCS?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-GDCS&xid=785b51ec>. [Accessed October 2022]. Anonymous. (1928). Armistice Day. *The Times*, (45047), 15, Saturday 10th November 1928. Available at: <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CS253697898/GDCS?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-GDCS&xid=e63c97df>. [Accessed October 2022]. Glover, T. R. (1925). Armistice Day: Christian or Pagan?: "Not Levity, but Dedication". *The Observer*, 6, Sunday 25th October 1925. Available at: <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/armistice-day/docview/481020341/se-2?accountid=11526>. [Accessed November 2022].

¹⁸⁹ Anonymous. (1931). Remembrance and Hope. *The Times*, (45977), 13, Wednesday 11th November 1931. Available at: <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CS218441067/TTDA?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-TTDA&xid=d988cc06>. [Accessed February 2022]. See also: Housman, A. E. (1927). Armistice Day. *Daily Mail*, (9845), 10, Friday 11th November 1927. Available at: <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/EE1865404911/DMHA?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-DMHA&xid=9314080d>. [Accessed September 2022]. Anonymous. (1920). The Right

Similarly, an article in *The Times* stated that:

‘...We may, indeed, all become members of one body politic and of one immortal soul. That was the meaning implicit in the funeral of the Unknown Dead, and it made the living feel kinder to each other because of the hope which they all shared as a part of their grief for him’.¹⁹⁰

Here, the perceived symbolism of and reasons for some memorials became clear as they often catered to the memorialisation of deceased soldiers. This presentation of spirituality also appeared in descriptions of smaller memorials. For example, one article in the *Daily Mail*, presumably written by an anonymous villager, reflected on rural commemoration as they discussed how: ‘The two minutes are quickly gone. But for as long as the cross wears that dress of remembrance it compels regard... It is as though the souls of that handful of lads hovered near’.¹⁹¹ This demonstrated the significance of commemoration in invoking a sense of closeness between the living and the dead through the idea of immortality.¹⁹²

Spirituality had a clear and specific role here in focusing on the war dead which was similar

Memorial. *The Observer*, 12, Sunday 18th July 1920. Available at: <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/right-memorial/docview/480994013/se-2>. [Accessed September 2022].

¹⁹⁰ Anonymous. (1920). Armistice Day, 1920. *The Times*, (42566), 25-26, Friday 12th November 1920. Available at: <https://link-gale-com.libaccess.hud.ac.uk/apps/doc/CS419630956/TTDA?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-TTDA&xid=d0ed8e7b>. [Accessed February 2022]. p. 25.

¹⁹¹ P. W. D. I. (1930). The Village Cross. *Daily Mail*, (10780), 12, Wednesday 12th November 1930. Available at: <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/EE1865438424/DMHA?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-DMHA&xid=3e2dfb06>. [Accessed February 2022].

¹⁹² P. W. D. I. (1930). The Village Cross. *Daily Mail*, (10780), 12, Wednesday 12th November 1930. Available at: <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/EE1865438424/DMHA?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-DMHA&xid=3e2dfb06>. [Accessed February 2022].

to commemorative values; people may have been expected to find comfort in idea that their 'boys' were still present.¹⁹³ This also reinforces the patriotic and often pro-war values of the *Daily Mail* and other right-wing newspapers.

Other articles pondered the meaning of the war and often concluded that the conflict had been worth it for peace, and that Armistice Day should be 'set apart faithfully not for gloom, but for reverence and thanksgiving'; the hopeful undertones of this were emphasised by the patriotic declaration that 'this island did its duty amongst the nations, proved its fibre, and enhanced all the historic glory that courage and sacrifice can win'.¹⁹⁴ This also demonstrates the boosting of this type of commemoration after the war.¹⁹⁵ It may also be said that *The Times* presented a consistent message about the sacrifice of war during the interwar years, fuelled by the Haig appeal. As Alex King claims, press coverage played an important role in commemoration and the government often communicated its political messages via newspapers, suggesting a strategic flair by focusing on the gratitude of war survivors towards the dead.¹⁹⁶ The government may have aimed to communicate a positive and favourable message about the war in order to do this. These articles - published in *The*

¹⁹³ Davies, O. (2018). *A Supernatural War: Magic, Divination, and Faith during the First World War*. Oxford University Press. p. 98.

¹⁹⁴ Garvin, J. L. (1925). Seven Years After: Dedication Day: What Shall the War Mean? A Splendour of Memory. *The Observer*, 12, Sunday 8th November 1925. Available at: <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/seven-years-after/docview/481149733/se-2?accountid=11526>. [Accessed October 2022]. See also: Anonymous. (1931). Remembrance and Hope. *The Times*, (45977), 13, Wednesday 11th November 1931. Available at: <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CS218441067/TTDA?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-TTDA&xid=d988cc06>. [Accessed February 2022].

¹⁹⁵ Winter, J. (2014). *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*. Cambridge University Press. p. 79; p. 82; p. 93.

¹⁹⁶ King, A. (1998). *Memorials of the Great War in Britain: The Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance*. Bloomsbury Academic. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/hud/detail.action?docID=1609928>. p. 26-27; p. 163.

Times – perhaps reflected the values of the newspaper’s readership and catered to its target audience of the middle and upper-classes who may have endorsed the conservative propagandist ideals of patriotism and sacrifice for one’s country.¹⁹⁷ They also likely intended to console the bereaved with their positive descriptions of memorials. It may be said that these ideas were generally accepted because similar views and language appeared in smaller local newspapers. Regardless of the newspaper outlet, they often shared a standardised language pertaining to sacrifice and appreciation. Also, the tendency of the national press to focus on the heavily religious and traditional aspects of war commemoration may be attributed to the fact that they catered to the interests of the British public, demonstrating the association between the press and public opinion.¹⁹⁸ This may indicate that the majority of the public endorsed traditional commemorative practices whereas the backlash to this came from a more exclusive group of modernists, to be illustrated in the next chapter.

The standardised language of commemoration, as mentioned above, which also consisted of traditional medieval ideas about the chivalry and honour of soldiers, and the war itself, often featured in the mainstream press. This idea of chivalry also overlapped with ideas such as masculine sacrifice, which had religious connotations, that were used in

¹⁹⁷ Thompson, J. L. (1999). *Politicians, the Press, and Propaganda: Lord Northcliffe and the Great War, 1914-1919*. Kent State University Press.

<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/HUD/detail.action?pq-origsite=summon&docID=3120128>. p. 2.

¹⁹⁸ Andrews, M. (2019). Commemorating the First World War in Britain: A Cultural Legacy of Media Remembrance. *Journal of War and Culture Studies*, 12(3), 295-313.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/17526272.2018.1544766>. p. 296. Williams, K. (2009). *Read All About It!: A History of the British Newspaper*. Routledge.

<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/hud/detail.action?docID=452326>. p. 156.

commemoration and propaganda, including press descriptions of commemorative rituals.¹⁹⁹

As one article in *The Observer* referred to the two minutes' silence: 'Their pain and their glory are the ever-ready touchstone and inspiration of our manhood. That solemn act of communion has renewed springs in our life that were running dry'.²⁰⁰ This traditional imagery used in such newspaper descriptions, which often placed heavy emphasis on the chivalric nature and value of the war and its soldiers – for instance by describing them as 'warriors' - reflects the attitudes the press aimed to fuel at the time.²⁰¹ This may have been employed in order to encourage a feeling of patriotism and national pride by placing the war on a pedestal similar to the medieval Crusades, which makes sense when considering the connections between some newspapers and the government.²⁰² Those like the *Daily*

¹⁹⁹ Monger, D. (2012). *Patriotism and Propaganda in First World War Britain: The National War Aims Committee and Civilian Morale*. Liverpool University Press. <https://www-jstor-org.libaccess.hud.ac.uk/stable/j.ctt18kr72m>. p. 170-171. Goebel, S. (2009). *The Great War and Medieval Memory: War, Remembrance and Medievalism in Britain and Germany, 1914-1940*. Cambridge University Press. <https://archive.org/details/greatwarmedieval0000goeb>. p. 232. Frantzen, A. J. (2004). *Bloody Good: Chivalry, Sacrifice, and the Great War*. University of Chicago Press. <https://archive.org/details/bloodygoodchival0000fran>. p. 198; p. 158.

²⁰⁰ Anonymous. (1919). "Finding Ourselves" Again. *The Observer*, 12, Sunday 16th November 1919. Available at: <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/finding-ourselves-again/docview/480722366/se-2?accountid=11526>. [Accessed September 2022]. See also:

²⁰¹ Cook, S. A. (1931). The Unknown. *The Times*, (45977), 13, Wednesday 11th November 1931. Available at: <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CS219096427/TTDA?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-TTDA&xid=33e8a8bc>. [Accessed October 2022]. Anonymous. (1938). Twenty Years After. *The Times*, (48149), 15, Friday 11th November 1938. Available at: <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CS252130155/TTDA?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-TTDA&xid=524f27f7>. [Accessed September 2022].

²⁰² Goebel, S. (2009). *The Great War and Medieval Memory: War, Remembrance and Medievalism in Britain and Germany, 1914-1940*. Cambridge University Press. <https://archive.org/details/greatwarmedieval0000goeb>. p. 154. Frantzen, A. J. (2004). *Bloody Good: Chivalry, Sacrifice, and the Great War*. University of Chicago Press. <https://archive.org/details/bloodygoodchival0000fran>. p. 2.

Mail may have used such imagery as a way of catering to its wide readership, largely consisting of a conservative middle and upper-class audience who approved of imperialism and patriotism, which may have been connected to traditional knightly values.²⁰³ As David Glassberg states: ‘Historical imagery disseminated by government and mass media advance the imagined community of the nation while suppressing authentic local and group memories and collective identities.’²⁰⁴ This may apply to the narrative pushed by mainstream newspapers surrounding commemoration, for example in the way that they suppressed the opposing view of a futile war, which corroborates the idea that national and local newspapers had different approaches in their portrayals of the war and war commemoration.

Differing political views of national newspapers must also be considered. Politically liberal newspapers such as *The Observer* also aligned with the approach that reflected on participation in the war as an honourable sacrifice, as in one article which referred to ‘that ideal of equality and common sacrifice for which thousands yielded up their fresh, unspent lives’.²⁰⁵ Ultimately, this demonstrates how similar memories of the war were propagated in

²⁰³ Williams, K. (2009). *Read All About It!: A History of the British Newspaper*. Routledge. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/hud/detail.action?docID=452326>. p. 130; p. 142.

²⁰⁴ Glassberg, D. (1996). Public History and the Study of Memory. *The Public Historian*, 18(2), 7-23. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3377910>. p. 12.

²⁰⁵ T. A. (1920). War Graves: The Democracy of the Dead. *The Observer*, 7, Sunday 9th May 1920. Available at: <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/war-graves/docview/480752881/se-2?accountid=11526>. [Accessed September 2022]. See also: Anonymous. (1937). The Immortal Heritage: Graves of the War. *The Observer*, 18, Sunday 3rd October 1937. Available at: <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/immortal-heritage/docview/481394667/se-2?accountid=11526>. [Accessed November 2022]. Garvin, J. L. (1933). “They Live.”: The Fifteenth Anniversary: Former Memories and New Thoughts: Some Truths Restored: Faith and Sacrifice. *The Observer*, 16, Sunday 12th November 1933. Available at: <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/they-live/docview/481391261/se-2?accountid=11526>. [Accessed September 2022].

newspaper coverage of commemorative practices, regardless of political stance. This indicates that newspapers employed a standardised language in many of their discussions of the remembrance of the war.

However, a complex range of perspectives featured in newspapers. One compilation of letters published about the Tomb of the Unknown Warrior in the *Daily Mail* demonstrated desires for the Warrior to be knighted with ‘a recumbent effigy like that of a crusader’, whereas one writer asked for mothers who had lost sons in the war to invite to lunch or dinner ‘one of the 240,000 unemployed warriors who are living in misery after having done their duty to the King and country’.²⁰⁶ This portrays the trauma that commemorative efforts aimed to address: that of bereaved mothers and veterans readjusting to society, and here it seems that the press sometimes addressed this but they mostly emphasised the soothing and reparative nature of commemorative practices. Published in 1920, these letters indicated public uncertainty on the early nature of commemoration as some approved of traditional symbolism but others expressed a desire for commemorative efforts to focus more on the trauma of the bereaved, specifically mothers. As mentioned in previous chapters, disillusionment became part of the public memory of the war during the 1920s and perhaps culminated in the War Books Boom which began in 1928. Therefore, the start of such disillusionment may be indicated in this debate about the meaning of commemoration. This also allows insight into the important role played by the national press in conveying public opinion regarding commemoration.

²⁰⁶ Wilbraham Falgoner, W., M. L. R., & Norperian, R. (1920). The Unknown Warrior. *Daily Mail*, (7673), 6, Wednesday 10th November 1920. Available at: <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/EE1862836703/DMHA?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-DMHA&xid=07e3ca0f>. [Accessed February 2022].

2: The Focus on Loss and Honouring the Dead in Local Press Accounts of Commemoration

This section will explore how local commemoration, and local press coverage, paid more attention to the losses and subsequent grief caused by the war. Unlike the patriotic and sometimes boldly imperial tone of articles published in national newspapers – and mainstream propaganda in general - local propaganda efforts were subtly tailored to the local community.²⁰⁷ Therefore it will be argued here that the provincial press tended to focus on the potential of commemoration in honouring the dead and helping the bereaved local communities in the process. Although themes of glory and patriotism that were found in the national press also ran through local newspapers, as will be demonstrated, it will be argued that they served a different purpose here. For instance, they may have been used to provide comfort to people on a more personal level. It will also be argued that regional newspapers emphasised spiritual and medieval motifs when discussing commemoration, perhaps as a way of continuing the soothing narrative put across by said commemoration such as the memorials mentioned in the previous chapter.

The description of war memorials and commemorative practices in local newspapers often followed the soothing narrative communicated in national newspapers, although perhaps for different reasons.

Furthermore, local newspapers addressed the honouring of the dead for patriotic reasons in a similar manner to national newspapers, such as in article that stated: ‘Such is the great

²⁰⁷ Monger, D. (2012). *Patriotism and Propaganda in First World War Britain: The National War Aims Committee and Civilian Morale*. Liverpool University Press. <https://www-jstor-org.libaccess.hud.ac.uk/stable/j.ctt18kr72m>. p. 68; p. 196.

price of Empire, was the reflection brought home... Yet with all there was the note of triumph and a message of hope'.²⁰⁸ However this article seemed to have a more personal meaning than the commemoration described in national newspapers, as it highlighted the profound impact of loss on which affected people within local communities including widows and children.²⁰⁹ Additionally, an article in the *Chelmsford Chronicle* described a local cenotaph as 'Chelmsford's Memorial to its unreturning brave' at which people gathered to show their 'unforgetfulness'.²¹⁰ The apparent disregard for those who had returned home, including the wounded and disabled, may suggest a desire to keep the focus on the angelic and innocent qualities of the dead in order to reinforce a certain image of the war in smaller newspapers. Therefore local newspapers drew attention to the traumatic memory of the First World War, as well as helping to provide comfort for this in a similar way to commemorative practices.

As with the national press, local newspaper reports placed positive emphasis on and approval of the Christianisation of remembrance. For instance the *North Devon Journal* referred to a 'very beautiful' commemorative cross at a ceremony with a 'most impressive' crowd, suggesting the apparent popularity of this type of commemoration; the title,

²⁰⁸ Anonymous. (1923). At the Cenotaph. *Hull Daily Mail*, (11891), 8, Monday 12th November 1923. Available at:

<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/GR3226116425/BNCN?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-BNCN&xid=9dca914b>. [Accessed November 2022]. Anonymous. (1921). Lest We Forget. *Chelmsford Chronicle*, (8190), 3, Friday 2nd September 1921. Available at: <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/EN3218093507/BNCN?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-BNCN&xid=40488aa5>. [Accessed October 2021].

²⁰⁹ Winter, J. (2014). *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*. Cambridge University Press. p. 46.

²¹⁰ Anonymous. (1928). The Chelmsford Cenotaph. *Chelmsford Chronicle*, (8570), 2, Friday 14th December 1928. Available at:

<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/EN3218202077/BNCN?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-BNCN&xid=191e3552>. [Accessed February 2022].

referring to ‘fallen heroes’, also bought into the sacrificial theme.²¹¹ A year later, the *Western Times* made a similar report on the unveiling of a cross titled ‘The Honoured Dead’, mentioning the ‘self-sacrifice’ of soldiers and stating that all shops had been closed during the service with most people participating.²¹² Likewise, the *Chelmsford Chronicle* referred to sacrifice and reminded people that the ‘glorious dead’ had died for the ‘freedom of the world’; this points to the supposed innocence of soldiers, as the brutality of their actions on the front line were excused as good deeds which may have been emphasised to assure people that soldiers had not died in vain.²¹³ This would potentially divert people from the idea that the war had been futile. Indeed, the title of this article – ‘Lest We Forget’ – implies an infatuation with remembering which makes sense because this is a main feature of

²¹¹ Anonymous. (1920). Memorial to Fallen Heroes at Atherington. *North Devon Journal*, 96 (4999), 8, Thursday 27th May 1920. Available at: <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/IG3225249644/BNCN?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-BNCN&xid=faf2b6c9>. [Accessed February 2022]. See also: Anonymous. (1936). Trees of Remembrance at Woodham Walter. *Chelmsford Chronicle*, (8945), 5, Friday 21st February 1936. Available at: <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/EN3218224711/BNCN?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-BNCN&xid=31cdcd28>. [Accessed October 2021]. Anonymous. (1921). Crosses. *Exeter and Plymouth Gazette*, 149 (23368), 5, Monday 18th April 1921. Available at: <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/GW3226477445/BNCN?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-BNCN&xid=ffefa984>. [Accessed February 2022].

²¹² Anonymous. (1921). The Honoured Dead. *Western Times*, (22360), 4, Friday 11th March 1921. Available at: <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/GR3221041104/BNCN?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-BNCN&xid=ed4eae0e>. [Accessed February 2022].

²¹³ Anonymous. (1921). Lest We Forget. *Chelmsford Chronicle*, (8190), 3, Friday 2nd September 1921. Available at: <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/EN3218093507/BNCN?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-BNCN&xid=40488aa5>. [Accessed October 2021].

traumatic memory, and the magnitude of this is furthered by the fact that many people were reminded in order to prove their gratitude for those sacrifices.²¹⁴

Local newspaper articles also used spirituality, including religious imagery, to perhaps ease the war trauma felt by smaller areas such as cities, towns, and villages by giving meaning to the suffering as in one article which detailed how men who had returned from war had been 'spared for a purpose, to help on His Kingdom in the world, to love and serve better Jesus their Great Captain'.²¹⁵ Other displays of spirituality, specifically spiritualist ideas, also featured; for instance in the *Chelmsford Chronicle* which recounted how 'the body was dead, but the spirit which inhabited the body as a vehicle lived on'.²¹⁶ These articles conveyed a clear connection between trauma and spirituality as a method of healing; as observed in the previous chapter, the rise of spiritualism in this period stemmed from the need to heal from loved ones' deaths at a time when professional support such as therapy

²¹⁴ Anonymous. (1921). Lest We Forget. *Chelmsford Chronicle*, (8190), 3, Friday 2nd September 1921. Available at: <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/EN3218093507/BNCN?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-BNCN&xid=40488aa5>. [Accessed October 2021]. Leed, E. (2000). Fateful Memories: Industrialized War and Traumatic Neuroses. *Journal of Contemporary History*, 35(1), 85-100. <https://doi.org/10.1177/002200940003500108>. p. 87.

²¹⁵ Anonymous. (1920). Kingsbury Parish Church. *Tamworth Herald*, (2699), 7, Saturday 17th July 1920. Available at: <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/EN3222757792/BNCN?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-BNCN&xid=7dd084a5>. [Accessed November 2022]. See also: King, A. (1998). *Memorials of the Great War in Britain: The Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance*. Bloomsbury Academic. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/hud/detail.action?docID=1609928>. p. 149; p. 184.

²¹⁶ Anonymous. (1921). Lest We Forget. *Chelmsford Chronicle*, (8190), 3, Friday 2nd September 1921. Available at: <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/EN3218093507/BNCN?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-BNCN&xid=40488aa5>. [Accessed October 2021]. See also:

was not accessible for the majority of civilians.²¹⁷ Although these ideas were often simply relayed by newspapers, and may not have represented the original views of the writer, they signify the desired message put across to the public. Moreover, it is worth considering that - unlike national newspapers - the local press embraced a slightly different position. Their role may have focused more on comforting the bereaved which would have been a more personal and important matter, especially for towns and villages who had lost a large proportion of their male population in the war. However, the views and style adopted by the mainstream press may have influenced the style and language used in articles by smaller newspapers too.

Local newspaper articles also used traditional knightly imagery, and in a similar way to national newspapers, which emphasised the bravery and sacrifice of soldiers; this was possibly an attempt to give meaning to the war and to comfort the bereaved.²¹⁸ As one article in the *Chelmsford Chronicle* stated:

‘Long before the time of the Norman Conquest the stalwart men of Essex had proved their worth in the field... However far the battle line of Empire has been flung, the

²¹⁷ Grogan, S. (2014). *Shell Shocked Britain: The First World War's Legacy for Britain's Mental Health*. Pen & Sword History. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/hud/detail.action?docID=1832005>. p. 133. See also: Winter, J. (2014). *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*. Cambridge University Press. p. 76-77.

²¹⁸ Goebel, S. (2009). *The Great War and Medieval Memory: War, Remembrance and Medievalism in Britain and Germany, 1914-1940*. Cambridge University Press. <https://archive.org/details/greatwarmedieval0000goeb>. p. 1.

bones of some sons of this County are lying in soil which, distant as it is, is still for ever a part of Essex.'²¹⁹

Here the idea of Empire and solidarity with France against Germany is clear, as well as ideas of soldiers as valiant and honourable, due to which it may be assumed that the article was written in order to portray the county of Essex in a positive light. In doing so, this fed into the idea that soldiers had not died in vain, that their deaths had had a purpose in defending their home country and the British Empire, which featured in propaganda.²²⁰ However it must be noted that this article was published in 1928, so perhaps it symbolises an attempt to renew faith in the heroic idea of war and commemoration at a time when disillusionment and organised pacifism had started to gain traction, paving the way for the turbulent mood of the 1930s.²²¹ Significantly, this article appeared in the same year that the War Books Boom began, which was perhaps fuelled by the disillusionment of the 1920s and the development of postwar modernism. This symbolised a shift in the memory of the war, which contrasted with newspaper articles such as the one mentioned above. Similarly, other

²¹⁹ Anonymous. (1928). The Chelmsford Cenotaph. *Chelmsford Chronicle*, (8570), 2, Friday 14th December 1928. Available at:

<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/EN3218202077/BNCN?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-BNCN&xid=191e3552>. [Accessed February 2022]. See also:

²²⁰ Monger, D. (2012). *Patriotism and Propaganda in First World War Britain: The National War Aims Committee and Civilian Morale*. Liverpool University Press. <https://www-jstor-org.libaccess.hud.ac.uk/stable/j.ctt18kr72m>. p. 176-177.

²²¹ Gregory, A. (1994). *The Silence of Memory: Armistice Day, 1919-1946*. Bloomsbury. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/HUD/detail.action?pq-origsite=summon&docID=1609910>. p. 92-93. King, A. (1998). *Memorials of the Great War in Britain: The Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance*. Bloomsbury Academic. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/hud/detail.action?docID=1609928>. p. 167.

local newspapers described soldiers as ‘gallant’ and referred to their ‘valour’, reinforcing the use of traditional language in cultivating a soothing memory of the war.²²²

Additionally, the *Western Times* published a plan for a memorial in Exeter which aimed to commemorate those who ‘made the supreme sacrifice for the Motherland’, stating the hope that it would ‘become a sort of shrine of memory for all bereaved’.²²³ This not only demonstrates national and regional solidarity but it also indicates how local newspapers attempted to ease the suffering of the bereaved by instilling a sense of collective mourning and assigning personal meaning to commemoration.

Conclusions

Overall, both national and local newspapers published a diverse range of war-related articles in the interwar period, many of which detailed the nature and reception of commemorative efforts in a traditional way. This acts as evidence for Jay Winter’s idea of continuing traditions throughout the war.²²⁴ They acted as the medium through which people could communicate their opinions on commemoration - and indeed, be influenced

²²² Anonymous. (1926). War Memorial. *Exeter and Plymouth Gazette*, 154 (24939), 7, Friday 14th May 1926. Available at:

<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/GW3226588869/BNCN?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-BNCN&xid=833034cc>. [Accessed September 2022]. Anonymous. (1920). Lewdown Memorial. *Western Times*, (22116), 10, Friday 28th May 1920. Available at: <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/GR3221019224/BNCN?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-BNCN&xid=cc614fed>. [Accessed September 2022].

²²³ Anonymous. (1919). In Memory. *Western Times*, (21857), 2, Saturday 26th July 1919. Available at: <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/GR3220996149/BNCN?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-BNCN&xid=35bcb1c5>. [Accessed February 2022].

²²⁴ Winter, J. (2014). *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*. Cambridge University Press. p. 5; p. 73.

by others. Even if they did not directly comment on commemorative practices, the choice to publish coverage on certain events and memorials was itself a reflection of the newspaper's desired message. Ultimately, national and local press accounts had slightly different approaches to remembering the war, although propaganda was evident in both national and local press accounts in articles that enforced patriotic and pro-war attitudes when describing commemoration. These techniques were arguably both elements of a singular process: an attempt to enforce a narrative that provided comfort to the bereaved and honoured the dead without having to directly acknowledge the extent of the traumatic experiences of war.

Many national newspapers held imperialist and conservative views such as the *Daily Mail*.²²⁵ Due to this, national newspapers fed into the comforting narrative of war as a necessary and brave sacrifice to be honoured. They tended to avoid publishing articles that addressed the brutality of war and instead chose to focus on the almost heavenly aspects of commemoration, directly contrasting with dissenting ideas of war as a tragic waste of young lives. In comparison, local newspapers enforced a more exclusive and meaningful type of memory of the war as they often focused on the attempts of local commemoration in helping to comfort the bereaved and honouring the dead. By using spiritual imagery, local newspaper articles and reports on commemoration probably aimed to provide comfort to the bereaved and the British public in general by using this language, as well as attempting to satisfy their commercial markets. Despite this, the possibility of political motives remains, such as trying to instil a sense of patriotism and duty within people as a way of justifying war

²²⁵ Williams, K. (2009). *Read All About It!: A History of the British Newspaper*. Routledge. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/hud/detail.action?docID=452326>. p. 130; p. 142.

and its casualties. The widespread newspaper coverage of religious remembrance rituals formed a large part of this, ultimately offering a particular way of remembering the war.

Ultimately, trauma and loss fuelled the soothing narrative of the First World War that was often traditional in nature, and which the press played a crucial role in distributing. As with commemorative practices themselves, newspapers may be viewed as political instruments in their coverage of these events, selling a description of the war that appeared favourable to the government by placing emphasis on the opinions of some members of the public and press organisations. This was not universally well received, as indicated by backlash expressed in the form of reproachful war literature which was largely modernist in nature, to be examined closely in the following chapter.

Chapter Four: Modernism and 'Modern Memory' in the Literature of the First World War

The focus of this chapter is on the ways in which a group of writers – most of whom self-consciously identified as ‘modernist’ – questioned the soothing nature of First World War commemoration in Britain. As with Chapter One, this group may be divided into three smaller ones: combatants, female nurses, and civilians. This chapter will provide a contrast to previous chapters by building on the argument that the trauma and losses caused by the war were linked to an influx of literary modernist output, which pushed the narrative of a futile and cruel conflict as opposed to the soothing and often traditional modes of remembrance as seen in commemoration and propagandist press accounts. It aims to explore the possibility that there was an alternative type of memory surrounding the war, which was often supplemented by modernist ideals. In order to do so it will be divided into two sections, the first of which examines the prominent features of modernist literature that were used to convey the trauma and losses of the war, leading into the second section which focuses on how these views manifested to create the idea of a futile and unnecessary war. The conclusion combines these by comparing the modernist view of the war with the traditional and often soothing nature of commemorative practices to develop the argument that there were two contested ways of remembering the First World War.

Modernists often rejected Victorian and early Edwardian values including those that concerned duty and honour, which makes sense as much of their work questioned the traditional act of going to war and held the belief that political and military elites exploited the patriotism of most soldiers, manipulating them into fighting in ways that were

destructive and failed to adequately protect them.²²⁶ Referring to modernists such as Virginia Woolf and T. S. Eliot, Vincent B. Sherry writes that ‘their status as resident or relative aliens allowed and indeed compelled them to make something out of the disruption the war represented – in the civic and political mythology of the nation in which they found themselves’.²²⁷ Therefore it must also be acknowledged that literary modernism did not always equate to anti-war sentiments, but perhaps symbolised an attempt to process personal feelings by writing about the war. As observed in previous chapters, a considerable amount of anti-war literature was not viewed as modernist, such as war memoirs written by Siegfried Sassoon, Robert Graves, and Edmund Blunden.

As one newspaper article from 1921 professed: ‘There is a tacit agreement to forget the war’, and – regardless of the truth of this statement - this chapter will argue that literary modernists aimed to combat this by focusing on the brutal aspects of warfare.²²⁸ The reasoning behind this stance will be explored, for instance with George M. Johnson’s theory that the losses and trauma these people faced – both before and during the war - inspired their literary endeavours.²²⁹ As Michael Levenson writes: ‘The war was a trauma for Europe

²²⁶ Winter, J. (2014). *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*. Cambridge University Press. p. 115.

²²⁷ Sherry, V. B. (2003). *The Great War and the Language of Modernism*. Oxford University Press.
<http://libaccess.hud.ac.uk/login?url=https://dx.doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195178180.001.0001>. p. 21.

²²⁸ Anonymous. (1921). Remembrance Not Oblivion: Seven Years After: The Great Hour: A Vindication and a Moral: “Work, Unity and Organisation”: The Powers of Victory in Peace. *The Observer*, 8, Sunday 7th August 1921. Available at:
<https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/remembrance-not-oblivion/docview/480889681/se-2?accountid=11526>. [Accessed November 2022].

²²⁹ Johnson, G. M. (2015). *Mourning and Mysticism in First World War Literature and Beyond: Grappling with Ghosts*. Palgrave Macmillan.
<https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137332035>. p. 7; p. 13.

and a wound in Modernism', suggesting that modernism treated the war and its impact as an ailment to be cured, as seen in modernist writings as authors attempted to process the war.²³⁰

However, despite the claims here that modernism was a crucial element in shaping responses to the war, it must also be acknowledged that literary modernism existed prior to 1914 and was awarded more importance during the aftermath of the First World War.²³¹ For instance, literary modernism in Britain began with the movement of Imagism, pioneered by the writer T. E. Hulme in 1909.²³² Consequently, it is useful to suggest that modernism aided in expressing various feelings about the war, rather than creating them.

The secondary literature of the First World War has extensively covered this topic, perhaps most notably in *The Great War and Modern Memory* by Paul Fussell, who – as mentioned in the introductory chapter - proposed that the war fuelled a 'modern memory' which manifested in the form of literary modernism.²³³ This was supported by others such as Samuel Hynes, who suggested that the war became mythologised in British culture through modernism, and Modris Eksteins' claim that traditional language became inadequate when describing the trenches.²³⁴ Fussell's classic book has been deliberately revised by Jay

²³⁰ Levenson, M. H. (2011). *Modernism*. Yale University Press.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt5vkzjf>. p. 223.

²³¹ Childs, P. (2017). *Modernism* (3rd ed.). Routledge.
<http://libaccess.hud.ac.uk/login?url=https://dx.doi.org/10.4324/9781315679679>. p. 19.

²³² Childs, P. (2017). *Modernism* (3rd ed.). Routledge.
<http://libaccess.hud.ac.uk/login?url=https://dx.doi.org/10.4324/9781315679679>. p. 79-80.

²³³ Fussell, P. (2013). *The Great War and Modern Memory*. Oxford University Press.
<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/HUD/detail.action?pq-origsite=summon&docID=1183114>. p. xv; p. 25.

²³⁴ Hynes, S. (1992). *A War Imagined: The First World War and English Culture*. Collier Books.
<https://archive.org/details/warimaginedfirst0000hyne/mode/2up>. p. 425. Eksteins, M.

Winter's argument that modernists took inspiration from traditional ideas, therefore questioning the concept of a 'modern memory' of the war, although ultimately Winter still acknowledges the importance and complexity of modernism in the war.²³⁵ Generally, historians recognise the link between the war - and its related disenchantment - and the development of the modernist movement, for instance with Trudi Tate seeing modernism as a lens through which to view and understand the war.²³⁶ This chapter follows such a view by highlighting these modernist texts as a symbol of the different strains and meanings of war memory.

Another important historiographical view has been supplied by Eric Leed, who emphasises the idea of remembering and forgetting as two parts of a single process which was demonstrated in the memorialisation of the dead.²³⁷ This will form the basis of the chapter as modernist writings may have revisited war trauma in order to bring closure in a different way to commemoration.

1: Unconventional Modes of Remembering in Modernist Literature

(2000). *Rites of Spring: The Great War and the Birth of the Modern Age*. Mariner Books. https://archive.org/details/ritesofspringre0000ekst_p5p9/mode/2up. p. 218.

²³⁵ Winter, J. (2014). *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*. Cambridge University Press. p. 197; p. 4. See also: Todman, D. (2013). *The Great War: Myth and Memory*. Bloomsbury Academic. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/hud/detail.action?docID=5327563>. p. 223.

²³⁶ Tate, T. (2013). *Modernism, History and the First World War* (2nd ed.). Humanities-Ebooks. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/HUD/detail.action?docID=3306137&pq-origsite=summon>. p. 13.

²³⁷ Leed, E. (2000). Fateful Memories: Industrialized War and Traumatic Neuroses. *Journal of Contemporary History*, 35(1), 85-100. <https://doi.org/10.1177/002200940003500108>. p. 89; p. 92.

To begin with, it is useful to explore the main features of literary modernism and how they manifested, specifically the ways in which modernists used these techniques to express and process trauma and loss when writing about the First World War. Perhaps the most significant of these was a desire to break from tradition, which highlighted modernism as such a stark contrast to traditional modes of remembrance.

This section will firstly explore female modernist accounts followed by those of men – the reason for this separation is because male accounts seem less clear cut with a mixture of traditional and modern literary styles. As Santanu Das points out, women’s writings are crucial to the understanding of war and the ‘anguish in the nurses’ memoirs lies not only in gender difference but in its fraught relation to traumatic witnessing and the limits of empathy’.²³⁸ This signifies the role of women as observers of war as well as experiencing it first-hand, which perhaps fuelled their ability to write modernist accounts. As Jay Winter has claimed, war literature itself was a type of memorial – therefore literature, although not a literal method of commemoration like monuments and cemeteries, was closely involved with constructing memories of the war.²³⁹ This was mostly present in non-modernist poetry, although as demonstrated, certain works such as *All Quiet on the Western Front* served to challenge this.

One distinct way in which modernist texts channelled the trauma of war lay in the destruction of the human body, perhaps the main theme in both fictionalised and autobiographical nurses’ accounts. This makes sense as male trauma, particularly physical

²³⁸ Das, S. (2005). *Touch and Intimacy in First World War Literature*. Cambridge University Press. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/hud/detail.action?docID=1644650>. p. 9; p. 177.

²³⁹ Winter, J. (2014). *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*. Cambridge University Press. p. 73.

injury, formed much of the dominant memory with the wounded soldier as a visual reminder of the conflict.²⁴⁰ This focus on the changing of the body - usually through physical injury and mutilation on the front line – reflected the modernist departure from tradition. In the case of female writers of war literature – and especially with nurses – it may be argued that the mechanised nature of the First World War and its consequential mental and physical impact on a whole generation of men that such women witnessed first-hand fuelled a profound disillusionment and questioning of war, which was a hallmark feature of the modernist movement.²⁴¹ As *Not So Quiet* aptly refers to the impact of seeing wounded and maimed soldiers on young women: ‘The beauty of men who are whole, who have straight arms and legs, whose bodies are not cruelly gashed and torn by shrapnel, whose eyes are not horror-filled, whose faces are smooth and shapely, whose mouths smile instead of grinning painfully...’²⁴² This not only refers to the physical destruction of men’s bodies, but also their mental deterioration as soldiers, suggesting that the two were closely linked. Written from a female perspective, this passage also demonstrates the impact of the war on women such as female anxieties about their male friends or relatives on the front line and the potential trauma these men were about to face.²⁴³ Although this was addressed in

²⁴⁰ Tate, T. (2013). *Modernism, History and the First World War* (2nd ed.). Humanities-Ebooks. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/HUD/detail.action?docID=3306137&pq-origsite=summon>. p. 89-90; p. 109-110.

²⁴¹ Smith, H. Z. (1989; first published 1930). *Not So Quiet: Stepdaughters of War*. The Feminist Press. p. 167. Smith, A. K. (2000). *The Second Battlefield: Women, Modernism and the First World War*. Manchester University Press. <https://archive.org/details/secondbattlefiel0000smit/mode/2up>. p. 196.

²⁴² Smith, H. Z. (1989; first published 1930). *Not So Quiet: Stepdaughters of War*. The Feminist Press. p. 163. See also: p. 100-103; p. 164.

²⁴³ Braybon, G., & Summerfield, P. (2013). *Out of the Cage: Women's Experiences in Two World Wars*. Routledge. <http://libaccess.hud.ac.uk/login?url=https://dx.doi.org/10.4324/9780203103968>. p. 79.

commemoration – with women grieving friends and family members who had been lost in the war – modernist novels highlighted the general horrors of war and so made the point that such trauma was not worth fighting on the front line for, while pointing out the fact that it was impossible to return to pre-war life.²⁴⁴ Taking inspiration from the diaries of a female ambulance driver on the Western Front, Smith may have attempted to reflect the disturbing real-life experiences on the front.²⁴⁵ The novel may also be labelled modernist because it deliberately took the traditional male war story seen in *All Quiet on the Western Front* and altered the narrative.

Female horror at male wounds similarly made an appearance in Mary Borden's memoir *The Forbidden Zone*, detailing amputated and disconnected body parts which revisits the idea that the loss of limbs indicated an inability to return to pre-war life.²⁴⁶ Similarly, the disorientation and fragmentation of women's consciousness became clear due to their own witnessing of war trauma; for example, Borden described how she felt disconnected from her own sexuality after seeing her patients' wounded bodies.²⁴⁷ Having decided to set up her own field hospital and work as a nurse on the Western Front, Borden's wartime

²⁴⁴ Damousi, J. (2017). Gender and Mourning. In S. R. Grayzel, & T. M. Proctor (Eds.), *Gender and the Great War* (pp. 211-229). Oxford University Press.

<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/hud/detail.action?docID=4874459>. p. 213.

²⁴⁵ Marcus, J. (1989). Afterword: Corpus/Corps/Corpse: Writing the Body in/at War. In Smith, H. Z., *Not So Quiet: Stepdaughters of War*. The Feminist Press. p. 266.

²⁴⁶ Borden, M. (1929). *The Forbidden Zone*. William Heinemann. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/forbiddenzone00bord/mode/2up>. p. 142; p. 152-153.

²⁴⁷ Borden, M. (1929). *The Forbidden Zone*. William Heinemann. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/forbiddenzone00bord/mode/2up>. p. 60. Das, S. (2005). *Touch and Intimacy in First World War Literature*. Cambridge University Press. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/hud/detail.action?docID=1644650>. p. 192-193. See also: Marcus, J. (1989). Afterword: Corpus/Corps/Corpse: Writing the Body in/at War. In Smith, H. Z., *Not So Quiet: Stepdaughters of War*. The Feminist Press. p. 248.

experiences mirrored the fictional *Not So Quiet*.²⁴⁸ Despite the fact that these injuries were nothing new, having occurred in previous wars, the combination of deadly mechanised weaponry plus social and political disillusionment may have contributed to feelings of futility like never before. As Ariela Freedman states, *The Forbidden Zone* 'attempted to register the impact of World War I through innovative aesthetic strategies', suggesting that writing was a way of coping and processing the author's experience of war, also supporting Leed's theory of 'remembering as forgetting'.²⁴⁹

The memoirs of another war nurse, Ellen La Motte, adopted a similar tone as she described soldiers' wounds in graphic detail, including the 'vile gangrene smell' of one patient, emphasising the unnatural state of such wounds.²⁵⁰ It is important to acknowledge that - as claimed by historians such as Margaret Higonnet, Angela K. Smith, and Jane Marcus - American writers such as Borden and La Motte were closely involved with and took inspiration from pre-war influencers of modernism including Gertrude Stein and Percy Wyndham Lewis.²⁵¹ This points to the war as a factor in the development of the modernist

²⁴⁸ Smith, A. K. (2000). *The Second Battlefield: Women, Modernism and the First World War*. Manchester University Press.

<https://archive.org/details/secondbattlefiel0000smit/mode/2up>. p. 84.

²⁴⁹ Freedman, A. (2002). Mary Borden's *Forbidden Zone*: Women's Writing from No-Man's-Land. *Modernism/Modernity*, 9(1), 109-124. <https://doi.org/10.1353/mod.2002.0006>. p. 110.

²⁵⁰ La Motte, E. N. (1916). *The Backwash of War*. G. P. Putnam's Sons. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/backwashofwar00lamoiala/mode/2up>. p. 49-52; p. 58; p. 87-88.

²⁵¹ Higonnet, M. (2002). Authenticity and Art in Trauma Narratives of World War I. *Modernism/Modernity*, 9(1), 91-107. <https://doi.org/10.1353/mod.2002.0009>. p. 100.

Smith, A. K. (2000). *The Second Battlefield: Women, Modernism and the First World War*. Manchester University Press.

<https://archive.org/details/secondbattlefiel0000smit/mode/2up>. p. 1. Marcus, J. (1989). Afterword: Corpus/Corps/Corpse: Writing the Body in/at War. In Smith, H. Z., *Not So Quiet: Stepdaughters of War*. The Feminist Press. p. 247.

movement as suggested with Paul Fussell's 'modern memory' theory which has been previously mentioned.²⁵² As Angela K. Smith suggests, women's wartime experiences encouraged them to write which led to the development of new literary modernist techniques.²⁵³

The impact of male war wounds is also expressed in *The Return of the Soldier* by Rebecca West, which quickly captured the feeling of 'covering up' emotional trauma – hence the phrase 'She was hurt, of course. But there are ways pain should not show itself...' whilst discussing Kitty's reaction when hearing about her husband's shell-shock.²⁵⁴ Chris' affliction also demonstrates an upheaval from the somewhat idyllic quality of pre-war life. West's own distressing experience of the war as a civilian, including air raids, perhaps influenced this nostalgic perspective.²⁵⁵ Therefore the popularity of these writings, and their role as literary classics, may signify the public fixation on the negative effects of war which possibly points to the consumption of such war literature as a way of processing collective war trauma.

As discussed in Chapter One, it may also be deduced that the focus on physical war wounds in these marked a perceived inability to return to pre-war values, ultimately questioning whether it was possible to continue life as normal after witnessing the death and

²⁵² Fussell, P. (2013). *The Great War and Modern Memory*. Oxford University Press. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/HUD/detail.action?pq-origsite=summon&docID=1183114>. p. xv; p. 25.

²⁵³ Smith, A. K. (2000). *The Second Battlefield: Women, Modernism and the First World War*. Manchester University Press.

<https://archive.org/details/secondbattlefiel0000smit/mode/2up>. p. 96-97.

²⁵⁴ West, R. (2010; first published 1918). *The Return of the Soldier*. Virago Press. p. 25.

²⁵⁵ Glendinning, V. (1987). *Rebecca West: A Life*. Ballantine Books. <https://archive.org/details/rebeccawest00vict/mode/2up>. p. 67-68.

destruction of a whole generation. This may have been exacerbated by gender roles at the time. For instance, the fact that after 1918 women were forced back into their pre-war roles perhaps caused hostility towards the unfulfilled expectations of the war changing things for the better which was channelled in their personal writings.²⁵⁶

This was further emphasised in the works of male war writers. Each writer's distress from witnessing such sights demonstrates that both mental and physical trauma were direct products of the war, which were then used to support the negative view of the conflict.

According to Modris Eksteins, soldiers were the 'agent of the modern aesthetic, the progenitor of destruction but also the embodiment of the future'.²⁵⁷ However, other historians acknowledge that this may not be so clear-cut. For instance, Jay Winter labels the soldier poet a romantic figure who acted as 'an interlocutor between communities in mourning', and Harry Cocks points out that that the modernist movement often used past ideas such as the ancient which can be seen in war poetry.²⁵⁸ Therefore the accuracy of Eksteins' statement can be debated – for instance, popular soldier poets including Siegfried

²⁵⁶ Braybon, G., & Summerfield, P. (2013). *Out of the Cage: Women's Experiences in Two World Wars*. Routledge. <http://libaccess.hud.ac.uk/login?url=https://dx.doi.org/10.4324/9780203103968>. p. 1-2; p. 130.

²⁵⁷ Eksteins, M. (2000). *Rites of Spring: The Great War and the Birth of the Modern Age*. Mariner Books. https://archive.org/details/ritesofspringgre0000ekst_p5p9/mode/2up. p. 211-213. See also: Heathorn, S. (2005). The Mnemonic Turn in the Cultural Historiography of Britain's Great War. *The Historical Journal*, 48(4), 1103-1124. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0018246X05004930>. p. 1107.

²⁵⁸ Winter, J. (2014). *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*. Cambridge University Press. p. 221. Cocks, H. (2014). Modernity and Modernism. In F. Carnevali, & J. M. Strange (Eds.), *Twentieth-Century Britain: Economic, Cultural and Social Change* (2nd ed., pp. 26-41). Routledge. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/HUD/detail.action?pq-origsite=summon&docID=1710693>. p. 31.

Sassoon did not consider themselves as modernists, and modernism was pioneered by many who were not soldiers, including W. B. Yeats and women such as Mary Borden.²⁵⁹

Despite this, it is useful to consider the soldier as a catalyst for change in remembering the First World War, especially when examining the presence of post-war disenchantment in younger soldiers which Michael Roper believes may have been rooted in the 'emotional landscape' of trench warfare.²⁶⁰

Soldiers' accounts of the Western Front often referred to the features of trench warfare including corpses, such as Sassoon's *Memoirs of an Infantry Officer* in which graphic imagery of the dead were used to question the war.²⁶¹ Due to this, it can be assumed that this imagery was not limited to archetypal modernist texts and this means the negative view of war or the tendency to focus on the macabre aspects of war was widespread, further emphasising the 'split' in memory that this chapter pays attention to. As explored in Chapter One, some even directly addressed and challenged the nature of commemoration such as

²⁵⁹ Yeats, W. B. (1920). *The Second Coming*. In *Michael Robartes and the Dancer*. The Cuala Press. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/robertes00wby/robertes00wby/mode/2up>. [Accessed May 2022]. p. 19-20. Borden, M. (1929). *The Forbidden Zone*. William Heinemann. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/forbiddenzone00bord/mode/2up>. p. 19; p. 123-125.

²⁶⁰ Roper, M. (2011). Nostalgia as an Emotional Experience in the Great War. *The Historical Journal*, 54(2), 421-451. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0018246X11000082>. p. 430.

²⁶¹ Sassoon, S. (1997; first published 1930). *Memoirs of an Infantry Officer*. Faber & Faber. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/memoirsofinfantr00sieg>. p. 157. Graves, R. (1998; first published 1929). *Good-Bye to All That*. Anchor Books. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/goodbyetoallthat0000grav>. p. 163; p. 209. Blunden, E. (2000; first published 1928). *Undertones of War*. Penguin Classics. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/undertonesofwar0000blun/mode/2up>. p. 46; p. 96. Remarque, E. M. (1929; first published 1928). *All Quiet on the Western Front*. Little, Brown & Company. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/allquietonwest00rema/mode/2up>. p. 106. Barbusse, H. (2014; first published 1916). *Under Fire*. Penguin Classics. Available at: https://archive.org/details/underfire0000barb_w1s7/mode/2up. p. 216-218; p. 226.

with Siegfried Sassoon's *On Passing the New Menin Gate* and Rudyard Kipling's *London Stone*.²⁶²

The War Books Boom further popularised literature of this nature. Adrian Gregory notes the popularity and commercialised nature of Armistice Day as a charity appeal by the 1930s, which highlights the sharp contrast with the War Books Boom in the late 1920s.²⁶³ Indeed, 1929 has also been labelled a significant year with the collapse of the world economy, threats to conservative order due to the enfranchisement of women and the second Labour government – all of these things may be seen as fuelling disillusionment and therefore the modernist trend as the War Books Boom peaked in the same year.²⁶⁴ Some historians such as Jon Lawrence have even claimed that a fear of brutalisation and trauma shaped interwar Britain, which may have fuelled disillusionment.²⁶⁵ However, as Andrew Frayn asserts: 'the War Books Boom of 1928-30 was not the time when Britain became disenchanting; it was

²⁶² Sassoon, S. (1968; first published 1928). *On Passing the New Menin Gate*. In *Selected Poems*. Faber & Faber. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/selectedpoems0000sass>. [Accessed May 2022]. p. 57-58. Kipling, R. (1940; first published 1923). *London Stone*. In *Rudyard Kipling's Verse: Definitive Edition*. Hodder & Stoughton. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.59153/mode/2up>. [Accessed May 2022]. p. 804.

²⁶³ Gregory, A. (1994). *The Silence of Memory: Armistice Day, 1919-1946*. Bloomsbury. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/HUD/detail.action?pq-origsite=summon&docID=1609910>. p. 84; p. 86.

²⁶⁴ Gregory, A. (1994). *The Silence of Memory: Armistice Day, 1919-1946*. Bloomsbury. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/HUD/detail.action?pq-origsite=summon&docID=1609910>. p. 92. See also: Pugh, M. (2017). *State and Society: A Social and Political History of Britain since 1870* (5th ed.). Bloomsbury Academic. p. 279.

²⁶⁵ Lawrence, J. (2003). Forging a Peaceable Kingdom: War, Violence, and Fear of Brutalization in Post-First World War Britain. *The Journal of Modern History*, 75(3), 557-589. <https://doi.org/10.1086/380238>. p. 560.

when disenchantment became a popular mode of expression'.²⁶⁶ The significance of this phenomenon is further supported by Gregory's claim that the memory of war was reconstructed during the War Books Boom which catered to the bereaved and helped some people to find new meaning in the war.²⁶⁷ This reconstruction of memory may signify that male writers also adopted a modernist style which indicates that, although male and female modernists may have presented slightly different literary styles, the appeal of modernist ideas transcended a certain group and became a way to describe and process the traumatic memories of the war.

Due to this, the War Books Boom was just one indicator of how the memory of the war was created and contested from 1918 to 1939. With the devastation caused by the First World War and the onset of a second war in the late 1930s, the need for commemoration was perhaps more prevalent than ever before; however this appeared alongside the need for people to process the war in their own way, which manifested in the War Books Boom and literary modernism. Although commemoration and modernism may have worked together in the construction of memory of the war in some instances, they generally had different styles and motives which contributed to alternate ways of remembering the First World War.

Secondly, similar to some of the war poetry analysed in Chapter Two, modernist literature used spiritual ideas as a mode of expressing negative thoughts about the war. This often

²⁶⁶ Frayn, A. (2014). *Writing Disenchantment: British First World War Prose, 1914-30*. Manchester University Press. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/HUD/detail.action?pq-origsite=summon&docID=4704968>. p. 201.

²⁶⁷ Gregory, A. (1994). *The Silence of Memory: Armistice Day, 1919-1946*. Bloomsbury. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/HUD/detail.action?pq-origsite=summon&docID=1609910>. p. 134.

manifested in the form of apocalyptic images which conveyed the traumatic experience of war and the ferocity of modern warfare, often featuring in Christian modernist works.²⁶⁸

Indeed, the battlefield was a hotbed for literary apocalyptic images as seen in *In*

Parenthesis' description:

‘The cratered earth, of all growing things bereaved, bore that uncreaturely impressiveness of telescope-observed bodies – where even pterodactyl would feel the place unfriendly’.²⁶⁹

Likewise, the hooded figure who ‘always walks beside you’ in *The Waste Land* may symbolise the deaths of the First World War as well as the subsequent death of the familiar world.²⁷⁰ Loss also constituted an important part of this, as ideas of an apocalypse depicted a loss of the pre-war world and the subsequent failure to return to these values – not just figuratively, but also physically with the changing landscape of the front line in France. The importance of location also featured in descriptions of the trenches, for instance with Erich Maria Remarque’s labelling of the Western Front as ‘between heaven and earth’, magnifying the loneliness and unfamiliarity of the purgatorial battlefield which became entirely separate from the civil world.²⁷¹ This makes sense as *All Quiet on the Western Front*

²⁶⁸ Tønning, E., Feldman, M., & Addyman, D. (Eds.). (2015). *Modernism, Christianity and Apocalypse*. BRILL. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/HUD/detail.action?pq-origsite=summon&docID=1840856>. p. 5; p. 12.

²⁶⁹ Jones, D. (1975; first published 1937). *In Parenthesis*. Faber & Faber. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.13580/mode/2up>. p. 97. See also: p. 86; p. 121; p. 124; p. 159. See also: Remarque, E. M. (1929; first published 1928). *All Quiet on the Western Front*. Little, Brown & Company. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/allquietonwest00rema/mode/2up>. p. 119; p. 292.

²⁷⁰ Eliot, T. S. (1922). *The Waste Land*. Boni & Liveright. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/wasteland01elio/mode/2up>. [Accessed May 2022]. p. 43.

²⁷¹ Remarque, E. M. (1929; first published 1928). *All Quiet on the Western Front*. Little, Brown & Company. Available at:

became associated with the New Objectivity movement in Germany, which featured 'deliberately shocking realism' and was perhaps synonymous with the modernism of Britain and the USA.²⁷²

Other modernist writers who had not directly experienced warfare but who had lived through the war also took the time to comment on its aftermath, indicating the widespread effect of the conflict. For example, *The Waste Land* by T. S. Eliot wrote:

'I think we are in rats' alley

Where the dead men lost their bones.'²⁷³

This phrase may refer to the death of Eliot's friend in the war, indicating that the deaths of the war had a profound and altering effect on society after 1918.²⁷⁴ Although the poem may not refer directly to the war, it seems to be a symbol of the aftermath – of attempting to rebuild society in the wake of mass death and trauma – which defined much of the modernist movement as a whole. Likewise, *The Second Coming* by W. B. Yeats suggested a sinister end to all pre-war familiarities – hence phrases such as 'mere anarchy is loosed upon

<https://archive.org/details/allquietonwest00rema/mode/2up>. p. 66. See also: Jones, D. (1975; first published 1937). *In Parenthesis*. Faber & Faber. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.13580/mode/2up>. p. 30; p. 87.

²⁷² Murdoch, B. (2006). *The Novels of Erich Maria Remarque: Sparks of Life*. Camden House. <https://doi.org/10.7722/j.ctt7zsv53>. p. 37.

²⁷³ Eliot, T. S. (1922). *The Waste Land*. Boni & Liveright. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/wasteland01elio/mode/2up>. [Accessed May 2022]. p. 20.

²⁷⁴ Gilbert, S. M. (1999). "Rats' Alley": The Great War, Modernism, and the (Anti) Pastoral Elegy. *New Literary History*, 30(1), 179-201. <https://doi.org/10.1353/nlh.1999.0007>. p. 193; p. 195-196.

the world' and 'the ceremony of innocence is drowned'.²⁷⁵ Yeats' Irish nationalism no doubt fuelled the post-war disillusionment captured in the poem, suggesting that this unsettled feeling was widespread.²⁷⁶ Due to this, his disenchantment may also have been directed at the British, perhaps making the poem a commentary on the changing social and political state of Ireland at the time such as the Easter Rising of 1916, which entailed an armed rebellion against British rule, indicating that modernism was an outlet for expressing the feelings people felt during and after the war.²⁷⁷ This was further emphasised by the fact that Yeats' work had previously been Romantic in style, suggesting that such traditional techniques were no longer adequate.²⁷⁸ The concept of a 'second coming' also bears religious connotations, embodied in Yeats' writing:

'And what rough beast, its hour come round at last,

Slouches towards Bethlehem to be born?'²⁷⁹

²⁷⁵ Yeats, W. B. (1920). *The Second Coming*. In *Michael Robartes and the Dancer*. The Cuala Press. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/robertes00wby/robertes00wby/mode/2up>. [Accessed May 2022]. p. 19.

²⁷⁶ Hennessey, O. (2014). *Yeats, Shakespeare, and Irish Cultural Nationalism*. Fairleigh Dickinson University Press. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/hud/detail.action?docID=1864055>. p. 12-13.

²⁷⁷ Hennessey, O. (2014). *Yeats, Shakespeare, and Irish Cultural Nationalism*. Fairleigh Dickinson University Press. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/hud/detail.action?docID=1864055>. p. 8. For more information on Anglo-Irish tensions during the war, see: Pugh, M. (2017). *State and Society: A Social and Political History of Britain since 1870* (5th ed.). Bloomsbury Academic. p. 197-198.

²⁷⁸ Childs, P. (2017). *Modernism* (3rd ed.). Routledge.

<http://libaccess.hud.ac.uk/login?url=https://dx.doi.org/10.4324/9781315679679>. p. 79.

²⁷⁹ Yeats, W. B. (1920). *The Second Coming*. In *Michael Robartes and the Dancer*. The Cuala Press. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/robertes00wby/robertes00wby/mode/2up>. [Accessed May 2022]. p. 20.

Both writers, having not fought in the war, can be set apart from modernist nurses and combatants who often wrote from direct experience; non-combatants may have been motivated by a variety of reasons, for example guilt over not contributing to the war effort whilst their peers put their lives on the line. Additionally, Yeats' connection to spiritualism perhaps challenged the idea that modernists were opposed to the spiritual and religious ideas that were prevalent in commemorative efforts, as will be explored later in this section with the concept of Christian modernism.²⁸⁰

Modernist writers also channelled their ideas through descriptions of the physical landscape and destruction of nature. The use of desert-like, empty, and decaying imagery in both poems as well as in soldiers' memoirs further pushed this concept of a figuratively barren and desolate post-war world, most likely caused by the war, which may have also indicated that traditional modes of expressing the war could no longer be applied.²⁸¹ Subsequently, this gave the impression that the world had been definitively transformed, and despite the fact that these works may not have been explicitly modernist, the presence of such ideas in

²⁸⁰ Anonymous. (1914). Mr. Yeats on Ghosts and Dreams. *The Times*, (40506), 13, Friday 24th April 1914. Available at: <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CS218694296/TTDA?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-TTDA&id=a38734d7>. [Accessed October 2022].

²⁸¹ Hynes, S. (1992). *A War Imagined: The First World War and English Culture*. Collier Books. <https://archive.org/details/warimaginedfirst0000hyne/mode/2up>. p. 439. Eliot, T. S. (1922). *The Waste Land*. Boni & Liveright. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/wasteland01elio/mode/2up>. [Accessed May 2022]. p. 10-11; p. 40-42; p. 44-45. Yeats, W. B. (1920). The Second Coming. In *Michael Robertes and the Dancer*. The Cuala Press. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/robertes00wby/robertes00wby/mode/2up>. [Accessed May 2022]. p. 19. Blunden, E. (2000; first published 1928). *Undertones of War*. Penguin Classics. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/undertonesofwar0000blun/mode/2up>. p. 11; p. 27; p. 95. Sassoon, S. (1997; first published 1930). *Memoirs of an Infantry Officer*. Faber & Faber. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/memoirsofinfantr00sieg>. p. 70; p. 82; p. 153. Graves, R. (1998; first published 1929). *Good-Bye to All That*. Anchor Books. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/goodbyetoallthat0000grav>. p. 193.

war literature suggested a common feeling of disillusionment and a desire to question the meaning of the war. Published at the height of commemoration, each of these poems also represented an alternative to the censored 'escapism' of memorials. Ultimately, apocalyptic imagery which described both war itself and its after-effects on the world conveyed the bleak view that things had changed for the worse. This clashed with the peacefulness of commemoration.

The writings of female non-combatants also questioned war and its effects on those involved, perhaps best embodied in *Mrs. Dalloway* by Virginia Woolf. The novel displayed the negative impact of war on those who had experienced the worst of it – including the suicide of a shell-shocked veteran – which was possibly inspired by Woolf's disillusioned view of the war, similar to Yeats and his stance in *The Second Coming*.²⁸² The use of general landscape imagery also featured in modernism, for instance H. D.'s *Sea Poppies* used poppies – an archetypal symbol of the First World War – to convey beauty as opposed to the death and destruction of the battlefield where they grew, indicating a break from tradition by assigning new meanings to things like this.²⁸³ Departure from the bleak apocalyptic imagery of other modernist works also implies that modernism did not always strictly adhere to the negative view of war, and it may also be argued that the mention of

²⁸² Woolf, V. (2013; first published 1925). *Mrs. Dalloway*. Harper Press. p. 139-140. Frayn, A. (2014). *Writing Disenchantment: British First World War Prose, 1914-30*. Manchester University Press. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/HUD/detail.action?pq-origsite=summon&docID=4704968>. p. 26; p. 139. Yeats, W. B. (1920). *The Second Coming*. In *Michael Robartes and the Dancer*. The Cuala Press. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/robertes00wby/robertes00wby/mode/2up>. [Accessed May 2022]. p. 19-20.

²⁸³ Doolittle, H. (1916). *Sea Poppies*. In *Sea Garden*. Constable & Company. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/seagarden00hdhirich/mode/2up>. [Accessed May 2022]. p. 20. See also: Borden, M. (1929). *The Forbidden Zone*. William Heinemann. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/forbiddenzone00bord/mode/2up>. p. 110.

poppies perpetuated conventional styles of commemoration. H. D.'s own position as a civilian with relatives on the front line and her personal trauma of giving birth to a stillborn baby – which she believed had been caused by the war – highlights how the conflict permeated society on the home front.²⁸⁴ Modernist writing may have been the best form of expression for such feelings.

Other unconventional tools used in modernist literature included irony which highlighted the horrific and seemingly pointless nature of the war.²⁸⁵ For instance, *Not So Quiet* ends with Smith being the only female to survive a bomb attack during an air raid, marking the loss of most of her companions on the front line; she begins to laugh although 'I have never felt less hysterical in my life'.²⁸⁶ The irony lies in the repetition of this cycle, with Smith's other friends and sister dying earlier in the novel, perhaps suggesting that the war has changed her permanently by causing the deaths of the people closest to her.²⁸⁷ Others such as Borden expressed the cruel irony of war; nurses in *The Forbidden Zone* prevented a patient from committing suicide although he would be court-martialled and shot for the offence anyway, perhaps illustrating the senseless fate of soldiers who would often end up dying and questioning the role of nurses who were meant to ease the suffering of their

²⁸⁴ Tate, T. (2013). *Modernism, History and the First World War* (2nd ed.). Humanities-Ebooks. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/HUD/detail.action?docID=3306137&pq-origsite=summon>. p. 16; p. 19.

²⁸⁵ Fussell, P. (2013). *The Great War and Modern Memory*. Oxford University Press. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/HUD/detail.action?pq-origsite=summon&docID=1183114>. p. 338.

²⁸⁶ Smith, H. Z. (1989; first published 1930). *Not So Quiet: Stepdaughters of War*. The Feminist Press. p. 237-239.

²⁸⁷ Smith, H. Z. (1989; first published 1930). *Not So Quiet: Stepdaughters of War*. The Feminist Press. p. 159-162; p. 224.

patients, but in this situation they prolonged it.²⁸⁸ Additionally, *In Parenthesis* asserts that ‘it’s a perfectly sanitary war’ when referring to the use of powdered chloride of lime to disinfect the area where dead bodies, although this only concealed the violent nature of their deaths.²⁸⁹ This also echoes the cleansing effect of commemoration which failed to properly address the brutality of war, as discussed in Chapter Two. Perhaps irony was used to highlight the ridiculous and pointless aspects of the war whilst maintaining a bitter tone that reflected the author’s personal stance. In the case of Borden, Smith, and Jones, their first-hand experiences of the war may have steered the use of irony as they questioned the true meaning of it in contrast to the patriotic language of commemoration.

Although this chapter makes the assertion that modernist literature represented a clear departure from the conventional ways of remembrance, an exception to this may be identified in the form of Christian modernism. According to Paul S. Fiddes, the association between Christianity and modernism – in the context of David Jones’ work – may refer to the use of Christian belief and practice ‘as a framework to hold together the fragments of a text, or to connect the present with the past, or to cope with the uncertainties of representing the world’.²⁹⁰ For example, the work of writers such as G. K. Chesterton combined traditional ideas of commemoration and immortality in the form of monuments

²⁸⁸ Borden, M. (1929). *The Forbidden Zone*. William Heinemann. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/forbiddenzone00bord/mode/2up>. p. 97-104. See also: La Motte, E. N. (1916). *The Backwash of War*. G. P. Putnam’s Sons. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/backwashofwar00lamoiala/mode/2up>. p. 6-7.

²⁸⁹ Jones, D. (1975; first published 1937). *In Parenthesis*. Faber & Faber. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.13580/mode/2up>. p. 43.

²⁹⁰ Callison, J., Fiddes, P. S., Johnson, A., & Topping, E. (2018). *David Jones: A Christian Modernist? New Approaches to His Art, Poetry and Cultural Theory*. BRILL. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/hud/detail.action?docID=5124249>. p. 3.

with the concept of a new world order, suggesting the significance of the war as a cultural turning point.²⁹¹ However it is worth noting that Chesterton's *For A War Memorial* does not directly challenge the idea of war and commemoration, proving the complicated relationship between modernism and the war. The traditional style of writers such as Chesterton demonstrates how modernism had the capacity to take traditional ideas associated with commemoration and use them to express ideas about the war without directly challenging commemoration. Some writers including poets acknowledged and wrote in both traditional and modernist styles or their style changed over time, including T. E. Hulme.²⁹² Others such as Yeats' *The Second Coming* displayed a mixture of modernist and romantic aspects; for instance, the concept of a 'second coming' invokes Biblical apocalyptic imagery but Yeats used this to enforce the modernist idea of war causing a departure from tradition.²⁹³ Ultimately, this type of literature represented the difficulties faced by modernists as even they struggled to reach a united view of and approach to the war. It also illustrates how modernist literature did not always necessarily denounce commemoration; in some cases, it built on the essential components of commemoration by employing similar Christian ideas about death and mourning.

Other artistic efforts such as the Sandham Memorial Chapel also incorporated a mixture of modern and traditional motifs. The building itself – being a traditional symbol of Christianity

²⁹¹ Chesterton, G. K. (1922). *For A War Memorial*. In *The Ballad of St. Barbara, and Other Verses*. Cecil Palmer. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/ballad00chesuoft/mode/2up>. [Accessed May 2022]. p. 32.

²⁹² Tearle, O. (2013). *T. E. Hulme and Modernism*. Bloomsbury Academic. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/hud/detail.action?docID=1334468>. p. 105.

²⁹³ Yeats, W. B. (1920). *The Second Coming*. In *Michael Robartes and the Dancer*. The Cuala Press. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/robertes00wby/robertes00wby/mode/2up>. [Accessed May 2022]. p. 19.

– represented the conventional style of commemoration whereas the content of Spencer’s art including images of injury, illness, and resurrection on the battlefield simultaneously served to challenge this. The images revealed the uglier and more mundane aspects of war and challenged the idea of putting soldiers’ memory to rest, suggesting that both themes could work together in constructing memories of the war.²⁹⁴ However this was probably influenced by Spencer’s own experiences and motives; as mentioned in Chapter Two, the death of his brother in service may have influenced this conflicting approach as Spencer processed this loss. The ambivalence of the chapel displays this attempt to find meaning in the war which – like the concept of Christian modernism – highlights the difficulties in establishing a concrete definition of modernism.²⁹⁵ The lack of glorification of the war in his work contrasts with the heroic undertones of some memorials. Therefore art - like literature - probably served a different purpose to mainstream commemoration and the fact that it was often created by people who had experienced the destruction of war first-hand suggested that it was an outlet for personal reflection on the war.²⁹⁶

Overall, modernists employed a variety of techniques to express a departure from more traditional writings as they searched for meaning in the war and they often did so in a way

²⁹⁴ Sandham Memorial Chapel, Burghclere, Newbury, Hampshire. Historic England. Available at: <https://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/place/sandham-memorial-chapel>. [Accessed May 2022].

²⁹⁵ Toning, E., Feldman, M., & Addyman, D. (Eds.). (2015). *Modernism, Christianity and Apocalypse*. BRILL. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/HUD/detail.action?pq-origsite=summon&docID=1840856>. p. 3.

²⁹⁶ Spencer, S. (1945-7). Notebook, 1945-7. In Glew, A. (Ed.). (2001). *Stanley Spencer: Letters and Writings*. Tate Gallery Publishing. <https://archive.org/details/stanleyspencerle0000spen/mode/2up>. p. 135.

that portrayed the First World War as futile, which will be explored in the next section of the chapter.

2: A Futile War? Modernist Interpretations of War Trauma and Loss

Following the discussion of the traits that were unique to modernist war literature, this section aims to demonstrate how these traits often emphasised the idea that war was futile, primarily through interpretations of trauma and loss. In doing so, they helped to perpetuate a separation in the memory of the war by actively questioning the serene and perhaps shallow nature of traditional commemoration that failed to amend the deeper issues left by the war.

Modernist modes of expression also pointed to the idea that the war was futile and unnecessary. Trauma and loss may have undermined any potential meaning in the war – the amount of suffering arguably fuelled the modernist desire to break from tradition.

Disillusionment with the war and its impact on society in the interwar years contributed to this; it acted as an instrument to encourage the negative modernist views of war and arguably it was one of the things that fuelled the modernist movement itself although war was not the primary driving force for modernism.²⁹⁷

Writers such as T. E. Hulme embodied the hopelessness felt by soldiers on the front line in his poem *Trenches, St Eloi*, referring to ‘desultory men’ and writing ‘there is nothing to do

²⁹⁷ Frayn, A. (2014). *Writing Disenchantment: British First World War Prose, 1914-30*. Manchester University Press. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/HUD/detail.action?pq-origsite=summon&docID=4704968>. p. 119. Ferrall, C. (1992). The *New Age* and the Emergence of Reactionary Modernism Before the Great War. *Modern Fiction Studies*, 38(3), 653-667. <https://doi.org/10.1353/mfs.0.0460>. p. 653.

but keep on' which created an image of emotionless soldiers whose spirits had been crushed by the war – perhaps a symbol of the immense mental trauma they faced.²⁹⁸ Hulme's experience as a soldier and resulting death on the Western Front only emphasises how his time in battle manifested in his writing, similar to the more famous soldier poets of his time. For instance, parallels to *In Parenthesis* can be identified in the descriptions of soldiers who are portrayed as robotic, childlike, and mentally unprepared for war.²⁹⁹ This perhaps points to the fact that the English army were not fully equipped for a conflict on such a large scale, and subsequently were not adequately protected on the battlefield which added to the futility felt by many ex-soldiers after 1918.³⁰⁰ Although the poem may appear to take an anti-war stance, Jones refuted this and critics such as Thomas Dilworth insist that this is not the case and they point out its deeper meaning – 'if the reader does not attempt to understand the meaning of armed conflict, war will continue to lay waste the land'.³⁰¹ This demonstrates how literature was used to provoke complex thought processes about the implications of modern warfare. Overall, this highlights the complexity of

²⁹⁸ Hulme, T. E. (1915). Trenches, St Eloi. In Pound, E. (Ed.) *Catholic Anthology 1914-1915*. Elkin Mathews. Available at: https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B99I_Zen-cTSck5yZS1xVGJLNIE/view?resourcekey=0-TdAVur2gTtdplljOclLHCQ. [Accessed May 2022]. p. 22.

²⁹⁹ Jones, D. (1975; first published 1937). *In Parenthesis*. Faber & Faber. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.13580/mode/2up>. p. 19; p. 28; p. 34; p. 53; p. 65.

³⁰⁰ Kramer, A. (2007). *Dynamic of Destruction: Culture and Mass Killing in the First World War*. Oxford University Press. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/HUD/detail.action?pq-origsite=summon&docID=5746771>. p. 79; p. 35.

³⁰¹ Jones, D. (1975; first published 1937). *In Parenthesis*. Faber & Faber. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.13580/mode/2up>. p. xii-xiii. Schwartz, A. (2017). "Getting into History": The Great War and David Jones's Memory. *Religion & Literature*, 49(1), 71-81. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26571210>. p. 75. Dilworth, T. (1973). The Parenthetical Liturgy of David Jones. *University of Toronto Quarterly*, 42(3), 241-257. <https://doi.org/10.3138/utq.42.3.241>. p. 241; p. 256.

modernist literature. Examples such as David Jones demonstrate that not all modernist writers viewed their work as anti-war, despite the fact that their writings often portrayed war negatively. Ultimately, this points to the multifaceted nature of modernist literature and the motives of modernist writers in general – for instance, some would have been simply relaying their wartime experiences for personal reasons without intending to adhere to an anti-war agenda, which questions the present-day tendency to oversimplify war literature by only viewing it as disillusioned.

Additionally, it is useful to comment here that not all modernist works endorsed the idea of a futile war – as seen with Jones' *In Parenthesis* – therefore it cannot be assumed that literary modernism as a collective movement stood for the same ideas. The acceptance of the devastation caused by war did not always lead to a belief that it had been futile. Indeed, some modernists even embraced pro-war and right-wing sympathies, such as Yeats and Eliot.³⁰² This adds to the point above which emphasises the complex nature of modernism as it was not exclusively liberal in perspective.

The title *In Parenthesis* suggests separation from the normal world – or a break from tradition in modernist terms - which feature throughout the poem in the form of apocalyptic images. The fact that the poem took almost ten years to write – beginning in 1928 and being published in 1937 - also set it apart from typical war memoirs such as those by Sassoon and Graves, suggesting that Jones' experience in active service endured in his

³⁰² Craig, C. (1982). *Yeats, Eliot, Pound and the Politics of Poetry: Richest to the Richest*. Croom Helm. <https://archive.org/details/yeatseliotpoundp0000crai/mode/2up>. p. 2-5; p. 7-8.

memory long after the war ended, and his ideas about this may have been influenced by his post-war experiences.³⁰³

Furthermore, one of the enduring features of literary modernism was the act of questioning the war and its purpose from a female perspective. As *The Return of the Soldier* inquired: 'Why had modern life brought forth these horrors that make the old tragedies seem no more than nursery shows? Perhaps it is that adventurous men have too greatly changed the outward world which is life's engenderment.'³⁰⁴ Here, the seemingly senseless nature of war also implied a failure to return to pre-war standards because it overshadowed previous conflicts, marking a new phase of warfare which fed into contemporary culture. Perhaps this is also indicative of West's feminist views, hence her suggestion that 'adventurous men' were to blame for the war.³⁰⁵ It is worth noting that this association between the war and social issues probably stemmed from West's feminist sympathies, and possibly made the war seem like a positive bringer of change such as progress for women's rights.

A similar feeling of cynicism manifested in nurses' writings. Whilst the horror and trauma they experienced has been discussed in the first section of this chapter, now the outcome of these reactions may be explored. It is unsurprising that - having witnessed the depths of physical and emotional human pain which became commonplace on the battlefield - modernist writers such as Mary Borden grew bitter about the meaning of the war, reflecting

³⁰³ Schwartz, A. (2017). "Getting into History": The Great War and David Jones's Memory. *Religion & Literature*, 49(1), 71-81. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26571210>. p. 71.
Potts, G. (2017). Trench Traffic: David Jones's *In Parenthesis*. *The Critical Quarterly*, 58(4), 99-112. <https://doi.org/10.1111/criq.12308>. p. 110.

³⁰⁴ West, R. (2010; first published 1918). *The Return of the Soldier*. Virago Press. p. 45.

³⁰⁵ Glendinning, V. (1987). *Rebecca West: A Life*. Ballantine Books. <https://archive.org/details/rebeccawest00vict/mode/2up>. p. 38-39.

on the senselessness of sending men to war only for them to die.³⁰⁶ Likewise, Helen Zenna Smith addressed the futility of war by suggesting that war would repeat itself and that ‘we young ones doomed to live on without belief in anything human or divine again are the ones to be pitied’, emphasising the gap between young and old.³⁰⁷ This demonstrates the disconnection between the younger war generation and their parents. It may therefore be suggested that the traumatic experience of the war caused anxiety and dashed the hopes of young people about their futures which illustrates the modernist nature of the novel with the youth challenging the patriotic sentiments of their parents’ generation.

Conclusions: Contested Memories of the First World War

This final section of the chapter turns its attention to the examination of modernism in war literature. Here, the ‘continuity versus change’ debate is especially relevant as literary modernism actively fought with remembrance to become the dominant memory of the First World War. Ultimately, the trauma and losses sustained in the First World War triggered a negative way of remembering the event, in which modernism played a significant role.

Although modernism existed prior to the First World War, modernist literature provided an alternative way of processing and remembering the conflict that possibly aided in developing the modernist movement. As observed in the previous sections of this dissertation, commemorative practices often encapsulated traditional ideas of war as sacrificial glory whilst simultaneously being a tragedy. In contrast, modernism took ideas of

³⁰⁶ Borden, M. (1929). *The Forbidden Zone*. William Heinemann. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/forbiddenzone00bord/mode/2up>. p. 83; p. 117-118.

³⁰⁷ Smith, H. Z. (1989; first published 1930). *Not So Quiet: Stepdaughters of War*. The Feminist Press. p. 188-189; 90-96; p. 116-117.

tragedy and used them to paint the war as a needless slaughter that could have been avoided. This is just one example of how the more bleak and controversial aspects of the war were not properly addressed by mainstream commemoration, facing backlash from literary modernists.

However, it is important to consider the ‘truth’ of these modernist accounts. As the roots of literary modernism could be traced back to artistic circles, it makes sense to assume that they were not necessarily written for a wide public readership.³⁰⁸ Due to this, it is possible that many accounts served a more personal and private purpose such as helping to process trauma, perhaps best exemplified in the writings of nurses and soldiers. This may also help to dispute Fussell’s idea of ‘modern memory’; whereas there is no doubt that the war triggered a rise in modernist literature, the intended purpose and public influence of these works is debatable.³⁰⁹ Other academics hold a more well-rounded view that recognises the complex nature of modernism such as with Samuel Hynes’ idea that films about war which were intended for a mass audience, such as an adaptation of *All Quiet on the Western Front*, may have been more influential in pushing certain ideas of the conflict.³¹⁰ Ultimately, modernist literature – alongside the use of traditional motifs and other artistic mediums – reinforced an idea of the First World War that actively questioned how appropriate and durable mainstream commemorative practices were.

³⁰⁸ Ferrall, C. (1992). The *New Age* and the Emergence of Reactionary Modernism Before the Great War. *Modern Fiction Studies*, 38(3), 653-667. <https://doi.org/10.1353/mfs.0.0460>. p. 654.

³⁰⁹ Fussell, P. (2013). *The Great War and Modern Memory*. Oxford University Press. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/HUD/detail.action?pq-origsite=summon&docID=1183114>. p. xv; p. 25.

³¹⁰ Hynes, S. (1992). *A War Imagined: The First World War and English Culture*. Collier Books. <https://archive.org/details/warimaginedfirst0000hyne/mode/2up>. p. 447.

The disenchantment of the interwar years largely influenced the modernist stance in war literature, and it should be considered as playing an important role in the reasons for peoples' dissatisfaction and apprehension with contemporary commemoration. The modernist literary works that have been examined were the combined products of each author's wartime and interwar experiences. It is also important to remember that many of the predominantly modernist literary works examined in this chapter were created by those who had experienced the war first-hand, such as soldiers and field nurses. This supports the idea that the traumatic sights on the Western Front contributed to literary works that pondered the futility of war and fell into the category of 'modernism', building on a movement that predated the war but became more pronounced after 1914.³¹¹

³¹¹ Childs, P. (2017). *Modernism* (3rd ed.). Routledge.
<http://libaccess.hud.ac.uk/login?url=https://dx.doi.org/10.4324/9781315679679>. p. 65; p. 77.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this thesis has attempted to demonstrate how the experiences of trauma and loss in the First World War influenced and manifested in British cultural memory from 1915 to 1939. It has done so by exploring various research aims. Perhaps the most important aim was to investigate the nature of popular memory of the war, and it has been suggested that this manifested as two main types of memory that mostly differed from one another. In order to do this, the 'culture of commemoration' in Britain has been explored because it indicates the cultural meaning of remembrance and the limitations of commemorative practices.

Additionally, various research questions have been addressed alongside these aims. Perhaps the most important question stated in the introduction was: how did the resulting trauma and loss of the First World War influence the memory and commemoration of the conflict? It has been demonstrated that the trauma and loss of the war contributed to the formation of contested memories, aided by commemoration, which led to different ways of remembering the war. The main types of memory that have been identified here include the memory of the war as a glorious sacrifice or as an unnecessary tragedy. Other research questions included: how did the British public attempt to find meaning in the war? It has been indicated that people found meaning in the war through commemoration which highlighted the sacrifice undertaken by the war dead, but meaning was also found through literature which many used to process their own experiences of the war. Another question was: how did the traumatic memory of the war influence British popular culture? This can be closely linked to the first question, as it has been suggested that the traumatic memory of the war instigated a rise in commemorative practices as well as literary works – both

modernist and non-modernist – that questioned the war. The final research question asked: to what extent were wartime literary outputs influenced by a modernist drive to assert a break with the past? This study has indicated that modernist ideas influenced much of the literary output of the war and interwar years, hence the War Books Boom, and it has been found that modernist ideas about the war also featured in typically non-modernist works which implies that modernism became an increasingly popular artistic style at the time.

In order to successfully investigate the aims and research questions listed above, a broad range of source materials from 1915 to 1939 have been utilised which consists of literature – primarily novels and poetry – alongside war memorials and newspaper articles. This study does not closely examine other important cultural mediums from the chosen period, such as art, which arguably may have been useful however including more sources would have been beyond the scope of the level of detail required in this research. Despite this, the significance of art in the formation of contested memories has been briefly acknowledged with the Sandham Memorial Chapel.³¹² Ultimately, these sources have been carefully selected in order to adequately examine the contested memories of the First World War within the limits of the word count of this study.

Additionally, several branches of methodology have been employed in this work. The most significant of these includes cultural history, which has been required to examine collective and individual perspectives on commemoration and the war in general. Studies of memory have also been considered as they highlight the influence of trauma and loss in the construction of memories. Public history and material culture have also been used, in which

³¹² Sandham Memorial Chapel, Burghclere, Newbury, Hampshire. Historic England. Available at: <https://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/place/sandham-memorial-chapel>. [Accessed May 2022].

some sources can be categorised such as war memorials. This study has attempted to apply a combination of these approaches when addressing the research aims mentioned.

Summary of Chapters

In the first chapter of this research, the meaning and significance of trauma and loss in the First World War was explored. Firstly, it focused on the different types of trauma that were sustained, such as physical wounds in battle and mental trauma, as mentioned in written accounts by soldiers and nurses. A connection was made between physical and mental trauma, for example a shell wound had the potential to cause mental and emotional symptoms of shell-shock, and it was noted that loss could also be a traumatic experience. This often manifested as physical loss, for instance the loss of a limb or the loss of a loved one which was addressed in commemoration, and it could even be applied to the loss of the pre-war world. Overall, this chapter has demonstrated that trauma was often addressed in personal written accounts which portrayed the war as a destructive and disturbing event, in contrast to the soothing undertones of commemoration which catered to the bereaved by glorifying the dead. This is an introduction to the ways in which trauma and loss differed and helped to create contested memories of the war.

The second chapter focused on the role of spirituality, including religion, and the spiritualist movement in Britain during the war and the interwar years. It further explored the idea put forward in Chapter One that trauma and loss, particularly the deaths of people in war, fuelled commemorative practices such as memorials which fed into the soothing memory of the war. Finding that mainstream commemoration such as memorials often displayed comforting religious ideas such as heaven, as well as heroic sacrifice and glory in their

descriptions of the war dead, this aligned with Jay Winter's view that the war continued traditions.³¹³ It was also found that the spiritualist movement, which encompassed a different kind of spirituality to religion, similarly helped people to find comfort and meaning in the losses of the war. The circulation of spiritualist ideas in commemoration and literature, plus the rise of the spiritualist movement, during the war and interwar years also reflected the need to find a deeper significance in the trauma and losses of the war.

Similar to its predecessor, the third chapter concentrated on the reinforcement of traditional ideas in the memory of the war, which was often found in press accounts in the interwar years. Firstly, the national press was found to approve of the religious and medieval imagery in memorials which emphasised the triumph of war. Likewise, it was revealed that provincial newspapers endorsed the traditional aspects of commemoration, but they arguably had different motives of comforting the bereaved as they focused more on honouring the dead without glorifying war. Overall, this chapter revealed that both national and local newspaper articles largely approved of commemorative practices and values fuelled by the trauma and loss in the war which used traditional imagery to promote the idea of a sacrificial and patriotic war. The fact that these articles were so publicly accessible indicates that they had a considerable influence on the British population.

In contrast, the fourth and final chapter explored the backlash against commemorative practices and the soothing narrative they conveyed which was highlighted in previous chapters. Arguably the most significant chapter, it examined how the trauma and loss of the First World War contributed to a growth in modernist literature as people wrote to process

³¹³ Winter, J. (2014). *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*. Cambridge University Press. p. 5; p. 73.

and heal from their disturbing wartime experiences. Literary accounts by medical staff and soldiers on the Western Front as well as civilians - some of which were discussed in Chapter One - emphasised the futility and violence of the war. It explored the historiographical debate involving Paul Fussell and Jay Winter about whether the war created a 'modern memory' or continued traditional practices.³¹⁴ The chapter concluded that a 'modern memory' did become increasingly associated with the war in the form of literary modernism as people felt that traditional modes of expression were no longer adequate, however this movement pre-dated 1914. This chapter also demonstrated that some accounts were not strictly modernist as they also used traditional ideas such as apocalyptic imagery, and the same may be said for non-modernist accounts which used typically modernist techniques such as questioning the war. Therefore the existence and nature of contested memories are clear, and the complexities of such memories have been acknowledged.

Ultimately, the experiences of trauma and loss caused by the First World War fuelled a need for commemoration which used traditional language to provide comfort and enforce a positive perspective of the war. This was furthered by spiritual ideas and the spiritualist movement, for which newspapers frequently acted as a means of communication to the public; however backlash appeared in the form of literary modernism which was also triggered by the traumatic experiences of warfare.

³¹⁴ Fussell, P. (2013). *The Great War and Modern Memory*. Oxford University Press. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/HUD/detail.action?pq-origsite=summon&docID=1183114>. p. xv; p. 25. Winter, J. (2014). *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*. Cambridge University Press. p. 5; p. 73.

***Reflections on the Contested Memories of the First World War during its
Centenary Commemorations***

Overall, the contested memories of the war are still evident in the present day and they are reflected in commemorative practices as the meanings of trauma and loss are increasingly recognised. It is useful to revisit the idea put forth by Melissa Edmundson at the beginning of this study that refers to the difficulty of forgetting a traumatic experience, which can be linked to the fact that some people – specifically modernists – remembered the trauma of war in order to process it and move on.³¹⁵ As stated by Vamik D. Volkan: ‘Chosen traumas are recalled during the anniversary of the original event, and the ritualistic commemoration helps bind the members of the large group together’.³¹⁶ This highlights the clear association between trauma and commemoration as well as the significance of commemorative ceremonies and memorials within the national community.

This connection between trauma and the commemoration of the First World War was reflected in developments at the turn of the century with memorials such as the Shot At Dawn memorial in 2001, and the Animals In War memorial in 2004.³¹⁷ Bearing a different

³¹⁵ Edmundson, M. (2017). "The Cataclysm We All Remember": Haunting and Spectral Trauma in the First World War Stories of H. D. Everett. *Women's Writing*, 24(1), 53-65. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09699082.2016.1232502>. p. 61. See also: Leed, E. (2000). Fateful Memories: Industrialized War and Traumatic Neuroses. *Journal of Contemporary History*, 35(1), 85-100. <https://doi.org/10.1177/002200940003500108>. p. 89; p. 92.

³¹⁶ Volkan, V. D. (2001). Transgenerational Transmissions and Chosen Traumas: An Aspect of Large-Group Identity. *Group Analysis*, 34(1), 79-97. <https://doi.org/10.1177/05333160122077730>. p. 88.

³¹⁷ Shot At Dawn, Alrewas, Lichfield, Staffordshire. Staffordshire County Council. WMO ID: 78443. Available at: <https://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/item/memorial/46465>. [Accessed November 2022]. Animals In War, Mayfair, Westminster, Greater London. Westminster County Council. WMO ID: 72030. Available at: <https://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/item/memorial/53495>. [Accessed October 2021].

style to older memorials such as the Menin Gate which used traditional motifs, these modern memorials acknowledge the traumatic experiences of war without the religious language of glorification.³¹⁸ This suggests a shift in the memory of the war from the idea of an honourable sacrifice for one's country to a recognition of the harsh treatment of soldiers and animals and the losses faced. It also demonstrates how memorials are a unique product of their contemporary culture, reflecting the demands and values of the collective at that time.

Building on this shift in memory, historians such as Emma Hanna noted that British cultural memory began to change during its centenary from 2014 to 2018, for example with the 'No Glory' campaign which stressed that centenary commemorations should promote peace.³¹⁹ However, others such as Ann-Marie Einhaus reflected on the meanings of the war and its commemoration during the centenary, acknowledging the issue of contested memories of the war in teaching.³²⁰ Others have addressed the biases of public commemoration, for instance an article written by Maggie Andrews, Alison Fell, Lucy Noakes, and June Purvis

³¹⁸ Ypres (Menin Gate) Memorial, Ypres, West Flanders, Belgium. Commonwealth War Graves Commission. Available at: <https://www.cwgc.org/visit-us/find-cemeteries-memorials/cemetery-details/91800/ypres-menin-gate-memorial/>. [Accessed December 2021].

³¹⁹ Hanna, E. (2014). Contemporary Britain and the Memory of the First World War. *Materials for the History of Our Time*, 113-114 (1-2), 110-117. <https://doi.org/10.3917/mate.113.0110>. p. 110; p. 112. See also: Cornish, P. (2016). Imperial War Museums and the Centenary of the First World War. *Twentieth Century British History*, 27(4), 513-517. <https://doi.org/10.1093/tcbh/hww041>. p. 516.

³²⁰ Einhaus, A. M. (2016). Cultural Memory, Teaching and Contemporary Writing about the First World War. *Literature and History*, 25(2), 187-204. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0306197316668055>. p. 201.

claimed that there was selective representation of women in the centenary commemoration.³²¹

Ultimately, the position of the First World War within British cultural memory is complex and the way the war is remembered has been subject to change over the years.³²² This may be partly due to the fact that as time goes by, Britain departs further from the original war generation and the war itself; current society is perhaps not as familiar with the cultural impact and meanings of the war as they were experienced first-hand by those who lived through it. However, it is possible that an increasingly aware memory has emerged over the years since 1918. There is no doubt that the meaning of the First World War will continue to shift with further study, and the trauma and losses sustained from 1914 to 1918 will persist as a primary focus in future remembrance.

³²¹ Andrews, M., Fell, A., Noakes, L., & Purvis, J. (2018). Representing, Remembering and Rewriting Women's Histories of the First World War. *Women's History Review*, 27(4), 511-515. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09612025.2017.1292618>. p. 511.

³²² Winter, J. (2014). *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*. Cambridge University Press. p. 98. Andrews, M. (2019). Commemorating the First World War in Britain: A Cultural Legacy of Media Remembrance. *Journal of War and Culture Studies*, 12(3), 295-313. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17526272.2018.1544766>. p. 295. Heathorn, S. (2005). The Mnemonic Turn in the Cultural Historiography of Britain's Great War. *The Historical Journal*, 48(4), 1103-1124. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0018246X05004930>. p. 1113-1114.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Published Sources

- Ash, E. L. (1919). *The Problem of Nervous Breakdown*. Mills & Boon. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/39002010910744.med.yale.edu/mode/2up>.
- Bagnold, E. (1918). *A Diary Without Dates*. William Heinemann. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/diarywithoutdate00bagn/mode/2up>.
- Barbusse, H. (2014; first published 1916). *Under Fire*. Penguin Classics. Available at: https://archive.org/details/underfire0000barb_w1s7/mode/2up.
- Blunden, E. (1920). In Festubert. In *The Waggoner and Other Poems*. Sidgwick & Jackson. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/waggonerotherpoe00bluniala>. [Accessed May 2022].
- Blunden, E. (2000; first published 1928). *Undertones of War*. Penguin Classics. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/undertonesofwar0000blun/mode/2up>.
- Borden, M. (1929). *The Forbidden Zone*. William Heinemann. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/forbiddenzone00bord/mode/2up>.
- Brittain, V. (2014; first published 1933). *Testament of Youth*. Phoenix. Available at: https://archive.org/details/testamentofyouth0000brit_q4k8/mode/2up.
- Chesterton, G. K. (1922). For A War Memorial. In *The Ballad of St. Barbara, and Other Verses*. Cecil Palmer. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/ballad00chesuoft/mode/2up>. [Accessed May 2022].
- Churchill, W. S. (1923). *The World Crisis 1911-1914*. Thornton Butterworth. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.211095/mode/2up>.
- Doolittle, H. (1916). Sea Poppies. In *Sea Garden*. Constable & Company. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/seagarden00hdirich/mode/2up>. [Accessed May 2022].
- Doyle, A. C. (1926). *The History of Spiritualism: Volume II*. Cassell & Company. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.218497/mode/2up>.

- Eliot, T. S. (1922). *The Waste Land*. Boni & Liveright. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/wasteland01elio/mode/2up>. [Accessed May 2022].
- Everett, H. D. (1920). *The Death-Mask and Other Ghosts*. P. Allan. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/cu31924013456953/mode/2up>.
- Freud, S. (1957; first published 1917). Mourning and Melancholia. In Rickman, J. (Ed.), *A General Selection from the Works of Sigmund Freud* (pp. 124-140). Doubleday Anchor Books. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/generalselection00freu/mode/2up>.
- Graves, R. (1998; first published 1929). *Good-Bye to All That*. Anchor Books. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/goodbyetoallthat0000grav>.
- Hulme, T. E. (1915). Trenches, St Eloi. In Pound, E. (Ed.) *Catholic Anthology 1914-1915*. Elkin Mathews. Available at: https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B99l_Zen-cTSck5yZS1xVVGJLNIE/view?resourcekey=0-TdAVur2gTtdplljOclHCQ. [Accessed May 2022].
- Jones, D. (1975; first published 1937). *In Parenthesis*. Faber & Faber. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.13580/mode/2up>.
- Kipling, R. (1940; first published 1923). London Stone. In *Rudyard Kipling's Verse: Definitive Edition*. Hodder & Stoughton. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.59153/mode/2up>. [Accessed May 2022].
- La Motte, E. N. (1916). *The Backwash of War*. G. P. Putnam's Sons. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/backwashofwar00lamoiala/mode/2up>.
- Lloyd George, D. (1933). *War Memoirs of David Lloyd George*. Ivor Nicholson & Watson. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.172878/mode/2up>.
- Lodge, O. (1916). *Raymond, or Life and Death*. George H. Doran Company. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/raymondorlifedea00lodg/mode/2up>.
- Machen, A. (1915). *The Angels of Mons: The Bowmen and Other Legends of the War*. Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Company. <https://archive.org/details/angelsofmonsbowm00machuoft/mode/2up>.
- McCabe, J. (1920). *Spiritualism: A Popular History from 1847*. T. Fisher Unwin. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/Spiritualism/mode/2up>.
- Rathbone, I. (1988; first published 1932). *We That Were Young*. Virago Press. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/wethatwereyoung0000rath/mode/2up>.
- Remarque, E. M. (1929; first published 1928). *All Quiet on the Western Front*. Little, Brown & Company. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/allquietonwest00rema/mode/2up>.
- Sassoon, S. (1997; first published 1930). *Memoirs of an Infantry Officer*. Faber & Faber. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/memoirsofinfantr00sieg>.
- Sassoon, S. (1968; first published 1928). On Passing the New Menin Gate. In *Selected Poems*. Faber & Faber. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/selectedpoems0000sass>. [Accessed May 2022].

- Schauffler, R. H. (1920). *The White Comrade and Other Poems*. Houghton Mifflin Company.
<https://archive.org/details/whitecomrade00scharich/mode/2up>.
- Smith, H. Z. (1989; first published 1930). *Not So Quiet: Stepdaughters of War*. The Feminist Press.
- Spencer, S. (1945-7). Notebook, 1945-7. In Glew, A. (Ed.). (2001). *Stanley Spencer: Letters and Writings*. Tate Gallery Publishing.
<https://archive.org/details/stanleyspencerle0000spen/mode/2up>.
- West, R. (2010; first published 1918). *The Return of the Soldier*. Virago Press.
- Woolf, V. (2013; first published 1925). *Mrs. Dalloway*. Harper Press.
- Yeats, W. B. (1920). The Second Coming. In *Michael Robartes and the Dancer*. The Cuala Press. Available at:
<https://archive.org/details/robertes00wby/robertes00wby/mode/2up>. [Accessed May 2022].

Newspaper Articles

- Anonymous. (1928). Armistice Day. *The Times*, (45047), 15, Saturday 10th November 1928. Available at:
<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CS253697898/GDCS?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-GDCS&xid=e63c97df>. [Accessed October 2022].
- Anonymous. (1930). Armistice Day. *The Times*, (45668), 15, Wednesday 12th November 1930. Available at:
<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CS253043564/TTDA?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-TTDA&xid=82c66c13>. [Accessed November 2022].
- Anonymous. (1920). Armistice Day, 1920. *The Times*, (42566), 25-26, Friday 12th November 1920. Available at: <https://link-gale-com.libaccess.hud.ac.uk/apps/doc/CS419630956/TTDA?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-TTDA&xid=d0ed8e7b>. [Accessed February 2022].
- Anonymous. (1923). At the Cenotaph. *Hull Daily Mail*, (11891), 8, Monday 12th November 1923. Available at:
<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/GR3226116425/BNCN?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-BNCN&xid=9dca914b>. [Accessed November 2022].
- Anonymous. (1921). Crosses. *Exeter and Plymouth Gazette*, 149 (23368), 5, Monday 18th April 1921. Available at:
<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/GW3226477445/BNCN?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-BNCN&xid=ffefa984>. [Accessed February 2022].
- Anonymous. (1919). "Finding Ourselves" Again. *The Observer*, 12, Sunday 16th November 1919. Available at: <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/finding->

ourselves-again/docview/480722366/se-2?accountid=11526. [Accessed September 2022].

Anonymous. (1924). Fortune-Telling Charge. *The Times*, (43540), 7, Friday 4th January 1924. Available at:

<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CS118429220/TTDA?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-TTDA&xid=4b66b24b>. [Accessed November 2022].

Anonymous. (1919). In Memory. *Western Times*, (21857), 2, Saturday 26th July 1919.

Available at:

<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/GR3220996149/BNCN?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-BNCN&xid=35bcb1c5>. [Accessed February 2022].

Anonymous. (1920). Kingsbury Parish Church. *Tamworth Herald*, (2699), 7, Saturday 17th July 1920. Available at:

<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/EN3222757792/BNCN?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-BNCN&xid=7dd084a5>. [Accessed November 2022].

Anonymous. (1921). Lest We Forget. *Chelmsford Chronicle*, (8190), 3, Friday 2nd September 1921. Available at:

<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/EN3218093507/BNCN?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-BNCN&xid=40488aa5>. [Accessed October 2021].

Anonymous. (1920). Lewdown Memorial. *Western Times*, (22116), 10, Friday 28th May 1920. Available at:

<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/GR3221019224/BNCN?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-BNCN&xid=cc614fed>. [Accessed September 2022].

Anonymous. (1937). Medium Charged with Fraud. *The Times*, (47719), 13, Thursday 24th June 1937. Available at:

<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CS219361496/TTDA?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-TTDA&xid=86d37d67>. [Accessed November 2022].

Anonymous. (1920). Memorial to Fallen Heroes at Atherington. *North Devon Journal*, 96 (4999), 8, Thursday 27th May 1920. Available at:

<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/IG3225249644/BNCN?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-BNCN&xid=faf2b6c9>. [Accessed February 2022].

Anonymous. (1914). Mr. Yeats on Ghosts and Dreams. *The Times*, (40506), 13, Friday 24th April 1914. Available at:

<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CS218694296/TTDA?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-TTDA&xid=a38734d7>. [Accessed October 2022].

Anonymous. (1926). People Who Have Seen Ghosts: Modern Spiritualism: Results of Value to Science: Hypnotism and Telepathy. *The Manchester Guardian*, 6, Friday 17th December 1926. Available at: <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/people-who-have-seen-ghosts/docview/477314906/se-2?accountid=11526>. [Accessed November 2022].

Anonymous. (1936). Remembrance. *The Times*, (47530), 14, Thursday 12th November 1936. Available at:

<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CS235089772/TTDA?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-TTDA&xid=35256f80>. [Accessed November 2022].

Anonymous. (1931). Remembrance and Hope. *The Times*, (45977), 13, Wednesday 11th November 1931. Available at:

<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CS218441067/TTDA?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-TTDA&xid=d988cc06>. [Accessed February 2022].

Anonymous. (1921). Remembrance Not Oblivion: Seven Years After: The Great Hour: A Vindication and a Moral: "Work, Unity and Organisation": The Powers of Victory in Peace. *The Observer*, 8, Sunday 7th August 1921. Available at:

<https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/remembrance-not-oblivion/docview/480889681/se-2?accountid=11526>. [Accessed November 2022].

Anonymous. (1933). Sir Oliver Lodge and the Ether. *The Times*, (46478), 8, Friday 23rd June 1933. Available at:

<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CS135080151/TTDA?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-TTDA&xid=90cb13ef>. [Accessed November 2022].

Anonymous. (1919). Spiritualism. *The Times*, (42233), 13, Friday 17th October 1919. Available at: [https://link-gale-](https://link-gale-com.libaccess.hud.ac.uk/apps/doc/CS218697041/TTDA?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-TTDA&xid=e5d11da0)

[com.libaccess.hud.ac.uk/apps/doc/CS218697041/TTDA?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-TTDA&xid=e5d11da0](https://link-gale-com.libaccess.hud.ac.uk/apps/doc/CS218697041/TTDA?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-TTDA&xid=e5d11da0). [Accessed November 2022].

Anonymous. (1923). Spiritualism Danger. *Daily Mail*, (8352), 7, Friday 19th January 1923. Available at:

<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/EE1863080047/GDCS?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-GDCS&xid=84c3b065>. [Accessed November 2022].

Anonymous. (1928). The Chelmsford Cenotaph. *Chelmsford Chronicle*, (8570), 2, Friday 14th December 1928. Available at:

<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/EN3218202077/BNCN?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-BNCN&xid=191e3552>. [Accessed February 2022].

Anonymous. (1921). The Honoured Dead. *Western Times*, (22360), 4, Friday 11th March 1921. Available at:

<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/GR3221041104/BNCN?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-BNCN&xid=ed4eae0e>. [Accessed February 2022].

Anonymous. (1937). The Immortal Heritage: Graves of the War. *The Observer*, 18, Sunday 3rd October 1937. Available at: [https://www.proquest.com/historical-](https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/immortal-heritage/docview/481394667/se-2?accountid=11526)

[newspapers/immortal-heritage/docview/481394667/se-2?accountid=11526](https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/immortal-heritage/docview/481394667/se-2?accountid=11526). [Accessed November 2022].

Anonymous. (1922). "The Mistakes of Spiritualism". *Tamworth Herald*, (2797), 3, Saturday 3rd June 1922. Available at:

<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/EN3222764088/GDCS?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-GDCS&xid=36f91898>. [Accessed November 2022].

Anonymous. (1920). The Right Memorial. *The Observer*, 12, Sunday 18th July 1920. Available at: [https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/right-](https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/right-memorial/docview/480994013/se-2)

[memorial/docview/480994013/se-2](https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/right-memorial/docview/480994013/se-2). [Accessed September 2022].

- Anonymous. (1936). Trees of Remembrance at Woodham Walter. *Chelmsford Chronicle*, (8945), 5, Friday 21st February 1936. Available at: <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/EN3218224711/BNCN?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-BNCN&xid=31cdcd28>. [Accessed October 2021].
- Anonymous. (1938). Twenty Years After. *The Times*, (48149), 15, Friday 11th November 1938. Available at: <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CS252130155/TTDA?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-TTDA&xid=524f27f7>. [Accessed September 2022].
- Anonymous. (1926). War Memorial. *Exeter and Plymouth Gazette*, 154 (24939), 7, Friday 14th May 1926. Available at: <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/GW3226588869/BNCN?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-BNCN&xid=833034cc>. [Accessed September 2022].
- Bishop of Norwich. (1932). By the Bishop of Norwich. *Daily Mail*, (11273), 13, Saturday 11th June 1932. Available at: <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/EE1865616277/GDCS?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-GDCS&xid=3ed947bd>. [Accessed October 2022].
- Cook, S. A. (1931). The Unknown. *The Times*, (45977), 13, Wednesday 11th November 1931. Available at: <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CS219096427/TTDA?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-TTDA&xid=33e8a8bc>. [Accessed October 2022].
- Garvin, J. L. (1925). Seven Years After: Dedication Day: What Shall the War Mean? A Splendour of Memory. *The Observer*, 12, Sunday 8th November 1925. Available at: <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/seven-years-after/docview/481149733/se-2?accountid=11526>. [Accessed October 2022].
- Garvin, J. L. (1933). "They Live.": The Fifteenth Anniversary: Former Memories and New Thoughts: Some Truths Restored: Faith and Sacrifice. *The Observer*, 16, Sunday 12th November 1933. Available at: <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/they-live/docview/481391261/se-2?accountid=11526>. [Accessed September 2022].
- Glover, T. R. (1925). Armistice Day: Christian or Pagan?: "Not Levity, but Dedication". *The Observer*, 6, Sunday 25th October 1925. Available at: <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/armistice-day/docview/481020341/se-2?accountid=11526>. [Accessed November 2022].
- Haig, F. M. (1924). In Remembrance. *The Times*, (43806), 15, Tuesday 11th November 1924. Available at: <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CS252647275/TTDA?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-TTDA&xid=be84a3bd>. [Accessed February 2022].
- Holland, M. (1939). Armistice Day. *The Times*, (48454), 7, Saturday 4th November 1939. Available at: <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CS118306148/GDCS?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-GDCS&xid=785b51ec>. [Accessed October 2022].

- Housman, A. E. (1927). Armistice Day. *Daily Mail*, (9845), 10, Friday 11th November 1927. Available at: <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/EE1865404911/DMHA?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-DMHA&id=9314080d>. [Accessed September 2022].
- Image, S. (1925). Royal Artillery Memorial. *The Times*, (44099), 8, Thursday 22nd October 1925. Available at: <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CS134682966/TTDA?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-TTDA&id=adb31bbc>. [Accessed November 2022].
- Knox, M. G. (1925). Royal Artillery Memorial. *The Times*, (44097), 15, Tuesday 20th October 1925. Available at: <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CS253040980/TTDA?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-TTDA&id=ff585c07>. [Accessed November 2022].
- P. W. D. I. (1930). The Village Cross. *Daily Mail*, (10780), 12, Wednesday 12th November 1930. Available at: <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/EE1865438424/DMHA?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-DMHA&id=3e2dfb06>. [Accessed February 2022].
- T. A. (1920). War Graves: The Democracy of the Dead. *The Observer*, 7, Sunday 9th May 1920. Available at: <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/war-graves/docview/480752881/se-2?accountid=11526>. [Accessed September 2022].
- Uniacke, H. (1925). Royal Artillery Memorial. *The Times*, (44100), 15, Friday 23rd October 1925. Available at: <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CS252778839/TTDA?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-TTDA&id=5c64c34b>. [Accessed November 2022].
- Wilbraham Falgoner, W., M. L. R., & Norperian, R. (1920). The Unknown Warrior. *Daily Mail*, (7673), 6, Wednesday 10th November 1920. Available at: <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/EE1862836703/DMHA?u=hudduni&sid=bookmark-DMHA&id=07e3ca0f>. [Accessed February 2022].

Memorials

- Animals In War, Mayfair, Westminster, Greater London. Westminster County Council. 2004. WMO ID: 72030. Available at: <https://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/item/memorial/53495>. [Accessed October 2021].
- Balcombe Victory Hall – Frescoes, Balcombe, Mid Sussex, West Sussex. Victory Hall Management Committee. 1923. WMO ID: 208841. Available at: <https://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/item/memorial/16646>. [Accessed February 2022].
- Eccleshill, Eccleshill, Bradford. Bradford City Council. 1922. WMO ID: 199158. Available at: <https://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/item/memorial/28826>. [Accessed February 2022].

Edith Cavell, Charing Cross, Westminster, Greater London. Historic England. 1920. WMO ID: 112067. Available at: <https://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/item/memorial/11538>. [Accessed February 2022].

Greengates, Apperley Bridge and District, Greengates/Apperley Bridge, Bradford. Historic England. 1921. WMO ID: 95748. Available at: <https://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/item/memorial/28482>. [Accessed February 2022].

Mountain Ash Town and District, Mountain Ash, Mid Glamorgan, Wales. Cynon Valley Borough Council. 1922. WMO ID: 187630. Available at: <https://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/item/memorial/6777>.

Royal Artillery, Hyde Park, Westminster, Greater London. Historic England. 1925. WMO ID: 122319. Available at: <https://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/item/memorial/128>. [Accessed February 2022].

Sandham Memorial Chapel, Burghclere, Newbury, Hampshire. Historic England. 1926. Available at: <https://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/place/sandham-memorial-chapel>. [Accessed May 2022].

Shot At Dawn, Alrewas, Lichfield, Staffordshire. Staffordshire County Council. 2001. WMO ID: 78443. Available at: <https://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/item/memorial/46465>. [Accessed November 2022].

Steep Shrine – WW1, Steep, East Hampshire. Historic England. 1918. WMO ID: 84155. Available at: <https://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/item/memorial/40371>. [Accessed March 2022].

St John The Evangelist Church – Cross, Paddington, Westminster, Greater London. Historic England. WMO ID: 196194. Available at: <https://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/item/memorial/11598>. [Accessed March 2022].

St Mary The Virgin Church, Rye, Rother, East Sussex. Historic England. 1919. WMO ID: 106976. Available at: <https://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/item/memorial/16951>. [Accessed March 2022].

St. Peter and St. Paul's Church – Window, Great Bowden, Harborough, Leicestershire. Leicestershire County Council. Available at: <https://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/item/memorial/93532>. [Accessed February 2022].

The Cenotaph, Whitehall, Westminster, Greater London. Historic England. 1920. WMO ID: 122342. Available at: <https://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/item/memorial/104>. [Accessed December 2021].

Thiepval Memorial, Authuille, Somme. Commonwealth War Graves Commission. 1932. Available at: <https://www.cwgc.org/visit-us/find-cemeteries-memorials/cemetery-details/80800/thiepval-memorial/>. [Accessed February 2022].

Unknown Warrior, Dean's Yard, Westminster, Greater London. Westminster County Council. 1920. Available at: <https://www.westminster-abbey.org/abbey-commemorations/commemorations/unknown-warrior>. [Accessed December 2021].

Ypres (Menin Gate) Memorial, Ypres, West Flanders, Belgium. Commonwealth War Graves Commission. 1927. Available at: <https://www.cwgc.org/visit-us/find-cemeteries-memorials/cemetery-details/91800/ypres-menin-gate-memorial/>. [Accessed December 2021].

Photographs

Deane, A. E. (1931). *Deane Extras, Service of Remembrance Day, 1931: Fig. 37*. [Photograph]. In Warrick, F. W. (1939). *Experiments in Psychics: Practical Studies in Direct Writing, Supernormal Photography and Other Phenomena*. E. P. Dutton & Company. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/ExperimentsInPsychics/mode/2up>. [Accessed October 2022].

Secondary Sources

- Anderson, J. (2015). 'Jumpy Stump': Amputation and Trauma in the First World War. *First World War Studies*, 6(1), 9-19. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19475020.2015.1016581>.
- Andrews, M. (2019). Commemorating the First World War in Britain: A Cultural Legacy of Media Remembrance. *Journal of War and Culture Studies*, 12(3), 295-313. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17526272.2018.1544766>.
- Andrews, M. (2016). Tropes and Trench Cakes: The Home Front in the Media and Community History. *Twentieth Century British History*, 27(4), 506-512. <https://doi.org/10.1093/tcbh/hww049>.
- Andrews, M., Fell, A., Noakes, L., & Purvis, J. (2018). Representing, Remembering and Rewriting Women's Histories of the First World War. *Women's History Review*, 27(4), 511-515. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09612025.2017.1292618>.
- Arcangeli, A. (2013). *Cultural History: A Concise Introduction*. Taylor & Francis. <http://libaccess.hud.ac.uk/login?url=https://dx.doi.org/10.4324/9780203789247>.
- Assmann, A. (2008). Transformations between History and Memory. *Social Research*, 75(1), 49-72. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40972052>.
- Becker, A. (2015). The Great War: World War, Total War. *International Review of the Red Cross*, 97(900), 1029-1045. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1816383116000382>.
- Biernoff, S. (2011). The Rhetoric of Disfigurement in First World War Britain. *Social History of Medicine*, 24(3), 666-685. <https://doi.org/10.1093/shm/hkq095>.
- Bingham, A. (2012). Reading Newspapers: Cultural Histories of the Popular Press in Modern Britain. *History Compass*, 10(2), 140-150. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1478-0542.2011.00828.x>.
- Bingham, A., & Conboy, M. (2015). *Tabloid Century: The Popular Press in Britain, 1896 to the Present*. Peter Lang Oxford. <https://doi.org/10.3726/978-3-0353-0700-9>.
- Black, J. (2010). Manifold Instruments of Carnage: Images of Weapons Technology and Imaginings of World War I Combat in Charles Sergeant Jagger's Royal Artillery Memorial, London (192125). *Journal of War and Culture Studies*, 3(2), 161-179. https://doi.org/10.1386/jwcs.3.2.161_1.
- Bourke, J. (2016). Love and Limblessness: Male Heterosexuality, Disability, and the Great War. *Journal of War and Culture Studies*, 9(1), 3-19. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17526272.2015.1106756>.
- Boyle, E. H. L. (2019). 'An Uglier Duckling than Before': Reclaiming Agency and Visibility amongst Facially-Wounded Ex-Servicemen in Britain after the First World War. *Alter*, 13(4), 308-322. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.alter.2019.08.003>.

- Braybon, G., & Summerfield, P. (2013). *Out of the Cage: Women's Experiences in Two World Wars*. Routledge.
<http://libaccess.hud.ac.uk/login?url=https://dx.doi.org/10.4324/9780203103968>.
- Buitenhuis, P. (1987). *The Great War of Words: British, American, and Canadian Propaganda and Fiction, 1914-1933*. University of British Columbia Press.
<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/hud/detail.action?docID=3412452>.
- Burke, P. (2008). *What is Cultural History?* (2nd ed.). Polity.
<https://archive.org/details/whatisculturalhi0000burk/mode/2up>.
- Byrne, G. (2010). *Modern Spiritualism and the Church of England, 1850-1939*. The Boydell Press. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7722/j.ctt163tb0c>.
- Craig, C. (1982). *Yeats, Eliot, Pound and the Politics of Poetry: Richest to the Richest*. Croom Helm. <https://archive.org/details/yeatseliotpoundp0000crai/mode/2up>.
- Callison, J., Fiddes, P. S., Johnson, A., & Tanning, E. (2018). *David Jones: A Christian Modernist? New Approaches to His Art, Poetry and Cultural Theory*. BRILL.
<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/hud/detail.action?docID=5124249>.
- Carden-Coyne, A. (2014). *The Politics of Wounds: Military Patients and Medical Power in the First World War*. Oxford University Press.
https://hud.alma.exlibrisgroup.com/discovery/openurl?institution=44HUD_INST&rfr_id=info:sid%2Fsummon&rft_dat=ie%3D5192908470004221,language%3DEN&svc_dat=CTO&u.ignore_date_coverage=true&vid=44HUD_INST:Services.
- Childs, P. (2017). *Modernism* (3rd ed.). Routledge.
<http://libaccess.hud.ac.uk/login?url=https://dx.doi.org/10.4324/9781315679679>.
- Clark, A. (1991). *The Donkeys*. Pimlico.
<https://archive.org/details/donkeys0000clar/mode/2up>.
- Clarke, D. (2002). Rumours of Angels: A Legend of the First World War. *Folklore*, 113(2), 151-173. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0015587022000015293>.
- Cocks, H. (2014). Modernity and Modernism. In F. Carnevali, & J. M. Strange (Eds.), *Twentieth-Century Britain: Economic, Cultural and Social Change* (2nd ed., pp. 26-41). Routledge. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/HUD/detail.action?pq-origsite=summon&docID=1710693>.
- Cornish, P. (2016). Imperial War Museums and the Centenary of the First World War. *Twentieth Century British History*, 27(4), 513-517.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/tcbh/hww041>.
- Damousi, J. (2017). Gender and Mourning. In S. R. Grayzel, & T. M. Proctor (Eds.), *Gender and the Great War* (pp. 211-229). Oxford University Press.
<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/hud/detail.action?docID=4874459>.
- Das, S. (2005). *Touch and Intimacy in First World War Literature*. Cambridge University Press. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/hud/detail.action?docID=1644650>.

- Davies, O. (2018). *A Supernatural War: Magic, Divination, and Faith during the First World War*. Oxford University Press.
- De Groot, J. (2016). *Consuming History: Historians and Heritage in Contemporary Popular Culture* (2nd ed.). Routledge.
<http://libaccess.hud.ac.uk/login?url=https://dx.doi.org/10.4324/9781315640754>.
- Dilworth, T. (1973). The Parenthetical Liturgy of David Jones. *University of Toronto Quarterly*, 42(3), 241-257. <https://doi.org/10.3138/utq.42.3.241>.
- Edmundson, M. (2017). "The Cataclysm We All Remember": Haunting and Spectral Trauma in the First World War Stories of H. D. Everett. *Women's Writing*, 24(1), 53-65.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/09699082.2016.1232502>.
- Einhaus, A. M. (2016). Cultural Memory, Teaching and Contemporary Writing about the First World War. *Literature and History*, 25(2), 187-204.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0306197316668055>.
- Eksteins, M. (2000). *Rites of Spring: The Great War and the Birth of the Modern Age*. Mariner Books. https://archive.org/details/ritesofspringre0000ekst_p5p9/mode/2up.
- Ferrall, C. (1992). The *New Age* and the Emergence of Reactionary Modernism Before the Great War. *Modern Fiction Studies*, 38(3), 653-667.
<https://doi.org/10.1353/mfs.0.0460>.
- Field, C. (2014). Keeping the Spiritual Home Fires Burning: Religious Belonging in Britain during the First World War. *War & Society*, 33(4), 244-268.
<https://doi.org/10.1179/0729247314Z.00000000041>.
- Frantzen, A. J. (2004). *Bloody Good: Chivalry, Sacrifice, and the Great War*. University of Chicago Press. <https://archive.org/details/bloodygoodchival0000fran>.
- Frayn, A. (2014). *Writing Disenchantment: British First World War Prose, 1914-30*. Manchester University Press.
<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/HUD/detail.action?pq-origsite=summon&docID=4704968>.
- Freedman, A. (2002). Mary Borden's Forbidden Zone: Women's Writing from No-Man's-Land. *Modernism/Modernity*, 9(1), 109-124. <https://doi.org/10.1353/mod.2002.0006>.
- Fussell, P. (2013). *The Great War and Modern Memory*. Oxford University Press.
<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/HUD/detail.action?pq-origsite=summon&docID=1183114>.
- Gilbert, S. M. (1999). "Rats' Alley": The Great War, Modernism, and the (Anti) Pastoral Elegy. *New Literary History*, 30(1), 179-201. <https://doi.org/10.1353/nlh.1999.0007>.
- Glassberg, D. (1996). Public History and the Study of Memory. *The Public Historian*, 18(2), 7-23. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3377910>.
- Glendinning, V. (1987). *Rebecca West: A Life*. Ballantine Books.
<https://archive.org/details/rebeccawest00vict/mode/2up>.

- Goebel, S. (2009). *The Great War and Medieval Memory: War, Remembrance and Medievalism in Britain and Germany, 1914-1940*. Cambridge University Press.
<https://archive.org/details/greatwarmedieval0000goeb>.
- Grassby, R. (2005). Material Culture and Cultural History. *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 35(4), 591-603. <https://doi.org/10.1162/0022195043327426>.
- Gregory, A. (1994). *The Silence of Memory: Armistice Day, 1919-1946*. Bloomsbury.
<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/HUD/detail.action?pq-origsite=summon&docID=1609910>.
- Grele, R. J. (1981). Whose Public? Whose History? What Is the Goal of a Public Historian? *The Public Historian*, 3(1), 40-48. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3377160>.
- Grogan, S. (2014). *Shell Shocked Britain: The First World War's Legacy for Britain's Mental Health*. Pen & Sword History.
<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/hud/detail.action?docID=1832005>.
- Halbwachs, M. (1980). *The Collective Memory*. Harper & Row.
<https://archive.org/details/collectivememory00halb/mode/2up>.
- Handley, S., McWilliam, R., & Noakes, L. (Eds.). (2018). *New Directions in Social and Cultural History*. Bloomsbury Academic.
<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/HUD/detail.action?pq-origsite=summon&docID=5287416>.
- Hanna, E. (2014). Contemporary Britain and the Memory of the First World War. *Materials for the History of Our Time*, 113-114 (1-2), 110-117.
<https://doi.org/10.3917/mate.113.0110>.
- Harrington, P. (2011). Religious and Spiritual Themes in British Academic Art during the Great War. *First World War Studies*, 2(2), 145-164.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/19475020.2011.613242>.
- Hazelgrove, J. (1999). Spiritualism after the Great War. *Twentieth Century British History*, 10(4), 404-430. <https://doi.org/10.1093/tcbh/10.4.404>.
- Heathorn, S. (2005). The Mnemonic Turn in the Cultural Historiography of Britain's Great War. *The Historical Journal*, 48(4), 1103-1124.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0018246X05004930>.
- Hennessey, O. (2014). *Yeats, Shakespeare, and Irish Cultural Nationalism*. Fairleigh Dickinson University Press.
<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/hud/detail.action?docID=1864055>.
- Higonnet, M. (2002). Authenticity and Art in Trauma Narratives of World War I. *Modernism/Modernity*, 9(1), 91-107. <https://doi.org/10.1353/mod.2002.0009>.
- Hobson, S. (2015). Christian Prehistories of Literary Modernism in G.K. Chesterton and Allen Upward. In E. Tønning, M. Feldman, & D. Addyman (Eds.), *Modernism, Christianity and Apocalypse* (pp. 67-79). BRILL.
<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/HUD/detail.action?docID=1840856>.

- Holmes, R. (2005). *Tommy: The British Soldier on the Western Front 1914-1918*. Harper Perennial.
- Horne, J. (2019). End of a Paradigm? The Cultural History of the Great War. *Past & Present*, 242(1), 155-192. <https://doi.org/10.1093/pastj/gty039>.
- Hynes, S. (1992). *A War Imagined: The First World War and English Culture*. Collier Books. <https://archive.org/details/warimaginedfirst0000hyne/mode/2up>.
- Isherwood, I. (2018). British Memoirs and Memories of the Great War. In P. Dwyer (Ed.), *War Stories: The War Memoir in History and Literature* (pp. 94-110). Berghahn Books. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvswx6zd>.
- Johnson, G. M. (2015). *Mourning and Mysticism in First World War Literature and Beyond: Grappling with Ghosts*. Palgrave Macmillan. <https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137332035>.
- Jones, E., & Wessely, S. (2014). Battle for the Mind: World War 1 and the Birth of Military Psychiatry. *The Lancet*, 384(9955), 1708-1714. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(14\)61260-5](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(14)61260-5).
- Jordanova, L. (2000). *History in Practice*. Arnold. <https://archive.org/details/historyinpractic0000jord>.
- Jowett, G., & O'Donnell, V. (2012). *Propaganda and Persuasion* (5th ed.). SAGE Publications. https://archive.org/details/propagandapersua0000jowe_m3v7/mode/2up.
- Kaplan, L. (2004). Deformities of the Great War: The Narratives of Mary Borden and Helen Zenna Smith. *Women and Language*, 27(2), 35-43. <https://www-proquest-com.libaccess.hud.ac.uk/docview/198814368?pq-origsite=summon>.
- Kasabova, A. (2008). Memory, Memorials, and Commemoration. *History and Theory*, 47(3), 331-350. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2303.2008.00458.x>.
- Keown, B. E. (2018). 'I Think I Was More Pleased to See Her Than Any One 'Cos She's So Fine': Nurses' Friendships, Trauma, and Resiliency during the First World War. *Family & Community History*, 21(3), 151-165. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14631180.2018.1555955>.
- King, A. (1998). *Memorials of the Great War in Britain: The Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance*. Bloomsbury Academic. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/hud/detail.action?docID=1609928>.
- Kramer, A. (2007). *Dynamic of Destruction: Culture and Mass Killing in the First World War*. Oxford University Press. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/HUD/detail.action?pq-origsite=summon&docID=5746771>.
- Lawrence, J. (2003). Forging a Peaceable Kingdom: War, Violence, and Fear of Brutalization in Post-First World War Britain. *The Journal of Modern History*, 75(3), 557-589. <https://doi.org/10.1086/380238>.
- Leed, E. (2000). Fateful Memories: Industrialized War and Traumatic Neuroses. *Journal of Contemporary History*, 35(1), 85-100. <https://doi.org/10.1177/002200940003500108>.

- Levenson, M. H. (2011). *Modernism*. Yale University Press.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt5vkzjf>.
- Liddell Hart, B. H. (2014). *A History of the First World War*. Pan Books.
https://archive.org/details/historyoffirstwo0000lidd_p9q5/mode/2up.
- Loughran, T. (2012). Shell Shock, Trauma, and the First World War: The Making of a Diagnosis and Its Histories. *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 67(1), 94-119. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jhmas/jrq052>.
- Macleod, J., & Inall, Y. (2020). A Century of Armistice Day: Memorialisation in the Wake of the First World War. *Mortality*, 25(1), 48-68.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13576275.2019.1611752>.
- Marcus, J. (1989). Afterword: Corpus/Corps/Corpse: Writing the Body in/at War. In Smith, H. Z., *Not So Quiet: Stepdaughters of War*. The Feminist Press.
- McClellan, A. K. (2016). "I Was My War; My War Was I": Vera Brittain, Autobiography and University Fiction during the Great War. *Paedagogica Historica*, 52(1-2), 121-136.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/00309230.2015.1133676>.
- Monger, D. (2012). *Patriotism and Propaganda in First World War Britain: The National War Aims Committee and Civilian Morale*. Liverpool University Press. <https://www-jstor-org.libaccess.hud.ac.uk/stable/j.ctt18kr72m>.
- Mosse, G. (1990). *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars*. Oxford University Press. https://archive.org/details/fallensoldiers00geor_0/mode/2up.
- Murdoch, B. (2006). *The Novels of Erich Maria Remarque: Sparks of Life*. Camden House.
<https://doi.org/10.7722/j.ctt7zsv53>.
- Mycock, A. (2014). The First World War Centenary in the UK: 'A Truly National Commemoration'? *The Round Table*, 103(2), 153-163.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/00358533.2014.898489>.
- Nicolson, J. (2009). *The Great Silence: Britain from the Shadow of the First World War to the Dawn of the Jazz Age*. John Murray.
https://archive.org/details/greatsilence19180000nico_v8s9/mode/2up.
- Noakes, L. (2018). 'My Husband is Interested in War Generally': Gender, Family History and the Emotional Legacies of Total War. *Women's History Review*, 27(4), 610-626.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/09612025.2017.1292634>.
- Nora, P. (1989). Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire. *Representations*, (26), 7-24. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2928520>.
- O'Toole, P., & Were, P. (2008). Observing Places: Using Space and Material Culture in Qualitative Research. *Qualitative Research*, 8(5), 621-639.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1468794108093899>.
- Pearce, C., & Durham, H. (2015). Patterns of Dissent in Britain during the First World War. *War & Society*, 34(2), 140-159.
<https://doi.org/10.1179/0729247314Z.00000000052>.

- Potts, G. (2017). Trench Traffic: David Jones's *In Parenthesis*. *The Critical Quarterly*, 58(4), 99-112. <https://doi.org/10.1111/criq.12308>.
- Prown, J. D. (1982). Mind in Matter: An Introduction to Material Culture Theory and Method. *Winterthur Portfolio*, 17(1), 1-19. <https://doi.org/10.1086/496065>.
- Pugh, M. (2017). *State and Society: A Social and Political History of Britain since 1870* (5th ed.). Bloomsbury Academic.
- Pulsifer, R. (2013). Reading Kitty's Trauma in Rebecca West's *The Return of the Soldier*. *Studies in the Novel*, 45(1), 37-55. <https://doi.org/10.1353/sdn.2013.0005>.
- Ramos Pinto, P., & Taithe, B. (2015). Doing History in Public? Historians in the Age of Impact. In P. Ramos Pinto, & B. Taithe (Eds.), *The Impact of History?: Histories and the Beginning of the 21st Century* (pp. 1-20). Routledge. <http://libaccess.hud.ac.uk/login?url=https://dx.doi.org/10.4324/9781315726533>.
- Rapport, N. (2016). *Distortion and Love: An Anthropological Reading of the Art and Life of Stanley Spencer*. Ashgate Publishing. <http://libaccess.hud.ac.uk/login?url=https://dx.doi.org/10.4324/9781315562759>.
- Reid, F. (2014). 'His Nerves Gave Way': Shell Shock, History and the Memory of the First World War in Britain. *Endeavour*, 38(2), 91-100. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.endeavour.2014.05.002>.
- Reid, F. (2016). "My Friends Looked at Me in Horror": Idealizations of Wounded Men in the First World War. *Peace & Change*, 41(1), 64-77. <https://doi.org/10.1111/pech.12173>.
- Rigney, A. (2018). Remembrance as Remaking: Memories of the Nation Revisited. *Nations and Nationalism*, 24(2), 240-257. <https://doi.org/10.1111/nana.12388>.
- Robinett, J. (2007). The Narrative Shape of Traumatic Experience. *Literature & Medicine*, 26(2), 290-311. <https://doi.org/10.1353/lm.0.0003>.
- Roper, M. (2011). Nostalgia as an Emotional Experience in the Great War. *The Historical Journal*, 54(2), 421-451. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0018246X11000082>.
- Rosenfeld, G. D. (2009). A Looming Crash or a Soft Landing? Forecasting the Future of the Memory "Industry". *The Journal of Modern History*, 81(1), 122-158. <https://doi.org/10.1086/593157>.
- Schwartz, A. (2017). "Getting into History": The Great War and David Jones's Memory. *Religion & Literature*, 49(1), 71-81. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26571210>.
- Sheffield, G. (2014). *Forgotten Victory: The First World War: Myths and Realities*. Endeavour Press. <https://b-ok.cc/book/5096559/c4d72e>.
- Sherry, V. B. (2003). *The Great War and the Language of Modernism*. Oxford University Press. <http://libaccess.hud.ac.uk/login?url=https://dx.doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195178180.001.0001>.

- Smith, A. K. (2000). *The Second Battlefield: Women, Modernism and the First World War*. Manchester University Press.
<https://archive.org/details/secondbattlefiel0000smit/mode/2up>.
- Spiers, E. M. (2015). The British Centennial Commemoration of the First World War. *Comillas Journal of International Relations*, (2), 73-85.
<https://doi.org/10.14422/cir.i02.y2015.006>.
- Sproule, J. M. (1994). *Channels of Propaganda*. EDINFO Press; ERIC Clearinghouse.
<https://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED372461>.
- Stephens, J. (2009). 'The Ghosts of Menin Gate': Art, Architecture and Commemoration. *Journal of Contemporary History*, 44(1), 7-26.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0022009408098644>.
- Tate, T. (2013). *Modernism, History and the First World War* (2nd ed.). Humanities-Ebooks.
<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/HUD/detail.action?docID=3306137&pq-origsite=summon>.
- Tearle, O. (2013). *T. E. Hulme and Modernism*. Bloomsbury Academic.
<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/hud/detail.action?docID=1334468>.
- Terraine, J. (2002). *Mons: The Retreat to Victory*. Wordsworth Editions.
<https://archive.org/details/monsretreattovic0000terr/mode/2up>.
- Thompson, J. L. (1999). *Politicians, the Press, and Propaganda: Lord Northcliffe and the Great War, 1914-1919*. Kent State University Press.
<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/HUD/detail.action?pq-origsite=summon&docID=3120128>.
- Todman, D. (2013). *The Great War: Myth and Memory*. Bloomsbury Academic.
<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/hud/detail.action?docID=5327563>.
- Tonning, E., Feldman, M., & Addyman, D. (Eds.). (2015). *Modernism, Christianity and Apocalypse*. BRILL. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/HUD/detail.action?pq-origsite=summon&docID=1840856>.
- Tosh, J. (2015). *The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methods and New Directions in the Study of History* (6th ed.). Routledge.
- Tradii, L. (2019). 'Their Dear Remains Belong to Us Alone': Soldiers' Bodies, Commemoration, and Cultural Responses to Exhumations after the Great War. *First World War Studies*, 10(2-3), 245-261.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/19475020.2020.1779777>.
- Tuathaigh, G. Ó. (2014). Commemoration, Public History and the Professional Historian: An Irish Perspective. *Estudios Irlandeses*, 9(9), 137-145. <https://doi.org/10.24162/EI2014-4028>.
- Volkan, V. D. (2001). Transgenerational Transmissions and Chosen Traumas: An Aspect of Large-Group Identity. *Group Analysis*, 34(1), 79-97.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/05333160122077730>.

- Williams, K. (2009). *Read All About It!: A History of the British Newspaper*. Routledge.
<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/hud/detail.action?docID=452326>.
- Winter, J. M. (1977). Britain's 'Lost Generation' of the First World War. *Population Studies*, 31(3), 449-466. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2173368?origin=JSTOR-pdf>.
- Winter, J. (2014). *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*. Cambridge University Press.
- Zollmann, F. (2017). *Media, Propaganda and the Politics of Intervention*. Peter Lang.
<https://doi.org/10.3726/b11346>.