

References

Introduction

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- 5 Cecil Eby, *The Road to Armageddon: The Martial Spirit in English Popular Literature, 1870–1914* (Durham, NC, 1988), p. 3.
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1 Discovering the Pleasures of War

- 1 'Civilianism' was the phrase coined by Vagts as the opposite of 'militarism' – the dominance of the military in politics. See Alfred Vagts, *A History of Militarism*, (London, 1959), p. 17. Sociologists such as C. B. Otley, using this narrow definition of militarism, have claimed that Britain has been 'singularly free of militarism'. See C. B. Otley, 'Militarism and the Social Affiliations of the British Army Elite', in J. Van Doorn, *Armed Forces and Society* (The Hague, 1968), p. 84.
- 2 Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837* (London, 1992), p. 5.
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- 5 Wolffe, 'Evangelicalism', p. 197.
- 6 *Ibid.*, pp. 192, 194.
- 7 See for example, John Greene, *Vicissitudes of a Soldier's Life* (Louth, 1827) or William Surtees, *Twenty Five Years in the Rifle Brigade* (Edinburgh, 1833).
- 8 Wolffe, 'Evangelicalism', p. 197.

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- 10 *Ibid.*, p. 109.
- 11 See Martin Green, *Dreams of Adventure, Deeds of Empire* (London, 1980) and Patrick Brantlinger, *Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism, 1830–1914*, (Ithaca, 1988).
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- 15 *Ibid.*, p. 198.
- 16 *Ibid.*, p. 181. For an interesting discussion of the social attractions of military rank in the work of Jane Austen, see Donald F. Bittner, 'Jane Austen and Her Officers: a Portrayal of the Army in English Literature', *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, LXXII (1994), pp. 76–91.
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- 19 Edward M. Spiers, *The Army and Society, 1815–1914* (London, 1980), p. 73; see also B. H. Liddell Hart, ed., *The Letters of Private Wheeler, 1809–1828* (Bath, 1951); Greene, *Vicissitudes of a Soldier's Life*, and Surtees, *Twenty-Five Years*.
- 20 J. W. M. Hichberger, *Images of the Army: The Military in British Art, 1815–1914* (Manchester, 1988), p. 13.
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- 22 On war weariness see Colley, *Britons*, pp. 338–9.
- 23 P. J. Cain and A. G. Hopkins, *British Imperialism: Innovation and Expansion, 1688–1914* (London, 1993), p. 103.
- 24 *Ibid.*, p. 100.
- 25 Bernard Porter, *The Lion's Share: A Short History of British Imperialism 1850–1983* (London, 1984), p. 11.
- 26 For a short account of the conflict see Byron Farwell, *Queen Victoria's Little Wars* (New York, 1972), pp. 12–22; David French, *The British Way in Warfare, 1688–2000* (London, 1990), pp. 126–8.
- 27 *Illustrated London News*, 18 February 1843.
- 28 Farwell, *Queen Victoria's Little Wars*, p. 27.
- 29 C. J. Bartlett, *Defence and Diplomacy, Britain and the Great Powers, 1815–1914* (Manchester, 1993), pp. 67–8. It should be noted, however, that Palmerston did become more cautious and more committed to negotiation and conciliation, especially after the American Civil War. The establishment of the British Army, which had reached its lowest strength in 1825 (87,993 men), had expanded to over 116,000 men by 1846 and increased annually thereafter to keep pace with its extended imperial role.

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- 33 Girouard, *The Return to Camelot*, p. 16.
- 34 *Ibid.*, p. 33.
- 35 Kenholm Digby, *The Broad Stone of Honour* (London, 1823), pp. 2–3.
- 36 Green, *Dreams of Adventure*, p. 98.
- 37 Perkin, *Origins of Modern English Society*, p. 274.
- 38 Not everyone subscribed to the value of the chivalric code. Matthew Arnold, for example, called it the 'spirit of evil' because it fostered a sense of honour rather than a sense of duty. Arnold did, however, testify to the seductive power of the idea. See Green, *Dreams of Adventure*, p. 65.
- 39 Digby, *Broad Stone of Honour*, p. 487.
- 40 *Ibid.*, p. 492.
- 41 Jeffrey Richards, 'Popular Imperialism and the Image of the Army in Juvenile Literature' in John M. Mackenzie, ed., *Popular Imperialism and the Military 1850–1950* (Manchester, 1992), p. 87.
- 42 See Graham Dawson, *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinity* (London, 1994), chap. nine, pp. 233–58.
- 43 Myerly, *British Military Spectacle*, pp. 8–9.
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- 58 See for example, Eric Hopkins, *A Social History of the English Working Classes, 1815–1914* (London, 1979), p. 45.
- 59 H. O. Arnold-Foster, in Alan Ramsey Skelley, *The Victorian Army at Home* (London, 1977), p. 15.
- 60 Carolyn Steedman, *The Radical Soldier's Tale* (London, 1988), p. 39. The 1840s were a particularly rich decade for soldiers' memoirs and autobiographies. For a comprehensive listing, see William Matthews, *British Autobiographies* (Berkeley, CA, 1955).
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- 62 See Colonel S. D. Cleave, 'Army Scripture Readers Society and the Soldier's Friend Society', *Quarterly Journal of the Royal Army Chaplains Department*, 11 (1923).
- 63 Olive Anderson, 'The Growth of Christian Militarism in Mid-Victorian Britain', *English Historical Review*, 86: 338 (1971), p. 40.
- 64 Philip Knightley, *The First Casualty* (London, 1978), p. 4.
- 65 For a brief discussion of the topic, see Philip Taylor, *Munitions of the Mind: War Propaganda from the Ancient World to the Nuclear Age* (Wellingborough, 1990), pp. 149–53. See also Lucy Brown, *Victorian News and Newspapers* (Oxford, 1985).
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- 91 On contemporary fiction of the Mutiny, see Brantlinger, *Rule of Darkness*, chap. 7, pp. 199–224.
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- 102 Cecil D. Eby, *The Road to Armageddon: The Martial Spirit in English Popular Literature, 1870–1914* (London, 1987), p. 2.
- 103 Michael Adams, *The Great Adventure: Male Desire and the Coming of World War I*, (Bloomington, IN, 1990), p. 51.
- 104 Myerly, *British Military Spectacle*, p. 154–8.
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2 The Little Wars of Empire

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- 2 James, *Print and the People*, p. 38.
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- 11 Mark Seaworth (1852), in Bratton, *Impact*, p. 122.
- 12 On Kingston, see Bratton, *Impact*, pp. 115–33.
- 13 Stuart Hannabuss, 'Ballantyne's Message of Empire', in Richards, ed., *Imperialism and Juvenile Literature*, p. 55.
- 14 R. M. Ballantyne, *The Young Fur Traders* (London, 1852), p. 351.
- 15 Hannabuss, 'Ballantyne's Message of Empire', p. 69.
- 16 *In the Track of the Troops: A Tale of Modern War*, in *ibid.*, p. 68.
- 17 For Captain Mayne Reid, see Eric Quayle, *The Collector's Book of Boys' Stories* (London, 1973), pp. 77–81.
- 18 Mark Girouard, *The Return to Camelot: Chivalry and the English Gentleman* (London, 1981), pp. 130–44, on which the following comments are based.
- 19 *Ibid.*, p. 141.
- 20 See Robert MacDonald, *The Language of Empire: Myths and Metaphors of Popular Imperialism, 1880–1918* (Manchester, 1994), p. 69.
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- 22 *Ibid.*, p. 305.
- 23 *Two Years*, in Girouard, *Return to Camelot*, p. 141. Kingsley's comments here are remarkably close to the later Social Darwinist ideas of Karl Pearson. See chap. one.
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- 30 Dunae, 'Boy's Literature and the Idea of Empire', p. 107.
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- 33 Henty's chief rivals, George Manville Fenn and Dr Gordon Stables, were also advocates of patriotic manliness and imperial expansion, but wrote few novels with a war setting until the 1890s. On Stables, see Dunae, 'Boys' Literature and the Idea of Empire'.
- 34 Huttenback, 'Henty and the Vision of Empire', pp. 46–7.
- 35 *Ibid.*, p. 47.
- 36 Richards, 'With Henty to Africa', pp. 75–6.
- 37 Richards, 'Popular Imperialism and the Image of the Army', p. 89.
- 38 See *To Heerat and Cabul* (London, 1902). Henty was also critical of the East India Company directors, who he saw as waging war for their own selfish gain; see *In Times of Peril* (London, 1881).
- 39 *The Tiger of Mysore* (London, 1896), p. 5. Interestingly, Bernard Cornwall's long-running and popular series of adventure novels about the nineteenth-century soldier, Richard Sharpe, has the valiant rifleman gaining Wellington's attention and winning his first promotion at the siege of Seringapatam, Tippoo's capital. See Bernard Cornwall, *Sharpe's Tiger* (London, 1997).
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- 42 *A Soldier's Daughter* (London, 1906), p. 24.
- 43 *Ibid.*, p. 35.
- 44 The following section is based largely on Richards, 'Popular Imperialism and the Image of the Army' and Arnold, *Held Fast for England*.
- 45 Arnold, *Held Fast for England*, p. 67.
- 46 Dunae, 'Boys' Literature and the Idea of Empire', p. 110.
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- 56 Robert Leighton, *The Thirsty Sword* (London, 1900), p. 301.
- 57 Harry Collingwood, *Across the Spanish Main* (London, 1907), pp. 229–32.

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- 60 *Ibid.*, p. 184–7.
- 61 On *Chums* see Richards, 'Popular Imperialism and the Image of the Army', pp. 101–6.
- 62 Oral testimony collected by the author.
- 63 See John Springhall, 'Healthy Papers for Manly Boys; Imperialism and Race in the Harmsworth's Halfpenny Boys' Papers of the 1890s and 1900s', in Richards, *Imperialism and Juvenile Literature*, pp. 118–23.
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- 82 Steiner, 'Views on War', p. 21.
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- Peter Parker, *The Old Lie: The Great War and the Public School Ethos* (London, 1987), pp. 62–7.
- 84 Geoffrey Best, 'Militarism in the Victorian Public School', in B. Simon and I. Bradley, *The Victorian Public School* (Dublin, 1979), p. 137. I am indebted to the work of Professor Best, on which the following discussion is based.
- 85 *Ibid.*, p. 148.
- 86 See Adams, *The Great Adventure*, pp. 9–12.
- 87 J. A. Mangan, 'Athleticism: A Case Study of the Evolution of an Educational Ideology', in Simon and Bradley, *The Victorian Public School*, p. 147; see also Mangan, *The Games Ethic and Imperialism*.
- 88 Reader, *At Duty's Call*, p. 91.
- 89 Steiner, 'Views on War', p. 21.
- 90 Michael Adams, *The Great Adventure: Male Desire and the Coming of World War I*, (Bloomington, IN, 1990), pp. 42–4.
- 91 MacDonald, *The Language of Empire*, pp. 62–4.
- 92 While Seeley was no great advocate of modern war and was sometimes critical of the manner in which 'Greater Britain' had been created, there is nevertheless a contradictory note in his work, as there is also an acceptance that war has been the necessary means for such expansion and for achieving those 'philanthropic desires to put an end to enormous evils'. See *The Expansion of England* (London, 1883) pp. 134, 304. See also Peter Burroughs, 'John Robert Seeley and British Imperial History', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, vi (1972), pp. 191–211 and Mackenzie, *Popular Imperialism and the Military*, p. 2.
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- 101 W. E. Henley, *Lyra Heroica: A Book of Verse for Boys* (London, 1892), p. vii.
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3 Preparing for the Great War to Come

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- 16 See Reginald Pound and Geoffrey Harmsworth, *Northcliffe* (London, 1959), *passim*.
 - 17 Bernard Porter, *The Lion's Share: A Short History of British Imperialism 1850–1983*, p. 125. The Franco–Russian Alliance was not made public until 1895. See also James Joll, *Europe since 1870* (London, 3rd edn 1983), pp. 94–5.
 - 18 The story was clearly inspired by 'The Great War of 1892', by Admiral Philip Colomb and others, *Black and White* (January–June 1892). See also I. F. Clarke, *Voices Prophesying War*, pp. 62–3.
 - 19 Pound and Harmsworth, *Northcliffe*, pp. 151–2.
 - 20 *Pluck*, 96, 1897 (later reprinted in *Boy's Friend*).
 - 21 The Fashoda Incident of 1898 occurred when a French expedition, attempting to lay claim to eastern Sudan, was forced to withdraw by a superior British force. See Porter, *The Lion's Share*, pp. 163–5.
 - 22 See E. S. Turner, *Boys Will Be Boys* (London, 1948), pp. 173–5.
 - 23 A number of Captain Strange stories appeared in *Boy's Herald* during 1903.
 - 24 Caroline Playne, *The Pre-War Mind In Britain* (London, 1928), p. 117.
 - 25 Turner, *Boys Will Be Boys*, p. 175.
 - 26 See Pound and Harmsworth, *Northcliffe*, pp. 425, 443–5.
 - 27 In 1909 Blatchford was commissioned by the *Daily Mail* to write a series of articles on the German danger. The first article opened with, 'I write these articles because I believe that Germany is deliberately preparing to destroy the British Empire . . .' The series was reprinted as a pamphlet, *Germany and England*, the same year.
 - 28 See Playne, *Pre-War Mind in Britain*, chap. two.
 - 29 Reginald Wray, 'A World At Stake', *Boy's Realm*, 1903. The sequel, 'A Fight for Empire', appeared in the Autumn/Winter issue, 1903–4.
 - 30 John Tregellis, 'Legions of the Kaiser or The Mailed Fist', *Boy's Friend*, June–September 1914.
 - 31 Editor's preface to Colin Collins, 'War in the Clouds', *Dreadnought*, 26, 23 November 1912.
 - 32 Captain Frank H. Shaw, *Seas of Memory* (London, 1958). See also the comments of Jeffrey Richards in 'Popular Imperialism and the Image of the Army in Juvenile Literature' in John M. Mackenzie, ed., *Popular Imperialism and the Military 1850–1950* (Manchester, 1992), pp. 80–81, 104–6.
 - 33 Captain Frank Shaw, 'Perils of the Motherland', *Chums*, 1908.
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 - 35 Percy F. Westerman, 'The Metamorphosis of Midshipman Maynbrace', *The British Boy's Annual* (1911), pp. 213–19.
 - 36 Captain F. S. Brereton, *The Great Aeroplane* (London, 1911), p. 396.

- 37 Captain F. S. Brereton, *The Great Airship* (London, 1913), p. 19.
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- 39 Henry Frowde, Hodder & Stoughton catalogue, c. 1912.
- 40 Herbert Strang, *The Air Patrol* (London, 1914), p. 431.
- 41 Colin Collins, 'War in the Clouds', *Dreadnought*, 1 February 1913.
- 42 Frank Shaw, 'Lion's Teeth and Eagle's Claw', *Chums* (1914), p. 598.
- 43 'Rule Britannia', *Boy's Friend*, 1905. 'Death or Glory Boys', in Turner, *Boys Will Be Boys*, p. 176. The incident which sparks the war in 'Rule Britannia' was based on the so-called Dogger incident of 1905, when the Russian Baltic Fleet on its way to the Pacific fired on British trawlers, having mistaken them for Japanese torpedo boats.
- 44 The serial was Andrew Gray's 'A World at War', *Boy's Herald*, 1908.
- 45 Max Rover, 'Invaded from the Clouds', *Boy's Friend*, 1914.
- 46 Robert Roberts, *A Ragged Schooling* (Manchester, 1976), p. 156.
- 47 Norman Greaves, 'Flying to Victory', *Boy's Herald*, 1911; Sidney Drew, 'Dan the Airman', *Boy's Realm*, 1912. For Sexton Blake's adventures, see for example, 'Tinker's Boyhood', *Boy's Friend*, 1913. However, it should be pointed out that Sexton Blake was sometimes employed by the Kaiser.
- 48 Robert Roberts, *The Classic Slum* (Manchester, 1971), p. 181.
- 49 Turner, *Boys Will be Boys*, p. 177. For an examination of spy fever in Britain during the period, see David French, 'Spy Fever in Britain, 1900–1915', *Historical Journal*, 21 (1978).
- 50 Shaw, 'Lion's Teeth and Eagle's Claw', p. 242.
- 51 Ambrose Earle, 'The Invasion that Failed'; *Boy's Herald* (1909); Colin Collins, 'War in the Clouds'.
- 52 Examples from Shaw's 'Perils of the Motherland'.
- 53 John Tregellis, 'The Flying Armada or War Scouts of the Air', *Boy's Friend* (1913–1914).
- 54 See for example, 'The Skipper and the Submarine'. Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's 'Danger' was first published in *Strand* magazine in July 1914. The story has recently been republished in Clarke, *The Tale of the Next Great War, 1871–1914*, pp. 293–320.
- 55 On Harmsworth's air propaganda see Alfred Gollin, *The Impact of Air Power on the British People and their Government, 1909–1914* (London, 1989) and Michael Paris, *Winged Warfare: The Theory and Literature of Aerial Warfare in Britain, 1859–1917* (Manchester, 1992).
- 56 Collins, 'War in the Clouds'.
- 57 John Springhall, *Youth, Popular Culture and Moral Panics* (London, 1999), p. 99; Rachael Low, *The History of the British Film*, vol. 1 (London, 1998).
- 58 Ivan Butler, *The War Film* (London, 1974), pp. 13–16.
- 59 On early films of aerial warfare, see Michael Paris, *From the Wright Brothers to 'Top Gun': Aviation, Nationalism and Popular Cinema* (Manchester, 1995).
- 60 Kenneth Grahame, *The Wind in the Willows* (London, 1971), p. 261.
- 61 *Boy's Friend*, 690 (29 August 1914).
- 62 Hugh Gratton Donnelly, 'The Stricken Nation' (1890), reprinted in Clarke, *The Tale of the Next Great War*, pp. 166–7.
- 63 See Clarke, *The Great War with Germany*.

- 64 Wendy Katz, *Rider Haggard and the Fiction of Empire* (Cambridge, 1987), p. 45.
- 65 H. Rider Haggard, *Queen Sheba's Ring* (London, 1910), p. 108.
- 66 For an extended discussion of the novel, see Katz, *Rider Haggard*, pp. 45–50.
- 67 Haggard's diary entry for 16 January 1915, in Katz, *Rider Haggard*, p. 28. Interestingly, Henty had made the same argument, using the example of Carthage as a decadent empire which fell to the more vigorous Romans. See G. A. Henty, *The Young Carthaginian* (London, 1896).
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- 70 See Tim Jeal, *Baden-Powell*, (London, 1989), pp. 302–4.
- 71 John Springhall, 'The Boy Scouts, Class and Militarism in Relation to British Youth Movements', *International Review of Social History*, 16: 2 (1971), pp. 131–2.
- 72 R. S. S. Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys* (London, 1908). B-P's classic was first published in six fortnightly parts in early 1908.
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- 74 Hynes, *Edwardian Turn of Mind*, pp. 24–6; Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys*, pp. 335–6.
- 75 Tim Jeal, *Baden-Powell*, p. 359.
- 76 *Ibid.*, p. 399.
- 77 Springhall, 'The Boy Scouts', p. 135; Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys*, p. 3. See also Martin Dedman, 'Baden-Powell, Militarism, and the "Invisible Contributors" to the Boy Scout Scheme, 1904–1920', *Twentieth Century British History*, 4: 3 (1993), pp. 201–23.
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- 79 Hynes, *Edwardian Turn of Mind*, p. 29.
- 80 The serial was 'The World at War', *Boy's Herald* (1909), p. 538.
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- 82 Roberts, *The Classic Slum*, p. 161, n. 4.
- 83 A similar argument has been used by Hugh Cunningham regarding Volunteer Riflemen in the late nineteenth century. See Hugh Cunningham, *The Volunteer Force*, pp. 153–4.
- 84 Jeal, *Baden-Powell*, p. 409.
- 85 Roberts, *The Classic Slum*, pp. 179–80.

4 Paths of Glory: 1914–18

- 1 Gerard J. DeGroot, *Blighty: British Society in the Era of the Great War* (London, 1996), p. 7.
- 2 *Hansard*, 6 August 1914.
- 3 Elizabeth O'Neill, *The War, 1914: A History and an Explanation for Boys and Girls*, (London, 1914), p. 1; Sir James Yoxall, *Why Britain Went to War*, in Christopher Martin, *English Life in the First World War*, (London, 1974), p. 97. Interestingly, O'Neill's interpretation of the cause of the war changed very little over the next 40 years – see Elizabeth and Mary O'Neill, *A Nursery History of England*, (London, n. d. but c. 1954).
- 4 F. S. Brereton, *With French at the Front* (London, 1915), p. 2.
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- 6 Robert Graves, *Goodbye to All That* (1929; London, 1977), pp. 60, 62.
- 7 Huntley Gordon, *The Unreturning Army* (London, 1967), p. 10.
- 8 See Michael Adams, *The Great Adventure: Male Desire and the Coming of World War I*, (Bloomington, IN, 1990), pp. 99–100.
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- 15 Escott Lynn, *In Khaki for the King* (London, 1915), preface.
- 16 F. S. Brereton, *Under French's Command* (London, 1916), p. 330.
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- 19 F. S. Brereton, *Under Haig in Flanders* (London, 1917), p. 58
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- 22 *Ibid.*, p. 184.
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- 25 Percy F. Westerman, *A Lively Bit of the Front* (London, 1919), p. 13.

- 26 *Ibid.*, p. 122.
- 27 *Ibid.*, p. 147.
- 28 See Barry Johnson, 'In the Trenches with Brereton and Westerman', *Gunfire*, 18 (n. d.), pp. 14–19.
- 29 Peter Parker, *The Old Lie: The Great War and the Public School Ethos* (London, 1987), pp. 217–18.
- 30 The standard works on the Gallipoli campaign are Alan Moorehead, *Gallipoli*, (London, 1956); Robert Rhodes James, *Gallipoli* (London, 1964); and Peter Liddle, ed., *Men of Gallipoli* (London, 1976). Interesting more than revealing is Sir Ian Hamilton's *Gallipoli Diary, 1915*, two vols (London, 1920).
- 31 Percy F. Westerman, *The Fight for Constantinople* (London, 1915), p. 18.
- 32 *Ibid.*, p. 256.
- 33 Herbert Strang, *Frank Forrester: A Story of the Dardanelles* (London, 1915).
- 34 T. C. Bridges, *On Land and Sea at the Dardanelles* (London, n. d. but c. 1915), pp. 31–2.
- 35 *Ibid.*, p. 198.
- 36 Guy Waterford, 'Last Days at Gallipoli', *Young England* (1916), p. 235.
- 37 See Bourne, *Britain and the Great War*, pp. 92–7.
- 38 Brereton's other novels of the war in the Middle East are: *At Grips with the Turk* (London, n. d. c. 1915); *The Armoured Car Scouts* (London, 1916); *With Allenby in Palestine* (London, 1919); and *On the Road to Baghdad* (London, 1920).
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- 40 See 'A Good Word for the Turkish Soldier', *Young England*, 37 (1915–16), pp. 155–6; for negative racial stereotypes, see Strang, *Frank Forrester*; Bowes, *The Aussie Crusaders*; and Brereton, *With Allenby in Palestine*.
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- 43 *Young England* (1915–16), p. 38.
- 44 Hope, *School of Arms*, pp. 330–31.
- 45 *Young England* (1915–16), p. 78.
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- 47 William T. Palmer, 'The Secret Base: The Story of a Scout and a Submarine', *Young England* (1915–16), pp. 296–8.
- 48 Rowland Walker, *Oscar Danby, VC: A Tale of the Great European War* (London, 1916).
- 49 *Ibid.*, p. 120.
- 50 *Ibid.*, pp. 178–9.
- 51 *Ibid.*, pp. 195–6.
- 52 Allan Bishop, ed., *Vera Brittain's War Diary, 1913–1917* (London, 1981), p. 89.
- 53 Mary Cadogan and Patricia Craig, *Women and Children First: The Fiction of Two World Wars* (London, 1978), p. 59.
- 54 Haste, *Keep the Home Fires Burning*, pp. 56–7.
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- 57 An excellent survey of women's war work is to be found in Gail Braybon and Penny Summerfield, *Out of the Cage: Women's Experiences in Two World Wars* (London, 1987).
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- 59 *Ibid.*, p. 88.
- 60 Bessie Marchant, *A Transport Girl in France* (London, 1918); Brenda Girvin, *Jenny Wren* (London, 1920).
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- 62 Angela Brazil, *A Patriotic Schoolgirl* (London, 1918), p. 135.
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- 67 Strang, *Frank Forrester*, pp. 220–21.
- 68 Bridges, *On Land and Sea at the Dardanelles*, p. 30.
- 69 Herbert Strang, *Tom Willoughby's Scouts* (London, 1919).
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- 71 Herbert Strang, *A Hero of Liège* (London, 1915), pp. 246–7.
- 72 'Italy's War in the Mountains', *Young England* (1915–16), pp. 251–2.
- 73 F. S. Brereton, *Foes of the Red Cockade* (London, 1904).
- 74 F. S. Brereton, *A Soldier of Japan* (London, 1907).
- 75 F. S. Brereton, *With Joffre at Verdun* (London, 1917), pp. 9–10.
- 76 *Ibid.*, p. 11.
- 77 See *The Armoured Car Scouts: A Tale of the Campaign in Caucasus* (London, n. d.).
- 78 See Captain Charles Gilson, *In Arms for Russia* (London, 1917) and F. S. Brereton, *With Our Russian Allies* (London, 1917).
- 79 F. S. Brereton, *Under Foch's Command* (London, 1918), p. 287.
- 80 Parker, *The Old Lie*, pp. 226–7.
- 81 See Albert Marrin, *The Last Crusade: The Church of England and the First World War* (Durham, NC, 1985).
- 82 Arthur Machen, *The Bowmen and Other Legends of the War* (London, 1915), pp. 38–43.
- 83 'The Vigil' was published in *The Times* on 5 August 1914, the morning after the ultimatum to Germany expired. The poem opens with:
England! where the sacred flame
Burns before the inmost shrine,
Where the lips that love thy name
Consecrate their hopes and thine,

Where the banners of thy dead
Weave their shadows overhead,
Watch beside thine arms tonight,
Pray that God defend the Right.

Newbolt claimed to have written the lines sixteen years earlier in 'Mystical anticipation of the moment'. See Hynes, *A War Imagined*, p. 25. The poem is reprinted in Henry Newbolt, *Collected Poems, 1897–1907* (London, c. 1908), pp. 134–46.

- 84 Henry Newbolt, *The Book of the Happy Warrior* (London, 1917), p. 283.
- 85 Colin Veitch, "Play Up! Play Up!, And Win the War!" Football, the Nation and the First World War, 1914–1918', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 20, (1985), p. 372.
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- 87 Henry Newbolt, *Tales of the Great War* (London, 1916), pp. 248–9.
- 88 Peter Fritzsche, *A Nation of Fliers: German Aviation and the Popular Imagination* (Cambridge, MA, 1992).
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- 90 The disastrous losses of the Royal Flying Corps in the spring of 1917 are examined in Alan Morris, *Bloody April* (London, 1967), and Peter Liddle, *The Airman's War*, (Poole, 1987), pp. 55–69.
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- 92 R. Wherry-Anderson, *The Romance of Air Fighting* (London, 1917) p. 24; Major Rees, *Fighting in the Air* (London, 1916), p. 8; see also Mrs M. Hewlett, *Our Fighting Men* (London, 1917).
- 93 Captain Frank Shaw, 'Join the Royal Flying Corps', *Chums* (1915), p. 346.
- 94 On the realities of air warfare on the Western Front, see Dennis Winter, *The First of Few: Fighter Pilots of the First World War* (London, 1982).
- 95 DeGroot, *Blighty*, pp. 220–21
- 96 Martin, *English Life in the First World War*, pp. 97–8; Michael Powell, later one of Britain's most celebrated film directors, also recalled being 'soldier-mad' during the war years, and his mother making him a uniform that he wore on every possible occasion. See Michael Powell, *A Life in Movies: An Autobiography* (London, 1986), pp. 56–7.
- 97 Parker, *The Old Lie*, p. 259.
- 98 Robert Roberts, *A Ragged Schooling* (Manchester, 1976), pp. 157–8.

- 99 Antonia Fraser, *A History of Toys* (London, 1966), p. 184.
- 100 Copy in the author's collection.
- 101 Bishop, *Vera Brittain's War Diary*, pp. 114, 272.
- 102 Philip Knightley, *The First Casualty* (London, 1978), pp. 80–81. See also Philip Gibbs, *Adventures in Journalism* (London, 1923) and *The Realities of War* (London, 1938); Martin Farrar, *The War Correspondents: The Western Front, 1914–1918* (Stroud, 1997).
- 103 Knightley, *The First Casualty* p. 96.
- 104 C. E. Montague, *Disenchantment* (London, 1922), pp. 97–8.
- 105 See Joseph Darracott and Belinda Loftus, *First World War Posters* (London, 1972), p. 17.
- 106 See Nigel Viney, *Images of Wartime: British Art and Artists of World War I* (London, 1991).
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- 111 Hynes, *A War Imagined*, p. 44; Johnson, 'In the Trenches with Brereton and Westerman', pp. 14–19.
- 112 Bishop, *Vera Brittain's War Diary*, *passim*.
- 113 F. S. Brereton, *With the Allies to the Rhine* (London, 1919), p. 283.
- 114 Adams, *The Great Adventure*, p. 112.

5 No More War: 1919–39

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- 2 P. J. Campbell, *The Ebb and Flow of Battle* (Oxford, 1979), p. 166.
- 3 Robert Graves and Alan Hodge, *The Long Weekend* (London, 1940), pp. 15–16.
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- 5 Isabel Quigly, 'A Catholic Reader of the Thirties', *Signal*, 70 (January 1993), p. 5.

- 6 See Kirsten Drotner, *English Children and Their Magazines, 1751–1945* (New Haven, 1988), pp. 184–5, 192–5.
- 7 Graves and Hodge, *The Long Weekend*, pp. 26, 216; see also Samuel Hynes, *A War Imagined: The First World War and English Culture* (London, 1990), p. 424.
- 8 Lloyd Clark, ‘“Civilians Entrenched”: The British Home Front and Attitudes to the First World War, 1914–1918’ in Ian Stewart and Susan Carruthers, eds, *War, Culture and the Media*, (Trowbridge, 1996), p. 38. See also Robert Wohl, *The Generation of 1914* (London, 1980), pp. 85–121.
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- 10 Catherine Moriarty, ‘Private Grief and Public Remembrance: British First World War Memorials’, in Martin Evans and Ken Lunn, eds, *War and Memory in the Twentieth Century* (Oxford, 1997), p. 128.
- 11 Gerard J. DeGroot, *Blighty: British Society in the Era of the Great War* (London, 1996), p. 286.
- 12 Omer Bartov, *Murder in Our Midst: The Holocaust, Industrial Killing, and Representation* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 154–5.
- 13 Details from books in the author’s collection.
- 14 Aldine Library Catalogue, c. 1934.
- 15 See Bill Bradford, ‘George Ernest Rochester, 1898–1966’, *Biggles and Co.*, 29 (Winter 1996), pp. 33–5.
- 16 See Hynes, *A War Imagined*, pp. 47–9; Ian Hay, *The First Hundred Thousand* (London, 1915 and subsequent edns); and Ralph Connor, *The Sky Pilot of No Man’s Land* (London, 1921).
- 17 Drotner, *English Children and the Magazines*, p. 184; Jeffrey Richards, ‘Cinemagoing in Worktown: Regional Film Audiences in 1930s Britain’, *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television*, 14: 2 (1994), pp. 147–66. On the history of children’s cinema, see Terry Staples, *All Pals Together: The Story of Children’s Cinema* (Edinburgh, 1997).
- 18 Robert Roberts, *The Classic Slum* (Manchester, 1971), p. 175.
- 19 Charles Gilson, *Chances and Mischances: An Autobiography* (London, 1932), p. 26.
- 20 See Dennis Gifford, *The International Book of Comics* (London, 1984), pp. 62–4.
- 21 The films were *Mons* (1922); *The Battle of Jutland* and *Armageddon* (1923); *Zeebrugge* (1924); *Ypres* (1925); *Mons* (1926); *The Battle of the Coronel and Falklands* (1927); *The Somme* (1927); *Q Ships* (1928) and *Blockade* (1932), a re-edited version of *Q Ships* with soundtrack added.
- 22 Hynes, *A War Imagined*, pp. 443–4.
- 23 See ‘The Man Who Made Mons’, *Picturegoer* 13: 73 (January 1927), p. 31.
- 24 Hynes, *A War Imagined*, pp. 446–7.
- 25 See Michael Paris, ‘Enduring Heroes: British Feature Films and the First World War’,

- in Paris, *The First World War and Popular Cinema* (Edinburgh, 1999), pp. 51–73.
- 26 Winifred Whitehead, *Old Lies Revisited: Young Readers and the Literature of War and Violence* (London, 1991), pp. 49–51. The novel was *Der Schadell des Negerhauptlings Makua* by Rudolf Frank (Potsdam, 1931), published in English as *No Hero for the Kaiser* (London, 1986). In her recent PhD thesis, Rosa Maria Bracco has also argued that the Fussell/Hynes analysis of post-war literature ignores popular fiction that continued to stress meaningfulness, courage and worthwhile self-sacrifice. See Daniel Pick, *War Machine: The Rationalisation of Slaughter in the Modern Age* (London, 1993), p. 201, n. 41.
- 27 T. P. Cameron Wilson to Mrs Orpen, 3 May 1916, in John Laffin, *Letters from the Front, 1914–1918* (London, 1973), p. 8.
- 28 Graves and Hodge, *The Long Weekend*, pp. 215, 269.
- 29 Figures from John Springhall, *Youth, Empire and Society: British Youth Movements, 1883–1940* (London, 1977), pp. 138–9, 78–9. On the Scouts as an agency for international peace, see *Boy's Own Paper*, 52 (1929–30), p. 101.
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- 31 On modern versus traditional explanations of the war, see Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning*, pp. 1–11.
- 32 *Boy's Own Paper*, 52 (1929–30), p. 101.
- 33 *Ibid.*, p. 73.
- 34 *Chums* (1933–4), p. 243.
- 35 See for example, *Chums* (1936–7), pp. 94, 225, 243.
- 36 Jim Wolveridge, *Ain't It Grand (This Was Stepney)*, (London, 1976), pp. 15, 19–20, 27, 32.
- 37 Quigly, 'A Catholic Reader of the Thirties', p. 7.
- 38 Samuel Hynes, *The Auden Generation: Literature and Politics in England in the 1930s* (London, 1976), p. 22. For attitudes of young intellectuals to the war see pp. 19–21.
- 39 Bartov, *Murder in Our Midst*, p. 21.
- 40 *Ibid.*, p. 26.
- 41 Cecil Lewis, *Sagittarius Rising* (London, 1936), p. 134.
- 42 *Ibid.*, pp. 54–5.
- 43 The RAFs battle for survival and the development of imperial policing are dealt with in David E. Omissi, *Air Power and Colonial Control, The Royal Air Force, 1919–1939*, (Manchester, 1990). On the doctrine of air power as a deterrent to war, see Richard Overly, 'Air Power and the Origins of Deterrence Theory Before 1939', *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 15: 1 (March 1992), pp. 73–101.
- 44 See David E. Omissi, 'The Hendon Air Pageant 1920–1937' in John M. Mackenzie, ed., *Popular Imperialism and the Military 1850–1950* (Manchester, 1992), pp. 198–220.
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- 46 Aviation films are dealt with in Michael Paris, *From the Wright Brothers to 'Top Gun'*:

- Aviation, Nationalism and Popular Cinema* (Manchester, 1995). On anti-war films, see the interesting comments by Bartov, *Murder in Our Midst*, pp. 8, 157–61.
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- 48 Dennis Butts, 'Imperialists of the Air – Flying Stories 1900–1950', in Jeffrey Richards, ed., *Imperialism and Juvenile Literature* (Manchester, 1989), p. 131.
- 49 Red Fox have reissued a number of Biggles titles including the Great War stories, *The Camels Are Coming*, *Biggles in France*, *The Rescue Flight* and *Biggles Flies East*.
- 50 Biggles's adventures as a war flier are dealt with in the above titles. As knight-errant, see, for example, *Biggles Flies North*. In *The Black Peril* and *Biggles – Air Commodore* he acts as an unofficial agent of the government, and in *Biggles Goes to War* he acts as a mercenary for a small European state threatened by a more powerful neighbour.
- 51 Geoffrey Trease, *Tales Out of School* (London, 1948), pp. 94–5.
- 52 See Peter Berrisford Ellis and Piers Williams, *By Jove, Biggles! The Life of Captain W. E. Johns* (London, 1981).
- 53 Editorial, *Popular Flying*. *Ibid.*, p. 147.
- 54 See Ellis and Williams, *By Jove, Biggles!*, pp. 170–71.
- 55 Butts, 'Imperialists of the Air', p. 133.
- 56 John James, *The Paladins* (London, 1990), p. 211.
- 57 *Marvel* and *Boy's Friend* were dropped in 1922; *Pluck* in 1924 and *Boy's Realm* in 1924. On D. C. Thomson, see Kevin Carpenter, *Penny Dreadfuls and Comics* (London, 1983), pp. 63–4; Drotner, *English Children and Their Magazines*, pp. 187–91.
- 58 Wolveridge, *Ain't It Grand*, p. 29.
- 59 Drotner, *English Children and Their Magazines*, pp. 189–90; circulation figures from Carpenter, *Penny Dreadfuls and Comics*, p. 65.
- 60 Gifford, *International Book of Comics*, p. 66.
- 61 Carpenter, *Penny Dreadfuls and Comics*, p. 89.
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- 63 Drotner, *English Children and Their Magazines*, p. 228.
- 64 Kelly Boyd, 'Knowing Your Place: The Tensions of Manliness in Boys' Story Papers, 1918–1939', in Michael Roper and John Tosh, eds, *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800* (London, 1991), p. 146.
- 65 George Orwell, 'Boys' Weeklies', *Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters*, (Harmondsworth, 1970), p. 193.
- 66 Wolveridge, *Ain't It Grand*, p. 31.
- 67 Graves and Hodge, *The Long Weekend*, p. 15.
- 68 *Ibid.*, p. 16.

- 69 For a useful discussion of the topic see Jeffrey Richards, *Visions of Yesterday* (London, 1973), pp. 28–43.
- 70 Drotner, *English Children and Their Magazines*, pp. 228–30.
- 71 E. S. Turner, *Boys Will Be Boys* (London, 1948), p. 223.
- 72 See Paul Harris, ed., *The D. C. Thomson Bumper Fun Book* (Edinburgh, 1977).
- 73 Their popularity owes much to the fact that they brought to the fore the essential rebelliousness of working-class children which had previously been played down in popular culture. As Stephen Humphries has argued, ‘larking about’ was a product of the clash between independent working-class traditions and the attempt to control and discipline these through a popular culture dominated by the middle class. See Stephen Humphries, *Hooligans or Rebels? An Oral History of Working-Class Childhood and Youth, 1889–1939* (Oxford, 1981), pp. 121–49.
- 74 Orwell, ‘Boys’ Weeklies’, pp. 189–90.
- 75 See John Mackenzie, *Propaganda and Empire* (Manchester, 1984); and Stephen Constantine, “‘Bringing the Empire Alive’: The Empire Marketing Board and Imperial Propaganda”, pp. 192–231; John M. Mackenzie, “‘In touch with the Infinite’: The BBC and the Empire, 1923–1953”, pp. 165–91; both in John Mackenzie, ed., *Imperialism and Popular Culture* (Manchester, 1986).
- 76 See for example, J. K. Carrington, ‘Ju Ju and Justice’, *Chums* (1929–30), pp. 426–8.
- 77 Walter Bury, ‘Outlaws of the Hills’, *Chums* (1936–7), pp. 197–8.
- 78 Robert Harding, ‘Belbin of the Police’, *Chums* (1932–3), p. 455.
- 79 Jeffrey Richards, *Visions of Yesterday* (London, 1973), p. 123.
- 80 Leslie Halliwell, *Seats in All Parts: Half a Lifetime at the Movies* (London, 1985), p. 21.
- 81 Jeffrey Richards, *The Age of the Dream Palace: Cinema and Society in Britain, 1930–1939* (London, 1984), p. 139.
- 82 See Richards, *Visions of Yesterday*, and George MacDonald Fraser, *The Hollywood History of the World* (London, 1988), pp. 137–65.
- 83 ‘Lawrence of Arabia’, *Chums* (1936–7), pp. 105–6.
- 84 The serial ran through 1932 in *Chums*.
- 85 W. E. Johns, *Biggles Flies East* (London, 1935). Biggles and von Stalhein crossed swords on many occasions until they were finally reconciled in *Biggles Buries a Hatchet* (1958). In many of the later novels they work together to fight Communists.
- 86 Alan Western, *Desert Hawk* (London, 1937), p. 13.
- 87 *Ibid.*, pp. 287–8.
- 88 Stuart Campbell, ‘Hawks of the Desert’; Cecil Gordon, ‘The Eagle of Peace’; both in *Thrilling Air Stories* (London, 1939), n. p.
- 89 Robert Harding, ‘The Amateur Agent’, *Chums* (1932–3), p. 140.
- 90 See Omissi, *Air Power and Colonial Control*, p. 154.
- 91 Robert Harding, ‘The River Patrol’, *Chums* (1930–31), pp. 277–80.
- 92 Rex Hardinge, ‘White Man’s Magic’, *Chums* (1933–4), p. 207.
- 93 Rex Hardinge, ‘Nkubwa the Terrible’, *Chums* (1933–4).
- 94 See for example Nigel Lee, ‘The Adventures of Midshipman Ratters’, *Thrilling Air Stories*, n. p., or the Percy Westerman serial, ‘The Gate of Kwei-Nan’, *Chums* (1933–4).

Charles Gilson seems to have specialized in stories of the wicked Oriental for both *BOP* and *Chums*.

- 95 See *Chums* (1932–3).
- 96 Percy F. Westerman, *Under Fire in Spain* (London, 1937). Eric Wood, *Phantom Wings Over Spain* (London, 1938).
- 97 W. E. Johns, *Biggles in Spain* (London, 1940), p. 83.
- 98 Raphael Samuel, ed., *Patriotism: The Making and Unmaking of British National Identity*, 1 (London, 1989), p. xxii.
- 99 Orwell, 'Boys' Weeklies', p. 196.
- 100 Wolveridge, *Ain't It Grand*, p. 30.
- 101 I. F. Clarke, *Voices Prophesying War: Future Wars, 1763–3749* (Oxford, 2nd edn, 1992), p. 142.
- 102 *Chums* (1933–4), p. 726. The same volume carried a picture article (p. 743), 'Contrasts in Revolution', which showed illustrations of the Reichstag fire, '... believed to be the work of communists', and another of the war in Spain, 'Nothing is sacred when the red flag of revolution is hoisted', and compares these frightening images with a picture of a rural English village and the caption, 'Nothing disturbs the calm of the British countryside'.
- 103 Editorial, *Boy's Own Paper*, 52 (1929), p. 536.
- 104 Sheikh Ahmed Abdullah, 'In Red Turkestan', *Chums* (1932–3).
- 105 George Rochester, 'Captain Robin Hood – Skywayman', *Chums* (1932–3), p. 712.
- 106 'Vigilant', *Fighting the Red Shadow* (London, n. d. but c. 1934); Jack Heming, *The Air Spies* (London, 1936); J. Railton Holden, *Wings of Revolution* (London, 1934). See also Butts, 'Imperialists of the Air', pp. 139–41.
- 107 Captain Frank Shaw, 'The Red Deluge', *Chums* (1922), p. 78.
- 108 W. E. Johns, *Biggles and the Black Peril* (London, 1935), p. 181. The story was originally serialized in *Modern Boy* during 1932, under the more appropriate title of 'Winged Menace'.
- 109 W. E. Johns, 'Three Weeks', *Popular Flying* (April 1934).
- 110 *Popular Flying* (January 1937).
- 111 *Ibid.* (May 1936).
- 112 Percy Westerman, 'The Red Pirate', *Chums* (1933–4), p. 25.
- 113 Percy Westerman, *The Terror of the Seas* (London, 1927).
- 114 I am indebted to Brian Shelmerdine for this information.
- 115 Quigly, 'A Catholic Reader of the Thirties', p. 9.
- 116 Richards, *Age of the Dream Palace*, p. 287.
- 117 Clarke, *Voices Prophesying War*, p. 136.
- 118 Michael Poole, 'Emperor of the World', *Boy's Magazine* (1925); see Turner, *Boys Will Be Boys*, pp. 185–6.
- 119 Brian Cameron, 'The Raiding Planet', *Boy's Magazine* (1924); see Turner, *Boys Will Be Boys*, pp. 186–90.
- 120 John Sylvester, 'Planet At War', *Chums* (1930–31), p. 65.
- 121 The Flash Gordon serials were *Flash Gordon* (1936), *Flash Gordon's Trip to Mars*

- (1938) and *Flash Gordon Conquers the Universe* (1940).
- 122 Drotner, *English Children and Their Magazines*, p. 231.
 - 123 W. E. Johns, *Biggles – Air Commodore* (London, 1937), p. 22.
 - 124 The serial ran in *Champion* during 1922. See Turner, *Boys Will Be Boys*, pp. 182–4.
 - 125 See Drotner, *English Children and Their Magazines*, p. 231.
 - 126 W. E. Johns, *Biggles Goes to War* (London, 1938).
 - 127 See K. R. M. Short, *Screening the Propaganda of British Air Power* (Trowbridge, 1997). Fear of aerial attack was undoubtedly a major influence on the government's policy of appeasement. See Uri Bialer, *The Shadow of the Bomber: The Fear of Air Attack and British Politics, 1932–1939* (London, 1980).
 - 128 Halliwell, *Seats in All Parts*, p. 128.
 - 129 See Short, *Screening the Propaganda of Air Power*.
 - 130 Orwell, 'Boys' Weeklies', p. 189.
 - 131 Gary Sheffield, 'The Shadow of the Somme: The Influence of the First World War on British Soldiers' Perceptions and Behaviour in the Second World War', in Paul Addison and Angus Calder, *Time to Kill: The Soldier's Experience of War in the West, 1939–1945* (London, 1997), p. 31. See also Hew Strachan, 'The Soldier's Experience in Two World Wars: Some Historiographical Comparisons', in the same volume, pp. 369–70.

6 Fighting the People's War: 1939–45

- 1 Jim Wolveridge, *Ain't It Grand (This Was Stepney)*, (London, 1976), p. 70.
- 2 Angus Calder, *The People's War: Britain, 1939–1945* (London, 1969), p. 35.
- 3 See Michael Balfour, *Propaganda in War* (London, 1979), and K. R. M. Short, *Screening the Propaganda of British Air Power* (Trowbridge, 1997). The most recent study of wartime film propaganda is James Chapman, *The British at War: Cinema, State and Propaganda, 1939–1945*, (London, 1998).
- 4 Percy F. Westerman, *Eagles' Talons* (London, 1940), p. 317.
- 5 Peter Berrisford Ellis and Piers Williams, *By Jove, Biggles! The Life of Captain W. E. Johns* (London, 1981), pp. 177–8.
- 6 W. E. Johns, *Biggles in the Baltic* (London, 1940), p. 13. The story was first published in serial form in the magazine *War Thriller* from 9 March 1940 and in book form later that year.
- 7 Short, *Screening the Propaganda of British Air Power*.
- 8 W. E. Johns, *Biggles Sees it Through* (London, 1941), p. 8.
- 9 One of the curiosities of the Winter War was that Germany, despite having a non-aggression pact with Russia, was also aiding the Finns in their struggle against the Soviets.
- 10 W. E. Johns, *Biggles Sees it Through*, p. 184.
- 11 Winston Churchill gave the speech to the House of Commons on the 18 June 1940. A revised version was broadcast the following day. The extract here is from the

- broadcast version. See Angus Calder, *The Myth of the Blitz* (London, 1991), pp. 29–30.
- 12 See Clive Ponting, *1940: Myth and Reality* (London, 1990), pp. 147–9. See also Ruth Inglis, *The Children's War: Evacuation, 1939–1945* (London, 1989), and Ben Wicks, *No Time to Wave Goodbye* (London, 1988).
 - 13 Mass-Observation File, 87 (30 April 1940), p. 2.
 - 14 Norman Longmate, *How We Lived Then: A History of Daily Life During the Second World War* (London, 1971), p. 191.
 - 15 *Ibid.*, p. 191. The evacuation experience became the focus for a number of children's books. Among the more interesting early titles were Kitty Barnes's *Visitors from London* (London, 1940) and Malcolm Saville's *Mystery at Witchend* (London, 1942). In P. L. Travers's *I Go By Sea, I Go By Land* (London, 1941), the central characters are evacuated to the United States.
 - 16 Longmate, *How We Lived Then*, p. 200.
 - 17 Calder, *The People's War*, p. 225.
 - 18 Mass-Observation File 87, p. 3.
 - 19 Bernard Kops, *The World is a Wedding* (London, 1963) pp. 61, 68.
 - 20 Longmate, *How We Lived Then*, pp. 201–5.
 - 21 See Anthony Aldgate and Jeffrey Richards, *Britain Can Take It: British Cinema in the Second World War* (Edinburgh, 1994), pp. 115–37.
 - 22 Details from Ellis and Williams, *By Jove Biggles!*, pp. 180–81.
 - 23 Kirsten Drotner, *English Children and Their Magazines, 1751–1945* (New Haven, 1988), p. 232.
 - 24 *Ibid.*, p. 234; see also Dennis Gifford, *Comics at War* (London, 1988).
 - 25 See Colin Morgan, 'The Day War Broke Out', *Story Paper Collector's Digest* (June, 1998), p. 618.
 - 26 'Bamboo Town', *Dandy* (September–October 1940).
 - 27 *Knock-Out* (4 June 1940).
 - 28 *Beano* (August 1942).
 - 29 See Drotner, *English Children and Their Magazines*, pp. 232–3.
 - 30 C. M. Stern, 'Bloods', *The Library Assistant*, 34 (1941), pp. 161–2.
 - 31 Mass-Observation File 87, p. 1.
 - 32 Aldgate and Richards, *Britain Can Take It*, p. 86.
 - 33 *Ibid.*, p. 87.
 - 34 Aldgate and Richards, *Britain Can Take It*, pp. 44–75.
 - 35 *Ibid.*, p. 93.
 - 36 Percy F. Westerman, *Fighting For Freedom* (London, 1941), p. 135. *Chums* (1941). equally appealed to the lessons of the past in its story, 'Wheels of the Great Retreat', by Peter Tewson, a tale of the retreat of the British Expeditionary Force after the Battle of Mons in 1914.
 - 37 Westerman, *Fighting for Freedom*, pp. 131, 138.
 - 38 *Ibid.*, pp. 168–9.
 - 39 'The Last Bridge', *The Young Airman's Annual* (London, c. 1942), p. 20.
 - 40 Guy Dempster, *Winged Venturers* (London, 1942), pp. 19–20.

- 41 On American war films see Thomas Docherty, *Projections of War: Hollywood, American Culture and World War II* (New York, 1993). Jeanine Basinger, *The World War II Combat Movie: Anatomy of a Genre* (New York, 1986).
- 42 Calder, *The Myth of the Blitz*, pp. 16–19.
- 43 See Richard Overy, *Why the Allies Won* (London, 1995), p. 108.
- 44 Dilys Powell, *Films Since 1939* (London, 1947), p. 17.
- 45 Percy F. Westerman, *Combined Operations* (London, 1944), pp. 18–19.
- 46 Bryan Forbes, *Notes For a Life* (London, 1974), p. 76.
- 47 Ellis and Williams, *By Jove, Biggles!*, p. 190.
- 48 I am grateful to Jeffrey Richards for pointing this out.
- 49 Publicity material, see Ellis and Williams, *By Jove, Biggles!*, p. 191.
- 50 W. E. Johns, *King of the Commandos* (London, 1943), p. 39.
- 51 Ellis and Williams, *By Jove, Biggles!*, p. 191.
- 52 Anthony Aldgate and Jeffrey Richards, *The Best of British: Cinema and Society from 1930 to the Present*, new edn (London, 1999), pp. 79–93. See also Chapman, *The British at War*, pp. 192–4.
- 53 N. E. Johns, *Spitfire Parade* (London, 1941), p. 13.
- 54 D. Heming, 'Bill Butler – Sergeant Pilot', *Young Airman's Annual*, p. 114.
- 55 Johns, *Spitfire Parade*, pp. 13, 18.
- 56 On comic strip girls see Gifford, *Comics at War*, pp. 112–17.
- 57 Dorita Fairlie Bruce, *Toby of Tibbs Cross* (London, 1943). On girls' fiction see Mary Cadogan and Patricia Craig, *Women and Children First: The Fiction of Two World Wars* (London, 1978), pp. 212–37.
- 58 *Girl's Own Paper* (October 1940), in Mary Cadogan, *Women With Wings* (London, 1992), p. 160.
- 59 Ellis and Williams, *By Jove, Biggles!*, p. 187.
- 60 See his editorial in *Popular Flying* (June 1934).
- 61 W. E. Johns, *Worrals of the WAAF* (London, 1941), p. 11.
- 62 W. E. Johns, *Worrals of the Islands* (London, 1945), pp. 19–20.
- 63 Johns, *Worrals of the WAAF*, pp. 29–30.
- 64 Johns, *Worrals of the Islands*, p. 169.
- 65 See Cadogan, *Women With Wings*, pp. 130–35.
- 66 See Bruce Myles, *The Night Witches* (London, 1981); and Reina Pennington, 'Offensive Women: Women in Combat in the Red Army', in Paul Addison and Angus Calder, eds, *Time to Kill: The Soldier's Experience of War in the West, 1939–1945* (London, 1997).
- 67 Cadogan, *Women with Wings*, p. 195.
- 68 Dorothy Carter, *Maisie Flies South* (London, 1944).
- 69 For examples of pro-Soviet propaganda see the feature films *Demi-Paradise* (1943) and *Tawny Pipit* (1944). The latter, although a celebration of 'Englishness', has one scene where a renowned Soviet woman sniper visits the village to consolidate Anglo-Soviet relations.
- 70 Charles Gilson, 'Jean Loubert: The Story of a Free-French Airman', *Young Airman's Annual*, p. 76.

- 71 On the GI 'invasion' of Britain see Julia Gardiner, *Over Here: The GIs in Wartime Britain* (London, 1992).
- 72 For a useful survey of American war comics see Ron Goulart, *Over 50 Years of American Comic Books* (Lincolnwood, IL, 1991). British comics are dealt with in Gifford, *Comics at War*.
- 73 Goulart, *Over 50 Years of American Comic Books*, p. 117.
- 74 *Ibid.*, p. 129.
- 75 Ron Goulart, *Encyclopedia of American Comic Books* (New York, 1990), p. 36.
- 76 Goulart, *Over 50 Years of American Comic Books*, p. 114. See also William Savage, *Comic Books and America, 1945–1954* (Oklahoma, 1990).
- 77 Goulart, *Over 50 Years of American Comic Books*, pp. 129–30.
- 78 See Ian Jarvie, 'The Burma Campaign on Film: "Objective Burma" (1945), "The Stillwell Road" (1945) and "Burma Victory" (1945)', *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television*, 8:1 (1988), pp. 55–73.
- 79 The Dave Dawson novels were *Dave Dawson at Dunkirk*, *Dave Dawson with the RAF* (both 1942); *Dave Dawson, Flight Lieutenant*, *Dave Dawson in Libya*, *Dave Dawson on Convoy Patrol* (all 1943); *Dave Dawson With the Air Corps* and *Dave Dawson with the Pacific Fleet* (both 1944).
- 80 Mass-Observation File 1910 (20 May 1943), p. 2.
- 81 W. E. Johns, *Biggles in Borneo* (London, 1943), p. 49. Biggles also fought the Japanese in two other novels, *Biggles In the Orient* (London, 1945) and *Biggles Delivers the Goods* (London, 1946).
- 82 See for example, Westerman, *Combined Operations*, *passim*.
- 83 On desert victory and Tunisian victory, see Anthony Aldgate, 'Creative Tensions: Desert Victory, The Army Film Unit and Anglo–American Rivalry, 1943–5' in Philip Taylor, ed., *Britain and the Cinema in the Second World War* (London, 1988), pp. 144–67; and Michael Paris, 'Filming the People's War', in Alan Burton and Tim O'Sullivan, eds, *The Family Way: The Boulting Brothers and British Film Culture* (Trowbridge, forthcoming).
- 84 Gamages Catalogue, 1938, p. 6.
- 85 Mass-Observation File 17 (January 1940).
- 86 Longmate, *How We Lived Then*, p. 187. See also pp. 188–90.
- 87 Mass-Observation File 1910, p. 4.
- 88 *Ibid.*

7 After the Wars: 1940s–1990s

- 1 John Springhall, *Youth, Popular Culture and Moral Panics* (London, 1999), p. 1.
- 2 Brian Edwards, 'The Popularisation of War in Comic Strips, 1958–1988', *History Workshop Journal*, 42 (1996), p. 182.
- 3 Biggles's last war adventure was *Biggles Delivers the Goods* (London, 1946). The first air police novel was *Sergeant Bigglesworth CID* (London, 1947).

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- 5 Paul Addison, *Now the War is Over: A Social History of Britain, 1945–1951* (London, 1995), p. 54.
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- 12 Oral testimony collected by the author; Ramsden, 'Refocusing the People's War', p. 53.
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- 43 See Winifred Whitehead, *Old Lies Revisited: Young Readers and the Literature of War and Violence* (London, 1991), pp. 174–5.
- 44 See I. F. Clarke, *Voices Prophesying War: Future Wars, 1763–3749* (Oxford, 2nd edn, 1992), pp. 204–7.
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- 60 Nigel Leigh, 'A Limited Engagement: Falklands Fictions and the English Novel', in James Aulich, ed., *Framing the Falklands: Nationhood, Culture and Identity* (Milton Keynes, 1992), p. 119, to which the following section is indebted.
- 61 See for example the excellent 'Reporting the Falklands', Flashback Television for Channel 4 (first transmitted 1983).
- 62 Whitehead, *Old Lies Revisited*, pp. 224–7.
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- 65 Philip M. Taylor, *War and the Media: Propaganda and Persuasion in the Gulf War* (Manchester, 1992); and David E. Morrison, *Television and the Gulf War* (London, 1992).
- 66 Leslie Halliwell, *Halliwell's Film Guide*, 6th edn (1988), p. 1138.
- 67 Andy McNab, *Bravo Two Zero* (London, 1993) and Chris Ryan, *The One That Got Away* (London, 1995) both deal with the same ill-fated mission and have been both televised. They are available on videotape.
- 68 Jonathan Bignell, 'The Meanings of War-Toys and Games', in Ian Stewart and Susan Carruthers, eds, *War, Culture and the Media*, (Trowbridge, 1996), pp. 177–8.
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- 70 Robert Westall, *Gulf* (London, 1992), p. 83.
- 71 Warhammer Catalogue, 1999.
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- 75 Maruki Toshi, *The Hiroshima Story* (London, 1983), Christobel Mattingley, *The Miracle Tree* (London, 1985).
- 76 Peter Biskind, *Seeing is Believing* (New York, 1983), pp. 145–59.
- 77 Nevil Shute, *On the Beach* (London, 1957, released in 1959).
- 78 Raymond Briggs, *When the Wind Blows* (London, 1982). An animated film version was released in 1986.
- 79 Jill Paton Walsh, *Fireweed* (London, 1969); Susan Cooper, *The Dawn of Fear* (1972) (London, 1974). See also Whitehead, *Old Lies Revisited*, pp. 92–4.
- 80 Michelle Magorian, *Goodnight Mr Tom* (London, 1983). The television adaptation was first screened in 1999.
- 81 *Report of the Departmental Committee on Children and the Cinema*, cmd 7945, May 1950, p. 45.
- 82 See for example H. J. Eysenck and D. K. B. Nias, *Sex, Violence and the Media* (London, 1978). Recently the outgoing chief film censor, James Ferman, claimed that excessively violent films have generated a ‘violence is cool’ attitude among young cinema-goers, for whom violence has little meaning. Curiously, Ferman drew a distinction between films such as *Mortal Kombat II*, which exploits violence, and *Saving Private Ryan*, which explores it. One wonders if young filmgoers can see this distinction?
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- 89 Joanna Bourke, ‘When Johnny Got His Gun . . . He Loved Killing’, *Times Higher Education Supplement*, 16 October 1998. See also Bourke, *An Intimate History of Killing: Face to Face Killing in Twentieth Century Warfare* (London, 1999).
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