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**The Crisis of Masculinity Brought About by Male War Neurosis in
Pat Barker's 'Regeneration Trilogy'**

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Z á s a d y p r o v y p r a c o v á n í :

The expectation is that this paper will consider three novels by Pat Barker – Regeneration, The Eye in the Door, and The Ghost Road – novels in which 'shell-shock' and other 'psychological residues of combat' influence male identity and (re)present a crisis to the masculinity of the fictional characters. Secondly – and more to the academic point – it will use this framework to examine how Barker handles psychological issues such as masculinity and the broader implications of these.

The student will be expected to demonstrate a thorough knowledge of the primary texts, as well as to use sufficient secondary sources to explain their contexts.

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Abstract

The thesis deals with Pat Barker's *Regeneration* trilogy which presents both fictional and real-life characters of the First World War suffering from shell shock that was perceived as a crisis of masculinity, and supports the theory that it was a false interpretation based on the beliefs and highly adjusted codes the society had created.

The introduction uncovers the problem of mental breakdowns that thwarted the dreams of many a man who entered the war with different views of the masculine ideal. It also reveals a brief summary of some parts of Barker's life that had a great influence on the writing of the novel as well as on her own development as a writer.

The main body of the thesis introduces the subject of masculinity and the construction, perception and infringement of its norms. Further on, mainly the rise and development of shell shock is explored based on non-fictional records compared to those semi-fictional externalized by Pat Barker. Similarly, two of the characters of the trilogy, real-life poets Siegfried Sassoon and Wilfred Owen and some of their poems are analysed exposing vividly not only the pains of the lives in the trenches during the First World War, but also the opinions of disinterested public that expected more from men than they were able to bear.

The last part of the thesis analyses Barker's writing compared to other late-century writers showing her uniqueness in the way of handling the issue of war.

Key words

Pat Barker, *Regeneration* trilogy, Siegfried Sassoon, Wilfred Owen, W. H. R. Rivers, masculinity, crisis of masculinity, shell shock, war neurosis, First World War, war literature.

Souhrn

Tato diplomová práce se zabývá trilogií *Regeneration* od britské spisovatelky Pat Barker, která představuje jak smyšlené postavy, tak i ty, které skutečně žily a které během první světové války trpěly válečnou neurózou, jež byla vnímána jako krize maskulinity. Práce také podporuje teorii, že to byla chybná interpretace, založená na názorech a vysoce nastavených zásadách vytvořených samotnou společností.

Úvod odhaluje problém duševního zhroucení, které zmařilo sny mnohých mužů, kteří vstoupili do války s odlišným míněním o svém údělu. Dále prezentuje stručnou charakteristiku některých úseků života Pat Barker, které měly velký vliv na psaní trilogie, stejně tak i na její vlastní vývoj v roli spisovatelky.

Následující kapitola je věnována rozvinutí tématu maskulinity a budování, vnímání a porušení norem s ní spojených. Kromě toho je zkoumán hlavně vznik a vývoj válečné neurózy, založený na skutečných záznamech v porovnání s těmi polosmyslenými, jak je ztvárnila Pat Barker. Podobně jsou analyzovány některé básně dvou postav trilogie, Siegfrieda Sassoon a Wilfreda Owena, které živě předkládají nejen strasti života v zákopech během první světové války, ale také mínění nezajímavé veřejnosti, která od mužů očekávala víc, než byli schopni vydržet.

V závěrečné části práce je rozebráno dílo Pat Barker ve srovnání s ostatními spisovateli minulého století, prokazující její jedinečnost ve způsobu uchopení tématu války.

Klíčová slova

Pat Barker, trilogie *Regeneration*, Siegfried Sassoon, Wilfred Owen, W. H. R. Rivers, maskulinita, krize maskulinity, shell shock, válečná neuróza, první světová válka, válečná literatura.

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1. Introduction

The First World War, conflict of many nations that occupied four long years of the twentieth century, remains broadly remembered and studied subject of the worldwide history. There are many sources available for studying or just simply commemorating the important, however, not pleasant part of lives of thousands of people who voluntarily or under pressure, actively or passively participated in the war. The years of 1914-1918 changed the direction of events that were about to become a long-lasting suffering of individuals involved.

Wars have always been mainly masculine concerns where those who defend a country are predominantly of male sex. A man's 'performance' in a battle has, therefore, become a race for meeting the qualities of masculinity that has been set just by men's participation in a war. Due to this vicious circle, men became, over a period of time, the ones who were supposed to act according to highly adjusted codes of masculinity. Their strength, courage, aggression, tough-mindedness and endurance, however, started to play a more considerable role than it might have seemed before. The situation concerning males' roles and behaviour in the Great War, how the First World War was nicknamed, started to worsen already after a short time spent in the battlefields. To men who came to the war with the vision of becoming heroes and examples for other 'real' men, mental breakdowns, muteness, stammering and paralyses, for which one word - 'shell shock' – became notorious, crossed the plans of becoming someone whose name would always stand for manhood, toughness and confidence.

There has been a wide variety of books written with the First World War being the subject matter. History books, encyclopaedias, textbooks and novels are still filling the bookshelves of the shops. The latter mentioned could be regarded as one of the most popular type of reading among general public. Rebecca West's *The Return of the Soldier*, John Dos Passos's *Three Soldiers*, Erich Maria Remarque's *All Quiet on the Western Front*, or Ernest Hemingway's *A Farewell to Arms* represent only a small number of novels that depict the events of the war. One of the few authors, however, who handled the Great-War theme from a different perspective, was Pat Barker whose *Regeneration* trilogy entered the awareness of the many.

The prizes and awards the *Regeneration* trilogy gained prove that Barker has created something extraordinary that deserves attention of not only critics but also of wider public. *Regeneration* was on the list of the four best novels of 1991 in the New York Review of Books and was also made into film, *The Eye in the Door* (1993), the second part of the trilogy, received the Guardian Fiction Prize, and finally *The Ghost Road* (1995), the final volume, won the Booker Prize in 1995 (Brannigan, 2005, p. 93). In the United States the *New York Times* chose *Regeneration* to be one of the four best novels of 1992 (Westman, 2005, p. 65). The extraordinary range of themes that Barker addressed, namely questions about duty, psychology, masculinity, class, love, homosexuality and many others that are present, ensures the novel's exceptional place in the canon of literature about First World War (Westman, 2005, p. 25).

The plot of *Regeneration* takes place at Craiglockhart War Hospital in Edinburgh, Scotland, in 1917 between the months of July and November. The novel begins with a reading of Sassoon's "A Soldier's Declaration" by which he protests against the war and as a result, luckily for him, he is sent to Craiglockhart War Hospital to be treated for neurasthenia (also called shell shock, war neuroses or post-traumatic stress disorder) by the psychoanalyst W. H. R. Rivers. There are quite a lot of patients in the hospital having various problems, some of them being unable to eat, some of them terrified at the sight of blood, some with mutism. Sassoon also meets his great admirer Owen there who is, however, given a minor space than the reader would expect, which does not take the novel from its quality though. The plot then concentrates on the relationship built between Rivers and Sassoon, and Rivers and his other patients including Billy Prior, whom Barker used as the anti-hero of the two sequels. At the book's end Sassoon returns to the front and Rivers retreats from Craiglockhart.

The plot of *The Eye in the Door* is set in 1918. Here, Barker continues the story of Dr. Rivers. The central patient this time though is already mentioned Billy Prior who still finds himself between two worlds: the world of lower and middle class, hetero and homosexual, sane and insane. He is placed in London where he works as a government spy, but he becomes interested in the anti-war movement and continues to see Rivers as an outpatient. The novel also deals with the true story of a woman who was convicted of having a share in the assassination of Lloyd George in 1917. In *The Ghost Road* Prior

and Owen return to the front and Rivers, stricken by the Spanish influenza, recalls his anthropological studies in Melanesia.

Several characters of the *Regeneration* trilogy, particularly those mentioned above, were real well-known people from different fields such as literature and science. Their lives, the life of Siegfried Sassoon, Wilfred Owen, both poetry writers whose poems provide sufficient imagination to realise the horrors of the war, and Robert Graves, the Welch Fusilier and a poet likewise, did intertwine. Both Sassoon and Owen actually received a psychiatric treatment from the doctor W. H. R. Rivers, the psychiatrist, when they were patients at Craiglockhart War Hospital. Dr Lewis Yelland and Dr Henry Head were also colleagues of Dr Rivers in reality. Although, there are also other characters like the working-class officer Billy Prior, one of the central characters, who is purely fictional. Many scenes in all the three novels, as well as the characters, are based on historical events. Therefore, historical notes, or, in the case of the *Regeneration* trilogy, author's notes that appear at the end of the book help readers to differentiate between historical facts and fictional cases. David Hogsette calls such notes "an ending that demands a rereading of [the] novel", and if not rereading, it demands at least rethinking of the preceding text (Westerman, 2006), which is absolutely true in the case of the *Regeneration* trilogy. Despite the fact that the author's notes do not provide a complete list of all real happenings, it does not decrease the value of the trilogy. By blending fiction with reality Barker has added a higher value to the novel, which both English and American reviewers appreciated (Westman, 2005, p. 61) and not only them.

The author of the novel was born as Patricia Margaret Drake in Thornaby, near Middlesbrough, on May the 8th 1943. She never knew her father. She was raised mainly by her grandparents, and was educated at the London School of Economics, where she studied International History. She began to write in her mid-twenties and was encouraged by the novelist Angela Carter to become a writer whose influence can be seen in Barker's use of black humour, quasi-vaudevillian vignettes and earthy physicality (Scran Hosted Web Sites, 2003). In contrast to the *Regeneration* trilogy, her early novels deal with lives of working-class women living in the north of England (Barker, 1986a, 1986b). Barker became interested in the World War I in her teens when she read the poems of Wilfred Owen and Siegfried Sassoon. She was also absolutely

amazed by the work of Dr. W. H. R. Rivers *Conflict and Dream* which she read in her twenties (Westman, 2005, p. 17): "Rivers' use of psychology was a way to restore the delicate balance of life, giving renewal to a life thought hopeless by its possessor". Rivers used some of the Freudian methods "to bring the traumatised soldiers back to a reality where they can accept life and the duties that they must fulfil" (Bowman, 2004). Her trilogy of novels about the First World War was partly inspired by her grandfather's experiences who as a young man had been fighting in the World War I and who became haunted by his war experiences that influenced Barker's understanding of the period and contributed to more vivid and personal rendering of the effects of the war. However, her grandfather's memories were not the only source for creating such an outstanding piece of writing. She consulted letters, notes, diaries and publications including those of Dr. Rivers. She also travelled a lot to get as much information as possible. Her husband provided her with a great help in this.

Barker as a novelist reinvents herself every decade. Since her novels of the 1980s deal with working-class women in north-eastern England, Barker's work, she herself confessed, was labelled as 'regional,' 'northern' or as 'feminist' and 'working-class fiction' (Nixon, 2004). Regional novels about the working classes were popular in the 1960s, so writing such novels in the 1980s meant for Barker that "you are thought of as doing something that is terribly old-fashioned" (as quoted in Westman, 2005, p. 14). Having been accused of being too regional and feminist, Barker surprised with the *Regeneration* trilogy by which she "established herself as a major presence in British fiction" (Showalter, 2003). Many people label the novel as 'historical' as many scenes are based on historical events, but Barker herself rejects it (Westman, 2005, p. 16).

She has chosen the period of the First World War, among other reasons, as it "[...] stands for the pain of all wars" (as quoted in Westman, 2005, p. 16). The war was characterised by a new technology - there were machine guns, gas bombs, and trenches. Due to this new technology World War I was also full of barbarities. The men who were fighting in the war experienced such horrors that "no human being should have ever experienced". The novel addresses the question of how the soldiers fighting in the war were able and supposed to cope with and overcome these horrors (Bowman, 2004). Since 2000, however, her writing has taken a new direction. It is more self-reflexive and

more self-critical influenced by her re-reading of Dostoevsky, *Border Crossing* being an example (Showalter, 2003).

Gender identity and its formation are one of the themes that Barker explores in the novel. Even though it may seem that Barker brought to the trilogy the same attention to gender as she had brought in the previous novels, this time all the central characters are men and the focus is mainly the cultural construction of masculinity in relation to the war, which is also the main focus of the thesis.

For the past two or three decades people were used to feminism showing the damaging effects of gender inequality on women. It has often been assumed that men, in their positions of dominance, have the most exciting and rewarding careers, feel more powerful in their public and private lives, and are generally favoured over women. Although, Roger Horrocks has found out that in fact "many men are haunted by feelings of emptiness, impotence and rage". He also admits that "there has not been much of a debate or argument about these issues" (1994, p. 1), which is why many of Rivers's colleagues considered soldiers' 'breakdown' to be a sign of cowardice as it did not match the heightened code of masculinity that dominated in wartime and that was intolerable to a surprisingly large number of men. Men were not supposed to get depressed, they were forbidden to show feelings other than aggression, and they were not supposed to want to be cared for (Horrocks, 1994, p. 144). According to Elaine Showalter, "shell shock was related to social expectation of the masculine role in war." She also points out that "The Great War was a crisis of masculinity and a trial of the Victorian masculine ideal" (1985, p. 171). And it is just the *Regeneration* trilogy that will provide a background for the exploration of the concept of masculinity and its relation to the mental breakdown, so highly developed just during the Great War, and for which many a man was considered a coward and his masculinity appeared to be in crisis. In other words, the relationship between construction and perception of masculinity, as well as masculinity crisis, the diagnostic term that was inadequately used not only during the Great War, with relation to shell shock that changed the process of the war will be explored by means of the characters and course of events in the trilogy. For a thorough illustration and understanding of possible sources of the masculine crisis, the analysis of some poems of Owen and Sassoon that bring the reader into the trench and war environment will be conducted to draw near the conditions and feelings of those

fighting in the war. This all will be done in order to prove that the men accused of not being able to fight for their country and not being able to acquit their masculine role, bearing the stigma of cowardice, were, in fact, victims of society of the period.

Another issue connected with masculinity and its crisis, which Barker is exploring in the novel, and which will not be provided with such an attention however, is male homosexuality that has always been surrounded by ambivalence. In spite of the fact that the characters in *Regeneration* avoid discussing homosexuality by name it makes a number of covert appearances through indirect allusions, associations and jokes which at the same time show men's fear of being read as homosexual or sexually deviant (Westman, 2005, p. 42) as the homosexuality was illegal in Britain from 1885 until 1967, and particularly in 1918, masculinity was manifested not only in war, but also in heterosexuality (Harris, 1998, p. 292). As far as the main characters and their orientation is concerned Barker effectively contrasts Prior's intense and indiscriminate bisexuality with Rivers's tepid asexuality and Sassoon's pure homosexuality.

It took Barker quite a long time to find a 'sufficiently original' way of writing about what she calls "one of the most overdone subjects there's ever been" (as quoted in Newman, 2005, p. 106). She has decided for masculine concerns and experience that offered a new world to explore, bigger and brighter than the conventional feminine sphere (Newman, 2005, p. 106). How she handled one of the gender issues, the issue of masculinity and aspects connected to it, will also be explored in the thesis to provide a different view of women's writing, because to only read about women would be to suggest that, in Barker's words, "feminist writing and feminism are exclusively about women" (as quoted in Westman, 2005, p. 21), which Roger Horrocks supports by the argument that "the masculine and feminine determine each other, are in a relationship with each other. Therefore masculinity cannot be viewed as an isolated phenomenon" (Horrocks, 1994, p. 2).

2. Gender and its roles

Gender issues have appeared in many literary books so far and even entered the canon of great literature. It is because literature is so closely tied to each culture in which it is created that it started to play an important part in the exploration of the meaning of gender (Wiegman, 1999, p. 9).

Barker addressed the gender issues in many of her novels, although only the *Regeneration* trilogy provides an insight into the construction of masculinity by the culture itself, and the war playing an important role in such a case. Before the analysis, however, it is necessary to provide a general overview of gender, how its roles and stereotypes have been built; and masculinity as its 'sub-category' to understand the subject and all the circumstances that preceded shell shock to be considered as a crisis of masculinity.

The study of gender roles has been officially recognized as a science since the beginning of the nineteenth-century sexology and psychoanalysis (Blazina, 2003, p. xi). From that time on gender has become, as Stephen Wicks claims, "a hot topic among scholars across all disciplines as well as among popular audiences" (1996, p. 1). It is a large theme surrounded by an unbelievable amount of prejudice, myth, ideology and misinformation (Connell, 2005, p. vii). Definitions of what the word 'gender' actually represents vary. In the most common usage the term means "the cultural difference of women from men, based on the biological division between male and female" (Connell, 2005, p. 8). Gender is something that defines who we are, the roles we play in society, the way we look (Wiegman, 1999, p. 3). It is impossible to state which definition is right and which is wrong, as one does not exclude the other.

Women as well as men are assigned certain qualities according to women are said to be women and men to be men. For instance, girls, still taught by mass culture, need to be thin, heavily made up and pretty to be desirable. They are also said to be naturally more emotional, nurturant, talkative, and intuitive than men (Connell, 2005, p. 28). Boys, on the contrary, are taught to be hard and dominant (Connell, 2005, p. 2-3), they are assumed to be aggressive, rational, stronger and faster, tough-minded, analytic, to have mechanical skills, and many other (Connell, 2005, p. 30). The editors of the book *Man and Masculinity*, Joseph Pleck and Jack Sawyer, provide the evidence

of the same experience concerning the qualities of boys and girls when they were growing up:

Staying cool, no matter what, was part of what we learned growing up male. We knew that big boys didn't cry, and that real men didn't get too excited except in places like football games. Spontaneous emotion – positive or negative – was suppressed or restricted to certain settings. We learned to mute our joy, repress our tenderness, control our anger, hide our fear. The eventual result of our not expressing emotion is not to experience it. (1974, p. 4)

The demands of the male and female roles, anticipated from the reflection above, are determined already in childhood. What is more, not depending on appearance, physical difference, behaviour or skill, any deviation from the pattern was, and sometimes even still is, considered scandalous (*ibid.*). All the above descriptions provided are examples of gender stereotypes that have already been studied and explored a lot, but still they are worthy of further critical thinking, which is important, from the literary point of view for further development of this thesis.

Much of the differences between men and women are determined by the sex differences. Two parties argue over the diversity. Essentialists believe that the differences registered in our society about women and men are based on biology, which means that the differences are natural. On the contrary, for social constructionists the differences are the products of the society. The heart of the debate of both of the parties then, is the way we understand and explain sex differences (Wiegman, 1999, p. 6-7). Both theories provide interesting views, however, to tend to only one of them would not be objective as both of them certainly play their parts. Some of the male characters Barker presents in the trilogy do not identify themselves with the characteristics and gender roles traditionally assigned to their sex. They break down in massive numbers, they explore the emotional sides of life, and they find the liking for persons of the same sex. In brief, they do not perform the traditional masculine roles.

2.1 Masculinity, its norms and perceptions

Since masculinity and its crisis constitute the main field of exploration in the thesis, for further analysis it is vital to provide a thorough look at the masculinity itself and the ways its norms have been constructed and perceived within different cultures and some historical scopes. For higher relevance, mainly warriors as the central

components of manhood, and at the same time the main characters of the *Regeneration* trilogy, will play the chief role as far as masculinity will be concerned.

As for the term 'gender', several definitions exist for the word 'masculinity'. Masculinism(ist), according to Goldstein, refers to "an ideology justifying, promoting, or advocating male domination" (2004, p. 2). To describe masculinity Anton Walpurg uses the following definition: "Masculinity is the property by which humans of the male sex are defined as manly; masculinity is what makes a man. [...] Masculinity is self-created and 'real' because people believe it." The concept of masculinity is complex; therefore, a broad range of subjects can be examined. In its modern usage, Walpurg quotes Ronald W. Connell's assumption of the term, which is that "one's behaviour results from the type of person one is. Then, a man's masculinity is assigned according to his behaviour." Again, different cultures view the behaviour from a different perspective (Walpurg, 2006-2007). Many cultures feature rites of passage from boyhood to manhood. Only some men can achieve 'manhood' that must be won individually. [...] Men who are unsuccessful in the tests become negative examples (Goldstein, 2004, p. 264). There is also the evidence that within one culture, there are several versions of masculinity that can occur even within the same institution, workplace or peer group (Connell, 2005, p. 89). Much also depends on history and social context.

Rogger Horrocks presents different stances of the two approaches to gender that are revealed terminologically in the use of the terms 'masculinity'/'masculinities': "In feminism and feminist sociology the use of the singular term is now heavily criticised on the grounds that there is no such unitary monolithic phenomenon as 'masculinity'. The use of the plural term deconstructs the notion of masculinity, and subjects it to a political critique" (1994, p. 33). The singular term seems to be more appropriate for the usage as it is defined in opposition to 'femininity'. Hence, the definition can never be made final, which was also caused by several developments beginning at the end of the fifteenth century, ranging from religious trends to wars (Walpurg, 2006-2007).

Different authors have written different books dealing with female liberation and female oppression, but until the eighties less has been written about the analysis of men and masculinities. Rogger Horrocks sees the reason for that in the super ordination of female themes over the male ones (1994, p. 9). However, he admits that masculinity as a 'theorised' and deconstructed topic was new, and adds that in his opinion "writers,

artists and philosophers have been pondering the problematic nature of manhood for a long time in a more unconscious way" (1994, p. 6). In his book he also presents David Morgan's view that "men have been studied for thousands of years, in the sense that most fields of enquiry have been implicitly about men. But men have not been studied as 'men'" (Horrocks, 1994, p. 12). A change came in the eighties and early nineties that saw such an increase in the study of men, which resulted in the fact that a considerable variety of approaches could be distinguished (ibid.). Although, according to Dennis Brown, "male war experience has not featured largely in gender studies (2005, p. 193).

Norms of masculinity are constructed in a variety of ways. Within each culture models of masculinity are created, challenged, and replaced over time. The paradigms of old norms blend with the new ones in a continuous process. Culture and class, as discussed in the previous chapter, play a very important role in shaping the appropriate gender roles. The process of change may occur when models of masculinity compete within the culture for the dominant position, or the model is introduced from outside the culture (Blazina, 2003, p. xv-xvi). Time is another factor that influences how the masculinity is perceived. In the Indo-European culture there was only one possible way of life acceptable – to be a warrior. Men were divided into four groups according to the physical ability to bear arms: "boys (too young to bear arms), young warriors, elder warriors (both of which bore arms), and older men (too old to bear arms) (Blazina, 2003, p. 3). In the medieval period, class definitions of masculinity seemed to collide, and in the Middle Ages, varied definitions of masculinity became much more differentiated and pronounced (Blazina, 2003, p. 37). Still, however, being a warrior was the central component of manhood. "The warrior, foremost among male archetypes ... has been the epitome of masculinity in many societies." Men had to be able to deny all feminine and soft in them (Goldstein, 2004, p. 266). In the 19th century, the British ideology of masculinity proposed Victorian boys into such roles that would be necessary to the preservation of the British Empire. Similarly, organized sports that rose in boys' schools were highly supported "as a way of building team allegiance and physical superiority". Several novels and Sir Baden Powell's creation of the Boy Scouts in 1908 also supported the idea of a man as a warrior (Shaddock, 2006).

Features of warrior values, formerly discussed, were closely related to the concepts of masculinity (Goldstein, 2004, p. 266). Historically, masculinity has not

been a constant concept; however, warriors' values have been nearly the same during the timeframe in many cultures:

Physical courage: "The warrior enjoys a fight, is prepared to risk wounds of death, and will if necessary engage superior forces; if death is inevitable he faces it bravely and without flinching."

Endurance: "The warrior can withstand extremes of climate, pain, hunger and thirst, and fatigue; he will fight on after defeats and reverses, and is not demoralised ..."

Strength and skill: "The warrior is physically robust, fit, and proficient in the use of his weapons; he is also a shrewd tactician and planner, not merely a berserk thug, although an element of frenzy in the desperate heat of battle is to be expected."

Honour: "The warrior is a 'man of honour'; he keeps his word, is loyal to his leader and to his comrades, and fights honourably..." (Goldstein, 2004, p. 266-7)

In *The Ghost Road*, Rivers describes his recollection of childhood initiation into a masculinity personified by his war hero grandfather:

He'd been wounded in the mouth and leg, and the leg had to be amputated. Without an anaesthetic, since there were no anaesthetics, except rum... And throughout the ordeal-family legend again – he had not once cried out. (p. 94)

Then Rivers remembers that after an incident at a barbershop, when young Rivers "had just been breeched" (*The Ghost Road*, p. 94) and cried afterwards, his father took him to see the grandfather's portrait, and provided him with a "lesson in manliness" (Harris, 1998): "You don't behave like *that*, you behave like *this*. "He didn't cry," his father had said, holding him up. "He *didn't make* a sound" (*The Ghost Road*, p. 95). Even Freudian like Ernest Jones who was fascinated by the cult of manliness wrote that war

brings a man a little closer to the realities of existence, destroying shams and remoulding values. It forces him to discover what the things are that really matter in the end, what the things are for which he is willing to risk life itself. It can make life as a whole greater, richer, fuller, stronger, and sometimes nobler. (as quoted in Showalter, 1985, p. 169)

Other values such as individual ambition, generosity, energy and hearty extroversion have sometimes been included as well (Goldstein, 2004, p. 267), which inevitably supports the behaviour of some pre-modern cultures that emphasise war in which

"a man cannot be called a man or marry until he has proven himself in battle" (Goldstein, 2004, p. 274).

All the qualities of a 'real man' must have imposed a great pressure on the soldiers who willingly underwent an extremely painful and unpleasant experience. What was more, they had to resist despite every instinct to flee (Goldstein, 2004, p. 266). Another feature of the true manhood the soldiers had to learn (Goldstein, 2004, p. 268), was the suppression of emotions, which was frequently accompanied by emotional stultification to uphold the masculine codes. In *Regeneration*, Rivers is having a session with Prior who has just revealed his traumatic memories repressed up to this point. Prior therefore, in an unusual way, expresses his longing for nurturing (Harris, 1998):

He put his head in his hands, at first, it seemed, in bewilderment, but then after a few moments he began to cry. Rivers waited a while, then walked round the desk and offered his handkerchief. Instead of taking it, Prior seized Rivers by the arms, and began butting him in the chest, hard enough to hurt. This was not an attack, Rivers realized, though it felt like one. It was the closest Prior could come to asking for a physical contact. Rivers was reminded of a nanny goat on his brother's farm, being lifted almost of her feet by the suckling kid. Rivers held Prior's shoulders, and after a while the butting stopped. Prior raised his blind and slobbery face. "Sorry about that." (*Regeneration*, p. 104)

Nevertheless the most important of emotions that were supposed to be suppressed were fear and grief as "the battlefield is a place almost without mercy and utterly without pity, where the emotions which humanity cultivates and admires elsewhere – gentleness, compassion, tolerance, and amity – have neither room to operate nor place to exist" (Goldstein, 2004, p. 267-8). Fear, however, is something that comes naturally in combat. Moreover, it provides some kind of challenge to the soldiers for a certain amount of time (Goldstein, 2004, p. 254). Males who failed to have the qualities expected proved themselves cowards (Goldstein, 2004, p. 268).

As gender is diverse, similarly, forms of war vary greatly. Different cultures fight in different ways - some wars take place far from home, some wars more than pay for themselves, others are economic disasters. What is true for all the wars is that those who fight react in many different ways as all human beings vary (Goldstein, 2004, p. 7-9). At the beginning of the First World War it was a man ideal to sacrifice one's own life for the country and the king, which was reinforced by the usage of vocabulary

and set of codes that were advisable for proper masculine behaviour (Shaddock, 2006). Some men could consider their military service to be the best time of their lives; some might feel activated in the battle. Nevertheless, there were also soldiers who were not able to function properly in a battle, which was caused by many reasons, psychological trauma being one of them. Hardly anyone was able to recognize that those codes of masculine behaviour, so strongly rooted in men's minds, were dangerously inadequate to what the modern war was about to bring (Shaddock, 2006), which Barker brilliantly took a portrait of.

3. Shell shock

3.1 The Outline of the First World War and the outbreak of shell shock

Since some of the crucial conflicts of the First World War appear further in the text and Barker's trilogy as well, it is important to provide a brief historical background of the main events of the war. Nevertheless, the causes and events that had preceded the war are not necessary to explain since they are not important for understanding of the issue the thesis is dealing with. From the point of view of objectivity different countries will be taken into account in the historical outline, however, further on mainly Britain and its concerns will be explored. The explanation is also important to realise what events had taken place before the starting point of the plot of the *Regeneration* trilogy that Barker decided not to include.

The last summer before the First World War was the most idyllic for many years. Hardly anyone had expected that it would be more ironic than any other war (Fussell, 2000, p. 64). The outbreak of the war dates back to the beginning of August 1914 when both blocs of the Great European Powers – Germany and Austria-Hungary on the one side and Great Britain, France and Russia on the other – declared war on each other. Its initial phase was dominated by many illusions as far as its pattern and length was concerned. There had been several wars among the states passing through the process of industrialisation though, like for example the Crimean war (1853-56), French-Prussian war (1870-71) and Russian-Japanese war (1904-05) or American civil war; however, there had never been any conflict among 'all' the industrialised states of Europe. Therefore, it was no wonder that most of the political and military leaders, as well as the civilian population, had considerably underestimated both time and effort that had been necessary for the victory in such a war. At the end of autumn of 1914 it was clear that Germany missed the quick victory won by the Prussian army at the beginning of the French-Prussian war. As a result, the front in the west froze and formed the line of interconnected defences stretching over the south of Belgium and north of France to the Swiss borders, known as western front. In the east, there was still a manoeuvre war, but during the second year of the war soldiers found themselves in the trenches as well, nevertheless the eastern front had never been the centre of the war (Winter, 1995, p. 14). The Great War was 'famous' for its new technologies, the system

of trenches being one of them. The ridiculous proximity of the trenches to home contributed to the irony of the war (Fussell, 2000, p. 64).

In February the 21st 1916, German army attacked the French one at Verdun lying in the east of France. This battle turned to a ten-month blood bath on both sides. Later that year in July the 1st British troops launched the offensive further in the west by the river Somme. The aim of this battle was to achieve the breakout in the German line and restore the war of manoeuvre, which everyone had been waiting for since October 1914. At the end of July 1917, British attempted once more, but this time it was in the south of Belgium, near the town of Ypres. The chain of offensive operations that continued until November is called the third battle of Ypres, in other words Passchendaele. It ended with the total failure. These battles left nearly two millions of casualties on both sides. Two events that changed the character of the war were as follows: In April 1917, the USA declared war on the central powers, and in March of the same year, the Russian revolution averted the czarist regime and replaced it with the Provisional government. In November, Lenin and revolutionary Bolsheviks seized power. They were the only group that was determined to take Russia out of the war at all costs. By signing the Brest-Lithuanian treaty on March the third in 1918 Russia forfeited a wide territory including Poland, Ukraine, Finland and Baltic area. After that, Germany could have concentrated on the western front and reinforced the troops in Belgium and France with the aim of making an offensive that would have enabled Germans to win the war before the American powers and material showed their strength. The offensive broke out on March the 21st 1918; however, it failed to benefit from its initial profits. In the summer of 1918, fortune changed. German army started to retreat, and all of the allies of Germany collapsed. The czar abdicated, and in November the 11th 1918, the armistice came into operation (Winter, 1995, p. 18).

One of the most important thoughts of the military plans of the 1914 was to get as many men as possible to battlefields. No matter how many soldier were there, they all had one in common – it did not last long to them to recognise the emptiness of the notions regarding the process of the war they had created (Winter, 1995, p. 121). At the beginning of the war, the basic requirement for a volunteer to get into the army was to stand at least five feet eight. Two months later the standard was lowered to five feet five. At the beginning of November, the number stabilised on five feet three (Fussell,

2000, p. 9). Many volunteers went to the war to seek the 'proof of manhood' that they hoped would energise their lives and countries (Goldstein, 2004, p. 276). There must have been something attractive in war for the men who participated voluntarily, which Ralph K. White approves. He describes the feelings as "fascinating" and "repulsive", that something "primitive in man urges him toward it, unconsciously if not consciously" (1970, p. 3). However, despite of all that, already after a short time spent in battlefields many soldiers from different countries started to suffer serious and long-lasting psychological problems. These problems were said to be the result of cumulative effect of the horrors of fighting, lack of sleep, climatic conditions and extreme psychological stress, which had the same effect as a physical injury - resulted in the inability to fight (Goldstein, 2004, p. 259). Studies of Allied troops in the 1944 Normandy campaign presented that only about a month a soldier could work effectively. Then the exhaustion came, which could have been initially hardly recognised by the soldier himself (Goldstein, 2004, p. 258). The reason for not detecting "all-is-not-well signals," so called by p. M. Jourard, might be the fact that if men are trained to ignore their own feelings in order to pursue the instrumental aspects of manliness more adequately, they are less sensitive to the signals (Pleck, 1974, p. 24). Alternatively, even if detecting the signals, the poet Louis Simpson described, the main case was to exercise self-control:

Being shelled is the main work of an infantry soldier, which no one talks about. Everyone has his own way of going about it. In general, it means lying face down and contracting your body into as small a space as possible. In novels [*The Naked and the Dead* is an example] you read about soldiers, at such moments, fouling themselves. The opposite is true. As all your parts are contracting, you are more likely to be constipated. (Fussell, 2000, p. 46)

In the poem "Repression of War Experience", Sassoon himself attempts to repress his emotions about the war to overcome his traumatic past:

[...] It's bad to think of war,
When thoughts you've gagged all day come back to scare you;
And it's been proved that soldiers don't go mad
Unless they lose control of ugly thoughts
That drive them out to jabber among the trees.
Now light your pipe; look, what a steady hand,
Draw a deep breath; stop thinking, count fifteen
And you're as right as rain....[...] (Sassoon, 1918, p. 51)

Here Sassoon shows, however, that it was not so easy to repel the traumatic memories just through the exercise of 'self-control' (Harris, 1998).

The influence of the horrors of wars on servicemen's minds has been chronicled as far back as the early Greeks and then in nearly every conflict including Thirty Years War where war-related illness of German soldiers was attributed to homesickness; or Franco-Prussian War of 1870 (Holden, 2001, p. 7-8). George A. Beard coined the actual term "neurasthenia", meaning nerve weakness, before the First World War. It was attributed to the stress of everyday life, or, for soldiers, the stress of the trenches (Blake, 2003). But it was during the First World War when the necessity for serious military-medico diagnosis came as there had never been such a war where no one had ever seen so many soldiers suffering from the varying degrees of mental breakdown (Holden, 2001, p. 7-8). Before the outbreak of the war there had been adequate historical warning of what might come, but no one was genuinely interested (Holden, 2001, p. 10). One month after the beginning of the war, the first men began to return in Britain, all of them suffering from some kind of mental breakdown (Holden, 2001, p. 13). Later on the number of soldiers suffering from the same disease increased and it extended to other armies. An epidemic rise came in July to December 1916, during the Battle of the Somme, when just in the British army 16 000 cases were recorded (Howorth, 2000, p. 225). The doctors, invited from all over Britain, just did not know what was happening with the soldiers, because at that time psychiatry was still, as Holden puts it, "on the fringes of the acknowledged medical establishment, and was characterised by a muddle of conflicting theories, diagnoses and treatments" (2001, p. 14). Elaine Showalter explains, "The goal of wartime psychiatry was primarily to keep men fighting, and thus the handling of male hysterics and neurasthenics was more urgently purposeful than the treatments" (1985, p. 176). Therefore, one of those who were recruited to help the soldiers cope with the illness was a professor Charles Myers, the former editor of the "British Journal of Psychology". He was the one who found out that the noise caused by the explosion of shells accompanied by a whirlwind of hot metal must have had some physical effect – concussion damaging the nerves. A few months later in his article published in the medical journal the "Lancet", Myers started to call such a condition by a phrase 'shell shock.' From that time on the term started to be used

(Holden, 2001, p. 16-17) and became the word declined by all the cases, described by Sassoon in a catching way:

Shell-shock. How many a brief bombardment had its long-delayed after-effect in the minds of these survivors, many of whom had looked at their companions and laughed while the inferno did its best to destroy them. Not then was their evil hour, but now; now, in the sweating, suffocation of nightmare, in paralysis of limbs, in the stammering of dislocated speech. Worst of all, in the disintegration of those qualities through which they had been so gallant and selfless and uncomplaining - this, in the finer types of men, was the unspeakable tragedy of shell shock. (as quoted in Freud Museum, 1998)

3. 2 Symptoms of shell shock

Symptoms of shell shock varied from soldier to soldier. Among the most common symptoms was a rapid pulse, profuse sweating, sense of suffocation and uncontrollable trembling (Hibberd, 2002, p. 245). Some patients even lost the use of their limbs or had severe stutters and unsteady legs. Wilfred Owen describes a terrible-to-watch feeling on such patients in his poem "Mental Cases":

Wading sloughs of flesh these helpless wander,
Treading blood from lungs that had loved laughter.
Always they must see these things and hear them,
Batter of guns and shatter of flying muscles,
Carnage incomparable, and human squander,
Rucked too thick for these men's extrication. (Hibberd, 2002, p. 244)

Other symptoms were as follows: nightmares, dizziness, disorientation, muteness, paralysis, blindness, vomiting, recurrent long-lasting nightmares and many others. What is, however, more interesting those who suffered from shell shock were mainly officers rather than enlisted soldiers, and their symptoms were more emotional, i. e. nightmares, insomnia, heart palpitations, depression, dizziness, disorientation. In *Regeneration*, Barker vividly describes Sassoon's nightmares:

"It was just when I woke up, the nightmares didn't always stop. So I used to see..." A deep breath. "Corpses. Men with half their faces shot off, crawling across the floor." (p. 12)

"[...] I just went off to sleep and... when I woke up, somebody was standing just inside the door. I knew who it was. I couldn't see the face, but I recognized his coat." He paused. "Orme. Nice lad. Died six months ago." (p. 188)

On the contrary, physical symptoms such as muteness, paralysis, limping, blindness, deafness, contracture of a limb, vomiting were typical of the private soldiers as they did not have to face such pressures "to uphold a masculine ideal, in order to motivate their men" (Goldstein, 2004, p. 269) and serve as a good example. Barker describes the difference in symptoms similarly:

And it's not just mutism. All the physical symptoms: paralysis, blindness, deafness. They're all common in private soldiers and rare in officers. It's almost as if for the ... the labouring classes illness *has* to be physical. They can't take their condition seriously unless there's a physical symptom. And there are other differences as well. Officers' dreams tend to be more elaborate. The men's dreams are much more a matter of simple wish fulfilment. You know, they dream they've been sent back to France, but on the day they arrive peace is declared. That sort of thing. (*Regeneration*, p. 96)

An officer Billy Prior was also among those whose trauma revealed in the form of mutism. He had seen two men, with whom he had been speaking a moment earlier while they were frying bacon, blown into pieces: "Of the kettle, the frying-pan, the carefully tended fire, there was no sign, and not much of Sawdon and Towers either, or not much that was recognizable" (*Regeneration*, p. 102).

Another reason for shell shock to struck mainly officers, Susan Blake provides a different explanation: coming from upper-class families their nerves were more likely to be damaged than the nerves of working-class men who were used to the stress of manual labour and potential poverty, which, however, might not have been true in all the cases. Not depending on being an officer or a regular soldier, according to experts of the time, shell shock "struck its victims where they were most vulnerable" (Hibberd, 2002, p. 246).

In 1980s, the term shell shock was replaced by the term 'post-traumatic stress disorder' – thereafter PTSD. It was officially accepted and it has been recognised in the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual (DSM)* of psychotherapy, "a bible of psychiatric disorders used world wide" (Holden, 2001, p. 150) where the PTSD is defined as:

"the development of characteristic symptoms" – persistent reexperiencing, avoidance of associated stimuli, and others – "following exposure to an extreme traumatic stressor involving direct personal experience of ... actual or threatened death or serious injury, or other threat to one's physical integrity." The common denominator of traumatic experiences is a feeling of "intense fear, helplessness, loss of control, and threat of annihilation." Experiences in which a survivor actively participated in killing or committing atrocities are especially traumatic, particularly when such participation cannot be "rationalized in terms of some higher value or meaning." (Goldstein, 2004, p. 260)

Symptoms of PTSD were divided into three main categories: "Hyperarousal' reflects a constant expectation of danger; 'Intrusion' refers to the lingering imprint of trauma on mental processes. Traumatic memories are separated off from other life memories, and are stored not in verbal and contextual form but as 'vivid sensations and images' sometimes re-enacted unconsciously in behaviours. 'Constriction' refers to the numbing of feelings, a natural response to pain" that inevitably leads to relationship problems (Goldstein, 2004, p. 260-2). Johnson and Rows presented a different division of symptoms – 'neurasthenic' and 'hysterical reactions' (Howorth, 2000, p. 225). Other symptoms were as follows: substance abuse (usually alcohol), and delusional outbursts of violence. Several cases were recorded when a combat veterans directed their aggression at the very women they depend on for care and connection. (Goldstein, 2004, p. 261-2).

There is only a slight difference for Dr Simon Wessely of the Maudsley Hospital who has been comparing shell shock cases from the World War I with PTSD cases from Vietnam:

The symptoms and supposed causes, the characteristic of post conflict syndromes in any given period, depend on the characteristics of post conflict syndromes in any given period, depend on the character of the war fought. The predominant image of World War One was of shells exploding, hence shell shock, but of Vietnam it was a nation's guilt and trauma towards its soldiers, hence PTSD. (Holden, 2001, p. 169-170)

So that, the essence of the case was not in the term used, more important thing was to treat those struck by the disorder sensitively using the appropriate treatment.

Origins of PTSD had been, with greater or lesser success, widely discussed. Some scholars regarded killing itself to be the source of PTSD. Others, however,

suggested that "PTSD results from the soldier's isolation from home and community, the multiple and prolonged traumas, and the uncertainty about the immediate future" (Goldstein, 2004, p. 263). Only two percent of soldiers apparently were able to bear the pressures indefinitely, which was a very low number (Goldstein, 2004, p. 258).

3. 3 Treatment of shell shock

Here again, as far as the treatment is concerned in the trilogy, Barker focused mainly on Dr. Rivers and his approach. Before Rivers entered the 'stage', the case was, however, more complicated as the treatment of shell-shocked soldiers (see appendix 1) varied. At the beginning of the war the work of Sigmund Freud and his colleagues in Vienna, such as Carl Jung and Alfred Adler was not considered credible. Freud theories were based on the analysis of dreams and on finding repressed sexual desires in almost every response. However, many of his theories started to be taken much more seriously later on, especially his belief "that serious psychological conditions such as war neuroses – or 'neurasthenia' as it was widely known – could be cured by making a patient confront his experiences and recall painful memories under hypnosis." He enlarged this idea to so called 'free association' based on rambling patient's thoughts in a relaxed state and adding information gathered from dreams and childhood recollections. Such techniques would become vital for the struggle with the wounded minds of the First World War participants (Holden, 2001, p. 14).

In spite of a great help of the professor Myers, the War Office urged the doctors to come up with precise classifications because of the lack of quick progress in solving the problem the War Office expected. Therefore, the doctors identified four types of war neurosis:

1. Shell shock, caused by an explosive shock to the central nervous system.
2. Hysteria, causing partial or complete loss of control over sensory perceptual motor functions.
3. Neurasthenia, caused by prolonged intense physical or mental strain, the symptoms of which were chronic fatigue, headache, exhaustion and loss of appetite.
4. Disordered action of the heart, or 'soldier's heart', manifested by palpitations, giddiness or fainting. (Holden, 2001, p. 22-23)

Once the problem had been classified, the identical treatment was set for all the patients having any of the symptoms stated above, and for the people working on the psychoneurosis wards, the following orders were issued:

1. Each patient on admission to have a hot drink.
2. Each patient to have three full meals a day unless otherwise ordered.
3. Do not discuss the symptoms with the patient.
4. No one is permitted in these wards unless assigned for duty.
5. The rapid cure of these patients depends on food, sleep, exercise and the hopeful attitude of those who come in contact with them. (Holden, 2001, p. 23)

Some doctors even tried to serve rum to the patients, which was quite popular. Only in the necessary cases, patients were sent first to a clearing station for classification and then to a base hospital, a few miles back from the front. This categorisation was a major breakthrough (Holden, 2001, p. 23-24). However, according to Goldstein it could have been hardly recognised whether soldiers were treated or punished (2004, p. 270) because to bring the soldier back to his duty, rather than to develop his well-being, some of the therapists used cigarette burns or electric shocks (ibid.). One of them was Dr Fritz Kauffman, the German psychiatrist, whose type of treatment – "using high-dosage electric shocks for several minutes at a time on limbs affected by hysterical paralysis" - became popular throughout Germany, in spite of occasional deaths (Holden, 2001, p. 30-31). This therapeutic procedure, which Freud himself acknowledged, was not focused on patient's recovery, but on his ability to return quickly to the service (Freud Museum, 1998), which was the main goal.

The success of treatment by electric shocks turned out not to be long-lasting because until the summer of 1915, the loss of lives was enormous and the threat of shell shock still filled the air (Holden, 2001, p. 33-34). The main problem dwelled in the arbitrariness of shell shock, as it was impossible to predict which of the men is more prone to breakdown than the others (Holden, 2001, p. 28). The theories of what caused it continued. Between the beginning of the war and April 1916, 11,300 men – including 1,300 officers and 10,000 other ranks – were sent to the United Kingdom hospitals having shell shock. Nevertheless, it still was not the final number, the worst was about to come. It was the 1st July 1916 when the battle of Somme started and after that, about thirty thousand cases of shell shock were recorded, which caused an extreme difficulty

to the military "to maintain that the condition was either lunacy or cowardice" (Holden, 2001, p. 33-34).

After the battle of Passchendaele, in July 1917, a new wave of shell-shock cases came and the government and the military had to struggle with a mounting dilemma. Letters and articles criticising the war and the treatment of shell-shock victims started to flood the press despite censoring the letters sent from the front, which started to be even stricter (Holden, 201, p. 42-43). Then the turning point in official attitudes to shell shock came: it started to be seen "as a temporary psychological breakdown brought on by the strains of war" and, as a result, 'forward psychiatry' came into existence. Its principle was that "those affected must be kept within earshot of the guns and close to the physical presence of their men" (Holden, 2001, p. 42-44). Therefore, after heavy fighting in Europe, about a quarter of soldiers who were not injured physically but had problems like babbling, crying, shaking, or were in such a trance that they were not able to hear or talk were departed to US Army medical facilities. To get them back to the lines doctors were keeping them close to the front, giving them hot food and new clothes. All that helped to return the soldiers back to their duty even after three days of such treatment (Goldstein, 2004, p. 258).

There was also another point made that emphasised the presence of females which helped soldiers in their recovery. "Having heaven-sent girls in nursing positions not far behind the front, therefore, did more than fill 'manpower' shortages in support roles. It provided the audience before which men would be most likely to want to prove their manhood by going back on the line." In addition, these were not only nurses but also mothers, wives and girlfriends who played a central role in recovery from combat trauma over the longer term (Goldstein, 2004, p. 308-9). The necessity of communication with the families and friends resulted in a huge amount of postal contacts with the front during the war (Winter, 1995, p. 130).

After a new approach to treatment of shell-shocked soldiers was established, Myers had reached the conclusion regarding nervous disorders among soldiers: they "were caused either by shells bursting nearby or long-standing fear, horror, fatigue and insomnia." He was the one to petition for the abolition of the term 'shell shock' but despite many efforts, many soldiers were still considered insane. However, he refused to give up, and laid down the basis of new principles used nowadays by military

psychiatrists: "the PIE model of Proximity, Immediacy and Expectation. The theory is that if you treat men near the front, you treat them straight away and you treat them like soldiers, not like patients, they have a much greater chance of recovery" (Holden, 2001, p. 44-46).

More and more people became interested in the psychiatric issue of shell shock, although the fact that theory and treatment was emphasised over the cure started to be more worrying. Therefore, it did not last long for the previously condemnable Freudian theories, including hypnosis, to become popular (Holden, 2001, p. 47). However, the hypnosis revival was accompanied by many debates. One of the concerns was 'how' actually the method would bring the relief to the patient. Myers concentrated on the dissociated memory; hypnosis allowed the patient to return mentally to the event, which helped him in having new knowledge of himself. Myers also stressed the importance of a good timing of the hypnotic treatment (Whitehead, 2005, p. 203-204). Another person who also treated soldiers at that time was Dr. William Brown who believed that "the hypnotic cure depended for its efficacy upon precisely the emotional re-entry into the traumatic event", which Myers warned to avoid. His treatment was based on experiencing such emotions that the patient was not able to experience in reality (Whitehead, 2005, p. 205).

Still, the number of those suffering was enormous. The War Office gave a free hand as far as the treatment was concerned. Dr Lewis Yealland, considered to be "the most extreme advocate of disciplinary treatment among the English doctors" (Showalter, 1985, p. 178), advocated his own special brand of therapy using both electric shocks and autosuggestion. He used a technique called 'faradization' by which he quickly cured hysteria and claimed to detect malingerers (Holden, 2001, p. 49-50). His treatment Barker also describes in her trilogy. Even if it might have seemed cruel, the doctors just had to achieve certain results. If not they were under the threat of losing a job. In addition, as any treatment practised so far, likewise the Yealland's one had its weak side – deaths during treatment and suicides (Holden, 2001, p. 52-53). Fortunately, there were many other enlightened doctors who came with the new idea of treating shell-shocked men with respect, but their methods had the same goal as the previous ones: returning men to combat as quickly as possible. A British doctor and anthropologist and one of the central figures of the *Regeneration* trilogy, W. H. R.

Rivers, former tutor of Charles Myers, was, among others, one of them. He and his colleagues worked in The Red Cross Military Hospital at Maghull near Liverpool that was one of the most radical and innovative hospital of the era where mainly working-class men were placed (Holden, 2001, p. 53-54). Another famous treatment centre was Craiglockhart Military Hospital (see appendix 2) at Slateford, two miles from Edinburgh in Scotland, the setting of the first part of the *Regeneration* trilogy, where only 'neurasthenic' officers could enter. It was established in the autumn of 1916 because at that time a new wave of shell-shock cases came after the battle of Somme (Hibberd, 2002, p. 251). It also became a new place of work of Dr Rivers, later regarded as a miracle worker though he had to face dissatisfaction of the military authorities with his "gentle and consequently slow methods" (Holden, 2001, p. 64):

In leading his patients to understand that breakdown was nothing to be ashamed of, that horror and fear were inevitable responses to the trauma of war and were better acknowledged than suppressed, that feelings of tenderness for other men were natural and right, that tears were an acceptable and helpful part of grieving, he was setting himself against the whole tenor of their upbringing. [...] It was Rivers's conviction that those who had learned to know themselves, and to accept their emotions, were less likely to break down again (*Regeneration*, p. 48)

Rivers was influenced by Freud; therefore he introduced Freud's work to the British medical establishment, however, slightly altered as a result of his own research and experience. Freud believed, that every dream, among other interpretations, was a wish-fulfilment, or that in the dream "the disturbing thoughts are so distorted and disguised that their real nature is not recognised by the sleeping-consciousness". Rivers, admitted that the reading of Freud "left a most unsatisfactory impression" in his mind as the interpretations seemed to him "forced and arbitrary, and the general method of so unscientific a kind that it might be used to prove anything" (Rivers, 2004, p. 4-5), therefore he established his own method in dream-analysis that he tried on himself first. After analysing his own dreams, he concluded that dreams were the expression of conflicts, and attempts to solve the conflicts by such means as are available during sleep. That was why he regarded Freud's formula as "unduly simple" (Rivers, 2004, p. 17) and in some cases even "too crude" (Rivers, 2004, p. 50). In addition, Freud's method of dream-analysis by free association had some factors that, according to Rivers, were neglected (2004, p. 63). For Rivers a feature of the war-dream was "the

exaggerated character of the fear experienced, this exaggeration being a character of infancy and childhood." Therefore, the nightmares and war-dreams were examples of "infantile states" and "occurrences of the sleep of adults which appear in a form characteristic of infancy" (Rivers, 2004, p. 74).

Another theory Freud believed and Rivers disbelieved in was that war neuroses were caused by sexual factors. Nevertheless, with the help of Freudian theory, as Rivers believed, there was "not a day of clinical experience in which Freud's theory may not be of direct practical use in diagnosis and treatment" (Freud Museum, 1998). The doctors at Maghull concluded, "the root cause of the symptoms of shell shock was a traumatic event that had been repressed and which, they believed, would reveal itself in dreams. [...] It was the birth of the talking cure" (Holden, 2001, p. 53-54). Dreams and their analysis became popular with other doctors elsewhere. Even the books started to be published in 1917 (Holden, 2001, p. 57).

In the case of hypnosis, Rivers tried to avoid its usage as far as possible because he believed that it would impair patient-physician relationships that he was particular about, or, in the worst instance, it could cause a splitting of the personality (Whitehead, 2005, p. 207). His main argument subsisted in the fact that "dreams are attempts to solve in sleep conflicts which are disturbing the waking life. The character of the dream, at any rate in so far as its emotional aspect is concerned, depends upon the degree in which this attempted solution is successful" (Rivers, 2004, p. v). Though dreams became for him "the scene for the revival of the past" (Whitehead, 2005, p. 207). He describes such revival in his book *Conflict and Dreams 1923*:

The nightmare of war-neurosis generally occurred at first as a faithful reproduction of some scene of warfare, usually some experience of a particularly horrible kind or some dangerous event, such as a crash from an aeroplane. A characteristic feature of this variety of dream is that it is accompanied by an affect of a peculiarly intense kind, often with a special quality described as different from any known in waking life. The dream ends suddenly by the patient waking in a state of acute terror directly continuous with the terror of the dream and with all the physical accompaniments of extreme fear, such as profuse sweating, shaking, and violent beating of the heart. Often the dream recurs in exactly the same form night after night, and even several times in one night, and a sufferer will often keep himself from sleeping again after one experience from dread of its repetition (2004, p. 66).

At the very beginning of *Regeneration* Barker briefly introduces Rivers's way of treatment of nightmares (p. 26), this time, however, without mentioning the usage of hypnosis. The treatment seems to be quite simple at first sight, although when the plot develops, the reader himself recognises the difficult position Rivers was situated in and struggles he had to fight with. The analysis of dreams and hypnosis were not, however, his only way of treatment. As a supplement, Rivers utilized his own masculine indoctrination. On the one hand, he advised patients to express themselves in ways that were formerly inadmissible by the masculine codes; on the other hand, he treated them in a "silencing manner" that was similar to the lesson of "appropriate masculine expression" that he received from his father after the incident in the barber's shop (Harris, 1998).

Rivers's most famous patient was Second Lieutenant Siegfried Sassoon of the 3rd Battalion Royal Welsh Fusiliers, who arrived in July 1917. He, already a published poet, became friendly with, at that time, twenty-five-year-old Wilfred Owen. A second lieutenant in the Artists' Rifles and later the 5th Battalion Manchester Regiment, who, after having been concussed by a shell, was forced to lie out in no man's land for several hours beside a mutilated body of one of his countryman (Holden, 2001, p. 60-64).

During the Great War, British military lost 80,000 soldiers – one-seventh of all disability discharges – to shell shock (Goldstein, 2004, p. 260). However, Holden adds other figures: a closer figure would be 200,000 on the British side (2001, p. 70). Before the end of the war and before having known such a number, military leaders started to worry that too many soldiers would try to escape with honour if they were diagnosed with shell shock, which was why a British report recommended "pensions be denied to victims of shell shock because no such thing exists. Rather, about 90 percent of such cases were simply total exhaustion, best treated quickly, briefly, and near the front." Only about 10 percent were regarded as true neuroses (Goldstein, 2001, p. 260). Two years after the end of the war, only about 65,000 ex-servicemen were fortunate enough to be drawing pensions for their disabilities (Holden, 2001, p. 70).

A few years later after the WWI, the psychological interest in shell shock faded, and those affected by the combat trauma were treated as someone who embarrasses civilian societies that wanted to forget. People considered them 'strange' because "identities formed in war ... were formed beyond the margins of normal social

experience" (Goldstein, 2004, p. 271). Nevertheless, Lord Southborough insisted on the establishment of a committee that would investigate the nature and treatment of shell shock, and stated that, "the subject of shell shock cannot be referred to with any pleasure. All would desire to forget it – to forget ... the roll of insanity, suicide and death; to bury our recollections of the horrible disorder, and to keep on the surface nothing but the cherished memory of those who were the victims of this malignity. But, my lords, we cannot do this, because a great number of cases of those who suffer from shell shock and its allied disorders are still upon our hands and they deserve our sympathy and care". After another two years of considering the issues, the conclusion was as follows: "the term shell shock was too generalised," nevertheless, certain recommendations were settled, although some of them were not received with much enthusiasm in peacetime as it was expected that such a thing could not possibly happen again (Holden, 2001, p. 70-71).

4. Crisis of masculinity

Agreeably with Elaine Showalter, shell shock was closely related to what the society expected from men in war (1985, p. 171). The public viewed the Great War to be "strong unreflective masculinity, embodied in the square, solid untroubled figure of Douglas Haig, the British commander-in-chief [...] whose image was prepared by the boys' books of G. R. Henty, by Rider Haggard's male adventure stories, by the romantic military poems of Tennyson and Robert Bridges" (Showalter, 1985, p. 169). For British men of the First World War generation, manliness meant the same as not to complain (Goldstein, 2004, p. 276). For many, masculinity meant "courage, strength, hardness, control over the passions" (Goldstein, 2004, p. 275). The Greek word 'andreia' is the word of manliness, but at the same time, it is also the word for courage. Aristotle pointed out that courage is best shown in battle (Mansfield, 2006, p. 75). The war, then, offered a great challenge to meet such qualities. A volunteer in 1914 noted: "I believe that this war is a challenge for our time and for each individual, a test by fire that we may ripen into manhood, become men able to cope" (Goldstein, 2004, p. 276). However, the case of shell shock crossed the plans of many a man because in World War I and other cases, shell shock was confused with either cowardice, real madness (Holden, 2001, p. 26), or was treated as the failure of manliness:

They'd been trained to identify emotional repression as the essence of manliness. Men who broke down, or cried, or admitted to feeling fear, were sissies, weaklings, failures. Not *men*. (Barker, 1992, p. 48)

'Britain found that "[n]o longer could [male hysteria] be dismissed as a continental aberration from which stout British manhood was immune"' (Goldstein, 2004, p. 270). André Léri described soldiers suffering from hysterical disorders in war as "moral invalids" whose biological predisposition was "a weakness to collapse in the face of the enemy" (Showalter, 1985, p. 171). It was similar in Australia - shell shock was treated as a "stark reminder of the fragility of masculinity" because it made men "emotional, dependent and weak – bearing the traits of the feminine". It might have been caused by labelling men's loss of self-control, the aspect of shell shock, as 'hysteria' or 'hysterical paralysis', which was a feminine ailment (Goldstein, 2004, p. 270). The term also indicated that the soldiers had become over-emotional and suggestible; in short, they

had qualities that men were not supposed to have especially in a time when it was necessary to defend their country. An American physician, p. Weir Mitchell, wrote that even the bravest soldiers had become "as hysterical as the weirdest woman" (as quoted in Holden, 2001, p. 9). In *The Ghost Road*, Barker alludes to the same problem in a conversation between Rivers and his patient Moffet who protests against the feminine connotations of the word 'hysteria':

"I don't like that word. Applied to this."

"Hysteria?" He could quite see that 'shell shock', useless and inaccurate thought the term was, might appeal to Moffet rather more. It did at least sound appropriately male. "I don't think anybody likes it. The trouble is nobody likes the alternatives either."

"It derives," Moffet continued, hardening his voice, "from the Greek *hysteria*. The womb."

"Yes," Rivers said dryly. "I know." (p. 48)

Because of such hostility to the term, the word 'neurasthenia' started to be used instead (Holden, 2001, p. 17).

Many soldiers suffering from shell shock were executed and shot afterwards. Most of them were young teenagers who had come voluntarily to service to discharge their duties. General Haig, mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, declared that each man who had been accused of cowardice was examined by a Medical Officer and that no soldier was sentenced to death with the suspicion of him suffering shell shock. What was true, however, was that a Medical Officer did not examine most of such soldiers, and even if they were examined and diagnosed shell shock, they were convicted and shot anyway. Haig, therefore, proved himself a liar supported by the fact that he signed all the death warrants (Field, 1996-2007).

The British Military, amongst the Western nations involved in the First World War, were the furthest behind in understanding trauma, as they *just* wanted to have men at the Front as quickly as possible. The obsession of British Generals with making accusations of cowardice and malingering was so high that a theory of projection came into consideration; "weak, inadequate, cowardly, but aggressive individuals project their weaknesses onto others in order to distract and divert attention from their own weakness and inadequacy", which more than speaks for itself (Field, 1996-2007).

Although, in some cases, the term 'shell shock' really became an excuse for few malingerers who just became tired with the war and wanted to go home. In certain units, as Myers reported, "it had 'become fashionable, if not catching' to have shell shock" (Holden, 2001, p. 26). Holden's book provides an insight into the mind of one malingerer, noted in a personal account written by J. W. Rowarth, a member of an Irish regiment:

I started to scheme, how the hell can I work my ticket and get out of this bloody war. I had heard from a bloke that patriotism was the refuge of a coward. If that is right, I admit I am a coward, a bloody bleeding coward and I want to be a live coward rather than a dead blasted hero.

So he ran away, lay down in a ditch as if wounded, was taken to hospital and questioned by the neurologist:

My thoughts now were on whether I could fool the doctors. To every question they asked, I replied, "I don't remember." The doctor said, "We cannot keep him here, he requires special treatment," saying something like "amnesia, shell shock". He wrote on my card "Evacuate" (Holden, 2001, p. 27).

Because of such cases some of the generals suggested to form some sort of a 'maligner's brigade' that would consist of men disclosed and accused of cowardice who would wear a distinctive uniform and do the hardest and dirtiest duties as punishment (Holden, 2001, p. 9), or they were just sentenced to death (Holden, 2001, p. 26). The number of such men, however, was a great deal lower than the number of those who just were not able to bear the pressures the Great War brought.

The consideration of the behaviour of the fighting men as cowardly, or even as crisis of masculinity, sometimes fades that fact that the principle of self-preservation prevails over many other principles. Ralph K. White compares men with animals by which he supports the previous statement: "In animal evolution the principle of self-preservation is more basic than the urge to fight with other members of the same species; the fittest survive partly because they manage to escape from danger" (1970, p. 3). In other words, as Jennifer Shaddock points out, "war neurosis was a psychic compromise between the British masculine ideals of duty, honor, and patriotism and the individual's instinct to survive" (2006).

Elaine Showalter viewed the shell shock and its aspects from a slightly different perspective. For her it was "the body language of masculine complaint, a disguised male protest, not only against the war, but against the concept of manliness itself" (1985, p. 172). In addition, several figures of the study of Kulka show that "the psychological trauma that results from participation in combat is not innately gendered. Women are as terrified as men during fighting, and as prone to PTSD afterwards, depending on the level of exposure to war-zone stress" (Goldstein, 2004, p. 263). Any sane males or females who are exposed to terrifying sights and sounds of battle want to run away instinctively, or just want to do something to be protected and not to hurt or even kill other people. The ideas that "war thrills men, expresses innate masculinity, or gives men a fulfilling occupation" show that war is something imposed on men. "War is hell" (Goldstein, 2004, p. 253), which Owen acknowledged in one of the letters he wrote to his mother where he describes the conditions of the trench warfare (see appendix 3).

Also with the new term – PTSD, coined after the war in Vietnam – different approach to suffering victims appeared – finally, they started to be treated as heroes. They were told, for the first time, that what happened with them was not their fault. PTSD became a "guilt-free" diagnosis – someone or something did this to you. It is an acceptable psychiatric disorder, with no guilt attached" (Holden, 2001, p. 170). Men can be prepared and trained for almost anything except "the sight of a charred body or freshly maimed friend". Such was a conclusion made by W. H. R. Rivers in 1917 (Holden, 2001, p. 184), which is still valid today. Therefore, to consider mental breakdown as a crisis of masculinity is misleading, which is also supported by the claim of the former RAF psychiatrist Gordon Turnbull who points out that the same or similar symptoms can occur after any major accident – war, train crash, rape (Holden, 2001, p. 175). Moreover, the people involved can be anyone – male or female.

Nevertheless, the shooting of about 300 British and Commonwealth World War I soldiers for spurious reasons remained one of the biggest injustices for a long time, which was reinforced by the governments' refusals to clear their names posthumously (Field, 1996-2007). The progress has already been made; however, the result is still not, and will hardly any time be, comparable to the loss and damage of so many lives.

4. 1 Homosexuality

Shell shock although, was not the only thorn in eyes of those who believed in the inviolability of the masculine ideal, which may be the reason why Barker decided to address the issue of homosexuality so straight-out, with no taboo or other obstacles involved.

In a battle, comradeship plays a very important part. It can be a unit of five to ten soldiers who bond strongly. "In battle the unit will become the only important thing in the infantryman's universe; nothing outside it matters, and no sacrifice for the other men in it is too great." The words of the psychologist Judith Herman, an expert on combat trauma, speak for itself: "[i]n fighting men, the sense of safety is invested in the small combat group. Clinging together under prolonged conditions of danger, the combat group develops a shared fantasy that their mutual loyalty and devotion can protect them from harm. They come to fear separation from one another more than they fear death" (as quoted in Goldstein, 2004, p. 196). Comradeship within such a unit enables men to fight. There is no wonder than that such a strong bond can get beyond the borders, borders of comradeship and love. A combat veteran said that "among men who fight together there is an intense love. You are closer to those men than to anyone except your immediate family when you were young" (ibid.). The protagonists of the *Regeneration* trilogy, Wilfred Owen, and Siegfried Sassoon were also homosexuals, including Billy Prior whom Barker impersonated as bisexual, the quality that have also been researched a lot. Men at that time were afraid of having been labelled as 'homosexuals', which is apparent in characters' use of jokes or by references to Freud, Billy Prior being an example. Dr Rivers, having been an anthropologist, had certain knowledge of other cultures and their sexual life, which made him sympathetic to homosexuality in Britain.

Attitudes towards homosexuality, as well as attitudes towards males' behaviour, differ across time and place, from relative acceptance to pure intolerance (Goldstein, 2004, p. 7). In the Great War, homosexuality, equated to pacifism, was a taboo issue, that Barker, according to Dennis Brown "unusually for a woman novelist, engages head-on: a crisis in ideas about masculinity" (Brown, 2005, p. 192). In other words, "being a homosexual, being a pacifist, suffering a mental 'breakdown' were activities unbecoming to men" (Harris, 1998). Brown, however, does not see homosexuality as

a 'crisis in masculinity' but the crisis in ideas about it. In his view "sexual inclination has virtually no relevance to the imagined ideal of masculinity: Sassoon is homosexual and lethal at the front; but nor is it clear how this might differ from feminine courage and sense of duty of a similar kind" (Brown, 2005, p. 193).

Society has constructed the roles in which masculinity permits only certain kinds of intimacy among men including hand-shaking, patting on the back or putting an arm around one's shoulders (Pleck, 1974, p. 74-75). The barriers were and still are too high to overcome. The first step towards male liberation is homosexual self-understanding that would lead to "throwing off the yoke of society's voice saying, 'If you want to be a man you must ... you should... you dare not.'" It is a necessary step toward manhood [...] (Pleck, 1974, p. 93).

5. Poetry of the First World War

One can hardly imagine and express the horrors of the war unless she or he experiences them personally, as the vivid images remain ineffaceably in the memory. One of the most miraculous attributes of the First World War was that it gave birth to a special 'literature of memoirs', innumerable books of memories of soldiers, ex-soldiers, and fiction, all called by the term 'war literature' (Winter, 1995, p. 226). In other words, the subject of the Great War was remembered, conventionalised and mythologized by many literary means. At the time of no cinema, no radio, and no television people found amusement in language formally arranged like in books, periodicals, or in anecdotes or rumours (Fussell, 2000, p. x - 4).

One of the most popular expressions of feelings that accompanied the war was by means of poems. Poetry was the best medium to speak out on behalf of all soldiers as it was easier for the poems than for prose to get past the censor, and moreover, a small number of lines in a magazine could have more impact than a several-pages article (Hibberd, 2002, p. 271). Nevertheless, the poetry of the Great War was somehow different from the poetry of the 1900s. The reason was, in Sanders's view, that "the war provided a disturbing context which forcibly transformed the often placid, elegiac, and unadorned poetry of the 1900s into a painfully observant record or a vehicle of protest (2004, p. 510). Pre-WWI war poems focused mainly on the glory of combat, which was lost to the WWI poets in the brutality of trench warfare (Hecker, 2005). Moreover, war poetry was, as Alexander puts it, "a natural medium for the expression of public feelings" (2000, p. 321) because the soldier poets of the First World War were among those who could "effectively memorialise the Great War as a historical experience with conspicuous imaginative and artistic meaning" (Fussell, 2000, p. ix). There were scarcely new innovative elements in the poems but usually, poetry was about the Front written by young combatants such as Siegfried Sassoon, Wilfred Owen, Rupert Brooke, Isaac Rosenberg, or Thomas Hardy (Fussell, 2000, p. 4). However, the surprising fact is that the poems on the war subject written during the World War One were not written entirely by men. Bibliographical study of English poetry of the Great War revealed that 2225 people published the poems of which 532 were women. The study was interested in published books, not the poems that appeared in the press. Poetry written by women during the first months of the war reflected the sense of patriotism, honour and duty. As

the war proceeded, the range of themes started to broaden. Women like Vera Brittain, Edith Nesbit, Elizabeth Daryush and many others had written their own protest poetry even before Owen and Sassoon (Winter, 1995, p. 228). By focusing her attention on the war poets in the *Regeneration* trilogy, Barker shows her interest, although not the only one, in the composition of war poetry (Brown, 2005, p. 193-194) that has become an integral part of literary history.

One of the poets and the central figure of the *Regeneration* trilogy, Second Lieutenant Siegfried Sassoon, later became an icon of the First World War (Holden, 2001, p. 21). He was born in Kent in 1886. He grew up in a pastoral and traditional society. At Clare College, Cambridge, he started to study law but then shifted to history, although he left without taking a degree. He returned home where he enjoyed the pleasures of life including an inherited income of about five hundred pounds a year. After the age of nineteen until twenty-six, he published privately nine volumes of Keatsian and Tennysonian verse. Then the First World War came. Sassoon, nicknamed 'Mad Jack' by his men, enthusiastic at first quickly became appalled by what he saw in the war. In was just in the trenches where he began to write the poetry for which he is remembered. He was among those who was diagnosed unfit for duty, however, in his case, the political interests played its part, "A Soldier's Declaration" being the reason. As a result, he was sent to Craiglockhart mental sanatorium in Scotland (Fussell, 2000, p. 90-92). In 1917 he published his war poems in *The Old Huntsman*. In June 1918 he issued *Counter-Attack and Other Poems* and a month later he was wounded in the head and came back home. He was unable of any literary work until 1926. After that, he started to work on a series of six volumes of his memoirs including *Sherston's Progress* where he described Craiglockhart as a 'museum of war neuroses' (Holden, 2001, p. 60). He lived until the age of eighty-one. During the war, Sassoon confessed, Thomas Hardy had been his "main admiration among living writers" (as quoted in Fussell, 2000, p. 7).

One of the Sassoon's best-known poems that provided a title to the whole collection of poems is "Counter-Attack" (see appendix 4). In the poem Sassoon describes how British troops captured the enemy's position in the trench, as well as the conditions soldiers were exposed to. "Pallid, unshaved and thirsty, blind with smoke," they had to do their best to save their lives. The view of rotten dead bodies, "green clumsy legs" that were "sprawled and grovelled along the saps", and "trunks, face

downward, in the sucking mud," falls within those views that cannot be forgotten. The soldiers were prepared to attack the enemy which, unfortunately, was quicker, and surrounded them. What happened next, Sassoon impressively recorded at the end of the last stanza where he gave a vivid account of the painful end of soldier's life blended in yells and groans of his fellows:

And he remembered his rifle ... rapid fire...
And started blazing wildly ... then a bang
Crumpled and spun him sideways, knocked him out
To grunt and wriggle: none heeded him; he choked
And fought the flapping veils of smothering gloom,
Lost in a blurred confusion of yells and groans...
Down, and down, and down, he sank and drowned,
Bleeding to death. The counter-attack had failed.

The counter-attack, however, was not the only thing that failed in the war. There were loads of other things bearing the label 'failure' which Sassoon protested against, and which resulted in grief and mourning of the many.

The review in *The New York Times* briefly but concisely summarizes what Sassoon wanted to convey by the poem, what he wanted to share with others:

"Counter-Attack" is exactly what its name implies: it is a counterattack upon the sentimentalism, the tinsel haloes, the hysteria of 'patriotism' with which the masses of the public in a war-stricken land defend themselves against the inroads of horror" (*Poems of the War and After the War*, 1919).

Another poem, "Suicide in the trenches" (see appendix 5), provides a slightly different view of the war. It again brings near the conditions of the trench warfare that this time, however, ended in a suicide of a young soldier whom Sassoon met in the war. Sassoon provides an image of his fellow-soldier who, in spite of the cruelties of the war, was happy as he was able to sleep soundly in the nights and even whistled like a bird early in the morning when he woke up. But then winter came, accompanied by sadness, melancholy and awful hygienic conditions, which was the cause of soldier's unfortunate decision to take away his life. In the last stanza, Sassoon seems to be blaming those "smug-faced crowds" who looked excited to see young soldiers who go to war, (Sassoon, 1918, p. 31), but then they do not care anymore if any of the soldiers die.

The soldier, called 'soldier boy' by which Sassoon points to the young age of quite a huge number of soldiers in the war, must have been very desperate to perform such an action, which again provides an interesting thought to be taken into account while discussing masculinity and its crisis. The days and nights spent in the inhuman conditions of the battlefields pass by very slowly so they can bring *any* human to the edge of his or her own life. By using images of winter season and other less pleasant conditions, Sassoon illustrates the hard situation in the trenches that was one of the impulses for losing will and faith of many a man defending their country against the enemy.

A year after the end of the war, there were some views presented that considered Sassoon to be "too young and too sensitive to realize that all this false and to him unforgivable glorification is really rooted in an instinct of self-protection as necessary to the existence of the shrinking civilian as the camouflage of rootless trees is to the concealed battery" (Poems of the War and After the War, 1919). However, Sassoon, aged thirty-two at the time when the poem was published, as well as other men actively involved in the war, must have been aware of different meanings of the word 'self-protection'. Therefore, one word does not necessarily mean the same for two different people whose experience is also different.

Sassoon's war poetry is full of frustration and anger at the futility of the progress of the fighting that emphasizes "the chasm between those who make decisions, or accede to them, and those who suffer the consequences of them". He does not attack only the Generals but also non-combatant civilians (Sanders, 2004, p. 501). Also his attachment to the countryside appears a lot in his post-1918 poetry and in most of his prose work (Drabble, 1985, p. 867).

In the trilogy, Siegfried faces an unbearable tension between two commitments. One is the masculine commitment as a soldier to be by his comrades and fight with them, the other one is his conviction and sense of responsibility to protest against the war that he perceives as "an outrage and atrocity" (Connell, 2005, p. 82). After his unsuccessful attempt to protest against the war by writing "A Soldier's Declaration", he did so by writing poems that convey a great deal of facts about the conditions that soldiers were supposed to undergo. Sassoon did not want only to record the truth of war in the trenches by means of poems; his main aim was to inform public about that truth

(Barth, 1991, p. 117). "Every hard-bitten word", therefore, "bears the stamp of truth" (Poems of the War and After the War, 1919).

At Craiglockhart, Sassoon became friendly with the twenty-five-year-old Wilfred Owen who, as presented by Pat Barker, had admired Sassoon before they met, which is evident not only because he had bought five copies of Sassoon's book to be signed, but also because of such nervousness he teemed with:

Everything about Sassoon intimidated him. His status as a published poet, his height, his good looks, the clipped aristocratic voice, sometimes quick, sometimes halting, but always cold, the bored expression, the way he had of not looking at you when you spoke – shyness, perhaps, but it *seemed* like arrogance. Above all, his reputation for courage. (*Regeneration*, p. 81-82)

Owen was born in Shropshire and educated in Liverpool and at Shrewsbury Technical College. Owen started to experiment with verse from an early age, and he read a lot. In 1913 he went to Bordeaux to teach English and in 1915 he returned to join the army (Drabble, 1985, p. 726) where he came through an awful experience – he had been concussed by a shell and forced to lie out in no man's land for several hours beside the mutilated body of one of his fellow-countryman. This experience caused the development of violent dreams, his worst symptom of shell shock (Hibberd, 2002, p. 246). His recovery at Craiglockhart was slow and unsteady. At the time when Sassoon had already been a published poet, Owen started to edit the hospital magazine called *The Hydra* (see appendix 6) where poems of both of them were published (see appendix 7) (Holden, 2001, p. 66). Sassoon had a great influence on Owen. In one of his letters he writes about Sassoon:

I have just been reading Siegfried Sassoon, and am feeling at a very high pitch of emotions. Nothing like his trench life sketches has ever been written or ever will be written. Shakespeare reads vapid after these. Not of course because Sassoon is a greater artist, but because of the subjects, I mean. I think if I had the choice of making friends with Tennyson or with Sassoon I should go to Sassoon (Hibberd, 2002, p. 263).

In November 1918 he was machine-gunned to death at the age of twenty-five. He was posthumously awarded the Military Cross for gallantry (Holden, 2001, p. 66).

Wilfred's model for both life and writing was Keats (Fussell, 2000, p. 287). Most of his poems for which he is remembered were written between the summer of 1917 and the autumn of 1918. During Owen's lifetime, only four of his poems were published. His admiration of Keats is evident in one of the poems published in *The Hydra* (Sanders, 2004, p. 503). In his poems, bleak realism, his energy and indignation, his compassion, and his high technical skills are evident (Drabble, 1985, p. 727). Pastoral references are also traceable in Owen's poetry. In Fussell's opinion, it is "a way of invoking a code to hint by antithesis at the indescribable; at the same time, it is a comfort in itself, like rum, a deep dugout, or a woolly vest" (2000, p. 235). Owen also experimented with some inherited poetic devices and forms like sonnet as in "Anthem For Doomed Youth", and he also developed a fondness for rhyme, through half-rhyme, into para-rhyme in, for example, "Strange Meeting". He, similarly to Sassoon, returns to biblical precedent in the poem "The Parable of the Old Man and the Young", with the final couplet turning the story of Abraham and Isaac on its head (Sanders, 2004, p. 511). Owen, through his poems, has provided a "window on the human experience of the war" (Holden, 2001, p. 66).

Those who read the poems of Wilfred Owen are sometimes shocked by his depiction of military combat that is too realistic for the people who considered the war to be glorious. The condition of shell shock he suffered from was, as Daniel Pigg describes, "an important physical and poetic position for writing his sometimes ironic and often gruesomely detailed images of war and suffering" (1997).

Owen's poem "Dulce et Decorum Est" (see appendix 8) having the status of the best known poem of the First World War and the most taught of any poems reveals the intensity and antiwar intent (Hughes, 2006), and places into a contrast the horrors of gas attack in opposition to the attitude of civilian society. The theme, therefore, is similar to the Sassoon's poem "Suicide in the Trenches". It brings near the conditions and feelings that soldiers fighting in the war had to experience and overcome to fulfil the roles they were expected.

The first two stanzas of the poem reveal the situation on the battlefields where the soldiers, some even without boots, seriously wounded and exhausted, were struggling for their bare livelihood to get away to some relatively safer place. The word 'gas' with which the second stanza begins was poisonous. It filled the lungs with fluid,

which had the same effect as when a person drowned (Roberts, 1998), which is why Owen 'saw him drowning'. The image of the terrifying face with fixed eyes paralyzing its victim described at the beginning of the final stanza became one of the key features of Owen's work, culminating right in this poem (Hibberd, 2002, p. 67-68). Such images woke Owen in his nightmares, a typical symptom of shell shock. The pain of wounded soldiers that Owen described was intensified by the final couplet where the words of a Latin saying (taken from an ode by Horace) were used. Dulce et Decorum Est means that 'it is sweet and right to die for your country'. Such words were widely understood and often quoted at the beginning of the Great War (Roberts, 1998), however, as Owen emphasized in the poem, only people who could not have seen all the pains and barbarities were able to say such words.

As far as the form is concerned, many critics pointed to the poem's similarity to the Shakespearean sonnet form as well as to Wordsworth's poem "Leech-Gatherer" (Meredith, 2007). For the theme, however, Owen drew the inspiration from his own experience after visiting a French field hospital where English, French, and German soldiers were being treated after a battle. In the letter to his brother, he described all what he could have seen with accompanying illustrations. Although, even if he wrote that he "was not much upset by the morning in the hospital" (as quoted in Edmundson, 2003), the images from the visit must have remained in his mind and influenced him a lot because they appear in many of his poems.

However, it was not only Horace whose thoughts Owen was inspired by. His poem "Strange Meeting" (see appendix 9) that was to become one of his best achievements gained its title in a similar way. Among the thousands of writers, there were mainly two whose poems might have had an impact on Owen's one. One of such writers was Shelley with his poem "The Revolt of Islam" that was included in his complete poetical works that Owen received as a present for his twenty-first birthday (Simcox, 2000); the other writer, as presented by Dominic Hibberd, was Harold Monro, a poet to whom Wilfred had been indebted since 1911, with his latest book *Strange Meeting* (2002, p. 311). Owen wrote the poem at the very end of spring of 1918 as a deepest response to the March 1918 disaster (Hibberd, 2002, p. 310), and it describes a dramatic meeting of two dead no-longer-enemy soldiers who had been fighting on opposing sides.

In the first three lines, Owen sets the scene, the scene full of holes, tunnels, caverns that provides a vivid atmosphere and intensifies the mood of the poem. By the titanic wars Owen does not mean only the Great War but also all the wars that preceded it, and probably his own struggles with which he fought. The second stanza describes the encounter of the dead who found themselves 'on the other side'. They both experienced the moment of killing and passed 'thousand pains', they left the place where the sound of guns crossed the air and where the ground soaked the blood. They left hell. Then the dialogue, one-sided mainly, starts. The truth about the war, however, remains untold to those who are still alive and fight. Towards the end of the poem, Owen addressed the enemy as a friend as well as in the previous poem. This time although, the tone has changed from the ironic to the plain, conciliatory one. The last line suggests the incompleteness of the poem or just leaves the end unfinished, nevertheless, the message, should be clear. For Kenneth Simcox it is that "mankind must seek reconciliation", for others it may mean that no matter what war is fought, each loss costs some pain (2000).

The poem itself that Sassoon regarded to be "Owen's passport to immortality" (Simcox, 2000), bears the uniqueness in its theme, as well as Barker's trilogy does. There are very few poems about a soldier and a poet rolled into one meeting his dead victim and even accepting the truth of what he has done. Owen again drew the inspiration from his own experience, from his own mind where the enemy's white writhing eyes and tortured face were fixed (Hibberd, 2002, p. 311).

Another famous and last poem written by Owen to be analysed, "Anthem for Doomed Youth" (see appendix 10), which is, in the words of Dominic Hibberd, "a work of a Romantic, Decadent and still patriotic poet who is just beginning to absorb new ways of thinking", provides an insight into Owen's poethood up to mid-1917 (2002, p. 269).

In the poem, Owen focuses more on the sounds of warfare rather than on its sights. The poem begins with a rather bitter and ironical tone when the question asking for the burial rites provided to those who died in the battle is passed. The answer suggests that there will be no usual funeral for them with the sound of bells heard but that of guns and shells replaced by the grief of family at home.

Part of this poem is 1916 sonnet "A New Heaven" that Owen reworked, but most of it has its origins in Wilfred's earlier life. The Keatsian language he uses, and the

image of pale brows that hints at the Decadence supports Hibberd's consideration about the poem (2002, p. 270).

Sassoon provided Owen with great help while writing the sonnet (see appendix 11). After reading the first draft of "Anthem", in which 'the solemn anger of our guns' acted as a statement that could support the war, Sassoon tried to neutralise it by changing 'our' to 'the' and 'solemn' to 'monstrous'. Wilfred then made some other changes that, however, were not sufficient for disguising 'the ennobling language of the poem' (Hibberd, 2002, p. 270).

"Anthem for Doomed Youth" reminds readers that each person of the millions who died in World War I, or was simply slaughtered 'as cattle', was an individual who had his or her family and friends for which every single death meant immeasurable sadness and loss. Some readers, noted by Matthew Parfitt, "have found sentimentality in Owen's poem also, a retreat from the ugly truth of war to the piquant pleasures of mourning", however, the sorrows and sufferings of the surviving relatives cannot be shaded (2004).

For Owen, poetry was "secondary to communicating the truth of trench warfare to the inhabitants of England's home front", which he suggested in the preface to his collected poems:

Above all I am not concerned with Poetry. My subject is War, and the Pity of War. The Poetry is in the pity. Yet these elegies are to this generation in no sense consolatory. They may be to the next. All a poet can do today is warn. (Hecker, 2005)

Writing poems, or just simply writing, served as a therapy not only for Sassoon and Owen, but also for the other patients suffering from shell shock. The most visible examples of, what Martin Meredith calls, a 'writing cure' can be traced on the pages of *The Hydra*. There the poems, drawings and articles demonstrate "how patients were both aware and suspicious of the artificiality of re-education through forms of physical, social, and mental ordering", and yet at the same time such therapies provided patients with a relief that meant, more or less, cure to them. For Owen's therapist, Captain Arthur J. Brock, a classicist and sociologist, ordered activities played a very important role especially for the patients suffering from linguistic disorders. "Composing in meter, for many patients trained in poetic craft, became an empowering method of controlling

time", such was a therapeutic practice that linked Rivers's form of treatment (narrating traumatic experiences in order to "move through" them) with Brock's one. In spite of Vietnam veteran and Pulitzer Prize winning poet Yusef Komunyak'a's claim that "writing poetry has hardly anything to do with therapy Poetry cannot serve as an emotional bandage for the blood and guts of warfare" (as quoted in Meredith, 2007), a different understanding of 'literariness' and 'craft' is essential to interpret the relationship between poetry and therapy in the First World War. Therefore, the poems of Sassoon and Owen deserve to be rethought within the psychotherapeutic metaphors of poetic production to help to consider the poetry's place in wartime (ibid.).

The poems of Sassoon and Owen became popular after the 1918, and they expressed national mourning (Alexander, 2000, p. 321). Nevertheless, the poems of the Great War are full of simple antitheses, which, according to Paul Fussell, cause the poems not to be perceived as a durable art (2000, p. 82). As a good example, he took into account Sassoon's poems. Before the war, sunrise and sunset had become fully freighted with implicit aesthetic and moral meaning. The subject of those sunrises and sunsets became the very centre of English poetry of the First World War. It appears everywhere (Fussell, 2000, p. 55). War poetry, however, as presented by Richard Fein, "has the subversive tendency to be our age's love poetry", which seems to be strikingly true about the poetry of the First World War. It may be supported by many homoerotic motifs one of which is the historical proximity to the Aesthetic Movement that rediscovered the erotic attractiveness of young men externalized in Hopkins' poetry. Owen knew Hopkins' poetry, which is evident from some of his diction and meter. Another pre-war tradition of homoeroticism that was less respectable, although no less influential was that of the Uranians. Long before the war, they were producing poems that seemed to be quite similar to the poems of the Great War as they wrote about the deaths of boys (Fussell, 2000, p. 280–285). It is not only their death that appears in the Great War poems though, but also a scene of watching them bathing naked. In the publication of Owen's poems by C.D. Lewis, twenty-five out of seventy-nine poems refer to either boys or lads (Fussell, 2000, p. 291-300). In spite of all that, or maybe due to all that, the poetry of the war continues to stay on the list of the literary studies. And such are the war poets Wilfred Owen and Siegfried Sassoon.

A decade after the war, two unique kinds of books appeared. War memoirs and novels "exhibiting a generation of bright young men at war with their elders" such as Remarque's *All Quiet on the Western Front*, Sassoon's *Memoirs of a Fox-Hunting Man*, Huxley's *Point Counter Point* (Fussell, 2000, p. 109), Graves's *Goodbye to All That*, or Aldington's *Death of a Hero* (Alexander, 2000, p. 321). The reason for writing about the war, according to C. G. Jung, had its foundation: "[...] the war, which in the outer world had taken place some years before, was not yet over, but was continuing to be fought within the psyche" (as quoted in Fussell, 2000, p. 113). Some of the works of the 60's and 70's, like Jennifer Johnston's *How Many Miles to Babylon?*, provide such an authentic insight into the Great War that it is sometimes difficult for the reader to distinguish between fiction and fact. In addition, the poets have been interested in the same subject since the Second War, namely Vernon Scannell, Michael Longley or Ted Hughes (Fussell, 2000, p. 322-324). In brief, as Francis Hope said, "in a not altogether rhetorical sense, all poetry written since 1918 is war poetry" (as quoted in Fussell, 2000, p. 325).

However, it is not only literature that commemorates the Great War. There are many other means that Peter Hitchcock calls "the regenerative claims of cultural nostalgia" but it is important to notice that Barker's trilogy does not belong to them, and this is why she has often been criticised for (2002). For example some afternoon pub-closing hours that were originally designed to "discourage the munition workers of 1915 from idling away their afternoons over beer", or many laws controlling foreigners and eliminating revolts or espionage. Even cuisine commemorates the war. Eggs and chips, food easily obtainable during the war, became the basis of public menus in England, but also in France and Belgium. The poets of the First World War were also remembered during the North African desert war in 1942, acknowledged by Keith Douglas: "The behaviour of the living and the appearance of the dead were so accurately described by the poets of the Great War that every day on the battlefields of the western desert ... their poems are illustrated" (Fussell, 2000, p. 315-19). John Keegan, who wrote the history of the Great War, made the final point of the war as follows:

The First World War is a mystery. Its origins are mysterious. So is its course. Why did a prosperous continent, at the height of its success as a source and agent of global wealth and power and at one of the peaks of its intellectual and cultural achievements, choose to risk all it had won for itself and all it had

offered to the world in the lottery of a vicious and local internecine conflict? Why, when the hope of bringing the conflict to a quick and decisive conclusion was everywhere dashed to the ground within months of its outbreak, did the combatants decide nevertheless to persist in their military effort, to mobilize for total war and eventually to commit the totality of their young manhood to mutual and essentially pointless slaughter? (Fussell, 2000, p. 339).

To mark the day of the end of the war, every November the 11th poppies are sold on the streets of Britain, in pubs, cafes, shops, factories or even schools, and also War memorials were built in many villages, towns and cities in the years after 1918 (Rees, 1993, p. 4). So it seems that finally, the indirectly pronounced complaints of Sassoon and Owen were heard of.

6. Pat Barker and the *Regeneration* trilogy

What Sanders considers to be certain is that in the literature of 1990s any major writer or writers cannot be found, which, of course, does not take the literature from its flourishing (2004, p. 651). The novel, in 1990s, "has remained the most accessible, the most discussed, the most promoted, and the most sponsored literary form" (Sanders 2004, p. 652). At that time, Barker published the first part of the *Regeneration* trilogy. Literary prizes, such as the annual Booker Prize, were one of the key factors that helped with rising of the interest in new fiction. However, the book that gained the Booker Prize did not always ensured the best quality as many fine novels were simply overlooked or deliberately ignored (ibid.).

More recent British fiction, meaning the fiction of the 20th century, have explored, broadly speaking, four areas of interest that have been interwoven and have overlapped. It has continued in the development of the Anglo-Scottish Gothic tradition into a new sort of urban fiction; issues of gender and sexuality became popular and such were new varieties of historical writing; and finally, writers and subjects from a wider world started to be included (Sanders, 2004, p. 654).

The interest in the First World War constituted the part of already mentioned interest in historical writing, of which Barker took the advantage. Before writing *Regeneration* she had expected that her next novel would develop from her *The Man Who Wasn't There* as she was interested in Dostoevsky, but instead she wrote *Regeneration* (Westman, 2005, p. 15). When Barker's trilogy saw the light of day, historical fiction, as stated above, was a popular genre and such was the subject of the First World War (Brannigan, 2005, p. 93) as it made "a splendid challenge for an ambitious young novelist" (Paul, 2005, p. 147). The Great War inspired writers of all generations and classes. The long-lasting lifetime of literature about the war was caused by its broad coverage as far as theme and style was concerned (Winter, 1995, p. 226). According to Ronald Paul, except for two novels that deal with the domestic effects of shell shock, Rebecca West's *The Return of the Soldier* (1918) and Virginia Woolf's *Mrs. Dalloway* (1925), all of the contemporary novels of the First World War were written by men whose writing was influenced mainly by their own experience from the battlefields (Paul, 2005, p. 147). Therefore, academic specialists in the 1960s who participated in the formation of the literary canon for the First World War concentrated

mainly on the masculine conception of the war as combat, and ignored the women's literary output related to the war (Scran Hosted Web Sites, 2003). The publication of the trilogy, then, had a very interesting effect on the press. What attracted the attention was not only the fact that Barker was a woman author taking a male point of view, which she, by the way, had already done in some of her former novels such as *Liza's England* or *The Man Who Wasn't There* (Westman, 2005, p. 63), but also the uniqueness of her way of handling the issue of war.

Most of the war novels deal with the combat itself, as mentioned above; however, Barker concentrated on the healing of psychological problems caused just by the warfare. She has set the novel not on the battlefield as many war novels but in a military hospital, Craiglockhart, in the case of *Regeneration*. She also took the advantage of what Blake Morrison calls "very nineteen-nineties preoccupation with gender, emasculation, bisexuality, and role reversals" (as quoted in Brannigan, 2005, p. 93-94), by which she added a new dimension to the war novel. It is no wonder then that for some reviewers, like Philip Hensher of the *Guardian*, Barker became "a rare example of an author who has drastically and successfully changed course" (Westman, 2005, p. 63).

Not all of the critics, however, provided positive comments about the trilogy. Many of them were hostile about how she has portrayed the 'facts' of the Great War because they do not represent the "regenerative claims of cultural nostalgia" (Hitchcock, 2002). Barker herself admits that *Regeneration* is slightly different from her previous work, but she also connects it to her previous novels, as some of the themes are similar to those of *Union Street*, and also the period of 1917 appears in one of the Barker's novel, already mentioned, *Liza's England* (Westman, 2005, p. 15).

Barker decided to take the subject of the First World War because of her long-standing interest in it. Both her grandfather and stepfather fought in that war and both were somehow marked by it – her grandfather had a bayonet wound and was very deaf, her stepfather had a paralytic stammer. Because of all that, Barker admits, "the idea of war, wounds, impeded communication, and silence, of course – silence about the war, because the war was not a subject of revelation – all became entwined in my mind with masculinity" (Stevenson, 2005, p. 175). However, in Karin Westman's opinion, Barker's interest in men and war resulted from critics' comments about her previous writing

(2005, p. 15). However, Barker did not draw the inspiration only from the life of her family but she also read a lot (Stevenson, 2005, p. 180). At the age of eleven, she wrote a poem, "a terribly bad poem" as she calls it, about the First World War. Owen's and Sassoon's poetry caught her attention in her teens as well as Rivers's *Conflict and Dream* in her twenties. Nevertheless, that interest was kept unattended for many years. Barker's husband David was involved in her preparations for writing because he knew a lot about Rivers from his historical research; he also accompanied her in the field research, and helped her to explore library archives of the war years (Westman, 2005, p. 17).

The *Regeneration* trilogy concentrates mainly on the characters already introduced – W. H. R. Rivers, Siegfried Sassoon and Wilfred Owen, all of them real historical figures, although the latter mentioned is only a minor character. Billy Prior, the invented one, is distinguished from the others by his, as Margareta Jolly puts it nicely, "in-between-ness", and also by his greater extent of the self-knowledge (Jolly, 2005, p. 237). Barker's combination of history and fiction is evident already at the end of each of the novels in 'Author's Note' where she makes clear what is historical and what is not. This fusion of history and fiction caused outrage of some critics like Ben Shephard, who argued that Barker failed "to re-create the past in its own terms." Or Martin Löschnigg, who criticised Barker for "preoccupation with Elaine Showalter's "gender-oriented studies of shell-shock", which resulted in "one-sided representation of the phenomenon of 'shell shock' which neglects the medical, military and social implications" and "continues a mythification of shell-shock victims" (as quoted in Brannigan, 2005, p. 95).

Writing about trauma, meaning fictional writing that helps readers to access traumatic experience, which Barker's novel certainly does, have taken, as presented by Laurie Vickroy, "an important place [...] in illuminating the personal and public aspects of trauma and in elucidating our relationship to memory and forgetting within the complex interweaving of social and psychological relationships" (2002, p. 1). That is not all, however. Such texts also provide both readers and writers with ethical dilemmas similar to those possessed by trauma survivors (ibid.) that can be very painful (Vickroy, 2002, p. 2). The concerns for the readers who do not share such extreme experience are

not always clear. Laurie Vickroy provides four examples of important social and psychological issues in which the trauma narratives engage readers:

First, these works attest to the frequency of trauma and its importance as a multicontextual social issue as it is a consequence of political ideologies, colonization, war, domestic violence, poverty, and so forth. Second, trauma narratives raise questions about how we define subjectivity as they explore the limits of the Western myth of the highly individuated subject and our ability to deal with loss and fragmentation in our lives. Third, the dilemmas experienced by characters in such narratives confront us with many of our own fears – of death, of dissolution, of loss, of loss of control – and provide a potential space within which to consider these fears. Lastly, trauma writers elucidate the dilemma of the public's relationship to the traumatized, made problematic by victims' painful experiences and psychic defences that can alienate others, and by the public's resistance (2002, p. 2).

Trauma-narratives started to be popular in the 1980s and 90s, although the approaches varied in depth and purposes (*ibid.*). Barker, alongside with other authors, managed to internalize the processes and uncertainties of traumatic experience in her novel. She has drawn upon her personal observation of trauma, studying the possible contexts to provide a new way of expressing them (Vickroy, 2002, p. 3).

Barker captured her excitement, passion and intellectual commitment well. In the trilogy, she meets all the attributes a good writing is supposed to have:

Good writing has energy, clarity, and a liveliness of mind. It creates satisfaction by enlightening and persuading. It asks writers to place themselves at a risk since they are making their ideas public. It changes minds because it illuminates its subject in a new light. It explores ideas thoughtfully, drawing upon research and other forms of evidence to persuade the reader. [...] Good writing offers a thoughtful, efficient route toward increased understanding. [...] Good writing conveys new information to readers (Wiegman, 1999, p. 368-369).

Her trilogy, as both Sharon Monteith and Nahem Yousaf point out, "contributes to the culture remembrance that has evolved" (2005, p. xix). Besides entering the (male) canon of British literature (Westman, 2005, p. 64), she will no longer be, in her own words, "ignored by other branches of press". What is more, the label "one of the strongest and most interesting novelists of her generation" (as quoted in Westman, 2005, p. 64) is also worthy of having.

7. Conclusion

Firstly, through the medium of Pat Barker's *Regeneration* trilogy and the analysis of poems of Sassoon and Owen, one of the subject of the thesis was to provide the reader with such a vivid account of the situation in the First World War and subsequent sufferings of the men fighting there to disprove the opinion of those who had considered the mental breakdown of the warriors as the inability to fulfill the masculine role whose codes were highly set, or just simply as the sign of cowardice. And it is just the inability of the victims suffering from the war neurosis to differentiate between the terrible memories and reality, and the operation of memory itself by which Barker reached one of the best achievements in the field of social realist fiction.

Secondly, the issue of masculinity connected to a 'psychological weakness' of men as handled by Pat Barker offered such an interesting area for exploration as far as gender literature was concerned, which was reinforced by the prizes and awards the trilogy received, that it was necessary to give attention to her unique skill of mediation of the traumatic experience of the men participating in the war to the readers.

What led some individuals to view the breakdown men as cowards, sissies, weaklings, failures or moral invalids was the fact that the society of the time itself created the qualities that men, as well as women, were supposed to fulfill and act accordingly. Therefore, the ones who deviated from the pattern could not have been regarded as true members of the society. Even if the qualities of women and men changed over periods of time, and were different from culture to culture, the qualities of warriors have stayed nearly the same throughout the centuries. Honour, physical courage, strength and endurance represent only a small number of features of a proper soldier. World War I, however, was the cause of a total change in the unshakable ground of masculine values, because men stroked by shell shock started to be more emotional, dependent and weak. In short, they possessed the qualities typical of women, not men.

For someone it might have been, and possibly still is, difficult to imagine what the soldiers had to go through while spending the whole day and nights in the battlefields, exhausted, hungry, having no idea of when that all would end. Bursting of shells, the views of bodies torn into pieces, or just a simple fear of a masculine failure resulted in many psychical injuries that became widely known under many terms, shell

shock being one of them. In their poems, both Sassoon and Owen, to whom shell shock was more than familiar, brilliantly describe not only the environment of the trenches but also the disinterested society that expected more from men than they were able to bear. Poetry, therefore, was one of the best ways how to openly express the emotions that accompanied the war happenings. By writing poems providing a look under the surface of the First World War their authors did not want merely to record the truth of the war but they wanted mainly to inform about the truth those who were not able to sense the circumstances that lead to psychological breakdown of individuals. By means of the trilogy recording the reality of the war from a different visual angle Barker achieved the same goal for which the war poets were struggling. Her first part of the trilogy, *Regeneration*, brings the readers to the Craighlockhart War Hospital where men suffering from shell shock are being treated. Patients' nightmares as described by Barker, serve as the retrospection of trench experience; as well as different psychical disorders prove the shocking happenings of the First World War.

To cope with such a problem was very difficult for the doctors as they themselves were sure about neither the real cause nor the proper treatment. There is no wonder then that executions implemented as a punishment or just as a deterrent became a daily routine. After the expansion of shell-shock cases after the battle of Passchendaele in July 1917 more people started to be interested including Dr. Rivers whose personality held Barker's attention so much that he is sometimes considered to be the central figure of the trilogy. However, from the historical records as well as from Barker's novel, it is clear that the border line between the treatment and punishment was not always clear so, many a time, the men's torments did not end with the entrance to the hospital. Therefore, for Barker, the personality of Dr. Rivers how she portrayed him more than came in handy in the procedure of patients' recovery. He treated both real and fictional Sassoon and fictional Prior, and for both he became more than an ordinary doctor, but also a friend which was a quality the other doctors lacked. His approach to the treatment of the war neurosis, similarly as the approach of Pat Barker to the subject of war, succeeded by its uniqueness and originality.

As stated beforehand, many doctors of that time tried to cope with the rising number of shell-shocked soldiers, which referred to the seriousness of the situation. War neurosis, however, did not represent the only negative for those who believed in the

venerability of the masculine ideal. Maybe because of that Barker decided to address openly and without any obstacles another of the taboo issues such as homosexuality representing another of the crisis of masculinity. In other words, properties such as being homosexual, pacifist and suffer from the war neurosis were things that did not occur. Here society is the one to be blamed again as it had created the norms in which the proper masculinity allowed just a certain degree of intimacy among men including handshaking or patting on the back. Pat Barker, however, crossed the borders of these norms immensely, by which she proved again to be able to express her opinion on the themes that not all the authors dared to handle so head-on.

Before writing the novel, Barker studied the subject of the First World War a lot from various perspectives, she read Rivers and both Sassoon and Owen, therefore, even if being a fiction, *Regeneration* can be regarded as a more or less trustworthy piece of writing taking a portrait of not only men who, viewed by some, 'failed' to acquit their masculine duty, but also those to whom the fates of the sufferers were not indifferent. Even if many other authors had written novels about the First World War long before Barker, their views of the war did not portray all the aspects which it was linked with. Combat itself offered adventurous and dramatic plots to be developed where men fight for their honour and fame. Therefore, weak, vulnerable and suffering person, a man in particular, was someone who surprised the many.

There were people who appreciated the way Barker approached the issue of the war as she has brought something unique into the literary canon. The cases of the Great War though, how she portrayed them, became an eyesore of some critics who commented upon the depiction of the not-to-be-remembered facts. Just these facts, however, not only help readers to make the traumatic experience of combatants more accessible, but also allow readers to see the shell-shocked men as heroes by which they wished to be.

As the time passed by, the attitudes towards the war neuroses changed but no matter how long it took to realize what the duty of men on the Front amounted to, the lives lost and destroyed can no longer be restored. However, due to such authors who are capable of mediating the feelings in a way Barker managed, the problems of the others are becoming the problems of those who are willing to see more than anybody else.

8. Resumé

Jedním z hlavních cílů diplomové práce je poskytnout čtenáři prostřednictvím trilogie *Regeneration* od Pat Barker a analýzou některých básní Siegfrieda Sassoon a Wilfreda Owena co možná nejvěrohodnější popis okolností dění první světové války a následné utrpení mužů, již se války aktivně zúčastnili. Zároveň by měl být vyvrácen názor těch, kteří považovali duševní zhroucení vojáků za neschopnost dostát své maskulinní role, jejíž zásady byly vysoce nastaveny, nebo zkrátka za znamení zbabělosti. A právě neschopnost obětí zasažených válečnou neurózou odlišit hrůzné vzpomínky od skutečnosti, a vlastní fungování paměti se stalo jedním z hlavních činitelů vyprávění zaručující Barker jeden z nejvýznamnějších úspěchů v oblasti sociálně-realistického románu.

Otázka maskulinity spojená s duševní slabostí mužů tak, jak ji pojala Pat Barker, nabízí, co se genderové literatury týče, natolik zajímavé pole k prozkoumání, že bylo důležité věnovat pozornost její schopnosti čtenářům jedinečně zprostředkovat traumatické zážitky mužů, kteří se do války zapojili.

Mnozí autoři napsali různé knížky, jež se první světovou válkou zabývají, od historických přes encyklopedie až po romány, jež mohou být považovány za nejoblíbenější typ četby široké veřejnosti. *Remarqueův Na západní frontě klid*, Hemingwayova *Sbohem armádo*, *Návrat vojáka* Rebeccy Westové, či *Tři vojáci* Johna Dos Passose představují pouze nepatrné množství románů zachycujících dění války. Jedna z mála autorek a autorů, která pojala téma první světové války z jiného úhlu pohledu, byla Pat Baker, jejíž trilogie *Regeneration* vstoupila do povědomí mnohých jednak díky oslovení neobvyklého množství témat, jako je otázka povinnosti, psychologie, láska, homosexualita a maskulinita, ale také díky jedinečnému pojednání o válce.

Války byly ve většině případů doménou zejména mužů. Jejich síla, odolnost, odvaha a houževnatost byly předpokladem pro úspěšné naplnění maskulinní role. Veřejnost vnímala První světovou válku jako zosobněnou silnou, nikdy neváhající maskulinitu, jejíž image byla podporována osobností Douglase Haiga, britského vrchního velitele, zobrazovaného v knížkách G. R. Hentyho. Nejen Henty však ovlivňoval to, jak veřejnost přistupovala k mužským vlastnostem. Byly to i romantické básně Tennysona a Bridgese. Tyto předurčené vlastnosti však začaly hrát mnohem větší

roli, než se dalo předpokládat. Mužům, kteří přišli do války s vizí stát se hrdiny a příklady pro ostatní 'opravdové muže', zkřížilo plány duševní zhroucení, němost, koktání, paralýza a mnoho jiných podobných charakteristik, pro něž se ujal jednotný název – shell shock, jinými slovy válečná neuróza.

To, co mnohé vedlo k názoru, že muži trpící touto neurózou jsou zbabělci, slaboši a ztroskotanci, byl fakt, že společnost sama stanovovala hodnoty, jež museli muži, a stejně tak ženy, zachovávat a jednat podle nich. Proto ten, kdo se od ostatních odlišoval, nemohl být považován za právoplatného člena společnosti. I když se 'předepsané' kvality žen a mužů postupem času měnily a byly odlišné v různých kulturách, ty válečnicků zůstaly s drobnými odchylkami stejné po staletí. Čest, fyzická zdatnost, síla, odolnost a potlačování emocí jako je strach a zármutek jsou pouhým minimem ve výčtu vlastností 'pravého' vojáka. První světová válka však byla příčinou úplných změn v neotřesitelném základu maskulinních hodnot, protože muži zasažení válečnou neurózou začali být více emocionální, závislí a slabí. Ve stručnosti - měli vlastnosti, které byly typické pro ženy, ne pro muže.

Pro někoho mohlo být, a možná stále ještě je, obtížné představit si, čím vším museli vojáci projít, když trávili celé dny a noci na válečných polích, vyčerpání, hladoví, bez vědomí toho, kdy to všechno skončí. Výbuchy granátů, pohled na rozervaná těla, nebo jen strach z pouhého maskulinního selhání vedly k mnoha fyzickým a zejména psychickým újmám, které dostaly spoustu názvů, jako například již zmíněný shell shock nebo nověji post-traumatická stresová porucha.

Poezie byla jedním z nejlepších prostředků, jak vyjádřit pocity, které válečné dění doprovázely. Básně se staly jedním z nejlepších způsobů, jak obejít cenzuru, a navíc pouhá sloka o několika řádcích mnohdy vyjadřovala víc, než několikastránkový článek. V básních Siegfrieda Sasoon a Wilfreda Owena, kterým byla válečná neuróza víc než známá, je brilantně popsáno nejen prostředí zákopů, podmínky, jimž byli vojáci vystaveni, psychický nátlak, ale také mínění nezúčastněné společnosti, která od mužů očekávala mnohem víc, než byli schopni zvládnout. Psaním básní nahlížejících pod povrch První světové války nechtěli jejich autoři pouze zachytit skutečnou pravdu válečného dění, ale chtěli hlavně informovat o této pravdě ty, kdo nebyli schopni vnímat okolnosti, za jakých docházelo k psychickému zhroucení jednotlivců. Stejněho cíle, o jaký se pokoušeli básníci té doby, dosáhla i Pat Barker prostřednictvím trilogie

zachycující realitu války z jiného úhlu pohledu. Její první část trilogie, *Regeneration*, přivádí čtenáře do nemocnice Craiglockhart, kde se léčí právě ti, kteří válečnou neurózou trpí. Noční můry pacientů, jak je Barker popisuje, slouží jako retrospekce zážitků z bitevních polí; stejně tak jako různé druhy psychických poruch, které jsou důkazem otřesných prožitků za první světové války.

Poradit si se skutečností let 1914-1918, již představovaly problémy masivního hroucení mužů, bylo pro lékaře velice obtížné, protože ani jim samotným zpočátku nebylo jasné, co válečnou neurózu způsobuje, ani jak ji správně léčit. Není tedy divu, že popravky vykonávané jako trest, nebo jako odstrašující příklad, se staly každodenní rutinou. Po nárůstu případů válečné neurózy, které se objevily po bitvě u Passchendaele v červenci roku 1917, se více lidí začalo touto problematikou zabývat. Avšak z historických záznamů i z díla Pat Barker je zřejmé, že hranice mezi léčbou a trestem nebyla vždy tak zcela zřejmá, takže mnohokrát utrpení mužů nekončila se vstupem do nemocnice. Proto pro Barker osobnost doktora Riverse tak, jak ho ztvárnila, byla více než jen užitečná v procesu léčby pacientů. Rivers léčil skutečného i fiktivního Siegfrieda Sassoon a fiktivního Priora, pro něž nebyl pouhým lékařem, ale také přítelem. Jeho přístup k léčbě válečné neurózy, stejně jako přístup Pat Barker k tématu války, triumfoval svou jedinečností a originalitou. Na jedné straně Rivers radil pacientům vyjadřovat se způsoby, které maskulinní normy dříve nepřipouštěly, na straně druhé k nim měl 'umlčující přístup' srovnatelný s lekcí 'vhodného maskulinního chování', kterou dostal od svého otce v době, kdy byl ještě dítě.

Jak již bylo předesláno, spousta lékařů se snažila poradit si s přibývajícím množstvím vojáků trpících válečnou neurózou, což indikovalo vážnost situace. Válečná neuróza však nebyla jediným negativem pro ty, již věřili v posvátnost maskulinního ideálu. Možná právě proto se Barker rozhodla otevřeně a bez zábran oslovit i jiné tabuizované téma jako je homosexualita, představující další z krizí maskulinity. Jinými slovy - být homosexuál, pacifista a trpět válečnou neurózou - to byly vlastnosti, které muži neměli. V době první světové války se obávali toho, že jejich sexuální orientace bude odhalena, což je evidentní nejen z vtipů, které Barker svým protagonistům propůjčila. Na vině opět byla společnost, jež vytvořila role, ve kterých maskulinita povolovala pouze určitou míru důvěrnosti mezi muži, která zahrnovala potřesení rukou, poplácání po zádech nebo položení paže okolo ramen. Pat Barker však hranice těchto

norem dalece překročila, čímž opět prokázala neobyčejnou schopnost vyjádřit svůj postoj k tématům, jež ne všichni byli schopni uchopit vyslovit tak zpříma.

Protože před začátkem psaní trilogie Barker pečlivě studovala rozličné aspekty první světové války z různých úhlů, četla Riversovy spisy, básně Sassoona i Owena, její dílo může být považováno za víceméně věrohodné, zachycující nejen muže, kteří, jak je mnozí vnímali, nedostáli své maskulinní role, ale také ty, jimž osudy trpících nebyly lhostejné. I když se i ostatní autoři zabývali první světovou válkou dávno před Pat Barker, jejich pohled nezobrazoval všechny aspekty, s nimiž byla válka spjata. Samotný konflikt poskytoval dobrodružné a dramatické zápletky, kde muži bojují za čest a slávu. Proto slabé, zranitelné a trpící osoby, zejména muži, opravdu překvapily mnohé. Byli zde samozřejmě lidé, kteří ocenili způsob, jakým Barker pojala téma války, jelikož přinesla něco nového do literárního kánonu. Události první světové války, tak jak je ztvárnila, se však také staly trnem v oku některých kritiků, kteří negativně komentovali vyobrazení skutečností, jež by raději měly být zapomenuty. Ale právě díky tomuto výjimečnému vyobrazení skutečností Barker pomohla zpřístupnit traumatizující zážitky vojáků a vidět muže trpící válečnou neurózou jako hrdiny, kterými vždy oni chtěli být.

S přibývajícím časem se názory na muže trpící válečnou neurózou začaly měnit. Nezáleží však na tom, kolik dlouhých let trvalo uvědomit si, co všechno povinnosti mužů na frontě obnášely, protože zničené a ztracené životy už nikdy nemohou být navraceny. Ale zejména díky takovým autorům, kteří dokážou zprostředkovat pocity tak, jak se to podařilo Pat Barker, se problémy druhých stávají problémy i těch, jež jsou ochotni vidět mnohem víc než jen to, co chtějí vidět ostatní.

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10. Appendices

Appendix 1: Patients suffering from shell shock



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Appendix 2: Craiglockhart Military Hospital



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Appendix 3: Letter to Owen's Mother Susan describing horrendous conditions of holding a dug-out in no man's land at Serre (Somme)

1
 Tues. Jan. 16. 1918.
 My own sweet Mother,
 I am sorry you have had about 5 days letterless. I hope you had my two letters "posted" since you wrote your last, which I received tonight. I am bitterly disappointed that I never got one of yours.
 I can see no excuse for deceiving you about this for last 4 days. I have suffered seventh hell.
 I have not been at the front.
 I have been in front of it.
 I held an advanced post, that is, a "dug-out" in the middle of No Man's Land.
 We had a march of 3 miles over shelled road

2
 then nearly 3' along a trench. After that we came to where the trenches had been blown flat out and had to go over the top. It was of course dark, too dark, and the ground was not mud, not slopny mud, but an octopus of sucking clay, 3, 4, and 5 feet deep, ^{with} received only by crates of water. Men have been known to drown in them. Many stuck in the mud & only got on by leaving their waders, equipment, and in some cases their clothes. High explosives were dropping all around us, and machine guns splattered every few minutes. But it was so dark that even the German flares did not reveal us.

3/
 Three quarters dead, I mean each of us $\frac{3}{4}$ dead, we reached the dug-out and relieved the wretches there. I then had to go forth and find another dug-out for a still more advanced post where I left 18 bombers. I was responsible for other posts on the left but there was an ^{other} officer in charge.
 The My dug-out held 25 men tight packed. Water filled it to a depth of 1 or 2 feet, leaving say 4 feet of air.
 One entrance had been blown in & blocked. So far, the other remained.
 The Germans knew we were

Appendix 3.1: Letter to Owen's Mother Susan - transcript

My own sweet mother,

I am sorry you have had about 5 days letterless. I hope you had my two letters "posted" since you wrote your last, which I received tonight. I am bitterly disappointed that I never got one of yours.

I can see no excuse for deceiving you about these last 4 days. I have suffered seventh hell. I have not been at the front. I have been in front of it. I held an advance post, that is, a "dug-out" in the middle of No Man's Land.

We had a march of 3 miles over shelled road then nearly 3 along a flooded Trench. After that we came to where the trenches had been blown flat out and had to go over the top. It was of course dark, too dark, and the ground was not mud, not sloppy mud, but an octopus of sucking clay, 3, 4, and 5 feet deep, retrieved only by craters of water. Men have been known to drown in them. Many stick in the mud and only got on by leaving their waders, equipment, and in some cases, their clothes. High explosives were dropping all around out, and machine guns spluttered every few minutes. But it was so dark that even the German flares did not reveal us. Three quarters dead, I mean each of us $\frac{3}{4}$ dead; we reached the dug out and relieved the wretches therein. I then had to go forth and find another dug out for a still more advanced post where I left 18 bombers. I was responsible for other post on the left but there was another officer in charge.

My dug out held 25 men tight packed. Water filled it to a depth 1 or 2 feet leaving say 4 feet of air.

One entrance had been blown in and blocked. So far, the other remained.

The Germans knew we were

Appendix 4: Sassoon's "Counter-Attack"

WE'D gained our first objective hours before
While dawn broke like a face with blinking eyes,
Pallid, unshaved and thirsty, blind with smoke.
Things seemed all right at first. We held their line,
With bombers posted, Lewis guns well placed,
And clink of shovels deepening the shallow trench.
The place was rotten with dead; green clumsy legs
High-booted, sprawled and grovelled along the saps
And trunks, face downward, in the sucking mud,
Wallowed like trodden sand-bags loosely filled;
And naked sodden buttocks, mats of hair,
Bulged, clotted heads slept in the plastering slime.
And then the rain began,—the jolly old rain!

A yawning soldier knelt against the bank,
Staring across the morning blear with fog;
He wondered when the Allemands would get busy;
And then, of course, they started with five-nines
Traversing, sure as fate, and never a dud.
Mute in the clamour of shells he watched them burst
Spouting dark earth and wire with gusts from hell,
While posturing giants dissolved in drifts of smoke.
He crouched and flinched, dizzy with galloping fear,
Sick for escape,—loathing the strangled horror
And butchered, frantic gestures of the dead.

An officer came blundering down the trench:
'Stand-to and man the fire-step!' On he went...
Gasping and bawling, 'Fire-step ... counter-attack!'
Then the haze lifted. Bombing on the right
Down the old sap: machine-guns on the left;
And stumbling figures looming out in front.
'O Christ, they're coming at us!' Bullets spat,
And he remembered his rifle ... rapid fire...
And started blazing wildly ... then a bang
Crumpled and spun him sideways, knocked him out
To grunt and wriggle: none heeded him; he choked
And fought the flapping veils of smothering gloom,
Lost in a blurred confusion of yells and groans...
Down, and down, and down, he sank and drowned,
Bleeding to death. The counter-attack had failed.

SASSOON, Siegfried. 1918. *Counter-Attack: And Other Poems*. New York : E. P. Dutton, 1918. 64 s. Dostupný z WWW: <<http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?a=o&d=1305023>>.

Appendix 5: Sassoon's "Suicide in the trenches"

I knew a simple soldier boy
Who grinned at life in empty joy,
Slept soundly through the lonesome dark,
And whistled early with the lark.

In winter trenches, cowed and glum,
With crumps and lice and lack of rum,
He put a bullet through his brain.
No one spoke of him again.

You smug-faced crowds with kindling eye
Who cheer when soldier lads march by,
Sneak home and pray you'll never know
The hell where youth and laughter go.

SASSOON, Siegfried. 1918. *Counter-Attack: And Other Poems*. New York : E. P. Dutton, 1918. 64 s. Dostupný z WWW: <<http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?a=o&d=1305023>>.

Appendix 6: The cover of *The Hydra* magazine



Napier University : War Poets Collection [online]. [cit. 2008-03-16]. Dostupný z WWW: <<http://www2.napier.ac.uk/warpoets/hydra.htm>>.

Appendix 7: Siegfried Sassoon's contribution to *The Hydra*

10

THE HYDRA

cisms and racy humour, subserved the knowledgeable purpose of his attractive paper. A discussion followed in which our President, Major Bryce, joined.

Bowls.

It is intended, provided the entries are enough, to hold a Pairs Competition shortly.

Golf.

The Medal Competition announced in our last issue was played off on 13th inst., Lieut. Butler winning the first prize with a nett score of 72 (handicap 13). On the 16th we played our usual weekly match against the Merchants of Edinburgh, and were beaten by 5 to 3 (singles were drawn and foursomes 3-1 against us). On the 20th a driving, approaching, and putting competition was held. This was won by Lieut. Boak, Lieut. Hole gaining second prize. Owing to so many of our players being unable to play, our match against the Merchants of Edinburgh, which should

have come off on Thursday, 23rd inst., had to be cancelled. A match against Mortonhall Golf Club has been arranged for Friday, 24th inst.

Tennis.

Every precaution was taken to complete the tournament during August, but the arrangements made for suitable weather appear to have failed miserably, probably due to lack of concentration on the part of the organisers. There has, however, been no lack of concentration on the side of the organisers of the "rain tournament," and there has been great competition among the days of August to carry off the prize for producing the most rain. At the moment of writing, the day bids fair to be an easy winner.

However, there is always Badminton for the very energetic, and, judging by the play during this month, many of the players have in this way been working off their concentrated fury at the behaviour of the weather.

DREAMERS.

Soldiers are citizens of death's grey land,
Drawing no dividend from earth's to-morrows.
In the great hour of destiny they stand,
Each with his feuds, and jealousies, and sorrows.
Soldiers are sworn to action; they must win
Some flaming, fatal climax with their lives.
Soldiers are dreamers; when the guns begin
They think of firelit homes, clean beds, and wives.

I see them in foul dug-outs, gnawed by rats,
And in the ruined trenches, lashed with rain,
Dreaming of things they did with balls and bats,
And mocked by hopeless longing to regain
Bank-holidays, and picture-shows, and spats,
And going to the office in the train.

S. S.

Great War [online]. 2005 , 18-Jan-2005 [cit. 2008-03-16]. Dostupný z WWW:
<<http://www.greatwar.nl/rivers/hydra2.html>>.

Appendix 8: Owen's "Dulce et Decorum Est"

Bent double, like old beggars under sacks,
Knock-kneed, coughing like hags, we cursed through sludge,
Till on the haunting flares we turned our backs
And towards our distant rest began to trudge.
Men marched asleep. Many had lost their boots
But limped on, blood-shod. All went lame; all blind;
Drunk with fatigue; deaf even to the hoots
Of tired, outstripped Five-Nines that dropped behind.

Gas! Gas! Quick, boys! – An ecstasy of fumbling,
Fitting the clumsy helmets just in time;
But someone still was yelling out and stumbling,
And flound'ring like a man in fire or lime . . .
Dim, through the misty panes and thick green light,
As under a green sea, I saw him drowning.
In all my dreams, before my helpless sight,
He plunges at me, guttering, choking, drowning.

If in some smothering dreams you too could pace
Behind the wagon that we flung him in,
And watch the white eyes writhing in his face,
His hanging face, like a devil's sick of sin;
If you could hear, at every jolt, the blood
Come gargling from the froth-corrupted lungs,
Obscene as cancer, bitter as the cud
Of vile, incurable sores on innocent tongues,
My friend, you would not tell with such high zest
To children ardent for some desperate glory,
The old Lie; Dulce et Decorum est
Pro patria mori.

Everypoet.com [online]. 2001-6 [cit. 2008-03-17]. Dostupný z WWW:
<http://www.everypoet.com/archive/poetry/Wilfred_Owen/wilfred_owen_dulce_et_decorum_est.htm>.

Appendix 9: Owen's "Strange Meeting"

It seemed that out of battle I escaped
Down some profound dull tunnel, long since scooped
Through granites which titanic wars had groined.

Yet also there encumbered sleepers groaned,
Too fast in thought or death to be bestirred.
Then, as I probed them, one sprang up, and stared
With piteous recognition in fixed eyes,
Lifting distressful hands, as if to bless.
And by his smile, I knew that sullen hall,-
By his dead smile I knew we stood in Hell.

With a thousand pains that vision's face was grained;
Yet no blood reached there from the upper ground,
And no guns thumped, or down the flues made moan.
'Strange friend,' I said, 'here is no cause to mourn.'
'None,' said that other, 'save the undone years,
The hopelessness. Whatever hope is yours,
Was my life also; I went hunting wild
After the wildest beauty in the world,
Which lies not calm in eyes, or braided hair,
But mocks the steady running of the hour,
And if it grieves, grieves richlier than here.
For by my glee might many men have laughed,
And of my weeping something had been left,
Which must die now. I mean the truth untold,
The pity of war, the pity war distilled.
Now men will go content with what we spoiled,
Or, discontent, boil bloody, and be spilled.
They will be swift with swiftness of the tigress.
None will break ranks, though nations trek from progress.
Courage was mine, and I had mystery,
Wisdom was mine, and I had mastery:
To miss the march of this retreating world
Into vain citadels that are not walled.
Then, when much blood had clogged their chariot-wheels,
I would go up and wash them from sweet wells,
Even with truths that lie too deep for taint.
I would have poured my spirit without stint
But not through wounds; not on the cess of war.
Foreheads of men have bled where no wounds were.

'I am the enemy you killed, my friend.
I knew you in this dark: for so you frowned
Yesterday through me as you jabbed and killed.
I parried; but my hands were loath and cold.
Let us sleep now....'

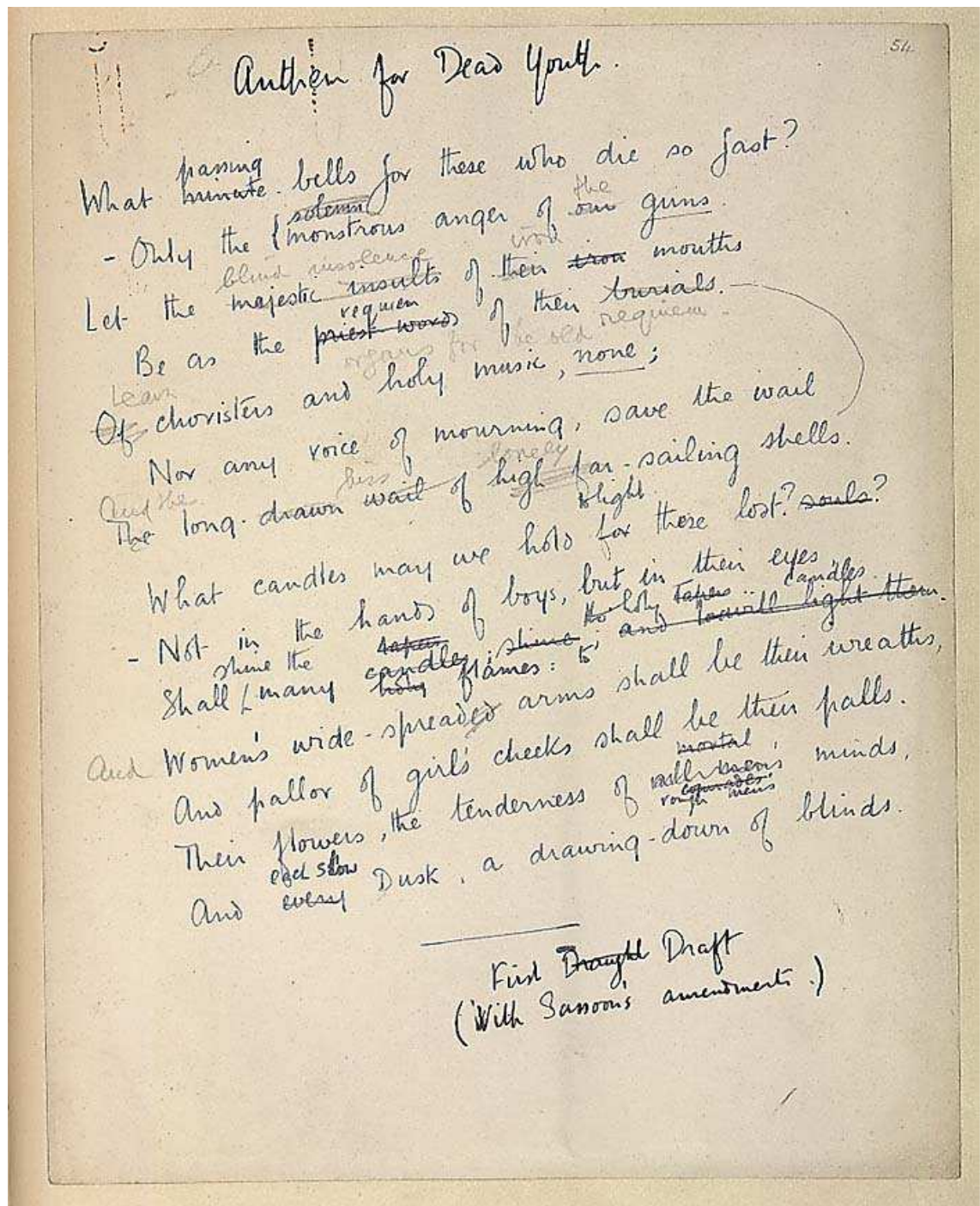
Everypoet.com [online]. 2001-6 [cit. 2008-03-17]. Dostupný z WWW:
<http://www.everypoet.com/Archive/Poetry/Wilfred_Owen/wilfred_owen_strange_meeting.htm>.

Appendix 10: Owen's "Anthem for Doomed Youth"

What passing-bells for these who die as cattle?
Only the monstrous anger of the guns.
Only the stuttering rifles' rapid rattle
Can patter out their hasty orisons.
No mockeries now for them; no prayers nor bells;
Nor any voice of mourning save the choirs, –
The shrill, demented choirs of wailing shells;
And bugles calling for them from sad shires.
What candles may be held to speed them all?
Not in the hands of boys but in their eyes
Shall shine the holy glimmers of goodbyes.
The pallor of girls' brows shall be their pall;
Their flowers the tenderness of patient minds,
And each slow dusk a drawing-down of blinds.

Everypoet.com [online]. 2001-6 [cit. 2008-03-17]. Dostupný z WWW:
<http://www.everypoet.com/archive/poetry/Wilfred_Owen/wilfred_owen_anthem_for_doomed_youth.htm>.

Appendix 11: Owen's draft of the poem



POWER, James. *Somme Battlefield Tours Ltd* [online]. c2008, 14 March 2008 [cit. 2008-03-16]. Dostupný z WWW: <http://www.battlefield-tours.com/archive_wilfred_owen.htm>.