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**THE CHANGE OF VALUE SYSTEM IN BRITAIN
AFTER
THE GREAT WAR**

BACHELOR PAPER

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UNIVERZITA PARDUBICE
FAKULTA FILOZOFICKÁ
KATEDRA ANGLISTIKY A AMERIKANISTIKY

**THE CHANGE OF VALUE SYSTEM IN BRITAIN
DURING AND AFTER THE GREAT WAR**

**ZMĚNA HODNOTOVÉHO SYSTÉMU
V BRITÁNII ZA PRVNÍ SVĚTOVÉ VÁLKY A
V OBDOBÍ POVÁLEČNÉM**

BAKALÁŘSKÁ PRÁCE

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Abstract:

The paper focuses on the changes of value system in Britain during and after the Great War. The social issues regarding class, gender, sex and sexuality, labour and the impact of state control on the British society are analyzed. Attention is mainly paid to the soldiers representing the most affected group of people in the war. The war experience of soldiers as well as ordinary people will be presented on the trilogy *Regeneration* by Pat Barker.

Abstrakt:

Práce se zaměřuje na změny hodnotového systému v Británii za první světové války a v poválečném období. Rozebírána je sociální problematika týkající se třídní a genderové příslušnosti, sexuality, pracovní síly a vlivu státních zásahů na britskou společnost. Pozornost je věnována především vojákům, kteří představují nejvíce zasaženou skupinu lidí první světovou válkou. Zkušenosti jak vojáků tak obyčejných lidí jsou prezentovány v trilogii *Regeneration* od Pat Barker.

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1 Introduction

This paper deals with the British society and culture during and after the First World War. It looks at the lives and experiences of ordinary British people affected by the war, how they attempted to understand it, how they coped with the war's legacies, and how they have recollected the war afterwards. Since people experienced the war in different ways depending on their military status, social class, sex or age, this paper will focus on topics such as ideologies of gender, sex, class, labour, state control as well as the soldiers' hysteria of the First World War called the shell shock. All these topics represent the social and cultural changes that occurred during the Great War. In the introduction, the life within classes in the Late Victorian period will be also briefly mentioned in order to compare the development of British society before and after the war. Finally, the war's impact on ideologies of classes, gender and mostly on soldiers and ex-soldiers will be applied to Pat Barker's trilogy *Regeneration*.

The First World War brought about considerable discussion on the social roles for British women and men, therefore, the gender politics became a widely disputable topic. As for the men, their role was to recruit and fight, whereas the women's role was unclear and had to be defined. Robb states that the debates over women's work became battlegrounds. Although war time propaganda attempted to reinforce traditional gender ideology, the need for female labour brought new opportunities to women. While women welcomed these new possibilities, more conservative elements felt that this new openness would undermine the Empire's morality. (Robb, 32)

The First World War supported the idea of the men's embodiment of true manhood; those who refused to fight were regarded as unmanly. Recruiting propaganda advocated the approval of women and threatened the humiliation of being unmanly. If the war enabled men to find their manhood, it also gave women the opportunity to discover their role as efficient labourers who can manage traditional men's work. On

the contrary, with women's rising demands for freedom, both the government and men opposed as they feared that war labour might unsex women and spoil the traditional paternalistic role of men.

The more soldiers' manliness was emphasised the greater anxiety aroused homosexuality during the war. Although wartime discussions of homosexuality were becoming more open, the army viewed homosexuality as a threat to the morality and carefully maintained hierarchy. Joanna Bourke claims that the all-male environment of the military supported intimate friendships between men and broadened the expression of male emotion. Greater intimacy and tenderness coexisted with the wartime aggressive masculinity. (Robb, 57) These relationships revived the romantic friendships of many officers in their public school days. Paul Fussell confirms that a great amount of war poetry concerning the love of soldier for soldier was written. (Fussell, 290) Homosexuality was neither widely discussed nor understood, it was illegal; however, it was nothing uncommon.

Class identities very much influenced individual's attitudes toward the war, therefore, it is important to discuss the war's impact on the British class system. According to Arthur Marwick, historians have traditionally pointed out the war's socially unifying aspects and its tendency to break down old class barriers. However, recent studies emphasize that the gains of some groups promoted resentments in others, stressed by post-war industrial conflict and revived conservatism. Nevertheless, all classes perceived the war as a significant watershed in social hierarchy. (George Robb, 67)

Regarding the labour, Harold Perkin states that the increased production of weaponry and more recruits for the military made labour a scarce resource. Therefore, it raised serious labour unrest and encouraged workers to demonstrate for a higher pay. The government gave in. The war had made trade unions more powerful and increased workers' expectations. (Perkin, 196)

During the war state regulation and eventual state control were exercised. According to Perkin, the former liberal approach of the government was replaced by more efficient prosecution of the war. The new policies permitted censorship, price regulation, or even obligatory conscription. (Perkin, 226-228) Kenneth Morgan states

that the successful voluntary enlistment during 1914-1916 was replaced by the compulsory method of conscription. (Morgan, 584) The old principles of the civil libertarian and individualistic traditions of Liberalism were abandoned.

Since this work mainly focuses on soldiers, it is essential to broadly discuss the term shell shock which was brought about by The First World War. This destructive war neurosis attacked an enormous number of soldiers and severely affected their lives during and after the war. The soldiers fought in trenches, which were inhumane and brutal places full of fear and death. Apart from physical threat, the soldiers had to undergo unbearable psychological stress.

Elaine Showalter explains that the term shell shock first appeared in the First World War in 1915. Dr. Charles S. Myers, a Cambridge University laboratory psychologist, used the term shell shock in an article for The Lancet magazine. He described that chemical effects of a shell explosion close to the trenches caused the symptoms like loss of sense, taste, smell and memory. At first, Myers thought that the nervous disorders were of organic cause, but after several clinical tests, he concluded that neither concussion, nor changes in atmospheric pressure were to blame for it. Finally, Myers claimed that the term shell shock was badly chosen expression as not all the soldiers, who suffered from this “injury”, were exposed directly to an exploding shell. (Showalter, 168) Showalter claims that shell shock spread fast through all the fighting zones. Psychiatrists yearned for the cause of the malady. Like Myers, they thought that shell shock was caused by physical injury to the brain or the central nervous system. Other psychiatric theories stated that soldiers’ conditions caused food poisoning, noise or toxic condition of blood. (Showalter, 170) When the government, generals and psychiatrists concluded that shell shock was not of organic origin, their effort was to keep it from public. Showalter claims that they also came to conclusion that “shell shock was the emotional disturbance produced by warfare itself, by chronic conditions of fear, pension, horror, disgust, and grief; and that war neurosis was an escape from an intolerable situation”. (Showalter, 170)

One of many books that deals with the topic on The Great War is called *Regeneration*. This trilogy is excellently written by Pat Barker, who received Booker Prize for Fiction in 1995 for the last volume called *The Ghost Road*. The book

brilliantly deals with reality and fiction. Some characters are real people who experienced the war and the others are fictitious figures. The trilogy tells the reworked stories of the true-life protagonists such as Siegfried Sassoon, Wilfred Owen, Dr. Rivers and Dr. Yealland. Barker focuses not only on the terrible trauma suffered by young First World War veterans, but also depicts the ideas of gender, class, survival and love.

Before the broader analysis of the issues concerning the Great War, the lives of Britons in the preceding years of the war should be foreshadowed, especially the late Victorian period (after around 1870), a time in which all was subject to challenge and change.

Victorian age has many adjectives, the most apposite ones such as prudish, old fashioned, strict, or out-dated can be suggested. John Gardiner suggests that the Victorian is a synonym for people who lived their lives tightly-corseted in the mind as well as in the flesh. (John Gardiner, 1) What really mattered to the Victorians in all the phases was class. Family life within the classes had its firm order. Gardiner states that women were perceived as the property of their husbands. They were viewed as inferior to men, even prone to hysteria. Seen in this light, they could not be given the right to vote. Middle class women could not work, their place was at home with children, whereas young working-class girls could work as housemaids. (John Gardiner, 15) F. M. L. Thompson referring to R. Church claims that the “closed world of home” in late nineteenth and early twentieth century can be described as claustrophobic, moreover, many parents did not pay full attention to their children or their behaviour was distant. (Thompson, vol. 2, 102) Many people in the retrospect recollect the suffocating nature of middle-class Victorian homes. (Gardiner, 27) Nevertheless, Leonore Davidoff confirms that by the 1890s, husbands were forbidden to imprison or chastise their women. There were great discussions over women’s social freedoms. However, in the decades before the First World War men’s masculinity and military ability together with the view of women as domestic angels were renewed. (Thompson, volume 2, 105) As for the working class, men were the household heads; they represented financial support of the family. Davidoff claims that this was the part of the masculinity which should bring political recognition and distinguish respectable men from the poor. Within the working class there was a growth of factory work for women and girls. This opened

wide discussions on the impersonal surroundings, mixing of the sexes and higher disposable incomes of girls and women. Therefore, girls were urged to work in domestic service. (Thompson vol. 2, 106)

Concerning the politics, Pat Thane explains that in the years before 1914, the Liberals aimed to exercise the politics of social harmony as there was a great militancy from the side of trade unionists and unenfranchised women. The suffragists sought to actively participate in national politics. There were also growing problems among workers and employers. (Thompson vol. 3, 59) The government in the years before 1914 strongly undertook an interventionist role. “The Victorian liberal consensus had collapsed.” (Thompson, volume 3, 60-61)

The paper aims at the changes and trends caused by the First World War. The work focuses on the social issues regarding class, labour, gender, sex and sexuality. These issues are also briefly compared with the period before the war in order to refer to the changes that occurred during and after the war. Attention is mainly paid to the attitudes towards and of soldiers, the most affected group of people in the war, as the great burden was laid on servicemen who were supposed to be manly and courageous, however, suffered various war neuroses which frequently chased them long after the war. The experience of soldiers as well as their disorders and disillusionment of the war will be presented on the trilogy *Regeneration* by Pat Barker.

2 Gender and Sexuality in the British Society

The Great War started the discussion concerning the proper social roles for British women and men. Robb confirms that there was a clear action for men – to enlist and fight, whereas women had no model role to follow. Wartime propaganda proclaimed traditional roles for women; however, the reality was different. Female labour was needed, which opened new possibilities for women. During the war, women were praised for their work as nurses, munitions workers, and military auxiliaries; on the other hand, they became the target of gossip and parody if their behaviour seemed too unconventional. (Robb, 32) The war also brought a certain release from stuffy Victorian social customs and sexual prudery. There was more open public discussion of the then

taboo subjects such as illegitimacy, venereal disease, and homosexuality. The contemporary feminist scholars, such as Susan Kingsley Kent, however, point out the conservative backlash and comeback of traditional gender ideology of the post-war years. (Robb, 33) In the novel *The Eye in the Door*, Billy Prior notes the changes war brought to women. He encounters two married women going out for a drink together; moreover, they visit the same pub his father goes to. Before the war, women had been socially condemned for such behaviour. Prior's traditionally thinking father is disgusted by such manners, Prior comments: "No wonder the old bugger thought Armageddon had arrived." (Barker, 293)

2.1 Gender

George Robb refers to Gerard DeGroot who notes that in the late Victorian and Edwardian eras, manliness and masculinity were greatly emphasized as vital to the imperial mission. Warfare was presented in the form of romantic and heroic images, by 1914, over 40 per cent of British adolescents joined some sort of youth organization, and many of them were of paramilitary nature. (Robb, 33) The general belief was that the war would reawaken manliness in men and femininity in women. Oscar Wilde's elder son, who was killed in the war in 1915, enlisted the war in order to retrieve the lost honour of his family as he was severely ashamed of his father's homosexuality. Robb quoted Wilde's explanation in Claire M. Tylee: "first and foremost, I must be a man. There was to be no cry of decadent artist, of effeminate aesthete, of weak-kneed degenerate." (Robb, 34) This citation shows how men fought against so feared effeminacy and incoming harshness of women.

In September 1914, the Women's Service League was founded to help with the recruiting of men. Robb cites some militant persuasions in Maurice Rickards and Michael Moody: "Most notoriously, a group of especially zealous women handed out white feathers, a symbol of cowardice, to any young men not in uniform." (Robb, 35) In the novel *Regeneration*, David Burns, a patient at Craiglockhart War Hospital experiences a humiliating situation. On his first trip in civilian clothes, he is handed two white feathers despite of being in service at the Front. (Parker, 155)

In the war, the ideal British man and woman were depicted in the images of a soldier and a nurse. The soldier was masculine, brave, strong, and courageous; the nurse represented the feminine ideals of compassion, nurturing, and virtue. As women demanded greater freedom, men felt threatened and pushed women back into the role of a powerless victim in need of male protection. Robb refers to Janet Watson quoting one soldier who wrote to his fiancée, concerned about female war work:

Whatever you do, don't go in Munitions or anything in that line – just fill a Woman's position and remain a woman – don't develop into one of those 'things' that are doing men's work ... I want to return and find the same loveable little woman that I left behind – not a coarse thing more of a man than a woman – I love you because of your womanly little ways and nature, so don't spoil yourself by carrying on with a man's work – it's not necessary. (Robb, 39)

In the novel *Regeneration*, Billy Prior, a patient at Craiglockhart War Hospital, notices how women changed during the war. He thinks that men had shrunk into a smaller space during the war, whereas women had expanded in all kinds of ways. When Prior meets Sarah Lumb in a pub, he can see an independent young woman who is able to take care of herself. She has a well paid job in a munitions factory and stays in Edinburgh, Scotland on her own far away from her traditionally thinking mother Ada, who does not want Sarah to perform dangerous work. Ada suggests that Sarah should work as a lady's maid since this kind of work is appropriate for a young woman. Ada also thinks that women working with Sarah are too rough and have a bad influence on her. (Barker, 82, 83, 172)

During the war, there were considerable discussions on proper manner in which women should support the war. The feather campaign was considered too unladylike, women were supposed to gently persuade men into the war. Women could support the war by gathering parcels for war refugees, rolling bandages for the Red Cross, and also “keep the home fires burning” in order to prepare a comfortable home for the soldiers' return. Upper-class women established charitable organizations, middle-class women knitted scarves and socks for soldiers, which did not really satisfy their desire to be useful. A personal column in a newspaper *The Time* stated: “Lady, fiancé killed, will gladly marry officer totally blinded or incapacitated by the War.” (Robb, 39) This column shows that to be useful, some women offered their help in very strange ways.

Since more men entered the war, women were needed to replace them. Hundreds of thousands of women entered labour force; many of them performed the then masculine work such as munitions, transport, business, engineering, and even the military. Women also worked on buses and trains, in banks and post offices. According to Angela Woollacott women's employment had risen from 26 per cent in 1914 to 36 per cent by 1918. (Robb, 40) Thom claims that extra 429 000 women worked during the war in the areas of banking, finance, and commerce, most of them could keep their jobs after the war, except for the jobs in industry and transport. (Robb, 42) The most skilled male workers felt resentment that women made good wages. Therefore, the agreement of March 1915 between the government and 35 trade unions approved the clause that allowed employers to pay women considerably less than men when they performed the same work so that women were only doing part of a skilled task. (Robb, 43) In *The Eye in the Door*, Rivers's landlady complains about the efflux of female servants to the munitions factories where they can earn five times more. (Barker, 273) This shows that women, when given an opportunity, were prepared to perform more exacting and masculine work to make good wages.

As the rate of injury and serious mutilations was severe, there was a shortage of trained nurses. Arthur Marwick observes that Voluntary Aid Detachment (VAD) nurses were recruited from upper and middle-class women. Working class women were considered as too immoral to be in contact with young soldiers. Professional nurses opposed the VADs, they saw them as amateurs who lowered their wages, whereas VADs refused to accept the authority of trained nurses as they were usually socially inferior to VADs. (Robb, 40) In *The Eye in the Door*, the second volume of *Regeneration*, Barker shows the relation between Sister Walters and VADs. Sister Walters is depicted as: "long-nosed Geordie with a sallow skin and a vein of class-hatred". Walters hates the VADs, she feels they are from a similar social background but are paid better than she is. She admits: "I'm dusting, I'm sweeping a floor.....when I was training we got eight quid *a year*. That was for a seventy-hour week." (Barker, 342,343) Another class tension within the nurses and VADs is depicted in *The Ghost Road*. Sister Roberts complains to Rivers about Miss Banbury. Rivers recognizes that the only reason is a class distinction. Miss Banbury is described as a well-meaning,

enthusiastic but unqualified and upper-class girl, while Sister Roberts comes from a family of eleven living in slums. She believes in: “the corrosive effects on the human psyche of good food, good housing and good education.” (464, 465)

Female workers in munitions factories worked under dangerous conditions as they worked with chemicals and explosives. The result of a common TNT (trinitrotoluene) poisoning was jaundice, women had bright yellow faces, and therefore, they earned the nickname “canary girls”. In the novel *Regeneration*, Sarah Lumb is a young girl working in munitions factory. When she first meets her future boyfriend, Billy Prior, he notices her yellow skin and recognizes that she works as a munitions worker. He also asks her about her wages. She is well paid: “Fifty bob a week....I was earning ten bob before the war.” (Barker, 82) This extract shows that women’s opportunities to earn more money were greater than before the war despite of the dangerous working conditions.

Munitions factories brought about an increase in class tensions since middle-class people worked together with working-class people whose independence was growing. In the newspaper *The Times*, the munitions factories were depicted as a melting pot, a wonderful leveller of social classes. (Robb, 44) Woollacott argues that only about 9 per cent of female munitions workers represented middle and upper class and they performed skilled and supervisory jobs, which mirrored the social hierarchy. (Robb, 45) In *The Eye in the Door*, Prior and his mother discuss a strike at the munitions factory. Prior’s father is upset that women earn more money than men. He utters the opinion that after the war, there will be unskilled labour and that women will be going to work whereas men will sit at home taking care of their children. On one hand, Prior’s father was determined to raise the status of the working class as a whole, and on the other hand, he was more determined to maintain distinctions within his own class. (Barker, 290, 291)

While women experienced new opportunities, men in the Army discovered the horrors of the war. The trench warfare, with its unprecedented number of mutilations and deaths, was the total opposite from the chivalric fantasies of men’s youth. The soldiers felt betrayed not only by the politicians and generals, but also by civilian society, which seemed to prosper. In *Regeneration*, Billy Prior and Sarah Lumb go for a

walk on the beach. Prior watches ordinary people enjoying themselves on the seashore, licking ice cream and playing in the sand. He feels like a ghost in his uniform and envies and despises Sarah for belonging with “the pleasure-seeking crowd”. He feels that they all owe him something and that Sarah “should pay”. After a while, in a pub, Prior tells Sarah some stories from the trenches, she does not understand why. However, Prior wants her to be involved in the reality caused by the war, he hates the fact that other people have the choice to forget or disregard the atrocities of the war. (Barker, 114, 117) Nevertheless, in chapter 14, Sarah encounters the reality hidden from public when she goes with her friend Madge to a war hospital so that Madge can visit her wounded boyfriend. Sarah leaves Madge and her boyfriend alone. While searching for an exit from the hospital, she walks into a tent full of men without limbs. Her horrified face causes the fear in the men’s eyes. She realizes that she made their suffering worse. The men were located outside the hospital so that passers-by could not see them. Sarah is angry with herself thinking: “if the country demanded that price, then it should bloody well be prepared to look at the results.” (Barker, 142,143) And yet, for many women, the war was “the first day in the history of the world.” (Barker, 296) In *The Eye in the Door*, Billy Prior discusses the war with Hettie Roper, a devoted Pacifist. She recollects a story of one suffragette who keenly welcomes wartime changes. She is short-haired, wearing breeches, works as an ambulance driver, things that had been totally unacceptable for women before the war. On the contrary, Prior responds that the war also represents the last day for a lot of men. (Barker, 296)

Sandra Gilbert wrote in the journal *Signs* that “the First World War liberated women, but emasculated men by depriving them of autonomy and confining them as closely as any Victorian woman had been confined.” (Robb, 47) By the end of the war, 80 000 men had been treated with shell shock, a nervous disorder. The heroic masculine ideal of a man before the war was replaced by emotionally disturbed men, shell shock represented ‘male hysteria’ and the First World War was seen as a ‘crisis of masculinity’. (Robb, 48) Barker in *Regeneration* regards emasculation as one of the main motives of the book. Patient Anderson dreams he is tied up with corsets; Sassoon remembers the boy who was castrated in the war; Prior contemplates over his weakness against his father and the influence of his mother. All these patients are afraid of

emasculatation which represented a real threat in the war. Dr. Rivers also worries that his method of therapy appears to be an emasculating one. Rivers attempts to cure his patients by forcing them to talk about their fears, their memories, their families, and problems. He acknowledges that “they had been trained to identify emotional repression as the essence of manliness.” If they release their suppressions, they may feel twice emasculated. Billy Prior opposes Rivers’s method because, as a boy, he was brought up to be as masculine as possible. He undergoes hypnosis as he cannot release his feelings. He regards talking about problems as an emotional submission which would undermine his manliness. (Barker, 44-64) Susan Kingsley Kent refers to the war as “sex war”, and that men in the Army saw women as emasculating them and benefiting from their absence. (Robb, 48) Siegfried Sassoon in *Glory of Women* accuses women of upholding the fiction of war’s nobility:

You love us when we’re heroes, home on leave,
Or wounded in a mentionable place.
You worship decorations; you believe
That chivalry redeems the war’s disgrace. (Robb, 48)

Wilfred Owen in his poem *Disabled* writes about a crippled soldier who realizes that he had enlisted “to please the giddy jilts.” (Robb, 48) In *Regeneration*, Sarah and her friend Lizzie are chatting over a break in the munitions factory. Lizzie admits that she is afraid of the time when her husband comes on leave at the weekend. She says that on August 4, 1914, *peace* broke out for her; she could have her own money and be free of her abusive husband who entered the war. She does not look forward to his return. (Barker, 99)

According to Gullace, the white feather campaign, which was seen as a patriotic outburst at the beginning of the war, was then regarded as “an emblematic act of feminine betrayal”. (Robb, 49) Contrariwise, Sylvia Pankhurst in *The Home Front* focuses on poor working class women who experienced problems like the loss of a breadwinner, small separation allowances, rising prices, and shortages of basic necessities. (Robb, 49) Billy Prior in *The Ghost Road* encounters a young woman with a child and young woman’s mother. He contemplates over the woman’s life. She is probably married, either widowed or having her husband at the Front. The war reduced

her to the tutelage in her mother's house sharing one bed with her child and listening to the snores of her parents. (Barker, 431) The new opportunities did not touch her at all.

2.2 Sexuality

The war heightened challenges to Victorian mores and offered release from all sorts of sexual restraints; this could be seen in fashion - women had shorter hemlines and used more cosmetics. In *the Eye in the Door*, Siegfried Sassoon and Dr. Rivers discuss the changes noticed by soldiers when they are at home on leave. Sassoon refers to one officer who said that every time he came home he noticed that women's skirts were shorter. (Barker, 414) Vera Brittain confirms that young people considered life as too short and death always imminent; "the postponement of love to a legal occasion might mean its frustration for ever." (Robb, 50) In *Regeneration*, Billy Prior and Sarah make love on the beach under the bushes. Before the war, it would be unimaginable for a single couple to spend the whole day left alone or moreover make love. (Barker, 116) When Sarah meets her mother Ada at a café, she tells her about Billy. Ada is not happy about her daughter having sex so soon. She warns her that condoms are not reliable and that if she gets pregnant, she will have big problems. Ada does not believe in love between a man and a woman, she raised her two daughters by herself. She wants Sarah to get married to a man with a dependable income so that her daughter can be the beneficiary of a pension after a potential deceased husband. (Barker, 171, 172) Traditionally thinking women attempted to retain their honour and morality. Levine proposes that upper-class women attempted to protect working-class women from the immorality. The Women's Police Volunteers were organized to protect women from prostitution and from the contact between soldiers and young women near training camps. In some towns, these volunteers were recognized by local authorities and could inspect the homes of suspected prostitutes. (Robb, 51) In *The Eye in the Door*, Prior wants to make love to a married woman Myra whose husband is at the Front. Myra refuses explaining that the voluntary police have the right to come into a house and check if a woman behaves virtuously. She also points out that the voluntary police could stop giving her the separation allowances. (Barker, 230) On the contrary, Marwick

observes that in early months of the war, a large number of working-class soldiers were not married to the women they lived with, therefore, the Executive Committee of the National Relief Fund decided that “where there was evidence that a real home had been maintained allowances should be made to unmarried mothers and their children.” (Robb, 52) The illegitimacy of the unions that differed from traditional marriage seemed to be slightly reduced.

The great publicity was drawn to the sexuality of British women during the war, whereas not much attention was given to the sexuality of soldiers. Charles Carrington explains that in France, towns near the lines opened many red-light districts and brothels, which functioned on two scales of payment – first-class for officers and second-class for other ranks. (Robb, 53) This kind of sexual life brought about the influx of venereal disease in the Army. Fuller states that by 1918, about 60 000 British and dominion soldiers were treated for venereal disease. (Fuller, 75) The wartime discussions of controversial sexual topics reached absurdity when the soldiers were seen as the nation’s heroes and women received a considerable criticism as seducers and despoilers of brave young men. Billy Prior, in *the Eye in the Door*, mentions a brothel in Amiens where the private soldiers queued on the pavement and were allowed to spend only two minutes with a prostitute whereas officers were much more privileged. (Barker, 232)

Another feature of unmanly emotions and feminine manners came to existence in the First World War and that was homosexuality. Showalter refers to Ernest Jones who claimed that one of the reasons for enlisting the war was an opportunity for a soldier to be close to masses of men. (Showalter, 171) Paul Fussell also describes passion of officers for young soldiers and on the other hand the worship by young soldiers of irresistible officers. J. R. Ackerley depicts his memories in his autobiography as “simply an extension of my public school – chaste, intense, platonic, unacknowledged”. (Showalter, 171) There were cases where psychiatrists refused to cure shell shocked patients and pointed out effeminacy and homosexuality. Karl Abraham agreed that those who suffered from war neurosis were impotent men with latent homosexuality, which came out as a result of all-male environment. (Showalter, 172) According to Jeffrey

Weeks between 1914 and 1919, 270 soldiers and 22 officers were court-martialled for their homosexual acts in the British Army. (Robb, 57)

Pat Barker, both in *Regeneration* and *the Eye in the Door*, pays a great deal of attention to homosexuality between men. Siegfried Sassoon, a British poet and officer, deeply discusses his homosexuality with Dr. Rivers, especially when Robert Graves, a very close friend of Sassoon, arrives to the hospital and announces to Sassoon that he has a girlfriend. This statement is painful for Sassoon as Graves is his platonic love. Graves also tells Siegfried about a friend Peter who was caught soliciting himself outside barracks. Peter is sent to Rivers to be cured. Sassoon is disgusted. (Barker, 176) Rivers expresses sympathy to homosexuality, but warns Sassoon not to be so open as homosexual soldiers are sent straight to prison. Rivers also explains to Sassoon that the authorities distinguish between a right and wrong kind of love between men. The right kind is represented by a comradeship in the trenches and the wrong one is punished by court martial. (Barker, 180, 181) Wilfred Owen, a British poet and a great admirer of Sassoon, meets Siegfried in the Craiglockhart. Owen writes for the hospital magazine *Hydra* and shows some of his poems to Sassoon. While Siegfried behaves only as Owen's friend and a counsellor on poems, Wilfred regards Siegfried as more than a friend. (Barker, 74, 140, 141, 213) In the second volume of *Regeneration*, *the Eye in the Door*, Billy Prior has a random sex with Henry Manning, an officer on permanent leave. Manning was sent to Rivers to be cured from homosexuality. Since he had a bad wound from the war and received the war medal, his solicitor helped him and instead of spending two years in prison he was given treatment in the hospital. (Barker, 238) *The Eye in the Door* deals with so called Black Book widely discussed in 1918. The Black Book, supposedly owned by a German prince, was said to hold 47,000 eminent British people's names whose double lives left them open to German blackmail. (Barker, 340) In fact, the Book was written by a British, Harold Spencer. The article 'The First 47,000' was published in the magazine *The Imperialist* together with a paragraph entitled *The Cult of the Clitoris*. This paragraph suggested that many subscribers to a private performance of Oscar Wilde's *Salome* could be listed in The Black Book. Maud Allan, an actress in *Salome*, sued the owner and editor of the magazine, Pemberton Billing, for libel as the paragraph stated she was a lesbian. Pemberton Billing process

was closely watched by the public. (Barker, 422, 423) Henry Manning is sent a cutting about Maud Allan and *The Cult of the Clitoris* and becomes obsessed with the Pemberton Billing affair. Sassoon, staying wounded in the London hospital, leads a discussion with Rivers. Sassoon is upset about everyone's obsession with the affair, he explains that soldiers in the trenches talk about the trial, the newspapers are full of the trial and that instead of focusing on the actual atrocities of the war, the public is more interested in sexual affairs and blackmailing. (Barker, 382)

Sheila Rowbotham confirms that there has been a belief that the war restrained Victorian prudery and brought the sexual liberation in the 1920s. In reality, Britons stayed conservative, books dealing with open sexuality such as *Lady Chatterley's Lover* were published abroad, film censorship made many subjects taboo, for example prostitution, rape, or drunkenness among women. (Robb, 64) Although conservatism dominated in post-war society and culture, the war brought new freedoms. The traditional opposition to birth control was diminished as wartime publications such as the Women's Cooperative Guild's *Maternity* (1917) helped raise public consciousness of the terrible consequences of frequent childbirth for women. Contraceptive knowledge was spread; soldiers' use of condoms was increased to prevent them against VD (venereal disease). In *Regeneration*, Sarah is upset when she finds out that her co-worker Betty tried to abort her baby by using a coat-hanger. Deliberate abortion meant societal condemnation. Sarah feels endangered; she realizes that she could find herself in the same situation as Betty since she practices unprotected sex. (Barker, 178, 179) During the war, various medicines to procure abortion or cure syphilis were sold below the counter. *The Ghost Road* touches this issue through Sarah's mother who owns a shop where she offers all kinds of patent medicine such as Dr Lawson's Cure for Female Blockages and Obstructions, Penny-royal Syrup, Bumstead's Gleet Cure and many others. (Barker, 466) Such medicine was supposed to be sure cure, in fact most of it were fake medicaments. Robb, referring to Alberti, states that in 1918, women were granted the vote, initially only women over 30 in order to ensure that men remained a majority of voters. Prior, Sarah and her mother discuss the granting of the vote to women of thirty and over. Sarah's mother strongly disapproves: "it had pleased Almighty God to create the one sex visibly and unmistakably superior to the other, and

that was all there was to be said in the matter.” (Barker, 467) Ada represents traditional upbringing and opinions of Victorian era. In 1920, Oxford University allowed women to take degrees. At the end of the war, the Sex Disqualification Removal Act opened the Civil Service and professions to women. (Robb, 65) Robb suggests that many working-class women were politicized during the war through union membership, problematic interaction with middle-class factory officials, or anger at demobilization. Furthermore, women gained self-confidence, independence and emancipation. (Robb, 65, 66)

3 Class, Labour, and State Control

Robb refers to Arthur Marwick who emphasises that the war significantly influenced all the classes in Britain in terms of socially unifying aspects and breaking down old class barriers as the franchise and social reforms were extended. (Robb, 67) The upper class’s gracious living, partying, privileges of low taxes and cheap servants diminished. The working class gained confidence, trade unions and the Labour Party grew in influence. The new opportunities were opened to the middle class, but also new uncertainties. Some people experienced poverty, others got rich, and many lost faith in the old Victorian values. Victorian individualism was replaced by collectivism. (Robb, 68)

In the years preceding the war, there had been a great class conflict, especially between employers and workers, who were dissatisfied with their wages and organized strikes. At the beginning of the war, workers had little interest in the war until they were forced into it. As an example, Robb refers to Waites who cites a working-class woman saying: “she did not see what difference it would make if the Germans did come and rule England. She had always been poor, and she didn’t suppose she would be worse off with them than without them.” (Robb, 69) J. M. Bourne notes that the working-class’s patriotism, morality, and capacity to fight the war were immense, which was surprising for many in the nation’s elite who doubted the working class’s loyalty. (Robb, 70) According to Robb, the upper classes, given their martial traditions and close identity with the state, greeted the war with enthusiasm. Nevertheless, with increasing number of casualties, the romanticized view of war was decreasing. Some in the upper classes

continued their parties and entertaining without any concerns to the harsh reality. The middle class was the most patriotic class of all; the enlistment rate for middle-class workers was twice as great as for working-class workers. (Robb, 72)

3.1 Labour

Although the Labourers immensely supported the war, there was a feeling that they were bearing a disproportionate share of the war burden. Robb refers to Nick Mansfield quoting a soldier's wife's angry letter to the Shrewsbury Chronicle in 1915, after feeling insulted at a local meeting where poor women were told that it was their patriotic duty to return to the land:

I am prepared to go and help on any farm in the neighbourhood at an honest wage, but not for wages that would not pay for the clothes I wore out at work...What about the farmers' wives and daughters? The one half of them are brought up to do nothing besides play the piano and dance the carpets... they can't soil their hands. (Robb, 73)

In the years 1915 and 1916, there was a great deal of strikes organized by the working class. Labourers felt a great inequality of sacrifice and demanded higher wages. In October 1915, the Clyde Workers' Committee was formed in Glasgow; the members organized a strike for a wage increase. This organization was eventually suppressed by the government; its leaders were imprisoned, or exiled. (Robb, 75) *The Eye in the Door* deals with the anti-war movements, especially with Pacifists. One of the Pacifists, Patrick MacDowell, is a leading organizer of the Sheffield strike in the munitions factories. Besides organizing strikes, he strongly opposes the war, refuses to enlist and becomes a deserter. Billy Prior, Mac's old friend, works for the Ministry of Munitions in the Department of Intelligence. Prior's task is to investigate and convict "the conchies" –cowards and opponents of the war. Prior finds the task difficult since Mac, Beattie Roper and her daughters, all Pacifists, are Prior's close friends from childhood. (Barker, 238, 257) Prior has sympathy to his old friends, on the other hand, he himself fought at the Front and was shell shocked. He cannot understand that healthy men refuse to fight or work for their country. Prior investigates the case of Beattie Roper

who is convinced of attempting to kill the Prime Minister George Lloyd. Prior visits Beattie in prison, she describes how the prisoners-deserters are treated. They are left in a pit full of mud for a month. The officials responsible for such treatment were court-martialled. Prior responds: “Beattie, there’s a million men in France up to their dicks in water. Who’s going to get court-martialled for that?” (Barker, 372) Prior is obviously aware of the absurdity of the war, however, his desire to prove himself as a soldier and a man is superior.

3.2 State Control

Marwick states that during the war, the government adopted state regulation and eventually measures of state control in military recruitment, munitions production, labour supply, food distribution, and even propaganda. In June 1915, the Ministry of Munitions under Lloyd George was set up. The country was divided into ten munitions districts managed by businessmen. The government ensured a steady supply of fuel, raw materials, and labour. In December 1916, Lloyd George formed a five-man inner War Cabinet. This government continued in the pattern of more state control and less democracy. (Robb, 78) The state control is expressed in *Regeneration* in terms of censorship. Prior explains to Sarah that all the letters written by other ranks are censored. Sarah asks Prior who reads his correspondence. He replies that nobody since he is an officer with a sense of honour. Sarah is upset that the Army regards only officers as honourable. Prior censors letters to his men and supposes that the officers’ personal letters are also randomly checked but somewhere else and not by people men have to see every day. (Barker, 117, 559) *The Eye in the Door* touches an attempt to centralize the intelligence services under the control of the War Office. Prior, working in the Department of Intelligence, is supposed to “tidy up the sensitive material” before the state takes over the department. (Barker, 313)

Susan Pedersen notes that during the war, the government initiated numerous social welfare policies such as more adequate war pensions, government control of sugar, milk, and other foodstuffs. One of the reforms represented separation allowances which were given to the dependents of military recruits and were administered by the

Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association (SSFA), a private philanthropic organization. However, labour leaders criticized the SSFA for treating payments as charity and argued that the allowances were given only to working-class women with good behaviour. As a result, the Ministry of Pension took over separation allowances in 1916. (Robb, 79) According to Winter, many reforms were initiated as a result of the fact that by the late 1915 the army had rejected almost 30 per cent of volunteers as unfit for military service. During 1917-1918, only 36 per cent of the 2.5 million recruits examined were passed as fit for full military service. Forty-one per cent were graded as unable "to undergo physical exertion or totally or permanently unfit for military service." (Robb, 80) These numbers show the social consequences of so many people having been brought up in poverty. On the contrary, In *Regeneration* Rivers and Sassoon read about seventeen years and ten months old boy killed in action. Sassoon is horrified as the boy was not old enough to enlist the war. He cries out: "It doesn't even put them off their sausages! Have you ever sat in a club room and watched people read the casualty list?" He is disgusted by the government which allows children to fight and be killed. (Barker, 63)

3.3 Class

As for the wartime classes, the British class system was apparent in the Army: aristocratic generals, middle-class officers, and a working-class rank and file could be distinguished there. G. D. Sheffield notes that over 40 per cent of the military high command came from the aristocracy or gentry. The remaining officers were mostly from the middle class. (Robb, 84) Wilson adverts to the insufficient number of officers in 1915; therefore, the men of good education were called to become officers. Before 1914, 150 schools and 20 universities established Officer Training Corps. The boys from public schools had military training and their public school ethos represented the ideals of manliness, duty, honour, sacrifice, and honesty. (Robb, 84)

In the Army, the traditional social hierarchies were highly observed. Each officer had a soldier-servant who attended to officers' uniforms and waited at table. Officers

were frequently sent all sorts of delicacies by their families. Robert Graves found his first visit to the Battalion Headquarters shocking as it:

happened to be unusually comfortable, with an ornamental lamp, a clean cloth, and polished silver on the table.....signalling officer had just finished dinner: it was civilized cooking – fresh meat and vegetables. Pictures pasted on the papered walls; beds spring-mattressed, a gramophone, easy chairs... (Robb, 85)

Graves compared the comforts of the officers to the vision “of troops waist-deep in mud, and gnawing a biscuit while shells burst all around.” (Robb, 85) The wartime propaganda, however, depicted the Army as a unifying force and promoter of social harmony. The trench warfare developed close inter-rank relationships. All shared the same discomforts and cooperated closely to ensure survival. Prior, in *The Ghost Road*, talks about his servant Longstaffe and their relationship. As they spend a great deal of time together and experience the same horrors, the barriers of the rank are eventually breached. (Barker, 517) Many middle- and upper-class men claimed that their attitude towards the working class was changed by the war. (Robb, 86) In *The Ghost Road*, Prior describes soldiers’ playing football regardless their class: “Street-corner football played in the spirit of public-school rugby. I stood and watched my compatriots charging up and down a social No Man’s Land.” (Barker, 529) Sassoon also wishes to get to know ordinary people after the war by working in a factory. He, as a member of upper class, feels that his life before the war was wrapped up in the sort of cocoon. (Barker, 408) Robb refers to M. Peter who mentions lower middle-class and working-class soldiers who were promoted to the officers during the war. These “temporary gentlemen” sometimes experienced snobbery as others regarded the true gentlemanly status as a birthright only. (Robb, 86) In *The Eye in the Door*, Charles Manning categorizes Billy Prior. Manning notes Prior’s flattened vowels which are the sign of a working-class language. He realizes that Prior does not belong to either class: “the man was neither fish nor fowl nor good red herring. *Socially*.” (Barker, 240, 241) Billy Prior represents so called working-class officer. He scorns “public school officers” as he is well aware of the class distinction and snobbery at the Front. He experiences that soldiers are judged by what they wear, what they eat and where they sleep. (Barker, 60, 61) Billy’s father does not like his son being educated and an officer, he is not proud of

it as he thinks that people should stick with their own class. He feels that Billy is somewhere between. (Barker, 52) It is Prior's mother who wants him to belong to the middle class; she wants him to marry a girl with good manners, "green skin", and a decent job. Prior's girlfriend Sarah does not fulfil such requirements since she comes from a working class and works in a munitions factory. Sarah is well aware of her status and acts with a great sense of honour. When Billy asks her to marry him, Sarah refuses for she knows that the things after the war will be different and Billy might regret his marrying to an uneducated, working-class girl. (Barker, 351, 471)

Robb notes that the status of classes in Britain at the end of the war experienced important modifications. Some of the large upper-incomes were reduced, while some of the worst pre-war poverty had been eliminated and the middle-class salary narrowed. The aristocracy partly lost its self-confidence and belief in its invulnerability. (Robb, 87) According to Waites, during the post-war years, the disappearance of the old elite with its values of honour and responsibility was replaced by a nouveau riche plutocracy – "the hard-faced men who had done well out of the war". (Robb, 89) While the upper class became a commercial and financial plutocracy, the middle class saw itself stuck between big business and labour. These people worked mostly as suburban clerks, civil servants, shopkeepers, and low-level professionals such as teachers. (Robb, 89) Robb claims that the working-class people gained most from the war as they experienced a rise in overall standard of living, the worst pre-war poverty disappeared, and unskilled workers could perform upward jobs. (Robb, 90) Referring to Martin Pugh, Robb notes that in January 1918, the People Act granted the vote to an additional 12 900 000 men and 8 400 000 women over 30. (Robb, 91) A brief post-war economic boom was replaced by financial collapse, industrial depression, and rising unemployment in 1921. (Robb, 93)

Peter H. Liddle quotes a poem *For services Rendered* reflecting bitter disenchantment of people:

Where are those home-fires of welcome?
Have they all burnt away?
Have Tommy and Jack, now they've come back,
In the unemployment ranks to stay? (Robb, 93)

In conclusion, Robb explains that despite years of depression, Britain never experienced the chronic pre-war poverty. The working class standard of living continued to increase and the government continued in social spending. Although the war did not destroy the class feeling, it undermined the old hierarchies of Edwardian society. The old social order remained, but in a less stiff form. (Robb, 95)

4 Shell Shock

Before and at the beginning of the war, soldiers were full of enthusiasm, confident about accuracy of the war, they were proud of fighting for ideals of the country. All the men, especially in the nineteenth century were brought up as gentlemen, convinced of their own unbreakable masculinity. Men were expected to be strong, without any unmanly emotions or fear in any situation. Features like fear, hysteria and weakness belonged to women. In Victorian era, there was an enormous epidemic of female hysteria as women had to strictly follow social rules; their lives were dictated according to given principles, which they could not bear anymore. As a result, many cases of female hysteria appeared. That is the reason why a great emphasis was laid on manliness at the beginning of the twentieth century. (Showalter, 172) Therefore, shell shock represented unmanly manners, weakness and cowardice. Due to that, many military authorities showed disgust toward such soldiers. They even opposed to pay veterans their pensions. However, Rob Ruggenberg reports that in 1920 about 50,000 British ex-soldiers were given the pension as a result of mental disorders. (Robb Ruggenberg)

Real number of soldiers suffering from shell shock cannot be estimated since firstly medical officers were ordered not to diagnose lower ranks as shell shocked. Furthermore, there were significant differences between officers and lower ranks. Showalter suggests that doctors and psychiatrists believed that male hysteria of officers and lower ranks developed differently. Paralysis, deafness, blindness, mutism, and limping were typical symptoms which appeared among soldiers. Whereas nightmare, insomnia, heart palpitations, dizziness, depression regularly appeared among officers.

Mr Smith and Pear suggested that officers who were well known for their unnecessary risks suffered from shell shock more than other soldiers. (Showalter, 175) On the other hand, Charles Myers claimed that social training and more active and responsible role in the trenches helped the officers to bear stress better. Showalter confirms that even W. H. R. Rivers, a famous psychiatrist, agreed with an idea of distinguishing symptoms between regular soldiers and officers. He thought that regular soldiers' mental life was simpler and their instincts and emotions could not be controllable compared to officers' mental life. Officers received a public-school education where they were taught to repress emotion and fear so that they could be great examples for their inferior soldiers. Furthermore, Rivers believed that war neurosis of the officers was caused by heavy sense of responsibility. (Showalter, 175) Basically, a shell shocked soldier was seen as a weak, simple traitor, whereas an officer was seen as an overresponsible hero.

Regardless to various views of psychiatrists, doctors and government, both soldiers and officers experienced monstrosity of the war in the same extent and it is embarrassing to treat them differently. Most of the soldiers enlisted the war as volunteers with pure ideals of fighting for their country, full of enthusiasm and national feeling prepared to die for their family, citizens, government. Ruggenberg refers to the British officer, Julian Grenfell, who wrote to his parents: "I adore war. It's like a big picnic without the objectlessness of a picnic. I've never been so well or happy. No one grumbles at one for being dirty."(Robb Ruggenberg) He wrote this letter at the beginning of the war in 1914. The public, therefore, had no chance to realize the true suffering of soldiers in trenches. Another feature was responsible for incorrect public's view on the war and that was censorship. Only official press was created. J. M. Winter reveals that there were few professional photographers who were allowed to photograph in the battlefield. The photographs had to follow particular norms in order to avoid drastic reality and not to set the wrong tone. Photographers tried to depict the war discreetly as nationalism did not allow the total revelation. (Winter, 184) On the contrary, after several months in trenches, attitude to the war changed completely; Zdenek Jindra refers to a journalist E. E. Kisch who wrote about the war in 1914:

We are more dead than alive considering our habits. We have no feeling of life, no ambition which would lead to further life, no vanity, we do not change our clothes, hardly eat, do not clean our teeth, nothing is disgusting

for us, we sleep in a grave and our apathy cannot differ much from that of a person rotting in a grave...(Jindra, 244)

The reality of the war broke the ideals of young bourgeois soldiers; Jindra illustrates another example of the war's disillusionment through K. P., a young soldier, wrote in October 1914: "I curse those, who caused – without knowing its horrors – this war! ...I declare war on war! To fight against it with all possible means! This will be my most wholehearted aim..." (Jindra, 244) Siegfried Sassoon, the main character of *Regeneration*, receives the Military Cross for gallantry, braveness and collecting and bringing in wounded soldiers from trenches. Sassoon makes an anti-war statement, sends it to his commanding officers and also to the House of Commons; furthermore, he throws away his Military Cross. Sassoon strictly disagrees with the war:

...I believe the war is being deliberately prolonged by those who have the power to end it...I am not protesting against the conduct of the war, but against the political errors and insincerities for which the fighting men are being sacrificed. (Barker, 3)

Soldiers are tried for treason for such action, but Sassoon is a respected and eminent officer. Instead of imprisonment, he is sent to Craiglockhart War Hospital to a great psychiatrist Dr. William Rivers. His behaviour is excused as temporary insanity caused by shell shock. Dr. Rivers recognizes that Sassoon, despite his rare hallucinations, does not suffer from shell shock. Rivers describes Sassoon's diagnose as "a very powerful anti-war neurosis." (Barker, 15) Rivers's effort is to persuade Sassoon to come back to the battlefield. He says to Sassoon that he should think about his men who admire him and want to be well led by him. Sassoon cannot understand why Rivers supports war, he is disgusted by gentlemen in leather armchairs in London clubs reading their newspaper and do not care. Finally, Rivers is successful with the help of Sassoon's friend Graves who appeals to Sassoon's honour: "When you put the uniform on, in effect you sign a contract. And you don't back out of a contract merely because you've changed your mind." (Barker, 22) Sassoon decides to get a medical board to approve that he is sane and ready to support his soldiers. Unfortunately, in the second volume of the trilogy, Sassoon is wounded in his head and sent to hospital in London. He meets Dr. Rivers and again vividly depicts all the atrocities of the war. Rivers recognizes that Siegfried

starts to suffer another serious breakdown. Sassoon even developed a kind of dissociation: “Siegfried had always coped with the war by being two people: the anti-war poet and pacifist; the bloodthirsty, efficient company commander.” (Barker, 390) It is no wonder that Dr. Rivers, throughout the whole trilogy, feels a constant conflict about whether to send his patients to fight and be killed and therefore justify the war. He doubts his treatments based on curing patients who immediately return to the Front where they mostly experience relapse of their illness.

4.1. Hysteria, Technology and Warfare

Peter Leese explains that the soldiers’ hysteria of the Great War has origins in the 1870s when people experienced the stresses and anxieties of urban industrial society. In 1882, G. M. Beard suggested that an increasingly competitive business-oriented society, and vices of urban living, caused an epidemic of tension, fretfulness and depression. (Leese, 16) According to P. Lerner, the symptoms of hysteria were successive changes of mood, fits, fainting, vomiting, choking, sobbing, paralysis, or excessive laughter. Although there were some discussions on male hysteria in England at the end of the nineteenth century, this condition was widely associated with women. (Leese, 17) Sir George Savage described hysteria and neurasthenia in 1907 as an attention-seeking, neurotic condition that might result in loss of voice or limb paralysis. (Leese, 18) Leese, referring to G. Eghigian, states that in 1889, the Imperial Insurance Office recognized traumatic neuroses, which led to the increase in compensation claims. The response of medics and politicians was a widespread rejection of traumatic neurosis as a diagnostic category and the stigmatization of traumatic hysteria as mental health signified patriotism, duty and national well-being. (Leese, 19)

Neurasthenia and hysteria was regarded as malingering. According to Leese, the term malingering was first used in 1795 and defined as “a military term for one who under pretence of sickness evades duty”. (Leese, 21) Therefore, the soldiers suffering from shell shock were associated with insanity, cowardice, and malingering. The military viewed shell shock as a threat to manpower and morale. (Leese, 5) In *Regeneration*, Billy Prior suffers from mutism and cannot remember what happened to

him in the trenches. After several therapies, he starts talking. Rivers decides for hypnosis as Prior still cannot remember anything. After this therapy, Prior is disgusted by himself when he realizes what happened in the trenches. Under hypnosis, Prior remembers waking up in a trench for duty one morning. He hears a shell overhead. Then he realizes that two of his men were torn to pieces. When cleaning up their remains into a bag, he picks up an eyeball of one man and vomits; afterwards he goes to report the death of his men. He accounts himself as strong, brave and manly. He even feels a burst of exultation when attacking enemies. He cannot understand why this single episode in the trenches affected him so much. (Barker, 92-95)

The technology in the Great War became highly advanced with more powerful and destructive weapons such as gas, automatic weapons, machine guns, tanks, aircraft, explosives, or barbed wire. The participants in the war described the new physical environment of combat that technology helped to forge. Soldiers explained the enormous physical force of shell-fire which evoked seasickness or an overwhelming feeling of mental and physical exhaustion. (Leese, 25) P. Dubrille described the shell-barrage at Verdun:

To die from a bullet seems to be nothing....parts of our being remain intact; but to be dismembered, torn to pieces, reduced to pulp, this is a fear that flesh cannot support and which is fundamentally the great suffering of the bombardment. (Leese, 26)

Gas was one of the most feared weapons. In *The Ghost Road*, Billy Prior is in a prostitute's flat where he notices a gas fire; he smells gas which reminds him of the war gas. He starts sweating, has a dry mouth, skipping heart, and the bulge in the throat that makes him cough. Even far away from the trenches, he gets typical symptoms caused by gas. He cannot stay in the flat and immediately leaves. (Barker, 451) Back at the Front, Prior describes gas drills that happen several times a day. Nobody likes wearing the mask. Prior has to watch out for the man who panics and cannot cope with the mask on his head. On the other hand, Prior utters that the attitude to gas changed. Some men are deliberately gas positive since they can spend some time in hospital. It is harder to detect that they inhaled gas on purpose compared to for example shooting oneself in the foot. (Barker, 534) In *The Eye in the Door*, Rivers gives a therapy to Dundas, a pilot in

the Royal Flying Corps, who is shell shocked owing to flying the plane. After several minutes of flying he starts vomiting and finally faints. (Barker, 270) Also explosives caused trauma to a great deal of men. In *The Ghost Road*, Rivers describes his patient's hallucinations. Every night, Harrington can see a torso and limbs of a dismembered body of his friend whom Harrington saw blown to pieces. Moreover, Harrington suffers from headaches, nausea, vomiting, split vision and disorder of micturition since he experienced an explosion in which he was buried alive. (Barker, 562, 563)

A medic, G. N. Kirkwood, provided evidence of the demoralization of soldiers after intense combat, which made soldiers more prone to traumatic neurosis. On the Somme in July 1916, the soldiers sorted the belongings of deceased comrades. They also spent time by digging out the dead in the trenches and carrying them down the line. They lived with the decomposing bodies, were exposed to constant shelling, and did not sleep for long periods. Kirkwood found them all suffering from collective shell-shock. (Leese, 28) To maintain psychic self-defence and morale, a good relationship between soldier and officer was an important contributory factor. Leese describes that the bond between officer and soldier was often intense, even comparable to the relationship between husband and wife, or brother and brother. The officers felt responsibility and pride when they properly conducted, encouraged, and helped ensure soldiers' survival. (Leese, 28, 29) In *The Ghost Road*, Prior describes the life in the trenches. All the trenches had bits of human bone sticking out of the wall. Soldiers even used corpse to support the walls of the trenches. When Prior looks around the trenches, he can see dead horses, unburied rotting men, craters, and stinking mud. (Barker, 530, 569) In *The Eye in the Door*, Charles Manning describes his terrible experience to Dr. Rivers. One of his men, Scudder, slips into the crater full of mud. Manning together with others tries to pull him out, however, it is too risky as somebody else might slip into the crater. Manning decides to shoot Scudder to quicken his suffering. Ironically, Manning receives a letter from Scudder's mother thanking him for being kind to Scudder at the Front. Naturally, Manning suffers from hallucinations depicting this event. (Barker, 348, 349) In the constant-death environment, men at the Front developed solid relationships. In *Regeneration*, Rivers's patient Layard describes his relationship to his men as domestic, caring even maternal. He worries about their socks, boots, blisters,

food, or hot drinks. Rivers points out the paradox of the war that men were mobilized into holes where they could hardly move, and that “manly activity had turned into feminine passivity”. (Barker, 97, 98)

4.2 Army Medical Practice

Many soldiers avoided their medical officer as the Army rejected any medical diagnosis and considered soldiers’ condition from the military and disciplinary view. The purpose of wartime medicine differed from the medicine in peacetime. Doctors’ aims were to send soldier to the Front as soon as possible. Leese claims that the relationship between doctor and patient was military. Sickness was frequently tainted with cowardice, duty and moral failure of soldiers. (Leese, 34) According to Leese, mental health and illness were judged by the social distinction and that is by rank and class. (Leese, 36) Leese states that military medics and higher-ranking officers were mostly sceptical about the diagnosis of shell shock. Moreover, many friends and relatives of shell shocked soldiers saw traumatic neurosis as cowardice or madness. (Leese, 33) In *Regeneration*, Rivers discovers from one session that Sassoon is extremely uncomfortable being safe and out of danger. He despises those who live in safety while others fight for them. In 1917, the time in which the novel is set, mental illness treatment was starting to be an accepted topic in medicine. The older men on the military Board in this novel doubted the existence of any mental sickness or suffering. They believed that those men who exhibited signs of madness did so in order to avoid their military duty. At that time, Rivers’s methods are considered experimental; therefore, some of Rivers’s patients distrust such therapies. (Barker, 32-37) *Regeneration* also touches the attitude of soldiers’ relatives towards traumatic neurosis. Henry Prior, Billy Prior’s father, would be happier to see his son killed at the Front than being “locked-up in a loony bin” in order to retain the family’s honour. (Barker, 53)

By 1915, soldiers in trenches recognized the symptoms of traumatic neurosis very accurately, even better than their professional superiors. Unfortunately, many soldiers were court-martialled as the medics did not recognize that they had suffered from shell shock. A. Babbington describes a case of L. Walton, a soldier, who was executed for

desertion, in reality his desertion was a result of mental confusion and nervous breakdown. Walton represented one in many who were wrongly executed for cowardice, desertion, or even self-mutilation. (Leese, 36) In *The Eye in the Door*, Officer Charles Manning saves one of his men, Scudder, from being shot for desertion. After lying in the flooded tombs full of dead bodies, Scudder is shell shocked and walks away. Manning, aware of what would happen if the military police caught Scudder, decides to search for him. Finally, the commander finds his confused and disorientated man. (Barker, 347) On the other hand, there were some doctors who helped their patients. Leese refers to a mental specialist, Dr Hills, who discovered how to blind the court with medical science: "I began to learn something of the ways of Courts-Martial. If I called a man a Paranoic or a Schizophrenic I was not questioned; anyone with such a horribly named disease ought to be in hospital."(Leese, 46) Since Dr. Hills quickly learned the military protocol, he easily gained respect from the Army staff.

Leese suggests that officers were rarely court-martialled, but were more vulnerable to traumatic neurosis than other ranks. However, the officers were treated differently than the members of lower ranks. Officers were dealt with sympathetically and rewarded for their bravery; they did not lose their status or the pension rights. And yet, other shell shocked soldiers were punished or socially stigmatized. (Leese, 44, 45) In *The Eye in the Door*, Prior envies Charles Manning who was wounded in his leg. Manning was able to leave the war honourably since he, besides being shell shocked, suffered a physical wound and this kind of injury was regarded as manly. (Barker, 236)

4.3 Army Medical Policy

C. S. Myers explains that shell shock was unnamed; effectively it did not exist since it was a potential threat to military manpower. However, the Army officially recognized shell shock in 1915. In 1917-1918, the term was replaced by the official therapeutic vocabulary of neurasthenia, neurosis and psychosis. (Leese, 53) Leese states, that the first specialist hospital in Britain was Maghull, opened in November 1914. Nevertheless, the Army's reluctance to cooperate with non-military doctors persisted throughout the war to keep control over the definition and treatment of shell

shock. According to Savage, innovations and improvements of treatment were rare, some soldiers stayed in non-specialist hospitals, others received incomplete treatments, went back to the Front and soon broke down again. (Leese, 55) Furthermore, the term shell shock was banished from official terminology in 1917 and the cases were called as 'Not Yet Diagnosed' (Leese, 56) Leese confirms that despite opening specialist treatment centres, the War Office and the Ministry of Pensions were aware of the financial liabilities if shell shock was to acquire the status of a legitimate disorder. (Leese, 59) Sir John Collie formed the Special Medical Board in 1917 which dealt with all shell shock pensions and medical certificates. The board could give absolute exemptions to ensure full recovery of severe cases. However, this regulation excluded soldiers whose mental condition was said to be the result of pre-war factors from the right to a pension. As a result, many veterans did not receive any kind of compensation. (Leese, 63)

4.4 Shell Shock Treatment

Leese introduces two kinds of shell shock treatment – disciplinary and analytic methods. The disciplinary therapy was represented by Dr. L. R. Yealland, a Canadian medic, who worked as a specialist at Queen Square hospital during the war. (Leese, 74) Elaine Showalter supported Yealland's method. She explained that medics effectively tortured their patients into submission, and especially the electrical faradization was "at the most punitive end of the treatment spectrum." (Leese, 74) For Showalter Yelland was the most extreme supporter of disciplinary treatment among the English doctors. (Leese, 74) The Queen Square notes show that about a third of war-related cases were treated with electric shock therapy. (Leese, 76) Dr. Taylor proves that Yealland's method was successful in particular types of cases. High frequency, faradism and isolation were applied to a 28-year-old private whose diagnosis was involuntary movements of the left arm. He spent two months at Queen Square and his health was fully restored when he left hospital. Therefore, under some circumstances, faradism was an effective therapeutic tool. (Leese, 79) Apart from faradism, therapeutic regime included also baths, massage, and sedatives. Although Yealland's techniques were

sometimes seen as cruel and regrettable, they also seemed to be remarkably effective in some cases. In conclusion, Yealland's role, an advocate of disciplinary method, remains ambiguous. (Leese, 80, 81) In *Regeneration*, Rivers is invited to take part in one of Dr. Yealland's therapies. Rivers considers the therapies as unutterably cruel and painful. The method is considered miraculous as the patients are cured during one session. A patient is tied to a chair and gets electroshocks on his tongue. Electrical charge stimulates centres of speech. Patients cannot walk away until they speak their first word. In the end, they thank Dr. Yealland for recovery and are sent back to the Front. (Barker, 199-201)

The analytic approach was advocated by academic doctors associated in the School of Integral Psychology; this group included also W. H. R. Rivers. According to McDougall, Rivers supported psychoanalytic approach, which saw repression, mental conflicts and the content of the unconscious as the root of war neuroses. He viewed the source of these mental disorders in the physical battlefield of the Western Front, not in the emotional battlefield of childhood sexuality. He explained that the repression of fear and the desire for self-preservation were present in "almost every case". (Leese, 83) Hypnosis and dream analysis were used, but it was a long complicated process. As a result, so called "talking cure", practised also by Rivers, was used within few hospitals by a handful of specialists during the war. (Leese, 83) Compared to Dr. Yealland's therapies, Rivers's methods are gentler, he wants his patients to remember their problem, discuss it and face it. And yet, Rivers hesitates about his methods. Both Rivers and Yealland are in the business of controlling people. Rivers likens both methods to silencing of a human being. He is aware that these methods do not provide the restoration of mental health; he knows that recovery means the resumption of activities that are self-destructive, even suicidal. Obviously, Rivers suffered from conflict between humanity and demands of the war. (Barker, 209, 210) Moreover, Rivers himself is getting shell shocked by his patients. He suffers from hallucinations, sweats and stammers and starts to twitch. He has nightmares about an experiment with regeneration, which he made with his colleague Henry. Rivers cut Henry's radial nerve on an arm in order to interrupt its sensation. In his nightmares, it is Henry who cut Rivers's whole arm. (Barker, 125, 42, 43)

4.5 Treatment of the Other Ranks and Officers

Leese states that the shell shock treatment was also influenced by rank. Officers seemed to be able to describe their experiences of combat better than other ranks due to the upbringing, education and social status. Therefore, their experience is widely known in the medical literature as well as memoirs of the Great War and is often, misleadingly, considered as typical. However, most shell shock casualties were members of the other ranks. (Leese, 85) Although officers and other ranks experienced the same awful trench conditions, the Army Medical Services believed that shell shocked officers should receive certain traditional privileges as they had been pressured to command and therefore take greater responsibility. In *Regeneration*, Officer Prior suffers from mutism. He is well aware that those who suffer from mutism are private soldiers not officers. Dr. Rivers confirms that at Maghull hospital, where he was treating private soldiers, mutism was the commonest symptom of shell shock. Rivers explains that for the private soldier the consequences of speaking his mind are worse than they would be for an officer. Officers' typical symptom is stammering. Rivers utters the idea of officers' dreams being more elaborate since they have more complex mental life and more prolonged education. Prior does not believe that officers dream more elaborate dreams than lower ranks. (Barker, 87, 88) Apart from a different treatment, officers' rooms in the hospital were neatly furnished compared to other ranks' rooms. In *The Eye in the Door*, Barker describes Charles Manning's room as pleasant, with fresh roses in a vase. Whereas Yealland's patients in London hospital, having a different level of their illness, had to share a large room together. Being together did not help patients to quickly recover. (Barker, 367)

Leese states that the largest centre for the treatment of shell shocked officers was Craiglockhart which was opened in 1916 after the summer offensive on the Somme. Dr. Rivers was hospital's best-known senior physician. Under the leadership of Commandant Bryce, relations between patients and staff and the therapeutic regime were much improved. (Leese, 104, 105) Leese refers to W. H. Bryce who preferred the individual therapeutic atmosphere and saw re-education as a social and occupational

activity. Patients did gymnastics exercises; musical and theatrical entertainment encouraged them to be active and sociable, which was excellent for memory training. While for the other ranks outdoor activities were growing and harvesting vegetables, the officers played football or golf. (Leese, 106, 107) In *Regeneration*, Sassoon plays golf at Craiglockhart almost every day. Sassoon's playmate is another patient Anderson. They both talk only about golf to avoid so feared topic – the war. (Barker, 78, 79)

As for officers, doctors identified one case out of 111 with a possible pre-war origin. While the possibility of a hereditary explanation of the other rank cases was common and pre-war and temperamental origins were often suggested. (Leese, 110) Leese implies that medics also adjusted information on symptoms according to social position and rank. Medics' records about officers contained so called blanket phrases - partial or vague expressions. For example, if an officer had memory loss, depression and nightmares or was confused and disoriented, the medical notes referred to the symptoms as clouding to consciousness. Neurasthenia was a diagnosis used for patients of all ranks, medics believed that officers' war-related mental conditions were distinct from those among other ranks. (Leese, 114, 115)

In conclusion, men's war neurosis worsened after the war. Showalter claims that about 114,600 ex-servicemen suffering from neurasthenia applied for pensions for shell-shock related disorders between 1919 and 1929. (Showalter, 190) Showalter refers to Philip Gibbs who noted about soldiers:

Something had altered in them. They were subject to queer moods and queer tempers, fits of profound depression alternating with a restless desire of pleasure. Many were easily moved to passion where they lost control of themselves, many were bitter in their speech, violent in opinion, frightening. (Showalter, 190)

Gibbs pointed out that the extraordinary conditions and the horrors of the war did not end with the Armistice, it continued in peacetime.

5 The Trauma of Return

On returning home, veterans were regarded as neurotic ex-servicemen, unproductive labourers claiming compensation for neurosis from the state. The Ministry of Pensions calculated the claims according to a flexible percentage disability rating system. The government attempted to convert unproductive ex-soldiers into industrious employees. (Leese, 123) According to Leese, war neurotic ex-soldiers were a potential burden on national finance. These men were not only a burden to the state, but also their failure to re-enter the labour market amounted to a loss of valuable skills, knowledge and experience. The transition to civilian life after the war strained the nerves of all ex-servicemen. They had to cope with problems of housing, employment and family relations. Furthermore, they experienced hypocrisy of politicians and bureaucrats. (Leese, 127, 133) Leese also notes that facing the reality of returning home, healthy veterans suffered emotional trauma and depression; therefore, war neurotic ex-servicemen carried a still heavier psychological burden. (Leese, 134) In *The Eye in the Door*, when making love, Billy Prior's girlfriend reminds him of a dead face in the trench. (Barker, 353) In another situation, Billy walks on the street and falls into a hole, probably dug by some boys. The hole reminds him of the trench; he starts trembling and sweating and gets typical syndromes of neurosis. (Barker, 307) Charles Manning always sees blood in red colour. (Barker, 347) These events predicate of the war's terrible consequences that affected an enormous number of ex-soldiers. Those men had severe difficulties to integrate into civilian life.

Leese confirms that the government was ill-prepared for the arrival of ex-servicemen. There were large gaps in both the pensions and rehabilitation systems. Low rates of pensions and gratuities, failure of coordination in handling soldiers' cases and lack of housing brought about veterans' radicalism when they organized demonstrations and marches in 1919 to express the discontent over the government's apathy. (Leese, 136) R. C. Davidson describes the poor treatment and limited economic prospects of frustrated ex-servicemen who had idealized their home and their future while in the trenches. By the end of 1929, 58 per cent of men who had served in the war were unemployed. In *Regeneration*, Anderson, a patient at Craiglockhart hospital, broke down after treating a French soldier. Anderson treated patient's minor wounds and did

not notice the major one. His patient died. Anderson is convinced that he cannot practice medicine anymore, and at the same time, he is aware that after the war he will have to practice medicine to support his family. (Barker, 26-29)

6 Remembering the War

According to Paul Fussel, The Great War was more memorialized and commemorated than any war before or since. As millions of Britons lost their friends or relatives, they attempted to cope with this loss by building enormous monuments and war memorials. However, by the late 1920s and 1930s, earlier patriotic interpretations were replaced by more pessimistic and cynical view of the war. Especially veterans in their memoirs and war novels expressed a mood of disillusionment. Commemorations of the war dead were bound up with the criticism of a social and political order which brought about so many meaningless deaths. (Robb, 209) Joanna Bourke explains that the war altered longstanding burial customs and mourning rituals. Pompous Victorian-style funerals and ritualized mourning disappeared along with a mourning dress since there was a need to maintain a more optimistic appearance. (Robb, 210) Robb, referring to Jay Winter, confirms that many people preferred spiritualism to traditional religion. People who lost their close friends or relatives were seeking to have one final conversation with a lost son or husband. During and after the war, seances were highly popular. (Robb, 210) In *The Ghost Road*, Billy Prior, Sarah and her mother Ada go for spuggies. Prior wonders what kind of people visit the seances. The room is full of women and a few middle-aged or old men. The women are either widows or mothers who yearn for the contact with their lost son or husband. For Ada, who knows that contacting the dead is a heresy, the session is a good way how to spend a night out. (Barker, 473) *The Ghost Road* also touches the issue of faith. Rivers discusses faith with one of his patients. Rivers is curious whether Wansbeck believes in life after death. Wansbeck responses that he was brought up to believe but the war changed his views as the corpses could not be buried in cold weather and in summer the flies were sitting on the dead. (Barker, 561)

Robb, referring to Eric Leed, observes that those who had been through the war felt that their experience should not be communicated. Many veterans suppressed their memories; others felt that language was inadequate means of conveying the horrors of the war. (Robb, 220) In *Regeneration*, Prior considers telling Sarah his war experience and memories. On one hand, Billy does not want Sarah to know the horrors of the war and wants her to remain innocent so that she can stay a “haven” for him. On the other hand, he “wants to know and be known as deeply as possible”. (Barker, 191) Finally, he keeps his memories unuttered. Charles Manning also cannot talk about his war experience. He thinks that apart from cowardice it would be impossible to make people understand. (Barker, 345)

Robb emphasizes the war books of Sassoon, Graves, Blunden and others in which the authors undermine the traditions of war as a chivalrous and heroic adventure. This literature contradicts patriotic propaganda and depicts the terrible details of trench warfare and the mortal consequences of serious military mistakes. (Robb, 220) A lost generation literature is a great example of the anti-war literature. The lost generation referred to the survivors who had been scarred by the war and lacked a sense of belonging, and who felt doomed to drift through life. Robb refers to Siegfried Sassoon who expressed that he had “experienced something that they couldn’t share or imagine”. (Robb, 221) Sassoon could not cope with the war experiences and the war became his centerpiece of writing for the rest of his life. In the trilogy, Sassoon’s wartime poetry is mentioned several times. His poems are usually anti-war oriented or deal with the lives and deaths of ordinary soldiers. Sassoon also hints his love to men not only as their father and commander but also as a lover.

According to Robb, disagreement with the war continued into the 1930s. Pacifist organizations held public meetings on Armistice Day and distributed anti-war literature. The pacifists emphasized the martyrdom of soldiers who had been sacrificed to the greed of capitalists and the hollow ambitions of politicians and generals. (Robb, 223) Robb claims that the Great War is seen in the popular imagination as “a futile and pointless conflict which achieved little and cost the nation dearly.” (Robb, 225)

7 Conclusion

The Great War represented a significant watershed to all people in Britain regardless their social status, sex or age. The changes deeply affected the British not only during but also after the war. Since the war touched both women and men, this paper focused on the issues of gender, sex, labour as well as the changes within the social classes and state authorities. These topics concisely demonstrate the major social changes within the British society. As the war had great impact on the soldiers, the paper paid more attention to the problems, experiences and memories of the war's servicemen. Special emphasis was laid on shell shock, a mental injury, widely discussed both during and after the war.

In the years preceding the Great War, the strict Victorian mores dominated in Britain. Women and men had their roles in the society invariably determined. The war helped to undermine these traditional roles of virtuous, obedient women and superior, dominant, breadwinning men. The gender roles were gravely affected. Women experienced new freedoms as they became more independent. They performed work which had been regarded as typical for men, women over 30 were granted the vote, they could taste the life of men as they were able to earn a sufficient amount of money to live on their own or visit a pub without being condemned by a society. In contrast to the war propaganda acknowledging women's non-traditional work and lifestyle, shortly after the war, the trend of a hard-working, independent woman was replaced by increasing emphasis on the women's role of mothers and wives. The contributing factor to such image of women was the idea of emasculating men during the war. The society was afraid of a rising power of women. The traditional manpower and morale was threatened, therefore, many people, especially men, were afraid of the new opportunities open to women.

The above mentioned social trends significantly influenced sexuality of people. The morality and the approach towards sex were relieved. Young people refused to

postpone intimate love and sex since they regarded life as too short and death omnipresent. The conservative element of the society yearned for maintaining a traditional morale. While a great attention was paid to women's sexuality, men's sexuality was not really discussed. The red-line districts and brothels were built for soldiers near the Front. However, only women were criticized for the breach of the traditional morality, a man was regarded as a wartime hero.

The war evoked important modifications concerning the social classes. It undermined the general belief in upper-class rule of Britain since the enormous loss of lives did not raise the confidence of people in the ruling aristocracy. Nevertheless, the classes also experienced positive changes regarding the attitudes, status and interactions. The working-class unskilled people were given upward jobs, the pre-war poverty was reduced, and the whole working class was more involved in the politics through the military service or munitions works. (Robb, 90) In 1918, the class barriers were breached by the Fisher Education Act which provided for universal obligatory education to the age of 14 and abolished fees in elementary schools. (Robb, 92) As for the middle class, the major changes were noted in the Army where the egalitarian system was evident. The middle-class soldiers were given an opportunity to become officers since their social and educational background allowed them to be good officers. However, many soldiers claimed that the class distinction was still apparent. On the other hand, the officers and soldiers confirmed the unifying aspects of the war. Since all the servicemen experienced the atrocities of the war together, the close relationships within the ranks were developed. Many upper-class men stated that their attitude towards the other classes had significantly changed.

The love and dedication of comradeship between the soldiers was welcomed by the society as it united the ranks and formed better army whereas the intimate love of men represented the threat to the stability of the social order. Between 1914 and 1919, a great deal of soldiers was court-martialed for homosexuality in the British Army. (Robb, 57) Siegfried Sassoon, a real-life poet and officer and one of the main protagonists in the trilogy *Regeneration*, was homosexual himself. He disapproved of the treatment of homosexuals and required a greater tolerance toward them; however, he

remained silent about his own homosexuality as he would be regarded as the enemy of the state.

The all-male environment during the war brought a discussed issue of the emasculation of the men serving for the country. The effemination was mainly attributed to the epidemic of male hysteria during the war. The Great War represented the challenge to a traditional manliness. Men were brought up to be manly and courageous heroes, however, the reality of the trench warfare redefined men's gender role in the society. The view on the male hysteria slowly began to change towards the end of the war, nevertheless, medicine in the war served for military purposes. At first, shell shocked soldiers were treated as malingerers who wanted to avoid the war. After the great spread of shell shock, psychiatrists found that the cause of war neurosis was an unconscious inclination in the soldier to withdraw from the demands which were dangerous to his feelings: fear of losing life, opposition to the command to kill other people. When war neurosis was taken seriously, most of the patients had to undergo painful therapies in order not to be recovered but to be prepared to fight again. Almost none of the physicians and psychiatrists sought soldiers' recovery. It is no wonder that after the war many heroic and glorified soldiers were wounded psychically and could not bear living in regular society, many of them committed suicide or ended up as insane, asocial beggars on the streets. In this paper, apart from non-fiction literature, The *Regeneration* trilogy by Pat Barker was presented. In her fiction, Barker deals with the stories and experiences of both real and fictitious protagonists. She pays attention to shell shocked soldiers, their treatment, the repression and victimization of men as well as rebellion against imposed gender roles. Barker touches the issues of social values, gender and class. She is also interested in the human rights concerning the issues of homosexuality, military justice or the pacifist movement during the war.

In conclusion, shell shock, later termed post-traumatic stress disorder, has rightly become a symbol of the war since it influenced so many strata of British society. Peter Leese suggests three main themes of shell shock. Firstly, it represents the experience of all servicemen in the war. Secondly, shell shock is associated with the ideas of anti-war sentiment and disillusion with the war represented by the anti-war poets Siegfried Sassoon and Wilfred Owen. And finally, shell shock can be seen as a crisis of heroic

masculine identity and redefinition of the relationship between men and women. (Leese, 180) The real face of the war is still unimaginable and hidden from public as there is limited number of photographs and horrifying facts about living conditions of both soldiers and ordinary people in this absurd war. Nevertheless, despite of the war's tragedy, the conservative British society experienced many shifts, either the new ones or the changes which had already been in progress before the war. Apart from social and cultural transformation, the war provoked state power and collectivist control. Ramsay Mac Donald, a Labourite and opponent of the war, ironically claimed that the initiators of the war achieved far more for social reform than all trade unions and humanitarians in the last half of the century. (Morgan, 588)

Resumé:

Tato práce se zabývá problematikou britské společnosti během a po první světové válce. Práce se zaměřuje na život a zkušenosti jak obyčejných Britů tak vojáků ovlivněných válkou. Je zohledněno, že lidé prožili válku různě, jejich pohlaví, to, z jaké společenské vrstvy pocházeli, či vojenské postavení mužů. V práci se promítají témata genderové problematiky, sexuality, společenských tříd, pracovních sil, či státních zásahů do společnosti spolu s problematikou nervového zhroucení vojáků za první světové války zvanou shell shock (nervový otřes z bombardování neboli post-traumatická stresová porucha). Všechna tato témata obsahují významné sociální, kulturní a genderové změny, ke kterým došlo během války a po ní. V úvodu je krátce zmíněn život lidí z různých společenských tříd v pozdní viktoriánské době, sloužící k porovnání vývoje britské společnosti před válkou, za války a v poválečném období. Na trilogii *Regeneration* od Pat Barkerové jsou prezentovány ideologie spojené se společenskými třídami, genderová problematika či měnící se postavení pracujících. Zvláštní pozornost je věnována vojákům a veteránům, skupině lidí, na kterou měla první světová válka mimořádný vliv.

V předválečných letech v Británii panovala přísná viktoriánská morálka, ženy a muži měli své role pevně dané. Válka pomohla podlomit tyto tradiční role spořádaných, poslušných žen a mužů jakožto dominantních, nadřazených živitelů rodiny, a otevřela velkou diskusi o společenském postavení žen a mužů. Úloha mužů byla jednoznačná – narukovat a bojovat pro svou zemi, zatímco ženám se otevřely nové široké možnosti

vyplývající z naléhavé potřeby pracovních sil. Ženy začaly vykonávat tradiční mužskou práci, mnohdy byly i lépe placeny než muži, kteří zůstali v zázemí, především za práci v nebezpečných podmínkách jako například v továrnách na výrobu munice. Ženy si dokonce mohly dovolit samostatně bydlet či navštěvovat veřejná místa bez doprovodu muže. Často se stěhovaly za prací i daleko od domova. Dalším úspěšným posunem bylo přiznání volebního práva ženám nad třicet let v roce 1918. Tyto dosud neslýchané příležitosti byly nepřijatelné pro konzervativní část společnosti, a především pak pro muže. Na rozdíl od válečné propagandy, která podporovala ženy v těchto nově nabytých právech, poválečný trend hlásal návrat žen k rodinnému krbu, kde měly dostát svých povinností jakožto matky a manželky. Válečnými prožitky a formováním nového společenského postavení žen bylo ohroženo tradiční chápání mužství. Do té doby muži neprojevovalou citlivostí, připisovanou původně jen ženám, byl zrušen mýtus muže coby neohrožitelného, statečného hrdiny. Popsaný společenský vývoj nenávratně redefinoval vztahy mezi oběma pohlavími.

Zmiňované společenské trendy výrazně ovlivnily morálku a oblast sexuality. Obecně, v zázemí, se morálka a přístup k sexu značně uvolnily. Mladí lidé považovali život za příliš krátký a smrt za všude přítomnou, odložit intimní lásku a sex v naději, že se dočkají oficiálně uznaného práva na ně v manželství, nechtěli přijmout. Konzervativní část společnosti se snažila tyto tendence potírat a trestat. Za tím účelem se tradičně smýšlející ženy sdružily v dobrovolné organizaci, fungující na policejních základech. Zatímco ženské sexualitě byla věnována velká pozornost, mužská sexualita byla upozaděna. Bez publicity byly v blízkosti fronty pro muže zřizovány vykřičené domy. Za uvolnění tradiční morálky byly ovšem kritizovány a postihovány výhradně ženy, muž byl vnímán jako válečný hrdina. Co však společnost netolerovala ani mužům byla homosexualita. Přátelství mužů a oběti ve jménu kamarádství společnost vítala a heroizovala, intimní láska osob stejného pohlaví byla nepřípustná, neboť byla vnímána jako hrozba stabilitě společenského uspořádání.

Válka do značné míry setřela třídní rozdíly. Zakořeněné bariéry napříč společenskými vrstvami se na pozadí válečných událostí přirozeně odstraňovaly. V důsledku prožitého utrpení a válečných ztrát byla podlomena víra lidí v aristokracii jako jedinou možnou vládnoucí třídu. S nadsázkou lze říci, že pracující třída

z válečného prostředí společensky profitovala. Válečný průmysl přinesl dostatek pracovních příležitostí, a to i pro lidi bez jakékoli kvalifikace, snížila se míra předválečné chudoby. Vyšší kruhy obchodovaly více než kdy před tím. Status střední třídy se výrazně nezměnil, ač pociťovala jistou stísněnost mezi velkopodnikateli a manuálně pracujícími. Válka znamenala významný předěl v dosavadní sociální hierarchii, byť byly některé změny jen dočasné, a třídní systém jako takový nezničila.

Na začátku 20. století byl kladen velký důraz na mužství. Od mužů se očekávalo, že budou silní a stateční, slabost příslušela ženám. Prožitky z fronty způsobovaly vojákům dosud neznámou psychickou poruchu nazývanou nervový otřes z bombardování neboli post-traumatická stresová porucha, kterou muži hromadně na frontě trpěli. Jakékoli projevy psychické slabosti však byly ze společenského hlediska považovány za nepřijatelné a nežádoucí. Léčilo se tělo, nikoli duše. Posláním medicíny během války bylo vrátit vojáka co nejdříve na frontu. Vojáci postižení touto psychickou poruchou byli zpočátku považováni za simulanty, cílem vojenských lékařů nebylo uzdravit psychicky nemocného vojáka, ale pouze jej zprovoznit k dalšímu boji. Není divu, že se po válce mnoho glorifikovaných vojáků nebylo schopno zařadit do běžného života. Mnozí z nich spáchali sebevraždu, nebo skončili vně společnosti jako asociální žebráci či duševně choré osoby. Muži byli ve viktoriánské éře vychováváni k chabrosti, samostatnosti a psychické odolnosti. Nicméně zákopová válka redefinovala mužskou genderovou roli ve společnosti.

Vlivem první světové války na společnost, genderovou problematiku a hlavně na vojáky a veterány se zabývá v trilogii *Regeneration* Pat Barkerová. Popis obecných principů a společenských fenoménů v této práci doplňují úryvky a závěry z citované trilogie Pat Barkerové. Zmiňovaná autorka se věnuje příběhům a zážitkům jak skutečných (básník Siegfried Sassoon, psycholog W. H. R. Rivers) tak fiktivních postav. Významnou část díla tvoří osudy vojáků postižených post-traumatickou stresovou poruchou, popis léčby této poruchy, represe a viktimizace mužů a jejich revolty proti společností předepsaným genderovým rolím.

Navzdory tragickým válečným událostem konzervativní britská společnost zaznamenala mnoho změn, z nichž některé byly úplně nové a některé se již započaly v předválečném období. Kromě sociálních a kulturních proměn válka podnítila přechod

ke kolektivistickému řízení státu. Ramsay Mac Donald, labourista a odpůrce války, ironicky prohlásil, že iniciátoři války provedli daleko více sociálních reforem než všechny odborové organizace a lidumilové za celé předešlé půlstoletí. (Morgan, 588)

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ÚDAJE PRO KNIHOVNICKOU DATABÁZI

Název práce	The Change of Value System in Britain during and after the Great War
Autor práce	Dita Saxová
Obor	Anglický jazyk pro hospodářskou praxi
Rok obhajoby	2007
Vedoucí práce	Mgr. Olga Roebuck, M.Litt.
Anotace	Práce se zaměřuje na změny hodnotového systému v Británii za první světové války a v poválečném období. Rozebírána je sociální problematika týkající se třídní a genderové příslušnosti, sexuality, pracovní síly a vlivu státních zásahů na britskou společnost. Pozornost je věnována především vojákům, kteří představují nejvíce zasaženou skupinu lidí první světovou válkou. Zkušenosti jak vojáků tak obyčejných lidí jsou prezentovány v trilogii

	<i>Regeneration</i> od Pat Barkerové.
Klíčová slova	British Society in the First World War, Social Changes in Britain, Gender and Sexuality, Classes, Shell Shock, Soldiers in the First World War