# Introduction

For a young man all is decorous
When he is cut down in battle
and torn with the sharp bronze, and lies there dead
And though dead still all that shows about him is beautiful.

King Priam, in Homer, *Iliad*.

Some say a host of horsemen, others of infantry,
and others of ships, is the most beautiful thing
on the dark earth; but I say it is what you love.

Sappho, Fr. 16.[1]

After the battle of Bullecourt in 1917, artist Mervyn Napier Waller returned to Australia, his right arm amputated to the shoulder. Artist Christian Waller—his wife—nursed him and financially supported him as a commercial illustrator. With his left hand, Napier Waller painted a golden age of peaceful civilization and industrious rebuilding: muscular, homoerotic bodies transcend the horror of war, as seen on the cover of this book. Inspired by classical ideals of mind–body unity and Theosophical striving to perfect humanity, Napier Waller's physical utopia visualized the affects of survival and hope. Beauty lived within and beyond the body, redeeming its pain.

The First World War destroyed human bodies on an unprecedented scale. Modern technologies mangled faces, blew away limbs, and ruined nerves. Ten million dead, twenty million severe casualties, and eight million people with permanent disabilities, modern war obliterated with unsparing, mechanical efficiency.[2]

The onslaught upon bodies and minds, and its impact upon European and Anglophone culture, is the concern of many compelling histories. Mass injury and mutilation shocked families, haunted personal memories, and initiated

[1] From Page DuBois, 'Sappho and Helen', in Ellen Green (ed.), *Reading Sappho: Contemporary Approaches* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1996), 80: quot. Grace M. Jantzen, *Foundations of Violence: Death and the Displacement of Beauty* (London: Routledge, 2004), 59, 63. *Iliad*, trans. R. Lattimore (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1964).

[2] Deborah Cohen, *The War Come Home: Disabled Veterans in Britain and Germany, 1914–1939* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 2001), 1.

new medical and social services. Enormous suffering and grief were terrifying consequences of mass warfare, and yet this truth is not the entire story. People also rebuilt their lives, their communities, and their bodies.

This book investigates the cultures of resilience and the institutions of reconstruction in Britain, Australia, and the United States. Immersed in efforts to heal the violence and triumph over adversity, reconstruction motivated politicians, professionals, and individuals to transform themselves and their societies. This book investigates shared responses in Anglophone cultural, medical, and commercial networks that targeted the reconstruction of the body.

Bodies were not to remain locked away in tortured memories. Instead, they became the subjects of outspoken debate, the objects of rehabilitation, and the desirable commodities of global industries. Bodies were strewn across pages of novels and magazines, as subjects of loss and retrieval, of degradation and rehabilitation, but also as new forms of manufactured desire. Beauty, aesthetics, and pleasure were the passionate quests of artists and ordinary people, even through the influenza pandemic and the Depression to the early 1930s. Hoping to make themselves whole again, men and women harnessed inspiration from the classical imaginary in conjunction with modernism, mass culture, and the dynamic spirit of transformation.

The classical canon—Graeco-Roman art and architecture, philosophy, and literature—is a perpetual current in western history. In the aftermath of the First World War, classical imaginary was rehabilitated, not just as a familiar cultural vocabulary or retreat to the safe past, but as a relevant set of values regarding beauty, symmetry, and civilization.[3] Since classicism was a universal aesthetic aimed at resolving paradoxes harmoniously, it offered a special understanding of the world in violent conflict.[4] Through its established visual schema, such messages were especially conveyed through bodies. At the same time, the merging of the classical tradition with modern attitudes infused corporeality with the vibrant gesture of reconstruction.

Many of those in charge of reconstruction were classically educated in the arts and humanities; not just artists and dancers, writers and scholars, but also soldiers, statesmen, surgeons, and memorial officials. After the war, why did they reach for the symbols of classicism and modernism? With these powerful cultural tools for rebuilding civilization, how was the body re-imagined? This book investigates classicism in relation to the principles of modernism (a paradigm that valued crisis) and its visual cultures, and within the historical context of modernity

[3] Colin J. Horne, 'The Classical Temper in Britain: Origins and Components', in John Hardy and Andrew McCredie (eds), *The Classical Temper in Western Europe*, Papers from the annual symposium of the Australian Academy of the Humanities (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1983), 62.

[4] Anthony Stephens, 'Weimar Classicism as a Response to History', ibid. 87.

(an era of progress and transformation).[5] Modernity had destroyed the body and mind in war—how, then, could it assist now? Modernism injected into classicism the cultural energy required for post-war reconstruction. Sexuality and heightened bodily experiences provided succour and, crucially, a new excitement for life.

Artistic, commercial, and political endeavours worked to reshape society through the body. For instance, artists deeply affected by the war, some also wounded and disabled, featured classical bodies in war memorials, modern art, and graphic design. This book locates the influence of classicism and modernism amongst surgeons and rehabilitation therapists, and commemoration authorities, as well as exercise enthusiasts, beauty therapists, dancers, and sexual reformers. Additionally, it considers the impact of reconstruction on popular body industries. How was reconstruction implicated in selling images of sexual freedom and self-transformation, alongside bodily discipline? Classical and modern ideals assisted people wanting to renew their bodies through the living principles of balance and dynamism in the aftermath of war.

Reconstructing the body embraced the individual, the communal, and the political in diverse ways that continually drew upon the classical and modern. This book asks how they infused cultural and medical practices aimed at overcoming the disabling experiences of war. Transforming the realities of war required welfare programmes, government initiatives, and the cooperation of charities and voluntary organizations. Ordinary citizens from the broadest range of social classes, religions, races, and ethnicities participated in the war. Hence, reconstruction required psychological resolve and social commitment to bury the painful past and overcome its residues. But, reconstruction was not simply an effect of imagery and discourse—there were also strong desires across Anglophone communities to resist suffering and to seek out life's pleasures. This book considers how the political and medical purposes of reconstruction joined wider community needs to reconcile the war with peacetime. A central question is how reconstruction mediated mourning and recovery: how could classicism and modernism facilitate remembering the war while healing from its wounds? Solving this conundrum is the key to understanding the different ways that individuals interacted with the visual and performance cultures of reconstruction.

*Reconstructing the Body* examines the impact of war in Anglophone medical, cultural, and commercial networks that aimed to rebuild bodies by drawing

[5] Hal Foster, 'Postmodernism: A Preface', *The Anti-Aesthetic: Essays on Postmodern Culture* (Port Townsend, Wash.: Bay Press, 1983), p. ix; Henri Lefebvre, 'Modernity and Modernism' (trans. Paul Smith), in B. H. D. Buchloch, Serge Guilbaut, and David H. Solkin (eds), *Modernism and Modernity: The Vancouver Conference Papers* (Halifax: Press of the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, 1983), 2.

inspiration from modernism and classicism. This book questions why post-war recovery in Anglophone societies was accompanied by an unrelenting drive to reconstruct, perfect, and beautify the human body. Classicism provided what I describe as an 'aesthetics of healing' and modernism an erotic promise of the future.

The First World War was a spectacularly visual war. Images of mutilated and reconstructed bodies permeated literature, medical texts, and humanitarian publicity, and were displayed in visual culture and museum exhibitions. This book sustains an interdisciplinary approach to the impact of the war on the body in Britain, Australia, and the United States, consulting a range of military medical, commercial, and cultural sources. By weaving together scholarship in visual culture, the sociology of art, and classical antiquity, this book examines new relations between the past and the present forged in Anglophone societies after the war.

In order to grapple with this global project of reconstructing the body, current studies into disability and queer theory inform the investigation of bodily liberation and enabled passing. Such studies illuminate the post-war period, when sexual practices, physical appearances, and disability encountered similar medical, commercial, and cultural interventions. While veterans secured identities and pensions by differentiating their conditions from the congenitally or industrially disabled, the approach of this book is to conceptualize the interrelation of disabled and enabled bodies.

Across the Anglophone world, the war produced common reactions as disabled soldiers literally embodied the fears of enabled people. These fears were mirrored in government concern about economic reliance on the state; social anxieties about loss of independence, helplessness, and passivity; social and medical incentives for productivity.[6] As inseparable constructions, disabled/enabled bodies informed what I refer to as 'embodied citizenship': the physical, visible, sexual, and reproductive aspects of all men's and women's lives. After the war, citizenship was shaped in the biological terms of health and reproductive competence, in the social terms of sexuality and beauty, and in the economic terms of bodies that produce and consume.

Performance and choreography studies inform this book's theoretical engagement with questions of gender, mobility, power, and agency. Drawing together different disciplines (interdisciplinarity), connecting the ancient and modern worlds (inter-temporality), and crossing Anglophone cultural networks (transnationalism), are imperfect practices. These approaches, however, offer creative possibilities and exciting scholarly conversations, shaping this investigation of the post-war reconstruction of the body, beauty, and sexuality through modernism and the classical imaginary.

[6] Paul Longmore and Lauri Umansky (eds), *The New Disability History: American Perspectives* (New York and London: New York University Press, 2001), 7.

## THE BODY AND THE CULTURAL IMPACT OF WAR

To understand the recycling of classicism after the First World War, it is important to appreciate that the ancient past is never static; it is continually reinterpreted and has generated multiple modernities. The longer currency of the ancient past provided the cultural ancestry that influenced the re-articulation of classicism in response to the war. Ancient historian James Porter states, 'the bodies of Greece and Rome are in us',[7] and hence I begin with the suggestion that historical continuities are moulded into and performed through the body.

Comprehending the social role of beauty in classical Greece offers important clues to its sustained appeal in western thinking about appearances. Beauty contests in ancient Greece defined difference and rewarded excellence. Manly beauty was associated with physical strength, whereas feminine beauty distinguished respectable women.[8] Beautiful bodies were idealized in life and in death. While the disabled body was shunned, the dead hero achieved a 'beautiful death', as expressed in the opening quotation from King Priam.[9] In the Homeric poem, the *Iliad*, horrific wounds symbolized virtue and social status.[10] The classical canon defined both the image of the fallen warrior and the public meaning of beauty, inspiring modern warrior myths, commemoration, and commercial beauty culture. What, then, was the impact of disability on society after the First World War? What were the economic, gendered, and class values of beauty? How did these values impact on disabled and enabled embodiment? While Priam ennobled the beauty of violence, Sappho called to the many possibilities of 'what you love'.[11]

Scholarship on the war disabled of Britain, Europe, and the United States has focused on vocational retraining, voluntary institutions, and state welfare services, as well as political unrest and social protest, and the way that national differences inflected class and race relations. This book considers the wider impact of disability on embodiment and reconstruction. What role did dead bodies play in commemoration? Was the iconic value of the warrior his eternal beauty? If the war was to be remembered in rituals and monuments, where

[7] James I. Porter (ed.), *Constructions of the Classical Body* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press, 1999), 15.

[8] Richard Hawley, 'The Dynamics of Beauty in Classical Greece', in Dominic Montserrat (ed.), *Changing Bodies, Changing Meanings: Studies on the Human Body in Antiquity* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), 37–56.

[9] Christine F. Salazar, *The Treatment of War Wounds in Graeco-Roman Antiquity* (Leiden: Brill, 2000).

[10] Jean-Pierre Vernant, 'A "Beautiful Death" and the Disfigured Corpse in Homeric Epic', in Froma I. Zeitlin (ed.), *Mortals and Immortals: Collected Essays* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991), 50–74.

[11] Sappho, Fr. 16, trans. DuBois.

were the disabled ex-servicemen? How did the social value ascribed to bodies affect medical treatment and the reform of citizens? Across Anglophone societies, disabled rehabilitation shifted between a 'culture of caregiving' and 'aggressive normalization'; men were often denied the right to 'regret and lament'.[12] How did men respond—were they resentful, compliant, or resistant? Some disabled men formed new identities as 'limbless soldiers' or 'shellshocked veterans', insisting their wounds were heroic. Families and welfare groups distinguished servicemen from ordinary cripples and lunatics, lobbying for special treatment commensurable with their sacrifice.[13]

Heroic discourses had long dominated British masculine identities, but they were reconfigured after the war owing to the extent of disability.[14] Disabled organizations supported the ideal of disabled heroes, but frowned upon begging, drinking, or public displays that triggered social antipathy or made their 'otherness' too noticeable. Given the complex responses to the body by disabled and enabled people, why did popular body cultures appeal to men after the war? Was the spectacular performance and consumption of male sexuality 'therapeutic'?

Emphasis on industrially productive, enabled citizens occurred at the same time that the classical icon of the sacrificial warrior was democratized. The warrior's new image appeared as nations had to account for the war's casualties and ameliorate the grief. However, when disabled soldiers rejected retraining and the pressure to 'overcome', they were perceived as a social threat. Gesturing resistance with their 'ungrateful bodies', activists provoked: 'what is normalcy?'[15]

This was a period when norms in bodies and sexualities were coming into being. Norms were debated but not yet fixed; the 'hetero' and the 'homo' were not clear binaries; frank discussions about sexual and personal fulfilment were possible because bodies, genders, and sexualities had many possibilities—identities were not secure, roles were not predetermined, embodiment was adaptable. Censure and resistance coexisted with the normalizing techniques of medicine and

[12] Jeffrey Reznick, *Healing the Nation: Soldiers and the Culture of Caregiving in Britain during the Great War* (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 2004); Deborah Cohen, *The War Come Home: Disabled Veterans in Britain and Germany, 1914–1939* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 2001); David A. Gerber (ed.), *Disabled Veterans in History* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000), 295–321; Joy Damousi, *The Labour of Loss: Mourning, Memory and Wartime Bereavement in Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 85–8.

[13] Fiona Reid, 'Distinguishing between Shell-shocked Veterans and Pauper Lunatics: The Ex-Services' Welfare Society and Mentally Wounded Veterans after the Great War', *War in History*, 14 (2007), 347–71.

[14] Graham Dawson, *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinities* (London: Routledge, 1994).

[15] Jennifer Keene, *Doughboys, the Great War, and the Remaking of America* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001); Ana Carden-Coyne, 'Ungrateful Bodies: Rehabilitation, Resistance, and Disabled American Veterans of the First World War', *European Review of History*, 14, 4 (2007), 550.

visual culture. Orthopaedic surgeon and Medical Director of the New Jersey Rehabilitation Commission (1925) Howard Kessler noted at the time:

> There is no such entity as a normal person . . . the concept of the normal being is a social judgement and represents a series of physical and psychological traits not inconsistent with social prejudices and attitudes . . . it is very difficult to tell what the term 'unfit' means.[16]

The war amplified the vulnerability of the mind and body; yet this made classical ideals and images more appealing.

In the nineteenth century, the search for normalized models saw physical states categorized into variations of the typical (normal) and different (pathological). With the rise of statistics, 'normal' entered medicine and health, but it was not yet a firm ideological tool. Measuring fitness standards in the Boer War and the First World War broadened the focus on 'unfit' physical and mental groups in Britain. In both periods the results of medical exams fuelled fears of 'deterioration', generating national fitness campaigns. In the US Army, too, draftees' physical standards indicated that few people were 'completely normal'. Yet intelligence tests were developed in psychology in order to standardize minds.[17] War exacerbated older beliefs about problem populations, but also provided a cache of bodies for professionals to study.

By contrast to these normalizing techniques, classicism offered a holistic account of the mind and body. More flexible than the binaries of normal and pathological, many parts made up the whole. In Germany, neurologist Kurt Goldstein insisted that brain-damaged soldiers could lead meaningful and productive lives. Similar views were held in rehabilitation networks across the Anglophone world; pressure was exerted on social reintegration rather than segregation in care homes. While the mechanistic or 'biomedical' account of the body separated disease and organs from the whole person, 'holistic' medicine (a term coined in 1926) saw the body as a vital unity—a view that gained new force after the First World War.[18] The appeal of the classical ideal of mind–body harmony lay in how it attributed social values to bodily facts; the war disabled had a place in civilian society; sexuality was regenerating.

[16] Henry Howard Kessler, *The Crippled and the Disabled: Rehabilitation of the Physically Handicapped in the United States* (1935; Manchester, NH: Ayer, 1980), 4. (International Labor Office (p. 6)). France, Britain, the United States, and Australia determined disability by physical incapacity; Germany and Austria by vocational incapacity (p. 146).

[17] Georges Canguilhem, *The Normal and the Pathological*, trans. C. R. Fawcett (1943; New York: Zone Books, 1991); Jay M. Winter, 'Military Fitness and Civilian Health in Britain during the First World War', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 15 (1980), 211–44; Albert G. Love and Charles B. Davenport, *Physical Examination of the First Five Million Draft Recruits* (Washington, DC: US Surgeon General's Office, Bulletin 11, 1919), 521; Ian Hacking, *The Taming of Chance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 169.

[18] Anne Harrington, 'Kurt Goldstein's Neurology of Healing and Wholeness: A Weimar Story', in Christopher Lawrence and George Weisz (eds), *Greater than the Parts: Holism in Biomedicine, 1920–1950* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 25–45.

Normalizing processes are not simply top-down impositions or social formations. To understand the value of the normal after a war that produced dramatic bodily change, this book examines the pleasures of 'the self', class dynamics, and personal motivations in relation to political and institutional discourses. In disability studies, Henri-Jacques Stiker's ideas about the social striving for normality, and Rosemary Garland Thomson's critical rendering of the 'extraordinary bodies' of the invalid and cripple, have queried the boundaries of normality, otherness, and difference.[19] The emergence of what I call the 'aesthetics of normalizing embodiment' is explored in this book. Cultural signs and artistic forms were deeply implicated in reconstructing the body in order to normalize it. This project was still embryonic, in process but not yet fixed, endorsed by medicine and commerce, for instance, but not wholly incorporated. Classicism and modernism were aesthetic ideals to 'overcome' disability and to sexualize bodies. Nevertheless, this book also highlights variation in experiences, queer diversity, and resistant practices alongside pressures to conform.

Foucault's concepts of disciplinary power—regulating and socializing bodies to act—and 'biopower'—managing reproduction and public health—grounds this investigation of how state, commercial, and personal incentives interacted with the post-war reconstruction. That the body is a cultural construct and sexuality is a motivating force in modern life informs the consideration of how pleasurable and sexualized bodies negotiated reconstruction.[20] In Foucault's 'political anatomy', institutions regulate bodies, such as in the school, the asylum, and the prison.[21] This book frames the gymnasium and dance studio, as well as commercial institutions such as the magazine and beauty industry, where discipline is voluntary and seductive. Feminist criticism that bodies are not 'docile' is especially important when considering disability.[22] This book explores how women and men claimed sexual subjectivity and embodied agency through self-transformation.

Disability and feminist scholars insist upon disability as a category of analysis (like race, class, and gender) and an affect of representation, social process, and power relations.[23] When deployed as 'another other', disability becomes an analytical tool that frames the historical impact of war on gender and

[19] Henri-Jacques Stiker, *A History of Disability*, trans. William Sayers (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press, 2000); Rosemary Garland Thompson, *Extraordinary Bodies: Figuring Disability in American Culture and Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997).

[20] Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction*, i (London: Allen Lane, 1979); id., *The History of Sexuality*, ii *The Use of Pleasure* (New York: Pantheon, 1985).

[21] Id., *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Vintage, 1979), 138.

[22] Caroline Ramazanoglu (ed.), *Up Against Foucault: Explorations of Some Tensions Between Foucault and Feminism* (New York and London: Routledge, 1998); Sandra Lee Bartky, 'Foucault, Femininity and the Modernization of Patriarchal Power', in Rose Weitz (ed.), *The Politics of Women's Bodies: Sexuality, Appearance and Behaviour* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 25–45.

[23] Longmore and Umansky, *The New Disability History*, 15; Rosemary Garland Thomson, 'Feminist Disability Studies', *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 30 (2005), 1557–87.

sexuality, on disabled and enabled people, on cultural forms integral to the body politics of reconstruction in the post-war period.[24] Disabled bodies are also queer bodies, disrupting the categories of normalcy and pathology, crafting resistance to social exclusion, and refusing essentialized identities.[25] Anglophone concerns about population decline saw disabled men feared as unemployable and emasculated citizens. Queer theory argues that compulsory able-bodiedness is linked to compulsory heterosexuality.[26] The historical context of the First World War, however, reveals that sexual practices were affected by the war, including emphasis on sexual display and yearning for intimacy. Significantly, sexualities were not fully realized as identities: personal agency and cultural experimentation thrived in that creative 'in-between' space. Thus while the war incited official and personal investment into norms intended as restorative, disabled overcoming or sexual passing occurred within the unstable relations of bodies and sexualities.

Queering disabled and enabled bodies together, this book shifts the focus away from the dichotomy of the 'social versus medical' model of disability.[27] Instead, it entwines the normalizing power of institutions and social discourses, the nuances of political exclusions and economic constraints, the physical reality of impairment and pain, and the cultural affects of bodily representations, while seeking out the complexities of agency and resistance.[28] This book is not a study of specific disabilities, but considers disability as a conceptual, physical, and visual alterity that framed the embodiment of all citizens, amplifying the sexual and reproductive meaning of bodies—and the significance of beauty—after the war.

Theorizing 'the body' must not be disconnected from emotional experiences of living in a body.[29] How, then, can the impact of discourse and culture be measured in individual lives? This book explores relationships between bodies (their experiences, styles, and performances) and those represented in images and material culture. Janet Wolff's examination of the sociology of art production shifts the comprehension of visual culture from aesthetic codes to cultural products. The magazine graphic, artwork and film, rehabilitation photograph, medical text, or war memorial, is not a 'transcendent, universal fact', but is produced by social groups, markets, local and global networks, and in cultural,

[24] Catherine Kudlick, 'Disability History: Why We Need Another Other', *American Historical Review*, 108 (2003), 763–93.

[25] Mark Sherry, 'Overlaps and Contradictions between Queer Theory and Disability Studies', *Disability and Society*, 19 (2004), 769–83.

[26] Rob McRuer, 'Compulsory Able-bodiedness and Queer/Disabled Existence', in Lennard J. Davis (ed.), *The Disability Studies Reader* (Boca Raton, Fla.: CRC Press, 2006), 306.

[27] Longmore and Umansky, *The New Disability History*, 20; Julie Anderson and Ana Carden-Coyne, 'Enabling the Past: New Perspectives in the History of Disability', *European Review of History*, 14 (2007), 447–57.

[28] Shelley Tremain (ed.), *Foucault and the Government of Disability* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Michigan University Press, 2005).

[29] Montserrat, *Changing Bodies*, 4.

professional, and commercial exchanges that shape visual knowledge.[30] In the 1920s, images informed how the body was observed, interpreted, and assimilated. Mass circulation of images facilitated the absorption and reinvention of classicism within modern culture, connecting life to art, as people responded to images and reconstructed their bodies individually.

Body and beauty culture in this period were major industries that deployed classicism and modernism to attract clients. Mass culture was the 'hidden subtext' of the modernist project.[31] The body was a central motif in modernism, especially in technological fantasies and sexual spectacles. Science imagined the future civilization, and yet also aroused fears of regression and bodily uncertainty.[32] The First World War intensified these contradictions; technology wounded, but it also promised new life with prosthetics that enhanced masculinity. Although Surrealists and Dadaists celebrated mutilation, the primitive, and the 'convulsive beauty' of the fetishized and castrated body, others marshalled classicism as a liberating force against Victorian prudery.[33] As women's social roles and visibility were changing, sexuality was also recoded. The classical body became modernist, vernacular, and an agent of mass culture and commercial imagery—a sexual spectacle. Real bodies contributed to the production of cultural images of bodies, whether injured or enhanced.

The trauma of the First World War has preoccupied much scholarship. Eric Leed argued that industrialized killing damaged men psychologically, distancing them from non-combatants. Scholarship on women writers with direct war experience, however, argues that 'female modernism' arose, 'bearing witness to the trauma of the war'. Women recorded their own distressing experiences and identified with shell-shocked soldiers.[34] This book considers both the 'pleasure' and trauma cultures of the 'war-wrecked body', testing the appropriateness of trauma studies in apprehending the impact of war on people in the past.[35]

[30] Janet Wolff, *The Social Production of Art* (2nd edn, New York: New York University Press, 1993), 137, 139.

[31] Andreas Huyssen, 'Mass Culture as Woman: Modernism's Other', *After the Great Divide: Modernism, Mass Culture, Postmodernism* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1986), 47.

[32] Tim Armstrong, *Modernism, Technology and the Body: A Cultural Study* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 2–3.

[33] Rosalind E. Krauss, 'Antivision', *October*, 36 (1986), 147–54; Christina Simmons, 'Modern Sexuality and the Myth of Victorian Repression', in Kathy Peiss and Christina Simmons (eds), *Passion and Power: Sexuality in History* (Philadelphia, Pa.: Temple University Press), 157–77.

[34] Eric Leed, *No Man's Land: Combat and Identity in World War One* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 192; Angela K. Smith, *The Second Battlefield: Women, Modernism and the First World War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 2000; Trudi Tate, *Modernism, History and the First World War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998); Margaret R. Higonnet (ed.), *Nurses at the Front: Writing the Wounds of the Great War* (Boston, Mass.: Northeastern University Press, 2001), p. xxxiv.

[35] Michael Paris, *Warrior Nation: Images of War in British Popular Culture, 1850–2000* (London: Reaktion, 2000); Joanna Bourke, *An Intimate History of Killing: Face to Face Killing in Twentieth-century Warfare* (London: Granta, 1999); Cathy Caruth (ed.), *Trauma: Explorations in Memory* (Baltimore, Md. and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 4–5.

The historical specificity of industrial war and mass culture provides critical nuance to Susan Sontag and Elaine Scarry's treatises on pain and beauty; Cathy Caruth on trauma; and the work of Paul Ricœur and Marc Augé on memory and forgetting. How could violent imagery appeal to audiences, especially those wounded or grieving? Why did this occur at the same time as the classical revival that valued the body as beautiful, whole, and inviolable?

Scholars have viewed the war as a conflict between tradition and the outcomes of modern industrial society; war defined 'modern consciousness' and modernism through imagination and memory.[36] The structural capacity for mass violence was located in the pre-war era, with technology the hallmark of the challenge to tradition, and death and despair 'the psychological turning point in the creation of modernism'.[37] Jay Winter's intervention revealed that 'sites of memory' were also 'sites of mourning' that drew on tradition to negotiate loss and grief.[38] Medievalism and classicism, for instance, resonated in war memorials in Britain and Germany.[39]

This book collapses the distinction between tradition and modernity, finding complexity in political, institutional, and individual responses to war. The war affected how men and women viewed the body and sexuality. Supported by cultures of reconstruction, they visualized embodiment in a range of ways that drew on the familiar as well as the modern, entwining them in new forms of selfhood. Instead of a radical gulf between old and new worlds, between men and women, parents and children—where the past was remote and useless—this book locates intersections between the classical past and the desire for a modern future. Grief and despair were deeply felt, and yet so too were ideals of rebuilding civilization, visualized and performed through the physical and cultural reconstruction of bodies.

Scholarship on women at war has focused on gender constructions and class relations, contesting assumptions about political and social advancement.[40] Studies have examined women's militarized roles in medical and auxiliary services, and their activities with feminist nationalism and white feather campaigns.[41] While women's energies were mobilized, their proximity to violence was problematic.[42]

[36] Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 8; Samuel Hynes, *A War Imagined: The Great War and English Culture* (New York: Atheneum, 1991).

[37] Modris Eksteins, *The Rites of Spring: The Great War and the Birth of the Modern Age* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1989), 12.

[38] Jay M. Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

[39] Stefan Goebel, *The Great War and Medieval Memory: War and Remembrance in Britain and Germany, 1914–1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

[40] Laura Doan, 'A Challenge to "Change"?: New Perspectives on Women and the Great War', *Women's History Review*, 15 (2006), 337–43.

[41] Nicoletta F. Gullace, *'The Blood of Our Sons': Men, Women and the Renegotiation of British Citizenship During the Great War* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 55, 119.

[42] Kimberly Jensen, *Mobilizing Minerva: American Women in the First World War* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2008).

Class allegiance was important: many bourgeois women occupied conventional roles in philanthropy and voluntary nursing, and continued to do so after the war.[43] While wartime rhetoric was charged with notions of equality, men and women had fought 'different wars', filtered through class relations within military medicine.[44]

Highlighting the contradictory effects of war, scholars have shown that Anglophone women were involved in nation building and preserving the valour of motherhood. The maternal body played a role in propaganda—in fears of rape and the vulnerability of the national body—which was also why the regulation of female bodies was critical.[45] Respectable women needed protecting, but others were seen as predatory. Pleasure-seeking girls were accused of 'khaki fever', and working-class munitions workers of promiscuity or parental neglect.[46] Demobilization brought further contradiction. Some women 'made peace', finding comfort in marital and domestic relations; others continued to work in voluntary and political organizations.[47] In this wide field of enquiry, gender and class relations were of principal concern, whereas this book positions sexuality and the body as the main analytical themes.

War had blurred gender identities and yet also sexualized women. Healing the body and reconstructing sexual relations was a response to the violence and social change. When discussing the reconstruction of female bodies in sport, leisure, beauty culture, and memorials, this book shifts the discussion to sexuality, physical self-expression, and lived embodiment. By investigating the female body as subject of reconstruction, agent of self-empowerment, and object of commodification, experience and representation are woven together.

After the war, how and why did body industries appeal to women from a range of classes to invest in their own personal reconstruction? Beauty and fitness implicated class, age, and marital status—but it also concerned the state. Were women being reconstructed as 'embodied citizens', where beauty meant marriage and motherhood? The war had brought 'topsy-turvydom' to gender roles across the Anglophone world—women in heavy industry, uniforms, and

[43] Janet Lee, *War Girls: The First Aid Nursing Yoemanry in the First World War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), 3.

[44] Janet K. Watson, *Fighting Different Wars: Experience, Memory and the First World War in Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 60, 71.

[45] Susan R. Grayzel, *Women's Identities at War: Gender, Motherhood and Politics in Britain and France During the First World War* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1999).

[46] Deborah Thom, *Nice Girls and Rude Girls: Women Workers in World War I* (London: I. B. Taurus, 1998); Laura Lee Downs, *Manufacturing Inequality: Gender Division in the French and British Metalworking Industries, 1914–1939* (Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 1995); Angela Woollacott, *On Her their Lives Depend: Munitions Workers in the Great War* (London: California University Press, 1994); id., 'Khaki Fever and its Control: Gender, Class, Age and Sexual Morality on the British Homefront in the First World War', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 29 (1994), 325–47; Watson, *Fighting Different Wars*, 2.

[47] Susan Kingsley Kent, *Making Peace: The Reconstruction of Gender in Interwar Britain* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), 109.

paramilitary organizations; men breaking down, disabled, and unemployed. While motherhood was characterized as war service, 'war babies' were proof of women's immorality, like venereal disease.[48] Studies of maternalism and citizenship, however, have not fully explored sexuality. Given the degree of dispute over what women could and should do with their bodies, how did women claim their agency?

In Britain, Australia, and the United States, individual men and women negotiated the discourses and aesthetics of bodily reconstruction. In international beauty culture and dance crazes, women aimed to modernize and transform their bodies, while enjoying consumerist pleasures and self-fashioning.[49] In Australia, the fashion and magazine industries peddled modes of 'feminine appearing' across a global culture of consumer modernity, producing a local and international 'spectacular modern woman'. Significantly, the racial identity of the white modern body was shaped by colonial ideas and modern consumerism, locking out indigenous and black bodies with few exceptions.[50] While war exacerbated how race relations were inscribed onto national bodies in Britain, Australia, and the United States, and racial difference in bodily ideals was critical to post-war reconstruction, this book focuses on disability and sexuality as the main tools of analysis.

Certainly, race and sexuality were dual concerns after the war—fears of 'mixed dancing', predatory sexuality, and miscegenation abound. In Australia, the war service of Aboriginal soldiers went unrecognized, at the same time that indigenous symbols were freely appropriated in modernism. The racial undertones of classicism and modernism might also set the modern and classical against the primitive and uncivilized. Whether in discussions of memorials for black American and British colonial troops or eroticizing the white body, racial descriptors were carved into representations. Moreover, the black body was largely erased from the memory of war and from the vision of reconstructing civilization.

Race and skin colour defined the value of the white, classical body, and were embedded not just in the history of colonialism and empire building, but in the cultural hegemony of the Graeco-Roman 'western tradition', as discussed in Chapter 1. The whiteness of the classical body was an assumed norm within the aesthetic discourses traversing Anglophone medicine and commemoration, popular culture, and modernism. While classicism was meant to heal and transform, its target audience was predominantly white. Hence, this book

[48] Doan, '"Topsy-turvydom": Gender Inversion, Sapphism and the Great War', *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 12 (2006), 517–42.

[49] Jill Julius Matthews, 'Building the Body Beautiful', *Australian Feminist Studies*, 5 (1987), 17–34; and id., 'Dancing Modernity', in Barbara Caine and Rosemary Pringle (eds), *Transitions: New Australian Feminisms* (St Leonards, New South Wales: Allen and Unwin, 1995).

[50] Liz Conor, *The Spectacular Modern Woman: Feminine Visibility in the 1920s* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 2004).

focuses on the sexualizing, gendering, and modernizing of classicism during post-war reconstruction, and its significance for disabled and enabled white bodies.

The impact of war upon British men's bodies and minds—shell shock, disability, fear, alcoholism, and malingering—aggravated anxieties about masculinity. Prioritizing men's subjective experiences, Joanna Bourke demonstrated that discourses of power shaped not just how men were treated but also their self-perceptions. Discipline and conformity were pressures transferred from the military to civilian scene in rehabilitation and employment.[51] Class conflict—strikes, riots, and protests for social change—implicated gender tensions about work and the maintenance of peace in civil society. In Luton in 1919, Peace Day celebrations ended in the torching of the Town Hall; although ex-servicemen were blamed, unemployment, housing, and the social position of women were at the root of social unrest.[52] Commemorating the heroic dead contrasted with the unheroic reality of post-war life. Against official images of sacrifice, working-class masculinity appeared disruptive. Hence, the healing aspiration of classicism aimed to reconstruct the body, comfort the grief-stricken, and restrain 'unacceptable behaviour'.[53]

This book emphasizes the coexistence of violence and healing, of resistance and retreat, of rupture and continuity. The Edwardian middle-classes did not wholly reject manliness, but reframed it around pain and sacrifice.[54] Bitter war poetry and 'disenchanted' literature was one profound reaction to war, although not the only one.[55] Unlike the disillusionment found in poetry's 'ironic' mode—which Paul Fussell thought defined the war's 'modern memory'—some popular novelists upheld a middle-class desire to contain the impact of the war by rehabilitating the hero and preserving 'Englishness' in rural motifs. British conservatism was seen in women's writing and in representations of bourgeois femininity—concomitant with women's embracing of modernity and 'new patterns in domestic life'. Indeed, the domesticated male reshaped national identity.[56]

[51] Joanna Bourke, *Dismembering the Male: Men's Bodies, Britain and the Great War* (London: Reaktion, 1996).

[52] Neil Gordon Orr, 'Keep the Home Fires Burning: Peace Day in Luton 1919', *Family and Community History*, 2 (1999), 17–32.

[53] Gabriel Koureas, *Memory, Masculinity and National Identity in British Visual Culture, 1914–1930: A Study of 'Unconquered Manhood'* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 5.

[54] George Mosse, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

[55] Hugh Cecil, 'British War Novelists', in Hugh Cecil and Peter H Liddle (eds), *Facing Armageddon: The First World War Experienced* (London: Pen and Sword, 1996), 801–16; Brian Bond, *The Unquiet Western Front: Britain's Role in Literature and History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

[56] Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory*; Rosa Maria Bracco, *Merchants of Hope: British Middlebrow Writers and the First World War, 1919–1939* (Oxford: Berg, 1993), 3; Alison Light, *Forever England: Femininity, Literature and Conservatism between the Wars* (London: Routledge, 1991), 9.

Despite the rhetoric of democratic victory in honouring the ordinary soldier, class difference was heightened by the war, and the middle classes turned, introspectively, to the safety of home.[57] Yet all classes were consumers and producers of modern bodies. This book examines the construction of the modern body through classical motifs, and the fact that sexuality and gender played an important role in recovering from war. Was modern consumption liberating or did it have the 'domestic' endpoint of marriage and parenthood?

Exploring the visual culture of the reconstructed body, this book concurs with recent analysis of the 'sensory' effect of war. In letters, diaries, and literature men and women articulated the brutality of industrialized killing, while yearning for intimacy. Soldiers and nurses sensed the 'dissolution into formless matter', as corpses, blood, and mud permeated their world. 'Touch' was a response to this sensory degradation.[58] Given the extremes of fear and devastation experienced on the front line, and men's expectations of their return to civilian life, awareness of subjective, psychological responses tempers the view of 'masculinity' as a singular category.[59] This book links personal reconstruction to political discourses and cultural representation.

Emphasizing contradiction in what appears as 'hegemonic masculinity', and recognizing competing masculinities, reveals that gender and sexuality are unstable.[60] Multiple masculinities—even in one lifetime—blur the boundaries of sex and gender in representation.[61] Ambivalence in how people interpret gender roles troubles the association of personal and institutional power.[62] Masculinity is not a monolithic trope, then, but a changing interplay between the physical, emotional, and social, encoded by class, race, and sexuality, and is also constituted in relation to women. In this book, masculinity is seen through the lens of disability and sexual reconstruction. Although some scholars worry that cultural history's focus on representation excludes social evidence, this book argues that real bodies are living interpretations of the visual world of bodily signs. Diary-writing entails self-representation as much as bodies, negotiating subjectivity in relation to images, discourses, and symbols. The available 'cultural scripts' are incorporated with great complexity.[63]

[57] Ross McKibbin, *Classes and Cultures: England, 1918–1951* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).

[58] Santanu Das, *Touch and Intimacy in the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 37.

[59] Michael Roper, 'Between Manliness and Masculinity: The "War Generation" and the Psychology of Fear in Britain, 1914–1950', *Journal of British Studies*, 44 (2005), 343–63.

[60] R. W. Connell, 'An Iron Man: The Body and Some Contradictions of Hegemonic Masculinity', in Michael A. Messner and Donald F. Sabo (eds), *Sport, Men and the Gender Order: Critical Feminist Perspectives* (Champaign, Ill.: Human Kinetics, 1990), 83–95.

[61] Maurice Berger, Brian Wallis, and Simon Watson (eds), *Constructing Masculinity* (New York and London: Routledge, 1995), 3.

[62] Kaja Silverman, *Male Subjectivity at the Margins* (New York: Routledge, 1992).

[63] John Tosh, 'What should Historians do with Masculinity? Reflections on Nineteenth-century Britain', *History Workshop Journal*, 38 (1994), 179–202; Karen Harvey and Alexandra Shepard,

Seeing the male body through the window of both its vulnerabilities and its forceful displays frames the discussion of post-war masculinities. The male body could be a site of 'shame, self-hatred, and concealment'.[64] Hyper-masculine images reacted to changes in women's roles and embodiment. While industrialized violence exposed the failed expectations of manliness, reconstruction addressed uncertainty about what it was to be and look like a man. Classicism and modernism provided models of gender and sexuality, which men interpreted individually.

Bodies, therefore, indicate a world beyond themselves—mutual affect occurs between real bodies and cultural signs.[65] Classical and modern bodies contained the 'explanatory power' of reconstruction while also 'the very ''stuff'' of subjectivity'; in reconstructing selfhood sexual bodies were 'volatile' rather than stable.[66] Images of mutilated flesh occupied the minds of witnesses and curious audiences. This book examines how citizenship and selfhood were negotiated through the body, and why classicism offered an antidote to the mind–body dualism that war magnified.

The historical context of the First World War illuminates Merleau-Ponty's ideas about the 'intercorporeal' language of bodies and cultural signs, of interior and exterior worlds, a 'kinship' of the invisible and visible, the living and the dead.[67] Indeed 'the self', as Erving Goffman argues, is 'a product' of the social group and the means by which it is produced. Communication, audience, and image are critical to the production of selfhood.[68] But so, too, are historical and cultural experiences and perceptions of bodies, which this book finds in circles across Britain, Australia, and the United States.

In the visual and performed domains of classical and modern bodies, this book considers the impact of post-war reconstruction on gender and sexuality. Since gendered embodiment is 'performed' (not simply constructed) in body and beauty culture, modern dance, and sport, the agency of the subject confronts institutions of power, such as advertising, fashion, medicine, and health.[69] The scripts are cultural, social, and political, and yet also contingent on times, places, and points of intersection. Nevertheless, embodiment is also interpreted and

'What have Historians Done with Masculinity? Reflections on Five Centuries of British History, circa 1500–1950', *Journal of British Studies*, 44 (2005), 280.

[64] Susan R. Bordo, 'Reading the Male Body', in Laurence Goldstein (ed.), *The Male Body: Features, Destinies, Exposures* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press, 1994), 265–306.

[65] Judith Butler, *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of Sex* (New York and London: Routledge, 1993).

[66] Elizabeth Grosz, *Volatile Bodies: Toward a Corporeal Feminism* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1994), pp. vii–xvi.

[67] Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *The Visible and the Invisible*, trans. Alphonso Lingis (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1969).

[68] Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (London: Allen Lane, 1969).

[69] Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (London: Routledge, 1990), 128–41.

flexible. To appropriate Bourdieu, then, the body is flesh and 'habitus'; it has a materiality and mobility that is shaped in social and cultural contexts.[70] This book connects post-war reconstruction and women's production of an embodied self that was both gender performance and sexual expression. Classicism and modernism provided the 'corporeal style' and the staging of 'the act', suggesting 'a dramatic and contingent construction of meaning', but one mediated through the materiality of living as a body.[71]

Gender performance is also useful for understanding male community in bodybuilding and the public exhibition of rehabilitated men. This book connects enabled and disabled bodies, arguing that gender is 'choreographed', involving styles and forms of movement, a wide range of physical actions, and technologies of mobility.[72] Prosthetics produced variation in movement; the war veteran's desire to pass as normal produced movements; rehabilitating, working and dancing bodies produced routines and repetitions. Everyday movements were 'performed' in public spaces that staged bodies. Rituals, dances, and sports involve theatrical aesthetics and 'directions'. For instance, both commemoration and walking with a prosthetic leg require rehearsals that are gendered.[73] Still, choreographies of the gendered and sexualized body are interpreted and incorporated individually. Despite the sway of normalizing processes, social expectations and cultural norms often met with resistance. Classicism and modernism still enabled 'queer possibilities' in reconstructing the body.

## CLASSICISM, MODERNISM, AND TRANSNATIONAL HISTORY

Classicism and modernism can be understood as ideas, forms, and myths of the European and western imaginaries. In the Anglophone context, they generated particular local variations, and informed different social inscriptions of culture, empire, and nation. Since the global currency of representations often overlapped national borders, travelled across nations, and appeared upon international stages, this book focuses on their symbolic capital in both national and international contexts, and hence the discussion moves between the three Anglophone cultural settings.

This book seeks out broad cultural variations of classicism and modernism in global dialogue and at the local level, connecting Anglophone and European networks of exchange in memorials, medicine, and visual and popular culture.

[70] S. P. Wainwright and B. S. Turner, 'Reflections on Embodiment and Vulnerability', *Medical Humanities*, 29 (2003), 7.

[71] Butler, *Gender Trouble*, 129, 139–40.

[72] Susan Leigh Foster, 'Choreographies of Gender', *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 24 (1998), 1–21.

[73] Richard Schechner, *Performance Theory* (New York and London: Routledge, 1988), 7.

Anglophone cultures interpreted European models of embodiment in fashion, dance, and magazine culture. Rehabilitation experts worked with French and German medical industries, body attitudes, and aesthetic practices. Classicism and modernism were linchpins in both. While the impact of war on the body and culture is the focus, this book is not a history of nations or nationalisms. Instead of the nation, Anglophone discourses are seen across various networks in order to consider how individual historical actors engaged with classicism and modernism in reconstruction. Nevertheless, there are clear limitations in dealing sufficiently with cultural and national differences between Britain, the United States, and Australia. Yet by highlighting global dialogues, networks of exchange, and common practices—and drawing upon an interdisciplinary approach to cultural history—this book can explore elite and mass cultures together, which will demonstrate the significance of cultural symbols in post-war reconstruction.

This book brings together common motivations and shared beliefs that drew on the classical and the modern after war. To be sure, distinct cultural, professional, and institutional conditions were significant in shaping responses. For instance, *Vanity Fair* was the flagship of the Condé Naste magazine empire from 1914 to 1936, when it merged into *Vogue*. Under the editorship of Frank Crowninshield, it reached a circulation of around 85–99,000.[74] The magazine brought European modernism to the United States, becoming an international literary and style leader, inspiring magazines elsewhere. In Australia, *The Home* followed similar social commentaries, style sheets, and fashion advice, linking with the European and American cultural scenes. Together, *The Home* and *Art in Australia* (1916–42), created by publisher Sydney Ure Smith, became the premier vehicle by which American and European fashion and visual culture were circulated, influencing artists, many of whom were networked in the artistic and literary circles of Britain, Europe, and the United States. The magazine industry facilitated the global transmission of ideas and forms, from articles on Picasso and Cocteau to discussions about beauty and slimming. While body culture industry magazines had smaller circulations, the range of schools and papers occupied a significant global network for the dissemination of body ideals. Bernarr Macfadden's empire was arguably one of the largest, and set the tone for many others in Britain and Australia.

Another significant Anglophone network influencing body ideals occurred between medical rehabilitation and voluntary welfare agencies. They informed attitudes to disability and embodied citizenship through newspapers and pamphlets, exchanged fundraising tactics, and participated in international conferences. This dialogue often compared national approaches to rehabilitation, but also occurred at a transnational level when reiterating common hopes to rebuild 'Civilization' by physical reconstruction. The various Inter-Allied

[74] John Tebbel and Mary Ellen Zuckerman, *The Magazine in America, 1741–1990* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).

Conferences on disabled soldiers generated 'frank interchange of opinions in conversation between men and women of the several nations deeply interested' in rehabilitation.[75] Across this Anglophone scene, reconstructing the body was structured around middle-class objectives—prosperity, individualism, and self-transformation—which travelled across nations through shared medical and cultural ideals, so that physicians and artists influenced embodiment through classicism and modernism.

Comparative history can reify 'the nation' as the single unit of analysis, while transnational history offers 'entanglements'. Both have strengths and weaknesses. This book investigates the multiple uses of classicism and modernism as culturally significant global agents aimed at rebuilding civilization. Thus bodies—in relation to institutions and cultural discourses—rather than nations are the main focus. Although reconstruction operated in distinct political contexts, this book locates intersecting ideas in professional networks and commercial cultures. Comparisons might use 'paradox as the point of departure'; however, the nation state can override individual lives and erase subtleties within local communities. Still, comparison works well when 'intricate relationships', international discussions, and similarities and differences are teased out.[76] This study of the impact of the First World War has aimed for 'flexible' and thematic intersections of representations and experiences of sexuality and the body across 'battlefronts' and 'peace fronts'.[77]

By exploring shared networks across Britain, the United States, and Australia, this book locates interactions between medical and artistic groups, commemorative and literary fields, academic and political circles, popular culture entrepreneurs, and social reformers. It shows how post-war reconstruction centred on bodily discourses and cultural signs could traverse nations, especially via the mass media and institutional networks.

This study of global dialogues in classicism and modernism draws on the idea of *cultural transfer* to reveal linkages across professional and social groups from different nations, and between individuals within commercial and leisure circles that conducted reconstructive efforts to restore humankind. Cultural transfer is indicative of 'points of contact, of movements that travelled, of ideas that were exchanged', uncovering how individuals on the ground reshaped the classicism and modernism in Anglophone societies.[78] Some strove to overcome the war;

[75] Lieutenant Colonel Sir A. Griffith Boscawen, MP, 'Report on the Inter-allied Conference for the Study of Professional Re-education and other Questions of Interest to Soldiers and Sailors Disabled by the War', Paris, 8–12 May 1917 (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office), 4.

[76] Deborah Cohen, 'Comparative History: Buyer Beware', *German Historical Institute Bulletin*, 29 (2001), 23–34.

[77] Maura O'Connor, 'Cross-National Travelers: Rethinking Comparisons and Representations', in Deborah Cohen and Maura O'Connor (eds), *Comparison and History: Europe in Cross-national Perspective* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 133; Grayzel, 'Across Battle Fronts: Gender and the Comparative Cultural History of Modern European War', ibid. 72.

[78] Cohen, 'Comparative History', 24.

to develop their professional skills; to rebuild communities; assisting humanity and the future of civilization. Considering the role of cultural transfer and local adaptation enhances understanding about war's effect not only upon individuals, but also social practices and political ideas. Investigating modern uses of the classical body in reconstruction, this book locates influences from the mass media to professional and cultural networks, from the privacy of the artist's studio to the public space of war memorials, from the externalized horror of the war novel or film to the display culture of the gymnasium, from the physician in the rehabilitation hospital to the culture of the specialist.

Extending John Boardman's insight that each age stamps its mark on classicism, modern war also transformed the classical past.[79] Classicism and modernism travelled well across the Anglophone world because they are defined by basic rules readily co-opted by institutions and adapted by individual visions. Tracing classicism and modernism across European and Anglophone reconstruction networks, this book is neither comparative nor nationalizing; dialogues, exchanges, and local manifestations are the main concern. Through the dual lens of classicism and modernism, this study of the impact of war on the body locates reconstruction cultures that intersect.

## FROM SITES OF MOURNING TO SITES OF HEALING

Moving from the commemoration of the dead to the medical and commercial arenas, *Reconstructing the Body* considers correlations between bodily experiences and representations. It explores how visual and material cultures were vehicles of social and physical reconstruction. Through the realms of flesh, narrative, and image, the transformation of the body from fragmentation to reconstruction is examined. At each point, the modern drew upon the classical to reconstruct the body broken in the First World War.

Chapter 1, 'Reconstructing Civilization in Post-war Culture', discusses the European context of academic classical study, its popularization and its politicization on the world stage, and its manifestations in the Anglophone context. It explores how the quest for civilization was renegotiated at a level of global peace discourse rather than national conflict. In Chapter 2, 'Culture Shock: Trauma, Pleasure, and Visual Memory', the traumatic and pleasurable aspects of war are explored. Visual culture—films, art, war writing, and surgical literature—influenced the 'cultural memory' of the 'war-wrecked' body, to which reconstruction responded.

Turning from visual to material culture, Chapter 3 discusses the sensory and emotional spaces of classical war memorials. 'Monumental Classicism:

[79] John Boardman (ed.), *Oxford History of Classical Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 1.

Healing the Western Body' investigates how classical motifs attempted to heal the bodily violence seen in visual culture. Instead of the motif of 'war-wrecked bodies', classicism offered peaceful repose and sanitized beauty. Although classical memorials were 'sites of mourning', they were designed to heal by transforming the memory of violence. This chapter explains how classicism reconstructed the mutilated body in memorial architecture. The 'aesthetics of healing' materialized as an antidote to the physical and emotional suffering of the war.

Continuing with the consideration of real bodies in relation to cultural signs, Chapter 4—entitled 'The Sexual Reconstruction of Men'—investigates medical rehabilitation, commercial, and visual culture. In Chapter 5—entitled 'The Golden Age of Woman'—the reconstruction of the female body and beauty are discussed, and how classical and modern imagery manufactured sexuality and gender ideals for women. Chapter 6 focuses attention on the Classical-revival dance movement and its aims to reconstruct women's bodies. In 'Performing the New Civilization', the discourse of physical liberation through fitness and beauty is explored alongside notions of heterosexual orthodoxy and maternal fitness.

Finally, this book concludes with a discussion of 'Healing and Forgetting' and considers classicism and modernism in relation to cultural memory and social amnesia. Governments, physicians, beauty and body therapists, monument designers and visual artists looked to classicism and modernism as the tools for rebuilding civilization and its citizens. What better riposte for loss of life, limb, and mind than a body reconstructed?