



# The Palgrave Handbook of Artistic and Cultural Responses to War since 1914

The British Isles, the United States and  
Australasia

*Edited by* Martin Kerby  
Margaret Baguley · Janet McDonald

palgrave  
macmillan

The Palgrave Handbook of Artistic and Cultural  
Responses to War since 1914

Martin Kerby • Margaret Baguley  
Janet McDonald  
Editors

The Palgrave  
Handbook of Artistic  
and Cultural Responses  
to War since 1914

The British Isles, the United States and Australasia

palgrave  
macmillan

*Editors*

Martin Kerby  
University of Southern Queensland  
Toowoomba, QLD, Australia

Margaret Baguley  
University of Southern Queensland  
Toowoomba, QLD, Australia

Janet McDonald  
University of Southern Queensland  
Toowoomba, QLD, Australia

ISBN 978-3-319-96985-5      ISBN 978-3-319-96986-2 (eBook)  
<https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-96986-2>

Library of Congress Control Number: 2018960999

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s) 2019

This work is subject to copyright. All rights are solely and exclusively licensed by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed.

The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use.

The publisher, the authors and the editors are safe to assume that the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication. Neither the publisher nor the authors or the editors give a warranty, express or implied, with respect to the material contained herein or for any errors or omissions that may have been made. The publisher remains neutral with regard to jurisdictional claims in published maps and institutional affiliations.

Cover illustration: C.R.W Nevinson's 'A Dawn, 1914' © Tristan Fewings / Springer

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by the registered company Springer Nature Switzerland AG

The registered company address is: Gewerbestrasse 11, 6330 Cham, Switzerland

*Dedicated to the Men of the 25th Battalion  
The Darling Downs Regiment  
Vestigia Nulla Retrorsum  
(Never a Backward Step)*

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We are very grateful to the following individuals and groups whose support and encouragement have been invaluable in the writing of this book:

- the participants in the various research projects reported in this book, in addition to their respective organisations;
- our fellow authors and researchers in the various chapters from so many different countries and also the ‘gatekeepers’ who have enabled the various research projects to take place;
- the various ethics committees who approved the research projects;
- the people who transcribed the numerous recorded interviews embedded within various chapters;
- other researchers and artists and writers who have inspired us;
- the reviewers who have undertaken double-blind peer reviews of each chapter and their invaluable feedback to the authors and editors;
- the anonymous reviewers of the original book proposal;
- Emily Russell, the History Publisher at Palgrave Macmillan, who has supported and encouraged us throughout this project; Eleanor Christie, the Commissioning Editor for Education, who discussed the initial proposal with us and provided invaluable feedback; and Carmel Kennedy, the Assistant Editor for History at Palgrave Macmillan, who has always responded promptly to our numerous queries and provided useful feedback throughout and their wonderful commitment to high-quality and scholarly publishing;
- to the designers, copyeditors, and typesetters whose work is exemplary;
- colleagues in our respective workplaces;
- the University of Southern Queensland for their invaluable support for this project, and particularly our respective Heads of School; and
- our families and friends for their patience, loyalty, understanding, and unflinching support as we brought this book to fruition.

# CONTENTS

<b>1 Introduction: Artistic and Cultural Responses to War</b>	<b>1</b>
Martin Kerby, Margaret Baguley, and Janet McDonald	
<b>Part I Loss, Grief and Resilience</b>	<b>21</b>
<b>2 No Agency: Iraq and Afghanistan at War—The Perspective of Commissioned War Artists</b>	<b>23</b>
Charles Green and Lyndell Brown	
<b>3 Megan Leavey and the Popular Visual Culture of the War-on-Terror</b>	<b>45</b>
Paul Duncum	
<b>4 Tommy Talk: War Hospital Magazines and the Literature of Resilience and Healing</b>	<b>63</b>
Alice Brumby	
<b>5 Wirral and the Great War</b>	<b>81</b>
Stephen Roberts	
<b>6 Touring the Battlefields of the Somme with the Michelin and Somme Tourisme Guidebooks</b>	<b>99</b>
Caroline Winter	
<b>7 <i>Pro patria mori</i>: A Memorial in Music</b>	<b>117</b>
Phillip Gearing	

<b>8</b>	<b>The Stamps-Baxter GI School of Music</b>	131
	Jeannette Fresne	
<b>9</b>	<b>Witnesses to Death: Soldiers on the Western Front</b>	147
	Natasha Silk	
<b>10</b>	<b>The Soldier as Artist: Memories of War</b>	163
	Michael Armstrong	
<b>11</b>	<b>Icons of Horror: Three Enduring Images from the Vietnam War</b>	181
	John M. Harris	
	<b>Part II Identity</b>	199
<b>12</b>	<b>The Weather in Our Souls: Curating a National Collection of Second World War Art at the Imperial War Museum</b>	201
	Claire Brenard	
<b>13</b>	<b>Write Propaganda, Shut Up or Fight: Philip Gibbs and the Western Front</b>	219
	Martin Kerby, Margaret Baguley, and Abbey MacDonald	
<b>14</b>	<b>A War on Two Fronts: British Morale, Cinema and Total War, 1914–1958</b>	237
	Gerard Oram	
<b>15</b>	<b>(Re)Writing the Second World War: United States, Russian and German National History Textbooks in the Immediate Aftermath of 1989</b>	255
	Susan Santoli	
<b>16</b>	<b>They Wandered Far and Wide: The Scottish Soldier in the Australian Imperial Force</b>	275
	Fraser Brown	
<b>17</b>	<b>Scottish War Resisters and Conscientious Objectors, 1914–1919</b>	291
	William Kenefick	



<b>18</b>	<b>Australian Not by Blood, but by Character: Soldiers and Refugees in Australian Children’s Picture Books</b>	<b>309</b>
	Martin Kerby, Margaret Baguley, Nathan Lowien, and Kay Ayre	
<b>Part III Commemoration</b>		<b>327</b>
<b>19</b>	<b>War Began in Nineteen Sixty-Three: Poetic Responses to the 50th Anniversary</b>	<b>329</b>
	Martin Malone	
<b>20</b>	<b>“Heroes and Their Consequences”: 9/11, the War on Terror, and the Marvel Cinematic Universe</b>	<b>347</b>
	Inga Meier	
<b>21</b>	<b>‘Re-membling’ the Past: Eyewitness and Post-battle Artistic Accounts of the Falklands War</b>	<b>371</b>
	Paul Gough	
<b>22</b>	<b>The Imagined Memorial Gallery: Britain’s Aspiration to Commemorate the Great War Through Art</b>	<b>391</b>
	Alexandra Walton	
<b>23</b>	<b>Rectifying an Old Injustice: The Korean War Veterans Memorial in Washington, DC</b>	<b>407</b>
	Christine Knauer	
<b>24</b>	<b>Lest They Forget: Exploring Commemoration and Remembrance Through Games and Digital Technologies</b>	<b>427</b>
	Iain Donald	
<b>25</b>	<b>Combat Cinematography: Interpreting the Cinematographic Form of Combat Realism</b>	<b>447</b>
	Daniel Maddock	
<b>26</b>	<b>Conflict and Compromise: Australia’s Official War Artists and the “War on Terror”</b>	<b>467</b>
	Kit Messham-Muir	

<b>27</b>	<b>Angels, Tanks, and Minerva: Reading the Memorials to the Great War in Welsh Chapels</b>	<b>485</b>
	Gethin Matthews	
<b>28</b>	<b>“The Nest Kept Warm”: Heaney and the Irish Soldier-Poets</b>	<b>511</b>
	Martin Malone	
<b>29</b>	<b>The Theatre of War: Rememoration and the Horse</b>	<b>535</b>
	Janet McDonald	
<b>30</b>	<b>Australian War Memorials: A Nation Reimagined</b>	<b>553</b>
	Martin Kerby, Malcom Bywaters, and Margaret Baguley	
<b>31</b>	<b>Conclusion</b>	<b>575</b>
	Martin Kerby, Margaret Baguley, and Janet McDonald	
	<b>Index</b>	<b>577</b>

## NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

**Michael Armstrong** attended the University of Ballarat, graduating with a bachelor of fine arts—painting in 1997, having studied predominately under the tuition of the painters Doug Wright and Iain Read. On graduation from university, Armstrong explored a range of short courses and part-time jobs before enlisting in the Australian Army in 1998. He completed four operational tours (Timor, Afghanistan, Iraq, and the Tactical Assault Group East Counter Terrorism Unit). Armstrong continued to draw and paint throughout his military career, but in 2014, he recommenced formal art study, enrolling in the Master of Arts program at the University of Southern Queensland. On completion of his master’s training, he hopes to identify a gallery to represent him as an artist as well as undertaking a range of Artist in Residence programs in Australia and abroad to continue his development.

**Kay Ayre** is Lecturer in Education (Special Education) at the University of Southern Queensland, Australia. She has worked extensively with disengaged and disruptive children, their teachers, and schools. Before joining the university, Ayre worked for the Queensland Education Department as a teacher in mainstream and special needs classrooms, a behaviour support specialist, deputy principal, and the team leader of a regional behaviour team. She has a passion for helping build the capacity of teachers, to develop and maintain positive, inclusive classrooms with a focus on supporting children with trauma who demonstrate serious, disruptive behaviour. Her research and her teaching focus on challenging behaviour of children with and without trauma, trauma-informed positive behaviour support, functional behaviour assessment, and childhood well-being and resilience.

**Margaret Baguley** is Associate Professor in Arts Education, Curriculum, and Pedagogy at the University of Southern Queensland. In addition to her extensive teaching background across all facets of education, she has maintained her arts practice. An interest in collaborative practice and creativity underpins her teaching and research. She has received a number of significant awards throughout

her career, including the Australia Council's New Media Residency to Banff, Canada, the Martin Hanson Memorial Art Award, and the National Dame Mary Durack Outback Award. Her work is held in a number of collections, including the Bundanon Trust Art Collection, the Stanthorpe Regional Art Gallery, and the Wesley Hospital Art Collection. Baguley has been a recipient of grants from the Ian Potter Foundation, Craft Queensland, Pat Corrigan, Arts Queensland, and her work has been selected to tour regional Queensland through the Queensland Arts Council. She has recently co-edited *The Palgrave International Handbook of Global Arts Education* with Dr Georgina Barton (2017). Baguley is the president of Art Education Australia (AEA).

**Claire Brenard** has worked as an art curator at Imperial War Museums (IWM) since 2012. She has curated art exhibitions at the museum, including *Visions of War Above and Below* (2015) and *Architecture of War* (2013) and assisted on IWM's major new group show of contemporary art, *Age of Terror: Art since 9/11* (2017–2018). Brenard has extensively researched IWM's 'unofficial' Second World War art collection: artworks collected since the conflict which offer personal insights into the period, including those by émigré artists. Building on this, she is developing an exhibition proposal on the impact on British culture following the mass arrival from Europe of artists and intellectuals fleeing persecution in the 1930s, with a particular focus on visual art and film in IWM's collections. Prior to joining IWM, she worked for the Curator's Office at the Houses of Parliament, the team responsible for care and interpretation of the Parliamentary Art Collection. She has a BA (Hons) in Fine Art from Falmouth College of Art and is an associate member of the UK's Museums Association (AMA).

**Fraser Brown** is a retired Scottish secondary schoolteacher. He completed his PhD in 2016 on the topic of child mobilization during the Great War, submitting a thesis entitled "‘Fall in the Children’: A Regional Study of the Mobilization of Children of the 42nd Regimental Area During the Great War." In addition to the general topic of child mobilization in wartime, Brown's main areas of interest centre on Scotland during the Great War, especially the return military migration of Scots from the Empire and beyond to fight in that conflict. Other interests include the impact of the Great War on the British, and particularly those Scottish communities resident in South America at that time. He has contributed various articles on aspects of the Great War to provincial newspapers in Scotland and regimental journals.

**Alice Brumby** is a member of the Centre of Health Histories at the University of Huddersfield. Her recent research has focused upon nineteenth- and twentieth-century mental healthcare and patient welfare in England. Brumby's work examines the role of the community, families, and patients with regard to accessing care and treatment. Her work on the institutionalised ex-servicemen has been published, and she is working on a project linked to the Mental Treatment Act of 1930. Her PhD, funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council

(AHRC), examined attempts to reform asylum treatment and to eradicate the stigma attached to mental healthcare. This work has contributed to a programme of public engagement and co-production, including co-curating an exhibition on the medical impact of war and shell shock to coincide with the Centenary of the First World War, in connection with the Thackray Medical Museum.

**Malcom Bywaters** is a Senior Lecturer and Director of the Academy Gallery, Tasmanian College of the Arts, University of Tasmania, Launceston, Tasmania. He has a diploma in fine art, Ballarat University; a graduate diploma, Victorian College of the Arts; a master's degree from Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology (RMIT), and a PhD from the University of Melbourne. For the past 30 years, Bywaters has worked as an artist, exhibition curator, and gallery director. Malcom has curated over 60 exhibitions for venues such as the Westspace, Gertrude Contemporary, Monash University Museum of Art, Geelong Art Gallery and the VCA Margaret Lawrence Gallery, The University of Melbourne, Victoria and the Academy Gallery, Plimsoll Gallery, Devonport Regional Art Gallery, Burnie Regional Art Gallery, and Arts Tasmania Gallery, Tasmania. Bywaters has displayed solo exhibitions of his sculpture and artwork at Geelong Gallery, Gertrude Contemporary, Linden Centre for Contemporary Art, Victoria and Burnie Regional Art Gallery, and the Queen Victoria Museum and Art Gallery, Tasmania. Bywaters artworks are represented in the collections of Artbank, Bundanon Trust, Federation University, Scotch Oakburn College, Wesley College, Camberwell Grammar and the Artist Book Collection, and National Gallery of Victoria. Bywaters has been awarded a Project Development Grant (Australia Council) 1989 and the Desiderius Orban Youth Art Award (Australia Council) 1986. Before joining the University of Tasmania, Bywaters was the Founding Gallery Manager in the Faculty of Art and Design at Monash University.

**Iain Donald** is a lecturer at Abertay University in Dundee, Scotland. He holds a PhD in the field of history and an MSc in information systems and enjoyed a career in information technology (IT) and game development before coming back to academia in 2010. Donald's principal research interests explore the intersection of game, digital media, and history. His recent work focuses on commemoration and memorialisation in videogames and includes the interactive visualisation and board game *Loos: The Fallen Fourth* and the digital comic *5:47*, which recounts the story of a young deserter shot at dawn. He is working on the AHRC-funded Living Legacies Project 'Visualising the Iolaire', and the AHRC-funded Next Generation of Immersive Experiences Project 'Their Memory'. These projects explore the impact of conflict upon individuals and communities and how digital media shape collective and communal memories.

**Paul Duncum** is an adjunct professor at the University of Tasmania and emeritus professor at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign. Initially trained as a graphic designer, and receiving his doctorate from the Flinders University of South Australia, he was for a time a high school art and design teacher. He

is a leading advocate of the visual culture orientation in art education. His work has been published widely in all the art education journals in the areas of his interest, which include children's drawing, images of children, and popular visual culture, each of which is informed by the critical theory of cultural studies, and his work has been translated into nine languages. He is a recipient of the Manual Barkan Award for scholarship in art education and a member of the US Council for Policy in Art Education.

**Jeannette Fresne** is a graduate coordinator of music at the University of South Alabama, specializing in the pedagogy of early childhood and elementary music, American folk music (children's songs and seven-shape, shape-note gospel music), and integrating the arts throughout the learning process. While completing graduate coursework at Arizona State University and Texas State University, she taught courses in music education, piano, and music theory and served as Editorial Assistant of the *Journal of Historical Research in Music Education*. Since 2004, Fresne has been awarded in excess of \$2 million for the implementation of the arts integration programs Arts in Education, which provides professional training in arts integration for elementary teachers and middle school math, English, and social studies teachers, and Literacy, Numeracy, Si!, which trains early childhood teachers the pedagogy of using music to teach reading literacy, math, and introductory Spanish. Fresne has led numerous workshops and clinics throughout the United States. Her publications include numerous seven-shape, shape-note gospel hymns published with Thurman Coffey and additional articles related to music education in *Saxophone Journal* and *Music Educators Journal*. Publications include her research in arts integration are *Public Libraries, Early Years, Children Our Concern, International Journal of Pedagogies*, and *Learning and Education Update: Association for Supervisors and Curriculum Development. Integrative Strategies for the K-12 Social Studies Classroom*, a book in the Teaching and Learning Social Studies Series, includes a chapter on music and social studies integration titled "Traveling the World through the Vehicle of Music," co-written with Dr Donna Louk.

**Phillip Gearing** has given organ recitals throughout Australia as well as in Britain and in Scandinavia. Involved in church music since the age of 13, Phillip has been organist of St George-the-Martyr, Queens Square London (1985); Director of Music, St Luke's Toowoomba (2007–2012); and, most recently, acting organist, St John's Cathedral Brisbane (2013–2014). He was Senior Lecturer in Music at the University of Southern Queensland from 1992 to 2014. Phillip is also a director of the Organ Historical Trust of Australia, continuo player with the leading chamber orchestra Camerata of St John's, and performs regularly as a pianist in chamber music and Lieder. In 2007, he released his CD *Celebrate* to mark the centenary of the organ at St Luke's Toowoomba—the only solo recording of a Queensland organ. Phillip has composed a number of choral works; his most recent, *Pro patria mori* (a 25-minute setting of 7 poems by World War I soldier poets for choir and piano), is the subject of his chapter.

**Paul Gough** is Pro Vice-Chancellor and Vice-President at RMIT University, Melbourne. A painter, broadcaster, and author, he has exhibited globally and is represented in the IWM, London; Canadian War Museum, Ottawa; and the National War Memorial, New Zealand. In addition to three books on the British painter Stanley Spencer, his publications include *‘A Terrible Beauty’: British Artists and the First World War* (2010) and *‘Brothers in Arms’, John and Paul Nash* (2014). He curated *‘Back from the Front’: Art, Memory and the Aftermath of War* (2014–2015) and has written extensively about the street artist Banksy.

**Charles Green and Lyndell Brown** have worked together as one artist since 1989. Working across mixed media on paper, oil on linen, photography, and transparent digital prints overpainted in oil, they have built a unique vocabulary that speaks both to the aftermath of conflict and to the contemporary condition of continuous wars across the globe. They were Australia’s Official War Artists in Iraq and Afghanistan in 2007–2008. Their works have been acquired by most major Australian public art museums and private collections, including the National Gallery of Australia, the National Gallery of Victoria, the Art Gallery of New South Wales, and the Australian War Memorial (AWM). Charles Green is Professor of Contemporary Art at the University of Melbourne in the Art History Department, within the School of Culture and Communication. He has written *Peripheral Vision: Contemporary Australian Art 1970–1994* (1995), *The Third Hand: Artist Collaborations from Conceptualism to Postmodernism* (2001), and (with Anthony Gardner) *Biennials, Triennials, and documenta* (2016). He was the Australian correspondent for *Artforum* for many years. As Adjunct Senior Curator in Contemporary Art at the National Gallery of Victoria, he worked as a curator on *Fieldwork: Australian Art 1968–2002* (2002), *world rush 4 artists* (2003), *2004: Australian Visual Culture Now* (ACMI/NGVA, 2004), and *2006 Contemporary Commonwealth* (ACMI/NGVA, 2006). Lyndell Brown is an honorary research fellow at the University of Melbourne, Melbourne, in the Art History Department, within the School of Culture and Communication.

**John M. Harris** is Associate Professor of Journalism at Western Washington University in Bellingham, Washington. He worked as a reporter, editor, and photographer for more than 20 years at a variety of newspapers. He received his PhD from the University of Washington in 2011; his dissertation was titled *America’s Vision of War: A History of Combat Photography in the United States as Seen Through Three Images*.

**William Kenefick** is an honorary senior history research fellow, University of Dundee. His works on Scottish maritime, labour, and trade union history; the impact of the Great War and the Russian Revolution on the Scottish working class; developing working-class politics in Dundee c. 1880–1939; and Irish and Jewish relations in Scotland from c. 1870 to present have been published widely. He is Chair of the Great War Dundee Commemorative Project 2014–2019.

**Martin Kerby** is Senior Lecturer (Curriculum & Pedagogy) at the University of Southern Queensland, Australia. His research areas encompass both educational and historical areas. In the field of education, he has investigated links between schools and universities, mentoring, leadership and management, multi-literacies, curriculum, and school renewal. His historical focus encompasses school museums as sites for learning, biography, military history (1789–1945), and Australian involvement in the First World War. He has sole authored six books and has recently been awarded two competitive Queensland Anzac Centenary grants (2014, 2017) and a national Australian Government Anzac Centenary Arts and Culture Fund Public Grant (2015). He was recently awarded a University of Southern Queensland Publication Excellence Award—Authored Books for *Sir Philip Gibbs and English Journalism in War and Peace* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2016). Kerby is the editor of *Australian Art Education*.

**Christine Knauer** is a historian affiliated with the Eberhard Karls University Tübingen, Germany. She received an MA in American civilization from Brown University and an MA and PhD in history from the University of Tübingen. Her dissertation on African Americans and the racial integration of the American military was published under the title *Let Us Fight as Free Men: Black Soldiers and Civil Rights* in 2014. Knauer has published various articles on African American history, as well as the Korean War in American memory. She is working on a manuscript on lynching narratives in the US South after 1945 and one on the Korean War Veterans Memorial in Washington, DC.

**Nathan Lowien** lectures in English curriculum and pedagogy at the University of Southern Queensland, Australia. He has over ten years' teaching experience in primary education. He has completed a Graduate Certificate in Scaffolding English for Speakers of Other Languages and a master's of education from the University of Canberra. On completion of his master's, Lowien was awarded a membership into the Golden Key International Honour Society for performing in the top 15% of the university. His research interests include multimodal discourse analysis, systemic functional semiotics, critical literacy, and educational semiotics. Nathan is doing a PhD investigating the semiotic construction of evaluative stance in video games.

**Abbey MacDonald** is Lecturer in Arts Education at the University of Tasmania, where she specialises in visual art curriculum, pedagogy, and practice. She is an Arts-based researcher with an interest in the applications of a/r/tographic inquiry, and development of tools to support participant, researcher and teacher engagement with and in relational art inquiry. Her research contexts include professional learning collaboration, teacher embodiment, and enactment of curriculum and exploring intersections between pedagogy and methodology. MacDonald's classroom teaching experience includes secondary visual arts, media arts, and English, as well as diverse pastoral leadership roles. While her area of teaching and practice specialisation is grounded in visual and media arts, she has taught into, designed, and developed units across the five



Arts forms in the tertiary education sector. She is a practising visual artist, working in oils and cross media, and an emerging curator. She is Vice President of AEA, and Immediate Past President of the Tasmanian Art Teachers Association (TATA).

**Daniel Maddock** is an award-winning cinematographer published in all areas (documentary, television commercial, music video, branded content, television drama series, and independent feature film). He has also taught cinematography at the Griffith Film School, the University of Southern Queensland, and several independent tertiary institutions. Maddock completed a PhD at Griffith University's Film School, researching the development of practice, and meaning of form, for cinematography as filmmaking moves into a future of virtual production. He has explored these ideas in his practice, including his most recent independent feature film *Space/Time* (<http://www.spacetime.com>) as well as in the multi-award-winning concept trailer *Break The Rock* ([www.breaktherock.com](http://www.breaktherock.com)). Maddock has written about his cinematography for the periodical *Australian Cinematographer* and published research with the Australian Screen Production Education & Research Association and the *Journal of Media Practice*.

**Martin Malone** Martin's two poetry collections *The Waiting Hillside* (2011) and *Cur* (2015) have been published. Two further, Great War-related collections, *The Unreturning* and *Ghosts of the Vortex* will be published in 2018. An honorary research fellow in creative writing at Aberdeen University, he has just finished a PhD in poetry at Sheffield University. He edits *The Interpreter's House* poetry journal.

**Gethin Matthews** completed a PhD examining the experiences of Welsh gold-seekers in the Gold Rush to British Columbia. He ran a project at Cardiff University, 'Welsh Voices of the Great War', which gathered family-held evidence of the impact of the war upon Welsh communities. Since 2011, Matthews has been a lecturer at Swansea University and has been to the forefront in interpreting the impact of the First World War on Wales during the period of the centenary. In 2016, his edited collection *Creithiau*, the first academic book in the Welsh language about the First World War for 20 years, was published. He is involved with the Living Legacies WWI Engagement Centre, who have funded his project 'Welsh Memorials to the Great War'.

**Janet McDonald** is Associate Professor of Drama and Theatre Studies in the School of Arts and Communication at the University of Southern Queensland (Toowoomba Campus). She received her PhD from Arizona State University (Theatre for Young People) in 1999 and served as the Head of the School of Creative Arts at USQ (2008–2013). Her work in enabling young people in the arts was recognised when she was elected Chair of Youth Arts Queensland, the state's peak body for youth arts from 2008–2012. McDonald continues her pro-bono support for the Queensland arts sector, working on small-to-medium

management committees and advisory boards (Cobb & Co Museum, Flying Arts Alliance). She is co-recipient of the USQ Excellence in Teaching Award (2008) and an Australian Learning and Teaching Council Citation for Outstanding Contribution to Student Learning (2009). Her research areas include actor-training and well-being, localism and well-being, and liminal arts practices in regional areas which feature prominently her in the published book *Creative Communities: Regional Inclusion in the Arts* (2015), co-edited with Dr Robert Mason, Griffith University.

**Inga Meier** is Assistant Professor of Film and Theatre at Stephen F. Austin State University. She has presented her scholarship at conferences throughout the United States and in England, including at Association for Theatre in Higher Education (ATHE), American Society for Theatre Research (ASTR), Comparative Drama Conference (CDC), Film and History, The Mid-America Theatre Conference (MATC), The Midwest Modern Language Association (MMLA), Southeastern Theatre Conference (SETC), and the Shaw Society. Meier's research is focused on performances of terrorism, violence, and trauma, and her writing has been published in Film and History and in the anthology *Recovering 9/11* in New York. She serves as the secretary and debut panel coordinator for ATHE and is on the board of the Nacogdoches Film Festival.

**Kit Messham-Muir** is an art theorist, educator, researcher, and critic based at Curtin University in Perth, Australia. He holds a bachelor of visual arts degree (Honours Class 1) from the University of Sydney and a PhD in art history and theory from the University of New South Wales. His doctoral thesis examined the role of affect and emotion in political conflicts surrounding contemporary art in the 1990s. Since 1997, Messham-Muir has taught art history at universities in Australia and Hong Kong and won multiple awards for teaching. His work is published frequently in peer-reviewed and popular press (*Artforum*, *Art & Australia*, *The Conversation*), and he directs the *StudioCrasher* video project. In 2015, his book *Double War: Shaun Gladwell, visual culture and the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq* was published. He is lead investigator on 'Art in Conflict', a three-year Australian Research Council-funded linkage project in partnership with the AWM and the National Trust (NSW), and in collaboration with the University of Melbourne, the University of New South Wales, and the University of Manchester. 'Art in Conflict' receives a Linkage Project grant from the Australian Research Council of \$293,380 over 2018–2021.

**Gerard Oram** is Programme Director for War and Society at Swansea University. He is a social, legal, and cultural historian of modern Europe with a particular interest in twentieth-century wars and conflicts. Oram has written extensively on military discipline and on morale—both military and civilian.

**Stephen Roberts** is a PhD candidate at Manchester Metropolitan University, researching the impact of the Great War on the people of Wirral, a peninsula

close to Liverpool in the north-west of England, where he was born and grew up. He has written two books and engaged in numerous educational and community projects relating to the Great War and other topics. He worked as a history teacher in English and Welsh state schools for over 30 years and is also a battlefield guide and family history researcher.

**Susan Santoli** is the Director of Graduate Studies and Professor in the College of Education and Professional Studies at the University of South Alabama in Mobile, Alabama. Before coming to higher education, she taught social studies at the middle- and high school levels for 20 years. Since coming to the university 18 years ago, Santoli's primary focus has been secondary social studies education. She teaches undergraduate and graduate education courses across all content majors, directs graduate research, and supervises student field experiences. Santoli has been honored with an Excellence in Teaching Award for Outstanding Innovation from the College of Education and Professional Studies and has received several of Mortar Board's student-nominated "Top Prof" awards. Her research interests focus on social studies education, the integration of visual literacy and social studies, and pre-service teacher education. She has co-authored three book chapters and numerous refereed journal articles. She is a regular presenter at the National Council for the Social Studies and at other professional conferences. Santoli received the Best Workshop Award at the Ireland International Conference on Education for a workshop which she co-designed and co-presented and the Outstanding Paper Award in the Research in Social Studies Education Special Interest Group at the American Educational Research Association for a research study in which she was a co-participant and co-author.

**Natasha Silk** is completing a PhD at the University of Kent. Her thesis concerns the study of soldiers as a group in mourning during the First World War and explores the mourning process of the individual, how soldiers collectively expressed their grief, and burial and commemorative practices soldiers used on the frontline. Silk completed her master's in First World War studies at the University of Kent in September 2016, with a heavy focus on memorialisation practices, and a final thesis, *Soldiers in Mourning: Grief, Bereavement and Burial Practices of the Men Who Served in the British and Dominion Armies during the Battle of the Somme, 1916*. She completed her undergraduate degree in History at the University of Sussex in 2014.

**Alexandra Walton** is a specialist in British and Australian art of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, with particular interest in printmaking and war art. She is an art curator with IWM, and has written a PhD thesis on the history of print collecting at the IWM and the AWM. Previously, she held a role as Assistant Curator/Documentation Officer in the Art Section of the AWM, and in 2008, she was the Gordon Darling Graduate Intern in the Australian Prints and Drawings Department of the National Gallery of Australia.

**Caroline Winter** is Lecturer in Quantitative Systems at the William Angliss Institute. Winter has two main research interests, the first of which seeks to help provide solutions for sustaining the natural environment by investigating people's values and attitudes. Winter is also interested in identifying the ways in which visitors commemorate those who have fought in war, particularly the First World War of 1914–1918, and has conducted studies in Melbourne, France, and Belgium. Both quantitative and qualitative methods are used in these projects, including questionnaires and short interviews with visitors, and analysis of visitor books at the military cemeteries. Places on the old Somme battlefield, such as Pozières in France, and Ieper/Ypres in Belgium, are areas where she has undertaken this research. She is also interested in issues relating to Australian national identity and the way in which social memory and remembrance are formed through tourist activities.

## ABBREVIATIONS

ABMC	American Battle Monuments Commission
AFPU	Army Film and Photographic Unit
AIF	Australian Imperial Force
AP	Associated Press
APMP	Australian Peacekeeping Memorial Project
ARC	Australian Research Council
ARVN	Army of the Republic of Vietnam
ASC	American Society of Cinematographers
AWM	Australian War Memorial
BEF	British Expeditionary Force
BWMC	British War Memorials Committee
CFA	Commission of Fine Arts
CO	Conscientious Objector
DORA	Defence of the Realm Act
GHQ	General Headquarters
GWD	Great War Dundee
GWOTMF	The Global War on Terror Memorial Foundation
HLF	Heritage Lottery Funded
ILP	The Independent Labour Party
ISB	International Socialist Bureau
IWGC	Imperial War Graves Commission
IWM	Imperial War Museum
KWVMAB	Korean War Veterans Memorial Advisory Board
MCU	Marvel Cinematic Universe
NCF	No-Conscription Fellowship
NCPC	National Capital Planning Commission
ONUMOZ	United Nations Operation in Mozambique
PPC	Pictorial Propaganda Committee
PTSD	Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder
RAF	Royal Air Force
RSL	Returned and Services League
UNAMIR	United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda
UNGOC	United Nations Good Office Commission
WAAC	War Artists Advisory Committee

## LIST OF FIGURES

Fig. 2.1	Lyndell Brown/Charles Green, <i>Approaching Darkness, Afghan National Army Observation Post, Tarin Kowt, Uruzgan Province, Afghanistan</i> , 2007–2009. Courtesy the artists and ARC One Gallery Melbourne	24
Fig. 2.2	Lyndell Brown/Charles Green, <i>Atlas (The Vale of Kashmir)</i> , 1994. Courtesy the artists and ARC One Gallery Melbourne	26
Fig. 2.3	Lyndell Brown/Charles Green, <i>Transformer</i> , 2005. Courtesy the artists and ARC One Gallery Melbourne	27
Fig. 2.4	Lyndell Brown/Charles Green, <i>Flightline with three warplanes, late afternoon, Gulf. #14</i> , 2007–2009. Courtesy the artists and ARC One Gallery Melbourne	29
Fig. 2.5	Lyndell Brown/Charles Green, <i>Afghan National Army Perimeter Post with Chair, Tarin Kowt, Uruzgan Province, Afghanistan</i> , 2007–2009. Courtesy the artists and ARC One Gallery Melbourne	30
Fig. 2.6	Lyndell Brown/Charles Green, <i>View from Chinook, Helmand Province, Afghanistan</i> , 2007–2009. Courtesy the artists and ARC One Gallery Melbourne	31
Fig. 2.7	Lyndell Brown/Charles Green, <i>Deep Rock</i> , 2011. Courtesy the artists and ARC One Gallery Melbourne	33
Fig. 2.8	Lyndell Brown/Charles Green & Jon Cattapan, <i>Spook Country (Maliana)</i> , 2014. Courtesy ARC One Gallery and Station, Melbourne	34
Fig. 2.9	Lyndell Brown/Charles Green, <i>Morning Star</i> , 2017. Courtesy the artists and ARC One Gallery Melbourne. This is the work of art that was the design for the Sir John Monash Centre tapestry	35
Fig. 2.10	Lyndell Brown/Charles Green, <i>Morning Star</i> , 2017, Tapestry woven by Pamela Joyce, Leonie Bessant, Chris Cochius, Jennifer Sharpe, Cheryl Thornton, David Cochrane and Pierre Bureau. Courtesy the artists and ARC One Gallery Melbourne	36
Fig. 7.1	<i>How Long, O Lord?</i> , bar 54	120
Fig. 7.2	<i>The Anxious Dead</i> , bars 1–13	122
Fig. 7.3	<i>The Anxious Dead</i> , bars 30–33	123
Fig. 7.4	<i>The Anxious Dead</i> , bars 125–126	124

Fig. 7.5	<i>Snow</i> , bars 1–3	124
Fig. 7.6	(a) <i>Snow</i> , bar 14, (b) <i>Snow</i> , bars 19–24	125
Fig. 7.7	<i>I Saw His Round Mouth’s Crimson</i> , bars 11–15	126
Fig. 7.8	<i>Requiem</i> , bars 1–8	127
Fig. 7.9	<i>Thaw</i> , bars 38–41	128
Fig. 8.1	Southern Stars Quartet (a GI student quartet). Burl Scarborough, Alvin Sawyer (Doc Dooley—GI School instructor), Esto Smith, Jim Holcomb. Lake Trinidad at Corsicana, TX, 1949. Photograph courtesy of Thurman Coffey	136
Fig. 8.2	Former Southern Stars Quartet members. Burl Scarborough, Alvin Sawyer, Esto Smith, Jim Holcomb. GI Reunion, Iuka, MS, October 6, 2001. Photograph by Jeannette Fresne	136
Fig. 8.3	Short differentiation of round-note notation versus shape-note notation	137
Fig. 10.1	<i>Anticipation (Six Ways to Kill)</i> 2016, Armstrong, Private Collection	170
Fig. 10.2	<i>Death of the Bystander (Six Ways to Kill)</i> 2016, Armstrong, Private Collection	171
Fig. 10.3	<i>Untitled (Six Ways to Kill)</i> 2016, Armstrong	171
Fig. 10.4	<i>Relics of Decay</i> (detail), 2016, Armstrong, collection of the artist	173
Fig. 10.5	<i>Relics of Decay</i> (detail), 2016, Armstrong	173
Fig. 10.6	<i>Relics of Decay</i> (detail), 2016, Armstrong	174
Fig. 10.7	<i>Relics of Decay</i> (detail), 2016, Armstrong	174
Fig. 11.1	<i>The Burning Monk</i> by Malcolm Browne, Associated Press	184
Fig. 11.2	<i>Saigon Execution</i> by Eddie Adams, Associated Press	187
Fig. 11.3	<i>The Terror of War</i> by Nick Ut, Associated Press	192
Fig. 13.1	Philip Gibbs in uniform, circa 1918 (Courtesy of Gibbs Family Archives)	223
Fig. 13.2	Philip Gibbs dressed for the Front, circa. 1918 (Courtesy of Gibbs Family Archives)	230
Fig. 18.1	<i>Jerusalem, 1917</i> , by Margaret Baguley	313
Fig. 18.2	<i>Futility</i> by Eloise Tuppurainen-Mason	314
Fig. 18.3	<i>The New Calvary</i> by Margaret Baguley	315
Fig. 20.1	Screenshot from <i>The Avengers</i> , 2012 film, directed by Joss Whedon	357
Fig. 20.2	Screenshot from <i>The Avengers</i> , 2012 film, directed by Joss Whedon	357
Fig. 20.3	Screenshot from <i>The Avengers</i> , 2012 film, directed by Joss Whedon	358
Fig. 20.4	Screenshot from <i>The Avengers</i> , 2012 film, directed by Joss Whedon	358
Fig. 20.5	Screenshot from <i>The Avengers</i> , 2012 film, directed by Joss Whedon	359
Fig. 20.6	Screenshot from <i>The Avengers</i> , 2012 film, directed by Joss Whedon	360
Fig. 20.7	Screenshot from <i>The Avengers</i> , 2012 film, directed by Joss Whedon	360
Fig. 20.8	Screenshot from <i>The Avengers</i> , 2012 film, directed by Joss Whedon	361

Fig. 20.9	Screenshot from <i>The Avengers</i> , 2012 film, directed by Joss Whedon	361
Fig. 20.10	Screenshot from <i>The Avengers</i> , 2012 film, directed by Joss Whedon	362
Fig. 20.11	Screenshot from <i>The Avengers</i> , 2012 film, directed by Joss Whedon	362
Fig. 22.1	IWM's first home—Crystal Palace. After the exhibition at Burlington House, some of the BWMC paintings were displayed at the IWM's first home in the Crystal Palace. This photograph, taken in 1921, shows Cameron's <i>The Battlefield of Ypres</i> hung as it was originally intended to be alongside Sargent's <i>Gassed</i> . © IWM (Q 17028)	402
Fig. 24.1	Screenshot from <i>Great War Dundee</i>	438
Fig. 24.2	Screenshot from <i>Great War Dundee</i>	439
Fig. 24.3	Screenshot from <i>Great War Dundee</i>	439
Fig. 25.1	Screen grab from the opening sequence of <i>Saving Private Ryan</i> (1998) set during the making of the film in the late 1990s	448
Fig. 25.2	Screen grab of the World War Two Omaha Beach Landing sequence from <i>Saving Private Ryan</i> (1998)	449
Fig. 25.3	D-Day Omaha Beach Landing photograph from the set published in <i>Life</i> magazine, taken by Robert Capa in 1944	451
Fig. 25.4	One of Hurley's most famous composited photographs made from several different originals taken during World War I (National Library of Australia, 1917)	454
Fig. 25.5	Behind-the-scenes photograph (photographer unknown) of the pneumatically powered "horse-operated shot" created for <i>Napoléon</i> (Gance 1927)	456
Fig. 25.6	Blown-out window light being used to naturally light the character inside this otherwise dark room, screen grab from <i>Days of Heaven</i> (1978)	460
Fig. 27.1	First World War memorial in Salem, Canton (Cardiff), sculpted by Goscombe John (Photo credit: Gethin Matthews)	497
Fig. 27.2	First World War Roll of Honour in Tabernacl, Morrision (Photo credit: Matthew Jenkins)	499
Fig. 27.3	First World War Roll of Honour in Tabernacl, Morrision (Detail) (Photo credit: Matthew Jenkins)	499
Fig. 27.4	First World War Roll of Honour in Bethel, Llanelli (Photo credit: Gethin Matthews)	503
Fig. 30.1	Tony Albert's sculptural artwork <i>Yininmadyemi Thou didst let fall</i> . Photographer: Malcom Bywaters	561
Fig. 30.2	The Australian peacekeeping memorial. Photographer: Graham Rayner	566



## LIST OF TABLES

Table 4.1	Work undertaken in Huddersfield War Hospital from 9 October 1915 to 31 July 1918	67
Table 5.1	Employment in Birkenhead and Wallasey in 1911	82
Table 5.2	Local authorities in Wirral with population figures	83
Table 6.1	Inauguration dates of major memorials on the Somme	103
Table 6.2	Information topics in the 2016 Somme Tourisme Centenary Guide	107
Table 6.3	Analysis of photographs in the 1920 and 2016 battlefield guidebooks	108
Table 16.1	Countries of origin of returnees to Arbroath killed in action	278



# Introduction: Artistic and Cultural Responses to War

*Martin Kerby, Margaret Baguley, and Janet McDonald*

## INTRODUCTION

As the First World War entered its second year Henry James lamented the failure of language to do justice to the extent of the destruction. The war had “used up all words; they have weakened, they have deteriorated.”<sup>1</sup> Silence appeared a more suitable response than the conventions of a language left hopelessly compromised by mass industrialised warfare. The First World War was not unique, however, in challenging the available rhetoric. As Edkins observed, in order to communicate the “facts” of any trauma, they have to be translated into narrative form. This strips them of their immediacy.<sup>2</sup> More importantly, any attempt at explanation hampers “the force of its affront to understanding.”<sup>3</sup> Yet artists and writers are well placed to explore war, for their output defies efforts to impose a singular or “literal translation.”<sup>4</sup> They can also transcend context; just witness the decision in 2003 to cover the tapestry of Picasso’s *Guernica* at the United Nations when Colin Powell made his case for war with Saddam. Different war, different age, but the raw immediacy was a quality to be respected, perhaps even feared. For, as Susanne Langer argues, art and art objects are “peculiarly adapted to the explication of ‘unspeakable’ things” such as loss, grief, and memory.<sup>5</sup>

In his searing work *Survival in Auschwitz (If this is a man)* (1947) Primo Levi tells the story of a fellow inmate who had carved “Ne pas chercher à comprendre” on the bottom of his bowl. Faced with his own death and the looming immolation of his people, the inmate’s exhortation “Do not look for

---

M. Kerby (✉) • M. Baguley • J. McDonald  
University of Southern Queensland, Toowoomba, QLD, Australia  
e-mail: [martin.kerby@usq.edu.au](mailto:martin.kerby@usq.edu.au); [Margaret.baguley@usq.edu.au](mailto:Margaret.baguley@usq.edu.au); [Janet.McDonald@usq.edu.au](mailto:Janet.McDonald@usq.edu.au)

understanding” is hardly surprising. Yet the visual arts, and indeed all art forms, can not only impart an understanding of unspeakable things, they have, as Sarah Koffman observes, a responsibility to do so:

About Auschwitz and after Auschwitz, no story is possible, if by story one means: to tell a story of events which make sense ... There remains, nonetheless, a duty to speak, to speak endlessly for those who could not speak because to the very end they wanted to guard true speech from betrayal. To speak in order to bear witness.<sup>6</sup>

Yet a handbook such as this one, whatever its length and coverage, cannot hope to do justice to the multitude of artistic and cultural responses to war. Another group of editors might have chosen differently, indeed, almost certainly would have. In the course of writing this introduction, the editors are painfully aware of these gaps; the Holocaust, other American cultural responses to war since 1914, particularly the Vietnam War, and our cousins across the Tasman in New Zealand are events and peoples who would have found an equally worthy place in this publication. That must be balanced, of course, against the inclusion of a number of chapters that explore lesser known responses or at least ones less regularly written about. The chapter on the memorial in Washington to the veterans of the Korean War is a case in point, as is the one exploring the work of Irish war poets. Two chapters dealing with the much discussed Vietnam Veterans’ Memorial and Wilfred Owen et al. might have filled a perceived gap in this book, yet hardly a yawning gap in the broader literature. In any case, there is much to value in this eclectic coverage, some of it dealing with the familiar, others perhaps casting light on lesser known topics. Overall these chapters make a valuable contribution to the field and if the editorial choices encourage further debate then it has served its purpose.

Like the authors whose work graces the pages of this handbook, the artists, writers, and filmmakers whose work is explored in these pages sought to communicate something about the great events of their age. Like the combatants, they were products of their age, background, and temperament, subject to a variety of forces that shaped their artistic output. Some like Philip Gibbs were left compromised, others such as George Gittoes pursue an aggressive independence. In reality, however, whatever their qualities of character and talent as artists and writers, they offer “a truth” rather than “the truth.” In their attempts to speak of the unspeakable, there has been grace even in their failings.

## SECTION I: LOSS, GRIEF, AND RESILIENCE

Charles Green and Lyndell Brown’s “No Agency: Iraq and Afghanistan at War—The Perspective of Commissioned War Artists” (Chap. 2) is a personal and at times poignant insight into their experience as Australian Official War Artists. In a challenge to those who argue that those who accept official commissions

are inherently compromised, they show themselves to be trenchant critics of what they characterise as an attempt by the West to impose an imperial power. Their description of a US base is particularly powerful, as they drive “beside an inconceivably vast airfield perimeter past mile after mile of American military aircraft, a display so stupendous in scale that the imperial power it represents can’t be believed, while we click shot after shot after shot, completely awed and appalled (Chap. 2).” They are both aware, however, that their access to these areas is a privilege but one with limits. From the very beginning of their time in the Middle East, they knew that it would involve a “fraught, long negotiation between the self-determined aims of the artist, the interests of a national institution, the coolness of the military and the expectations of several differing publics.”

Paul Duncum’s “Megan Leavey and the Popular Visual Culture of the War-on-Terror” (Chap. 3) offers a fascinating insight into fictional militainment’s response to the longest war in American history. Though undoubtedly “complex, multilayered and contradictory,” it has, as Duncum observes, been overwhelmingly supportive of military intervention. One wonders, however, whether this has been conducive to the creation of great art. In a recent list of the ten best films dealing with the War on Terror (if we discount the First World War’s description as “the war to end all wars”—has there ever been a conflict saddled with so ironic a name?) six were documentaries. Although documentaries are no less art than their fictional counterparts, Sebastian Junger and Tim Hetherington’s *Restrepo* (2010) to name just one, in terms of movies, one searches in vain for a work comparable to Lewis Milestone’s *All Quiet on the Western Front* (1930), Stanley Kubrick’s *Paths of Glory* (1957), Oliver Stone’s *Platoon* (1986) or Edward Zwick’s *Glory* (1989). Perhaps it is a question of perspective or at the very least the passage of time. As A.J.P. Taylor observed, many of the canonical novels, plays and memoirs dealing with the First World War were published between 1928 and 1930—*Undertones of War* (1928) by Edmund Blunden, *Journey’s End* (1929) by R.C. Sheriff, *Death of a Hero* (1929) by Robert Aldington, *All Quiet on the Western Front* (1929) by E.M. Remarque, *Goodbye to All That* (1929) by Robert Graves, *Memoirs of an Infantry Officer* (1930) by Siegfried Sassoon, and *Her Privates We* (1930) by Frederic Manning. Can a great film be made about a conflict that is still unfinished business and likely to be so for the foreseeable future? Immediacy, though, has hardly been a barrier to other artists, Picasso painted *Guernica* a matter of months after the bombing of the Spanish village in April 1937, while Paul Nash’s work between 1917 and 1919 includes some of the most iconic images of the First World War. What all of these great works share, however, is their capacity to make a strong, often raw denunciation of the futility and destructiveness of war. Though these themes are also explored in a number of recent films, what is delivered is anything but an anti-war rhetoric. The filmmakers, or at least most of them, are too skilful to offer us the equivalent of John Wayne’s *The Green Berets* (1968). Instead, as Duncum contends, *Megan Leavey* and other films of this ilk demonstrate “visual strategies that in the past may have

been interpreted as anti-war are now used to justify foreign wars but also to regard them as endless, a new reality.”

Alice Brumby’s “Tommy Talk: War Hospital Magazines and the Literature of Resilience and Healing” challenges the construct of the embittered British soldier stripped of his idealism and patriotism by the bungling of his superiors and the carnage of the Western Front. She instead draws on war hospital magazines, which have to this point been neglected in the otherwise exhaustive explorations of the First World War print culture. There is little evidence of Siegfried Sassoon’s excoriation of the “smug-faced crowds ... who cheer when soldier lads march by” or of the “hell where youth and laughter go.”<sup>7</sup> Even in 2001, those lines were still celebrated for their capacity to communicate to an “uninformed public the true reality of the ghastly nature of war.”<sup>8</sup> These magazines reveal that Sassoon’s reality was just one of a number. For many wounded soldiers, as Brumby’s “Tommy Talk: War Hospital Magazines and the Literature of Resilience and Healing” (Chap. 4) informs us, the decision to contribute to these magazines and the nature of that contribution was motivated by a “sense of genuine patriotism and achievement rather than scathing resistance.” Not quite *Dulce et decorum est Pro patria mori*, but nevertheless their efforts remind us that the war poets were not the spokesmen for an entire generation.

The size, scope, and complexity of war can sometimes leave journalists like Philip Gibbs “overwhelmed” by the “vastness and horror.”<sup>9</sup> Though Stephen Roberts might well concede that regional histories cannot mitigate the horror, he would probably argue that they are well placed to challenge the vastness. In “Wirral and the Great War” (Chap. 5), he observes that regional studies allow researchers to test the hypotheses of the national historians while explaining local variations. A study of Wirral, which as Roberts informs the geographically challenged, is a peninsula 20 miles long and 10 miles wide, defined by the Rivers Mersey and Dee and the Irish Sea, and its reaction to the outbreak of war is a case in point. Far from exultation, newspaper reports emphasised a restrained sense of confidence, unity, and determination. The people of Wirral were clearly in no doubt as to the righteousness of the cause for which they were preparing to fight. One local mayor spoke of destroyed cathedrals, burnt towns, and homeless women and children as a reality on the continent and a possible future for England if Germany should prevail. Through the course of the war the people were animated by a belief system strengthened by intimate links between the home and fighting fronts, ones which enabled them to actively and confidently prosecute the war. The memory of war, like all memory, is indeed mostly local.<sup>10</sup>

In 1917 John Masefield walked along what remained of the front line from the first day of the Battle of the Somme. He was remarkably prescient in his belief that one day tourists would “walk at ease where brave men once ran and dodged and cursed their luck.”<sup>11</sup> In “Touring the Battlefields of the Somme with the Michelin and Somme Tourisme Guidebooks” (Chap. 6), Caroline Winter compares the Michelin guide of 1920 and the Somme Tourisme guide of 2016 and in doing so reveals how the battlefields have evolved from a

warscape to a memoryscape presented within a globalised view of the war. Interestingly, it is not only the ground that has changed; the very nature of the tourist experience has altered. In 1920 a tourist viewed the panorama of a warscape whereas the modern visitor can often be enacting an act of remembrance during which they view the sites but also participate in commemorative activities, talk with local people, walk the ground, attend ceremonies, and learn about the war. It is not a process without significant repercussions, given that tourism exerts a considerable influence on the creation of “memories” of the war in a manner similar to other cultural responses. The editors well remember the experience of witnessing the Last Post ceremony at the Menin Gate in Ypres and are well aware of the impact of the tourist experience on historical understanding.

“*Pro patria mori*: A Memorial in Music” (Chap. 7) by Phillip Gearing is interesting on a number of levels, not the least being the fact that it explores a musical response to war poetry rather than a musical response to war. It is a valuable reminder that our understanding of past events does not emerge in a “pure form” and are in fact filtered through our previous exposure to other cultural responses. Gearing visited his great uncle’s grave in France and found that he was buried in the same Commonwealth War Grave Cemetery as the Canadian soldier-poet John McCrae, who penned the now immortal *In Flanders Fields*. From the very beginning, therefore, Gearing’s response was grounded in his shared memory of his grandfather’s grief and the literature of the war poets. His musical response *Pro patria mori* (drawing on Wilfred Owen’s classical learning) has been performed to critical acclaim in the Australian capital cities of Perth (2014, 2017), Melbourne (2015), and Brisbane (2014 selected movements, 2015, 2018) and has been recorded by the Winthrop Singers of the University of Western Australia.

In the course of the Second World War over 16 million Americans enlisted and, for those who served abroad, they spent on average 16 months “over there.” In “The Stamps-Baxter GI School of Music” (Chap. 8), Jeannette Fresne explores one of the US government’s initiatives to aid the re-integration of ex-servicemen and women into peacetime society. Honourably discharged veterans could access grants to use towards their education under Public Law 78-346, the Servicemen’s Readjustment Act of 1944 (the G.I. Bill). Some enrolled in traditional colleges and universities; however, many attended specialty schools such as the Stamps-Baxter G.I. School of Music in Dallas. Though not a large school by any means, with 100 students attending over its six years of operation between 1947 and 1953, Fresne’s chapter provides a valuable insight into a little-known part of post-war American life. The president of the company that ran the school believed that “the young men who faced the horrors of combat, as well as those who were torn from their loved ones, have a right to expect us to make every effort possible to give them the training in Gospel Music they were deprived of while they were away.” It was, he believed, “our duty to give that which we possess.” One wonders whether veterans of modern wars feel that such a view is still widely held.