Bold Impressions: A Comparative Analysis of Artist Prints and Print Collecting at the Imperial War Museum and Australian War Memorial

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A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the
Australian National University, June 2017.

DECLARATION PAGE

I declare that this thesis has been composed solely by myself and that it has not been submitted, in whole or in part, in any previous application for a degree. Except where stated otherwise by reference or acknowledgement, the work presented is entirely my own.

Acknowledgements

I was inspired to write about the two print collections while working in the Art Section at the Australian War Memorial. The many striking and varied prints in that collection made me wonder about their place in that museum – it being such a special yet conservative institution in the minds of many Australians. The prints themselves always sustained my interest in the topic, but I was also fortunate to have guidance and assistance from a number of people during my research, and to make new friends.

Firstly, I would like to say thank you to my supervisors: Dr Peter Londey who gave such helpful advice on all my chapters, and who saw me through the final year of the PhD; Dr Kylie Message who guided and supported me for the bulk of the project; Dr Caroline Turner who gave excellent feedback on chapters and my final oral presentation; and also Dr Sarah Scott and Roger Butler who gave good advice from a prints perspective.

Thank you to Professor Joan Beaumont, Professor Helen Ennis and Professor Diane Davis from the Australian National University (ANU) for making the time to discuss my thesis with me, and for their advice. Thank you also to Lan Tran for her expert guidance in navigating the PhD administrative processes.

My thesis was greatly enhanced by the interviews that I was kindly granted by: Dr Anna Gray, Lola Wilkins, Professor Peter Stanley, Ryan Johnston, Warwick Heywood, Laura Webster and Jon Cattapan in Australia. And Diane Lees, Angela Weight, Kathleen Palmer, Richard Slocombe, Sara Bevan, Jenny Wood and the late Roger Tolson in the UK. I was very sad to hear of Roger Tolson's passing, and glad that his good work lives on at the Imperial War Museum (IWM). Thanks go to all of the interviewees for their generosity with their time, their insightful comments, and their support.

The two war museums were very generous in allowing me to conduct my research there, sometimes in 'behind the scenes' staff areas. At the Memorial I would like to thank all the staff of the Art Section, and particularly Alex Torrens and Margaret Beadman who helped me access some of the internal files. At the IWM I would like to thank all my art curator colleagues, past and present, including Claire Brenard for help finding past annual reports. Thank you also to Sarah Henning for helping me access other Museum archival records. I am

<u>Abstract</u>

This thesis examines the historical development of the artist print collections of the Imperial War Museum and Australian War Memorial, and analyses the relationship of these collections to their institutions. Printmaking is an artistic medium that has historically been used by artists for social critique, and many high quality works of this type are present in the two collections. I argue that in both museums, when developing the print collections, curators were able to acquire beyond the strict interpretation of the museums' collecting guidelines. As a result of this, the prints have challenged some of the more conservative underlying messages of the museums.

National war museums are ideal for a study of contested histories, particularly those within their own collections, and the IWM and AWM are prominent institutions in this specialist category of museums. My hypothesis is that prints can destabilize the histories that war museums wish to present due to their historical use by artists for a variety of purposes that are somewhat unique to the medium. This is driven by the materiality of the print. This study also analyses how museum structures and internal cultures affected the development of the print collections. In particular, I have tried to answer the questions: What factors influenced the development of the print collections? And how did the professional agendas of curators inform that development? Print collecting flourished at key points in the histories of the institutions, particularly when fine art specialists were in charge of acquisitions. While print collecting broadly reflected the aims of the institutions at different times, on occasion it introduced divergent narratives into the war museums.

This thesis is interdisciplinary in the way it uses a history methodology and museum studies framework. The historical research methods employed include archival research and semi-structured interviews with selected former and current museum staff. My research will add to academic and curatorial knowledge about how collections are formed in large national museums, and analyse the role and significance of two collections that have not previously been thoroughly examined. The thesis places the curator as the creator of the collection, not merely as someone who carries out instructions from management, but who negotiates between the institutional forces, social forces and the nature of the objects, to ultimately shape the collection.

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List of Abbreviations

ACC   Art Commissions Committee (established 2001)

ADF   Australian Defence Force

AIF   Australian Infantry Force

ARC   Artistic Records Committee (established 1972)

AWM   Australian War Memorial

AWRS   Australian War Records Section

BCON   British Commonwealth Occupation News

BWMC   British War Memorials Committee (First World War)

CDC   Collections Development Committee

DoI   Department of Information (First World War)

EU   European Union

INTERFET   International Force East Timor

IWM   Imperial War Museum

MoI   Ministry of Information (First World War and Second World War)

MP   Member of Parliament

NATO   North Atlantic Treaty Organisation

NGA   National Gallery of Australia

NGO   Non-Government Organisation

NSW   New South Wales

POW   Prisoner of war

RAF   Royal Air Force

UK   United Kingdom

US   United States

VAD   Voluntary Aid Detachment

WAAC   War Artists Advisory Committee (Second World War)

<u>Note on References</u>

This thesis makes reference to the official files of both the Australian War Memorial (AWM) and Imperial War Museums (IWM). In a number of cases these files are closed to researchers. The AWM and IWM gave special permission to cite their open and closed records in this thesis. Please contact the museums to ask about any access restrictions on individual files.

Introduction

This thesis examines the development of two artist print collections within two national war museums, the Imperial War Museum (IWM) in London and the Australian War Memorial (AWM) in Canberra, and analyses the collections' relationship to their institutions.[1] Printmaking is an art medium whereby an artist creates multiple impressions (called artist prints or original prints) from a master image – the term is defined fully in chapter 2. This thesis is a collections history, using a predominantly historical methodology. It is guided by an argument from Susan Pearce that by understanding a collection's historical development the museum is in a better position to utilise that collection with insight and purpose.[2] However, this study moves beyond a conventional collections history and draws more general conclusions on the role of art curators within museums, and artist print collections in war history museums. This research was guided by the question:

> 'How were the artist print collections of the IWM and AWM developed, and what can this tell us about the relationship of the collections to the institutions?'

I argue that in both the IWM and AWM, when developing the print collections curators were able to collect beyond the strict interpretation of the museum's collecting guidelines. As a result of this the print collections challenged some of the more conservative underlying messages of the IWM and AWM. For example, some of the AWM prints acquired by curators in the 2000s critiqued Australian military actions, while the IWM prints have brought a range of international perspectives and analytical comments on war to the Museum's narrative, which is otherwise focused on Great Britain and on specific details of military or social history.[3] The research findings indicate that at key points in the histories of

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[1] Although the IWM is called a museum and the AWM is called a memorial, they both have a museum function and so throughout this thesis I refer to them collectively as the 'war museums'.

[2] In her chapter *Collecting Reconsidered* Pearce predicted that Collection Studies would become an important area for future research: Susan M. Pearce, "Collecting Reconsidered," in *Museum Languages: Objects and Texts*, ed. Gaynor Kavanagh (Leicester, London and New York: Leicester University Press, 1991), 137-153. My thesis is linked to, but not exclusively positioned in, the area of Collection Studies, which relates to books and articles written on the history of collections and motivations for collecting, such as the ones found in the *Oxford Journal of the History of Collections*. See also Susan M. Pearce, *Collecting in Contemporary Practice* (London: Sage, 1998).

[3] Because terms such as 'history' and 'narrative' are contested in Museum Studies literature, I shall give a definition for the way they are used throughout this thesis. 'History' is taken to mean an interpretation of past

the IWM and AWM, print collecting flourished, particularly when prints were in favour in art markets and there were fine art specialists in charge of acquisitions. Many of the prints collected at these times were artistically progressive and offered a social critique of conflict.

This thesis presents research into the role and significance of two collections that have not to date been thoroughly examined. Prior to this study, research has been carried out on significant parts of war museum collections, including their painting and sculpture areas and their official war artist commissions.[4] Certain publications have focused on specific artists within the print collections.[5] However, to date there has not been an academic study on the print collections of either of the war museums and their unique contribution to those institutions. Both case studies are national collections acquired for research and exhibition purposes, and thus they contain objects that have the ability to influence public memory and war history narratives. This study examines the 'fit' of these collections within their institutions both historically, and today as inherited collections. It also analyses how museum structures and internal cultures affected the development of the print collections.

This research will add to academic and curatorial knowledge about how collections are formed in large national museums. Specifically, it will be of interest to historians of war museums and their art collections because of its discussion of the significance of art objects to these museums and the internal processes that led to the formation of the print collections. It adds to debates around critical curating and the role of the curator in constructing historical and cultural narratives in national museums. The thesis places the curator as the creator of the

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events, and 'narrative' as the retelling of those events. Sometimes the word 'narrative' is connected with a story-like way of retelling events, a technique of conveying information that is used by many museums. The telling of the narrative shapes how history is understood and remembered, thus a key feature of history is that there are actually multiple, often contested, histories related to an event in the past. In museums and other institutions that present history, some histories may be accepted and others rejected. At the AWM and IWM various types of histories may be presented, including military history, national history, public history and social history, with certain types of histories favoured at either institution.

[4] Sue Malvern, *Modern Art, Britain and the Great War: Witnessing, Testimony and Remembrance* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004).; Brian Foss, *War Paint: Art, War, State and Identity in Britain, 1939-1945* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007).; Samuel Robert Athol Bowker, "Their War and Mine: The Use of Self-Portraiture in Australian War Art," unpublished PhD thesis, School of Art History (Canberra: Australian National University, 2011); Anne Gray, *George Lambert (1873-1930) Catalogue Raisonné: Paintings and Sculpture, Drawings in Public Collections* (Perth: Bonaray Press in association with Sotheby's and the Australian War Memorial, 1996).; Margaret V. Hutchison, "Painting War: Memory Making and Australia's Official War Art Scheme, 1916-1922," unpublished PhD thesis, School of History (Canberra: Australian National University, 2015).

[5] For example: Jonathan Black, *C.R.W. Nevinson : The Complete Prints* (Burlington, Vermont: Lund Humphries, 2014).

collection, not merely as someone who carries out instructions from management, but who negotiates between the institutional forces, social forces and the nature of the objects, to ultimately shape the collection.

Research design

The scope of this examination ranges from the inception of the two museums in the First World War, to the commencement of the First World War centenary events in London on 4 August 2014. Although this time period represents almost 100 years of collecting, the artist print collections of the IWM and AWM only constitute a small sub-section of the art collections, amounting to around 1,200 items in the AWM and 1,700 items in the IWM collection. This is small in comparison to the entire art collections of the IWM and AWM, comprising about 5% of items in each art collection. Despite this, the print collections are significant for some of the iconic pieces they contain. The IWM (f.1) holds First World War prints of British Modernists like C.R.W. Nevinson and Paul Nash, which complement their British and international collection of artist prints from the 20th and 21st centuries. The AWM (f.2) contains a range of Australian and international prints, including a noteworthy group of First World War German Expressionist prints. Falling outside the scope of this thesis is another print collection housed at the IWM. This is a collection of French printed ephemera called the Bute collection, which contains 3,500 French First World War items donated by the Marquess de Bute in 1951. These items consist of artist prints, popular prints and illustrations. Although I have viewed the collection, I do not include it in the thesis because it is something of an anomaly in the IWM's collection of printed material, and because the Bute artist prints should not be separated from the other Bute prints. Instead it should be considered as one whole collection with its own unique collecting ideology.

The thesis treats each case study (IWM and AWM) separately to focus on the distinctive circumstances of each collection. The different contexts of the two case studies highlight the relationships between museums, curators and society. Some comparison between the two current institutions occurs in chapters 1 and 9, when the role of the artist print collections within their museums is discussed, along with how prints are used within the permanent display spaces of the IWM and AWM. The conclusion chapter also looks at the two case studies comparatively.

Rationale for Case Studies

The two case studies were originally chosen because war museums and the subject matter they necessarily include have a provocative relationship with the subject matter of many artist prints, where artist prints may show scenes of social dissent and anti-war sentiment, where they may show state propaganda utilised by the government to mobilise a population towards victory in war, or where they may be abstract or highly interpretive material of a scene witnessed. The objects that one might expect to view while walking around the war museums include uniforms, documents, large landscape or portrait paintings, battle unit photographs, medals, weapons and large technology items. These objects aid the museums in telling a military history narrative. Artist prints, which can show abstract concepts, and political or psychologically challenging images, may seem anomalous to war museum displays. Although war prints have a long history, printmaking is sometimes overlooked as an artistic medium in war art collections. For example, in a 2004 publication on Australian war art by Betty Churcher, prints are represented, particularly in the First World War and Vietnam War sections, but the majority of featured artworks from the AWM collection are paintings and drawings.[6]

My hypothesis is that prints can destabilize the histories that war museums wish to present due to their historical use by artists for a variety of purposes that are somewhat unique to the medium. This is driven by the materiality of the print: In chapter 2 I argue that the material qualities of an artist print and printmaking processes are key to the message inherent in the object, and its collectability for war museums. National war museums are ideal for a study of contested histories, particularly those within their own collections, and the IWM and AWM are prominent institutions in this specialist category of museums. The subject matter of the IWM and AWM is contentious and emotionally charged, and the histories they exhibit are central to the framing of national identities in Britain and Australia. The significance of this research is therefore tied to the significance of its case study institutions, which will now be discussed in further detail.

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[6] Betty Churcher, *The Art of War* (Melbourne: The Miegunyah Press, 2004).

Background and Literature

The War Museums

The IWM and AWM are two institutions cast from a similar mould, but which diverged in structure and scope years after they were founded. The most obvious, and possibly most meaningful difference between the two institutions since their founding is that the AWM is both a memorial and museum. They were both initially conceived and built solely to commemorate the allied soldiers who fought in the First World War. This conflict was known at the time as the Great War because no European war preceding it had been on such a scale and resulted in such a loss of life- the founders of the AWM and IWM had no notion of the devastating war that was to follow it twenty years later.

An essential purpose in founding the IWM was to document the war. On 5 March 1917 the war cabinet agreed to an outline proposal from Sir Alred Mond, MP and First Commissioner of Works, for the formation of a committee to establish a national war museum. The idea for a national museum to record and commemorate the war was met with enthusiasm, especially as the Museum also had the potential to serve a propaganda purpose by combating war weariness in Britain.[7] Propaganda is a term used throughout this thesis to refer to the purpose of museums or the nature of prints. I refer to propaganda not necessarily as malicious misinformation being promoted by governments, as is commonly associated with the Nazi regime for example, but as political information, with some level of bias, disseminated by governments to influence the political attitudes of certain populations, both domestic and foreign.[8]

The AWM was largely conceived by its visionary founder, C.E.W. Bean, who imagined a place to record the sacrifices made by Australians during the war. He considered displaying

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[7] Gaynor Kavanagh, *Museums and the First World War: A Social History* (Leicester, London and New York: Leicester University Press, 1994), 122.

[8] Sue Malvern demonstrates that propaganda was construed a certain way in First World War Britain. For example, C.F.G. Masterman who established a propaganda agency for the British government argued that propaganda had to be reasonable and accurate: Malvern, *Modern Art*, 17-18. The American Historical Association defines propaganda as the intentional propagation of ideas and beliefs through the use of words and word substitutes to suggest and persuade individuals, not necessarily with negative intent or result: "Defining Propaganda II," American Historical Association, last updated 2017, accessed 17 June 2017, http://www.historians.org/about-aha-and-membership/aha-history-and-archives/gi-roundtable-series/pamphlets/what-is-propaganda/defining-propaganda-ii.

photographs of all Australians who had died as a result of the First World War around a central hall, an idea which later became the roll of honour where the names of all Australian soldiers who have died at war are inscribed.[9] As well as commemoration, Bean conceived that the Memorial would have an educative purpose related to its museum function, for the Australian population. Bean knew that Australians were remote from the Great War and could not really understand it. He hoped that the Memorial would teach Australians about the war.[10] He married the two in the statement 'commemoration through understanding', which is still in use.

The IWM and AWM fall within a particular category of museums as national war museums, and this has a bearing on how history is produced and received at these institutions. War museums are history museums that have commonalities with institutional museums, such as army museums and police museums, and other specialist historical museums, including maritime museums. Military museums speak with the voice of the unit or battalion that they represent, and they represent that voice only. The IWM and AWM attempt to do something broader and more complex, and that is to speak for the whole populace on the theme of war, and relate to a wide cross section of society. Around the time of its inception during the First World War, the IWM founders stated that they wished to collect vernacular objects that were of a type, but also specific examples which were attached to individuals' stories.[11] This was one way they presented themselves as an institution to represent the common people and their experience of war.

Military history, social history and commemoration are present at the IWM and AWM to varying degrees. Both have military and social historical elements to their collections and displays, and because these museums are the store houses of a country's memory of war they also inevitably have a commemorative aspect to their history. They remember those who have died in war and the destruction wreaked by conflict. Unlike army museums, national war museums do not concentrate solely on military uniforms and regalia, on service units and

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[9] Peter Londey, "Known Soldiers: The Roll of Honour at the Australian War Memorial," in *When the Soldiers Return: November 2007 Conference Proceedings*, ed. Martin Crotty (Brisbane: University of Queensland, 2009), 261-269.

[10] Michael McKernan, *Here Is Their Spirit: A History of the Australian War Memorial 1917-1990* (St. Lucia, QLD: University of Queensland Press in association with the Australian War Memorial, 1991), xi-xii.

[11] Kavanagh, *Museums and the First World War*, 130. At the time, this was quite new (very different to places like the British Museum). So in a way, the IWM was Britain's first social history museum.

battle movements.[12] Army museums tell the story of the military. While war museums might have a relationship with the military, it is not necessary that they do so, as they are government funded institutions acting outside of the culture of the military. However, in order to collect for current conflicts a certain amount of goodwill with the military must be built, and so the IWM and AWM have cultivated a cordial relationship with the Defence Forces of their countries.

The voices represented at the IWM and AWM include people who are part of the military, people who are not part of the military, people who are refugees of war, people who are anti-war and people who are patriotic. Because they serve this function they receive government funding. This raises a critical question: do war museum narratives serve government purposes? In his seminal book, *The Birth of the Museum* (1995), Tony Bennett has argued that public museums may be thought of as tools of the state for social management, meaning they influence the thoughts and behaviours of the public who visit them.[13] By 'state', Bennett means an array of governmental agencies which need not be conceived as unitary.[14] Public museums would control their visitors through enlistment of works of 'high culture', exposure to which was thought to lift the cultural knowledge of visitors, and through behaviour regulation within the museum space.[15] This 19th century civilising agenda was directed at working class citizens, who were expected to emulate the behaviour of middle class visitors to public museums. The architecture of museums also made them spaces where crowds would perform self-regulation of their behaviour as they participated in a ritual of seeing and being seen.

Bennett has been influenced by theories of political and social power from sociologists like Antonio Gramsci, Pierre Bourdieu, and chiefly Michel Foucault.[16] Bennett interprets

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[12] Simon Jones, "Making Histories of Wars," in *Making Histories in Museums*, ed. Gaynor Kavanagh (Leicester, London and New York: Leicester University Press, 1996), 152-162.

[13] Tony Bennett, *The birth of the museum: history, theory, politics* (London: Routledge, 1995).

[14] Ibid., 87.

[15] Ibid., 6-7.

[16] Bennett cites the following works by Gramsci and Bourdieu: Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1971).; Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from Cultural Writings* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1985).; Pierre Bourdieu, "The historical genesis of a pure aesthetic," *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 46 (1987), 201-210.; Pierre Bourdieu and Alain Darbel, *The Love of Art: European Art Museums and their Public* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991). (First published in French in 1969). Bennett also cites a wide selection of works by Foucault, including: Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (London: Tavistock, 1972).; Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (London: Allen Lane, 1977).

Foucault's theories to suggest that museums are instances of state power as embodied in the built environment, but also draws on Gramsci's perspective on the 'state' as governmental agencies, which can also be thought of as promoting pedagogic relations between the state and the people (the state as 'educator'). For Bennett, Gramsci's argument allows for "an appreciation of the respects in which the museum involved a rhetorical incorporation of the people within the processes of power…" an antidote to the pure Foucaultian lens of museums as institutions of discipline.[17] In the 19th century museum model, the visiting museum public were witness to a display of government power, but they also shared in that power, as citizens of the nation-state.[18] This occurred through museum displays, but Bennett argues that museums were only one element of an 'exhibitionary complex' that included fairs and shopping malls, which were all vehicles for a message of power transmitted by the state authority to its populace.[19] In Bennett's view, the public simultaneously become the subjects and objects of knowledge, "knowing power… and knowing themselves as (ideally) known by power"- they can be aligned to government ways of thinking.[20] Museums fall under governmental regulation through Boards of Trustees, who regulate the broad agendas and narratives of museums. The war museums' narratives can influence the public to be sympathetic to government institutions like the military, and government political decisions in times of war.

Bennett's views do have some validity for institutions like the IWM and AWM, closely linked as they are with the story of their nation's military endeavours. Bennett would argue that, through their historical narratives, museums and heritage sites can be perceived as powerful cultural technologies of 'nationing', and that the state plays a critical role in this process of nationing history while simultaneously historicizing the nation.[21] The narratives of the IWM and AWM do indeed involve particular framings of national identity, which may include attributing character traits to their citizens, like heroism, and promoting ideologies such as 'sacrifice for country'.[22] Difficult questions around the morality of war are sometimes

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[17] Bennett, *The birth of the museum*, 91.

[18] Ibid., 67.

[19] Ibid., Chapter 2: 59-88. Bennett's idea of the 'exhibitionary complex' appeared as a journal article in 1988, and later in *The birth of the museum* (1995).

[20] Ibid., 63.

[21] Ibid., 141-142.

[22] The AWM's statement of purpose as Australia's national war memorial and museum is to 'commemorate the sacrifice of those Australians who have died in war or on operational service.' *Australian War Memorial Annual Report 2013-2014* (Canberra: Australian War Memorial, 2014). Coombes has written about

disregarded in the war museum displays, such as whether governments or individuals have acted responsibly in historical conflict situations.[23] I use the term 'nation' in line with Benedict Anderson's concept of an imagined political community, discussed in his book *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (originally published 1983). Anderson's theory of 'imagined communities' says that the diverse groups living within the borders of nation imagine themselves as a community, with national identity effectively imposed by the authority of the state.[24] This definition has links with wartime expressions of a unified Britain and a unified Australia.[25] The IWM and AWM made attempts to define the character of the imagined political communities of Britain and Australia in the years following the First World War.[26] Anderson argues that the way citizens imagine themselves as a horizontal comradeship does not take into account real community divisions of class, gender and ethnicity.[27]

These institutions may, implicitly or overtly, pursue a military agenda, especially when present or former military personnel are members of the Board of Trustees (at the IWM) or the Council . For example, as has been argued by Fiona Cameron, at the AWM the position of ex-service personnel in society is valorised, and discussions of the moral and political implications of conflicts are avoided, despite visitors wanting to see displays that include such discussions.[28] The IWM and AWM encourage the national populaces to be sympathetic

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ethnographic collections in late 19th and early 20th century museums, and their link to forming national cultural identities: Annie E. Coombes, "Museums and the Formation of National and Cultural Identities," *Oxford Art Journal* 11, no. 2 (1988), 57-67.

[23] For example, the bad behaviour of Australian soldiers in training in Egypt at the start of the First World War has been exposed by historians such as Peter Stanley: Peter Stanley, *Bad Characters: Sex, Crime, Mutiny, Murder and the Australian Imperial Force* (Sydney: Pier 9/Murdoch Books, 2010), 28-33. However, this history still sits uneasily within the AWM First World War narrative. See my review of the new First World War galleries: Alexandra Walton, "Australia in the Great War, Australian War Memorial, Canberra," *Australian Historical Studies* 46, no. 2 (2015), 305.

[24] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities : Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London and New York: Verso, 2006). First published 1983.

[25] Foss, *War Paint*, 5. But also see chapter 1 where I describe how Britain and Australia presented ideas of a unified nation.

[26] James Aulich and John Hewitt, *Seduction or Instruction?: First World War Posters in Britain and Europe* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2008), 13. And K.S. Inglis, *Sacred places: war memorials in the Australian landscape* (Carlton, VIC: Melbourne University Press, 1998), 78-79.

[27] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 7.

[28] The selection of moral projects for image marketing and to legitimise the aspirations of particular social groups above those of audiences is illustrated with the Australian War Memorial. Here the values of ex-service personnel prevail and are mobilised to legitimise and affirm their service while excluding discussions of the moral and political implications of conflicts even though 80 per cent of audiences surveyed wanted these topics discussed: Exit Survey AWM: quoted in Fiona Cameron, "Moral Lessons and Reforming Agendas," in

to government decisions and the military. This is potentially problematic if it means the museum is not engaging with a critical reflection on war history, and if the visitors then reiterate this support for the military and government actions in war unquestioningly.

However, Bennett's model is in my view too one sided, and in this thesis I will argue that in favourable conditions curatorial decisions may be made by individuals without much regard, or sometimes in deliberate contravention of, the broad messages which the state or the community want the museum to communicate. The IWM and AWM can be seen as largely independent institutions with some direct or indirect influence from government. Government influence occurs through appointments to the Board of Trustees, which then impacts Directorship appointments and the structuring of corporate goals/objectives for the museums in the business plan and vision statements. These corporate mandates are intended to guide all other museum policies and processes (such as collection development plans and programming of exhibitions). Thus indirectly governmental power to some degree is applied through the collections to influence the historical narratives the museums present to their visitors. But this is not the whole story. As a pre-eminent Museum Studies scholar with a sociology background, Bennett analyses the public museum as an institution using evidence that involves the output of museums, rather than seeing the museum from the perspective of an insider (staff member).

The 'behind the scenes' evidence used in this thesis supports the argument that the government voice is not the only voice present in these war museums, and particularly that the influence of individual curators as non-management staff members can be strong.[29] The influence of curators and other staff members on the institutional voice, as expressed in museum narratives present in displays, occurs through the internal debates and independent staff actions that take place within the war museums. Sharon Macdonald in her study *Behind the scenes at the science museum* (2002) demonstrates throughout how museum staff, including curators, are integral to internal debates and decision making processes that

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Museum revolutions: How museums change and are changed, eds. Simon J. Knell, et. al. (London: Routledge, 2007), 334.

[29] In her book *Behind the scenes at the science museum*, Sharon Macdonald quotes Handler and Gable's study of Colonial Williamsburg to say, 'most research on museums has preceded by ignoring much of what happens in them.' Richard Handler and Eric Gable, *The New History in an Old Museum: Creating the Past at Colonial Williamsburg* (North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1997), 9: Cited in Sharon Macdonald, *Behind the Scenes at the Science Museum* (Oxford: Berg, 2002), 7.

determine how history is constructed and presented to the visitors of London's Science Museum. Andrea Whitcomb's book *Re-imagining the museum: beyond the mausoleum* (2003) draws on actual museum practices and her experience as a museum curator to engage with critical literature on museums, and argue that alongside the role of civic reform, museums have also been influenced by forces such as those of popular culture.[30] In more recent eras, I also see the IWM and AWM as moving towards a non-government driven purpose, which is to entertain and educate. This reflects the role that most modern museums ascribe for themselves, which they strive to achieve as one choice among many for a public who can access entertainment and information through a number of avenues in modern societies. The transition towards visitor-focused purposes, in museums from an earlier age, has been written about by Stephen Weil in his paper *The Museum and the Public* (1997), in which he postulates that the relationship between the museum and the public is a "revolution in process" where the public is slowly gaining power. In the thesis I explore this transition towards a visitor focus at the IWM in the 1970s and 1980s in particular, to demonstrate how changes in the collecting patterns of the IWM curators were linked with broader cultural changes within the institution.

The histories of the IWM and AWM have been the focus of scholarly and institutional research, particularly since the 1980s. *The Origins of the Imperial War Museum* (1988) by Gaynor Kavanagh examines largely the First World War history of the IWM.[31] Her account of the propaganda purpose of the early IWM explains what propaganda meant to the British government at that time.[32] Kavanagh's journal article contributed to a chapter in her book *Museums and the First World War* (1994). The book discusses the impact of war on museums in Britain, and presents important academic research about the early IWM, and the ideologies and events behind its founding by a group of politicians and curators.[33] An account of the later policies of the IWM was written by late senior curator, Diana Condell. Titled 'The History and Role of the Imperial War Museum' in *War and the Cultural Construction of Identities in Britain* (2002), it covers a longer timeline of the history of the IWM, discussing

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[30] Macdonald, *Behind the Scenes*, (2002). And Andrea Whitcomb, *Re-imagining the museum: beyond the mausoleum* (London: Routledge, 2003).

[31] Gaynor Kavanagh, "Museum as Memorial: The Origins of the Imperial War Museum," *Journal of Contemporary History* 23, no. 1 (1988), 77-97.

[32] See chapter 3- propaganda was not thought to be something that necessarily compromised higher cultural and social values.

[33] Kavanagh, *Museums and the First World*, chapter 11, 137-151.

key decisions made at the Museum up until 2000. There is also an account of the decisions that went into the successful Holocaust Exhibition at the IWM, written by Suzanne Bardgett who played a major role in producing the exhibition. These two institutional histories describe the IWM's move to place its audience at the centre of its programming.

A comprehensive history of the AWM was written in 1991 by former Deputy Director, Michael McKernan. Called *Here is their spirit: a history of the Australian War Memorial 1917-1990*, it examines significant historical events from over 70 years of AWM history, as well as the roles played by former staff including directors. The journal article, *A Sacred Place: the making of the Australian War Memorial* (1985) by K.S. Inglis, discusses the early history of the AWM, and interprets the writings of C.E.W. Bean.[34] Inglis gives an account of Bean's patriotic fervour in establishing the AWM.[35] Former AWM Principal Historian, Peter Stanley, wrote a paper called "War and Australia's Museums" (2011) which examines the place of the AWM amongst other museums with a war focus. I have supplemented these histories of the IWM and AWM with archival material from official records held at the institutions or at other government archival sites, such as the UK National Archives, as well as interviews conducted by me with selected current and former staff at the museums. With this insider material, my thesis links the historical collecting decisions of government commissioners and curators with the institutional missions of the museums.[36]

There have been accounts of the development of print collections at other museums, such as a book produced by the British Museum and edited by Antony Griffiths that traces the collecting of their Print Department, *Landmarks in Print Collecting: Connoisseurs and Donors at the British Museum since 1753* (1996).[37] In this book, Griffiths focuses on the Department's formative years from 1845 to 1932 and the influence of four Keepers during that period- their difference in tastes, the events that happened during those years including

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[34] K.S. Inglis, "A Sacred Place: The Making of the Australian War Memorial," *War & Society* 3, no. 2 (1985), 99-126.

[35] Later in this chapter I discuss Inglis's book *Sacred Places: war memorial in the Australian landscape* (1998).

[36] They are linked, because the politics of the institution influences the collection, and the collection development history is an indication of conflicting agendas within the institution. Note: in the British context, even when prints were commissioned outside of the IWM by government committees, it was expected that these works might in the future be 'placed' within the Museum (see chapter 3).

[37] Antony Griffiths (ed.), *Landmarks in Print Collecting: Connoisseurs and Donors at the British Museum since 1753* (London: British Museum Press, 1996). What is apparent from publications such as this is that prints in particular have come to hold a special place as objects to be collected, and my thesis aims to show how similar dynamics in print collecting played out at the war museums.

changes in museum policy, significant donations, and how it all shaped the British Museum print collection. *Prints at the Smithsonian: The Origins of a National Collection* (1996) discusses the place artistic and popular prints have played in society, and how they came to play a unique role in the collections of particular museums. While prints have come to hold a special place in history museums as highly collectable objects, they are particularly at potential odds with war museums, which at their core are historical and political, and which use their art collections for fundamentally different purposes from an art gallery or encyclopaedic collections like the British Museum or Smithsonian.

Prints in the Context of War Art

The print collections of the IWM and AWM predominantly contain works of war art from the 20th century. Art that could be termed 'war art' has a history that is almost as long as human conflict itself.[38] The First World War broadened the typical range of war art images, particularly as it engendered such a large number of artistic responses.[39] While some of the art produced in reaction to the First World War in Britain, France, and Germany was propaganda, much was critical of war. Some of it merely recorded the life and times of those who experienced the war on the frontline or the homefront. This 20th century war art tradition began during the First World War, when the combatant nations, including Britain and Australia, believed that the production of war art, not just war photography, was necessary in documenting conflict. Part of their reasoning is encapsulated in this quote from Eric Newton: '[T]he camera cannot interpret, and a war so epic in its scope… so detailed and complex… required interpreting as well as recording.'[40]

The idea that photography could capture 'true' or 'real' images of war, because the camera was thought to be a tool that merely frames or records scenes in front of its lens, was still alive during the First World War and later.[41] For example, the Australian war artist Alan Moore (1914-2015) was present at the liberation of the Bergen/Belsen concentration camp by

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[38] Sun Tzu and Victoria Charles, *Art of War* (New York: Parkstone International, 2013), 10-13.
[39] Ibid., 2.
[40] Eric Newton, *Art for Everybody* (London: Longmans Green & Co., 1943), 15. Cited in: Monica Bohm-Duchen, *Art and the Second World War* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2013), 35.
[41] For example, *The Graphic* ran a spread of images in May 1918 called 'The Trench from Different Points of View' contrasting photographs with academic and modern paintings. Text from the caption read, 'The idea [of the official war art schemes] seems to be to supply pictures which afford complete contrast to the highly detailed inventory work of the camera… At the top we see the plain unvarnished tale of the photograph.' Malvern, *Modern Art*, 39.

the allies in 1945. As he sketched the human degradation and despair of the camp, he was advised by a fellow witness to take photographs as well, as his sketches would appear unbelievable and false to the public.[42] However, it has been argued by scholars like Susan Sontag that photographs are always a construction as they show a particular perspective, that of the photographer.[43] The veracity of photographs as testimony of war are questioned when photographic images are deliberately 'constructed' by the photographer, as in the case of the Australian photographer, Frank Hurley. Bean disapproved of this potentially misleading use of photography, and preferred to rely on paintings and drawings for visual interpretation.[44]

War art has a broad social, political and economic context, and the IWM and AWM have always recognized this, and treated their art collections as having a social historical purpose.[45] These museums in concert with government commissioning programs, have been instrumental in shaping the 20th and 21st century war art canon in Britain and Australia.[46] War art in Britain and Australia has moved in and out of prominence in art criticism over the decades, and the new official war art schemes of both countries are part of a revitalisation of war art (and the museums) in artistic thought and critical debate.[47] British war art remains present in art historical criticism in Britain throughout the 20th century, for example the First World War official commissions are included in John Rothenstein's *British Art since 1900: An Anthology*, written in 1962, and later books.[48] However, publications on Australian war art

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[42] Laura Brandon et. al., *Shared Experience: art and war* (Canberra: Australian War Memorial, 2005), 76.

[43] Susan Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2003), 41.

[44] McKernan, *Here Is Their Spirit*, 54. Hurley received criticism from Bean for wanting to merge negatives to create composite images: A. F. Pike, " Hurley, James Francis (Frank) (1885–1962)," *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, published first in hardcopy 1983, accessed online 3 March 2018, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/hurley-james-francis-frank-6774.
 Also: 'Official Australian photographers were appointed after Bean found that pictures of battle by British cameramen were commonly faked.' Inglis, "A Sacred Place," 100.

[45] This is apparent through an analysis of their objectives for the official commissions. In the First and Second World Wars the IWM and AWM commissioners saw the official war art as having the purpose of 'recording the war' for future generations to understand what took place, and of widely representing the ordinary citizen's war experience. But also through their collecting and preserving of non-official artistic responses to war.

[46] The war art canon in Britain and Australia is largely constituted by the work of the artists who were officially commissioned by the British and Australian governments during the First and Second World Wars. They come from both the academic and modernist spheres of art production. The modern official war art commissions of the IWM and AWM also contribute greatly to what may be called Britain and Australia's 'war art canon'.

[47] The British official war art scheme was reinstated at the IWM in 1972 with the founding of the Artistic Records Committee and the commissioning of Ken Howard to record 'The Troubles' and British military intervention in Northern Ireland (see chapter 4). The Australian official war art scheme was reinstated in 1999 in response to the Australian military intervention in East Timor, with Rick Amor as the first commissioned artist (see chapter 8).

[48] John Rothenstein, *British Art Since 1900: An Anthology by Sir John Rothenstein* (London: Phaidon Press, 1962), 1. Also in books, catalogues and articles from the 1970s and 1980s, such as: Richard Cork, "Vorticism

tend to be written from the 1970s onwards, as Australia's war art heritage was largely ignored in art historical texts in the middle of the 20th century because it fell outside Modernist tropes that Australian art critics valued in these decades.[49] However, as an art form which is very much embedded in its social context, war art will always have a social, and sometimes political role, regardless of the actions of institutions and the fashions of art criticism.[50] Laura Brandon's book *Art and War* (2007) examines how to define war art, and how war and art relate. Her argument- that it is limiting to judge war art purely on aesthetic or art historical terms, as war art can reveal sociocultural attitudes to war- has been influential on this thesis.[51] It shows that war art exists within a series of social networks, and thus the collecting and reception of war prints is influenced by these networks. This becomes apparent in the thesis, for example when I discuss how contemporary printmakers have responded to media representations of war- a feature of many of the contemporary prints acquired by curators in both the museums.[52]

The interpretive potential of art has led to questions around the ability of official war art to provide an objective record of war, as was attempted in the commissioning schemes of the First and Second World Wars in Britain and Australia.[53] Publications on the histories of these official schemes have been relatively recent, and have opened up a new way of understanding early 20th century war art, placing its production in a wider social context than traditional art historical interpretations. For the IWM, *The War Artists* (1983) by Merion and Susan Harries,

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and its allies," exhibition catalogue (London: Arts Council of Great Britain and Hayward Gallery, 1974); Michele J. Shover, "Roles and Images of Women in World War I Propaganda," *Politics & Society* 5, no. 4 (1975), 469-486; "Painting, sculpture and drawing in Britain 1940-49," (London: Whitechapel Art Gallery, 1972); John Ferguson, *The Arts in Britain in World War I* (London: Stainer and Bell, 1980); Samuel Hynes, *A War Imagined: The First World War in English Culture* (London: The Bodley Head, 1990); Paul Gough, "Exactitude is truth: representing the British military through commissioned artworks," *Journal of War & Culture Studies* 1, no. 3 (2008), 341-356.

[49] Early publications on Australian war art were usually written by the Memorial art curators: John Reid, *Australian artists at war*, volumes I and II (South Melbourne: Sun Books, 1977); Gavin Fry and Anne Gray, *Masterpieces of the Australian War Memorial* (Adelaide: Rigby, 1982).

[50] There have been attempts to distance war art from its social context. For example, in 1938 MoMA exhibited Luis Quintanilla drawings relating to the Spanish Civil War. In the catalogue text, Alfred H. Barr wrote, 'Although the artist has been a participant in the Spanish Civil War he wishes these drawings to be considered as objective works of art, not as partisan documents. It is entirely in accordance with this intention that the Museum places them on exhibition.' Cited in: Bohm-Duchen, *Art and the Second World War*, 19. But it may be argued that war art is always partisan, never objective or existing outside its context of production.

[51] Laura Brandon, *Art and War* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2007), 5.

[52] In particular, see chapters 5 and 8.

[53] The possibility has been raised that war art could never be purely documentary, as many examples of historical war art have some propaganda value. Tzu and Charles, *Art of War*, 8-9.

documented extensively for the first time the production and collecting of official war art by the British government's Ministry of Information schemes in the two world wars, and the subsequent transference of these collections to the Museum.[54] During the two world wars, official war artists were entrusted to give an accurate account of war, according to their own observations. However, the official schemes sparked debate among the public and government bodies, as they continue to do. Monica Bohm-Duchen discusses many of these debates in her book *Art and the Second World War* (2013).[55] A key consideration in the study of war art questions the ability of official commissions to represent war with an analytical or unbiased view. There are also questions about what purposes official war art should serve. Should it play the function of boosting public morale? Should it objectively document a nation's war efforts? And should it ensure that war histories are inclusive of the broader community and not just specific groups? Or, as some contemporary official commissions suggest, should official war art tackle analytical questions about war, society and the morality of conflict? Because official war art comprises a large proportion of the IWM and AWM art collections, most of the literature about the art collections is about official war art. The print collections, meanwhile, are different from the majority of the other art objects in that they are predominantly unofficial war art. Despite this, the debates surrounding the official element of the art collections still bears some relevance to the artist prints.

Recent scholarly literature about 20th century war art in Britain and Australia questions an assumption that official art is always traditional in style, while unofficial war art is usually aligned with the avant-garde. The influential work by Jay Winter *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (1995) discusses war art among a range of cultural production, as a study into commemoration following the First World War. He argues that the concept that the war propelled British culture into Modernism is false, as Modernism existed before and after the war, along with various other ideologies.[56] Sue Malvern in *Modern Art, Britain and the Great War* (2004) engages with a debate about whether official war art is always linked with a tone of propaganda or soft propaganda, while

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[54] Meirion Harries and Susie Harries, *The War Artists: British Official War Art of the Twentieth Century* (London: M. Joseph, 1983).

[55] Bohm-Duchen, *Art and the Second World War*, 7-9.

[56] Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

non-official art is always linked with protest against war.[57] An argument in Malvern's book, which is important to Chapter 3 of this thesis, is her notion that war art in the First World War was not purely propaganda or anti-propaganda. The people making and commissioning war art were striving both to influence and present truth to the British public.[58] This discussion reappears in different guises throughout the thesis – from the early chapters that discuss the production and use of artist prints by the First World War commissioning schemes, to later chapters that examine the role of commemorative prints in the contemporary art collections of the IWM and AWM. A book that takes up a similar enquiry for British war art in the Second World War is *War paint: art, war, state and identity in Britain, 1939-1945* by Brian Foss, which continues mapping the trajectory of British Modernism through war times.[59] Foss makes an argument for the War Artists' Advisory Committee's vision for the arts and culture in Britain: while the commissions were supposed to be in aid of British propaganda, the Committee members, particularly its founder Kenneth Clark, sought to collect highly artistic works that would elevate national taste in Britain.[60]

Censorship has been a point of contention in war art, both official and non-official, and its effectiveness or perceived effectiveness to protest war or record the truth of conflict. Censorship can be either external or internal to the artist.[61] This issue is linked with the artist's ability to present an analytical or critical view on war or the actions of governments in times of war. The issue of internal censorship is raised in chapter 3 of this thesis when discussing the official commission of C.R.W. Nevinson, who was perceived to be changing his artistic style to suit the official commission. This was an internally driven censorship, and his change of style was thought to be linked with a reluctance to show the true 'grit' and harsh realities of war.[62] The question of whether official war artists feel an obligation to censor some parts of their artistic output is raised again in later chapters of the thesis, particularly through my interviews with Anna Gray and Jon Cattapan.[63] This discussion

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[57] And there are books on official war art that touch on a debate, which questions whether officially commissioned art is usually linked with traditional or academic artistic styles, and non-official art usually linked with avant-garde styles: Bohm-Duchen, *Art and the Second World War*, 8 & 17.
[58] Malvern, *Modern Art* (2004).
[59] Foss, *War Paint* (2007).
[60] Ibid., 5.
[61] Bohm-Duchen, *Art and the Second World War*, 8.
[62] Interestingly, this concern was brought up by his commissioners (see chapter 3).
[63] See interviews discussed in chapters 7 and 8.

relates to the perception of the prints as part of the wider genre of 'war art', and whether their largely non-official status affects their reception.

More commonly discussed in literature on war art is the issue of external censorship. For example, Nevinson once again was at the heart of a censorship issue because of his painting *Paths of Glory* (1917) that showed the dead bodies of British soldiers.[64] But there was also the case in the Second World War where the printmaker Ethel Gabain was told not to exhibit an image of British child evacuees to the United States – in fear of creating class hostility in the United Kingdom.[65] In these cases external censorship was justified by the notion that maintaining morale was imperative for the war effort. However, the censorship of images of war continues, and is often utilised to quell criticism of government actions from its own populace, for example Susan Sontag in her book *Regarding the Pain of Others* (2003) writes about the censorship of military images from Afghanistan.[66] In chapter 1, I discuss the Afghanistan War display at the AWM and how it fails to show images of death, whereas dead bodies and wounded soldiers are a feature of earlier commissioned AWM art.[67]

Where do prints fit in to these war art tensions? Prints arguably are an area of the collection that can addresses difficult aspects of war history. The reception of artist prints in the war museums, through their interpretation by curators and their display, is of course affected by censorship, not only directly but also in how they are perceived by the public, and this may affect their ability to resist or to be perceived as resisting military or state influence within the institutions. However, the reproducibility of prints also makes them effective political weapons in times of war. The history of printmaking in the service of war subjects has seen prints used by governments to influence popular attitudes, or they have been used by underground movements for political protest and protest against war. This argument is made by the scholar, Robert Philippe, in *Political Graphics: Art as a Weapon* (1982), which

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[64] C.R.W. Nevinson, *Paths of Glory* (1917) oil on canvas, 45.7 x 60.9 cm, IWM ART 518. The work was banned from his March 1918 one person show at the Leicester Galleries, London, 'because it was said that pictures of dead bodies undermined civilian morale.' Malvern, *Modern Art*, 52.
[65] Bohm-Duchen, *Art and the Second World War*, 36.
[66] Susan Sontag, *Regarding the Pain*, 65-66.
[67] See chapter 9. While this display does not show images of wounded or dead soldiers, unlike First World War paintings at the AWM for example, it does show the paintings of Ben Quilty about PTSD.

discusses the way printed material, including artist prints, have been employed for political persuasion throughout much of European history.[68]

Relevant to this printmaking tradition are prints such as kennardphillipps' photomontage from the IWM collection, or Gordon Bennett's inkjet print *Always in the name of God* from the AWM collection. In this thesis I argue that a number of the artist prints in the collections of the IWM and AWM can be associated with a political function (supporting governments during times of war by boosting civilian morale and belief in the war effort, or criticizing the country's involvement in war and the cynical political machinations behind its continuation). These are objects which do not merely illustrate an event of war, or present a neutral record of human activities in times of war, but instead, by virtue of having been created for a political function, they carry with them a political position into their secondary lives as museum objects. They also demonstrate that the political nature of printmaking can be harnessed by both sides of the political spectrum, and can be the art of the state or of the disenfranchised. Some contemporary prints extend this printmaking history of being created for a specific political purpose, although many prints of the contemporary era take their critique a step further, by analysing the way war is visually mediated and presented to a contemporary public.

Not all prints are obvious weapons of political or social influence, and not all prints are part of public dissemination campaigns, which complicates their categorisation within museums. Artist prints are not necessarily easily categorised within the museum setting, as they have relevance as both art objects and social historical objects. As has been argued by curators from the Victoria and Albert Museum, "Fine-art prints were once a peculiarly private art form, designed for connoisseurial contemplation, published in limited editions and hidden away in portfolios."[69] This history of print collecting for private use, and the small scale of many artist prints, has produced a category of artist prints which are intimate pieces, linked with self-expression.[70] However, this is a parallel history with those prints which were published in broadsheets, magazines, and social papers for wide public dissemination, even

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[68] Robert Philippe, *Political Graphics: Art as a Weapon* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1982), 9-10. He argues: 'Prints are partisan. They espouse causes.' Other scholars have built on Philippe's analysis of the use of political graphics and artist prints and other popular printed material, for example: James Aulich, *War posters: weapons of mass communication* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2007).
[69] Gill Saunders and Rosie Miles, *Prints Now: Directions and Definitions* (London: V&A Publications, 2006), 8.
[70] This is discussed in chapter 2.

eventually reaching the private home. This was very much a recognized role of printmaking before the 20th century, and war prints are often associated with this history.[71] However, some war prints fall firmly into the category as art medium for artistic expression, separating them from printed objects that have a close link to communication for social influence, such as posters.[72] The curators of the IWM and AWM recognised both the art historical and social historical sides of artist prints, and they collected for both functions, taking historical associations, art historical associations, and aesthetic value into consideration when making acquisitions. This ultimately influenced what was collected, as the curators strove to build more than a collection of historical visual documents, and something different from a traditional art collection.

While historical and contemporary artist prints can be anti-war or subversive actors in the documentation and critique of war history, all war prints are nonetheless part of the wider visual culture of war. War art is just part of the many images of war that we are confronted with as citizens in contemporary society. This modern existence, and the notion that we are living in a more visual based world than previous generations, are ideas which are encapsulated in the theory of 'visual culture'.[73] This thesis does not engage directly with theories of visual culture, as these generally move away from formal viewing settings such as museums to the everyday visual experience. However, discussed in this thesis is the argument that much contemporary war art is influenced by other ubiquitous global images of war. Nicholas Mirzoeff recognises the globalisation of the visual,[74] and this observation is born out in prints that I discuss, particularly in chapter 8.[75] War art contributes to the archive of globalised visual images of war, because war art is accessible as images on display in the museums, and it is to some extent reproduced in magazines and products that move outside the museums. Certain tropes within war art have in turn influenced other representations of war, for example in the depiction of heroic soldiers in uniform juxtaposed with symbols of

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[71] See: Ralph E. Shikes, *The indignant eye: the artist as social critic in prints and drawings from the fifteenth century to Picasso* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969). And Robert Philippe, *Political Graphics* (1982).

[72] Bohm-Duchen, *Art and the Second World War*, 18. In relation to Spanish civil war art, Bohm-Duchen argues that artist prints, 'often produced in series for mass circulation, created by artists on both sides of the conflict…' contained plenty of 'sensibility and emotion' unlike posters, 'many use a more intimate, expressionistic style to communicate the pathos and suffering of ordinary Spaniards in a way only rarely seen in the poster medium…'

[73] Nicholas Mirzoeff, "What is Visual Culture?," in *An Introduction to Visual Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 1999), 6. Mirzoeff defines visual culture as the modern tendency to picture or visualize existence.

[74] Ibid., 4.

[75] See for example the discussion on Coleing's prints in chapter 8.

freedom, which can be seen echoed in the military's own publicity material. War art can shape our understanding of contemporary war and war history, however, while images of war have marked effects on society,[76] war art is largely tied to its institutions and its context of interpretation and display, as it is only occasionally reproduced outside of the museum and museum publications. Nonetheless, through its being viewed by visitors to these institutions, it has the potential to be part of 'the deployment of visual media as a weapon' by governments, an idea that can be illustrated by the examples of visual propaganda, or official reporting of war news.[77]

The Role of the Curator

Curators carry influence as producers of museum narratives in what is remembered and revered and how events are interpreted now and into the future. In museums like the IWM and AWM, the history they display, shaped by the historians and the curators, is presented as if it is the voice of the institution. Foley and McPherson argue that the system of classifying and interpreting objects using object labels, means that much of the authoritative power of museums is in the hands of the curator.[78] However, I argue that curators can be thought of as the nexus between public discussion and internal narratives developed at the museums. The art curators mediate between individual perspectives of artists as communicated through art objects, institutional interpretations of histories and the experiences of museum visitors. Hooper-Greenhill argues that there has been a shift in the way some curators think of themselves towards being facilitators of learning, rather than dispensers of knowledge.[79] This conception of the curator as facilitator sets them up as a point of influence within the museum while also being connected to wider social networks in their professional circles and beyond.

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[76] Mirzoeff has written about how the publicised photographs of torture in Abu Ghraib revealed the use of visual images to confirm long-standing prejudices within the military and in some cases outside of this military culture. Nicholas Mirzoeff, "Invisible Empire: Visual culture, embodied spectacle, and Abu Ghraib," *Radical History Review* 95 (2006), 21-44.

[77] Ibid.: 21.

[78] Malcolm Foley and Gayle McPherson, "Museums as Leisure," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 6, no. 2 (2000), 164. This is supported by Kate Fowle, who argues that even the term 'curator', which means carer and overseer, suggests a relationship between care and control. Kate Fowle, "Who cares? Understanding the Role of the Curator Today," in *Cautionary Tales: Critical Curating*, eds. Steven Rand and Heather Kouris (New York: Apexart, 2007), 26.

[79] Eileen Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and their visitors* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), 200. Cited in: Foley and McPherson, "Museums as Leisure," 169.

A number of influential art curators over the histories of the IWM and AWM have been women, including the two most recent Heads of Art at the IWM, and two former Heads of Art at the AWM. Print collecting particularly flourished under the two long-serving Heads of Art, Angela Weight at the IWM and Anna Gray at the AWM. Belk and Wallendorf have argued that: "Because collecting is a purposeful, socially accepted, and often highly visible activity, it provides an opportunity for expressing and experiencing gender identity…"[80] Although their research is largely based around personal collections, they postulate that gender is implicated in all collecting in a number of ways. These can include: that collecting itself has gendered traits, and in particular it has traditionally been perceived as a male activity; and that objects themselves can be seen as gendered.[81] The professional collecting of fine art, and particularly art related to the male domain of war, could thus be perceived typically as a role for men. The women curators of the IWM and AWM worked against such suppositions. Furthermore, this thesis will demonstrate that they purposefully collected art by women, women's perspectives and Feminist critiques on war. They also used print collecting to build their own professional identities.

Prints, like all objects in museums, can disrupt war museum narratives when they represent personal memory, testimony, or attitudes of an artist. When curators bring such objects into the space of the war museums, the museums cannot fully control the meanings made by them.[82] In this way, the collecting of these kinds of objects by war museum curators can be thought of as an example of Clifford's argument that museums are 'contact zones', which is found in a chapter of his book *Routes: travel and translation in the late twentieth century* (1997).[83] Clifford takes Mary-Louise Pratt's term 'contact zones' and applies it to a museological context. In this context, the museum is a zone for a meeting of cultures and stakeholders, that of the Western European museum culture and other cultures that are dissimilar. Such meetings of cultures could extend to transcultural relationships within the

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[80] Russell W. Belk and Melanie Wallendorf, "Of Mice and Men: Gender Identity in Collecting," *in The Material Culture of Gender, the Gender of Material Culture* (Delaware: Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, 1997), 7.

[81] Ibid, 9-11.

[82] James Clifford, "Museums as Contact Zones," in *Routes: travel and translation in the late twentieth century* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1997)**,** 194. 'The objects of the Rasmussen Collection, however fairly or freely bought and sold, could never be entirely possessed by the museum. They were sites of a historical negotiation, occasions for an ongoing contact.'

[83] Ibid., 188-219.

same state or region, such as the arrival of new immigrant populations.[84] Clifford writes, "When museums are seen as contact zones, their organizing structure as a collection becomes an ongoing historical, political, moral relationship- a power-charged set of exchanges, of push and pull."[85] Curators in these situations must negotiate the various ways in which objects may be interpreted: as art, history, law, or records.

When making their business plans (particularly under the managerial culture of large museums) curators must defer to broad museum agendas, but they also operate within internal museum cultures where staff come with varied backgrounds and ideas.[86] For example, the opinion of the Art Section staff members on what audiences the museums should be trying to attract is sometimes different from those of other Sections.[87] This community of the museum staff has a bearing on my case studies and how the print collections were developed over time. The curators working in the Art Sections, particularly in the recent era, are professionals trained in fine arts, art history and/or curatorship. From my own experience of working in both the IWM and AWM Art Sections, I would argue that the Art Sections have an internal culture that is particular to their small teams within the wider museum staff. This internal culture comes with a set of expectations for how 'things should be done' that comes from their art curatorial training, and from a desire to meet the specific standards set by a peer group of art curators and art historians in other institutions. This internal culture of the Art Sections has sometimes driven these sections to make acquisition decisions that differ from, but sometimes lead, the collecting priorities of other areas of the museums (this will be discussed in chapters 5, 8, and 9).

Curators actively produce meaning through the assembling and interpretation of museum objects.[88] While it has been argued that curators produce meaning in this way through

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[84] Ibid., 204. Examples of immigrant perspectives in the prints collected by the IWM and AWM including the Weissenborn prints discussed in chapter 4 and the Afghani refugees' prints discussed in chapter 8.

[85] Clifford, "Museums as Contact Zones," 192.

[86] Macdonald was told that she would find a model of 'factional warfare' within the Science Museum. Macdonald, *Behind the Scenes*, 5. Whitcomb writes, 'The highly specialized nature of the work conducted within the museum generates its own sense of community...' Whitcomb, *Re-imagining the museum*, 67. In fact there are multiple communities within any museum.

[87] The art curators are often interested in attracting the audiences that would usually attend art gallery exhibitions: Interview with Warwick Heywood (AWM curator), Canberra, 22 May 2014.; interview with Sara Bevan, (IWM curator), London, 23 November 2012.

[88] Anne-Marie Condé, who has researched the AWM private record collections, writes about Joanna Sassoon's notion that collections 'actively create rather than passively reproduce meaning.' Joanna Sassoon, "Phantoms of Remembrance: Libraries and Archives as 'the Collective Memory'," *Public History Review* 10 (2003), 40-60.

displays, it is also valid to say that the assembling and interpretation of objects occurs in developing and cataloguing a collection as well.[89] In my case studies, I argue the ability to create meaning lies with the curators through their selection and interpretation of prints. And their choice of prints has a political basis, it is not neutral. The meanings that curators can make are of course limited by the pool of objects they have to acquire from; yet this thesis also demonstrates that while social change influences what is produced by artists, curators and commissioners are also an influence on the production of contemporary art. As curatorial criticism as a discipline emerged over 25 years ago, there was an emphasis placed on individual curatorial practice, and the separateness of the artistic and curatorial output. However, this is now making way for a recognition of the interdependence of both practices.[90] This point is relevant to contemporary art practice. For example, Weight's relationship with contemporary artists sometimes made the commissioning or purchasing process porous (see chapter 5).[91]

When curators actively create meaning through collections and displays in war museums this results in the construction of war histories, which become a basis for public memory making

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Cited in: Anne-Marie Condé, "Capturing the Records of War: Collecting at the Mitchell Library and the Australian War Memorial," *Australian Historical Studies* 36, no. 125 (2005), 136. Objects in themselves also carry their own meanings.

[89] Hooper-Greenhill's book *Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture* addresses the question of how objects and collections are used by museums to construct knowledge, which presupposes that objects and collections do make meaning. Hooper-Greenhill argues in her introduction that meaning in museums is constructed through collections, and 'individual objects have shifting and ambiguous relationships to meaning.' She argues that this meaning is constructed because of how collections are brought together by purposeful individuals, acting on the basis of set attitudes and beliefs. From this it would follow that collections create meaning through their management by individuals, and that objects do not have a fixed meaning. Eileen Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), 3.

[90] Paul O'Neill, "The curatorial turn: from practice to discourse," in *Issues in curating contemporary art and performance*, eds. Judith Rugg and Michèle Sedgwick (Bristol: Intellect, 2007), 15. O'Neill points out that Bourdieu also made this argument.

[91] This is also arguably true in the case of a series of artist residencies at the IWM in the 1980s and 1990s. Catherine Moriarty and Angela Weight, "The Legacy of Interaction: Artists at the Imperial War Museum 1981-2007," *Tate Papers* 9 (2008), accessed 15 June 2017, http://www.tate.org.uk/research/publications/tate-papers/09/the-legacy-of-interaction-artists-at-the-imperial-war-museum-1981-2007

as well.[92] War museums can be thought of as 'sites of memory'[93] because they are assigned the duty of remembrance for a whole society, and within this social role they actively make use of and shape collective and individual memory when they construct histories. Macdonald writes in her book *Memorylands: Heritage and Identity in Europe Today* (2013) that 'sites of memory' have been proliferating since the 1970s. She describes the contemporary memory work of these heritage and museum sites as 'past presencing', where the past is actually utilised by the people of the present for their own purposes and needs.[94] Within the war museums, memory is perceived as something to be used, tamed, and transformed into history, but the relationship between history and memory is never unidirectional. Museums construct national histories, which in turn produce a new set of public memories, as a basis for collective identity.[95] The war museum displays house both memory and history, as they encourage a remembering through associations with objects and personal associations with people of the past, but they also organise the evidence of the past so that they promote a certain set of events and interpretations as being the significant framework for understanding the past. Prints play a role in both evoking a remembrance of 'how things were' and also providing evidence for 'what and why things were'. But the extent to which memory can be shaped must be limited, as it has been argued that the multiplicity of war memories renders difficult any attempt to educate a public, recall a particular version of the past, or create a new narrative of its meaning.[96] Theorists of Memory Studies have argued that individuals

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[92] It is important to note that public memory does not mean a collective mind: the idea of public memory as I engage with it denotes individual memories that are identified and marked as significant, and adopted by a collective group, through social processes. Maurice Halbwachs theorises that individual or personal memory is socially mediated and recollected through social institutions, such as family, which determines what and how an individual remembers. So these social processes both affect and are affected by individual memory: Susannah Radstone, "Reconceiving Binaries: The Limits of Memory," *History Workshop Journal* 59, Spring (2005), 142. Museums are structures that enable public memory storage and processing, and hence are part of the social process of public remembering. This is where memorials and museums are important to public memory, as written about in: Sharon Macdonald, *Memorylands: Heritage and Identity in Europe Today* (London: Routledge, 2013). It has been argued that: 'Memory can be social only if it is capable of being transmitted and to be transmitted a memory must first be articulated.' James Fentress and Chris Wickham, *Social Memory* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), 47. This can happen in rituals of commemoration, which are a public recognition of memory, such as the Anzac Day services that occur at the AWM, and similar events.

[93] *Lieux de mémoire* or 'sites of memory' is a term coined by Pierre Nora to describe any entity that has become a symbolic element of the memorial heritage of a community. Pierre Nora, *Realms of memory: the construction of the French past*, vol. 1–3 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996). (translated by Arthur Goldhammer).

[94] Macdonald, *Memorylands* (2013), 15-17.

[95] Daniel J. Sherman, "Objects of Memory: History and Narrative in French War Museums," *French Historical Studies* 19, no. 1 (1995), 51-52.

[96] Susan A. Crane, "The Conundrum of Ephemerality: Time, Memory, and Museums," in *A Companion to Museum Studies*, ed. Sharon Macdonald (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 105.

experience time as multiplicity, thus individual memories are shaped and shared each time they are recalled.[97] This is difficult to control, even in war museums where commemorative rituals continually reinforce particular public memories, because memories are shaped by an individual's experience.[98]

Having said that curators create meaning through museum objects, this meaning is also challenged by the fact that objects like artist prints invite multiple interpretations. As autobiographical and personal testimony objects, they do not necessarily provide one single account of conflict, and may be interpreted differently by different visitors. Art objects in war museums have always been treated as having a social function (and their meanings can change over time as generations of audiences change). This goes against a tradition that perceives art objects as reified and possessing 'auratic' qualities.[99] These ideas were what originally legitimated the art museum, and so here in these war museums this explains why there is a tension where the art objects are treated by many as documentary evidence. This type of attitude is usually found outside the Art Sections. The art curators think beyond artistic reasons when collecting, and think about the social role the print has played as an image of war in the world. In the end they actually collect for both art historical and social historical reasons.

Objects such as prints take on new meanings when they are transferred into a museum context, but also something of their former social role is retained.[100] In the histories they promote, the museums must respond to their audiences and society. A core argument in the book *Grasping the World* by Preziosi and Farago is that museums are not just about the

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[97] When discussing Halbwachs, Crane writes, 'Modern memory theory relies on the notion that memories are never entirely subjective, or relying on a single person's solitary brain.' Ibid., 104.

[98] The reason why the multiplicity of memory renders difficult an attempt to construct public memories in a war museum is because presenting memories is not unidirectional in the museum- visitors also bring their own memories to act as a frame through which they interpret objects.

[99] In his seminal essay *The work of art in the age of mechanical reproduction* (1992, from the 1936 essay) Walter Benjamin coined the term 'aura' to describe the special significance that art objects are afforded in our culture. Benjamin argues the aura of an artwork is derived from its uniqueness. Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt (New York: Schocken Books, 1968), 217-252. The original article was published c.1936.

[100] The idea that museums are active in shaping knowledge was discussed in Eileen Hooper-Greenhill's influential work *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge* (1992). Hooper-Greenhill's book argues that the institution of the museum, as a public information, education, and entertainment dissemination body, is involved in a power relation that determines the structure and types of objects displayed: Eileen Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), 1-9.

histories they represent, but are actual interventions in the world.[101] However, nobody can say to what extent the war museum narratives influence the thoughts of visitors and wider public discussion. For war museum historians and curators, art may be treated as 'evidence' for broader historical narratives. But the art collections fulfil more roles than this, as argued in chapter 1. Sometimes rather than 'perspective' or just interpretation of events of history, the print is an interpretation of something witnessed/felt. Individual objects, such as prints, can evoke memories within individuals, and may represent artist's memories and interpretations of events. For example, a print from the IWM collection *The Fugitive* shows an artist's memory of riots in the US during the Vietnam War. This image is necessarily biased by the artist's impressions, beliefs and understandings. Because prints have their own voice in displays in this way, their interpretation cannot be completely controlled. This adds more weight to the argument pursued later on in this thesis, that the IWM and AWM print collections are somewhat subversive voices within their institutions.

Methodology

This thesis is interdisciplinary in the way it uses both a history methodology to examine the histories of the war museums and the print collections, and an analysis of this history against museum studies frameworks. Bennett's examination of the processes by which the museum influences its public, and how the museum is influenced by government allows this study to interpret the print collections within a broad understanding of the war museums as institutions of government. This study positions the acquisitions and actions of curators within a wider framework of expected behaviours based on the aims of the museum. It gives an insight into how national museums may function, and into how collections (the data), are inculcated (or not) in the museum as part of the 'exhibitionary complex', as posited by Bennett.[102] However, I recognise other spheres of influence over the operations of the war museums,[103] and that there are competing agendas between different factions of staff within these institutions. Clifford's 'contact zones' argument supports the paradox that the war

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[101] Hilde Hein, "Review: Grasping the World: The Idea of the Museum by Donald Preziosi; Claire Farago," *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 65, no. 2 (2007), 250.
[102] Bennett, *The birth of the museum*, Chapter 2: 59-88.
[103] Whitcomb argues, 'continuities are found not only in the function of museums as instruments of power but also in their place as a site of pleasure and consumption.' Whitcomb, *Re-imagining the museum*, 17.

museum staff can bring external perspectives into the museums through print collecting, which disrupts government influenced narratives present within the institutions.[104]

The two questions I have particularly tried to answer are: What factors influenced the development of the print collections? And how did the professional agendas of curators inform that development? My reasons for using the two case studies of the IWM and AWM was to focus on the distinctive circumstances of each collection, as the different contexts of the two case studies highlight the relationships between museums, curators and society. To do this I used a variety of historical research methods. Firstly, I collected data on print acquisitions from the museums' databases. I needed a full record of acquisitions to determine what 'shape' the collections took over time, and where significant print acquisitions were made that would, from a curatorial perspective, provide a strong narrative input, and be likely to be exhibited (because of their aesthetic value, narrative value, or art historical significance). The print collections themselves can be thought of as an archival source, because they are a document of the historical collecting decisions made by curators. The databases document what the curators thought was important to record, and so are not complete or objective. I also collected data from the official records of the institutions on why prints had been acquired (including art historical reasons, social historical reasons, the alignment with the Collection Development Policy, how the curators interpreted the objects and their fit within the overall collections at the time, and whether any acquisitions were contentious when they were put forward). These records hold key information on why curators make the decisions they do, and how they navigate the internal processes of the museums to do so, however they are not objective records. Acquisition records have a political role for the museum, which is to portray collecting decisions as responding to larger identified business goals for the institution. I account for this by pairing these records with staff interviews that are more candid.

The interviews I conducted present the private reflections of the staff and people who worked with the IWM and AWM internal processes and collections. Fourteen one on one semi-

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[104] Clifford, "Museums as Contact Zones," 188-219. I am influenced somewhat by Whitcomb's reconciliation of Bennett's position that museums construct their communities, with Clifford's recognition that museums are nevertheless engaged in a process of dialogue with communities, so must in some ways represent as well as produce culture. This is because museums can be thought of themselves as communities. Whitcomb, *Re-imagining the museum*, 81.

structured interviews were carried out in this study, with people associated with the two museums and their art collections, predominantly former and current art curators of the museums. The interviews were carried out after I had spent time getting to know most of the interviewees personally, so that I had some idea of what perspectives they could contribute to the project, and the semi- structured nature of the interviews allowed for conversations to flow organically. In Britain I interviewed the current Director-General of the IWM, Diane Lees, two former Heads of the IWM Art Department, Angela Weight and Roger Tolson, the (then current, now former) Head of the Art Department, Kathleen Palmer, and three curators within the Art Department, Richard Slocombe, Sara Bevan and Jenny Wood (recently retired). In Australia I interviewed two former Heads of the AWM Art Section, Anna Gray and Lola Wilkins, the current Art Section Head, Ryan Johnston, two curators within the Art Section, Warwick Heywood and Laura Webster, a former principal historian with the AWM, Peter Stanley, and a former Australian official war artist, Jon Cattapan. The questions I asked were designed to draw from the interviewees what role they saw for their museum today, and how the art collections and print collections fitted or did not fit into this role. I asked questions to probe what collecting decisions the interviewees may have been involved with, and what they could tell me about the attitudes of the institution as a whole and its curators. The limitations of these interviews were that in some instances the curators may have been reluctant to be critical of the museums, particularly where they were currently employed by either the IWM or AWM. However, on the whole these interviews produced what I regarded as honest, diverse and candid glimpses into the curatorial world of the two museums. These interviews have yielded information that allows me to analyse the processes of production and regulation within the museum (although I keep in mind that the curators will naturally have their own subjective interpretations).

I divided my analysis of the data from the databases and official records of collecting into time periods. Within those periods I looked for significant acquisitions and patterns of collecting that provided an insight into how the collection was being shaped in that period, and what was driving collecting decisions. This type of analysis sits within the field of Collection Studies, which relates to the history of collections and motivations for collecting.[105] Sharon Macdonald's chapter on *Collecting Practices* in her edited book *A Companion to Museum Studies* (2011) gives a brief survey of the field of Collection Studies

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[105] The *Oxford Journal of the History of Collections* is a prominent journal in this field.

and situates it within the discipline of Museum Studies.[106] A number of scholarly articles written about collections and collecting make similar enquiries to my thesis. For example, some cite historical developments and key figures having influenced the development of a collection.[107] Other texts state that an object is made more significant when we can know more of its context, and that a biography of a collection can be developed through archival research.[108] When considering the significance and likely curatorial interpretation of individual prints, I was guided by the example from the IWM and AWM curators who take both the historical and art historical elements of a work into account when making acquisition decisions (a reflection of the dual purpose of the art collections within the museums). This ultimately influenced what was collected, as the curators strove to build more than a collection of historical visual documents, and something different from a traditional art collection. My use of art historical analysis meant that I determined the art historical significance of prints, aesthetic considerations, and made an argument for why they contributed to art historical narratives within the museums.

The thesis examines collecting up until August 2014, and the IWM and AWM displays were examined at intervals between 2014-2016. The IWM was closed to the public for major renovations in 2014, and unveiled a new set of First World War galleries in June that year. I viewed the displays following their reopening, and I viewed the AWM displays shortly after this. The staff structures of the IWM and AWM were very similar to each other up until very recently, with the art curators of both institutions working as a curatorial team within the war museums' 'Art Sections'. Each team had a Head of Art, senior curators and curators. The AWM team was larger with more curators and some assistant curators. While this structure remains at the AWM, the IWM had a major transformation in the staffing structure of its curatorial areas, which was finalized in 2017. Under the new IWM staffing structure, the curatorial teams are no longer organised according to collection and media expertise of the curators, instead a project-led approach has been adopted whereby curators with different

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[106] Sharon Macdonald, "Collecting Practices," in *A Companion to Museum Studies*, ed. Sharon Macdonald (Chicester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 81-97.

[107] See for example these articles from the Journal of the History of Collections: Margaret Maria Cocks, "Dr Louis Auzoux and His Collection of Papier-Mâché Flowers, Fruits and Seeds," *Journal of the History of Collections* 26, no. 2 (2014), 229-248.; Debora J. Meijers, "An Exchange of Paintings between the Courts of Vienna and Florence in 1792–1793: A Logical Step Taken at the Right Moment," *Journal of the History of Collections* 26, no. 1 (2014), 45-61.

[108] William C. Sturtevant, "Forward," in *Collecting Native America, 1870-1960*, eds. Shepard Krech and Barbara Hail (Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1999), vi.

areas of expertise are organised into four 'conflict-period' teams.[109] This new staffing structure would have implications for my thesis were I venturing into this new collecting period. However, my analysis of the history of print collecting within the war museums ends before this point in time.

Thesis Structure

The structure of the thesis is largely based on the collection histories of the two case studies. I analysed the development of the collections by dividing the chronology of collecting into 'collecting moments'. These are periods of time that show a sustained attitude to or process of collecting in the museum or its art department, which is specific to that period. I also consider how museological practice and theory influenced the museum's purpose and collecting strategy within collecting moments. Each collecting moment will equate to a chapter of the thesis that will consider the different influences on the development of the collection at that time, and how the collection fits within its museum at that time. The collecting moment chapters appear as six chapters (three for each museum) in the middle of the thesis. They are bookended by chapters 1, 2 and 9: discussion chapters that make this thesis more than just a collections history.

Chapter 1 gives a background to the IWM and AWM as the history of each institution from the First World War to the 1970s, and then an examination of how the museums' governance bodies and gallery layout influences the messages they promote. It then analyses the role of art in the war museums. The background to prints is given by Chapter 2, which lays the foundation for understanding artist prints and what makes them distinctive to other art mediums. It explains not only the various printmaking techniques that are present in the IWM and AWM collections, but also why artists choose printmaking techniques to create an image about conflict. It argues that printmaking has particular historical associations that align it to certain roles within war museum collections, particularly intimate personal reflections on war- or at the other end of the spectrum, public political and social commentary on war and its ethics.

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[109] The four teams are 'First World War and Early Twentieth Century Conflict', 'Second World War and Mid Century Conflict', 'Cold War and Late Century Conflict' and 'Contemporary Conflict'.

The first of the collecting moment chapters (chapter 3) encompasses the print collecting of the First World War and the Second World War by the IWM. Many of the prints to enter the IWM collection in both world wars did so either directly or indirectly through British government official war art commissions. Such a system of collecting is unique to this chapter: in all of the other collection chapters the museum, rather than a government department, collected for itself. In the First World War, the British government attempted to commission art as a form of propaganda that would also embody a truthful representation of the experience of war. The progressive ideology of the First World War was largely lost in the Second, despite the establishment of a similar government commissioning scheme for war art. The IWM itself collected some prints through its sub-committees established in the First World War, but did little print collecting in the Second.

Once the Second World War government commissions were accepted into the IWM collection, the collecting of artist prints was very limited for the next 25 years.[110] This brings us to chapter 4, the IWM print collecting from 1950-1979. A rejuvenation of the artist prints collection came with the appointment of a new Keeper of Art in the early 1970s, Joseph Darracott, who with his fine art training began a process of collecting for art historical and social historical significance. The shape of the print collection began to broaden, to include conflicts that had previously not been covered, and marginalised voices that had previously not been represented, in line with new social and museum trends of the 1960s and 1970s, and a change in the collecting remit of the Museum that had come about in 1953. The new print acquisitions were associated with debates that emerged at this time about social history and public memory.

Chapter 5, the final of the IWM collection chapters, follows the influence of the next Keeper of Art, Angela Weight, and her Art Department's development of the print collection from 1980, and the Art Section after her retirement in 2005. From 1980, the Art Department collected art objects that were stylistically forward-thinking examples of their era, such as digital prints inspired by computer technologies, and they collected contemporary art by artists responding to the wars of their time. In their print collecting, they favoured abstract-

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[110] One exception was the donation of a large body of French printed material to the IWM from the 5th Marquess de Bute in 1951, which included a number of artist prints among popular prints, but which is not covered by this thesis as it forms a separate collection at the IWM to the main print collection.

concept responses to war. This led to the development of the print collection in unexpected areas; for example, women artists and feminist critiques of war; conflicts that had been largely ignored in print collecting, including art of the Cold War; and themes that broadened the scope of the print collection even further than previous efforts. Weight had the freedom to exert her influence as an individual because the internal operations of the IWM at that stage were flexible. From 2005, under two new Heads of Art, Roger Tolson from 2005-2010 and then Kathleen Palmer from 2010-2017, the Art Section prioritised collecting contemporary art responding to contemporary conflicts, which included prints that were political or analytical.

Chapter 6 is the first of the AWM collection chapters, and it encompasses a long period of print collecting at the Memorial, from 1917 to 1978. The collecting of prints throughout this period was not regular, with many artist prints acquired during and after the First World War, virtually none in the Second World War, and then more again in the 1970s. The main acquisition in the First World War was a series of lithographs by Will Dyson, Australia's first official war artist. While no prints were collected in the Second World War and after, there was a key decision made to broaden the scope of the AWM to include all military conflicts from Australian history. This led to another small wave of print collecting for colonial conflicts, as prints were some of the only artistic material left from this earlier era due to their multiplicity and use in newspaper illustrations of the time.

The decision of the Director, Noel Flanagan, to professionalise the AWM in line with international museum trends saw the hiring of trained art curators at the Memorial. One of these curators, Anna Gray, used the print collection to realise some of her most ambitious plans for the art collection. Chapter 7 examines the history of print collecting under Gray throughout her tenure from 1980 to 1994, originally as pre-1939 curator of art for the Memorial and subsequently Head of the Art Section. Gray influenced the shape of the artist prints collection at the AWM considerably, defining its scope and becoming the first curator to collect prints responding to the Second World War and Vietnam War. She saw the strength of the print collection in its lack of connection with officially commissioned art, which allowed prints to critique war, society and the military.

The final collection chapter (chapter 8) examines print collecting at the AWM from 1995 to 2014. The Art Section for most of this period was under the guidance of Lola Wilkins, who

joined the Art Section in 1984. Wilkins retained some of Gray's attitudes about the print collection, seeing it as an opportunity for divergent narratives and voices to be acquired into the art collection. Wilkins reinstated the Australian official war art scheme, which had lapsed after the Vietnam War, and there were some prints produced as a result of this. However, I argue that two strong themes of collecting were apparent in the print acquisitions from 1995 onwards, which reflected societal changes happening in Australia, including commemoration of earlier wars and the new era of wars that Australia was involved in from 2001.

Chapter 9 develops the premise that an understanding of a collection's historical development can lead to a deeper understanding of its current role and potential in the museum. It examines whether the print collections are subversive collections within their institutions. I examine the print collections as distinctive in certain ways to the other art mediums. The war museums are unable to completely control the interpretation and reception of their objects on display. While a museum may house a collection that has the potential to tell certain narratives, the display spaces and practices of the museum will determine how and whether or not these objects and their narratives are actually presented to visitors. Furthermore, material characteristics of the objects themselves, such as the sensitivity of paper to long periods of exposure to light, will also have a bearing on their influence in a museum setting. With this in mind, I compare the displays of the IWM and AWM and how artist prints are used in these spaces.

1. **Background to the IWM and AWM**

This chapter gives a background to the IWM and AWM, which informs the upcoming analysis of print collecting at the war museums. The chapter examines the early histories of the IWM and AWM, and the underlying messages apparent in the war museums. The museums' governing bodies, gallery layouts and perceptions of their visitors all contribute to what the IWM and AWM communicate in the sub-text of their displays. I argued that the AWM is focused on commemoration and telling a narrative of Australian military history, with a bias away from pre-First World War history. The AWM has strong links to the Australian Defence Force through its Council. The IWM is focused on social history and the British experience of war, with wide variations in emphasis amongst its displays. The IWM is to some extent influenced by wealthy stakeholders, such as Lord Ashcroft who is one of the Trustees, and it is increasingly developing ties to the British Armed Forces. Also discussed is the role of the art collections in the war museums, particularly as it is understood by the IWM and AWM art curators. The art collections are key objects that enable the war museums to humanise their history narratives, or to provide analytical comments on war.

The founding of the IWM in 1917 and early years: a government institution

The British government shaped the purpose of the IWM from its beginning because the Museum was founded by politicians for political purposes. The IWM was the invention of a group of politicians and public servants, including: Charles ffoulkes, former curator of the Tower of London armouries; Ian Malcolm, conservative MP; Lord Harcourt, a Liberal Party politician, who eventually acted as Trustee for a number of British museums; and Sir Alfred Mond, MP and First Commissioner of Works. They wanted to create this Museum as a record of all that had taken place during the conflict, and the ingenuity and sacrifice shown by the British people.[111] The newly established Museum Committee was chaired by Mond, and ffoulkes was responsible for establishing the collections and overseeing the early displays of the Museum. He acted in the position of Curator and Secretary of the IWM from 1917-1933.[112] The Museum's first Director-General was Sir Martin Conway, who had been the Slade Professor of Fine Arts at the University of Cambridge from 1901 to 1904, and who was

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[111] Gaynor Kavanagh, *Museums and the First World War: A Social History* (New York: Leicester University Press, 1994), 123-125.

[112] "IWM at Crystal Palace and South Kensington," Imperial War Museums, accessed 16 March 2015, http://www.iwm.org.uk/history/iwm-at-crystal-palace-and-south-kensington#.

also an explorer and mountaineer.[113] These men were familiar with the workings of museums, and they carefully defined the role the new institution was to play. They were also part of the social and cultural elite in Britain.

In 1917 the IWM was clearly a state-driven institution displaying a form of soft power to its visitors.[114] In his theory of an exhibitionary complex, Tony Bennett takes on a Foucaultian perspective to argue that museums are institutions of discipline and power, and they place visitors as the subjects and objects of this authority.[115] At the IWM the state authority was transmitted through the display of war histories- they were the vehicle for the message of power. At the founding of the IWM this message of power and need for social control was evident in one of its founding purposes: it was likely a grand propaganda exercise and focus for patriotism.[116] Prime Minister Lloyd-George came into office in the final months of 1916, and included propaganda as an important part of his war policy.[117] The British were alert to the needs of wartime propaganda, and they knew that men and units were already collecting 'relics' from the battlefields, and they noted the propaganda value of those relics. They also realised that relics were being lost because there was no official collecting policy.[118]

Linked with the propaganda role of the IWM was its promotion of a unified Britain, and later a unified British Empire. In the early years of the First World War there were many currents of conflict within the United Kingdom and the Museum was conceived to contribute to the smooth running of a potentially unstable society.[119] This followed a pattern of museums in the

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[113] Kavanagh, *Museums and the First World War*, 125.

[114] Tony Bennett, *The birth of the museum: history, theory, politics* (London: Routledge, 1995). T. (1995). The Museum aims do seem closely aligned with those of the government in this period. Approval of the proposal for a National War Museum, formally put forward by First Commissioner of Works, Sir Alfred Mond, was given by War Cabinet Minute on 5 March 1917. This minute also authorized Mond to proceed with the formation of the Committee proposed by him that would include himself as Chairman, a Director-General, and representatives of the Admiralty, War Office, Minister of Munitions and finally the "Literary and Art side of the question". See: Minutes of a Meeting of the War Cabinet held at 10 Downing Street, London, 5 March 1917; War Cabinet 87, 27 February 1917: IWM A1/3: EN1/COM/2/1.

[115] Bennett, *The birth of the museum*, 6-7.

[116] The decision to initiate the National War Museum coincided with other propaganda moves by Prime Minister Lloyd George, including the formation of the Department of Information and soon after the National War Aims Committee: Kavanagh, *Museums and the First World War*, 122.

[117] James Aulich and John Hewitt, *Seduction or Instruction?: First World War Posters in Britain and Europe* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2008), 13.

[118] Gaynor Kavanagh, "Museum as Memorial: The Origins of the Imperial War Museum," *Journal of Contemporary History* 23, no. 1 (1988), 80.

[119] Aulich and Hewitt, *Seduction or Instruction?*, 13.

early 1900s attempting to encourage and create a homogenous Britain.[120] One way this shaped the IWM was by giving it relatively a wide, inclusive focus, taking in many parts of British society. The Imperial ideology at the founding of the IWM that led to its name was partly about promoting a narrative of Britain and its empire working together for the war effort. When the IWM originated it was known as the National War Museum;[121] however, the collections were to include the efforts of the dominion countries, and hence a Dominions sub-committee was established. This sub-committee exerted pressure to change the name of the institution to reflect the inclusion of the dominions, and from January 1918 it became known as the Imperial War Museum.[122] The Museum therefore was expected to represent ordinary Britons and peoples of the Dominion nations.

The First World War was the first total war that Britain had experienced in living memory. An essential task for the National War Museum Committee was to document the catastrophic war, and in documenting the war, they decided on a broad scope- they wanted to document the totality of the war. To achieve this, they set up a series of sub-committees who were charged with the responsibility of collecting for the Museum in designated specialist areas. These included Admiralty, Munitions, War Office, Red Cross, Records and Literature, and Women's Work.[123] By including sub committees such as 'Women's Work', the Museum attempted to represent itself as an inclusive institution, transcending differences of class and gender.[124] An important concept in creating a total record of the war that was established in this early phase of the institution was to collect individual experiences. The thinking of the Museum founders was that '… an assemblage will be a dead accumulation unless it is vitalized by contributions expressive of the action, the experiences, the valour and the

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[120] Annie E. Coombes, "Museums and the Formation of National and Cultural Identities," *Oxford Art Journal* 11, no. 2 (1988), 57.

[121] Minutes of the Committee Meeting, 17 May 1917, National War Museum Committee, London; National War Museum Committee Minutes Nov 1917- June 1920: EN1/1/COM/002. Originally it was 'agreed to limit the scope as far as possible to the British effort.'

[122] Kavanagh, "Museum as Memorial," 88. Also see: Lord Crawford's Committee on the War Museum, Interim Report. 2. The Name of the War Museum, 14 December 1917, London; EN1/1/COM/002. The Dominion Committee reached a resolution in favour of the word 'Imperial' as opposed to 'National', and it was recommended by the Crawford Committee that the name of the institution be the Imperial War Museum.

[123] Minutes of the Committee Meeting Held at H.M. Office of Works, 29 March 1917, London; National War Museum Committee Minutes Nov 1917- Jun 1920: EN/1/COM/002. Discussed in: Kavanagh, "Museum as Memorial," 82.

[124] Aulich and Hewitt, *Seduction or Instruction?*, 24.

endurance of individuals'.[125] To accomplish this, the Museum would collect personal documents, publications, souvenirs, as well as making a photographic record of 'persons and places'.[126] It was thought that the personal elements of the collection would make the museum narratives relatable to visitors, and it also meant that the war could be represented simultaneously as a national and a personal achievement.[127] Compared with other museums in London, this placed the IWM more in touch with the experiences of the everyday person.

In the interwar years, the value of the IWM to the community was debated, particularly as it strove to find new premises after being housed in the Crystal Palace from 1920-1924, and then in the Imperial Institute in South Kensington until 1935.[128] It was eventually permanently located in the Borough of Lambeth at the site of the former Bethlem Royal Hospital (Bedlam, the archetypal asylum for the mentally ill). A transition for that building, which Cooke and Jenkins argue embodied the themes of regeneration and 'improvement' inherent in the purpose of the war museum, and in European social discourse in the 1930s.[129] The art collection was an important feature of the IWM in its own right, particularly as it contained a substantial amount of modernist art. This collection was part of the cultural vanguard in Britain. Modernist art was treated with suspicion by some who worried that these works framed the war in a bad light, or that the modernist style was not appropriate for the documentation of war, or even that it was a corrupting influence.[130] However, when the future of the IWM was under threat, the art collection became a central argument for saving the collection, and it was brought to the forefront of discussions about the Museum. A war weary British public were encouraged to view the IWM art collection as one of Britain's great collections of modernist art that was well worth preserving. During a discussion in the House of Commons, Conway also said in defence of the IWM, 'It is said that if you are to preserve

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[125] This was expressed by Conway in a circular to the Forces, dated 12 April 1917, where he outlined the collecting interests of the Museum. Quoted in: Kavanagh, *Museums and the First World War*, 130.
[126] Kavanagh, "Museum as Memorial," 83.
[127] Sue Malvern, "War, Memory and Museums: Art and Artefact in the Imperial War Museum," *History Workshop Journal* 49, no. Spring (2000), 187.
[128] "IWM at Crystal Palace and South Kensington," Imperial War Museums, accessed 16 March 2015, http://www.iwm.org.uk/history/iwm-at-crystal-palace-and-south-kensington#.
[129] Steven Cooke and Lloyd Jenkins, "Discourses of Regeneration in Early Twentieth-Century Britain: From Bedlam to the Imperial War Museum," *Area* 33, no. 4 (2001), 382-390.
[130] Modern art was equated with degeneracy. There were controversies around the war art of modernists like Nevinson and Nash: Sue Malvern, *Modern Art, Britain and the Great War: Witnessing, Testimony and Remembrance* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004), 39.

peace, you must remember war…'[131] The value of the IWM was again proven just before the Second World War, as visitor numbers increased in the twelve months of 1938/39 immediately before the outbreak of the Second World War.[132] These visitors were looking for an understanding of historical conflict to explain and provide guidance on the upcoming war, which they would again have to face.

A sentiment that was popular just after the First World War was that it had been the war to end all wars. The IWM founders imagined that its record of the conflict would serve as a tale of caution for the future, to dissuade such a large-scale war ever happening again in Europe. When the IWM opened at the Crystal Palace in 1920, King George V included the following words in his speech, 'We hope and pray that as the result of what we have done and suffered they may be able to look back upon war, its instruments, and its organisation, as belonging to a dead past.'[133] However, the advent of the Second World War disrupted this justification for the Museum, and its planned scope. During the conflict, the IWM had to survive and adapt. Learning from the experiences of museum collections in London in the First World War,[134] the IWM closed for a time and relocated parts of its collection, with priority given to the art collection.[135] It was fortunate that the Museum had prepared, because the IWM did sustain bomb damage on two occasions in 1941.[136] The Museum reopened to the public in 1946, and

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[131] Sir Martin Conway, Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons, vol. 255, no. 155, col. 1029-30, 17 July 1931; The National Archives, Kew: ZHC 2/764.: In answer to the people of Lambeth and Southwark wanting green space not a war museum, Conway replied that the Museum was never intended to glorify war, that there is no other museum on the South side of the Thames, and that the Museum's most important feature was its collection of pictures and other art. Malvern "War, Memory and Museums," 188: In the period between the world wars, the IWM held the most significant and important collection of modern British art in the country, more comprehensive than the holdings of the Tate Gallery.

[132] Sue Malvern "War Tourisms: 'Englishness', Art, and the First World War," *Oxford Art Journal* 24, no. 1 (2001), 57. Also: "Imperial War Museum Visitor Figures 1918-Present," internal document (London: Imperial War Museum, 2013). This shows that visitor figures dropped when the Museum moved to South Kensington, but increased again in 1938/39. Also: Minutes of Meeting of Trustees, 15 March 1939, Imperial War Museum, London; Board of Trustee Minutes, vol 1: Dec 1920-May 1944: EN1/1/COB/049. 'It was reported that attendances in the present financial year, 432,061 to date, exceeded the previous highest figure of 319,000 in 1931-2.'

[133] Malvern, "War, Memory and Museums," 181.

[134] Kavanagh argues in Museums and the First World War, that their experience in the First World War better prepared them for the care of collections in the Second World War: Kavanagh, *Museums and the First World War*, 166.

[135] Philip W. Deans, "'Progressive Wrecking': The Impact of the Second World War on the Imperial War Museum," Master of Arts thesis (Newcastle upon Tyne: Newcastle University, 2014), 28.

[136] Standing Committee Meeting Minutes, 10 October 1940, Imperial War Museum, London; Standing Committee and Board of Trustees: Meetings and Draft Minutes Jan 1940-Jul 1942: EN2/1/COB/001. The minutes record damage to the IWM building from a bomb. No one was hurt, and there was not much damage to exhibits. The Museum had closed on 10 September due to two unexploded bombs nearby. Standing

when it did it faced the changes brought about by the Second World War, including changes to the national story of conflict.

In the 1950s and early 1960s the IWM was attracting very few visitors.[137] This can in part be attributed to war weariness; people wanted to forget the carnage of both the First and the Second World Wars, despite the ongoing Cold War.[138] In general, the 1950s and early 1960s saw the low point of public interest in the Great War and visits to the Western Front.[139] British society at the time was, politically and culturally, forward facing and focused on reconstruction. A Labour government was voted in after the war, which implemented policies to engineer a welfare state. The successive Conservative government (from 1951-64) aimed to boost consumerism and consumption.[140] Artistic modernism was seen as linked with this renewal in society – ushered in by the Festival of Britain in 1951.[141] This is the milieu in which the Museum was operating at the time. It is also the case, however, that the IWM had fallen into a rut. Its displays had remained almost static in the basic arrangement of objects for forty years, from the time of its first exhibitions at the Crystal Palace (f.3).[142] The 1950s followed a time of austerity in Britain, and there was little money to spend on museums.[143] But there was also a lack of engagement on behalf of the IWM with the social context in which they were working. The IWM does not seem to have taken notice of the events around it during these decades, including the 1960s protests of cold war conflicts, like the Vietnam War and the nuclear arms race.[144] Nevertheless, the Museum found it necessary to extend its

Committee Meeting Minutes, 20 February 1941, London; Standing Committee and Board of Trustees: Meetings and Draft Minutes Jan 1940-Jul 1942: EN2/1/COB/001. On 31 Jan 1941 a small bomb exploded in Naval Gallery.

[137] Malvern, "War, Memory and Museums," 194. Also: "Imperial War Museum Visitor Figures 1918-Present," internal document (London: Imperial War Museum, 2013).

[138] After 1945 the notion of the 'war to end all wars' was long gone and Malvern argues that it was meaningless to mark the ending of the Second World War with rituals of bereavement and commemoration, such as the investment in new memorials (and by implication museums): Malvern, "War, Memory and Museums," 194.

[139] N. J. Saunders, "Bodies of Metal, Shells of Memory: 'Trench Art' and the Great War Re-Cycled," *Journal of Material Culture* 5, no. 1 (2000), 61.

[140] Jeremy Black, *Modern British History since 1900* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000), 119.

[141] ibid, 39.

[142] Diana Condell, "The History and Role of the Imperial War Museum," in *War and the Cultural Constructions of Identities in Britain*, ed. Barbara Kote and Ralf Schneider (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2002), 33.

[143] For a description of 'austerity Britain' see: David Kynaston, *Austerity Britain, 1945-1951* (London: Bloomsbury, 2007).

[144]As demonstrated by an event where anti-nuclear marchers in 1963 deposited a twenty-four-foot model of a Polaris rocket labelled 'Death to One Million Children' on the steps of the IWM, and it was taken to a rubbish dump because the new Director, Noble Frankland, said it was not up to standard as a museum exhibit. *Daily Worker,* 9 September 1963. See: Malvern, *Modern Art, Britain and the Great War*, 203. This was a time when

display space in 1966, partly due to the difficulties it faced containing exhibits from two world wars in its building at Lambeth.

During the 1960s, museums were subjected to financial scrutiny from government and private-funding agencies who evaluated their prospective involvement and support on the grounds of demonstrated social concern.[145] Museums were forced to redefine their relationship with, and obligation to, the public. Weil suggested that many museums at this time were going through a period of 'adaptive re-use'.[146] The social purpose of museums had to be redefined, and these institutions were forced to find new ways of operating and engaging with their visitors. In particular there was a general shift in the 1970s in the way museums responded to their public- towards becoming institutions of leisure for a general audience.[147] Weil described this change as a shift in the museum's role as a servant to the public.[148] In its early days the IWM was clearly a tool of the British government, but mid-century social changes softened this influence on the Museum, which became more inclusive and responsive to its visitors. The renewed purpose and visitor focus of the IWM was reflected in its visitor numbers in the late 1960s and 1970s. Visitor numbers dramatically increased after the 1966 extension opened, with figures for 1967 at 625,800, an increase of 60% from 1965. The increase in visitor numbers over this period may also be partly in response to the popular BBC documentary series, *The Great War*, which aired in 1964-65.[149] These figures remained fairly steady over the final years of the 1960s and then increased further in the 1970s.[150]

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people questioned the role of the IWM in perpetuating militaristic culture. For example, one man set fire to the IWM building, claiming he disliked the glorification of war and showing such things to children that visit the Museum. Record, "Imperial War Museum: Arson Committed by T J B P Daly on 13 October 1968 as a Protest against War," Records of the Metropolitan Police Office, London, 1968; The National Archives, Kew: MEPO 26/124.

[145] Betty Lou Williams, "Recent Developments in the Policy of American Museums from 1960 to 2000: Where Do We Go from Here?," *Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society* 30, no. 4 (2001), 317.

[146] Stephen E. Weil, "The Museum and the Public," *Museum Management and Curatorship* 16, no. 3 (1997), 258.

[147] Gaynor Kavanagh, *History Curatorship* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1990), 47-48.

[148] Weil, "The Museum and the Public," 258 & 266.

[149] Dan Todman, "The Reception of The Great War in the 1960s," *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* 22, no. 1 (2002), 29-36.

[150] "Imperial War Museum Visitor Figures 1918-Present," internal document (London: Imperial War Museum, 2013).

Devised from within the Australian Army: the founding of the AWM

In contrast to the IWM, the AWM was not primarily a project initiated from within the government,[151] but the idea of a group of Australians attached to the AIF who had witnessed fighting at Gallipoli and on the Western Front. Chief among them was Australia's official war correspondent, C.E.W. Bean,[152] who had experienced the conditions the Australian soldiers endured and was keenly aware of the loss of life suffered by these units. His comprehensive knowledge of the war and Australia's involvement in it was a key factor when he edited (and wrote much of) the Official History of Australia in the First World War.[153] However, his sensitivity towards the men and their bereaved families lay behind his tireless promotion of the AWM. Other figures involved in the establishment of the Memorial included John Treloar, who was to become the longest serving AWM Director, Henry Gullett, the first AWM Director, and his cousin Sid Gullett. All these men held a rank in the AIF. Another character involved in the conception of the AWM was Will Dyson, Australia's first official war artist. The establishment of a Committee to amass a collection for a British national war museum in 1917 (later the IWM) spurred these men to push for an Australian equivalent with concern that the British might seek primacy in war trophies.[154]

Many Australians saw themselves at this time as part of a broader British Empire, and this could suggest that Australia might have been happy with its dominion representation on the IWM Board as the main focus for its First World War commemorative efforts. However, in reality this documentation of the war, in an institution on the other side of the world, was not

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[151] See chapter 1 for the origins of the IWM. The first to propose the idea of a national war museum in Britain in February 1917 were Charles ffoulkes, Lord Harcourt (who was also a backer of the London Museum) and Ian Malcolm. The proposal was approved by the War Cabinet in March 1917: Jennifer Wellington, *Exhibiting War: The Great War, Museums, and Memory in Britain, Canada, and Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 46-47.

[152] Bean was elected by his fellow journalists to be official war correspondent. Joan Beaumont, "The Anzac legend," in *Australia's War, 1914-18*, ed. Joan Beaumont (St. Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 1995), 152.; Michael McKernan, *Here Is Their Spirit: A History of the Australian War Memorial 1917-1990* (St. Lucia, QLD: University of Queensland Press in assocation with the Australian War Memorial, 1991), 30.; K.S. Inglis, *Sacred Places: War Memorials in the Australian Landscape* (Carlton, VIC: Melbourne University Press, 1998), 79.

[153] The Official History of Australia in the War of 1914–1918 is a 12-volume series covering Australia's involvement in the First World War. The series was edited by the official historian Charles Bean, who also wrote six of the volumes, and was published between 1920 and 1942. It is digitised and available through the AWM website: C.E.W. Bean, "First World War Official Histories," Australian War Memorial, Collection ID: AWMOHWW1, accessed 14 June 2017, https://www.awm.gov.au/collection/C1416531. Bean wrote about emotionally about the story of the AIF and what he hoped would come out of their part in the First World War. See for example: C.E.W. Bean, *In Your Hands, Australians* (Melbourne: Cassell and Company Ltd., 1918).

[154] McKernan, *Here Is Their Spirit*, 40.

enough for Australia. Bean and his supporters wanted to have a more focused record of the Australian contribution to the war. The leading example of the Canadian War Records Office, set up by Lord Beaverbrook who did not want to leave the recording of the Canadian effort to the British, was a powerful stimulus. Early collecting for the AWM was well organised and word spread throughout the AIF. To some extent the soldiers of the Australian army themselves helped build the foundations of the AWM collection. Some soldiers had already started collecting on their own initiative from the outset of the Gallipoli campaign because they believed it would be historically significant.[155] Collecting started officially for the AWM, as with the IWM, during the ongoing war. High ranking officers in the AIF encouraged soldiers to collect for a future Australian war museum. This caused a souveniring scramble along the major fronts of the conflict.[156] The idea of collecting records of the war for Australia had also taken hold quite early in Australia, leading to squabbling between the States.[157]

The Australian War Records Section (AWRS) was established and commenced operations in May 1917, with Lieutenant John Treloar as the officer-in-charge.[158] AIF Headquarters stated the AWRS had been formed 'in the interests of the national history of Australia and in order that Australia may have control of her own historical records'. Through the AWRS, collecting for the AWM was very much embedded within the Australian armed forces, as opposed to collecting for the IWM, which was carried out in tandem with the British armed forces.[159] At first the AWRS only collected written materials, but Bean hoped it would become as comprehensive as the Canadian War Records Office, which collected non-written material as well, including film, photographs and art. Ordinary objects of the war were collected from early on by the AWRS. Sid Gullett was Treloar's field officer in France, who

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[155] Ibid., 32-36. Collecting, or 'souveniring' by Australians was quite spontaneous, Bean wrote that at Gallipoli the Australian section had been cleared of its empty shells. McKernan quotes: Bean diary, 22 May 1915, AWM 38, 3DRL 606, Item 8.

[156] There were many artworks made about Australian soldiers' souveniring during the First World War. For example, see the following drawing from the AWM collection (AWM ART 19768): Colin Colahan, *The Souvenir Hunter,* 1918. It depicts a soldier chasing a shell that has been fired and is about to hit the ground. Its caption reads: "I haven't got a nose-cap off one of those big shells."

[157] Discussions about the allocation of trophies of war to State Governments had begun as early as 1916: McKernan, *Here Is Their Spirit*, 36.

[158] Treloar was a staff sergeant at Gallipoli, and worked his way up to become confidential clerk to Brigadier General Brudenell White at the 1st Anzac Corps Headquarters. He was a gifted administrator and devoted all his energies to the establishment of the AWM collection and eventual institution.

[159] Wellington, *Exhibiting War*, 247.

fearlessly collected objects from the Western Front in 1918.[160] The collecting ideology of the AWRS was comprehensiveness and accuracy. For example, Treloar devoted much time to making sure the war diaries were sent back to units to be completed in full and with detail and these became an invaluable source for later First World War histories. Another important point to the collecting ideology that remained for the years of the early AWM was a democratic approach – Bean wanted to avoid exalting the role of high ranking individuals over the sacrifice of the many ordinary soldiers of the AIF. One example of this was his decision not to display portraits in the AWM exhibitions based on AIF seniority, favouring experience 'under fire' instead.[161]

At this time, the War Museum was almost the first Australian project to be imagined as the best of its kind in the world, and not just a colonial copy institution.[162] Bean conceived of a museum that would record and commemorate the sacrifice of ordinary Australians in the First World War.[163] The commemoration of ordinary individuals was at the heart of Bean's conception for the AWM, as he felt an obligation to the dead, and this is what distinguished the Memorial.[164] One example of this was the Roll of Honour, which Bean envisaged would record the name of every Australian who died as a result of the First World War.[165] Along with recording the war, the AWM was to play an important role after violence had ceased. It was to be a place where relatives of fallen soldiers could remember their loved ones and honour their sacrifice. This aspect was born out of necessity, as the numerous dead buried on the Western Front were too far away for most Australians to visit, and even if they did travel to France or Belgium it would often be impossible to find a specific soldier's gravesite.[166] This function of the proposed War Museum (as it was then envisaged) meant its

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[160] McKernan, *Here Is Their Spirit*, 43.

[161] Ibid., 145-146.

[162] Bean expressed ideas like this about Australia itself: writing about the AIF he said 'They believed Australia would be the greatest and best country in all the world… You will see in your midst the great museum and gallery sacred to them… whereas all the other countries are made, Australia is a country still to make…' Bean, *In Your Hands*, 13.

[163] The AWM had a number of aims, one of the foremost being to record a history of Australia at war, inclusive of individual's stories and actions, so as to provide this history to Australians for generations. In his history of the AWM, K.S. Inglis gives further functions of the erecting of the Memorial. Bean's *Official History of Australia in the War of 1914-1918*, and the Australian War Memorial as well, were conceived of as 'not merely a record of Australian actions but a monument.' Ibid., 99.

[164] McKernan, *Here Is Their Spirit*, 43 & 61.

[165] Peter Londey, "Known Soldiers: The Roll of Honour at the Australian War Memorial," in *When the Soldiers Return: November 2007 Conference Proceedings*, ed. Martin Crotty (Brisbane: University of Queensland, 2009), 262.

[166] Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 93-101.

commemorative function would to some degree have religious undertones.[167] The objects collected for the AWM were treated as sacred relics that bore witness to the extraordinary deeds of ordinary Australians.[168]

Another motivation for the founding of the AWM was to preserve objects and memories of a point in time at which the 'young nation' of Australia had been tested on a world stage through war. In paying tribute to this nation-defining moment in Australia's history, the AWM served nation-building purposes. However, the Australian war museum project was "nation-building in an imperial context."[169] Australians in this era could see themselves as both loyal subjects of the British Empire and proud Australian 'natives'.[170] In their writings the AWM founders defined national attributes, particularly through their descriptions of the Australian 'diggers' at Gallipoli and on the Western Front.[171] It was predominantly an Anglo-Saxon male identity being upheld as the embodiment of the Australian nation. Bean himself saw the distinctive qualities of Australian soldiers as belonging to an Australian people who were 'better' Britons.[172]

This nationalist focus for the AWM puts into stark relief how the Memorial was simultaneously a government approved national institution serving a national purpose, and at the same time, I would argue, very much an institution of the people, one that the Australian

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[167] Inglis argues that Bean used religious language to discuss the memories of the AIF and the role of the Memorial and the objects in it in line with Rousseau's idea of a 'civil religion'. 'As the nation's tribute Bean proposed the museum which in his vision would be a holy place, a repository for relics and records which he described as 'sacred things''. Inglis, "A Sacred Place," 102. He quotes from Bean in *Commonwealth Gazette*, 15 January 1918. In September 1917 Bean wrote an article for *The Commonwealth Gazette* entitled 'Australian Records Preserved as Sacred Things', another example of the use of religious tone.

[168] 'Relics' was a term used by Bean and others to describe the objects of war, or what we might term the 'material culture' of conflict: Peter Stanley, "The Australian War Memorial- National or Nationalist Institution?," *Agora* 4 (1996), 14. War 'relics' were thought to give those who had not gone to the fighting fronts a direct connection to an authentic experience of the war: Wellington, *Exhibiting War*, 4 and 25.

[169] Wellington, *Exhibiting War*, 15-16, 48-49 and 221-222.

[170] The way Australia's national identity was defined through the AWM included British identity, because in fact, many Australians in this era thought of themselves primarily as a British people. Neville Meaney, "Britishness and Australian Identity: The Problem of Nationalism in Australian History and Historiography," *Australian Historical Studies* 32, no. 116 (2001), 79. Also many people believed "Australians were 98 percent British." Bill Gammage and Peter Spearritt, eds., *Australians 1938* (Broadway, N.S.W.: Fairfax, Syme & Weldon Associates, 1987), 2.

[171] Bean often extolled the admirable characteristics of the Anzac soldiers. See: Beaumont, "The Anzac legend," 149-157.; Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 78-79. Inglis argues that the image of the Australian Digger, often presented as a young man and able to be seen in stone statues all around the country, became a myth-figure of the new cult of Australian military manhood during the First World War. Inglis, "A Sacred Place," 117.

[172] Meaney, "Britishness," 80.

public felt a sense of ownership over. Bennett argues: "The celebration of the ordinary soldier at the AWM transformed the public lexicon, but also allowed for the statement of the Australian national character being anti-authoritarian, egalitarian."[173] It was through the celebration of ordinary Australians that the AWM could be perceived as the voice of ordinary Australians. In contrast, Wellington argues that compared with the IWM, the AWM had a more "authoritarian pathway to the construction of a national sacred site," due to Bean's position as official correspondent and historian for Australia, and the fact that he rapidly gained support and approval for the war museum project from within the Australian military and central government.[174] She notes that Australia's geographical distance from the war led to the AWRS vision and interpretation of the conflict being dominant in the early display of war objects in Australia.[175]

In the interwar years, the AWM founders worked to materialise the Australian government's commitment to a national war museum.[176] Bean had envisioned the large collection amassed during the war as being divided up between the Federal government, who had first pick, and then the State governments.[177] In particular, he felt the art and war diaries collected by the AWRS would be the property of the Commonwealth and would form the core of the AWM collection.[178] The building for this collection was anticipated to be a place for community, to embody the ideology of the AWM, and to be a focus for the veneration of fallen soldiers. Bean and Treloar's vision for the building was not realised for many years. The AWM wanted to be an institution for the Australian people, and this meant they had to make their collection accessible, even though at this stage they had no purpose-built museum. Despite efficiently amassing collections, the AWM was to have no building to house them in until the Second World War. Originally, during the war, the large AWM collection had been amassed and was being managed out of Australia House in London.[179] Once the collection had been transported to Australia, and before the building for the AWM was erected, the collections

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[173] Bennett, *The birth of the museum*, 138-139.
[174] Wellington, *Exhibiting War*, 8, 54-55, 142. Wellington argues that Bean's vision became both popular and official: ibid., 215.
[175] ibid., 54-58.
[176] The first step towards making the AWM a physical reality was the passing of an authorising act of parliament in 1925: Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 316.
[177] McKernan, *Here Is Their Spirit*, 72. War trophies were to be distributed to the States from the collection on the basis of population.
[178] Ibid., 57-8.
[179] Anne-Marie Condé, "John Treloar, Official War Art and the Australian War Memorial," *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 53, no. 3 (2007), 453-454.

were put on temporary display in both Melbourne and Sydney.[180] Treloar himself did much of the work organising the display and writing all the captions. Bean and Treloar were able to assert their vision over these displays, and they hoped that the venture might build public pressure for a permanent home for the collection. However, they faced anti-war sentiment in Australia and war weariness that posed difficulties for their bids for funding.[181]

After years of delays, the AWM building finally opened to the public on 11 November 1941 in Canberra. A competition had been held for the design of the building, and the delays through this and its construction were partly responsible for its late arrival.[182] Initially, the idea of placing the Memorial in the nation's capital had not been welcomed by everyone. It was one of the first major buildings to be erected in Canberra, and people questioned whether this really made it accessible to most Australians, many of whom lived in either Melbourne or Sydney.[183] However, by placing the building in the heart of the nation's capital there was a deliberate association made about the AWM and the place of First World War remembrance in Australia, and there was also an inherent implication about the identity of Australians. Canberra, Australia's 'bush capital', was claimed by journalists at the time to be a 'typically Australian' setting (f.4), even though this may not have been the locale of most Australians who lived in urban areas. However, the bush setting also played into Bean's ideal of picturing the men of the first AIF as 'bushmen'.[184]

The AWM in the 1950s embarked on some major works to its commemorative area, including the completion of Napier Waller's mosaic and stained glass for the Hall of Memory,[185] and continued work on the Roll of Honour, erection of which began in 1961.[186] But visitor figures in the 1950s and 1960s were restrained compared with the figures for attendance from the 1970s.[187] This is reminiscent of the public interest shown in the IWM in the same decades. Global social movements, such as the counterculture of the 1960s, were

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[180] McKernan, *Here Is Their Spirit*, 66. 'Recognising that the permanent building in Canberra would take some years to complete, Bean suggested that the collection be housed in temporary accommodation in Sydney and Melbourne and be shown to the public in exhibitions there and in other States.'
[181] Ibid., 68 & 70.
[182] The Great Depression was also to blame: McKernan, *Here Is Their Spirit*, 94-119.
[183] Inglis, "A Sacred Place," 111.
[184] McKernan, *Here Is Their Spirit*, 25.
[185] Inglis, "A Sacred Place," 122.
[186] Peter Londey, "Known Soldiers," 265-266.
[187] McKernan, *Here Is Their Spirit*, 290-291.

shared by the two countries who also shared war histories.[188] In the 1950s, a certain amount of war weariness contributed to the AWM's declining popularity,[189] and in the 1960s the Memorial was criticised by some demonstrators who claimed it glorified war.[190] A new Act in 1952 had extended the Memorial's scope, further than the IWM scope, to include all conflicts post and preceding the First World War.[191] Treloar retired in 1952, and he was succeeded by J.J. McGrath and subsequently W.R. Lancaster. Lancaster was Director at the AWM from 1966 to 1974. During his Directorship he visited museums overseas and realised the Memorial needed to improve their display with new methods and an emphasis on complete story telling.[192] He found other museums had little awareness of the AWM, thinking of it as just a shrine. The 1950s and 1960s were also quiet periods at the AWM for collecting in general, including print collecting, but the 1970s heralded in a period of new energy for the AWM. In effect, the new scope meant the AWM's collection would play a new part in historicising Australia, in that it would help Australians imagine their colonial past, and their military roots.[193]

The war museums in the modern era: governance and underlying messages

From the late 1970s onwards both museums entered a modern era, which was marked by increasing professionalism amongst their staff and their public programs. Even in these decades the IWM and AWM went through changes in focus and process. This will be expanded on in the collections chapters, especially chapters 4, 5, 7, and 8. However, here we will turn our attention to the museums of today, particularly focusing on the make-up of their governing bodies and their underlying messages. While the messages of the IWM and AWM displays are difficult to define, because they are not necessarily what the museums would

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[188] The 1960s counter-culture movement was transnational: Shirleene Robinson and Julie Ustinoff (eds.), *The 1960s in Australia: people, power and politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012), xv and Chapter 5.

[189] McKernan also makes the point that there was a high proportion of military officers on the Board throughout the 1960s and in the early 1970s. He argues that they struggled to make a major contribution to the development of the AWM. Bean himself retired from the Board in 1963. Ibid., 243-244.

[190] Ibid., 265. (It is important to remember that this sentiment may have been particularly strong due to Australia's involvement in the Vietnam War).

[191] Inglis, "A Sacred Place," 113. McKernan, *Here Is Their Spirit*, 227-228.

[192] Ibid., 263-4.

[193] The AWM was in a way Australia's first national museum, pre-dating any other Australian national museum by 60 years. An Australian national museum of history opened in Canberra in 2001: Peter Stanley, "War and Australia's Museums," in *Understanding Museums: Australian Museums and Museology*, ed. Des Griffin and Leon Paroissien (Canberra, National Museum of Australia, 2011). Published online at nma.gov.au/research/understanding-museums/ISBN 978-1-876944-92-6.

publish themselves about their institutional purposes and visions for interacting with their visitors, an analysis of the layout of their galleries, and the way history narratives are shaped and utilized within these spaces, provides insight into the messages that are being communicated to visitors through the sub-text of their displays. Such a reading is informed by Bennett, who argues that national museums are state tools, and that they use their displays for social management by influencing the way visitors understand themselves as 'subjects and objects' of the display.[194] Commemoration also plays a prominent role in shaping the narratives of the IWM and AWM, and a commemorative focus seems to influence the museums to form close relationships with the military and to serve nation-defining narratives. Varied agendas are apparent in both museums. However, there is still evidence of state messages and conservative stakeholders influencing the broader structure of exhibition spaces at the IWM and AWM.

The IWM Board of Trustees and the AWM Council

The IWM currently has a Board of 22 Trustees, who are appointed by various government figures, and they include the High Commissioners of the seven Commonwealth governments.[195] The AWM has a Council of 13 members maximum, which reports to the Department of Veterans Affairs. The three Service Chiefs have ex-officio positions on the Council, the Governor-General makes other appointments.[196] There are military influences on the governing bodies of both museums, but the AWM Council usually has a much higher representation of senior military figures. When he was interviewed in 2012, Richard Slocombe said that the IWM was beginning to get a more varied Board of Trustees, with more people from the business sector rather than a predominance of ex-military trustees.[197] The IWM has had a Trustee specializing in the arts since the First World War era.[198] The governing bodies themselves have an oversight responsibility, and their composition can

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[194] In the introduction I argue that the war museums present underlying narratives to their visitors through displays that serve government purposes (Bennett, *The birth of the museum*, Chapter 2: 59-88.), but that at the same time internal staff members of the institutions have the ability to disrupt government messages through their own agency within the museums.

[195] "Our Trustees," Imperial War Museums, accessed 14 June 2017, http://www.iwm.org.uk/corporate/trustees. The President of the Board is appointed by the Sovereign. Other appointees are made by such figures as the Prime Minister, the Foreign Secretary, the Secretary of State for Defence and the Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport.

[196] The three Service Chiefs are the Chief of Navy, the Chief of Army, and the Chief of the Air Force.

[197] Interview with Richard Slocombe (IWM senior curator), London, 4 December 2012.

[198] Kathleen Palmer says the IWM Art Trustee position was established early in the Museum's history, the first Art Trustee being Muirhead Bone, who came to the IWM with the transfer of the First World War Ministry of Information collection. Interview with Kathleen Palmer (former IWM Head of Art), London, 6 December 2012.

influence how the museum interprets its function. However, their influence is limited by the sporadic nature of meetings, moreover the Director of the museums usually is the key figure in the management and direction of the museums.

The gallery layouts of the AWM and IWM

The AWM narratives promote the importance of war commemoration in Australia as a sacred act (this is further discussed shortly) and the centrality of the First World War to the Australian war story. When visitors enter the museum space of the AWM today, the layout initially guides them into an introductory gallery, which opens directly onto displays dedicated to the First World War, starting with Gallipoli.[199] Rather than following a strict chronology, the AWM places its First World War narrative front and centre to the visitor's experience, with other narratives such as the colonial display in less-accessible areas of the building (f.5). The First World War history presented in the AWM permanent displays draws on the vision of AWM founder C.E.W. Bean, who had great respect for the Australian 'diggers'.[200] There is a large interactive topographical map of Gallipoli – an updated version of Bean's original plan models that were commissioned to illustrate the landscapes where Australian soldier had fought.[201] While Gallipoli has a prominent position in the current First World War galleries, the AWM curators have given adequate attention to other fronts. The other AWM galleries include displays about the Second World War, post 1945 conflicts, the recent Afghanistan War and special galleries, such as a display about Victoria Cross winners and 'Anzac Hall' where large objects such as the G-for-George bomber and a midget submarine are on show, as well as a temporary exhibition space. The tone throughout the AWM displays is consistent, with an emphasis on Australia's military history. Art is integrated throughout all of the AWM historical galleries, and is generally displayed side by side with objects from other areas of the collection.

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[199] The first object the visitor encounters is a Gallipoli lifeboat, the HMT *Ascot*. Peter Stanley argues that under a 1983 refurbishment by Noel Flanagan, the First World War galleries started with Gallipoli because of its significance, rather than following the prior chronological approach that began with the Australian Navy. This old chronology has never been reinstated. Flanagan's galleries themselves did not either celebrate or analyse the Anzac legend, but presented the facts of Gallipoli. Stanley, "The Australian War Memorial," 16. The latest refurbishment of the First World War galleries does celebrate the Anzac legend in some parts: Alexandra Walton, "Australia in the Great War, Australian War Memorial, Canberra," *Australian Historical Studies* 46, no. 2 (2015), 304-307.

[200] These men, according to Bean, in terrible circumstances displayed personal qualities that he attributed to a national character, including stoicism, egalitarianism, and loyalty 'mateship'. Bean wrote, 'the big thing in the war for Australia was the discovery of the character of Australian men. It was character which rushed the hills at Gallipoli and held on there.' Bean, *In Your Hands*, 90.

[201] Walton, "Australia in the Great War," 305-306.

The IWM is a museum with a varied gallery layout, and consequently diverse messages throughout. The different messages between the IWM displays is further evidence of how this museum is a meeting place for ideas from disparate intellectual groups in the way it gives a platform to different internal agendas.[202] The focus throughout the IWM is part military history and part social history. Political and economic themes that contextualize war history are included. Apart from the straight conflict history galleries, there are a number of 'subject' galleries, including a permanent display demonstrating the role of intelligence and counter intelligence in war time, and another permanent exhibition dedicated to the Holocaust. There are dedicated art gallery spaces on the third level, which are the main opportunity for viewing art at the Museum.[203] The IWM was renovated in 2014, but some elements of the old display have been retained, such as the large atrium space that confronts visitors as they enter the Museum. Here, the large technological items of war are the focus. This is for pragmatic reasons, as many large items can only fit in this area of the Museum, but it also caters to a visitor interest in impressive vehicles and armaments that are arguably decontextualized from their historical function as weapons of war.[204] The IWM presents both a national and imperial history, with its enduring imperial remit sitting uneasily within the contemporary IWM, but also giving it a wide contextual scope within which to present its history of Britain at war. However, the treatment of conflicts involving the Commonwealth countries but not Britain is usually brief, such as the Vietnam War, which is given a perfunctory mention.[205] The IWM sees itself as taking on some of the roles of a national history museum of Britain.[206]

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[202] See my explanation in the introduction of how I understand the war museums to be not just serving government agendas, but also as meeting places for ideas, particularly for a meeting of varied agendas from within different departments within the museums.

[203] The history galleries, including new First World War galleries, viewed by me on 2 August 2014, are innovative and comprehensive in their display, but do not include many artworks.

[204] This is an equivalent space to Anzac Hall at the AWM, where large objects of war technology are featured. Roger Tolson was in charge of renovating the atrium space for the IWM (having moved on from the Art Section), and in interview he said that he was thinking deeply about how to present war themes to an audience while working on the project. So it was not just to be an empty installation of vehicles etc. Interview with Roger Tolson (former IWM Head of Art), London, 28 November 2012.

[205] IWM's First World War scope that covered Britain's Empire now translates to Britain and the Commonwealth, as indicated on the IWM website: 'IWM is unique in its coverage of conflicts, especially those involving Britain and the Commonwealth, from the First World War to the present day.' "About Us", Imperial War Museums, accessed 26 April 2017, http://www.iwm.org.uk/corporate

[206] 'We are the only national, modern social history museum in the UK. Our subject matter helps to explain why British society is like it is today and is crucial to the understanding of world history. Our subject matter is inextricably linked with the sense of identity, both national and personal. From: Annual Report and Account 2009-2010 (London: Imperial War Museum and The Stationery Office, 2010), 1.3. What makes the Imperial War Museum unique? Kathleen Palmer argues that partly because of a perceived role as a keeper of national

Commemoration at the war museums

Commemoration is key to forming historical narratives at both war museums. The IWM and AWM hold unique positions within their respective societies as the government-endorsed keepers of their country's public memory and knowledge of national war history. They are part of the wider culture of war commemoration in British and Australian society, and its resurgence over the last 30 years.[207] The relative significance of the museums as cultural institutions within their societies may say something about war remembrance itself in these two countries. Both museums are located in their national capitals, thereby reinforcing their central place in national and symbolic imaginings. Both museums are major tourist attractions within their cities. The IWM London branch, however, is just one museum among many in London, and its location on the south bank of the Thames, is sometimes perceived to be remote for tourists.[208] It does not hold the central position in the mind of London's tourist industry that the AWM does for Canberra, which has continuously been voted Canberra's primary attraction by consumer groups.[209] This reflects the relative size and density of the cities themselves. However, it may also reflect how the particular brands of history they embody are valued by their respective societies. The commemorative element is stronger at the AWM, which is not surprising given the decision made in the early 1920s to make it a national memorial.[210]

The commemorative role has the potential to promote conservative values and messages on behalf of the military, particularly when remembering the recent war dead. It is perhaps

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stories, the IWM focuses on a wider experience of war in the 20th century, beyond military aspects. Interview with Kathleen Palmer (former IWM Head of Art), London, 6 December 2012.

[207] See literature on this resurgence, termed the 'memory boom': Jay Winter, "The Generation of Memory: Reflections on the "Memory Boom" in Contemporary Historical Studies," *Canadian Military History* 10, no. 3 (2001), article 5.; Jay Winter, "Notes on the Memory Boom: War, Remembrance and the Uses of the Past," in *Memory, trauma and world politics: reflections on the relationship between past and present*, ed. Duncan Bell, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 54-73.; Kerwin Lee Klein, "On the Emergence of *Memory* in Historical Discourse," *Representations* 69, no. Winter (2000), 127-129.; and Sharon Macdonald, *Memorylands: Heritage and Identity in Europe Today* (London; New York: Routledge, 2013).

[208] Aulich and Hewitt argue that the IWM has always been positioned outside of what Brandon Taylor calls the 'symbolic circus of national culture in the British capital'. This may have an implication beyond tourism to the Museum's cultural legitimacy in London. Brandon Taylor, *Art for the Nation: Exhibitions and the London Public 1747-2001* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), xv.: in Aulich and Hewitt, *Seduction or Instruction?*, 23.

[209] On the hugely popular international travel website Trip Advisor, the Australian War Memorial was ranked number 1 out of 110 attractions in Canberra. The rankings are decided by users' votes. See: "Fun Things to Do in Canberra," Trip Advisor LLC, accessed 3 November 2014, http://www.tripadvisor.com.au/Attractions-g255057-Activities-Canberra_Greater_Canberra_Australian_Capital_Territory.html.

[210] See my discussion of this decision in chapter 6.

difficult to cover the history of a current conflict without including some memorialising aspect, since it is so recent to the people who have suffered losses. While war remembrance is not inherently conservative, and the war museums would argue that through commemoration we strengthen community ties, some organisations within British and Australian society with links to the armed forces promote a narrow and prescriptive version of war remembrance.[211] Whitmarsh argues that war museums like the IWM and AWM take a commemorative approach to historical interpretation,[212] and their commemoration in part serves state purposes. Through commemoration, the state defines its relationship to the war dead, whom it represents as citizens who sacrificed themselves for the good of the country. State commemoration also avoids laying the blame for the death of citizens at war at the feet of the government.[213] Virtues, such as patriotism and bravery are attributed to the war dead, and this serves the purposes of affirming political ideals about the nations involved in war, and the more noble social purpose of resolving collective emotional trauma caused by war.[214]

However, the question of who is remembered, and what form commemorative narratives take, reveals conservative values at play that serve the hegemonic powers of the nations.[215] It has been argued that in Britain days and rituals of war remembrance 'introduce support for the armed forces as a key national value' and that they undermine the moral complexity of modern conflicts.[216] The resurgence of Anzac commemoration in Australia has been linked by some academics with the militarization of Australian history,[217] while others argue that within Anzac commemorations and battlefield tours lies an important emotional need for people to

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[211] See for example the Royal British Legion's website where they claim to be the '..national custodian of Remembrance'. They write 'Remembrance is part of modern British life, culture and heritage...' And 'The Legion is committed to helping everyone understand the importance of Remembrance.' "Remembrance," *The Royal British Legion*, 2015, accessed 26 March 2017, http://www.britishlegion.org.uk/remembrance/

[212] Andrew Whitmarsh, "'We Will Remember Them' Memory and Commemoration in War Museums," *Journal of Conservation and Museum Studies* 7 (2001), 1.

[213] Ibid., 4.

[214] Alex King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain: The Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2014), 6. King argues that writers who discuss public commemoration of war have approached the subject either one way or the other, but that giving primacy to a 'single psychological process or political intention in the formation of commemorative symbols leads,.. to an incomplete account of both their origins and their social functions.'

[215] National myths or narratives rely on a duality of remembering and forgetting: Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities : Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London; New York: Verso, 2006), 206.

[216] Nataliya Danilova, *The Politics of War Commemoration in the UK and Russia* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 113.

[217] Marilyn Lake et. al., *What's wrong with ANZAC? The Militarisation of Australian History* (Sydney: University of NSW Press, 2010), 10.

connect to traditions, a shared heritage, and personal family histories.[218] The IWM and AWM each take their own particular approach to war commemoration, but the surge in public interest in commemoration (of the two world wars in particular) that Britain and Australia share has also been a reaction to the difficult and contested nature of other areas of shared history, particularly colonization histories.

The increased importance of remembrance of war history and veneration of the military in British society is being harnessed by the current IWM Director-General, Diane Lees.[219] The decision to increase the commemorative aspect of the IWM harkens back to its early failed bid to be Great Britain's national memorial to the First World War.[220] The committee charged with the establishment of the IWM envisaged it as a 'record and memorial' of the war. Although there were some hopes of making it Britain's national memorial to the war, this never eventuated. However, during the interwar years it held memorial services on Armistice Day at the original plaster and wood cenotaph, which became part of its displays.[221] At the time this was a move to win public support and relevancy for the IWM, and in today's Britain a memorialising aspect may once again be a strategy that could increase visitor numbers.[222] A surge of interest in military history in Britain was apparent particularly leading up to the 2014

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[218] Bruce Scates, *Return to Gallipoli: walking the battlefields of the Great War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 214-215.

[219] Commemoration is definitely something Lees feels is important for the IWM. Speaking about the IWM, Lees says commemoration is 'a huge part of our remit': Interview with Diane Lees (IWM Director-General), London, 7 January 2013.

[220] The IWM struggled to establish itself completely in the later years of the First World War, so its proponents attempted to cast it in the guise of a national memorial. This was an attempt to win support from a war weary British public: Memorandum, Director-General (National War Museum), 26 June 1917, London; "Imperial War Memorial and Museum." Printed for the War Cabinet, March 1918, Secret G-202. Appendix II (to the Lord Crawford Committee report) GT 1650): EN1/1/COM/002. 'The War Museum, by the nature and character of its exhibits forms a Memorial of the War, and it is submitted that it should be adopted as such by the Cabinet and designated the National War Memorial Museum.' The proposal to make the National War Museum a Memorial was not acceded to. See: Imperial War Museum Report of the Lord Crawford Committee, 14 March 1918, London, G-202. 2; EN1/1/COM/002. (which states that a National Memorial should be erected in juxtaposition to the War Museum).

[221] Kavanagh writes that the temporary plaster and wood cenotaph was acquired for the IWM by Charles ffoulkes. In 1922 the Museum held its own Armistice Day service at their cenotaph, which became a custom that was repeated throughout the inter-war years. It was destroyed by a bomb in the Second World War. Kavanagh, *Museums and the First World War*, 154.

[222] Sara Bevan says the IWM '…is definitely commemorative even if it's not necessarily a memorial…': Interview with Sara Bevan (IWM curator), London, 23 November 2012. A focus on popular forms of memorialisation arguably produces a traditionalist tone of war remembrance and reinforces some cultural stereotypes: Interview with Richard Slocombe (IWM senior curator), London, 4 December 2012.

First World War centenary,[223] and this change in social taste was reflected in increased visitor numbers at the IWM.[224] Public programs that provided a focus for remembrance were popular at IWM during the 2014 First World War Centenary year, such as one called 'A Poppy Field', which was held during the Museum's partial reopening.[225]

The direction towards commemoration at the IWM has in part come about through a fostering of relations with the British military and other prominent stakeholders with an interest in influencing war narratives. Museums, like other large organisations, will usually have responsibilities, or perceived responsibilities, towards more than one or two groups of people. Apart from museum visitors and the government, other groups have a special 'stake' in war museums and their activities: for example, veterans groups or collectors of war memorabilia. The 'Lord Ashcroft Gallery: Extraordinary Heroes Exhibition' was opened at the IWM in 2010, and displays Victoria Crosses that were collected by Lord Ashcroft along with the stories of the people who received them (f.6).[226] It reveals that the IWM is not immune to pressures from powerful stakeholders, and the tone of the exhibition space is one that reinforces traditional notions of 'heroism'. Key words are used to break the gallery into sections using emotive words such as 'courage' and 'sacrifice' that are linked with the Victoria Cross medals themselves. This technique denotes how VC winners are to be interpreted, as people who possess desirable virtues. The IWM's close relationship with the

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[223] This upsurge in public sympathy for the military in the UK is suggested by the existence of new campaigns, such as 'Help for Heroes', according to Kathleen Palmer: Interview with Kathleen Palmer (former IWM Head of Art), London, 6 December 2012. 'Help for Heroes' is a UK charity founded in 2007, which provides support to wounded, injured and sick Servicemen, women and veterans and their families. See their website: "Help for Heroes," accessed 14 June 2017, http://www.helpforheroes.org.uk/.

[224] The IWM visitor numbers at its Lambeth site are revealing. From 1967 they reached over 500,000 and they remained over this mark until 1986. From 1986 they dropped below 500,000. Overall IWM visitor numbers were bolstered by the opening of new branches in the 1980s. There was a resurgence of visitors to IWM Lambeth in 2000 that has sustained to the present, with these figures steadily increasing from the year Lees took over as Director-General in 2008. They hit a record high, over 1 million visitors to the Lambeth site, in the 2010/11 financial year. This information was provided to me in a document by the IWM: "Imperial War Museum Visitor Figures 1918-Present," internal document (London: Imperial War Museum, 2013).

[225] This program was marketed as 'Grow your own poppy from paper and wire and plant it in our Poppy Field to remember those who gave their lives to protect their country, from both world wars to conflicts today.' See: "What's On at IWM London: September-October 2014," IWM London news release, July 2014, accessed 26 March 2017, http://www.iwm.org.uk/sites/default/files/press-release/IWM%20London%20listings%20Sept%20to%20October%20Final.pdf

[226] "The Lord Ashcroft Gallery: Extraordinary Heroes. Opens 12 November 2010," IWM news release, accessed 11 March 2017, http://www.iwm.org.uk/sites/default/files/press-release/Lord_Ashcroft_Gallery_Press_Release.pdf 'IWM London, 2010: The new gallery, paid for by a £5million donation from Lord Ashcroft, KCMG, will house the Extraordinary Heroes exhibition containing the world's largest collection of Victoria Crosses (VCs), which has been established by Lord Ashcroft since 1986.'

British military is evident in how the Museum hosted the Sun Military Awards 'The Millies' in 2011 and 2012, an award ceremony which recognises individuals from the British armed forces.[227] Some elements of recent exhibits at the IWM related to Iraq and Afghanistan have distinct memorialising qualities.

Military history and war remembrance is central to contemporary Australian society and Australian identity.[228] For example, Anzac Day denotes Australian national pride and Australian military history as significant.[229] As both a memorial and museum, the AWM not only constructs an Australian identity for the past through its historical displays, but also links it to the present through commemorative ceremonies, and by promoting war history as a form of national Australian heritage. This harkens back to Bean, who was instrumental in drawing on classical histories analogous to the AIF experience at Gallipoli and the Western Front to construct a mythology that positioned the Australian soldiers as exemplars of a national Australian character.[230] The AWM instructs its visitors with commemorative rituals, for example, the artworks commissioned for the commemorative courtyard help visitors interpret and respond to the space in the manner expected of them. The AWM building itself signifies the importance of commemoration to the framing of museum displays at the Memorial. When first entering the AWM, the visitor arrives in a space known as the 'commemorative courtyard' and 'Hall of Memory'. This area holds the tomb of the 'Unknown Soldier'; occupied since 1993. Many visitors to the Memorial do not realise that there is a museum beyond this commemorative space (f.7).[231]

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[227] I witnessed the IWM playing host to the *Sun* Military Awards in December 2012.

[228] For example, a paper that discusses the importance of military history and the Anzac legend to Australia, does so by reviewing four books published or republished in 2012 (in time for the First World War centenary): Martin Crotty and Christina Spittel, "The One Day of the Year and All That: Anzac between History and Memory," *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 58, no. 1 (2012), 123-131. The intense feeling that is attached to First World War remembrance by many Australians is referred to by Ken Inglis as a 'civil religion', after Rousseau: Inglis, "A Sacred Place," 99.

[229] Chris Beer, "Spectacle, Urban Governance and the Politics of Nationhood: Canberra and the Production of Anzac Day Commemorations and Australia Day Live," *Urban Policy and Research* 27, no. 1 (2009), 61.

[230] Peter Londey argues that C.E.W. Bean made a carefully chosen parallel between Australia as a 'new young democratic nation' and the free-thinking citizens of Athens in the 5th century BC. Bean used classical histories to create a worthy framework within which to commemorate the sacrifice of Australian soldiers, which simultaneously avoided Christian sectarianism. Peter Londey, "A Possession for Ever: Charles Bean, the Ancient Greeks, and Military Commemoration in Australia," *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 53, no. 3 (2007), 344-345.

[231] Interview with Lola Wilkins (former AWM Head of Art), Canberra, 8 May 2014. This may be common, given the way the AWM promotes itself, with most publicity photographs showing the inner commemorative courtyard, or the exterior of the building. For example see images chosen for covers of: *Australian War Memorial Annual Report 2012-2013* (Canberra: Australian War Memorial, 2013). It show an image of an Anzac

The way the AWM has enacted war remembrance has been different under the two most recent Directors at the Memorial.[232] Major General Gower promoted a strong alignment with military history, and also oversaw a style of commemoration at the AWM that linked with military traditions.[233] War remembrance at the AWM has taken on a slightly different complexion under the current Director, Brendan Nelson. A former federal opposition leader for Australia and amateur military historian, Nelson has favoured a sentimentalised re-visitation to the Anzac story.[234] This championing of the Anzac Spirit in the Australian war history narrative has taken form in public programs, such as the recently instigated daily readings as part of the AWM 5pm closing ceremony. The daily readings of biographies and diaries are designed to maximise the emotional charge of the closing ceremony. It is a move toward the spectacle/entertainment element of modern remembrance and commemoration.

Nelson's understanding of the political importance of the Memorial is reflected in his handling of its programs and displays.[235] As stated in previous chapters, the AWM focuses on the Australian experience, but also attempts to give context (in varying degrees) to that experience. The mission of the AWM has always been to commemorate the sacrifice of individual Australians in war, through helping the public to understand the history of those wars. This produces histories that embody many personal stories, which tend to replace a broad historical analysis of decisions taken by governments and communities in wartime. While individual testimony has the potential to invoke a discussion about ethics or state decisions, for example, it can also be used within the limitations of a display space to give

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Day ceremony. *Australian War Memorial Annual Report 2011-2012* (Canberra: Australian War Memorial, 2012). It shows an image of a memorial sculpture in the AWM grounds. When a google image search is performed for 'Australian War Memorial' all the images on the first page show the outside or commemorative area. Also, the name of the institution can also be easily misunderstood.

[232] Interview with Peter Stanley (former AWM Principal Historian), Canberra, 10 June 2014.

[233] Inglis gives evidence for the increased militarisation of the AWM and the increased presence of current or retired armed forces personnel on the AWM Council from 1993 to 2006. He also argues that there was then a clear tendency, 'to incorporate military rituals and symbols in ceremonies conducted there.' Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 497.

[234] Nelson's view that 'the soul of the nation is embodied in many ways by the memorial' was recorded in the following article: Mark Dapin, "Finding Ourselves in the Shadow of War," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 October 2013.

[235] For example see: Judith Ireland, "Nelson Seeks Private Fund to Realise Grand Plans for Memorial," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 26 April 2013. The article states that under Nelson, a new Afghanistan War display that was supposed to take years to produce took a matter of months. Nelson as a former politician understands the politics of display, and urged this project to a quick realisation.

visitors an understanding of what an event felt like to experience, instead of interrogating the reasons that event took place.

The AWM, and memorials in general, have a particular part to play for communities dealing with grief and death. The AWM addresses difficult content throughout its museum displays, although rather than discussing the ethics of war or Australia's position in war, the displays usually outline the hardships undergone by ordinary Australians in times of war, or the difficulties faced by Australian military forces on duty.[236] There have been areas of the AWM displays that have addressed such content in a touching way, although sometimes the AWM seems too aware of the emotional responses of its visitors, and draws on sensitive subjects to elicit a reaction. One example of this is the final room of the current First World War area, which presents visitors with an emotive video of soldiers and poppies, with the national anthem playing in the background.[237] It highlights the potential of a museum's emotional engagement with personal and communal grief to default to patriotic sentiment where some might find a more nuanced approach preferable. The AWM seeks a sometimes uneasy balance between commemoration and sentimentalism, and between respectful remembrance and analysis. Memorials are expected to create an affective response in visitors, to lead to catharsis and healing.[238] The AWM is a place where families come to grieve, remember and understand, and so it seeks to face this aspect of human existence in a sincere and sensitive manner. However, arguably this need not preclude the discussion of such subjects in a truthful and revealing manner.

Traditional commemoration is selective in the way it portrays war: for example, it is 'unseemly' to discuss specific gruesome details at commemorative ceremonies. They are often performances full of beauty (wreaths) and grace (marches, music). Dealing with the dark realities of war in a museum may mean questioning some of society's iconic, commemorative narratives. How much death is actually shown in the displays at the Memorial? I have found that death and injury are more explicit in the visual displays of the

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[236] From my own observation of AWM displays, 2015.

[237] Walton, "Australia in the Great War," 307.

[238] This has been argued about memorials, rather than memorial/museums, in the US. See Zachary Beckstead et al., "Collective Remembering through the Materiality and Organization of War Memorials," *Journal of Material Culture* 16, no. 2 (2011), 210. Macdonald argues that the past is 'felt, experienced and expressed through objects, such as ruined buildings, monuments…' in discussing embodiment, materiality and affect in relation to 'past-presencing'. Macdonald, *Memorylands* (2013), 79.

First and Second World War galleries, than in the recent War in Afghanistan display which opened at the AWM in 2013.[239] Perhaps because a contemporary AWM audience is not directly connected to the conflicts of the past, and so requires a greater degree of explanation of these conflicts, and perhaps there is also more scope for critical examination of the events and context of these wars.[240] However, many Australians are familiar with the deaths that have occurred as a result of recent conflicts, and some visitors will have a political position on the morality of Australia's involvement with these conflicts. The war museums respond with a highly commemorative approach to the discussion of deaths in recent conflicts.[241] But dealing with grief in a sensitive manner may require certain truths about war to be left unsaid, especially when speaking of recent deaths. This is part of the reason why the AWM is sometimes accused of glorifying war; if they are not condemning recent conflicts, they may be seen to be condoning them.[242]

The problem with a commemorative tone is how the relationship with the military is then managed by the museum. The war museums to an extent must have a relationship with the military because the military and the experience of soldiers is a key subject for the museum. Also, the war museums obtain many of their objects related to contemporary conflicts directly from the military. How does playing a commemorative role pull the war museums further into promoting messages on behalf of the military, and by extension the government? One example of a contemporary exhibit about the military at the IWM was an Afghanistan War display in the atrium from late 2012. It comprised a wall of faces of British soldiers who had fought in Afghanistan, with a story for each soldier in a multi-media label.[243] An exhibit

[239] The AWM's exhibition space *Afghanistan: the Australian story* has some text based descriptions of injuries sustained by soldiers due to IEDs, and there are some discussions about death. However, visually, death and injury are not on display either through the art shown or the video or photographic elements of the display. Psychological damage is shown visually through the art of Ben Quilty, which is on display. In the First World War galleries, wounded soldiers and dead bodies are visually apparent in some of the art on display, which was created during the First World War. The AWM does also sometimes display photographs of injured or dead bodies in its historical galleries.

[240] Interview with Lola Wilkins (former AWM Head of Art), Canberra, 8 May 2014.

[241] For example, a highly commemorative approach to the discussion of deaths in war is taken in the *Hall of Valour* exhibition space, which is an area that displays medals and the stories of those who received them.

[242] An example of this viewpoint is found in a newspaper article where the writer argues that the display is one-sided: 'There is no record… of any of the peace movements that have existed in Australia.' Jane O'Dwyer, "Memorial Tells Only Part of the Story," *The Canberra Times*, 2 October 2000.

[243] This display was changed with the IWM re-opening. Director-General Diane Lees said in her interview that the IWM wants to have productive collaborations with current soldiers (ones returning from Afghanistan) and they want these soldiers to talk about their experience because it is too early for the IWM to create a narrative for this conflict: Interview with Diane Lees (IWM Director-General), London, 7 January 2013.

that so intimately includes individuals who are still alive creates difficulties with questioning the broader morality and political decision making around war, because the Museum feels beholden to family members, and also the Museum runs the risk of inviting a public backlash against criticism of individuals.

Visitors to the war museums

The IWM and AWM displays and messages are shaped for and influenced by the museums' perceptions of who constitutes their visitorship. The profile of war museum visitors is important for staff perceptions and development of collections, and it also impacts how art is used for museum displays. This is because museum staff will take into account their understandings of the needs of the museum audiences when making collecting and display decisions. From the 1980s, both the IWM and AWM have consciously developed an audience focus, which puts the visitors and their needs before other agendas.[244] The museum staff try to work to reduce the 'lecturing' tone of the museum narrative, and instead think about what histories are interesting and relevant to their audiences. And the 'digital revolution' in museums, particularly since the 1990s and the appearance of museum collections on the internet, has helped improve visitor access to information about museum objects.[245]

War museums such as the IWM and AWM have a broad audience that takes in people of all ages, and with varying degrees of education and socio-economic status, and so they pitch their displays to a generalist audience.[246] Because of family military histories, a large segment of the populations of Britain and Australia today have immediate 'cultural entry' into the space of the museum.[247] Stakeholder groups such as veterans groups, also have degrees of

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[244] The audience focus was developed in later years at the two museums (discussed in chapters 4 and 7).
[245] This is discussed in further detail in chapter 9 of the thesis. Also see: Katherine Burton Jones, "The Transformation of the Digital Museum," in *Museum informatics: people, information, and technology in museums*, eds. Paul F. Marty and Katherine Burton Jones (New York and London: Taylor & Francis, 2008), 18.
[246] Both museums cater to family groups, 'middle youth' adults and older adults. In interview, the curators said that the AWM pitches its art labels to a generalist audience: Interview with Ryan Johnston (AWM Head of Art), Canberra, 2 July 2014.; interview with Laura Webster (AWM senior curator), Canberra, 22 May 2014.; interview with Warwick Heywood (AWM curator), Canberra, 22 May 2014. The same is true for the IWM.
[247] The IWM, for example, segments its audience into groups, with the largest segment (42%) categorised as history-lovers who 'are looking for relevancy and authority': "Audience Pen Portraits: Time Teamers," internal AWM leaflet, 2015. Through family history connections, a large general audience can feel that they have a reason to visit the war museums. This point follows on from Bourdieu's theories that explain how 'working class' segments of the population do not have the means of deciphering works of art as 'symbolic goods' that allows them to feel comfortable in art museums. These spaces are therefore not truly democratic but elitist.

involvement with their national war museums, and some degree of influence over museum narratives in that the museum staff are aware of these stakeholder groups and their expectations.

In Australia and Britain, the growing public interest in family history and its link with military history has been utilised to great effect, particularly by the IWM since its 1989 reopening. A number of technological and social changes have led to a phenomenon in many countries of people researching their genealogies and the stories of their ancestor's lives.[248] Sometimes such research leads to the discovery of an ancestor who fought in the First World War, and military records can be available to show when and where they served. There are also a number of people who knew a grandfather/mother or great uncle or aunt who had experienced a war, and shared their memories. The utilisation of this social phenomenon in Britain by the IWM is most visible in their former marketing campaign 'part of your family's history',[249] which was a tagline on the IWM website and numerous IWM souvenir products. By drawing in visitors with relatives who fought, often in one or both of the world wars, with the chance to understand their relative's experiences,[250] the IWM effectively broadens its audience and allows their visitors to emotionally identify with the content of the Museum.[251] Lees sees this as the value of the IWM- it is about personal stories and experience, which she thinks align with a 21st century audience.[252] The family history aspect is an impetus to continue focusing on 'personal stories' in the displays of both war museums.

Pierre Bourdieu et. al, *The Love of Art: European Art Museums and Their Public*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991), 26, 37-39.

[248] With the influence of new technologies, the genealogy boom has led to a phenomenon of 'legacy tourism' where people visit heritage sites, museums, and centres of research to find out about their family histories: Nina M. Ray and Gary McCain, "Personal Identity And Nostalgia For The Distant Land Of Past: Legacy Tourism," *International Business & Economics Research Journal* 11, no. 9 (2012), 977-989. The internet has been a key tool for amateur genealogists to access archival databases of marriage, birth and death certificates, and to share research. Popular websites where people can research their genealogy include: ancestry.com.au, ancestry.co.uk, and ancestry.com. This interest has been reflected in television shows such as 'Who do you think you are', where the ancestral trees of celebrities are explored: BBC, *Who Do You Think You Are?* (United Kingdom: Wall to Wall Production Company, 2004-present).

[249] Malvern, "War, Memory and Museums," 182.

[250] Through services such as the IWM 'Explore History Centre' where visitors can obtain records of individuals or service units, or through a larger narrative, such as the story of the 'Blitz Spirit' of the Britons who lived through the bombing of London and other parts of Britain in the Second World War.

[251] The Blitz Spirit display was a major feature of the Second World War display before the IWM re-opening. Now this particular attraction has not been kept and the Second World War area in general is pared back compared with its First World War counterpart area. This is in anticipation of a major redevelopment of the Second World War area in 2020.

[252] Interview with Diane Lees (IWM Director-General), London, 7 January 2013.

One theoretical area of some relevance to this thesis is theory around visitor reception of objects in museums. Reception theory[253] has been applied by scholars to museums specifically in the realm of Visitor Studies. Visitor Studies uses methodologies that employ surveys, focus groups, and observation of visitors in the exhibition space; and sometimes such research considers how visitors experience exhibitions and art through socially organised ways of seeing. This means that visitors are influenced by broad social frameworks and, in a more immediate sense, by the company they are in while visiting an exhibition.[254] This thesis does not engage with visitor theory, or visitor reception of war museum displays, because it takes an internally focused view of the operations of the museum. Visitor Studies methodologies fall outside the scope of this thesis because neither museum has collected detailed analysis of this kind in the past. However, in chapter 9 the reception of print exhibitions is examined briefly through an analysis of press responses to two key exhibitions featuring prints that were held at the AWM and the IWM.

Art in the war museums

The role of art objects in war museums

For the IWM and AWM, their art collections have held a place in their collecting remits since the founding of the museums. However, the actual purpose of the art collections may not be clearly defined, or always agreed upon or even understood by all staff members. In particular, the art curators see their collections as having intrinsic value as art with cultural significance, while some other museum staff see it as largely illustrative material.[255] The distinction pivots around the question of whether art objects are present in the war museums as merely visual aids or evidence of specific historical events, or if the collections inherently demonstrate the

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[253] Reception theory originated in literary theory, and one of its main proponents was the cultural theorist, Stuart Hall. See Stuart Hall, "Encoding/decoding," reprinted in *Culture, Media, Language: Working Papers in Cultural Studies, 1972-79*, eds. Stuart Hall et al. (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 117-127.

[254] See: John Falk and Lynn Dierking, *Learning from Museums: Visitor Experiences and the Making of Meaning* (New York and Oxford: AltaMira Press, 2000).; Gaea Leinhardt et. al., eds., *Learning Conversations in Museums* (Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2002).; and Bourdieu, *The Love of Art.*

[255] When interviewed, Warwick Heywood said in the past the Memorial has viewed its art collection as a reserve for documentary images with an arty flair: Interview with Warwick Heywood (AWM curator), Canberra, 22 May 2014. This is consistent with research undertaken on the attitudes of early art collecting at the Memorial. In her final PhD oral presentation, Margaret Hutchison argued that John Treloar had the most influence on the shape of the AWM art collection in the First World War, and accuracy of depiction was his priority, rather than artistic interpretation. Margaret Hutchison, "Painting War 1916-1922: Memory Making and Australia's Official War Art Scheme," Final PhD Oral Presentation (Canberra: Australian National University, 21 May 2014).

role of cultural production during wartime. From an art historical perspective, war art and the phenomenon of the war artist, is one branch of art historical enquiry that can be contextualised by contemporaneous art styles and schools of thought. One example of this is the discussion around Noel Counihan art acquisitions in the late 1970s, and how AWM management debated the inclusion of 'non-representational' art in the collection.[256] This disjuncture in how the art collection should be understood can lead to further conflicts in agreeing on how art should be used in displays. Having worked on AWM exhibitions in the past, Stanley argued that the abstract and complex nature of the art collection meant that it was powerful and important to a museum that deals with experiences. He also noted that the art collection is one of the few collections within the AWM that has explicitly gone beyond Australia in its coverage.[257]

At the time of their founding, the war museum art collections were created to be records of war, but also to emotionally connect with visitors. Hutchison argues that Australian official art of the First World War was 'imbued with a memorialising purpose', and despite the existence of official photographers, the AWM art collection was required to be a visual record that was factually accurate.[258] For example, following the Australian Historical Mission to Gallipoli, George Lambert accurately recreated the landscape of Gallipoli in his paintings.[259] Further to the creation of an artistic record, the IWM's art collection was developed by commissioners in the past who had notions of improving artistic taste in Britain through war art, such as Kenneth Clark during the Second World War.[260] Arguably to this day, the art objects are still expected to affect visitor behaviour (to encourage reverence and awe, or to support a commemorative narrative). Gray believed that the art collection had a

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[256] See chapter 7. The problem seen with 'non-representational' art is that it is not serving its perceived main purpose for the war museum, which is to illustrate historical accounts in a way that is direct and easily understood by visitors. With this attitude, the artistic quality of the object is of lesser concern.
[257] Interview with Peter Stanley (former AWM Principal Historian), Canberra, 10 June 2014.
[258] Hutchison, "Accurate to the Point of Mania," 30-33.
[259] Janda Gooding, *Gallipoli Revisited: In the Footsteps of Charles Bean and the Australian Historical Mission* (Prahran: Hardie Grant, 2009).
[260] Foss argues that 'Clark almost certainly envisioned the WAAC as an instrument to raise public taste, foster a national culture, and lay [the] groundwork for post-war patronage of art by the state.' Brian Foss, *War Paint: Art, War, State and Identity in Britain, 1939-1945* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2007), 9. It could be argued that the First World War British War Memorials scheme to commission 'the greatest artistic expression of the day' for state memorialising purposes was part of a national civilising agenda: Arnold Bennett, "Officialism and War Painting," *New Statesman*, 20 December 1919, 347-348. Cited in Paul Gough, *A Terrible Beauty: British Artists in the First World War* (Bristol: Sansom & Company Ltd., 2010), 28. Also in regards to the First World War see: Kavanagh, *Museums and the First World War*, 130.

prime role in humanising the story of war at the Memorial, and pointed out that this was also the belief of the AWM founders, such as Bean and Treloar.[261] Robert Crawford, Director of the IWM from 1995 to 2008, said that the art collection exists to "address the wider moral and philosophical issues implicit in the Museum's theme."[262]

Over time the question of what kinds of art are most useful to the institutions has been questioned and debated, and the idea that the IWM and AWM art collections merely document historical events is disputed by the art curators.[263] They argue that art plays a special role in the displays and narratives of the war museums: it is not just illustrative material that bears witness to historical events. Art objects communicate their own messages, and they help contemporary curators, historians and audiences understand historical social and cultural attitudes in times of war. They are also key to demonstrating how war affected art itself. Warwick Heywood argued that when artists engage with a conflict, whether or not they are commissioned to do so, they bring their own unique perspective to the experience.[264] Thus, the art is always a reflection of the perspective of the artist and cannot be completely objective record or unbiased observation. Art objects, including artist prints, can provide instances of critical and emotional reflection through their link with human communication and conceptual interpretation.

Art can be useful in addressing particular types of discussions and themes in war museums. The art curators think art objects can often provide critical interpretations of war, more so than other objects within the institutions, particularly the objects collections, which usually contain exemplar items used during wartime.[265] Although the relics can themselves be

[261] Interview with Anna Gray (former AWM Head of Art), Canberra, 6 May 2014.

[262] Robert Crawford, Eugene Rosenberg Lecture, 'The Imperial War Museum and its Art Collections', St. Thomas' Hospital, 19 March 1998. Cited in: Rebecca L. Coll, "Noble Frankland and the Reinvention of the Imperial War Museum, 1960-1982," unpublished PhD thesis, Christ's College (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2016).

[263] Such debates are present in AWM official files, including one concerning a Ray Beattie painting about the Vietnam War: The file contains a letter of protest against the painting *Image for a Dead Man* (1980) and the response by Art Section. The protest letter stated, '...artistic licence and abstract interpretation are completely out of place in a Memorial where the established forte is stark realism and accuracy of presentation.' The Art Section responded, 'It has always been assumed by the War Memorial authorities that works of art are of value for their interpretive aspect...' Letter to Mr K Pearson (AWM Director), 4 August 1988; 895/003/139. Series AWM 315; folio 32. And reply from Pearson, 23 August 1988; 895/003/139. Series AWM 315; folio 35.

[264] Interview with Warwick Heywood (AWM curator), Canberra, 22 May 2014.

[265] Interview with Ryan Johnston (AWM Head of Art), Canberra, 2 July 2014.; interview with Angela Weight (former IWM Keeper of Art), London, 6 December 2012.

interpreted through the stories attached to certain objects, the artworks provide two layers of critical reflection and interpretation, that of the artist and the curator. They sometimes question things that are difficult to question. Also, the art provides an emotional context for visitors, as these objects are able to tell a visual story which is interpreted by the artist and immediately apparent to a viewer of the image. It is a tool for one human to convey human experience to another, and sometimes these experiences are hard to put into words. For example, the Erich Wolfsfeld etching *Wounded German Soldier* discussed in chapter 4 uses portraiture to convey the pain of an injured soldier (f.40). Within their historical narratives the IWM and AWM must address the difficult themes of grief and death, as the content of all war museums inevitably forces them to discuss emotional subjects such as loss, and the morality and destruction of war. In many people's minds the art collections are expected to address these complex aspects of war history.[266] Palmer says that the IWM is trying to be a more empathetic museum, where people may have an emotional encounter with the content on display, and that 'the art collection is understood as having an important role to play in that regard.'[267]

The IWM Director-General, Diane Lees said the IWM art collection plays more of a role in supporting other objects and personal stories within the Museum than other art collections she had worked with in the past.[268] She was making a case for the art collection at the IWM being very integrated with the other collections. This ideal of the integration of the art collection with other objects was actually stronger among the AWM curators interviewed, some of whom think that not one set of objects tells the complete story of the history being presented at the museum.[269] The IWM and AWM have always treated their art objects as having a social function, which diverges from a perceived 'higher function' of art objects in

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[266] Often it is the art collection that is thought of as the material through which the IWM can discuss the emotional and psychological aspects of war as experienced by individuals, particularly through themes of memory, trauma, horror, and loss. Interview with Angela Weight (former IWM Keeper of Art), London, 6 December 2012.; interview with Kathleen Palmer (former IWM Head of Art), London, 6 December 2012. Sara Bevan, *Art from Contemporary Conflict* (London: Imperial War Museums, 2015), 39.

[267] Interview with Kathleen Palmer (former IWM Head of Art), London, 6 December 2012.

[268] Interview with Diane Lees (IWM Director-General), London, 7 January 2013. While speaking about the IWM art collection's social purpose in this respect, Lees also pointed out that it is a mixture of 'democratic' and 'high' objects, and quite unique in that respect.

[269] Interview with Lola Wilkins (former AWM Head of Art), Canberra, 8 May 2014.; interview with Ryan Johnston (AWM Head of Art), Canberra, 2 July 2014.

art museums.[270] I would argue that in the IWM and AWM art actually plays a unique and fairly separate role from the other museum objects. This role is to conceptualise war itself and to be a vehicle for human expression about war, and to communicate this visually. At the IWM, Richard Slocombe argued that the art collection is at the forefront of the key messages of the IWM, which tries to accentuate the human dimension of wartime: "if creativity can flourish amongst destruction it says something about the human spirit, it gives people faith in humanity in circumstances that would suggest the opposite."[271]

If art is providing critical and emotional interpretations of war, then it is potentially influencing the ways in which visitors think. There is an argument that different people engage with different types of learning; some are attuned to the verbal, some visual, some are text based.[272] An impact evaluation study conducted by the AWM in 2007 aimed to assess which aspects of the Memorial contributed to people's learning outcomes, by giving disposable cameras to 22 visitors. 51 of the 317 photographs taken by the study participants, predominantly by the 9-12 year old age group, were of artworks in the AWM.[273] This could be an evidence base for visual learning in the museum, and the value of art collections to a general museum audience. Then the question becomes how much interpretation of art objects is required? Labelling art objects assists the curators to convey meaning. In Gray's time, at the AWM, the Art Section produced traditional art labels that were usually sparse in interpretation, but this practice has changed, and now the Art Section use larger explanatory labels.[274] This allows the curators more control over the visitor's interpretation of the work. Johnston stressed the importance of not just focusing on the historical narrative in art labels at the AWM – labels need to give the viewer some insight into the object as a work of art.[275]

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[270] Duncan discusses the historical notion that art museums provide a space for the (ritual) contemplation of art. This is expected to be a transformative experience for the viewer: Carol Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 11-14.

[271] Interview with Richard Slocombe (IWM senior curator), London, 4 December 2012.

[272] The VARK instrument (a questionnaire to test individual learning style) identifies four distinct learning styles: visual (V); aural (A); reading/writing (R); and kinesthetic (K).: A. Zapalska and D. Brozik, "Learning Styles and Online Education," *Campus - Wide Information Systems* 24, no. 1 (2007), 6.

[273] Linda Ferguson, "Understanding the Outcomes of a Visit to the Memorial," internal AWM document (Canberra: Australian War Memorial, 2007).

[274] In the 1970s for instance, it was believed that labels for artworks should not have long explanatory text because it is up to the viewer to respond to the work on their own terms, and to be given space to view the artwork itself, not stand there reading a label. The same pattern for label length occurred at the same times at the IWM (see footnote 147).

[275] Interview with Ryan Johnston (AWM Head of Art), Canberra, 2 July 2014.

Nowadays labels have to be pitched at a general audience. Like the AWM, the style of labels at the IWM has altered throughout the years between having less and more information.[276]

Art can also aid war remembrance in the museums. *As of Today…* by Alex Seton (b.1977), is a sculptural monument to Australian soldiers who have lost their lives in Afghanistan. A living memorial which is sometimes updated, Seton has sculpted a ceremonial folded flag out of marble for each soldier. While it is an 'act of dedication', it also draws attention to the national flag as a potent symbol, and to the personal and communal acts of remembering and forgetting (f.8).[277] In comparison, *Queen and country* (2006) by Steve McQueen also commemorates the deaths of individual soldiers- British soldiers who served in Iraq. McQueen made sheets of 98 commemorative stamps from photographs of those who had lost their lives, and displayed these in an oak cabinet (f.9). The stamps carry the Queen's image, and thus engender critical reflection on the necessity of war.[278] While the Seton sculptures link remembrance of individuals with a community's memorialisation of a conflict, McQueen's installation honours individuals and politically engages with ideas of sacrifice, community and nationhood. On the one hand these works are similar, in that they identify the sacrifices of individuals and place them within a wider commemorative context, but on the other hand they are examples of how commemorative art can play very different roles within the war museums, and how commemorative art can also be anti-war in sentiment.

But these new attitudes and ways of thinking about war are also part of how art helps to develop new audiences for the war museums. I found that in both the IWM and AWM the curators discussed how the art collection, and tailored art exhibitions, will draw new audiences from among people who usually go to art galleries.[279] And the art collections

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[276] Jenny Wood says in interview that the IWM art labels provided minimal information in the 1980s, and they have gradually become longer. She says that it was in part to encourage people to bring their own interpretation to a work of art: Interview with Jenny Wood (former IWM curator), London, 26 November 2012. In interview, Angela Weight says that the smaller labels were following gallery conventions of the time, and that they allowed people to look at the work of art rather than being distracted by a long label: Interview with Angela Weight (former IWM Keeper of Art), London, 6 December 2012.

[277] "As of Today... Alex Seton," Australian War Memorial, 2014, accessed 16 March 2015, https://www.awm.gov.au/exhibitions/seton/.

[278] David Evans, "War Artist: Steve Mcqueen and Postproduction Art," *Afterimage* 35, no. 2 (2007), 17-20.

279 Interview with Warwick Heywood (AWM curator), Canberra, 22 May 2014.; interview with Sara Bevan (IWM curator), London, 23 November 2012. This is backed up by IWM audience testing: The IWM's second and third largest audience segments are 'Culture Vultures' (14%) and 'Middle Youth' (13%) who contain people that are 'interested in the arts': IWM (2015). Audience Pen Portraits: Culture Vultures and Middle Youth. Internal leaflets.

provide a different entry point to the museums for people who would otherwise feel alienated from the institutions because of their content and how they are perceived externally.[280] This reveals the confidence the art curators of the two war museums have to push for their own specialist exhibitions, and to be part of the international art scene, and how they have been able to convince the IWM and AWM of their value in this respect. The war museums do not have the culturally elitist element of art museums, as discussed in the key audience theory text by Bourdieau,[281] where people are required to possess a certain amount of cultural knowledge in order to feel comfortable and understand the displays. The visitors to war museums are not the usual art audience, but they are varied, and this raises issues for the way the art collection should be used and developed. The art collection either has to reach out to these art specific audiences, or be subsumed by a historical mission statement. In the next chapter, I will consider the particular characteristics of artist prints as a subset of the two institutions' wider art collections.

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280 Interview with Sara Bevan (IWM curator), London, 23 November 2012.
281 Bourdieu, *The Love of Art*.

2. Printmaking and the print collections

In this chapter I discuss what prints are, why they are made, and why the IWM and AWM print collections are good case studies for this thesis. Printmaking is an umbrella term for a number of artistic techniques that produce multiple 'impressions' of an image, usually on paper but sometimes on fabric or other materials. I argue that artists quite deliberately choose to undertake printmaking, because of the aesthetic outcomes they can achieve by using printmaking techniques, and because printmaking allows artists to reach a different audience and market for their work. The war museum curators choose works based on artistic merit and subject matter, with the art medium or technique being a peripheral consideration. However, the medium influences the image produced, which results in the appearance of distinct 'characteristics' of the IWM and AWM print collections. Some of these characteristics have the potential to support narratives which could be considered challenging to their institutions. Hence, the prints are a unique and particular sub-collection of the art collections that is worth examining separate to related mediums like drawings and posters. While the IWM and AWM both hold extensive drawing and poster collections, these do not fall within the scope of this thesis, and the reasons why will be discussed in this chapter. As case studies, the print collections provide an opportunity to analyse an unorthodox relationship between collection and museum.

Artist prints

Definitions and technical processes

When artists make prints their choice of printmaking technique can be based on the availability of tools and materials, the aesthetic that they want to give their work, and their thirst for experimentation. A print starts out with the artist creating their image on a 'matrix', such as cutting into a block of wood or drawing on a lithographic stone, and then ink is transferred from the matrix (block, stone etc.) onto the 'support' (piece of paper, fabric) to print the image, and then this image is reprinted again and again. The traditional and most widely used printmaking techniques fall into four categories. These are relief, intaglio, planographic and stencil. Relief prints are so called because the artist is required to gouge the matrix, and the parts left standing in relief are inked to create the image. The relief printmaking techniques include wood engraving and woodcut, where the matrix is a block of wood, and linocut, where the matrix is a piece of linoleum. Intaglio prints are the opposite of relief in that the matrix is gouged but the ink settles in the grooves to create the image. The

intaglio techniques usually use a metal matrix, such as a copper or zinc plate, and they include metal engraving and drypoint, where the metal plate is gouged by hand using specialist tools. There is also etching and its associated technique of aquatint, where acid is used to bite the plate through a waxy layer.

Planographic prints use flat surfaces to create their image. They include a technique called lithography, which uses the chemical repulsion of oil and water to create an image from a specialist stone. They also include the only technique of printmaking that does not produce multiple impressions, called monoprinting. The image is created by drawing onto a piece of glass or plastic which is then printed onto paper and cannot be repeated, but it is still categorised as a print because of the transfer process used. Stencil printmaking techniques include the use of simple cut-out stencils, but there is also a related technique known as screenprinting, which was appropriated by artists from a commercial process and gained popularity in the 1960s. In screenprinting, ink is pushed through a fine mesh onto the print surface, with some areas of the mesh made impermeable by a blocking stencil.

These are the printmaking techniques with the longest histories, but processes of creating digital prints using computers are gaining popularity in contemporary art, and there are a number of other variations on traditional techniques that are present in the collections of the IWM and AWM.[282] Printmaking is an art medium where new techniques are being experimented with all the time and the boundaries of printmaking are constantly being questioned.[283] However, there is often initial resistance from the art establishment when a new printmaking technique is introduced (this has been a continuous feature of the printmaking medium, particularly over the 20th century).[284] This is largely because printmaking produces multiple images, which means the question of artistic originality (or authenticity) is complex for artist prints.[285] Although each impression of an image produced by printing the matrix is

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[282] For more information on printmaking techniques and processes see: Antony Griffiths, *Prints and Printmaking: An introduction to the history and techniques*, second edition (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1996). And Pat Gilmour, *Understanding prints: a contemporary guide* (London: Waddington Galleries, 1979).

[283] Gill Saunders and Rosie Miles, *Prints Now: Directions and Definitions* (London: V&A Publications, 2006), 8-11.

[284] Saunders and Miles argue that the rise of new media in printmaking has been viewed by some as a threat to the future of printmaking: Ibid., 8.

[285] In his seminal essay, Walter Benjamin coined the term 'aura' to describe the special significance that art objects are afforded in our culture. Benjamin argues the aura of an artwork is derived from its uniqueness:

slightly different to all other impressions, in most cases impressions are hard to distinguish from each other, and some printmaking techniques are able to produce virtually infinite exact impressions of the image. How then can an artist print hold its market value? This problem is addressed by the system of producing artist prints in limited editions that are numbered and signed by the artist. This is the standard that is followed by most printmakers.

Why artists make prints

The history of European printmaking dates back to the 15th century and the invention of the technologies of printmaking, including the printing press.[286] Thus, it is a relatively new art medium compared with painting, sculpture and drawing. The ability to produce multiple copies of an image was an innovation that had many repercussions for the use of images in society. The earliest European prints were woodcuts, which were often used to produce playing cards or religious images.[287] Over hundreds of years, printmaking technologies improved, which led to the invention of metal engravings, other intaglio prints such as etchings, then lithographs, screenprints, and recently digital prints.[288] Artists have historically adopted printing technologies for their own 'printmaking', including all of the technological advances just listed, and artists were never far behind in their adapting of new commercial technologies for artistic purposes.

Artist prints are a specialist sub-section within a broader category of printed images, and printmaking is not a high profile art medium outside of artistic circles, partly due to its peripheral position in academy art traditions at various times throughout history, and partly because of its highly technical nature.[289] Historically, in the traditional hierarchy of art objects, artist prints have not been held in as high regard as the older art mediums of painting and sculpture. This is because of the historical associations between social class and

Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt (New York: Schocken Books, 1968), 217-252.

[286] Processes for producing paper came to Europe in the middle ages, and the early printing press was developed in Europe in the mid 15th century. The first press is commonly attributed to Johannes Gutenberg.

[287] Griffiths, *Prints and Printmaking*, 16.

[288] Printmaking techniques continue to develop, and we now see the first 3D printed images being created that seem to lie between the mediums of printmaking and sculpture: Paul Coldwell, *Printmaking: a contemporary perspective* (London: Black Dog Publishing, 2010), 183.

[289] Saunders and Miles argue that, 'Until the 1960s... printmaking was rarely an artist's main focus. For the majority it tended to be a peripheral activity, secondary to painting or sculpture.' Saunders and Miles, *Prints Now*, 8. In chapter 3, which discusses artist prints produced during the First World War, prints by artists such as James McBey and Muirhead Bone are shown to be central to their artistic activities, but very much produced to raise capital and broaden the artists' public or potential market.

printmaking for the popular prints market in the early modern period, as well as the link many printmaking techniques have to commercial processes of image reproduction, as used in the illustrated newspaper engravings of the 19th century. Today, commercial printing processes produce items like cereal boxes in their thousands, whereas a fine art print is usually produced within a limited edition that could be as small as 10 or as large as 200. As art objects that use commercial techniques, prints are contentious items that sit between categories, and therefore cannot be easily contained within traditional typologies.

Artists have a variety of reasons for turning to printmaking for artistic expression. Firstly, the multiplicity of the printed image means that costs can be kept down and the image can be widely disseminated. This has a number of effects, including that with prints artists can reach a wider buyer's market. Historically, particularly in the early 20th century, artists created print folios that showcased their work and were highly collectable.[290] Artists, such as James McBey during the First World War (discussed in chapter 3), made a profit from being able to sell prints from an edition to multiple buyers, who may not have been able to afford the cost of a one off painting. The wide dissemination of imagery can also serve social/political purposes. Often, print series have been produced as political propaganda or social commentary images, empowering the broader populace to engage in political debate.[291] This is particularly true of illustrated pamphlets or magazines, or print folios used as tools of communication or propaganda. For example, the satirical lithographs of the 19th century French political caricaturist Honoré Daumier appeared in the liberal journal *La Caricature*. They commented on French society and ridiculed powerful people, including King Louis-Philippe (f.10).[292] There are many examples of prints being used for this kind of purpose, both in publications and as limited edition artist folios.[293]

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[290] Jeremy Lewison, "Projects and Portfolios: Narrative and Structure," in *Contemporary British Art in Print: the publications of Charles Booth-Clibborn and his imprint, The Paragon Press, 1986-95*, ed. Patrick Elliot (Edinburgh: Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art and The Paragon Press, 1995), 11. Lewison defines the various kinds of print portfolios that have distinguished themselves (collections based on a narrative, technical, or simply authorial theme), and outlines why printmakers have historically resorted to this medium of publication: Ibid., 11-12.

[291] Ralph E. Shikes, *The indignant eye : the artist as social critic in prints and drawings from the fifteenth century to Picasso* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969), xxiv.

[292] Robert Rey, *Honoré Daumier* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1985), 7-11.

[293] For example, from the IWM collection see the Max Pechstein series discussed in chapter 4, and from the AWM collection see the Noel Counihan series discussed in chapter 7.

Secondly, by using printmaking techniques the artist finds that there is substantial intervention in the final result of the image by the technologies of printmaking, for example, the outcome of the print is partly unknown until it has gone through the printing press. The printing process creates a distancing between the artist and the final result that can bring about unexpected occurrences in the imagery, and can force the artist to assess the work in new ways. Many artists relish this aspect of printmaking, and the implications this has for their own image making- it is sometimes thought to be a displacement of the artist's ego and complete control over the image.[294] For example, an artist discussed in chapter 7, Trevor Lyons, explored in his print series *Journeys inside my head* how the printmaking medium can become part of the representation of the physical and psychological trauma he experienced through Vietnam War service. He shows how the unexpected faults in a printed image can be a powerful tool for representing the effects of war on the individual (f.97).[295]

Thirdly, different printmaking techniques produce different aesthetic results, which give meaning to the message of the work itself. An example of this is given by the Kathe Kollwitz woodcut *Die Eltern (the parents)* (1921-22, published 1923), which is discussed in chapter 7. This work exemplified the importance of the printmaking technique to the appearance of the final image, and the message that the artist was trying to convey through that image. Kollwitz attempted to produce this image in a number of different printmaking techniques, working from lithography through to etching and finally settling on woodcut, as this technique produced the ragged edged lines that conveyed the intense emotions Kollwitz wished to express. *Die Eltern* became the third woodcut in a series of seven, titled *War (Krieg)* (f.87).[296] Artists are often familiar with a range of printmaking techniques and the stylistic outcomes they can produce, but some favour one technique over others.

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[294] Paul Coldwell, "Passing Thoughts," in *Material Things: Sculpture and Prints* (Bradford: University of Bradford, 2015), 10-11. 'Printmaking and sculpture, I believe, are distinct from painting in that their production is so often determined by process and distinct stages… processes invariably result in something unexpected.'; Graeme Cornwell, "The TECHNO-FETISH in Printmaking," (paper presented at the 2nd Australian Print Symposium, Canberra, 9-11 October 1992), National Gallery of Australia, accessed 2 April 2017, http://www.printsandprintmaking.gov.au/references/4852/. Graeme Cornwell discusses how artists and theorists alike have constructed the presence of technology within the art of printmaking. Cornwell takes note of the process of excision of the artist's ego from the work through an acknowledgement of technology.
[295] See the discussion on Lyons series in chapter 7.
[296] Nancy Tingey, "Graphic art by Käthe Kollwitz," *Journal of the Australian War Memorial* **17** (1990), 51-52.

<u>The social historical and art historical aspects of printmaking</u>

The material qualities and processes of production specific to the printmaking medium distinguishes it from other art mediums.[297] These material qualities are at the core of a duality found in the role of artist prints, where on the one hand artist prints have a connection with the social world of popular prints and mass media material such as magazines, pamphlets and posters, and on the other hand some prints inhabit a fine arts world of rarity and self-expression. Chandra Mukerji traces this duality back to European print culture of the early modern period, and argues that popular pictorial prints were mass consumer goods that appealed to a different class of consumer to fine art. To confuse the issue, some artists in the early modern period such as Albrecht Durer, were also printmakers and sold to both classes of consumer (the lower class and the elite).[298] The later reputation of printmaking as a democratic medium partially stems from its links with commercial processes. Many of the technologies of printmaking were originally invented for the commercial world of mass communication, and were then adapted by printmakers for artistic means. Examples of this include wood-engraving, which was used in the 19th century for illustrated newspapers (such as the London Illustrated News) or lithography, which when first invented, was of great benefit to the mass production of images in large quantities, and so was used for products and posters, but in the late 19th and early 20th centuries became of interest to artists.[299] Printmaking has also been used for the reproduction of other artistic works, particularly oil paintings, in lesser artistic quality, before it was taken advantage of as a means of original artistic creation in its own right.[300]

Despite its history, printmaking as an artistic medium largely overcame stigmas of class, reproduction and commercial associations, particularly in the 20th century. Whilst acknowledging the historical origins, fine art prints are also associated with connoisseurship

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[297] Including the techniques and technologies of printmaking, which have influenced the public reception of prints throughout the history of the medium: Ruth Pelzer, "Sensing Print: Reflections on the Materiality of the Contemporary Art Print," in *IMPACT 6 Multidisciplinary Printmaking Conference Proceedings*, ed. S. Hoskins (Bristol: Impact Press, 2012)**,** 53-59.

[298] Chandra Mukerji, *From Graven Images: Patterns of Modern Materialism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), pp. 17 & 39.

[299] See chapter 3 for reference to how artists in the Senefelder Club in Britain actively promoted lithography as an art medium in the early 20th century.

[300] Griffiths, *Prints and Printmaking*, 10.

and traditions of print folio collecting.[301] In the past, prints have been regarded as objects that are eminently collectable for a number of reasons. They are affordable and they are often produced in a series of images that have been made in an edition, and therefore can be collected as a series. There is an intimacy to prints as small works on paper created in limited edition. These aspects of artist prints lead to the tradition of print folios being produced by artists who wish to showcase their work, those prints being bought by collectors who admire the work of the artists.[302] Although prints have fallen in and out of favour in art markets over the 19th and 20th centuries, in recent times printmaking has developed an established place in museum and gallery collections.

As discussed above, there is an intervention in the image on the part of the technologies of printmaking, which to a certain extent, is outside the artist's control (f.11). There is also a key element of collaboration in printmaking between the artist and the printer. Many artists employ a printer, sometimes known as a 'master printer' to advise on the technical aspects of producing a printed image. Often these master printers have an influence over artistic decisions made by the artist in regards to the work. There is a strong history of technical experimentation in printmaking, particularly when it was taken up by artists of the avant-garde, such as Picasso, because of the experimental freedoms the medium afforded.[303] The collaborative element of printmaking is yet another factor that removes the artistic ego from the printmaking process, and links many prints with a wider social conscience.

The most famous printmakers of war subjects have been aware of the potential social consequences of their art and used the medium to represent what they felt were 'true' experiences and events of war. In the 17th century the French artist, Jacques Callot, produced

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[301] Saunders and Miles, *Prints Now*, 8. While Saunders and Miles argue that prints were objects of private connoisseurship until only recently in the late 20th century when they were used as public art, I argue that artist prints do have a link with their 'broadsheet' cousins and that fine-art print series like *Britain's Efforts and Ideals*, and the First World War prints of Will Dyson show specific intentions to use prints for public exhibition for social/political purposes (see chapters 3 and 6). See also: Linda C. Hults, *The Print in the Western World, an introductory history* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996), 11: 'From the earliest devotional woodcuts to the chromo-lithographs of the nineteenth century, some prints have always been cheap enough to be 'consumed' by a broad populace. But prints have also been 'collected' by more elite members of society... In other words, as some prints become more common, others are esteemed more in the manner of paintings.'
[302] Ibid., 5. 'Only rarely in the history of western art is an artist known exclusively for prints... Printmaking frequently functions as an outlet for more personal and/or imaginative explorations of form and subject matter than can be achieved in the more monumental modes of painting or sculpture.'
[303] Ibid., 14-15.

a series of etchings titled *Miseries of War* (1633) exposing the brutal actions of armies and other practitioners of war during the Thirty Years War (1618-1648). These were protest works of quiet but immense power, remembered long after the artist's death in 1635 (f.12).[304] Callot's prints inspired an 18th century Spanish artist, Francisco de Goya y Lucientes, who produced his own observations of the horrors of war. These paid homage to the Spanish resistance in the Spanish War of Independence against the French, and were meant as a public protest. Unfortunately they were not immediately published.[305] Goya's series of eighty-two prints known as *The Disasters of War,* begun in 1808, were only published in their complete edition after the artist's death in 1863.[306] Mostly consisting of etchings and aquatints, the prints of this series are perhaps the most iconic in European art (f.13). Of the 20th century, the most iconic series of war prints is arguably the portfolio of fifty etchings, aquatints and drypoints, created by German artist Otto Dix called *Der Krieg (The War)* (1924). Produced in response to the First World War, Dix's prints speak of the violence of war, like those of his predecessors, but the artist also exposes the psychological horrors of warfare for the common soldier, from his own experience (f.86).

War prints have progressed during the 20th century to go beyond recording the 'true' events of war in subject matter and beyond the traditional uses of printmaking techniques. Increasingly, the artistic possibilities of printmaking techniques feed directly into the social message carried by many contemporary artist war prints. This is driven by changing and improving printing technologies. Printmaking processes have opened up a realm of possibilities for social comment on war. For example, the potential for reproducing and layering images in the printmaking process encourages the reproduction and appropriation of famous imagery,[307] the referencing of other materials and technologies of war,[308] and the conceptualization of layered histories and memories (particularly in commemorative works, or images about personal and public memory).[309]

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[304] Laura Brandon, *Art and War* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2007), 26.
[305] Pierre Gassier and Juliet Wilson, *Goya: his life and work* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1971), 216-221.
[306] Brandon, *Art and War*, 32.
[307] For example, Tony Coleing's prints discussed in chapter 8.
[308] For example, Colin Self's prints discussed in chapter 5.
[309] For example, Ray Arnold's prints discussed in chapters 5 and 8.

The IWM and AWM print collections

<u>Scope of the IWM and AWM collections</u>

This section will discuss the range and variety of prints in the IWM and AWM collections, as a precursor to the discussion in the upcoming chapters of how and why prints were collected, and as an introduction to the significance of the collections as containing varied and unique responses to war. The print collection of the IWM extends from the First World War to the present, and the collection of the AWM begins with 19th century conflicts. Prints were first collected by both institutions during the First World War, and the scope of my thesis extends until the First World War centenary in August 2014. Although this time period represents almost 100 years of collecting, the artist print collections of the IWM and AWM only constitute a small sub-section of the art collections, amounting to around 1,500-2,000 items in each institution.

The wide range of prints in the two collections means that there are a number of 'types' that can be found within the print collections.[310] These types can usually be found across a broad timeline of print production. They include government propaganda prints (see for example the prints of Ethel Gabain and Will Dyson from the world wars).[311] This type of print was more common during the two world wars, but, in the AWM collection the monoprints of Jon Cattapan from his commission to East Timor are arguably an example, because they are official art. In interview, Cattapan said the art he produced for his official commission was not heavily influenced by the requirements of the commissioners.[312] Nevertheless, his work can be contrasted with another type found in the print collections- anti-war statements (see for example the prints of Noel Counihan from the cold war period).[313] These works show how anti-war statements come into printmaking as an artistic statement, not just through public objects such as posters, and they are expected to influence public discussion through the

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[310] What I mean by 'types' or 'categories' is the groups of prints that one may find in the collection classified according to how the artist has approached the subject matter of war – such as prints that directly report on a war scene or event, as if they were eye witnesses, or prints that reflect on the memory of war, or prints that present a government-approved war message. Later in this chapter I talk about 'characteristics' of the print collections, and by that I mean qualities related to the production of prints and themes found in the imagery of the print collections.

[311] Ethel Gabain and Will Dyson are discussed in chapters 3 and 6.

[312] Interview with Jon Cattapan (official war artist to East Timor), conducted over the phone, Canberra and Melbourne, 16 June 2014.

[313] Noel Counihan is discussed in chapter 7.

avenues of the gallery and the private home. There is also a theme of political satire (to be found in historical works, like the Livingstone Hopkins print related to the war in the Sudan, and contemporary works, like the kennardphillipps print 'photo-op').[314] These prints are often reproduced in online formats or in magazines.

While many prints are related to political and/or social comment, there is also a strong strand of commemorative/reflective works (see for example prints by Barbara Hanrahan, Ray Arnold, John Walker, and Elizabeth Dobrilla).[315] Through commemorative prints artists reflect on family history, or the war history of a particular group of people. Some of the more traditional war prints from the two collections fit into the category of reportage (see prints by Leslie Cole or Wendy Sharpe).[316] These prints depict an event or scene of war in an illustrative and 'objective' manner, as if reporting on something witnessed, however, they do not make up a large percentage of the print collection as compared with their counterparts in the painting and drawing collections. There are some prints that can be categorised as artistic reflection on experience (see the prints of Ray Beattie, Eric Ravilious, C.R.W. Nevinson, or Fatima Killeen for example).[317] These prints may be an artist's interpretation of their own direct experience of war, or they may reflect on how war experience affects personal identity. Finally, there are prints that comment on abstract themes related to war (such as the works by Christian Baumgartner, Albert Adams, Tom Nichols, Judy Watson, or Gordon Bennett).[318] This type becomes increasingly prominent throughout the histories of the two collections, and there are many contemporary and recent prints from this category.

While it has been noted that the two collections are diverse in their holdings, there are some prints which occur in both collections; although further analysis has shown that this is not extremely widespread, and mostly stems from the early exchange of the two commissioned First World War print series between the two countries. Britain and Australia have a somewhat shared war history, so many of the European prints related to the two world wars,

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[314] Livingstone Hopkins is discussed in chapter 7, and kennardphillipps in chapter 5.

[315] Ray Arnold and John Walker are discussed in chapter 5. Ray Arnold, Barbara Hanrahan and Elizabeth Dobrilla are discussed in chapter 8.

[316] Leslie Cole is discussed in chapter 3 and Wendy Sharpe in chapter 8.

[317] Nevinson and Ravilious are discussed in chapters 3 and 4, and Beattie and Killeen are discussed in chapter 8.

[318] All discussed chapters 5 and 8. The abstract or conceptual themes these prints explore include the role of war in contemporary society, the link between war histories and postcolonial histories (Bennett's print), the mediation of images of war for the ordinary person through television (Baumgartner's print).

for example, will be interesting to both, yet each museum responds to this war history in its own way. There are just over 150 prints which are found to be the same in both collections, so this only accounts for about 10% of each collection. 66 of these belong to the *Britain's Efforts and Ideals* series, and 30 are from Will Dyson's series of lithographs. Thus, almost two thirds of the prints in common are accounted for by the exchange of these two series.[319] There are also some early series that have been acquired by both, including James McBey's *Long Patrol* series from the First World War, the Second World War British print series by Ethel Gabain called *Children in Wartime*, and Eric Ravilious's *Submarine* series. There are some key British, French and Australian prints that the two museums have independently collected in later years, including prints by Percy Smith, Edward Wadsworth, Paul Nash, Felix Vallotton, Jean-Emile Laboureur, and Ray Arnold.[320] However, it is notable that around 90% of each collection is not in common with the other. There are examples where one museum has certain prints by an artist, and the other has different prints by the same artist, but they are very similar. Also, similar subject matter can be found in both print collections, such as prints by internee/or POW artists (it is interesting to note that these were mainly collected in both cases many years after the end of the Second World War).

It is relevant to consider what might have affected the differences between the two collections. There are some notable differences between the two collections in the types of prints held, such as the inclusion of pre-First World War prints at the AWM, and prints relating to the Vietnam War at the AWM, prints relating to Northern Ireland at the IWM, as well as there being more prints at the IWM which have broad themes, such as the Holocaust or Feminist responses to War.[321] While I argue that the production and collection of war prints was affected by fluctuations in art market demands, the collections have also been affected by whether curators have collected deliberately or serendipitously. Apart from the First World War British prints entering the AWM collection, and the Dyson series entering the IWM collection, just after the war, many of the prints acquisitions in common occurred when Anna Gray deliberately chose to increase the AWM's holding of British prints during her time.[322] Apart from this, a couple of print series were collected by both museums when

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[319] This print exchange occurred shortly after First World War (see chapter 3 and chapter 6 where the print exchange is discussed).

[320] Anne Gray, *The Australian War Memorial's International Print Collection* (Canberra: Australian War Memorial, 1992). This report lists some of these prints in the AWM collection.

[321] See chapter 5 for a discussion of these prints in the IWM collection.

[322] Discussed in chapter 7.

they later came across the same series and made the same set of decisions (eg. Arnold, Vallotton).[323] Later on in this chapter I will argue that the prints of the IWM and AWM collections share a number of characteristics- despite the fact that the majority of the actual prints are not common to both collections. This suggests that the print collections' characteristics are due to the printmaking medium itself and the subject matter of war prints in general.

Artists think about techniques when they are making works, but curators do not necessarily think about the technical aspects of a print when they are collecting.[324] Printmaking as an art medium has been represented in the art collections of a number of national war museums for the past century.[325] However, as discussed in following chapters, the collecting of artist prints has sometimes been a targeted strategy of the IWM and AWM curators and sometimes not. At certain times in the histories of these two museums, print collecting occurred serendipitously as the art collections expanded, due to the fact that as the art curators collected for certain subject areas, most mediums of art were inevitably collected. However, deliberate print collecting occurred when there were curators with a specialist interest in printmaking, or a particular reason to develop the art collection in the area of prints (chapters 5 and 7). There are over 1000 prints represented in each of the IWM and AWM collections. But the presence of varied printmaking techniques in the IWM and AWM print collections is a reflection of the production side of war prints – the usefulness of technical exploration to printmakers, and the tendency of artists to employ various printmaking techniques. It is not a reflection of the basis on which curators in war museums make their collecting decisions.

Characteristics of the print collections and reasons for collecting

Despite the wide range of types of art that we find in the print collections, there are particular characteristics and themes in the prints that can generally be found in both collections. These are characteristics whose prominence in the print collections makes them distinct from other areas of the art collections. Both the production side and acquisition side of artist prints have

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[323] See chapters 4 and 8 for Felix Vallotton prints, and chapter 5 and 8 for Ray Arnold prints.
[324] Interview with Warwick Heywood, (AWM curator), Canberra, 22 May 2014.; interview with Laura Webster, (AWM senior curator), Canberra, 22 May 2014.; interview with Sara Bevan, (IWM curator), London, 23 November 2012.
[325] In particular, in the art collections of the Imperial War Museum, London, the Australian War Memorial, Canberra, and the Auckland War Memorial Museum, New Zealand. Canada's official war art program also commenced in the First World War, and included some prints.

influenced the characteristics of the print collections. The characteristics betray patterns of collecting where prints are not usually commissioned by the museums or governments, and where patterns of internationalism have developed and continued. This will be expanded on in the 'collection chapters', but in short, these patterns of collecting stem from the nature of prints and the agendas of individual curators. My assessment of the print collections' characteristics is drawn from my own analysis of the content of the collections, and the interviews I conducted with IWM and AWM curators. The significance of the fact that there are characteristics unique to the print collections and shared by both collections is that it suggests the prints may have been acquired, either consciously or not, to play particular roles in the war museums' narratives.

It has been commented on by curators at both the IWM and AWM that their artist print collections contain an obvious element unique to those parts of the collection, because they contain works by international artists.[326] In both cases this occurs in an art collection that is otherwise very focused on, respectively, either British or Australian art. Partly because of the remits of the museums to collect for the British or Australian experience, and partly in the case of the AWM, because Australian artworks are readily available and easily acquired by that institution. This is discussed in some chapters as a deliberate policy on the part of some curators (particularly Anna Gray) to broaden the narratives of the overall art collections, and to collect the war works of particular high-profile international artists.[327] The collecting of international prints has an added significance for the war museums- as images of war are becoming increasingly globalised.[328] Prints that come in multiples are able to be shared by more than one society if they are collected in multiple countries. Historical prints, for example, can distribute one country's visual experience of war among multiple museums. While collecting international prints can raise the profile of the overall art collections at the IWM and AWM, it also moves these collections beyond the canon of British and Australian war art.

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[326] Interview with Laura Webster, (AWM senior curator), Canberra, 22 May 2014.; interview with Ryan Johnston, (AWM Head of Art), Canberra, 2 July 2014; interview with Richard Slocombe, (IWM senior curator), London, 4 December 2012.; Interview with Jenny Wood, (former IWM curator), London, 26 November 2012.

[327] See discussion in chapter 7.

[328] See argument in chapter 2, and discussion in chapter 8 regarding prints by Tony Coleing. The dispersion of images of war does not necessarily equate with the availability of non-censored/controlled images of war: Michael Griffin, "Media images of war," *Media, War & Conflict* 3, no. 1 (2010), 7-41.

Unsurprisingly, given the preceding discussion about the nature of printmaking, the IWM and AWM print collections have a propensity towards political imagery and comment. This is a link that the print collections have with the IWM and AWM poster collections, which are social objects often co-opted for the role of communication and persuasion.[329] A number of the works in the IWM and AWM print collection are subtly or overtly political. From the IWM collection, the print of Tony Blair called *Photo Op* (2005) is overtly political, making a direct comment on the British Prime Minister responsible for Britain's invasion of Iraq, whereas the Gordon Bennett print *Always in the name of God* (2006) from the AWM collection is political, but also has a personal and perhaps subtle element in the way it comments on contemporary political and race relations. The history of printmaking in the service of war subjects has often seen prints as polarised, as they have been used by governments to influence popular attitudes in favour of the powers that be, or they have been used by underground movements for political protest and protest against war.[330] While there are some pro-war political prints in both the IWM and AWM collections, for example the Max Liebermann prints in the AWM collection, the majority of the political prints from both collections are more aligned with anti-war comment or protest art.[331]

The print collections are also largely unofficial in nature, and perhaps this is what allows their political character. Despite the early efforts of bodies who commissioned print series, including the British Department of Information in the First World War, the subsequent War Artists Advisory Committee in the Second World War, and the Australian War Records Section in the First World War, the IWM and AWM print collections only contain a small percentage of officially commissioned art. Officially commissioned prints, by either the British or Australian government, account for just over 5% of the AWM collection and just over 10% of the IWM collection.[332] This is in comparison to the large amount of official art present in other areas of the art collections, such as the paintings.[333] This is partly because

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[329] This is due to the basic printing technologies shared by printmaking and poster-making that allow for the production of multiple images. For the IWM poster collection see: James Aulich and John Hewitt, *Seduction or Instruction?: First World War Posters in Britain and Europe* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2008). Also see my argument in the Introduction chapter.

[330] Robert Philippe, *Political Graphics: Art as a Weapon* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1982), 9-10.

[331] For example: the kennardphillipps and Grosz prints (chapter 5) or the Hopkins and Counihan prints (chapter 7).

[332] I have calculated this through an analysis of the IWM and AWM collections databases. See Appendix I and II for a list of the prints in the IWM and AWM collections.

[333] I estimate that currently around 62% of the paintings in the IWM collection are official art. The official art also makes up a substantial proportion of the AWM collection. In 1982 it constituted more than 90% of the art

government commissioned prints in the First and Second World War eras were often produced for sale, rather than official collection.[334] It also reflects the fact that commissions of contemporary official war artists have often taken the form of paintings or new media. Overall, the majority of prints have been produced and acquired outside of official commissions, and this gives them a point of difference to most of the other areas of the IWM and AWM art collections. The deliberate policy of acquiring non-official art on the part of some curators, such as Angela Weight and Anna Gray (discussed in chapters 5 and 7), highlighted their concern that the art collections should contain objective artistic responses to war. Gray rejects the notion that war artists are censored or creating propaganda, but she explains that they are limited in what they can represent for human reasons.[335] When an artist is situated amongst the military as is required for official commissions, they see the war from the military's perspective and form relationships with the soldiers. It then becomes difficult for the artist to criticise the role of ordinary soldiers, or to show shocking imagery.[336] The print collections have been a main area for the acquisition of unofficial responses to war, and these responses are usually associated with anti-war comment or impartial artistic expression.

In interview, Jenny Wood pointed out that in the IWM collection the artist prints contain a significant amount of allegorical imagery.[337] Two examples of this can be found in the First World War: the *Britain's Efforts and Ideals* series, which had allegorical images particularly in the *Ideals* part of the series;[338] and the etchings by Percy Smith of death as a hooded figure preying over the soldiers on the battle fields of France. This type of allegorical imagery puts these prints in contrast with the work, particularly the official war art, created by artists illustrating an event of war. The *Efforts and Ideals* lithographs were the only print series to be directly commissioned by the British government in the First World War, and still their allegorical imagery differs from many of the drawings and paintings produced by official war

collection: Gavin Fry, "Australian Official War Art and Artists," *Journal of the Australian War Memorial* October, no. 1 (1982), 24-25.

[334] See chapter 3 for examples of this from the First and Second World Wars in Britain.

[335] Interview with Anna Gray, (former AWM Head of Art), Canberra, 6 May 2014.

[336] In regards to art from the two world wars, Gray was also aware that official war artists would have known about incidents such as the censorship of Nevinson's painting *Paths of Glory* (1917), but also that an official artist's output depends on when and where they encounter the war. Censorship would not have affected many prints, which were published after war: Email communication, Anna Gray (NGA) with Alexandra Walton, 16 June 2017.

[337] Interview with Jenny Wood, (former IWM curator), London, 26 November 2012.

[338] The allegorical imagery of battling a giant squid in Brangwyn's *Freedom of the Seas* (1917), for example (see chapter 3). Imagery of an enemy nation as a giant squid is also present in First World War posters.

artists. It may be a result of the artist carrying out their work away from the scene of battle and removed from the actual creation of the imagery, which enables the artist, and later the consumer of the print, to engage in abstract reflections on war. It may also be the case that curators interested in graphic arts might have a particular interest in symbolist imagery, such as the late IWM curator Michael Moody who created exhibitions with allegorical themes, such as *Dance of Death*, which showcased the Percy Smith prints.[339] The AWM print collection contains some instances of allegory or symbolism appearing in the prints, such as the title for Dennis Trew's *Names from the Book of the Dead*, or some of the prints of Ray Arnold. The *Efforts and Ideals* series, Percy Smith prints, and many of the Ray Arnold prints are held in common in the two collections. Allegorical and symbolist imagery has the potential to be either pro or anti-war, and it has a link with some printmaking traditions, such as the allegorical woodcuts of Albrecht Durer.[340]

Some of the AWM curators when interviewed spoke of the tendency of the prints to represent horror and gruesome imagery, more so than the official paintings in the collection.[341] An example of this imagery can be found in German expressionist prints acquired by the AWM, which show the physical and psychological anguish experienced by artists such as Otto Dix and George Grosz on the battlefields of the Western Front.[342] Another example is the First World War prints of Felix Vallotton, held in both the IWM and AWM collections, which depict the mangled bodies of soldiers on trench barbed wire.[343] A series of Albert Adams prints collected by the IWM do not show physical injury or death as a result of war, but instead a gruesome visualisation of psychological horror inflicted by war.[344] One of the AWM curators suggested that such grotesque imagery may be apparent in prints and not as commonly in other art mediums, because the graphic tradition uses stylised imagery that

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[339] Mike Moody, "Dance of death: images of mortality in European graphics of the First World War: 18 April-30 June," unpublished catalogue (London: Imperial War Museum, 1991). Interview with Angela Weight (former IWM Keeper of Art), London, 6 December 2012.; IWM (2009). Mike Moody and Lyn Smith, *Mike Moody interviewed by Lyn Smith* (London, 2009); IWM Catalogue Number: 32102, Reel 6.

[340] See Hults's chapter on Albrecht Durer for his significance to printmaking and his allegorical woodcuts: Hults, *The Print in the Western World*, chapter 2: 75-102.

[341] Interview with Anna Gray, (former AWM Head of Art), Canberra, 6 May 2014.; interview with Warwick Heywood, (AWM curator), Canberra, 22 May 2014.; interview with Lola Wilkins (former AWM Head of Art), Canberra, 8 May 2014. Wilkins said in the case of First World War art, this was an outcome of the fact that most of the Australian official war artists were billeted behind the lines, and did not necessarily observe what the artists who created unofficial art witnessed.

[342] Grosz and Dix discussed in chapter 7, Grosz also discussed in chapter 5.

[343] Vallotton discussed in chapters 4 and 8.

[344] These prints are discussed in chapter 5.

allows for some emotional distance between the viewer and the subject depicted.[345] For the same reason, it was suggested that sentimental scenes of grief, or scenes of violence, are often more apparent in the print collection, and also that this type of imagery works well with small works on paper, like prints and artists' books. The same type of subject may not work well in a large painting, where it could be overbearing, or lose its poignancy.[346] On the other hand, Gray argued that printmakers have been able to depict the grisliness of war because they are often working outside of official commissions, and often after the war.[347] Gruesome images of war are usually associated with an artist's personal response to the experience of war, rather than an official response, and sometimes such imagery is associated with anti-war sentiments.[348]

These distinct characteristics mean that prints as an artistic medium can contribute to the art collections of war museums in specific and distinctive ways. In interview, many of the curators could see certain characteristics that were more prevalent, or almost unique, to the print collections.[349] Tendencies towards internationalism, political and unofficial content, and even allegorical imagery, mean prints are well placed to support varied agendas in the war museums: they may challenge government agendas, and they can support histories from 'enemy' perspectives, or be a voice for marginalised peoples. The special role of artist prints in war museums will be discussed more in the forthcoming chapters, where I will argue that prints allow for a wide set of viewpoints to be represented, and support a wide interpretation of what a war museum is supposed to do and how they are supposed to interpret history for their audiences. Prints also accomplish what other areas of the art collections do, which is to allow war museum audiences to reflect on war history in an emotional and experiential way, as well as a reflective, analytical and critical way. Art objects, particularly prints and posters, do more than just act as evidence for a particular interpretation of historical events, as they reveal how visual messages were historically communicated to the public, and how societal

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[345] Interview with Warwick Heywood, (AWM curator), Canberra, 22 May 2014.
[346] Ibid.
[347] Interview with Anna Gray, (former AWM Head of Art), Canberra, 6 May 2014. Further discussion of this can be found in chapter 7.
[348] For example, in the works of Noel Counihan in the AWM collection, discussed in chapter 7.
[349] Interview with Roger Tolson, (former IWM Head of Art), London, 28 November 2012.; interview with Kathleen Palmer, (former IWM Head of Art), London, 6 December 2012.; interview with Laura Webster, (AWM senior curator), Canberra, 22 May 2014.; interview with Ryan Johnston, (AWM Head of Art), Canberra, 2 July 2014.

attitudes towards wars and notions of conflict were present to varying degrees throughout history.

<u>Parameters of the collections and the study</u>

Artist prints are a medium with ambiguous boundaries, which could include various borderline art objects that use a printing process. I generally follow the classification of these objects as defined by the museums themselves. Some printed objects, such as commercially published books, are not included in the print collections as defined by the AWM and IWM, because they are not considered to be artistic productions.[350] However, I include in my case studies a small number of artist books that exist as art objects and have a strong reliance on printmaking techniques. An example of one of these artist's books is Murray Kirkland's *Reginald Clarence Scanes, Number 2975, 53rd Battalion, A.I.F* (1998) from the AWM's collection, that includes etched zinc plates.[351] There are other items that use printing methods, such as ephemera like postcards, popular prints and illustrations that appear in periodicals, which are part of the collections of the war museums, but not necessarily included in their artist print collections. I do not count these within the scope of my thesis. Another area of the war museum collections that involves printing methods are the collections of photographs. Once again, I do not include photographs, even artist photographs, in my discussion of artist prints. However, I do include some objects that use photographic methods as part of a broader printmaking process, including photomontages, photo-lithographs, and works such as Alison Stoneman's six photographic aquatint monoprints *Ypres portfolio* (1974) in the IWM.[352]

Not all museums and galleries treat their print collections as a separate category: they may group them with other works on paper, such as posters and drawings. This is partly for practical reasons. Works on paper have their own conservation requirements, and on display need to be rotated more often than other parts of the art collection. Nevertheless, I would argue that, in intellectual terms, artist prints are distinct from the other two categories and do constitute a valid group by themselves. Compared with drawings, which may often be executed on the spot, the production process of prints means that, of necessity, they are likely

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[350] Hence the differentiation between the terms printing when referring to commercially printed objects and *printmaking* when referring to the artistic activity of making multiple images in a limited edition.
[351] Discussed in chapter 8.
[352] These are discussed in chapter 5.

to represent the artist's more considered interpretive response to the events and consequences of war. War drawings are quite different to prints in their character as many of them have a strong link to reportage. There is less reason to collect prints for their reportage quality, and this introduces a different element into the decisions curators in war museums make when acquiring prints.

Posters are a separate case. In technical terms, they have been produced using similar processes as prints.[353] However, posters overall are distinct from artist prints because of their context of production and social function.[354] Posters are objects to be displayed on the street to passers-by, and were historically employed in advertising, for everything from products to cabaret shows.[355] Clearly posters are valuable reflections of wartime concerns, and constitute at the same time historical evidence and art object. Both the IWM and AWM hold large collections of posters. I have not included posters in the scope of my research, partly because it would have made the topic unmanageable in scale, but more especially because in them the artist is generally working on behalf of a larger entity, whether government or private. Artist prints, on the other hand, very rarely designed for mass consumption, represent the artist's own vision in much the same way as paintings and sculpture, and represent therefore a valid and interesting category on their own.

Thus artist prints share some of the important characteristics of painting and sculpture, but at the same time their affordability and availability allows for an illuminating focus on curatorial decisions. In addition, the fact that prints are often smaller than paintings gives curators greater freedom to collect outside the scrutiny of management and the confinements of storage costs. As a result, I would argue that prints have the potential to be a subversive collection in war museums, which allows for an interesting dynamic to be explored when talking about their acquisition by the museums. This gives us a valuable opportunity to study curatorial attitudes and curatorial decision-making in a discrete area where art curators find themselves with a little more freedom than usual.

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[353] Such as off-set lithography for example, a type of lithography that is used for large commercial print runs rather than for artist print editions.

[354] Aulich and Hewitt, *Seduction or Instruction?*, 1-2. The development of the IWM's poster collection followed a very different trajectory to the artist prints: '… it evolved from a collection of War Publicity that made little distinction between proclamations, cartoon press advertising, show cards, streamers and posters, to its current status as one of the nation's most important poster collections' Ibid., 5.

[355] Rogers, "The Modern Poster," 186-188.

The IWM and AWM war prints demonstrate the varied characteristics of the printmaking medium, which makes the collections compelling. The number of prints in the war museums is small in comparison to the entire art collections of the IWM and AWM, comprising about 4-5% of items. Despite this, the print collections are significant for some of the iconic pieces they contain. The IWM holds First World War prints of British Modernists like C.R.W. Nevinson and Paul Nash, which complement their British and international collection of artist prints from the 20th and 21st centuries. The AWM collection contains a range of Australian and international prints, including a noteworthy group of First World War German Expressionist prints. The IWM and AWM print collections present a range of artistic styles, from academic representational art to 20th century avant-garde styles. In the next six chapters, I examine the collecting decisions that led to the print collections being diverse: including the changing needs of the institutions, the changing personalities in charge of acquisitions, and the aspiration of curators to include diverse viewpoints in the art collections.

3. IWM print collecting in the First and Second World Wars

This chapter analyses the formation of the IWM print collection in the First and Second World Wars. The two world wars are examined as one collecting moment in the development of the print collection, because of the similar collecting attitudes and systems which featured in both conflicts. The primary method of collecting prints was through government commissions, as the Museum curators themselves only acquired a small portion of the prints of this period. This chapter, covering a thirty-year timeline, is the first of three to present a history of the development of the IWM print collection. The print collecting of this whole period was largely government run, and broadly served government agendas (but not entirely). This does not mean the prints of this period were staid political art: indeed, the acquired prints were often not in the traditional style of government propaganda or war art, but were artistically progressive. By 'progressive' I mean these works employed modern art methods and styles, and their subject matter was driven by what seemed important to the artist rather than a strict government agenda.

From early on the IWM itself collected a small number of print series. However, the majority of prints acquired for the Museum during the First World War came from another government arm that commissioned war art, the Department of Information (later Ministry of Information). At this time, debates in British society centred around the purpose of war art, and what constituted a 'truthful' representation of war.[356] The British government made use of artistic images to disseminate propaganda messages throughout the UK and abroad. The commissioners strove to employ official war artists who could give first-hand interpretations of the conflict, and some who worked in modernist art styles.[357] Prints were collected in this era because of the influence of figures like Campbell Dodgson and Muirhead Bone in the government art commissions, but also because they were objects that conveyed visual messages to a middle-class audience.[358] At the end of the war, the staff of the Ministry of Information scheme was transferred to the IWM along with its art collection, and with the integration came a softening of the Museum's initial conservative collecting strategy.

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[356] Sue Malvern, *Modern Art, Britain and the Great War: Witnessing, Testimony and Remembrance* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004), 22.
[357] Malvern, *Modern Art*, 14-15 & 30.
[358] See discussion below about importance of the middle class influence in the eyes of key public servants, such as Charles Masterman.

Another government commissioning scheme was established early in the Second World War, and this time prints were specifically commissioned as part of the scheme.[359] However, the resulting works that were again transferred to the IWM collection at the end of the war were stylistically different from those of the First World War and fewer in number. Despite the similar structure of the Second World War government commissioning scheme, differences in the context of print production and government attitudes to the scheme ensured different outcomes in the prints produced. At the end of the two world wars, the IWM held a print collection which included some works that carried a propaganda message, some that were allegorical or avant-garde, and some that were anti-war in sentiment.

IWM collecting of print folios and 'eye-witness' accounts from 1917

The early prints acquired by the IWM for the most part supported a state agenda of reporting on the war in a way that was uncritical of the government. The IWM acquired hundreds of works of art from the time of its inception in March 1917 to early 1919.[360] They commissioned largely Grand Fleet and RAF subjects, which suggests that they may have expected to receive a group of works from the government's Ministry of Information collecting scheme (discussed later), which was primarily focused on the Western Front.[361] The sub-committees that had been formed to collect for the IWM would commission artworks themselves. It was decided that a specialist Art sub-committee be formed to advise the other IWM committees on this aspect. The Art sub-committee also made purchases and it had a specific collecting remit to acquire art as record, with artistic merit desirable, but preference given to accurate representation of a subject rather than artistic quality.[362] This

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[359] Brian Foss, *War Paint : Art, War, State and Identity in Britain, 1939-1945* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2007), 1 & 15-16.

[360] See report on Art in Second Annual Report: Report of Imperial War Museum 1918-1919. Presented to Parliament by Command of His Majesty (London: HMSO, 1919); EN1/1/COM/002.

[361] Minutes of the 17th Committee Meeting, 2 August 1917, National War Museum Committee, London; National War Museum Committee Meeting Minutes Nov 1917- June 1920: EN1/1/COM/002. Minutes from this meeting say that the Director-General of the War Museum had seen Colonel Buchan (then in charge of the DoI) and that 'an undertaking would be given that all works of artists working officially would eventually come to the National War Museum.' So the IWM was working under this assumption from mid-1917.

[362] Minutes of the 44th Committee Meeting, 27 June 1918, National War Museum Committee, London; National War Museum Committee Meeting Minutes Nov 1917- June 1920: EN1/1/COM/002. 'Mr Malcolm proposed and the Committee agreed that an Art Committee should be appointed…' Minutes of the 48th Committee Meeting, 17 October 1918, National War Museum Committee, London; National War Museum Committee Meeting Minutes Nov 1917- June 1920: EN1/1/COM/002. The Secretary submitted the following resolution from the Art Committee, 'That the Art Committee propose to buy pictures which are essentially of the nature of records; and though they consider artistic merit a most desirable accompaniment of such records, they will prefer the accurate representation of an incident to a more artistic and equally more imaginery [sic] composition.'

approach supported the documentary functions of the Museum, and endured at the IWM until March 1918 along with a requirement to only collect art by artists who actually witnessed the events they were depicting.[363] In this way the IWM art collection could connect with the ordinary citizen, and comprise an 'objective' record of the war.

Prints were not a collecting focus for the IWM prior to 1919, with only a few print folios recorded as entering the IWM collection in 1917 that straightforwardly supported the 'documenting the war' function of the Museum. This is because the IWM collecting mission at this time targeted direct representations of war scenes, rather than works that would help build a rich and varied art collection. The prints collected were by artists who were part of an older artistic establishment. These acquisitions included a folio of six Frank Brangwyn woodcuts called *At the Front and at the Base* published by the Fine Art Society in 1915 that show wounded British soldiers and the work of medical staff and the Red Cross (f.14). This group of prints was gifted by the Fine Art Society to the IWM,[364] and it corresponds with the need for the IWM to illustrate life at the front for soldiers in France. Brangwyn was president of the Senefelder Club in 1918. His predecessor, the American-born British-based artist Joseph Pennell, donated a large number of lithographs (around 50) to the IWM in 1917 on the subject of war industry and munitions in Britain. A published book of reproductions of this series states that they were made with the permission and authority of the British government.[365] Although this series was not directly commissioned by the government, they still had an official element, and documented the war. A group of prints from Gerald Spencer

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[363] See report on Art in First Annual Report: Report of Imperial War Museum 1917-1918. Presented to Parliament by Command of His Majesty (London: HMSO, 1918); EN1/1/COM/002. They report that their collecting of works of art was restricted to those produced by 'artists actually present' at the event depicted. It is also shown in this report that they are anticipating at this stage the receiving of the Ministry of Information collection of art.

[364] Information from IWM collections database, AdLib.

[365] Joseph Pennell, "Joseph Pennell's Pictures of War Work in England," in *Reproductions of a series of drawings and lithographs of the munition works made by him with the permission and authority of the British government* (London: William Heinemann, 1917). With notes by the artist and an introduction by H.G. Wells.

Pryse, recorded as being purchased in 1917,[366] was another example of print collecting an established artist producing accurate representations of the war.[367]

Print folios were a way for artists to showcase their work, but also to make a series of images as a body of work, rather than just one all-encompassing narrative painting. The experiences and sites of war and soldiering was subject matter that lent itself to series of prints, and print folios. Such art products were also highly collectable, particularly for a public interested in images of the war. Even though prints were within the purchasing power of middle class patrons, the IWM collected these and many other types of visual representations of the war in the spirit of creating a record of all that had taken place and been a feature of the war years. This included, for example, advertising material.[368] As works of art that were for many artists an adjunct to their core output, artist prints fell between popular printed images and high art. However, unlike other collections of popular visual material being amassed by the IWM, an artist's reputation was central to print acquisitions.

The collecting of print series by Brangwyn, Pennell and Pryse about their experiences at the front and of home-front subjects was consistent with safe artistic tastes and the IWM need for eye-witness accounts. However, it seems as though some print collecting at the IWM would resist its own trends from early on. This occurred through the occasional actions of individuals within the Museum. In particular, a number of prints and a print folio from non-British artists entered the IWM collection – this was different from the acquisitions of other art mediums. There was a gift from Mond himself, of a lithograph by the well-known French artist René Dolorus, as well as three striking etchings by a Belgium artist called Jules de Bruycker (1870-1945) who had fled to London in 1914.[369] The de Bruycker etchings notably were not made from an actual account (de Bruycker was moved by photographs that he saw

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[366] In fact, it is unclear whether this series was purchased directly by the IWM or transferred later to the IWM by the British government's commission scheme through the Ministry of Information (MoI). Pryse was interested in becoming an official war artist, and was in contact with staff at the MoI. Despite an application from Pryse to be an official war artist in 1916, Pryse was not released from his military duties as he was too valuable as a soldier. Instead he was granted sketching permits and continued to make unofficial war art: Robin Garton, "Gerald Spencer Pryse (1882-1956)," in *Spring: Catalogue 58* (Devizes, Wiltshire: Garton & Co., 1994).

[367] Pryse was a Welsh artist who had achieved fame before the war, particularly in the print medium of lithography. He saw military service early on, from 1914, in France and Belgium. He began to produce lithographs based on his experiences, which were well received.

[368] James Aulich and John Hewitt, *Seduction or Instruction?: First World War Posters in Britain and Europe* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2008), 5.

[369] From IWM collections database, AdLib.

of his home country) and they were highly allegorical and fanciful in their content. *La Mort Sonnant le Glas au-dessus des Flandres* (1917) depicts death atop a cathedral ringing a bell as hordes of people carrying coffins scurry into the building. The scratchy lines of the etching technique perfectly describe dead trees and the elongated macabre figure of a hanged man (f.15). These prints entered the collection thanks to their arresting and fascinating imagery. While these prints were an unexpected acquisition because they were not eye-witness accounts, they did conform to a British perspective of the war by alluding to German atrocities in Belgium.

The IWM accession registers from this early period do not give copious details on the print acquisitions; however, they do indicate when prints were gifted to the IWM collection and when they were purchased by the Museum. In 1917, a folio of eight etchings by well-known German artists, produced in 1915 for the 'Prussian National Association of the Red Cross', was purchased by the IWM for 400 francs (equivalent to £15 at the time). This was an edition of 250, issued for the glorification of the German campaign and support of the war veterans. It included images such as 'lady victory' fighting alongside soldiers, SMS Ayesha in choppy waters, and inscriptions reading 'a mighty fortress is our God'. It represented the war from an official German perspective, and therefore it is difficult to ascertain the spirit in which the folio was purchased by IWM staff. Was this an acknowledgement of the similarities between the German and British experience? Or was this folio purchased as a curiosity of German government propaganda? The folio contained etchings by Lovis Corinth, Max Liebermann and Karl Walser among others, and this made it art historically significant. From this point of view, it was also an exemplar of the strong tradition of print folios in Germany. Print folios were used to present a series of visual messages, highlighting social issues or raising awareness of social causes, and they often went hand in hand with literary subject matter.[370] This print folio contained many of these features. It was collectable and affordable, but unusually placed within the IWM collection at this time.

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[370] An example of an origin of this tradition is Albrecht Durer's religious books, illustrated with his woodcuts and engravings: Linda C. Hults, *The Print in the Western World, an introductory history* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996), 87. The Prussian Red Cross folio brings together a number of artists to one cause, raises money for Red Cross and veterans, and in this way was like the *Britain's Efforts and Ideals* folio (discussed below).

The DoI and transference of the MoI collection in 1918: persuasive propaganda

In the First World War, people in Britain began to discuss what function war art should play in society, and specifically what role it had as government propaganda.[371] During August 1914, the British government set up a war propaganda bureau called Wellington House, named after its location in London. It was tasked with disseminating British views on the war to other countries, initially focusing on neutral countries like the United States. Later in the war it also produced propaganda for the British population. Wellington House was run by the Liberal politician Charles Masterman, whose 1909 book *The Condition of England* positioned him as a social reformer. Masterman was a strong supporter of the British intervention, and was not averse to employing a wide variety of forms of propaganda to influence public opinion.[372] Liberal values and cultural freedom were thought to be at stake in this war. This was why a liberal thinker such as Masterman could in all good conscience head a government driven propaganda campaign, albeit with his own notion of what propaganda should be. He believed that propaganda must be, apart from anything else, a truthful presentation of the facts of the conflict.[373]

In 1916 a particular section of Wellington House was employed for the purpose of producing illustrated propaganda publications. They commissioned drawings from artists that they sent to the frontline. The Glaswegian printmaker, Muirhead Bone, became Britain's first official war artist, and he was followed by Francis Dodd.[374] The reproductions that Wellington House made of their drawings appeared in the popular publication *War Pictorial*. These images supplemented the small number of photographs that were arriving in the UK from the front for a British audience keen to understand and see the war that was taking place.[375] Wellington House's 1918 series of commissioned works, marketed as *British Artists at the Front*, was published under the imprint of 'Country Life'. To a certain extent this hid their government origins, and made them appear to be independent artist works, in an attempt to appeal to a

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[371] Propaganda in the First World War era did not necessarily have the negative connotations that it does today, the meaning of the word shifted particularly following the Second World War.

[372] H.C.G. Matthew, "Masterman, Charles Frederick Gurney (1874–1927)," Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, 2004, accessed 24 October 2014, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/34927.

[373] Sue Malvern, *Modern Art*, 22. Masterman supported the cause, but did not want to lose integrity.

[374] Bone accepted his appointment as an official war artist on 15 July 1916: Gaynor Kavanagh, "Museum as Memorial: The Origins of the Imperial War Museum," *Journal of Contemporary History* 23, no. 1 (1988), 79.

[375] Sue Malvern, *Modern Art*, 38.

certain readership.[376]

Apart from reflecting Liberal ideals, the marriage of high art and propaganda had a special purpose, which was revealed in Masterman's use of war art and the way that artworks were chosen for publication. A drawing by Bone which was later turned into a lithograph called *Tanks* (c.1918) was one such image that was published. It became an iconic vision of the awe-inspiring, indestructible new machinery of the age (f.16).[377] Bone's images appeared factual; they looked like impartial records of events witnessed by the artist, and they suited Masterman's vision of propaganda.[378] His belief was that restrained artistic reproductions would affect the minds of the public more than grandiose populist illustrations. He was appealing to an influential middle class, who he thought were more likely to follow reason than emotion.[379] The use of art to send visual messages to the visual public, particularly fine artists, gave the images and therefore the message a certain grandeur and validity.

At this stage, Masterman only commissioned drawings to be reproduced as illustrations, and did not collect the original sketches, or commission paintings or original prints. He was, in a sense, commissioning images not artworks- these images were made for reproduction and dissemination and at this stage there was no sense of building an art collection. However, Masterman did value the interpretation of war through artists' eyes. The Wellington House scheme, and its later iterations, encouraged artists to record the war in artistic responses from direct experience. However, Masterman's tactics were criticized for being too subtle and a change of leadership of the scheme was affected by the new Prime Minister, Lloyd George. He expanded Wellington House, creating a Department of Information (DoI) through a War Cabinet Minute on 19 February 1917.[380] The expansion was part of a central government move to combat the crisis of civilian morale in 1917 with what John Horne has termed a 'remobilization campaign'. This state backed coordinated propaganda effort targeted war weariness – in particular, the National War Aims Committee was founded in response to the

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[376] Ibid., 16-35.

[377] The original charcoal drawing for 'Tanks' is held by the IWM (IWM ART 2121). It was reproduced as a lithograph in a portfolio of 60 reproductions published by authority of the War Office: *War Drawings by Muirhead Bone* (London: Country Life Ltd., 1918).

[378] Malvern, *Modern Art*, 18 & 26.

[379] Gaynor Kavanagh, *Museums and the First World War: A Social History* (New York: Leicester University Press, 1994).: see chapter 6. Meirion Harries and Susie Harries, *The War Artists : British Official War Art of the Twentieth Century* (London: M. Joseph, 1983), 6 & 74.

[380] Harries and Harries, *The War Artists*, 20-21.

May strikes in 1917, with its objective to counter the pacifist movement.[381] John Buchan, the well-known war literary figure and author of *The 39 Steps*, was appointed Director of the DoI, with Charles Masterman as Assistant Director, responsible for Literature and Art.[382] Buchan in fact supported Masterman in his utilization of high art propaganda, and in the era of the DoI, the government largely continued the work of Wellington House.

Prints were enlisted as works of high culture for social influence through the DoI, through supporting artists to produce prints from their front line drawings, particularly popular print series that satisfied the public's need for a 'truthful' account of the war. James McBey, the eminent and self-taught Scottish etcher, won a commission that saw him travel to the Middle East, chiefly Egypt and Palestine, where he produced sketches of a reconnaissance patrol of the Australian Camel Corps in the Sinai Desert.[383] On his return to the UK he produced three series of etchings, the most famous being from these sketches called *The Long Patrol* (1919).[384] In this series, McBey used negative space and the wispy lines of the etching technique to great effect- creating a sense of the expansive and hot desert sand and sky. In *The Long Patrol: Strange Signals,* the camel riders seem to peer into the distant horizon, lanky and languid in their posture (f.17). McBey visually described the scenery of the front as well as the experience and characters of the Camel Corps soldiers. He made the camel corps soldiers seem exotic with their new found knowledge and impressive in their ability to adapt to their new environment. The series brought McBey international fame in 1926, and reached record prices on both sides of the Atlantic.[385] The public's take on what constituted a truthful account of conflict was often decided in the art market, with prints like McBey's highly regarded for their ability to capture the atmosphere of the war environment.[386]

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[381] John Horne, "Remobilizing for 'total war': France and Britain, 1917-1918," in *State, society, and mobilization in Europe during the First World War*, ed. John Horne (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 198-199.
[382] H.C.G. Matthew, "Buchan, John, First Baron Tweedsmuir (1875-1940)," Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, 2004, accessed 15 October 2013, www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/32145.
[383] McBey was the sole British official war artist attached to the Egyptian Expeditionary Force during the First World War: Jonathan Black, "'Our warrior Brown Brethran' Identity and difference in images of non-white soldiers serving with the British army in British art of the First World War," in *The Great War and the British Empire: Culture and Society*, eds. Michael J.K. Walsh and Andrekos Varnava (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2017), 137-139.
[384] Harries and Harries, *The War Artists*, 25-27.
[385] Ibid., 27.
[386] McBey was very aware while working as a war artist in the Middle East that he was primarily producing images 'for the people back home': Jonathan Black, "'Our warrior Brown Brethran'," 139.

The DoI controlled what types of images were produced through the scheme by controlling whom they commissioned, but they also influenced which artistic mediums the artists chose to work with. This was the period where most of the artist prints related to the First World War British government commissions were created.[387] Although this scheme rarely commissioned prints directly, artists were encouraged to produce artist prints through the wording of their contract with the Department. An extract from McBey's formal offer of employment as an official war artist in April 1917 provides an example of this, stating:

> …that on the termination of your employment the copyright [for any drawings, etchings and engravings] should revert to you. His Majesty's Government undertaking to give you full facilities to make etchings or engravings of any of the drawings in their possession, provided that an impression of each such etching or engraving shall be presented to the British Museum.[388]

Artists were encouraged to hold exhibitions of their work and disseminate their images through print folios. There were a number of reasons for the DoI's use of prints for this aim, including the close involvement in the scheme of the British Museum print expert, Campbell Dodgson.[389] Also, the time of the First World War and into the 1920s was an era known as the 'print boom' where artists were interested in experimenting with different print techniques, and the public were interested in buying prints as an affordable artistic product. Intaglio prints in particular were favoured strongly in art markets,[390] and artists could develop their reputation and increase sales by creating print portfolios of their work. The print boom fed into a broader art market trend that saw art sales in Britain boom with the rest of the economy

[387] They included prints discussed in this chapter by C.R.W. Nevinson, Paul Nash, Muirhead Bone, James McBey, and others, and artists represented in the *Britain's Efforts and Ideals* series.

[388] Formal Offer of Employment as an Official Artist to James McBey, April 1917, Department of Information, London; IWM 83/3 Part 1: First World War Art Archive ART/WA1/103.

[389] Malvern, *Modern Art*, 13. Dodgson provided the reference to Masterman for Bone and continued with the scheme in an advisory capacity thereafter. His close involvement with prints would have led him to understand how artists could market print series for their own profit.

[390] The Society of Painter-Etchers and Engravers had been founded in 1880 and successfully promoted intaglio printmaking as a worthy art medium. The generation that followed was dominated by three Scottish printmakers: Muirhead Bone, David Young Cameron and James McBey. The prints of these artists became the most expensive contemporary prints in the world during the 1920s. See Robin Garton, *British Printmakers 1855-1955: A Century of Printmaking from the Etching Revival to St Ives* (Devizes, Wiltshire: Garton & Co. in association with Scholar Press, 1992).

in the post-war period.[391]

Britain's Efforts and Ideals: national pride and commercial venture

A more direct example of prints being used by the DoI as a tool for influence was the series of lithographs commissioned and promoted by the Department, called *The Great War: Britain's Efforts and Ideals*. It was the only First World War print series to have been specifically commissioned by the British government, possibly at the behest of the National War Aims Committee. Published by the Avenue Press in 1917,[392] these artworks did not conceal their propagandistic intent, and instead used grand allegorical imagery to drive the message home that Britain had the industrial might and the moral right in this conflict. *Britain's Efforts and Ideals* included nine sets of six lithographs in black and white devoted to Britain's efforts in the war, produced by nine artists. The *Efforts* included: Building Ships, Making Sailors, Women's Work, Making Aircraft, Making Soldiers, Making Guns, Work on the Land, Transport by Sea, and Tending the Wounded. There were also twelve colour lithographs representing Britain's *Ideals*, contributed by twelve different artists. They included such themes as: The Triumph of Democracy, the Restoration of Serbia and the Re-Birth of the Arts. Altogether the full series contained 66 works, which was a large number of prints that could provide visual impact when exhibited. The series clearly also served an aim of national identity construction, as it defined a set of achievements and values as 'British', giving unity to Britain and building a sense of an 'imagined community'.[393]

The *Efforts and Ideals* series was used in the way political prints have traditionally been used, by harnessing its multiple impressions for wide dissemination of a government message.[394] The prints were distributed through exhibitions and sales in various countries. It was a propaganda project tailored for countries which were at that time outside of the war, as well as the citizens of Britain. It complemented a number of propaganda initiatives instigated

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[391] James Fox writes that the art market boom was, "Driven by pent-up consumer demands and a high volume of liquidity," James Fox, *British art and the First World War, 1914-1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 134.

[392] The proofs had been produced under the direction of Ernest Jackson, who himself contributed a lithograph to the ideals series. The project was directed by Thomas Derrick, as Sue Malvern cited a letter he wrote in February 1917 inviting Henry Tonks to contribute (Tonks refused). George Clausen, however, was already involved at that stage. Malvern, *Modern Art*, 41.

[393] The term 'imagined community' in reference to how national identities are constructed and understood by citizens of a nation-state comes from: Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities : Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London; New York: Verso, 2006). First published 1983.

[394] Robert Philippe, *Political Graphics: Art as a Weapon* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1982), 12.

by the British government when civilian morale began to diminish in the final months of the war.[395] After successful exhibitions in Britain, the government tried to use the lithographic series to persuade neutral countries into the war on the side of the allies. They toured the series through the US as an exhibition with a catalogue, where they were for sale to the American public. The exhibition seemed popular when on tour, and it was credited by some for bringing about the US official war art scheme.[396] The prints may also have been toured through South America, as some in the IWM collection contain Spanish captions.[397]

Eighteen respected British artists of the day produced images for this series, which gave the project credibility and status. For the DoI, using well-known artists was a way to enhance the validity of the message, particularly as a propaganda initiative attempting to reach an educated middle-class audience. Among them were Muirhead Bone, Frank Brangwyn, George Clausen, A.S. Hartrick, Augustus John, Charles Pears, William Rothenstein, Claude Shepperson (all established artists of repute) and two emerging artists of promise, Eric Kennington and C.R.W. Nevinson. Many of these artists were printmakers, and they entered into this patriotic project with gusto. A catalogue produced for a 1919 exhibition of the series revealed how these artists were recruited to construct a set of ideals as 'national':

> This series of artists' proofs is a first attempt by a number of British artists, working in unison, to put on record some aspects of the activities called forth by the Great War, and the Ideals by which those activities were inspired… It is hoped that this is only the first of many opportunities which will arise of giving concerted artistic expression to themes which are of deep and widespread moment in our National life.[398]

This catalogue entry implied that the artists themselves chose the subject matter for the print series, although it was probably a negotiation between the artists managing the project and

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395 Through semi-official parliamentary organisations such as the National War Aims Committee, which was established in mid-1917. See A.W. Purdue, "Patriotism and Propaganda in First World War Britain: The National War Aims Committee and Civilian Morale," *The Time Higher Education Supplement*, no. 2076 (15 November 2012), 50.

396 Harries and Harries, *The War Artists*, 81.

397 This was noted on the mount mats of the duplicates that I viewed in storage at the IWM.

398 "The Great War: Britain's Efforts and Ideals," companion catalogue (London: The Avenue Press, 1919).

the government departments involved.[399] The series was in some ways a small version of the wider official war art scheme, which recorded British war efforts, and in so doing, promoted an image of Britain unified by the war.

The *Efforts and Ideals* series was not only a crusade for Britain, but also for the lithography technique, which ideally suited the requirements of the situation created by the war. The series was an initiative of Ernest Jackson, founding member of the Senefelder Club, an artistic society that was set up to promote the use of lithography as a valid artistic practice, and distance it from its commercial origins of use in newspaper illustrations and other non-artistic printed material.[400] The Senefelder Club had been founded in 1908 by Joseph Pennell and others such as Jackson and Hartrick.[401] It seems the club may have approached the War Office to commission a lithograph series, a model that had been successful in the past.[402] Lithography was the print medium that competed with etching in the years before the First World War. As lithography was a young medium in the process of gaining acceptance as a viable form of artistic expression, the *Efforts and Ideals* series had a promotional and legitimising outcome for its exponents in the Senefelder Club. The artists involved in *Britain's Efforts and Ideals* were associated with those who had been involved in Wellington House thus far, and the lithography studio at Central School London, run by Ernest Jackson.[403] It has been speculated that Dodgson may have been an influence, given his connections.[404] This circle of printmaking enthusiasts were able to tie their own artistic aspirations with the war effort.

While all artworks produced for the DoI served a propaganda purpose by being reproduced in publications for a wide audience, this print series had a special purpose. They were to carry their propaganda imagery further and to create money for future commissions by being sold

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[399] The consistency in the subjects chosen for the series, and the previous commissions of Wellington House and the DoI suggest this.

[400] Robin Garton, "Britain's Efforts and Ideals 1917-1923," in *Spring: Catalogue 58* (Devizes, Wiltshire: Garton & Co., 1994).

[401] Frances Carey and Antony Griffiths, *Avant-Garde British Printmaking, 1914-1960* (London: British Museum Publications Ltd., 1990), 10.

[402] The Senefelder Club had produced member portfolios in the past to promote lithography. For example, they produced a set of posters for London Transport in 1913. Artists were happy to be part of these projects to get their own images before a wide audience. See Garton, *British Printmakers*, 194-195.

[403] Garton, "Britain's Efforts and Ideals."

[404] Malvern, *Modern Art*, 42.

off in editions.[405] A large number of the lithographs were for sale soon after being printed, and were available to the British public through the Fine Art Society.[406] However, overall the prints did not sell to members of the public in the numbers expected. The series was a failure as a commercial venture, and this led to there being a number of spares and the experiment was not repeated. An inventory of the series that was carried out in 1922 revealed that a total of 13,200 lithographs from the series were printed, and of those 10,032 remained unsold after the war.[407] Some artists were forced to argue against the selling of excess stock at a reduced rate in fear of damaging their artistic credibility.[408] One artist in this position was Frank Brangwyn who contributed both to the *Efforts* and *Ideals*. His *Efforts* were a series on naval life called *Making Sailors*, while his lithograph for the *Ideals* was a dramatic image of sailors battling a giant squid to illustrate *Freedom of the Seas* (f.18). This allegorical image referenced the appearance of giant squid as foes in classic literature, such as *Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea* (1870) by Jules Verne, and was probably known to the audience for these prints, but it did not seem to inspire these audiences. Brangwyn's prints from the series did not sell, despite him being a highly successful and prolific printmaker otherwise.

The British government directly commissioned and set the subject matter requirements for the *Efforts and Ideals* lithographs, and this influenced the critical and commercial reaction to the series. The British public were hungry for what they perceived to be 'truth' and disinterested in opinions. The images that sold successfully were detailed, factual, but also captured the imagination. They did not rely on sentiment, but they were artistically accomplished. The most successful sets were Bone's *Building Ships*, and Nevinson's *Making Aircraft* from the *Efforts* series (f.19). The lithographs that were part of the *Efforts* often depicted industry, or some other aspect of Britain's war efforts, and for the most part were the more successful element of the series. The *Ideals* referenced a different aesthetic tradition

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[405] In 1918 a set were exhibited by the British government at the galleries of Jacques Seligman & Co. in New York. 10% of the print sales were to aid the destitute families of French artists killed or maimed during the war. "Art Notes: British War Posters to Be Sold for French War Relief.," *The New York Times*, 2 March 1918.

[406] At a price of 2 pounds 2 shillings for each *Effort* lithograph unframed, and 3 pounds 3 shillings for each *Ideal* lithograph. Their first exhibition at the Fine Art Society in July 1917 had the whole series offered at 100 guineas: As shown in the catalogue of the first exhibition: "Britain's Efforts and Ideals in the Great War: Illustrated in Sixty-Six Lithographs by Eighteen Artists," exhibition catalogue (London: The Fine Art Society, 1917).

[407] "EFFORTS AND IDEALS" LITHOGRAPHS, 1922; IWM 381/8: EN1/1/TRE/007.

[408] Notes taken from file available at the Imperial War Museum: "Efforts and Ideals," 1922; IWM 381/8: EN1/1/TRE/007.

to the *Efforts*, which included classical and allegorical imagery rather than realist imagery. The *Ideals* lithographs moralised about Britain's position and objectives in the war, and some artists struggled to capture the lofty concepts they were meant to illustrate. Malvern writes that the *Ideals* were criticized in the British press as being too obvious as propaganda, and an artistic failure because the artists were restricted by the commission.[409]

It is difficult to be sure of the main reasons for the commercial failure of parts of the series; whether it was due to the style of the works or the official element of the series creating a perception of bias. It may have been that their commercialization did not make them appear reified. The commercial aspects of the lithography technique, including its ability to produce large editions, were harnessed for the propaganda ambitions of *Efforts and Ideals*. Limiting the edition size, to no more than 50 impressions, had been one of the usual practices of the Senefelder Club. This was one way they distanced artistic lithography from its commercial origins, because commercial lithographs were thought to be virtually unlimited in edition size.[410] However, the *Efforts and Ideals* lithographs were printed as a limited edition of 200, with each signed by the artist. This brought the lithographs closer to their commercial roots, as did the way the British government went about marketing and selling the works to the public. In her book that links the rise of popular pictorial prints in early modern Europe to the cultivation of consumerism in the "lower echelons of society", Mukerji argues that artists tailored their goods to different social classes, thereby producing a stratification of objects to mirror the social system. She also argues that this pattern of materialism exists to this day.[411] What may have been evident in the case of *Efforts and Ideals*, was an error of judgement in marketing the right kind of print to the right kind of consumer. The commercial failure of the series meant that no further prints were ever directly commissioned by the government during the First World War.

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[409] Malvern, *Modern Art*, 44. With missing records of the commission, it is hard to judge what went wrong, but it is also possible that there was a problem with the artist-printer relationship, as the technical aspects of lithography were often shrouded in mystery at this time, making it difficult for artists to anticipate the outcome of an image they were producing. See Garton, *British Printmakers*, 189.
[410] Garton, *British Printmakers*, 191-193.
[411] Chandra Mukerji, *From Graven Images: Patterns of Modern Materialism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), 38 & 243.

Nevinson and Nash: British artists at the front

The First World War printmaking of C.R.W. Nevinson and Paul Nash, independently produced by the artists, contrasted with the process and outcome of the *Efforts and Ideals* lithographs. The art they produced was more avant-garde and anti-war in sentiment- it portrayed the destruction wreaked by war, and served the complex purposes of their government commissioners because of its 'truthful' qualities. These two young artists were considered ideal candidates for the government commissions because they both had the credibility of having had frontline experience.[412] They were appointed by the DoI to be official war artists, one following the other, after each having successful war art exhibitions in London.[413] The prints produced by Nevinson and Nash were a result of, yet outside, their official commissions. Although neither were previously practitioners of lithography, both artists produced lithographs during the war. They showed their exhibitions at the Leicester Galleries, which had a connection with the Senefelder Club.[414] Nevinson and Nash differed from artists like Bone in that not only were they young serving soldiers, but their art carried an emotional quality from their direct experience of the war that diverged from Bone's work, which carried a certain detachment.[415] There was one school of thought in Britain that said works of art produced by those who had personal experience of wartime service encapsulated a genuine vision of the conflict.[416] While Bone had travelled to the Western Front and witnessed the war, he did not fight and he was not of the generation that was considered by some to have had their youth stolen from them by the war.[417]

Nevinson and Nash were not only young artists they were modernist artists, deliberately commissioned by the DoI to produce a new type of image of the war. The commissioners

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[412] Malvern, *Modern Art*, 14-15 & 30.

[413] Harries and Harries, *The War Artists*, 52. Nevinson's Leicester Galleries show of 1916 made his name as an artist of war: Michael J. K. Walsh, *C.R.W. Nevinson : This Cult of Violence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 137. Nash was appointed after Nevinson.

[414] Carey and Griffiths, *Avant-Garde British Printmaking*, 50.

[415] Sue Malvern, "War Tourisms: 'Englishness', Art, and the First World War," *Oxford Art Journal* 24, no. 1 (2001), 47-66. Malvern argues that while Bone satisfied a need for images of the war and the front for a British audience, he was not a young artist actually experiencing combat and providing a deeper 'truth' within his war work that got at the heart of what the front line was like for the soldiers. Malvern, *Modern Art*, 44.

[416] The critic R.H. Wilenski gave voice to this position when he wrote in a critique of a war art exhibition: "There are two kinds of pictures in the present exhibition… the pictures by men who were tortured by the war and the pictures by men who were not." From: R.H.W., 'The Nation's War Paintings at Burlington House', Athenaeum, December 19, 1919: 1375. In Samuel Hynes, *A War Imagined: The First World War and English Culture* (London: The Bodley Head, 1990), p. 274.

[417] Samuel Hynes, *A War Imagined*, p. 383.

were themselves part an educated elite in Britain, and they felt war art could align with avant-garde art styles. Nevinson was one of the first British artists to arrive at a new visual response to the war, and he overcame the challenges presented by the lack of visual stimulus in that conflict. The modernist artists were not inclined, but also not able, to mimic the traditional war paintings of their predecessors, as by 1914 colourful uniforms had been replaced by khaki, and there were no more heroic charges, but instead machines and poison gas.[418] Before the outbreak of the First World War, Nevinson was a follower of Futurism; England's only one. The Italian Futurists' excitement for war, and belief in a new machine age, was partly discarded by Nevinson once the realities of the conflict sank in during his own war experience.[419] In their art, Nevinson and Nash were reflecting a changing sociocultural attitude to war, which did not consider war and the work of the soldier to be noble and glorious, but instead confronted the ambiguous morality of war.[420]

Nevinson's Cubist, Futurist and Vorticist influences appeared in his early work from 1916, and his etchings from this time were some of the first intaglio prints that used a modernist style. Works such as the drypoint *Returning to the trenches* (1916) showed soldiers on the frontline trapped in the relentless and machine-like momentum of a new war (f.20).[421] Nevinson often portrayed soldiers and how they were affected by war, because he was interested in the humanist message of war art. This print was exhibited at the Leicester Galleries in September 1916, after Nevinson had served with the Red Cross from 1914 and travelled with the Royal Army Medical Corps in France and Flanders.[422] The soldiers he depicted in his works were in most cases French, not the images of British soldiers that the public expected to see.[423] The success of his 1916 show was followed by his participation in the *Efforts and Ideals* series and his appointment in July 1917 as an official artist. In a letter to Buchan, Masterman commented on Nevinson's enthusiasm for the task he was given,

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[418] Walsh, *C.R.W. Nevinson*, 106.

[419] Ibid., 98. On returning from the front where he had served with the Ambulance Unit, Nevinson started cultivating his image in the British press as a dynamic soldier artist, and this included defining his stance in regards to Futurism. While he was still an exponent of Futurism he distanced himself from the Italian Futurists concept of 'war as hygiene': the belief that this experience would cleanse European society.

[420] Fussell discusses the Great War as being a case of 'innocence lost' for the British people: Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), 18-29.

[421] Richard Cork, "Introduction," in *War* (London: The Fine Art Society, 2009), 5.

[422] Julian Freeman, "Nevinson, Christopher Richard Wynne (1889–1946)," Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, 2004, accessed 24 October 2014, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/35205.

[423] *War*, 9.

'Nevinson, who, as you know, is a desperate fellow and without fear, is only anxious to crawl into the front line and draw things full of violence and terror…'[424] This statement was misleading, as Nevinson was in fact trying to avoid conscription through his official commission.[425] But the myth of the war artist was being built, and Nevinson was one to cultivate this image. Like McBey's successful prints, Nevinson's experimental style conveyed his war experience, but in a way that carried the validity of the avant-garde.

The problem with an artistic record of war experience is how the artist's inherent bias can affect their interpretation. Photographs and written records also contain interpretation and bias; however, this is less apparent to an audience. In Nevinson's case, the commissioners wanted his art to remain unflinching, even when it became official art. At the end of 1917 Nevinson was back in England from his commission, and he worked up his ideas for a second Leicester Galleries exhibition, held in March 1918.[426] However, his new works disappointed his commissioners, who worried that the official element had hampered his art making. Masterman records in a letter to Hudson that Nevinson was always asking for instructions on what subject matter to draw, rather than following his own instinct. Furthermore, Masterman was worried about Nevinson curtailing his experimental style on the assumption that it was not appropriate for the 'official art' that he was creating. In the letter Masterman exclaims, 'I have told him to develop his own genius- however bitter and uncompromising!!'[427] This perceived internal censorship in Nevinson's art hampered the reception of his later war work. In the new work which resulted from his commission, including a number of lithographs, it is possible to see a change in Nevinson's style, towards realism. In general, Nevinson used print techniques to produce slightly altered versions of some of his already completed paintings. He took to lithography enthusiastically for this purpose, which suggests that he found printmaking to be a useful tool to propagate his artistic images, probably with propaganda intent. However, if Nevinson was affected by the official nature of his task, his prints were the least regulated of his output and arguably the most successful artistically.

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[424] Letter, Charles Masterman (DoI, London) to John Buchan, 18 May 1917; IWM 266A/6: First World War Art Archive ART/WA1/291/1.
[425] Walsh, *C.R.W. Nevinson*, 157.
[426] Carey and Griffiths, *Avant-Garde British Printmaking*, 50.
[427] Letter, Charles Masterman (DoI, London) to Edward Hudson, 29 Oct 1917; IWM 266A/6: First World War Art Archive ART/WA1/291/1.

Despite the anti-war tone of the official war art by Nevinson and Nash, the artists believed these works were undoubtedly in the service of the British government. They were serving national interests by not shying away from the realities of war that the British soldiers endured. However, Nevinson was further plagued by issues of censorship when one of his paintings was censored for its depiction of dead British soldiers (thought to be detrimental to public morale). Nevinson exhibited the work in defiance of the censorship, although he covered the offending dead bodies with a strip of brown paper.[428] In doing so he drew attention to the issue of censorship, and also to his exhibition, posing as an artist pitted against the military machine, bringing truth to the people. Nash avoided these issues of censorship because he used landscape as a trope through which to address the death and destruction wrought by the war. The official censor of paintings in France, Lieutenant Colonel A.N. Lee, found 'Nash's funny pictures' too obtuse to be of any threat.[429] Nevinson and Nash's prints did not differ greatly from their paintings, but the printmaking medium brought a different aesthetic to the subject matter of their works.

Trained at the Slade, Nash was keen to become an official war artist, and organised a number of supporters to propose him for the position.[430] In his early years he mostly used watercolours, but during the war years he turned to lithography for the first time. Nevinson was an influencing factor on his use of lithography, as can be seen in Nash's handling of subjects such as *Men Marching at Night* (1918) (f.21).[431] At the outbreak of war, Nash enlisted in the army, and he was posted to Ypres salient in early 1917, but returned to England having been injured in an accident a few months later.[432] Following a successful exhibition at the Goupil Gallery in 1917 of drawings made while he was at the front with the

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[428] Nevinson's painting *Paths of Glory* (1917) was censored by the official censor of paintings and drawings in France, AN Lee, but Nevinson still exhibited the painting in his 1918 Leicester Galleries exhibition. See: Malvern, *Modern Art*, 5 & 37-38.

[429] Letter, AN Lee to Alfred Yockney, 2 May 1918, IWM Art Files: Nash, Paul. Cited in: Richard Cork, "Images of extinction: Paul Nash at the Western Front," in *The violent muse: Violence and the artistic imagination in Europe, 1920-1939*, eds. Jana Howlett and Rod Mengham (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1994), 64.

[430] Supporters included Edward Marsh (letter to John Buchan, 17 August 1917), Francis Hopford (letter to Buchan, 16 August 1917), and William Rothenstein (letter to Buchan, 19 August 1917). See: "Paul Nash 1917-18" IWM bound volume 267A/6: First World War Art Archive, folios 3-6.

[431] Carey and Griffiths, *Avant-Garde British Printmaking*, 62. Nash mentioned that Nevinson helped him with lithography in his unfinished autobiography: Paul Nash, *Outline: An Autobiography and Other Writings* (London: Faber and Faber, 1949), 217.

[432] *War*, 25.

Artists' Rifles, he began experimenting with the technique of lithography.[433] After being appointed an official war artist he returned to Flanders in November. The exhibition at the Goupil Gallery and its commercial success provided Nash with the incentive to produce artistic images in multiples, and so for his exhibition at the Leicester Galleries in May 1918, seven lithographs were included in a total of fifty-six exhibited works.[434]

These seven lithographs were in fact all the prints of First World War subjects that Nash was ever to make, but they were the beginning of a long-term interest in printmaking, and the graphic quality of the printed image allowed Nash to portray war subjects in startling forms that were new to the eyes of a London audience.[435] Nash used jagged shapes, drawing from a cubist sensibility, to help convey the harsh environments of the Western front. His imagery was more innovative than it had been before the war, as he was truly moved and horrified, and he did not allow the official commission to compromise his artistic vision.[436] Nash was referencing a British landscape tradition in his work, but also linking devastated landscapes with human devastation. The title image for the Leicester Galleries exhibition, *Void of War*, makes use of silhouette, a print technique appropriated in the late 19th and early 20th centuries from Japanese woodblock prints. Richard Cork described the work for a 2009 Fine Art Society exhibition:

> *Void of War* discloses an uninhabitable land where rain tears through the air in order to pierce the helpless trees. Nash once admitted that he regarded trees as people. And here the blackened trunks signify the plight of all those combatants who perished at Passchendaele.[437]

Void of War stands apart from the other six First World War lithographs by Nash because, while they were drawn with chalk, this was drawn in lithographic wash (f.22).[438] It, like many

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[433] It has been argued that Nash's turn to lithography required no new skill on his part as it was merely a process of transferring his excellent draughtsmanship skills to stone. Alexander Postan, *The Complete Graphic Works of Paul Nash* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1973), 7.

[434] Ibid., 7.

[435] Ibid., 8.

[436] Cork, "Introduction," 6.

[437] Ibid., 6. *Shell bursting, Passchendaele* is another lithograph that features dead trees. It also describes the fountain of debris created by an explosion of a shell in a destroyed farm building. Nash made the sketch for this image during the last days of fighting around Passchendaele.

[438] Carey and Griffiths, *Avant-Garde British Printmaking*, 11. It was a design for an exhibition poster. It is often incorrectly taken for a woodcut.

of Nash's war works, speaks to a national British sentiment through its depiction of war-torn landscape. The prints that Nevinson and Nash produced through their involvement with the DoI challenged notions of official war art being pro-war and traditionalist in style. Their production of prints perpetuated their propaganda service for Britain, but they were also arguably presenting a new standard of 'truth' in the official record of war.

The collections unite: the foundation of the IWM print collection

As part of prime-minister Lloyd George's increased focus on propaganda, the Department of Information became an enhanced Ministry of Information (MoI) in 1918, with Lord Beaverbrook, the press baron and politician who established the Canadian War Memorial Fund, as Minister. The alteration of the scheme brought a new focus. The artworks commissioned under the scheme took on the extra functions of being a physical record and memorial to the Great War.[439] Whereas earlier the commissioned artworks were being reproduced in illustrated pictorials, and no one had a plan for the actual art objects, Beaverbrook set up a British War Memorials Committee, with a view to assembling a collection of war art for Britain, similar to the Canadian model. This also finally took the responsibility for war artist commissions away from Charles Masterman, and made them the decision of the committee that Masterman sat on, along with other members of the art establishment, including: Eric Maclagan, later Director of the Victoria and Albert Museum; Campbell Dodgson, Keeper of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum; Alfred Yockney, previous editor of the *Art Journal*; and the artist Muirhead Bone.[440]

With this change in the structure of the commissioning scheme came a change in what was being produced; moving from a scheme that included the production of artist prints either directly or indirectly through the scheme, to one where only paintings, drawings and some sculpture was created. Prints had been discussed as a potential fundraising tool of the scheme – this was proposed by Bone, but the idea was not taken up by the Committee.[441] This was a reflection of the place of prints in a hierarchy of artistic objects, below oil painting in

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[439] Harries and Harries, *The War Artists*, 85.

[440] Ibid., 86. And Kavanagh, *Museums and the First World War*, 120.

[441] "Recommendations by Mr. Campbell Dodgson and Mr. Muirhead Bone on the Employment of Etchers, Engravers or Lithographers by the British War Memorials Committee," (undated) 1918; IWM 460A/10: First World War Art Archive ART/WA1/490.

importance as a medium for historical narratives.[442] Prints were no longer considered appropriate for the aims of the scheme, as it moved from purely propaganda to including solemn objects of commemoration.[443] However, the experimental nature of the DoI commissions continued in the works of the MoI. The Committee decided what subjects should be covered and then chose artists to match those topics, and they resolved to fairly represent each of the various 'schools' of British art in their selection of artists.[444] This was the context in which John Singer Sargent produced his iconic 6-metre long painting, *Gassed* (1919), now the most well-known artwork in the IWM collection.[445] The memorial element of these works inspired the MoI Committee to discuss plans to build a bespoke Memorial Gallery to house the collection that was being amassed, but this project never eventuated.[446] Instead the Ministry was dissolved in early 1919 and the collection was handed to the IWM, which had been set up in 1917, and had been independently assembling its own art collection. In January 1919, the transfer from the MoI of the art collection occurred.[447]

The allocation of the MoI artworks to the IWM invigorated the Museum's art collection, and set the path for future IWM print collecting, and it also changed the aspirations of print collecting at the IWM. The *Efforts and Ideals* series became one of the first groups of prints to enter the IWM art collection, with its unique tone of propaganda blended with artistic endeavour, as well as its sheer size, making its mark. Complete sets of proofs were presented by the British government to the British Museum, the IWM and the Victoria and Albert Museum; but because of the failure to sell to private buyers, there was an eventual transfer of

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[442] This was not only due to the traditional Royal Academy hierarchy of art genres, which placed history painting at the top of this hierarchy, but also due to a perception of printmaking as an inferior form of artistic production, due to its connection with reproduction over originality. See: Sioban Piercy, "Centre/Periphery – the Predicament of Fine Art Printmaking," (paper presented at the IMPACT 2 International Printmaking Conference, University of Helsinki, Finland, 2001) accessed 15 June 2017, http://www.uiah.fi/conferences/impact/piercy/Piercy.pdf. And: James Clifford, "On Collecting Art and Culture," in *The Cultural Studies Reader*, ed. Simon During (London and New York: Routledge, 1999), 57-60.

[443] This was implied when the question of prints disappeared from the Committee's agenda after Muirhead Bone spoke with the artist D.Y. Cameron, who '…most strongly urge[d] the Committee not to engage in trading with prints.' See: "Suggestions by D.Y. Cameron in a talk with Mr. Muirhead Bone," (undated) 1918; IWM 460A/10: First World War Art Archive ART/WA1/490.

[444] Harries and Harries, *The War Artists*, 85-88.

[445] John Singer Sargent, *Gassed* (1919) oil on canvas, 231 x 611 cm, IWM ART 1460.

[446] Ibid., 93.

[447] Minutes of the 53rd Committee Meeting, 9 January 1919, National War Museum Committee, London; National War Museum Committee Meeting Minutes Nov 1917- June 1920: EN1/1/COM/002. The Secretary reported on the taking over of the Art Section of the Ministry of Information.

excess *Britain's Efforts and Ideals* to the IWM.[448] This has meant there are several sets in the IWM collection, including some signed and some unsigned copies. The multiple copies of this series allowed an exchange to take place with the Australian government. As a result of this, 30 Will Dyson prints commissioned by Australia entered the IWM collection.[449] The *Efforts and Ideals* series is a noted feature of the IWM collection to this day, because through this series many well-known early 20th century British artists are represented in the IWM print collection. It also stands alone in the collection as nothing like this experimental print series has been produced since.

McBey gifted his print series to the IWM in 1919 shortly after the end of the war, and this was just one of many such donations that the IWM received from artists who had produced print series from their British government commissioned drawings. The importance of the IWM as an institution secured these donations. However, Nevinson's independently produced prints were not to enter the IWM collection until decades after the First World War, from the 1970s when prints from the first and second Leicester Galleries exhibitions were purchased by the IWM. The IWM holds six prints by Nash, five of which are lithographs that were transferred into the collection in 1919, and a sixth that was purchased by the IWM in 1982.[450] These all come from the seven that were exhibited at the Leicester Galleries in 1918, and they have been described as his finest prints.[451] Although most of the First World War prints were not officially part of the MoI collection, they arrived at the IWM in one form or other because of their relation to the DoI scheme. They were not strictly official prints; however, they carried the propaganda ambitions of the DoI with them, and prints related to the DoI made up around one third of artist prints in the IWM collection by the end of the First World War. Many were images that recorded the war effort, in academic or avant-garde art styles, and artistic quality was strong in these prints.

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[448] Many of the files connected to the Efforts and Ideals series have been lost. The files at the IWM show that the series was transferred at one stage from the MoI to HMSO. Since the spares are now in the IWM collection, they were evidently transferred again at some point. See the file: "Efforts and Ideals," 1922; IWM 381/8: EN1/1/TRE/007.

[449] See chapter 6 for further information about this exchange.

[450] *War*, 8.

[451] Postan, *The Complete Graphic*, 7.

The MoI and IWM: merging staff and merging ideologies

With the transference of the MoI collection to the IWM, the different collecting attitudes of the two government arms merged. A number of the staff who were part of the MoI scheme were transferred to the IWM as well, bringing their ideologies from their former positions with them.[452] Most notably Bone, who had been the first war artist commissioned, and who later sat on the MoI committee, became immensely important to the IWM as a trustee of the Museum, and as a benefactor. He enhanced the IWM print collection by donating in 1919 a set of signed proofs of his own series of six lithographs *Shipbuilding on the Clyde*, a project of his own initiative and a subject close to his Glaswegian roots.[453] He also set up an acquisitions fund, the money for which came from the sales of his *Efforts and Ideals* and *Shipbuilding on the Clyde* lithographs.[454] The aim of the fund was to improve the quality of the IWM art collection by purchasing war work by talented young artists on behalf of the Museum.[455] Although the fund never acquired any prints, it is probable that the standard set of acquiring artworks of high quality, and encouraging younger artists, pervaded the Museum staff's attitude to acquisitions. The creation of the position of the Art Trustee in itself gave the Museum a determined art focus.

This is suggested by the IWM acquisitions in 1919 of a number of prints by younger men who were trained artists, including Robert Gibbings (1889-1958), Martin Hardie (1875-1952) and Ian Strang (1886-1952). These artists were all soldiers and younger than the likes of Brangwyn and Pennell, who had been the focus of print collecting by the IWM prior to the MoI transfer and instigation of the Bone Fund. These artists did not necessarily produce eye-witness accounts, despite their first-hand experience of the war, but their prints were of a strong artistic quality. The two woodcuts and one etching purchased from Gibbings, a former student at the Slade, were from his observations of the beaches of Gallipoli, sailing from

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[452] Minutes of the 52nd Committee Meeting, 12 December 1918, National War Museum Committee, London; National War Museum Committee Meeting Minutes Nov 1917- June 1920: EN1/1/COM/002. Request put to Treasury for the Art Section of the MoI to be taken over by the IWM. Also, 'the proposed appointments of Mr Yockney (Art), Mr Adams (photographic) and Mr Foster (Assistant Secretary) were laid before the Committee.' Yockney had formerly been in the MoI and played an important role for art in the IWM in the years ahead.
[453] Information from IWM collections database, AdLib.
[454] Money invested from the sales of these two print series formed the capital for the 'Bone fund': Letter, Alfred Yockney (IWM) to Muirhead Bone, 1 April 1920; IWM 39/2 Part 1: First World War Art Archive ART/WA1/046/1.
[455] The fund attempted to raise the standard of the official art collection: Harries and Harries, *The War Artists*, 149.

Salonica, and from his imagination (one of the woodcuts was inspired by a photograph from the *Illustrated London News*).[456] His woodcuts in particular, such as *The Retreat from Serbia* (1919) were influenced by Japanese woodblock design (f.23).[457] Three etchings by Captain Hardie, who later became Director of the Victoria and Albert Museum, were seen by the IWM at an exhibition he held at the Royal Society of Painter Etchers. The artist gifted them to the IWM, having previously gifted a lithograph. The etchings were a series illustrating the Italian Front.[458] A purchase of five drypoints by Strang of Belgium subjects, another Slade artist,[459] who had enlisted with the Royal Engineers, demonstrated that artistic quality was an important feature of acquisitions for the IWM at this time. This implied a change in attitude at the Museum towards the type of war art that should be part of the collection.

A small number of print acquisitions deviated from the IWM's remit of acquiring eye-witness accounts, and even of acquiring British subject-matter. This included a lithograph by the prominent American artist George Bellows, called *The Murder of Nurse Cavell* (f.24). The artist produced this print in response to a populist story of a German war atrocity that shocked the allied nations.[460] Bellows initially did not support the US entering the war, but he changed his opinion, and so vehemently that he produced a series of 14 lithographs in 1918 titled *The Tragedies of War in Belgium*.[461] He had not witnessed these events and was dependent on documentary reports for his works.[462] Fellow lithographer Pennell questioned

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[456] Gibbings joined up with the 4th Battalion Royal Munster Fusiliers on 15 August 1914. He was at Gallipoli and Salonica. He then returned to Britain and focused on wood-engraving. Martin J. Andrews, *The Life and Work of Robert Gibbings* (Bicester: Primrose Hill Press, 2003), 25 & 30-31. His woodcut *The Retreat from Serbia* was from a photograph printed in the *Illustrated London News* of the Serbian army's retreat through Albania. It shows the Serbian Commander-in-Chief being carried in a sedan-chair: "The Serbian Commander-in-Chief Carried in a Sedan-Chair: The Retreat through Albania," *The Illustrated London News*, 15 January 1916.

[457] On acquiring his etching of Gallipoli, the IWM asked Gibbings to produce more on this subject: Letter, Alfred Yockney (IWM) to Captain Gibbings, 14 February 1919; IWM 101/3: First World War Art Archive ART/WA1/124. They had earlier asked Gibbings if the prints he had put forward to the Committee were made from his personal observations: Letter, Yockney (IWM) to Gibbings, 31 January 1919; IWM 101/3: First World War Art Archive ART/WA1/124. Gibbings confirmed that the Gallipoli scene was from his personal observation: Letter, Gibbings (artist) to Yockney, 1 February 1919; IWM 101/3: First World War Art Archive ART/WA1/124.

[458] Memoranda, "Presentations," (IWM) 23 May 1919; IWM 89/3: First World War Art Archive ART/WA1/112.

[459] Grant M. Waters, *Dictionary of British Artists Working 1900-1950* (Eastbourne: Eastbourne Fine Art Publications, 1975), 318.

[460] English nurse, Edith Cavell, who operated a hospital in Brussels, was executed by the Germans in October 1915 for harbouring wounded soldiers and abetting their escape.

[461] Malvern writes that these prints, also produced as paintings, were derived from incidents contained in the Bryce Report of 1915, and that the Bryce Report was later discredited. Sue Malvern, "Art and War: Truth or Fiction?," *Art History* 19, no. 2 (1996), 307-312.

[462] Jane Myers and Linda Ayres, *George Bellows : The Artist and His Lithographs, 1916-1924* (Fort Worth, Texas: Amon Carter Museum, 1988), 61.

how Bellows could have depicted the subject of the murder of Edith Cavell when he had not witnessed the episode. Bellows purportedly replied, "It is true, Mr Pennell, that I was not present at Miss Cavell's execution, but I've never heard that Leonardo Da Vinci had a ticket of admission to the Last Supper, either."[463] His statement undermined the idea that war art should be a first-hand account, but also equated his image of Cavell with the gravitas of religious subject matter, highlighting the role that unofficial art can sometimes play in perpetuating propaganda and influencing public opinion. The lithograph of Edith Cavell entered the IWM collection as a gift, either from the artist or another source.[464] It remains one of Bellows' most well-known lithographs, which is significant as he is thought to have been at the forefront of the burgeoning of lithography as an artistic medium in the US. Bellows worked on seven states of this lithograph, perfecting the heroic and gentle demeanour of Edith Cavell meeting her executioners in the early hours of the morning.[465]

The Bellows print was not the only American item to enter the First World War print collection, but this next set of prints actually illustrated a military failure on the part of the US. In 1921 there was a gift from the American artist Frederick Detwiller (1882-1953), who had initially offered a set of his etchings showing the American shipyards, for purchase. ffoulkes, in his capacity as secretary of the IWM Board, asked that Detwiller kindly donate a set as they had no money for purchases, and Detwiller agreed to this request because the IWM was a British Government institution. He had earlier in the month written to Conway at the IWM:

> "I have six etchings showing the construction of the wooden ships made in the American yards during the war by the Emergency Fleet Corporation of the US Shipping Board. The etchings show the building of the ships from the frame-up to the camouflage and fitting out."[466]

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[463] R.A.K., "George Bellows' "Murder of Edith Cavell"," *Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University* 18, no. 2 (1959), 52.

[464] Information from IWM collections database, AdLib.

[465] Bellows came to lithography in the later years of his life with the help of the master printer George C Miller, and was prolific with this medium from 1916 to his death in 1925.: Myers and Ayres, *George Bellows*, 7-9. However, Miller was not the printer of this lithograph, as he had joined the Navy during the time of its production. Ibid., 64.

[466] Letter, Frederick K. Detwiller (artist) to Martin Conway, 8 March 1921; IWM 378/8: First World War Art Archive ART/WA1/407.

An article from the New York Times, 8 August 1920, described the ships as infamous as they were expected to do so much towards winning the war but evidently did not. This article also explained Detwiller's ability to get permission to sketch the ships whilst engaged in the US Government War Service (f.25).[467] This was another set of prints that seemed to run counter to the stated collecting program of the IWM, and indicated an altered attitude toward print collecting in the Museum, because they introduced an alternative non-British narrative into the Museum collection. It is possible that the earlier donations from Mond and Bellows may have been difficult to refuse. However, there is no evidence to suggest that the IWM could not have refused the Detwiller prints if they so wished. Apart from their aesthetic appeal, these prints illustrated a peripheral subject for the IWM, but with a peripheral art medium this may have been deemed acceptable.

Along with general collecting for the Museum performed by various members of the Museum's staff, such as ffoulkes, the IWM sub-committees were collecting in specific areas, and there seemed to be more adherence to the Museum's stated policies in the committees' print acquisitions.[468] The committees became more active in acquiring prints following the transfer of the MoI works: In 1918 the IWM Naval Section sub-committee commissioned a drypoint by Francis Dodd, formerly a Wellington House artist, for an image showing *HMS Ambrose and attached submarines*.[469] One of the sub-committees in particular acquired a number of artist prints, and that was the Women's Work section. The collecting of the Women's Work sub-committee markedly enhanced the representation of women printmakers in the IWM collection. Their acquisitions included a group of etchings by D.B. Carey Morgan (active 1919-1922) of the hospital at Royaumont, purchased from the artist. They were also donated a portfolio of lithographs of the VAD Convoys by Olive Mudie-Cooke (1890-1925), as well as a lithograph by J. Walter West (1860-1933), which was a design used in one of the first land women posters.[470] The Munitions sub-committee commissioned Anna

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[467] "Etchings of the Wooden Ships," *The New York Times*, 8 August 1920.

[468] For example, a letter written to the artist J. Walter West on behalf of the 'Women's Section' of the IWM states, 'We do not desire to have any markedly allegorical work, but we are very much interested in actual scenes depicting women at work': Letter, Lady Norman (IWM) to West, 18 February 1919; IWM 30a/2 part 3: First World War Art Archive ART/WA1/037.

[469] Francis Dodd, *HMS Ambrose and attached submarines* (1918) drypoint, 22.8 x 35.5 cm, IWM ART 908 a-b. Information from IWM collections database, AdLib.

[470] Letter, J. Walter West (artist) to Lady Norman, 25 July 1919; IWM 30a/2 part 3: First World War Art Archive ART/WA1/037. Details of lithograph: J. Walter West, *Women Working on the Land* (c.1916) lithograph, 94.6 x 147.9 cm, IWM ART 3085.

Airy to produce large oil paintings of munitions factories. Although Airy did not produce any prints as part of the commission, *The Shell Forge* (c.1918) etching that she later donated to the IWM (f.26) related to one of the paintings: *A Shell Forge at a National Projectile Factory, Hackney Marshes, London, 1918* (1918).[471] The bulk of the First World War print collection was acquired in 1919. The combination of people on the IWM staff worked together to develop a varied and exciting print collection.

Print collecting slowed after 1921, the only interwar print acquisition of note being a 1932 donation of drypoints of Mesopotamia by Charles Cain (1893-1962).[472] The 'realism record' approach to art acquisitions was still somewhat present at the IWM in the interwar years. For example, the Keeper of Art was concerned that in 1929 the IWM Trustees would not accept a donation of George Clausen's painting *Youth Mourning* (1916) because it was allegorical and might not be 'of a sufficiently literal character to suit the Collection' (f.27).[473] The IWM defined its post-war role as being a place where ordinary soldiers and their families could visit and see something of their own experience in the display, which was a very different concept to other museums of the time, which exhibited the rare and elite objects of public ownership.[474] One of the Museum's founders, Sir Martin Conway, identified the purpose of the Museum thus:

> "When peace returns and men are back at home, the years will pass and memory of the great days and adventures through which they lived will grow dim. It is the purpose of the Museum to be a place which they can visit with their comrades, their friends, or their children, and there revive the past…"[475]

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[471] Anna Airy, *A Shell Forge at a National Projectile Factory, Hackney Marshes, London, 1918* (1918) oil on canvas, 182.8 x 213.3 cm, IWM ART 4032. IWM collections database, AdLib.

[472] Waters, *Dictionary*, 57. These observations of street life in Mesopotamia during the war showed the exotic scenes to which British soldiers had been exposed.

[473] Letter, Ernest Blaikley (IWM) to Charles Aitken, The National Gallery, 4 December 1929; IWM 201/5: First World War Art Archive ART/WA1/223. The painting is a response to the horrors of the First World War and, in particular, the death of Clausen's own daughter's fiancé. The painting was offered initially to the National Gallery before being offered to the IWM.

[474] Kavanagh, *Museums and the First World War*, 129-130. Prints fall into this category of objects that are accessible to everyday people.

[475] Circular to the Forces, "National War Museum," Conway, April 1917; IWM A1/2: EN1/1/MUS/025. Cited in Gaynor Kavanagh, "Museum as Memorial: The Origins of the Imperial War Museum," *Journal of Contemporary History* 23, no. 1 (1988), 83.

Between 1920 and 1924 the IWM received two and a half million visitors at the Crystal Palace. The Museum claimed many of these visitors had had some direct involvement with the war.[476] However, in the interwar period the IWM was to face the challenge of declining public interest in the Museum.

The difference in the Second World War scheme: official print commissions

There had been minimal print collecting between the wars, and the IWM operations were greatly reduced during the period of the Second World War. The IWM was also under the same austerity pressures that all institutions in Britain had to face during and after the war.[477] The question the IWM did have to contend with at the end of the Second World War was how exactly to expand the Museum's scope to include records of the new war. They had to consider how to house the large amounts of relics and records that had been produced by the large-scale conflict, and they started considering an expansion of the building at Lambeth.[478] The IWM founders were not slow to respond to the Second World War – there was an unofficial extension of scope for the Museum in 1939, and the Trustees started collecting for the new war. The 1920 Act was vague enough to allow them to do this. This meant that they did not make the extended scope official until the early 1950s, when they began negotiations with treasury.[479] This may have limited their collecting to a certain degree before the official expansion of scope.

The IWM only collected two Second World War prints themselves, and these (the first prints to enter the Museum's collection in the Second World War) were slightly anomalous among the other prints that were to enter the IWM's collection shortly after the war. They were two

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[476] Aulich and Hewitt, *Seduction or Instruction?*, 24.

[477] In Britain, food rationing had been taking place during the war, and in the late 1940s and early 1950s people were still living in 'Austerity Britain'. Soap and eggs came off the ration in 1950, a range of foods stayed on it for a little while: David Kynaston, *Austerity Britain, 1945-1951* (London: Bloomsbury, 2007), 510. Britain was also involved in the Korean War in the early 1950s.

[478] Question in the House of Lords with Reference to a War Museum. Put Down for Answer by Lord Hampton on Tuesday, 5 June 1945; EN2/1/MUS/010. He asks whether there will be an expanded scheme to combine both wars, how and where this will fit, whether steps were being taken already to earmark exhibits and whether Nazi brutalities will be included. The War Museum answered that, yes, the remit will be expanded, they were planning to expand their building at Lambeth, collecting could broaden now that the war had almost ended, and that the Nazi brutalities were outside their scope (although another draft says that, yes, they are included in some photographs of concentration camps).

[479] Actually the Trustees had considered the new war even before a Treasury letter was discussed at the Board of Trustees meeting held on Thursday 7 December 1939. Also see: National Archives Reference: T 227/442 'Imperial War Museum: extension of scope of museum to all campaigns involving British Forces from August 1914' (1920-1957)

wood-engravings by G.W. Lennox Paterson (1915-1986), purchased from the artist in 1946 along with an oil painting by him.[480] Paterson had studied at the Glasgow School of Art, and later taught there. He produced book illustrations, and was known for his illustrations to *Poetical Works* by Robert Burns.[481] The two wood-engravings in the collection are typical of his graphic style; they are stylised and illustrative. His soldier figures in the great coats loom large in the environment they inhabit. Details of undulating landscape and foliage are not lost in his compositions, despite the emphasis on the human figures. At the same time there is something dream-like and fantastical in these scenes of soldiers and tanks emerging onto the frontline (f.28). These Paterson prints are the only ambiguous and abstracted prints acquired during the Second World War period, because of the way the collection was built in this period, which included minimal IWM staff involvement, and less ad-hoc collecting.

The IWM again benefited from a government official art commissioning scheme, administered through the reinstated Ministry of Information in the Second World War. This meant that yet again an outside government committee with its own ideas about British art and war art as propaganda was to influence the IWM's collection of art and artist prints. However, there were also differences between the commissions of this period and the previous. The scheme was named the War Artists Advisory Committee (WAAC) and had been instigated by National Gallery Director, Kenneth Clark, partly in response to the plight of artists who were losing their lives on the frontline. The purpose of the scheme in Clark's eyes was to make an historical and artistic record of the war, using artists from a range of stylistic schools and areas of Britain.[482] The WAAC was installed by the Minister of Information, Harold Macmillan, a supporter of Clark, in November 1939.[483] The scheme therefore was active from early on in the war, and the Committee which ran the scheme was

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[480] Patterson submitted pictures in 1939, which were declined, and again in 1946 to the IWM, of which three were purchased for 40 guineas: IWM ART LD 5755-5757. See the file: "G W Lennox Paterson," 1939; IWM GP/55/443: Second World War Art Archive ART/WA2/03/468.

[481] "G W Lennox Paterson (1915 – 1986)," British Council collection, 2011, accessed 24 November 2014, http://visualarts.britishcouncil.org/collection/artists/g-w-lennox-paterson-1915.

[482] Brian Foss, *War Paint*, 1 & 15-16. The requirement for a range of artistic styles was similar to the First World War MoI Committee's aims for the protection and veneration of British cultural expression, but this aspiration ultimately did not have a great impact on the prints that were produced through the Second World War commissions.

[483] Clark was able to use his political influence through friends, and his position as a renowned figure in the art world, to make the WAAC the largest and most dominant supporter and patron of British artists during the period of the Second World War. Ibid., 20.

active right up until the end of the war. It promoted British liberal values, inspired by the First World War government commissions and in contrast to the values of the Nazi Party.[484]

The management of the WAAC ultimately influenced the works that were produced by artists during the Second World War, in part because of the people who sat on the Committee, and in part because of the process for commissioning artists. Clark was the head of the WAAC Committee from its inception to its end, and his ideology dominated the management of the scheme. He wanted to create an artistic record of quality, with aesthetic considerations a priority. He had the example of the First World War Ministry of Information commissions to justify this agenda.[485] While the WAAC looked to artists who would be able to record what they saw, Clark's own artistic persuasions also guided the selection of artists. Some experimental art was commissioned by the WAAC, although the committee did not see fit to commission non-representational art.[486] This was because of a view that war art must serve a social function, and be visually accessible to a wide audience. The IWM had an advocate on the Committee in Bone, who promised to represent the interests of the Museum where possible.[487] This meant the IWM's needs were represented during the commissioning of artists by the WAAC. The Committee met for the first time on 23 November 1939, and along with artistic figures like Bone, it included representatives from the services and wartime ministries. The system for commissioning artists was to provide two types of contracts, including a large number of short-term contracts, which were prescriptive in terms of subject and artistic medium used.[488] The contracts may have been prescriptive, but they were made in negotiation with the artists themselves.[489] A handful of printmakers were engaged through short term contracts, and this signalled that their activities were controlled by the WAAC.

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[484] Roger Tolson, "A Common Cause: Britain's War Artists Scheme," Art and War: Australia, Britain and Canada in the Second World War, 2005, accessed 10 March 2015, http://www.warmuseum.ca/cwm/exhibitions/artwar/essays/artandwar-britains_war_artists_scheme.pdf.

[485] Harries and Harries, *The War Artists*, 157-159.; Foss, *War Paint*, 17-31.

[486] Ibid., 163-164.

[487] Minutes of Board of Trustees Meeting, 7 December 1939, Imperial War Museum, London; Board of Trustee Minutes, vol 1: Dec 1920-May 1944. At this meeting Bone confidentially stated that he was a member of the Artists' Advisory Committee of the Ministry of Information under the Chairmanship of Sir Kenneth Clark. He promised that '...as far as possible he would represent the interests of the Imperial War Museum at meetings of the Committee.' At a later meeting Bone suggested to the IWM Board of Trustees that they express their opinions about gaps in the WAAC collection from their observations of the works hanging in the National Gallery. Minutes of Board of Trustees Meeting, 22 January 1942, Imperial War Museum, London; Board of Trustee Minutes, vol 1: Dec 1920-May 1944.

[488] Foss, *War Paint*, 26.

[489] Tolson, "A Common Cause."

The WAAC existence through the war was precarious, as they were constantly being questioned, often from within the MoI, about whether their commissions were being driven by propaganda intent or by some other purpose. The placement of the WAAC within the Ministry drove this tension.[490] Some members of the WAAC, such as Clark, argued that culture and propaganda were one and the same, in line with Masterman's argument from the First World War about influencing elite sectors of society. In fact, Tolson argued that there was more underlying support for the war among the artists than in the First World War scheme, because of the nature of the conflict.[491] There also existed an argument that, while the Nazis debased art by using it for a political purpose, Britain supported its cultural expressions like a civilised nation.[492] Nevertheless, from 1943 Clarke put more effort into putting the collection in the service of propaganda. The WAAC produced a series of four booklets called *War Pictures by British Artists,* which reproduced the artworks that suited a propaganda message. They also organised a series of exhibitions to countries such as the United States and Canada that were deemed highly successful as cultural influencers carrying the British message to neutral and allied nations.[493] However, Clark defended the artistic integrity of his scheme. He did not want to compromise the commissions and purchases made by the WAAC in the name of propaganda.[494] Thus, it was important for the Second World War commissioners that the collection they were building was valuable as an art collection.

Printmaking was expected to support other WAAC activities through the sale of impressions, and to play a special role in the dissemination of propaganda messages. In 1940, the commissioners employed printmakers to create records of homefront scenes.[495] The direct acquisition of prints required the WAAC to pay for the artists' commission; the paper that they were to print on, and the other costs of publishing.[496] Because printmakers must use high

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[490] Foss, *War Paint*, 157-159.

[491] His evidence is the artworks themselves: Tolson, "A Common Cause."

[492] Monica Bohm-Duchen, *Art and the Second World War* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2013), 42-43.

[493] Foss, *War Paint*, 160-161.

[494] Ibid., 157.

[495] For example, Ethel Gabain and A.S. Hartrick (1864-1950) were commissioned to made prints of W.V.S. and landwork scenes.

[496] Other costs associated with Ethel Gabain's series on the evacuation of children included charges for having the printer transfer her designs from transfer paper onto the lithographic stone, which was additional to the fee for the designs themselves: Interview Memorandum, War Artists Advisory Committee, 16 April 1940; "Ethel Gabain 1940-1950" IWM bound volume GP/55/46: Second World War Art Archive, folio 3.

quality paper, the commissioners found that the printmaking materials were more expensive than originally thought. This was particularly the case when the British government identified quality paper as a luxury good and restricted its circulation.[497] When the WAAC tried to recuperate some of their money from the print series commissioned from Ethel Gabain, Hubert Freeth, and Hartrick by selling them through the National Gallery for five shillings apiece, they found that the prints did not appeal to the public, in an echo of the *Britain's Efforts and Ideals* experience. This was almost certainly a factor in the WAAC's decision to not commission any print series after 1940, and probably in their refusal to publish Eric Ravilious' celebrated *Submarine series.*[498] The mistake the commissioners made was not taking into account the changed art market for prints in this era.

The prints of the War Artists Advisory Committee

The print series directly commissioned by the WAAC constituted the bulk of the Second World War prints to enter the IWM collection at this time, and they carried a strong propaganda intent. One of the commissioned printmakers was Ethel Gabain (1883-1950), a well-known British lithographer,[499] who was required to produce a series of prints about children in wartime, illustrating the evacuations of children from London (a suitable subject for a woman artist, prescribed by the WAAC).[500] This was a subject to ease class tensions and promote civil control in Britain, as usually working class children were the ones who were separated from their families in these evacuations. Gabain was able to view the evacuation of children in Southend, describing it as "a really wonderful sight- everything went without a hitch".[501] She was a competent but traditionalist artist, and her figurative images had the effect of championing the evacuation project. There was an element of reassurance that the children were adapting well to their new country homes. An example is the image of *Boys from South East London gathering sticks in Cookham* (1940) (f.29), with its attached explanation:

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[497] Paper rationing was introduced in 1940, see: "Britain Orders Paper Control: New Rationing Plan in Effect Tomorrow; Restrictions Broad," *Los Angeles Times*, 11 February 1940.

[498] Foss, *War Paint*, 30.

[499] She was a founding member of the Senefelder Club. She was also married to the artist John Copley, and sometimes went by Ethel Copley.

[500] The WAAC originally commissioned Gabain to produce 8 lithographs, 4 of evacuation subjects and 4 of W.V.S. subjects. She was paid 12 guineas for each lithograph: Letter, WAAC to Ethel Gabain, 16 April 1940; "Ethel Gabain 1940-1950" IWM bound volume GP/55/46: Second World War Art Archive, folio 4.

[501] Letter, Gabain to E.M.O'R. Dickey (WAAC Secretary), 2 June 1940; "Ethel Gabain 1940-1950" IWM bound volume GP/55/46: Second World War Art Archive, folio 22.

'These London boys find a new and healthy way of life in the country, which is in itself an education. Most of them continue to have full-time schooling and, being boys, the country is not dull for them. Many of them, if they have their way, will stay there and will grow up on the land.'[502]

Gabain was confident of her ability to make a social difference through producing prints, and after her *Children in wartime* series she went on to produce another series of women's work, also commissioned by the WAAC.[503] Her print series show that the WAAC did have printmaking in mind as an artistic medium suitable to producing propaganda images.[504] This may have been partly because printmaking was considered a democratic medium, and in this sense may appeal to the general public, apart from its advantages for dissemination.

Although the Second World War printmakers produced works that were somewhat conventional, in that they were usually figurative and illustrative, they were also works of a high artistic quality.[505] Other artists commissioned to produce drawings and paintings for the

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[502] Ethel Gabain, "Note For: Boys from South East London Gathering Sticks in Cookham. From Portfolio of Lithographs: Children in Wartime." London, 1940.

[503] Gabain, having suggested in a letter to Dickey (the WAAC Secretary) in June 1941 that she do some lithographs of women doing men's work from her own resources, was subsequently engaged once again by the WAAC to carry out a commission for 4 lithographs on this subject: Letter from E.M.O'R. Dickey to Ethel Gabain, 5 June 1941; "Ethel Gabain 1940-1950" IWM bound volume GP/55/46: Second World War Art Archive, folio 73. From the 27 lithographs in the IWM collection it is apparent that Gabain did produce a number of lithographs herself.

[504] This is supported by a letter from WAAC Secretary, Dickey, who writes that the Committee, 'strongly felt that [Gabain's lithographs] should have real propaganda value at the present time. They have, therefore, recommended that the majority should be distributed free to suitable organisations.' This was following the disappointing sales of the WAAC lithographs to the public: Letter, E.M.O'R. Dickey to Plumbley (HM Stationery Office), 19 February 1942; "Ethel Gabain 1940-1950" IWM GP/46/10/2: Second World War Art Archive ART/WA2/01/011a.

[505] The most representational prints were produced by the handful of commissioned artists, Gabain, Hubert Freeth (1913-1986) and Hartrick. Leslie Cole, who was trained at the Royal College of Art, approached the WAAC himself requesting to become a war artist, and included samples of his lithographic work in his application. The WAAC arranged for Cole to be working on trawlers and a destroyer at some graving docks, and they purchased the prints of minesweepers he produced from this experience: Letter, Dickey (WAAC) to Leslie Cole, 6 June 1941; IWM GP/55/155a: Second World War Art Archive ART/WA2/03/183. They were well received with one member commenting in a letter that Cole "appears to be one of the few artists whose work we have seen who can make a vigorous drawing of figures in action." Letter, Dickey (WAAC) to Air Commodore Peake, 12 June 1941; IWM GP/55/155a: Second World War Art Archive ART/WA2/03/183. Cole's lithographs were dynamic, showing sailors in minesweeping operations. After the purchase of these prints, the WAAC offered him a formal commission that saw him travel to many overseas theatres of the war. Cole became one of the most successful and prolific of the Second World War official artists, and he showed that representational war prints did not have to be turgid or bland.

WAAC sometimes also produced interesting prints. This usually occurred when an artist had been a printmaker before the war. Anthony Gross created four etchings from his commissioned work for the WAAC, which were a result of his own passion for etching and engraving.[506] Gross had trained at the Slade School under Henry Tonks, and had specialised in etching. He worked with the experimental British engraver S.W. Hayter in Paris in 1929. Gross was also in Paris in 1939 for the outbreak of the war and was forced to return to London.[507] He was first commissioned in March 1940 by the WAAC to depict training activity, and he produced an etching of drills on a parade ground. Later in the year he was commissioned to draw coastal defences on the English south coast. He translated three drawings from Dover into etchings, including *Observation Post with Gulls: 'Solomon' and 'Sheba'* (1941) (f.30).[508] One can see his interest in mark making with the etching process. His prints from the war period were illustrative of the events he was depicting, but they were slightly experimental. The forms were loose and the prints displayed his personal style of working with thin lines. From 1941-46 Gross took many more commissions from the WAAC and depicted the war in the Middle East, and later India and Burma. He was also present at Normandy on D-Day.[509] The early etchings were eventually transferred from WAAC to the IWM. Gross did not produce etchings in his later commissions.

Despite the initial inclination of the WAAC to directly commission printmakers during the Second World War, there were actually fewer prints produced by artists than during the First World War DoI scheme altogether.[510] This may have partly been the result of a change in artist contracts between the two schemes. While the First World War contracts had encouraged artists to produce their own print series from the sketches they made, there is no evidence that the Second World War contracts or correspondence with artists encouraged

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[506] This was more consistent with the DoI artists of the First World War in the way these works reflected the official drawings created by the artist, but also their own stylistic interpretation in print form.

[507] S.C. Hutchison, "Gross, (Imre) Anthony Sandor (1905–1984)," Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, 2004, accessed 14 January 2015, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/31178.

[508] Gross had the approval of the Committee to produce his etchings, who did not have to pay him extra as he was on a salary. They did however pay to publish his etchings: Letter from Dickey (WAAC) to Plumbley (HM Stationery Office), 26 June 1941; IWM GP/55/34: Second World War Art Archive ART/WA2/03/183.

[509] Hutchison, "Gross."

[510] According to my calculations from the IWM AdLib database about 52 prints were eventually transferred from the WAAC collection to the IWM following the Second World War, and this is below the number of one impression of the *Efforts and Ideals* prints from the First World War alone (see Appendix I for list of IWM prints).

printmaking particularly.[511] However, this change in emphasis in the contract was also a reflection of a wider change in taste for artist prints. After the print boom of the 1920s, printmaking fell out of favour and experienced a downturn that coincided with the Second World War. Printmakers in particular were badly affected by the post-Depression collapse of the American market. During the war years, private presses closed all over Britain, and in some cases their places were taken by commercial companies, such as Curwen Press. Paper rationing was introduced in April 1940. Many artists who used to include printmaking among their artistic skills, did not continue to make prints at all.[512] This may be another reason for the lack of experimental or avant-garde artist prints being produced by the Second World War commissions.

Allocating works and the end of the War Artists Advisory Committee

The fate of the WAAC scheme following the war influenced the type of art eventually received by the IWM. The MoI was again dissolved towards the end of the war, and with it the WAAC. Administration of the large collection that had been amassed was passed to the IWM. However, unlike in the First World War, the whole collection was not donated to the Museum. Instead, it was decided that the artworks produced by the scheme would be allocated to various collecting bodies in Britain, and some of its dominions.[513] This gave weight to the attitudes of the then IWM Board of Trustees, who resolved that the IWM would only be interested in works that could be deemed representational. They sent the Keeper of Art to make a selection of works for the IWM on that basis.[514] The influence lay with the Trustees rather than the Keeper, who merely carried out a set of instructions. This was a reflection of a new, less experimental ideology at the IWM – one which interpreted the Museum's role to be presenting the military history of Britain at war, and with less need for the art collection to reflect modern art movements. Harries and Harries give a lack of dynamic personalities within the IWM as an explanation for the Museum's failure to commission artists itself at the outbreak of the Second World War, and this may also be an

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[511] Where print series are discussed, such as with keen printmakers like Anthony Gross, or with printmakers they had commissioned early on, there is some ambiguity as to whether the copyright should rest with the artist or with the crown. Conflicting information is giving to artists through the letters from the WAAC.
[512] Foss, *War Paint*, 10-11.
[513] Minutes of Board of Trustees Meeting, 2 July 1945, Imperial War Museum, London; Board of Trustee Minutes, vol 2: July 1944-November 1965.
[514] Minutes of Board of Trustees Meeting, 31 December 1945, Imperial War Museum, London; Board of Trustee Minutes, vol 2: July 1944-November 1965. The IWM had prior claim to all pictures that were historical records.

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explanation for the Trustees' uninspiring approach to the art allocations.[515] Coll argues that the then IWM Director, L.R. Bradley, took little interest himself in the art collection and believed the Museum held a different position in the art world to art-focused collecting institutions: "…it is perhaps peculiar to the Imperial War Museum that the subject depicted is more important than the name of the artist that painted it." He believed that the IWM Trustees felt it was the function of the Tate and other national galleries to represent the work of individual artists.[516]

At various times, staff attitudes towards the role of the art collection within the Museum were linked with internal ideas about the wider role of the IWM as a national British collecting institution. L.R. Bradley was Director from 1937-1960 and ex-military. His Directorship was characterised by his own interest in displaying the material culture of war and his difficulties with integrating the Second World War into the Museum's collections and displays.[517] His lack of engagement with the art collection contrasts with his predecessor, Martin Conway (Director, 1917-1937), who believed the art collection would uplift the IWM in the eyes of the public.[518] Noble Frankland, who succeeded Bradley as Director (1960-1982), strove to reposition the IWM as a definite museum of history/social history for an audience that increasingly did not have their own personal experience of the two world wars.[519] Towards the end of Frankland's Directorship, the Art Department really began to try and position itself as an active and prominent member of the national art scene.[520]

An argument had been put forward at the end of the First World War by Mond that if the MoI collection were to go to the British Museum then it would lose its profile as a complete and robust collection of art pertaining to the war, and fade into the general art historical milieu.[521] This was why it was given to the IWM, a museum with a specific subject scope. However, following the Second World War, the MoI and IWM worked together to divide the WAAC collection between many cultural institutions, and this did divide the vision of the collection

[515] Harries and Harries, *The War Artists*, 155.
[516] L.R. Bradley to Kenneth Clark, 19 January 1946. Tate Archives: TGA 8812.1.2.3356/1-2. Cited in: Rebecca L. Coll, "Noble Frankland and the Reinvention of the Imperial War Museum, 1960-1982," unpublished PhD thesis, Christ's College (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2016).
[517] Coll, "Noble Frankland."
[518] See chapter 1 and Coll, "Noble Frankland."
[519] ibid.
[520] See discussion about the Keeper of Art from 1980, Angela Weight, in chapter 5.
[521] Ibid., 118.

as a whole. A number of the most progressive artworks went to the Tate Gallery, while the IWM received just over half of all the WAAC works, including many that were considered primarily documentary record.[522] However, this likely had minimal influence on the ultimate shape of the IWM print collection, because of the small number of prints commissioned or purchased by the WAAC. In later years the IWM addressed artistic gaps in their Second World War print collection, purchasing prints that had been ignored by the WAAC.[523] The IWM Board of Trustee meetings reveal that the Trustees were interested in the historical merit of an artwork over its artistic merit. They were so sure of this position that they sometimes went against the advice of Bone.[524] Thus, the Second World War contributed mainly lithographs in a traditional style to the IWM print collection, reflecting the conservative management of the IWM at this time, and pressures on the WAAC commissioners that had not been present to the same extent during the First World War.

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Print collecting at the IWM in both the First and Second World War eras generally supported the government-driven aims of the Museum. On the other hand, there were occasional surprising print acquisitions that introduced divergent narratives into the Museum. They also subverted the original intention of the IWM to acquire eye-witness accounts only. These collections did enter the Museum proper and some may very well have been framed and displayed from the IWM's first days in the Crystal Palace, as historical photographs reveal many paintings were hung. While key individuals within the First and Second World War government collecting schemes held similar ideological approaches to building their collections, small differences in ideas and differences in the social context in which they were working changed the outcome of their print collecting. Overall the print collection that was built in the first half of the 20th century at the IWM set the tone for the continued development of this collection – including a regard for artistic quality and room for unusual perspectives.

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[522] Foss, *War Paint*, 190-191.

[523] See Chapter 4.

[524] Minutes of Board of Trustees Meeting, 31 December 1945, Imperial War Museum, London; Board of Trustee Minutes, vol 2: July 1944-November 1965. Blaikely, the Keeper of Art sent to look at thousands of pictures at the National Gallery on the IWM's behalf advised about, 'the problem of pictures which were primarily artistic, in contrast to record, value. The inclusion of a proportion of these was strongly urged by Sir Muirhead Bone but appeared to be outside the instructions of the Trustees laid down at the Meeting of 29th October.' He was referring to: Minutes of Board of Trustees Meeting, 29 October 1945, Imperial War Museum, London; Board of Trustee Minutes, vol 2: July 1944-November 1965.

4. The Art Department under Joseph Darracott: print collecting at the IWM in the 1970s

This chapter examines print collecting at the IWM following the end of the Second World War print acquisitions (from around 1950) to the beginning of the 1980s. I have defined this as a collecting moment largely because of the work of the IWM Art Department during the 1970s, with Joseph Darracott as Keeper of Art. During this time, the Art Department revitalised the print collecting agenda at the IWM. This occurred as war art and the IWM itself were gaining recognition once more in British society after falling out of public favour mid-century. The print acquisitions made from the 1970s were less influenced by the British government and the governing of the Museum, and more influenced by academic critical thought of the era. I demonstrate how such changes were part of broader changes within the Museum, and how they influenced the development of the IWM print collection. I examine how new attitudes and ways of thinking about the collection were realised in individual acquisition decisions made, and by analysing key prints that were acquired in this era, I show that by the early 1980s, the print collection served a somewhat different agenda within the new museum model for the IWM.

I argue that the 1970s saw a new wave of print collecting at the IWM that was influenced by social change occurring in museums and the wider community.[525] During this time, individual curators were given more say in the composition of the art collection than previously.[526] As part of the changes occurring at the IWM, a new Keeper of Art was employed who had the training and the institutional support to expand the print collection. He did so with an agenda that reflected an interest in developing the print collection as an art historical and a social historical collection, which broadened the scope of print acquisitions beyond military historical record.[527] This in turn supported the direction the IWM was taking towards

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[525] "The emergence of history from below or social history in the 1950s and 1960s, its mainstream acceptance into academia in the 1970s and its dominance in history museums by the 1980s was grounded in a political agenda, which sought to humanize historical narratives by concentrating on groups that had been overlooked": Rebecca L. Coll, "Noble Frankland and the Reinvention of the Imperial War Museum, 1960-1982," unpublished PhD thesis, Christ's College (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2016). See also: Gaynor Kavanagh, "History in museums in Britain: a brief survey of trends and ideas," in *Social History in Museums: A Handbook for Professionals*, eds. David Fleming, Crispin Paine and John G. Rhodes (London: HMSO, 1993), 13-24.

[526] For example, Darracott had more say over how the art collection would develop than did the IWM Keeper of Art following the Second World War, when the IWM Trustees closely directed the Keeper as to how to manage the Ministry of Information art allocations.

[527] The prints they collected highlighted the many ways that artist prints can represent war: as military record, as social historical evidence, as artistic response, or as images of commemoration or celebration.

increased engagement with new audiences to maintain their relevancy in a new era.[528] My selection of prints for discussion is based on the significant works that were acquired during this era in terms of artistic or historical significance, and where an important artist is represented by multiple prints I choose a representative work for discussion. A substantial portion of the information about these prints was gathered from the IWM official files and the Museum's AdLib database.

The discussion in this chapter explores ideas about what a war museum should be, and how the IWM in this era re-evaluated its role in society. It begins by explaining how the IWM came to further professionalise its museum staff, and hire Joseph Darracott as a new Keeper of Art in 1969. It examines the early print collecting of the Art Department, which was focused on acquiring prints related to the two world wars.[529] The chapter then examines print acquisitions by the Department in the later 1970s, demonstrating that the collecting agenda under Darracott led to an expansion of scope for the print collection. New subject matter was acquired for the collection, including prints by prisoners of war and internee artists. Such objects could act as testimony to an artist's memory of an event or experience of war, providing new evidence for IWM history narratives. A number of works by international artists were acquired as a result of these new directions in collecting. The expansion of the print collection occurred alongside an expansion of the remit of the whole art collection. This extension of the collecting strategy of the Art Department was consistent with critical thought of the time that called for marginalised voices to be represented in museum collections.[530] It also represented a shift in the perceived institutional purpose of the IWM towards being a museum for a wider audience. In general, many of the changes that happened in the print collection reflected or coincided with broader changes happening in the Museum and the Art Department at the time.

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[528] This was an important shift for the Museum in a time when their visitorship was no longer composed of soldiers and families who had personal experience of the two world wars.

[529] Many of these prints were created by artists associated with the earlier government commissioning schemes from the two world wars under the Ministry of Information (MoI), because the official war artists were in fact the key artists of Britain producing work in response to the two world wars; however, some of their art had been passed over in the acquisitions of the early era.

[530] The pressure for these voices to be included in museums also came from marginalised communities themselves: "In the 1970s, Native Americans, like other marginalized groups, began demanding more equal treatment... museums began bringing those represented into the process of creating their representations." Aldona Jonaitis and Janet Catherine Berlo, "'Indian Country' on the National Mall: The Mainstream Press versus the National Museum of the American Indian," in *The National Museum of the American Indian: Critical Conversations*, eds. Amy Lonetree and Amanda J. Cobb (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2008), 210. See also the discussion of the prominence of oral histories 'from below' in: Coll, "Noble Frankland."

The effect of staff professionalization on print collecting

British war art and the IWM moved out of recognition, to the periphery of cultural awareness, in the middle of the 20th century as other art trends and social change came to the fore in Britain. The 1960s ushered in significant social changes related to gender, race and sexuality that impacted traditionally marginalised sectors of British society.[531] It was also a period of intense anti-war sentiment and protest.[532] The 1960s was a subdued time in the development of the IWM art collection, with very few acquisitions for the print collection.[533] Unlike after the First World War, the art collection did not uplift the Museum in the eyes of the public. War art was impossible to divorce from its social context and it did not become part of the mid-20th century movement to distance art from the political actions of society.[534] In the 1960s, British history museums in general were poorly funded, and standards of professional practice were lacking. However, the political, economic, and social reforms of the 1960s were slowly to have an impact on museums. In particular, there were increases in staff professionalization. This followed an improvement in museum studies programs in Britain, from 1969, which were a result of funding increases.[535]

In the 1970s and 1980s there was a new generation of museum curators who came to work in history museums.[536] This trend continued with the establishment of a formal academic program to train history curators at the University of Leicester in 1980.[537] Angela Weight commented that museum training and professionalization was slower to develop at the IWM than at other national museums in London: whereas other nationals developed in-house

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[531] Some of these changes include: the second wave of Feminism in the 1960s, the invention of the contraceptive pill in 1960, the legalisation of abortion in 1967, racial discrimination declared illegal in 1965, the legalisation of private homosexuality in 1967. See: Paul Johnson (ed.), *Twentieth-century Britain: economic, social, and cultural change* (London: Longman, 1994), 498-500; and Jeremy Black, *Modern British History since 1900* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000), 120-123.

[532] For example, the demonstrations against nuclear weapons in 1961 and the Vietnam War demonstrations in 1968: Johnson, *Twentieth-century Britain,* 498-500.

[533] There had been one major acquisition of prints in 1951, which remains its own separate collection within the wider IWM art collection. It was a large collection of French First World War artist and popular prints, donated by the Marquess de Bute (called the Bute collection). It falls outside the scope of this thesis (see chapter 2- it has a large proportion of popular printed material).

[534] Sue Malvern, "War, Memory and Museums: Art and Artefact in the Imperial War Museum," *History Workshop Journal* 49, Spring (2000), 195. Major theories around mid-century Modernism saw true art as being an expression of the inner world of the artist, which is given power through attention to the material qualities of paint, metal, paper etc.

[535] Louis L. Tucker, "Review: History Curatorship by Gaynor Kavanagh," *The New England Quarterly* 64, no. 4 (1991), 693.

[536] Gaynor Kavanagh, *History Curatorship* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1990), 39.

[537] Tucker, "Review," 693.

training programmes in both curatorial and management techniques for their staff, the IWM was for some time resistant to the need for change in this regard.[538] The IWM's move towards professionalization did occur – it was noted by Noble Frankland, IWM Director from 1960-1982, that the size and professionalism of the Museum's staff had increased from the 1960s, and facilities and funding had also improved. He made the point that until the 1970s the IWM curators had acquired passively, but that from 1971 they were in a position to collect actively, and to have an acquisition policy that reflected this.[539] Frankland himself was a major instigator of this change.[540] Over the 1970s and 1980s the IWM hired a number of trained curatorial staff with specialist knowledge of specific media. This system was different from previous eras, when curatorial work might have been analogous to clerical work. The resurgence of the IWM in the 1970s coincides with changing attitudes towards war history in Britain in the 1970s, particularly as 'The Troubles' in Northern Ireland brought the British Armed Forces back into the public eye.[541]

At the IWM there had always been a curator of art since the early 1920s, but the nature of the position changed throughout the decades. From at least 1922, a man called Ernest Blaikley had been in charge of the art collection as Assistant Keeper, and he held the position until 1950.[542] He had undertaken the substantial task of viewing thousands of works commissioned by the War Artists Advisory Committee (WAAC) during the Second World War to develop a list of works appropriate for the Museum.[543] Trustee Meeting minutes reveal that in the mid-1940s when the IWM was looking to fill an Assistant Keeper position, all candidates considered had a military record, but in 1950 to replace Blaikley they looked for someone with an appropriate art qualification.[544] The man hired was Mr W. Philip Mayes, who had

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[538] Interview with Angela Weight (former IWM Keeper of Art), London, 6 December 2012.

[539] Board Paper, Noble Frankland, "Policies for the collection of post-1945 material," 28 April 1971, Imperial War Museum Board meeting, London; ENG/2/BT/02/Vol/01.

[540] Coll, "Noble Frankland."

[541] Adam Roberts, "The British Armed Forces and Politics: A Historical Perspective," *Armed Forces & Society* 3, no. 4 (1977), 531-532.

[542] Minutes of the 12th Meeting of the Board of Trustees, 15 February 1922, Imperial War Museum, London; Board of Trustee Minutes, vol 1: Dec 1920-May 1944. Mr Blaikley listed as staff member, in charge of Maps, Art.

[543] Minutes of Board of Trustees Meeting, 7 January 1946, Imperial War Museum, London; Board of Trustee Minutes, vol 2: July 1944-Nov 1965. Blaikley examined the WAAC pictures at the National Gallery. As explained in chapter 3 – he was directed to select works with a strong historical/reportage quality for the IWM.

[544] Minutes of Board of Trustees Meeting, 27 March 1950, Imperial War Museum, London; Board of Trustee Minutes, vol 2: July 1944-Nov 1965.

previous experience as Director of the Paisley Museum and Art Galleries.[545] Also styled Assistant Keeper, Mayes was to hold the position for almost two decades. He had restricted opportunities for collecting over this time, and besides, many acquisitions went before the Board of Trustees rather than being left to the discretion of the Assistant Keeper.[546] Mayes was discerning and slowly added to the art collection, predominantly through donations. He notably increased the holdings of historical works by women artists, and collected a very small number of prints. However, in the decade that followed Mayes' retirement, art acquisition numbers increased and more prominent works were collected.

In 1969 a new Keeper of Art was appointed, Joseph Darracott, and he was to remain Keeper at the IWM until the early 1980s. His appointment heralded a surge in art acquisitions, in part due to an increase in funding following 25 years of an acute shortage of money for the Department.[547] Darracott's background was very much grounded in the European art establishment. He had read History at Oxford and had a Fine Arts Degree from the Institut d'Art et d'Archeologie in Paris. Prior to his appointment at the IWM he had been Keeper of the modern art Rutherston Collection at Manchester City Art Gallery from 1961, and he held a post at Hornsey College of Art as Lecturer in Art History in 1964.[548] It would appear Darracott brought new curatorial ideas with him about the way he should develop the art collection. He had a relatively free hand to assess the collection that had been largely amassed from the First and Second World War collecting schemes, and his collecting mostly related to the two world wars. Under Darracott, the Art Department advanced the art collection within an art historical framework, and at the same time they also valued works that contained social historical subject matter.

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[545] Minutes of Board of Trustees Meeting, 2 October 1950, Imperial War Museum, London; Board of Trustee Minutes, vol 2: July 1944-Nov 1965.: 'Appointment of two Assistant Keepers', item 6.

[546] Minutes of Board of Trustees Meeting, 19 December 1951, Imperial War Museum, London; Board of Trustee Minutes, vol 2: July 1944-Nov 1965. 'The Director gave a short report on the Art Department for the first six months, ending on 31 July 1951, during which Mayes was in charge.' Instead of an aggressive policy of acquisitions, Mayes seems to have been occupied with a number of other tasks falling to the Assistant Keeper, Art, such as dealing with loans, enquiries, displays etc.

[547] Meirion Harries and Susie Harries, *The War Artists : British Official War Art of the Twentieth Century* (London: M. Joseph, 1983), 277. Harries and Harries note that the Art Department was given an augmented budget in the late 1970s.

[548] J. John Letts, "Obituary: Joseph Darracott," *The Independent*, 21 March 1998. His appointment came with an expansion in staff all across the IWM in the late 1960s. This was also the start of the Sound Archive. Diana Condell, "The History and Role of the Imperial War Museum," in *War and the Cultural Constructions of Identities in Britain*, ed. Barbara Kote and Ralf Schneider (Amsterdam, New York: Rodopi, 2002), 33.

The art historical and social historical focus was stimulated by the changed Museum environment in which Darracott was working. Other parts of the IWM collection had expanded during the 1950s and 1960s. The need for more display space became necessary after 1953, when the Museum decided to commemorate not just the two world wars but 'all military operations since August 1914'.[549] Prior to that decision, important conflicts such as the Spanish Civil War had not been included, but conflicts that gave a context to other historical military events were now part of the scope.[550] The IWM had been fortunate enough to secure funding for an extension of its galleries, with the space opened by the Queen in 1966.[551] However, the type of collecting carried out in these decades focused on military history and traditional war histories. This was also to change, as a burgeoning interest in social history in academic and museum circles in the 1960s reassessed which objects cultural institutions valued.[552] Darracott would have been expected to engage with this new way of thinking. The IWM certainly was: an example of this was the Museum's pioneering move into oral history. 1972 was the year that the IWM started their Sound Unit, primarily to record oral histories of the few surviving First World War veterans.[553] Kavanagh points out that the IWM was one of first history museums in Britain to engage in oral recordings.[554] In this decade war art was also being reassessed in the UK, the US and Canada, as apparent in books from the 1970s.[555] Such re-examinations would have prompted Darracott to evaluate the IWM's collection within an art historical context.

Darracott's tenure corresponded with a marked increase in print acquisitions and a change in the types of prints acquired. Other employees in the Art Department, including Michael

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[549] Ursula Stuart Mason, "Imperial War Museum," *British Heritage* 21, no. 5 (2000), 55. Mason reports that a range of military objects were given to the IWM in the early 1950s.
[550] Malvern, "War, Memory and Museums," 193. Look also to: Draft of Letter, HM Treasury (United Kingdom) to Director Bradley, 23 March 1953; National Archives Reference: T 227/442 'Imperial War Museum: extension of scope of museum to all campaigns involving British Forces from August 1914' (1920-1957). Says there is no legal barrier, but there will be no increases of staff or premises to deal with the expanded remit.
[551] Mason, "Imperial War Museum," 56.
[552] Not just in Britain, but also in the US: Leon and Rosenzweig argued that the 'new social history' had an enormous influence on the historical content and interpretation of museums, but that this was not spread evenly over the museum landscape: Warren Leon and Roy Rosenzweig, eds., *History Museums in the United States: A Critical Assessment* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989), xvii-xviii.
[553] Gaynor Kavanagh, "Oral History and Museums," in *Dream Spaces : Memory and the Museum* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 2000), 67.
[554] Kavanagh, *History Curatorship*, 144. This makes sense for a museum that has a particular interest in framing their historical narratives through personal stories, as the IWM does.
[555] For example: Heather Robertson, *A Terrible Beauty: The Art of Canada at War* (Toronto: James Lorimer, 1977); Mike Catto, "Notes from a small war: art and the troubles," in *Art in Ulster 2: 1957-1977* (Belfast: The Blackstaff Press/Arts Council of Northern Ireland, 1977), 125-144.

Moody, were also active and influential in print collecting.[556] To the Art Department in the 1970s, prints were treated in a broadly similar way to the rest of the art collection. They were seen as more than just visual historical records of events or scenes of war. An example of the change in attitude towards print acquisitions was the purchase at auction of a Walter Sickert etching in 1971, which decades earlier had been rejected by the IWM. Sickert's etching *Soldiers of Albert the Ready*[557] was based on his 1914 painting inspired by Belgian heroism during the defence of Liege. An impression of the etching had been offered as a gift to the Museum by the artist in 1925, but turned down by Charles ffoulkes on the grounds that Sickert had not directly witnessed the event. But for a later generation of curators the print told the story of historical attitudes towards the invasion of Belgium, perceptions around war art in Britain during the First World war, and the place of one of Britain's most prominent artists of the period within those debates. Sickert was confined to England during the war, unable to become a soldier himself because he was born in Germany. He tried to establish himself as a military painter in the first years of the war, and produced two significant paintings of Belgium soldiers. These were also his declaration of solidarity with Belgium and with British interests.[558]

Prints that served predominantly art historical or social historical narratives had been present in small numbers in earlier print acquisitions, but they became a main focus for print collecting in Darracott's era. The art historical focus and social historical focus in print acquisitions sometimes came together in the one object, but they were not necessarily linked. This collecting strategy brought into focus the many functions of an artist print in a war museum, which can include artistic, social historical, commemorative, or celebratory functions. The evidence for this argument about the approach of Darracott and the Art Department are the works acquired during the 1970s, and Internal Memoranda Darracott wrote towards the end of his time at the IWM. While all these functions were in evidence,

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[556] A number of the IWM Art Files show that Michael Moody was involved in some print acquisitions, and his colleagues have said that he took an interest in the print collection. Interview with Angela Weight (former IWM Keeper of Art), London, 6 December 2012.; interview with Richard Slocombe (IWM senior curator), London, 4 December 2012.

[557] Walter Sickert, *Soldiers of Albert the Ready* (c.1914) etching, 37.3 x 28.2 cm, IWM ART 5563. In the IWM collections database the etching is titled *Soldiers of Albert the Ready*, but on the print it is inscribed with *Soldiers of Albert the Good.* The original painting is titled *Soldiers of King Albert at the Ready* (1914) and is in the collection of Graves Gallery, Sheffield.

[558] Wendy Baron, *Sickert: Paintings and Drawings. Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art* (London: Yale University Press, 2006), 101-102.

social historical prints constituted the majority of acquisitions in this period, and this supported the direction of the IWM. The initial collecting began with acquiring important print series that were produced during the time of the First and Second World Wars.

A group of Second World War lithographs by Eric Ravilious of the interior of submarines, known as the *Submarine Series*, contributed to both the art historical and social historical narratives of the print collection when acquired by the Art Department from 1975.[559] Ravilious was part of the British Modernist milieu, and important for the revival of wood-engraving in the 1920s. When he became interested in watercolour in the 1930s and the scope that colour could provide for his work, lithography became the natural progression for him, because it combined the drawing and printing processes.[560] Ravilious was appointed an official war artist in 1940, with the rank of Honorary Captain in the Royal Marines.[561] He created a series of colour lithographs from his studies of submarines using his own capital, after deciding against an idea put forward by the WAAC of producing them as a children's colouring book.[562] Ravilious had difficulty printing the lithographs, since his usual printers, at Curwen Press, had been damaged in an air-raid. So instead he worked with a master printer W.S. Cowell in Ipswich.[563] The edition of 50 was completed in February 1941.[564] Ravilious was one of the few examples of artists who produced print series themselves during the Second World War, like Nevinson and McBey in the First World War. His *Submarine Series* was a feat of Modernist principles in artistic composition, with his use of blocks of colour and flattened forms. To collect this series was to re-engage the art collection with a canon of mid-century Modernist war art.

Ravilious' lithographs were also material for a social historical narrative about the Second World War, because they went beyond merely illustrating the activities on board a submarine to describe the experience of being inside a submarine for the ordinary sailor. Ravilious

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[559] These lithographs have become one of the most iconic British print series to be produced during the Second World War.

[560] Patricia R. Andrew, "Eric Ravilious 1903-42; a Re-Assessment of His Life and Work," in *Catalogue of a Touring Exhibition Held 1986-87* (Eastbourne: Towner Art Gallery, 1987), 45.

[561] He worked at the Royal Naval Barracks at Chatham and Sheerness, and then in Norway and the Arctic where he produced watercolours, and he also painted submarines at Gosport and the coastal defences at Newlyn. Ibid, 8 & 47.

[562]Alan Powers, *Eric Ravilious: Imagined Realities* (London: Imperial War Museum and Philip Wilson Publishers, 2003), 48.

[563] James Russell, *Ravilious: Submarine* (Norwich: The Mainstone Press, 2013), 5 & 42.

[564] Powers, *Eric Ravilious*, 51.

portrayed the way light falls in the interior of the submarine, giving the viewer a sense of the space and conditions that the men on board worked in. *Submarines: working controls whilst submerged* (1941) is an example that shows the complicated machinery of the craft in shadow, enclosing the submariners in a cocoon, while a handful of lamps create a soft well of light in the centre of the tube-like space (f.31). The forms described are a blend of the mechanical shapes of the craft and the organic shapes of the men and the light. Ravilious' *Submarine Series* of lithographs was on sale at Leicester Galleries, London in 1941, but not one was purchased by either the WAAC or the IWM at the time. The original drawings did go to the WAAC, but these were allocated to the Tate at the end of the war.[565] This series of prints was of art historical significance, so Darracott acquired until he had the complete set, not just a representative sample from the series. In 1975 five were purchased, and two more again in 1980, after Darracott explained to the son of Eric Ravilious, James Ravilious, that they were of constant interest to the IWM's visitors.[566] In 1981 the Art Department completed their mission to own all ten of the Ravilious *Submarine* lithographs.

Collecting known artists from the world wars

The Ravilious lithographs were just some of a number of works acquired by the Art Department in this era, which were created as a result of the government commissioning schemes from the two world wars, or by artists who were involved with those schemes. The Department had at their disposal the official records of these schemes as a means of researching what had been made at the time, and prints were targeted for their artistic quality. As well as the Ravilious submarine series, the Department purchased a succession of First World War Nevinson prints, beginning with *Twilight* (1917) in 1975.[567] They purchased ten more throughout the 1970s and early 1980s. They solicited these prints from a multitude of sources, including auctions and private dealers.[568] A note written by Darracott to the IWM

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[565] At first the WAAC wanted to purchase a set of his lithographs (Letter, E.M.O'R. Dickey (Secretary, WAAC) to Eric Ravilious, 13 March 1941; IWM GP/55/6: Second World War Art Archive ART/WA2/03/037) but then changed their minds and asked for the original drawings instead (Letter, E.M.O'R. Dickey (Secretary, WAAC) to Eric Ravilious, 27 March 1941; IWM GP/55/6: Second World War Art Archive ART/WA2/03/037). See: Anne Ullmann, ed. *Ravilious at War: The Complete Work of Eric Ravilious, Sept 1939-Sept 1942* (Upper Denby: The Fleece Press, 2002), 145-146. Ravilious drawings were transferred to the Tate from the WAAC at the end of the war.

[566] Letter, Joseph Darracott (Art Department, IWM) to James Ravilious, 11 December 1980; IWM Art Files: Ravilious.

[567] C.R.W. Nevinson, *Twilight* (1917) drypoint etching, 34.5 x 23.2 cm, IWM ART 5900. Listed on the IWM collections database, AdLib.

[568] From my analysis of the IWM AdLib database and Art Files.

Assistant Director in 1980 about acquiring *A flooded trench on the Yser* (1916) (f.32) revealed the curatorial rationale behind the acquisition,

> The image is one of exceptional quality, and the copy is in good condition. The artistic interest of the image is high, being the print which shows most evidence of the influence of Japanese prints, artly in composition but also in the lines of rain, a device much employed by Hokusai.[569]

Darracott was definitely interested in the art historical statements he could make with this print, and Nevinson's prints were some of the artist's best work. This was a curatorial attitude, and evidence that the IWM was striving to build an art collection rather than just a collection of art objects in aid of a historical narrative. I have calculated that around 20% of the prints collected by the Art Department during this time were by artists associated with a British government commissioning program during the First or Second World Wars.[570] The Department solicited prints by artists who were linked with the MoI commissions, even when other examples of their work were held at the IWM. This revealed a specific interest in printmaking, and built on the Museum's principal holdings of British war art.

Artistic quality was an important factor behind some of these acquisitions, and also in the case of a group of acquisitions of woodcuts about dazzle ships. Dazzle ships were a First World War experiment with a new type of ship camouflage that cloaked the vessels in dramatic geometric designs that created an optical illusion, making it difficult to detect the speed and direction of a ship's movement through the water. The experiment was a

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[569] Note, Joseph Darracott (Art Department, IWM) to Assistant Director, 14 August 1980; IWM Art Files: Nevinson, C.R.W. (2).

[570] Fifteen etchings by William Rothenstein from c.1921, which showed scenes of the war-damaged landscapes of Belgium and France, were purchased in 1972. Rothenstein was sent to the front as an official artist, but his files suggest that this series of prints, from sketches he made at the front, was self-funded. In a letter to Yockney about a trip to France that Rothenstein is undertaking in connection with the educational work of Sir Henry Hadow where he will be making drawings, Rothenstein writes, 'I may however decide to make lithographs myself from the drawings- this I believe I am free to do…' Letter, William Rothenstein to Alfred Yockney (MoI), 14 June 1918; IWM 121/4 Part 2: First World War Art Archive ART/WA1/143 (Rothenstein, Prof W (continuation file) 7 Nov 1917-14 Sep 1919). In 1978 there was a purchase of a McBey etching called *The Dead Sea* (1921) produced by the artist after the war from sketches made during his commission. It is related to a painting commissioned by Wellington House, also called *The Dead Sea* (1918). The painting shows soldiers in a patrol boat on the Dead Sea at night. In 1979 two portrait etchings by Dodd were acquired into the collection. The two etchings were related to the Admiralty and one was pre-First World War. It is relevant to Dodd's DoI commission in that it shows his interest in naval portraits before the war, thus it contextualised his war work within his broader artistic oeuvre.

successful interlude (in that it was adopted widely in the UK and later in the US) before the invention of radar made it no longer useful.[571] Hundreds of hand-drawn designs for dazzle ships are in the art collection of the IWM, as are MoI commissioned drawings of dazzle ships by artists like Bone. Altogether these items constitute a good representation of the program and the sorts of artistic designs that it employed.[572] However, in art historical terms, the key items from IWM's collection about the dazzle scheme are a group of Vorticist woodcuts, mostly acquired in the 1970s. They reveal the impression that Dazzle left on Britain's avant-garde.

The Vorticist 'dazzle ship' woodcuts were arguably the most inspiring representations of the scheme. Edward Wadsworth was the pre-eminent Vorticist artist creating woodcuts of dazzle ships. He was influenced by 'dazzle camouflage' designs when he worked as a dock officer overseeing the application of dazzle painting to ships.[573] Most of his woodcuts of the dazzle ships were made in 1918, and they were a Modernist triumph of block colour and design. Wadsworth's woodcut, *Dazzled ship in dry dock*, part of the *Modern Woodcutters* series published in 1921, was acquired by the IWM probably sometime in the early 1970s.[574] The acknowledged masterpiece of the 'dazzle' woodcuts was Wadsworth's *Drydocked for scaling and painting* (1918) (f.33).[575] In a truly Vorticist style, the woodcut uses bold lines and geometric patterns to create movement in the image, not so much in the small mechanical figures of the men painting the ship, but in the sweep of the great hulk of the vessel, and the repetitious sleepers on which it is docked. The vantage point and black walls rising up on either side of the ship give a sense of its scale and add to the drama of the image. This print was purchased in a later IWM period in 1990, but to complete the IWM collection of Wadsworth's woodcuts acquired mostly during the 1970s.[576] The Department acquired two

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[571] The primary objective of the dazzle camouflage was to confuse German U-boats. Tim Newark, *Camouflage* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2007), 74-78. There is no definitive evidence to show that Dazzle camouflage worked in the way it was intended to.

[572] The commissioned drawings were acquired by the IWM in 1919 through a transfer from the Admiralty: Richard Slocombe, "Collection Review Proposal" (unpublished IWM internal report, London, 18 March 2014).

[573] Richard Cork, *A Bitter Truth: Avant-Garde Art and the Great War* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994), 230.

[574] This acquisition date is suggested by the catalogue number of the work, however, there is no file on the acquisition to confirm this.

[575] This print was adapted by commercial lithographers in Switzerland for the poster and catalogue cover of an exhibition of British prints in Zurich in 1923. Frances Carey and Antony Griffiths, *Avant-Garde British Printmaking, 1914-1960* (London: British Museum Publications Ltd, 1990), 38-39.

[576] Acquisition Proposal, "Edward Wadsworth, 'Drydocked for Scaling and Painting," Art Department (IWM), 24 April 1990; IWM Art Files: Wadsworth, Edward.

more Vorticist artworks in Darracott's time; an etching by L.A. Maw (dates unknown) called *Dazzled Ship*,[577] purchased in 1979, and another earlier purchase of a woodcut by Horace Brodzky (1885-1969) (f.34).[578] The Brodzky woodcut is a bold composition that pushes the abstracted graphic aspect even further than Wadsworth's prints to explore the qualities of the dazzle patterns.[579] The Vorticist 'dazzle ship' prints are an important example of avant-garde war art, but also document a moment in war history when art and design played a very functional military role.

The prints acquired in this period were not all of the same type – some of the prints that were collected for their artistic significance were not historical records so much as images celebrating British culture or moralising about war. They were in certain ways similar to the *Ideals* lithographs of the First World War DoI print commission, in that they revealed historical social attitudes. Many of these acquisitions seem to have been quite serendipitous, and some of these prints were by artists who were new to the IWM, suggesting a less structured or deliberate approach to developing the print collection along these lines. In 1971, the Art Department purchased two intaglio prints by Ernest Eric Newton (1901-1970), from the Second World War.[580] Newton was trained at the Royal College of Art by Sir William Rothenstein, and he tried to enlist for the Royal Navy on the day war was declared in 1939, but being overage he was rejected. He wrote to Winston Churchill, effectively pleading his case and landed an enlistment with the minesweepers for the rest of the war.[581] He made many of his works during spells on land. One from the IWM collection is a crucifixion scene in a Second World War setting showing the Germans crucifying Jesus. This etching is titled *They know not what they do*, and was hung at Burlington House in 1940 (f.35).[582] Moralising images suggest the Museum might have a moral position, although in this case the position is very much the British view of Germany's actions at the time.[583]

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[577] L.A. Maw, *Dazzled Ship* (date unknown) etching, 20.3 x 14.6 cm, IWM ART 6483.

[578] Again this is suggested by the work's acquisition date, it seems that it may have been acquired around the same time as the *Modern Woodcutters* book.

[579] Brodszky was an artist and critic. Australian-born, he made most of his work in London and New York. He was an early pioneer of the linocut. "Horace Brodzky 1885-1969," Tate, accessed 10 June 2017, http://www.tate.org.uk/art/artists/horace-brodzky-814

[580] Information from IWM collections database, AdLib.

[581] Letter, family member of the artist (Subject: War Pictures by Ernest Eric Newton 1901-70) to the IWM Art Department, 1 July 1971; IWM Art Files: Newton, E.E.

[582] Ibid.

[583] The second work was not a moralising piece, but instead comparable to the prints of Leslie Cole, although much less representational in style. It is a drypoint that uses the soft blurred lines of this technique to great effect to depict *Minesweepers* pulling in a vessel. There is a strong sense of movement in the work, with the

Darracott's approach to developing the print collection was not as defined and focused as subsequent IWM curators. While many of the decisions that he made can be attributed to his training and professional perspective, there were other cases of Darracott being presented with prints unsolicited. The IWM was contacted in 1974 by Basil Catchpole (1896-1984), a little known artist who had traditional but beautifully executed etchings of *Vierstraat, Belgium* and *Dickebusch Lake, Belgium* from 1916 (f.36), which were acquired.[584] These works did not build on the Modernist prints that the Art Department had already acquired. What they did do was consolidate and build on the collection of traditional war art subjects amongst the prints and drawings collected in the earlier IWM era. Another artist, Wallace Orr (1907-1992), who attended the Glasgow School of Art, contacted Darracott in 1979 to show prints that he made in London during the blitz.[585] Three prints of his were bought by the IWM, despite an already wide coverage of this subject in the painting collection. In both the Catchpole and Orr cases, it seems that the IWM was contacted by them because they had recently pulled new prints from their old plates.[586] This suggests that the Art Department's shaping of the collection was only partly a result of Darracott's curatorial vision.

The environment in which Darracott was working was also a strong driving force. In the 1970s prints were accessible through the art market and relatively affordable on the Museum's limited budget, so they were a good art medium with which to build a collection for a curator who sought quality art and images with a specific theme.[587] A trained art curator would be more likely to solicit prints than a non-art specialist, who may be only versed in the language of painting and sculpture. In this decade and the previous one, the accepted hierarchy of art mediums was being challenged by new print techniques.[588] Because of this,

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rhythmic swell of the ocean behind the undulating bodies of the minesweepers as they strain to pull the heavy craft along. This work was actually made after the war in 1948. It embodied both collecting priorities of the time, as a work of social historical significance, but also one that showcased an experimental Modernist style.

[584] Letter, Basil Catchpole (artist) to Special Collections Officer (IWM), 16 October 1974; IWM Art Files: Catchpole, Basil. And: Reply letter, Special Collections Officer (IWM) to Basil Catchpole, 29 October 1974; IWM Art Files: Catchpole, Basil.

[585] Letter, Wallace Orr (artist) to Art Department (IWM), 22 August 1978; IWM Art Files: Orr, Wallace.

[586] See: Letter, Basil Catchpole (artist) to Rose Coombs (Special Collections Officer, IWM), 16 October 1974; IWM Art Files: Catchpole, Basil. And Letter, Wallace Orr (artist) to Joseph Darracott, 11 February 1979; IWM Art Files: Orr, Wallace.

[587] Interview with Angela Weight (former IWM Keeper of Art), London, 6 December 2012.

[588] For example, artistic interest in screenprinting, which had been known as a commercial process, gained popularity in Britain in the 1960s: Reba Williams and Dave Williams, "The Later History of the Screenprint," *Print Quarterly* 4, no. 4 (1987), 393-396.

prints may have been more readily included in an art collection in the 1970s than in earlier times. It was at this time also that other traditional categories were brought into question. Importantly, the divide between history and memory was breaking down, as private memories and testimonials were increasingly being seen as important to history.[589] This was significant for art collections and war museums, as both are repositories of memories and both also do history-making work. The prints of social historical worth that were acquired by the Art Department were seen as memory testimonials, like an oral history recording.[590] They could be used by the staff of the IWM to construct histories in their exhibitions or publications. This circumstance made the Department's later print purchases even more significant, as these purchases brought new social historical perspectives into the print collection from voices that were not formerly included.

Broader collecting and international artists

While they were collecting prints by British artists that were an obvious fit with the IWM collection, the Art Department from the mid-1970s also began acquiring prints from varied sources and subjects not previously covered by the print collection. In doing so, they enhanced their ability to give greater nuance to IWM history narratives. The first acquisition of this kind was the 1976 purchase of four screenprints from a folio of 50 screenprints called *In Our Time: Covers for a Small Library After the Life for the Most Part,* published in 1969, by the prominent Jewish American artist who settled in England, R.B. Kitaj. Moody was the curator who took this folio under consideration initially, and Darracott approved the purchase.[591] The folio depicted book covers from the artist's library, and the full folio of 50 screenprints showed a wide range of book covers that revealed the variety and idiosyncrasies of the artist's collection.[592] The four screenprints selected by the IWM were from militaristic books or pamphlets: one German, one American, one Spanish, and one Polish (f.37). Taken

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[589] Luisa Passerini, "Afterword," in *Memory: Histories, Theories, Debates*, ed. Susannah Radstone and Bill Schwarz (New York: Fordham University Press, 2010), 459-464. I take my definitions of history and memory from scholarship such as Jay Winter's *Remembering War: The Great War and Historical Memory in the Twentieth Century*. Winter links the term 'history' to the work of professional historians and the term 'memory' to the act of recalling the past, which is "...a dynamic, shifting process". He emphasises that while the two are distinct, they "...overlap, infuse each other". Jay Winter, *Remembering War: The Great War and Historical Memory in the Twentieth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 3-6.
[590] Susannah Radstone and Rosanne Kennedy, "Memory and the Archive Masterclass," lecture and workshop (Australian National University, Canberra, 2011).
[591] Purchase statements from Atmosphere, London, signed by Moody and Darracott, 14-30 October 1976; IWM Art Files: Kitaj, R.B.
[592] "R.B. Kitaj's Covers for a Small Library," Los Angeles County Museum of Art, accessed 14 November 2014, http://www.lacma.org/art/installation/rb-kitaj%E2%80%99s-covers-small-library.

as a whole, the folio gives a sense of the events and ideologies of the early 20th century, with war history contextualised within broader history.[593] But the focused selection by the IWM created a slightly different narrative, one that explored ideologies that had informed 20th century conflicts. This folio was an entirely different sort of print acquisition for two reasons. Firstly, rather than illustrating specific details of a certain conflict it spoke to the general phenomenon of war and its history. Secondly, this was the first time that artist screenprints were brought into the IWM collection. During the 1960s the commercial printing process of screenprinting was adopted by pop artists, like Kitaj, as a means of reproducing images that looked almost photographic.[594] Screenprinting allowed artists to appropriate, and then interrogate and re-contextualise, historic images – and Kitaj's four prints analysed visual cultures around war.

This acquisition was also part of the IWM print acquisitions that were international in their emphasis, because of the cross-cultural nature of the artist and the images. In 1979, Darracott wrote that gaps in the art collection included foreign works, citing Otto Dix prints as an example of what could not be afforded.[595] The Art Department were interested in the experience of war outside of Britain, which coalesced with changing public attitudes to the history of the two world wars in Britain. The inclusion of more international artists in the print collection at this time meant that the prints were offering different perspectives on war to other areas of the art collection. International prints could contextualise Britain's role in historic wars. The Department further augmented the IWM's holdings of French First World War prints with some key acquisitions of important works from this category, which presented an image of this conflict as seen by an allied country that had a very different experience to Britain. By strengthening this aspect of the collection, they were allowing the French story and the unique French aesthetic to penetrate a British-focused museum. Thus the IWM was moving away from its earlier political needs by not being constrained by

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[593] Kinsman writes the *In Our Time* series serves as a document, or reference point, to the events of modern times or recent history, up to the 1960s. Jane Kinsman, *The Prints of R.B. Kitaj* (Canberra: Scolar Press and the NGA, 1994), 63.

[594] Andrew Bogle, *The Print : Methods and Masterpieces, from the Auckland City Art Gallery Collection and the Mackelvie Collection* (Auckland, NZ: Auckland City Art Gallery, 1987), 120.

[595] Memorandum from Keeper of Art, Joseph Darracott (Art Department, IWM) to Assistant Director, 27 July 1979; Acquisition and Disposals Policy: EN4/50/m (i-iii). In 1981, Weight reiterated that foreign art was a gap in the art collection. Both also listed artistic works as opposed to historical works as another gap: Board Paper, "Gaps in the Collection," Art Department, IWM, 4 November 1981; Acquisition and Disposals Policy: EN4/50/m (i-iii).

British imperialism or patriotic sentiment. The French graphic tradition was exemplified by a significant series of First World War woodcuts by Felix Vallotton, purchased in 1979 (f.38).[596]

Vallotton was a Swiss printmaker associated with 'Les Nabis', the group who were active in fin-de-siecle Paris and contributed to the French aesthetic. He was an important figure in the development of the modern woodcut,[597] and his woodcuts were bold, using organic shapes and silhouettes. In a memorandum, Darracott describes *C'est la Guerre* (1915-16) as a, 'valuable addition to our prints of the First World War.'[598] This series of six anti-German woodcuts by Vallotton consisted of dramatic portrayals of the destruction and carnage that occurred on the Western Front. Vallotton himself published and sold the portfolio of six woodcuts.[599]

Although the print collection had always contained works by international artists from the time of the First World War, during the 1970s the Art Department expanded this aspect of the collection. In some instances, this expansion was in a new direction, as with the acquisition of prints by German First World War artists in 1977 and 1978. These became some of the first works by 'enemy' artists in the print collection, and their acquisition revealed a growing interest in the adversary's perspective on war. Germany also had a very strong early 20th century graphic tradition, which presented an opportunity for the Art Department. Moody had a particular interest in symbolist prints,[600] and was instrumental in the purchase from auction of an important series of eight Max Pechstein etchings. These were the first German prints of this intake to enter the collection in 1977.[601] The series was called *Sommeschlacht [Battle of the Somme]* (f.39); Pechstein worked on the series in 1917 and made them available in 1919.[602] Pechstein was an important member of the German Expressionist group Die Brücke between 1906 and 1912. Due to a burgeoning interest in Primitivism, he travelled to Palau in

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[596] Listed on the IWM collections database, AdLib.

[597] Lesley K. Baier and Sasha M. Newman, *Félix Vallotton* (New Haven and New York: Yale University Art Gallery and Abbeville Press, 1991).

[598] Memorandum, Joseph Darracott (Art Department, IWM) to Assistant Director, 9 July 1979; IWM Art Files: Vallotton, Félix.

[599] Deborah L. Goodman, "Vallotton and the Great War," in *Félix Vallotton*, ed. Lesley K. Baier and Sasha M. Newman (New Haven and New York: Yale University Art Gallery and Abbeville Press, 1991), 193-211.

[600] Interview with Angela Weight (former IWM Keeper of Art), London, 6 December 2012.

[601] IWM collections database, AdLib.

[602] Bernhard Fulda and Aya Soika, *Max Pechstein: The Rise and Fall of Expressionism* (Boston: De Gruyter, 2012), 204.

the Pacific, but his life on the island was interrupted by the First World War. After being interned by the occupying Japanese, he returned to Europe, but was drafted into the German Army in 1916.[603] Pechstein's experiences were captured in this series of etchings. His bold, stark lines, and his self-conscious primitive style aptly portray the deeply traumatic subject matter explored in the prints.[604] Prints such as Pechstein's began to develop the collection to serve different narratives other than Britain and its Empire's role in the two world wars. The IWM was taking an interest in the personal experiences of individuals who were historically enemies.

The acquisition of prints by German artists from the First World War responded to the growing concern of museums to present the many sides of a history. It revealed a recognition within the IWM that there were more perspectives to the war than just the British, and that the behaviour of the allies could also be held to account. This came at a time when political reconciliations between Britain and Germany were taking place, such as in Britain's entry into the EU in 1973. With generational change slowly occurring over the 20th century, and private memories of the war grew fewer and fewer, new cultural memories of the war could be shaped at the IWM. It may be difficult to determine the role of these prints by 'enemy' artists in the IWM collection, as these items were not 'war trophies',[605] nor did they reflect the experience of Britain or the Commonwealth as per the IWM remit.[606] Instead they challenge this aspect of the IWM remit. Objects such as these would surely have been collected to send a message that both sides in a conflict experience loss, psychological pain, and confusion – particularly civilians caught up in war either as victims or as soldiers. For example, the Erich Wolfsfeld (1884-1956) First World War etching of a *Wounded German Soldier*, purchased in 1977, is a tender study of human suffering (f.40).[607] A series of eight etchings of German armies on the Western Front and war damage by Oskar Graf (1873-

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[603] Ibid, 36-175.

[604] "Sommeschlacht Viii - Die Erste Hilfe [First Aid]," Imperial War Museums, accessed 14 November 2014, http://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/21451.

[605] Museums of war sometimes collect objects that could be considered 'war trophies': Simon Jones, "Making Histories of Wars," in *Making Histories in Museums*, ed. Gaynor Kavanagh (London: Leicester University Press, 1996), 152-154.

[606] The IWM originally sought to represent Britain and her Dominions; however, that evolved into the modern equivalent available on their website in 2015, 'Britain and the Commonwealth': "About Us," Imperial War Museums, accessed 26 April 2017, http://www.iwm.org.uk/corporate.

[607] Wolfsfeld was an academic painter-etcher, and he attended the Académie Julien, Paris, in 1906 as a foreign student. At the outbreak of war, he joined the army and trained police dogs- he kept a sketchbook throughout the war. Elizabeth Furness, *Erich Wolfsfeld 1885-1956* (London: Belgrave Gallery, 1977), 3-6.

1958), purchased in 1978, show similar scenes to those by French artists in the collection, except from a German perspective.[608] The Art Department purposefully collected German prints of aesthetic merit, which also said something about the common Germans' experience of war, including their emotional and psychological experience. These were images that humanised Britain's past adversaries, and showed the IWM was entering a new era with new audiences who were interested in fresh perspectives on war history.

As the Art Department looked to international printmakers, new avenues of collecting opened up that broadened the scope of the print collection along other lines. Expressly, prints about conflicts that had not previously been included, like the Spanish Civil War, were now represented in the print collection.[609] In 1981 Darracott asked for permission to bid on a stencil for a poster by the celebrated Spanish artist Joan Miró, *Aidez l'Espagne* (1937) (f.41).[610] This print was created by Miró to raise money for the Spanish Republic's democratically elected government. Initially Miró's design was created for a French postage stamp, but copies of the poster were sold at the Spanish Republic's pavilion at the Paris International Exhibition of 1937.[611] In a note to the IWM Assistant Director, Darracott reasoned,

> 'Although the Spanish Civil War is not directly within our terms of reference, the participation of British people in the war justifies an exemplary group of material… It will be particularly interesting to have a major Modern artist represented by historically important document of this sort…'[612]

The concept that a museum could retain an exemplary group of material that falls outside one of its major collecting areas allowed for the occasional outlier, such as this well-known print,

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[608] The title of this series is: *Kriegsradierungen* (1914/15). It shows scenes of soldiers in the trenches, war damaged buildings, and soldiers marching, waiting and dying. Graf made two more series like this of eight etchings for 1915/16 and 1917/18, which were also purchased by the IWM.

[609] During its occurrence, the Spanish Civil War had not been part of the IWM's First World War remit: Malvern, "War, Memory and Museums," 193.

[610] Note, Joseph Darracott (Art Department, IWM) to Assistant Director, 10 February 1981; IWM Art Files: Miro. Also note: The stencil technique that Miro used to create this limited edition print is known as pochoir.

[611] W.H. Robinson, "Miro's Aidez L'espagne," in *Barcelona and Modernity: Picasso, Gaudí, Miró, Dalí*, ed. W. H. Robinson, J. Falgàs, and C. B. Lord (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), 431-433.

[612] Note, Joseph Darracott (Art Department, IWM) to Assistant Director, 10 February 1981; IWM Art Files: Miro.

that Darracott refers to as a 'historically important document', to be acquired.[613] These pieces could also act as representative items of well-known artists.

Collecting new voices: new narratives

Other subjects that were encompassed by the expansion of scope in print collecting during the 1970s included lesser known accounts of war, such as the stories of prisoners of war (POWs). This was consistent with social movements from the 1960s to include marginalised voices and non-traditional narratives in public history and debate.[614] In some cases, the memories of previously overlooked groups of people were being brought into the historical narratives of large museums. The largest acquisition of this type for the IWM print collection was a purchase made in 1978 of a group of 30 prints by John Mennie (1911-1982), who was a POW in Changi.[615] His prints gave voice to a type of narrative that had not been emphasised in the early years of the Museum.[616] Mennie created a number of linocuts and woodcuts from sketches that he had made during his internment. These prints were a record of his experiences as a POW. Woodcuts such as *Prisoners of War Working on Thai-Burma Railway at Kanu Camp, Thailand 1943* (f.42) reveal the scenes he saw of emaciated men being forced to work hard labour. The garish colours sometimes used in these prints add to the nightmarish quality of the images. Mennie's courage in creating these works during his imprisonment was only matched by his resourcefulness. In August 1978, following the purchase of these prints from the artist, the Art Department wrote to Mennie because they were planning to exhibit a small selection of POW drawings, in which his work would feature.[617] Mennie's letter of reply described how he made his drawings in the camp, 'The prints were made from drawings of the same size on odd bits of paper mainly taken from the blank fly-leaves you

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[613] Past conflicts that Britain may not have been substantially involved in were included in this way, and later so were conflicts occurring at the time involving Britain's allies, such as the Vietnam War.

[614] Macdonald argued in 1998 that there had been from the 1960s, 'a proliferation of different, particularly minority 'voices' speaking in the public arena,' but that this had been met with a certain amount of resistance in cultural fields, giving rise to the 'Culture Wars' and the 'History Wars': Sharon Macdonald, "Exhibitions of Power and Powers of Exhibition: An Introduction to the Politics of Display," in *The Politics of Display: Museums, Science, Culture*, ed. Sharon Macdonald (London; New York: Routledge, 1998), 14. While prisoners of war are not a minority group in terms of social exclusion based on race, gender, sexuality, their stories were not brought to the forefront of discussions about the two world wars until later in history - because they do not fit into traditional war narratives.

[615] IWM collections database, AdLib. Other significant POW work in the IWM art collection are drawings by Ronald Searle.

[616] The Art Department and the IWM Documents Department first started collecting material related to Far East Prisoners of War in the early 1970s: Jenny Wood, "Collection Review Report, July 2011 – February 2012" (unpublished IWM internal report, London, 2012).

[617] Letter, Art Department (IWM) to John Mennie, 1 August 1978; IWM Art Files: Mennie, John G (1911-1982).

find in books. These I acquired (in exchange for cigarettes) together with a box of 12 tubes of Chinese watercolours from other prisoners.'[618] In later years, the Art Department continued to collect POW art, including a significant acquisition of drawings by Ronald Searle (acquired in stages from 1980 onwards).[619]

Potentially more confronting for a British audience were prints acquired by Darracott and later Weight by 'alien internees' in Britain. These were Second World War accounts of people from hostile countries who were interned in Britain for the duration of the war. They were often refugees fleeing the violence in Europe, and many were escaping persecution for their religious or political beliefs. The prints speak with the voices of those previously unrepresented. The internment camps contained some exceptional artists who had fled Europe. Thus, these print acquisitions were documenting a cultural phenomenon caused by war.[620] The largest print acquisition of this kind was a series of linocuts by Hellmuth Weissenborn (898-1982).[621] Weissenborn was in Hutchinson internment camp on the Isle of Man in 1940. Some of his prints, initially considered by Darracott, were scenes of the Blitz and damaged buildings in London.[622] His artist's book *Reflections on the war* was also acquired. A note at the back of the book says, 'These eighteen wood engravings were cut during the second world war as a commentary of the time'.[623] In 1984, materials about Hutchinson internment camp, such as documents about camp life were presented by the artist's widow to the IWM. Among these materials were linocuts such as *'WC' Hutchinson Camp* (1940) (f.43) that revealed Weissenborn's experience of camp life.[624]

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[618] Letter, John Mennie (artist) to Art Department (IWM), 7 August 1978; IWM Art Files: Mennie, John G (1911-1982).

[619] The various acquisitions of Searle drawings are listed in the internal IWM art accession register (post 1946). These drawings were made by Searle while he was a POW.

[620] This cultural phenomenon is an established area of research, as demonstrated by publications such as: Shulamith Behr and Marian Malet (eds.), "Arts in Exile in Britain 1933 – 1945: Politics and Cultural Identity," in the series *The Yearbook of the Research Centre for German and Austrian Exile Studies. Vol. 6* (London: University of London Institute of Germanic Studies, 2004).

[621] It was the largest series of prints by an internee artist in the IWM collection.

[622] Weissenborn made sketches during the London Blitz and immediately cut them into linoleum: Letter, Mrs Weissenborn to University of Sussex Library, 7 June 1987; IWM Art Files: Weissenborn, Dr Helmuth. Darracott started this acquisition, but it was pursued by Angela Weight.

[623] Hellmuth Weissenborn, *Reflections on the War*, artist's book of 18 wood-engravings (London: The Acorn Press, 1978).

[624] It was part of a group of still life linocuts that Weissenborn made during internment of the basic and bare rooms and objects that formed the environment that the internees lived in: Jutta Vinzent, "Aesthetics of Internment Art in Britain During the Second World War," *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur neueren Germanistik* 54, no. 1 (2003), 80.

This was the beginning of a small trend in IWM print collecting, because these Weissenborn linocuts were later supplemented by other prints by internee artists, and some of these showcased European forms of cultural expression brought to Britain by refugees. This occurred after Darracott left the Art Department. Hutchinson internee, Erich Kahn (1904-1979), was an academic and artist who became familiar with Weissenborn through the camp. His hand-coloured print, *Lecture on the Lawn II* (1940) (f.44) represents the intellectual life that internees shared at the camp. The wax stencil and watercolour was gifted to the IWM in 1984.[625] It shows a group of men in conversation on the lawn of the internment camp, and reveals Kahn's Expressionist artistic background. A central European living in London, Kahn had arrived from Stuttgart to England in 1939 after being released from a Nazi concentration camp. He was interned at Hutchinson Camp from summer 1940 to spring 1941.[626] He was a prolific contributor to the camp, designing vignettes, illustrating essays and also full page drawings reflecting on camp life. He even developed a distinct wax stencil printing technique.[627] The *Lecture on the Lawn II* print is dedicated to Weissenborn, and seems to have been a farewell present on Weissenborn's release on Boxing Day 1940.[628] Internees with artistic talent probably took to printmaking because of the availability of printing materials. They were able to improvise the production of certain artistic materials, and were able to access wood or linoleum for carving matrices, for example.[629] This is an example of how printmaking as a medium can be an option for visual expression in difficult circumstances.

The inclusion of more voices in the historical narratives of the print collection, such as the prints by internee artists, raises some moral issues that are implicitly addressed by the IWM, and these objects act as testimonials to an artist's memory of events that took place. Ethical questions around the actions of the British government or the military during wartime are unavoidably present when discussing war histories in the Museum. Visitors who view the 'alien internee' prints may question the past actions of Britain and its internment camps. Apart from having the potential to be included in any general display about the Second World

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[625] Information from IWM collections database, AdLib

[626] K.E. Hinrichsen, "Interned with Erich Kahn,"in *Erich Kahn 1904 (Stuttgart) – 1980 (London)* (London: John Denham Gallery, 1989), 7-9.

[627] Vinzent, "Aesthetics of Internment Art," 87.

[628] The signatures on the reverse are by fellow internees.

[629] Ibid, 88.

War, a selection of these prints were displayed in 2009 in an exhibition that focused on the internment of German artists in Britain during the Second World War.[630]

Print collecting as part of wider changes at the IWM

Whilst Darracott was Keeper of Art at the IWM, there were changes in how the Museum saw itself and its public role, which influenced its collecting. A Paper to the Board of Trustees written in 1971 by then IWM Director, Noble Frankland, showed that at this time the Museum considered providing an educational service to be one of its main roles, along with collecting a wide variety of objects that related to the political, social and economic factors surrounding war histories. Frankland argued the IWM should preserve a sufficiently wide scope of material so that future generations could select what to study for themselves.[631] The IWM had come to see itself as being responsible to the generations beyond those immediately affected by the two world wars, and as being a source of historical evidence rather than a producer of top-down history.

From being primarily concerned until the mid-1970s with the presentation of the operational side of war from the British point of view, the IWM evolved to encompass a larger selection of historical events and themes.[632] Frankland anticipated this change in 1971 when he wrote that at that time the IWM's existing terms of reference were 'records and exhibits concerning all campaigns in which British Forces have been, or will have been, engaged since August 1914…' but this had left gaps, such as the political and social changes of the interwar years. He agitated for the Museum to collect material related to the recent past, and to bear in mind the continuity of history when collecting. Taking a social historical standpoint, he lauded the wide variety of objects collected by the IWM, as this would allow scholars to engage in comparative studies.[633] In later years, there were many changes happening in the Museum that

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[630] The exhibition was held at Ben Uri Gallery & Museum in London from January to April 2009, and then it toured to other venues until 2010. It drew on the IWM art collection and art curator, Ulrike Smalley, who was then working for the IWM, wrote an essay for the catalogue: Sarah MacDougall and Rachel Dickson, *Forced Journeys: Artists in Exile in Britain, c. 1933-45* (London: Ben Uri Gallery, 2009).

[631] Board Paper, Noble Frankland, "Policies for the collection of post-1945 material," to Imperial War Museum Board meeting, London, 28 April 1971; ENG/2/BT/02/Vol/01. The IWM was aware of the high-school curriculum and believed that the Museum's "educational services must respond" to the inclusion of post-1945 conflicts in this.

[632] Suzanne Bardgett, "The Imperial War Museum and the History of War," Making History: The changing face of the profession in Britain, The Institute of Historical Research, 2008, accessed 7 June 2013, http://www.history.ac.uk/makinghistory/resources/articles/IWM.html.

[633] Board Paper, Noble Frankland, "Policies for the collection of post-1945 material," to Imperial War Museum Board meeting, London, 28 April 1971; ENG/2/BT/02/Vol/01.

reflected its new social history role, and its response to changes in the study of history in general. In particular, the IWM embraced the notion that there are many sides to a history and many ways to present history.[634] Also, difficult histories were becoming the focus of much history scholarship. The IWM was able to respond to both these trends through its development of the print collection, for example, by collecting German war prints or prints by internee artists. This shift in direction at the IWM meant that it was no longer just a museum for families who had been directly affected by war, but it had moved with the times to be relevant to a wider section of the community.

In the 1970s, along with changes in print collecting at the IWM, there was also a new scheme that affected general art collecting. An Artistic Records Committee (ARC) was established in 1972 to revive the official war artist commissions. It was set up after a suggestion from Lieutenant-General Sir Harry Tuzo that some record should be made of the British activity in the province of Northern Ireland at that time. Darracott sat on the Committee as Keeper of Art along with other Committee members, including the Art Trustee. The Committee's terms of reference were to commission and acquire works of art 'as historical records of conflicts or aspects of them which are now taking place or which may in the future break out and which are in the IWM's field of interest…'[635] The ARC objectives would have had some bearing on the overall collecting policy of the Art Department. At the end of 1976 the functions of the ARC were reconsidered and the Committee was reconstituted with wider terms of reference, so that it was not limited to acquiring 'historical records'.[636] Its name was later changed to the Art Commissions Committee (ACC), which reflected its main purpose in pursuing art commissions, not historical records.[637]

Widening the terms of reference of the ARC in 1976 reflected and justified the broader acquisition scope of the Art Department after 1976, including the print acquisitions. However, the ARC did not directly commission prints, and instead focused on drawings and paintings. Commissioned artists included Ken Howard who was appointed in 1979 as the

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[634] Weil argues that history museums have been shown to be flexible and able to engage with different types of history and, like art museums, serve a multiplicity of public purposes: Stephen E. Weil, "The Museum and the Public," *Museum Management and Curatorship* 16, no. 3 (1997), 260-261.

[635] Harries and Harries, *The war artists*, 277.

[636] Ibid., 278.

[637] This happened in 2001 under Angela Weight: Laura Brandon, *Art and War* (London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2007), 90.

official British artist in Northern Ireland, and Linda Kitson in 1982 to cover the Falklands War.[638] The drawing style of Kitson was illustrative and loose, and demonstrated a transition between the old and new commissions of the ACC. The committee continues to be chaired by the Art Trustee,[639] and its history reveals the shift in thinking in the Department about its collection and the role this played in the Museum. At the end of the 1970s, the print collection complemented the Museum's new terms of reference and the altered attitudes of the Department, and these acquisitions were part of the momentum of change at this time. The print collection included a greater variety of perspectives, more international artists, and some historical avant-garde work. In this period, the Art Department and print collection complemented the reinvented IWM, and rejected previous narrative constraints.

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When Darracott handed over the job as Keeper of the Art Department at the IWM to Weight in 1981, the collection of prints by artists involved in the earlier MoI schemes had expanded, but the expansion had been in the area of artistic significance. The Art Department's social historical collecting included new voices, such as POWs, artists from former enemy nations, and more international artists, giving new perspectives on the themes present in the print collection. These new acquisition directions were most likely the result of the social context the Art Department were working in. A link can be drawn between the employment of trained art staff by the IWM Art Department and the new wave of print collecting, due to the perspective on the collection that museum and arts training provided. The broader scope of the collection reflected the changing shape of the Museum itself. This was a time for the IWM to question what a war museum should be and what its collection should do, and at this time the Museum began to forge new socio-political imperatives for itself.

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[638] David Evans, "War Artist: Steve Mcqueen and Postproduction Art," *Afterimage* 35, no. 2 (2007), 17-20. Kitson was the first woman artist to have been officially commissioned to accompany troops in battle: "Women War Artists," IWM London Press Release, 2011, accessed 10 June 2017, http://www.iwm.org.uk/sites/default/files/press-release/Women_War_Artists_Press_Release.pdf.
[639] Interview with Kathleen Palmer, (former IWM Head of Art), London, 6 December 2012.

5. The curator's vision: print collecting at the IWM from 1980 to 2014

The period of time from the early 1980s to the present represents a single phase of print collecting at the IWM, for two reasons: firstly, this time period encompasses a new era of the IWM's position and purpose within Britain, and secondly it coincides with the tenure and subsequent influence of a strong curatorial figure in the history of the IWM art collection, that of Angela Weight, who became Keeper of Art in 1981. This is the most prolific period of print collecting for the IWM Art Department, even though the time span is comparable to that of the period covering the two world wars. This chapter describes the sustained collecting focus of the recent period (from 1980) which prioritised the acquisition of prints by contemporary artists, responding to post 1945 conflicts, and those which contextualise war history. This collecting period has links to the era of the 1970s in its approach, and to the collecting ideologies of the First World War British official war art scheme. However, the collecting focus of the recent period is distinctive and has taken the IWM print collection in new and exciting directions.

I argue that Weight, as a product of the new museum age, was a confident curator with a vision for the art collection and its role within the IWM, which she implemented from early on in her tenure, adapting it periodically to broader social changes over the decades she worked. This vision was to collect contemporary art responding to contemporary conflicts, with a number of print acquisitions of analytical art by prominent artists. The case for this argument is made by tracing the pattern of print collecting by the Art Department throughout Weight's tenure, which ended in 2005. While print collecting in this period emulated some of the attributes of the Department of Information (DoI) commissions, it also advanced the collection in new directions. Rather than focusing on 'eye witness' accounts, the prints acquired by the Art Department often contained an analytical or even critical comment on war. This included reflections on the nature of war in general, or on specific conflicts. The prints collected by the Art Department in subsequent years reflected social discussions of the 1990s and early 2000s. These works commented on the contemporary person's relationship to conflict, as well as issues around conflict that related to contemporary times. Under Weight, the Art Department also collected historical prints, but often with a revisionist agenda. That is to say, they collected prints by progressive artists who had been active during the official commissioning schemes of the two world wars, but who were not acquired by the schemes or the IWM at the time.

Weight's curatorial vision was adopted by the subsequent Heads of the Art Department (renamed the Art Section) Roger Tolson and then Kathleen Palmer. Over the next ten years, the Art Section curators continued framing the print collection from a contemporary perspective.[640] This complemented a perceived position and purpose of the IWM in today's society, as a 'world museum' presenting war history to a contemporary British and international audience.[641] However, the curators of the Art Section were required to work with increased managerialism in the Museum. The Art Section no longer contained Keepers who had direct access to the Director, but staff who worked within a system of tiers of middle management and regulatory processes. The recently established Collections Development Committee was one such process.[642] Despite a certain loss of control over some collecting decisions, the curators of this era worked within a broader official museum remit.[643] Their print collecting responded to the unique requirements of a contemporary audience, including one that sought critical and emotional interpretations of conflict.

The Art Department under Angela Weight

The changes that started at the IWM in the 1970s continued into the 1980s, and were part of the Britain-wide revitalisation of the museum industry known as the 'second museum age'. This was a time of rapid growth in the number of European museums, which was also accompanied by a growth in the number of specialised museums.[644] A note written by then IWM Director-General, Noble Frankland, in 1981 stated that in the last ten or fifteen years there had been a rapid proliferation of competing collecting institutions, including ones that contained subject matter similar to the IWM (such as the National Army Museum, the Royal Navy Museum etc.)[645] This prompted the IWM to continue with their efforts to become a

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[640] Imperial War Museum Acquisition and Disposal Policy, approved February 2005 (London: Imperial War Museum, 2005).

[641] See: "1.1 Our vision," Annual Report and Account 2011-2012 (London: Imperial War Museum and The Stationery Office, 2012).

[642] Annual Report and Account 2010-2011 (London: Imperial War Museum and The Stationery Office, 2011).

[643] Imperial War Museum Acquisition and Disposal Policy, approved February 2005 (London: Imperial War Museum, 2005). And see discussion of 2005 Acquisition Policy below.

[644] Greg Richards, "Introduction: Cultural Tourism in Europe," in *Cultural Tourism in Europe* (Wallingford, UK: CAB International, 1996), 8-20. Richards shows the rise in the number of museums in Europe from the early 1980s. Macdonald refers to this phenomenon in the UK and Western Europe as the 1980s "…'renaissance' of the museum or 'heritage boom'…" Sharon Macdonald, *Behind the Scenes at the Science Museum* (Oxford: Berg, 2002), 38.

[645] Note, Noble Frankland, Imperial War Museum, London, 1981; IWM: 'Gaps in the Collections (Redraft)'; Acquisition and Disposals Policy: EN4/50/m (i-iii).

modern museum, with a focus on entertainment and education. To appeal to a larger audience in the 1980s the IWM redesigned display spaces, implemented programs to boost attendance, and installed interactive displays and improved public amenities.[646] For staff working at the IWM, an improved audience focus and review of the purpose of the Museum meant they were working in an environment where there was enhanced vitality and scope for new ideas.[647] They thought laterally about how to engage with the subject matter of war, and this allowed them to differentiate themselves from the operational focused institutions of war history.

Angela Weight came to the IWM Art Department in 1979 from the position of Keeper of Art at Aberdeen Art Gallery.[648] She was Assistant Keeper for a short time at the IWM before taking over as head of the Art Department from Darracott.[649] She quickly obtained a sense of how she thought the IWM should continue to develop its art collection, a strategy that took into consideration the history of the collection, the needs of the contemporary IWM audience, and the position the IWM had the potential to attain as a major collecting institution in Britain.[650] Weight had the opportunity to consider how a museum such as the IWM might be able to present war history in a new era. Her expertise in the arts field and her confidence allowed her, and the staff working under her, to be targeted in their collecting to further develop the print collection.[651] In the First World War, the British government had

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[646] Diana Condell, "The History and Role of the Imperial War Museum," in *War and the Cultural Constructions of Identities in Britain*, ed. Barbara Kote and Ralf Schneider (Amsterdam, New York: Rodopi, 2002), 35-36. In 1983 the Director Alan Borg commissioned a feasibility study for the redesign of the IWM galleries. The first phase was begun in 1986 and included new art galleries. It was opened by the Queen in 1989.

[647] Macdonald writes that during the 1980s, '…fundamental matters as museums' roles, the task of their staff, the place of collections, their relationship to research and to visitors were all thrown into question to an extent which those working in museums at the time described as unprecedented.' Macdonald, *Behind the Scenes*, 40. In recorded interview, Michael Moody said that the refurbished gallery spaces in the 1980s were a 'shot in the arm' for the Art Department, who had larger exhibition spaces from then on: Mike Moody and Lyn Smith, *Mike Moody interviewed by Lyn Smith* (London, 2009); IWM Catalogue Number: 32102, Reel 19.

[648] Interview with Angela Weight (former IWM Keeper of Art), London, 6 December 2012.

[649] Moody and Smith; IWM Catalogue Number: 32102, Reel 10.

[650] Weight has stated that in the early 1980s: 'My aim for the Department of Art at the Imperial War Museum was to make the Museum a venue for art because it had this fantastic art collection that was really very little known… If you are bringing in contemporary art you are bringing in a new public.' from Catherine Moriarty and Angela Weight, "The Legacy of Interaction: Artists at the Imperial War Museum 1981-2007," *Tate Papers* 9 (2008), accessed 15 June 2017, http://www.tate.org.uk/research/publications/tate-papers/09/the-legacy-of-interaction-artists-at-the-imperial-war-museum-1981-2007

[651] This is my impression from examining the art collection and from staff interviews: Interview with Angela Weight (former IWM Keeper of Art), London, 6 December 2012.; interview with Jenny Wood (former IWM curator), London, 26 November 2012.; interview with Roger Tolson (former IWM Head of Art), London, 28 November 2012.

commissioned accomplished artists to record their present conflict, and the Art Department in the 1980s kept some continuity with this approach by collecting progressive contemporary artists responding to recent conflicts of the time. Their reason for emulating the First World War scheme stemmed from an attitude that the early period had been a positive influence on the IWM art collection.[652] However, when examining the print collection from this period, it is apparent that there were important differences between the acquisitions of the First World War and the unique collection development strategies of the 1980s. As described in Chapter 3, the artists commissioned in the First World War were required to produce images that were 'eye-witness accounts' of the conflict and carnage that they themselves experienced.[653] In contrast, the contemporary prints targeted by the Art Department were not required to be documentary evidence of conflicts or to describe the artist's direct experience. Rather, they were sought out to analyse the modern person's relationship to conflict, as well as comment on issues around war that related to current society.

This strategy brought the print collection up to date with contemporary conflicts, contemporary thought about war, and gave the IWM scope to engage with a critical reflection on conflict. The prints the Art Department collected while Weight was Keeper were concept-driven and related to recent conflicts, and consequently these works were sometimes more abstracted in style and subject matter than those of earlier collecting periods. This type of print collecting commenced when Weight joined the Art Department in 1979, just before she became Keeper of Art in 1981. In 1980 and 1981 the Art Department purchased three etchings by Michael Sandle, a British sculptor known for his exploration of the 'anti-memorial'.[654] These prints offered a critical reflection on war memorials, and the role of architecture in denoting sites of memory. The etchings: *Artillery Bunker*, *Submarine Monument*, and *Bunker in Moonlight* (1979),[655] were included in Weight's 1983 IWM

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[652] The First World War art collection, assembled largely by the British government under the auspices of the Department of Information and later Ministry of Information (MoI), is widely thought to be a progressive episode in the IWM's art collecting: particularly the paintings of the British War Memorials Committee (BWMC), which was linked with the MoI. For example, Malvern writes that the Second World War scheme never envisaged anything comparable, and that the BWMC, 'established a canon of British art that remains cogent to the present.' Sue Malvern, *Modern Art, Britain and the Great War: Witnessing, Testimony and Remembrance* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004), 69-70.

[653] The DoI commissioned artists who had been sent to the front to depict what they witnessed, but the acquisition of 'eye-witness accounts' was particularly imperative to the early IWM policy. See Chapter 3.

[654] Iain Gale, "Art: Michael Sandle Tate Gallery, Liverpool," *The Independent*, 11 August 1995.

[655] *Artillery Bunker* (1976) etching and aquatint, 59.1 x 77.6 cm, IWM ART 15185; *Submarine Monument / Sunken Version* (1976) etching, 57.2 x 74 cm, IWM ART 15273; *Bunker in Moonlight* (1979) etching and aquatint, 66 x 84 cm, IWM ART 15355.

exhibition, *Recent Acquisitions of Contemporary Art*.[656] Although Sandle was known for his sculptural work, the IWM were unable to acquire one of his sculptures because of their cost. As an important artist who they wished to represent in the collection, Sandle's prints were a viable alternative. His etchings, however, still had a sculptural quality. After the purchase of his etchings, Sandle donated two more etchings in 1983 from his artist proofs, and then another series of six called *Death and the Bulldozer* in 1985, which used the theme of the 'drummer boy' figure-type, seen in 19th century military pictures, as an allegory for the erasure of the faceless soldier (f.45).[657]

In 1983, the Art Department acquired prints by two women artists who responded to war and conflict, one from a decidedly feminist viewpoint. These were further examples of critical reflection on conflict- on memory and feminist understandings of war, and the nature of war as a male activity. These acquisitions allowed the Art Department to include contemporary female perspectives on war in the print collection, thereby subverting the traditional male perspectives on war found at the IWM, and even the traditional way women's perspectives had been included in IWM content.[658] Acquisitions such as these also allowed Weight to support the work of women artists at a time when the inclusion (and omission) of women from the art historical canon was being re-examined.[659] Alyson Stoneman's *Ypres portfolio- the Romanticism of Destruction* (1974): six photographic aquatint monoprints that take scenes from First World War postcards (used by soldiers to send home to loved ones) were reprinted with technical effects that gave the images an atmosphere of loneliness and desolation (f.46).[660] The portfolio thus inverted the original intention of the postcards and commented on memory and social echoes from the First World War through time. This work had a special link with women's experiences of war as postcards would have been usually sent home to women awaiting news from their men at the front.

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[656] Letter, Angela Weight (Art Department, IWM) to Michael Sandle, 18 January 1982; IWM Art Files: Sandle, Michael. 'At present we have three etchings… all of which will be included in my planned exhibition in 1983.'
[657] Malcolm Miles, *Urban Avant-Gardes: Art, Architecture and Change* (London: Routledge, 2004), 104.
[658] Traditionally, women's experiences have been included in displays at the Imperial War Museum as participants in the war, particularly in 'women's roles', such as nurses, VADs etc.
[659] The promotion of women artists is arguably enabled by the presence of influential women collectors. Gere and Vaizey argue that art collecting "has always been an integral part of the complex of wealth, status and power" and that collecting transforms the status of the object collected: Charlotte Gere and Marina Vaizey, *Great Women Collectors* (London: Philip Wilson Publishers in association with Harry N. Abrams Inc., 1999), 10.
[660] Acquisition Proposal, "Alyson Stoneman," Art Department (IWM) 18 March 1983, IWM Art Files: Stoneman, Alyson Hunter b.NZ 1948.

Alexis Hunter, a celebrated feminist artist from New Zealand, produced the second series of prints, *War and Nature* (1979).[661] It consisted of two panels containing sequential photocopied images showing a hand scattering toy soldiers over newspaper clippings. On one level it referred to events in South Africa (at the time it was made South Africa was making incursions into Angola). The hand was feminine, with painted nails, and the final image of the sequence showed the hand sewing grass where the soldiers had once been. The work referred to Mother Nature and war as cyclical, providing a feminist reading of war.[662] Weight was challenged on this acquisition – she was asked to explain in detail how this work sat within the IWM's terms of reference. She tried to make the case that more contemporary works from a feminist perspective were needed as only male contemporary artists had been collected up until that point. She wrote, '[the artist's] thesis is that war (as waged by men) is fought largely for economic reasons, which are ultimately destructive and negative, whereas Nature- the feminine principal, represented by the matriarchal hand in the photographic sequence wages a continuous 'war'/cycle of death and rebirth. This 'war' is disrupted by man-made wars.'[663] Weight also made the case that while Hunter's work was general in tone, she also referenced contemporary conflicts. The print acquisition was approved in this case on the basis of it being a general statement about war.[664]

Most of the prints that were acquired from contemporary artists by the Art Department from the 1980s were purchased, rather than commissioned. However, Brandon argues that Weight's involvement in contemporary art practice in Britain during her years at the IWM, 'made any such division porous.'[665] Although Weight was motivated to collect for the ideas and associations that a work brought into the print collection, and therefore the narratives the IWM could construct with their art collection, she also acquired prints to obtain examples of prominent artist's work for the IWM. This motivation was present in the acquisition of

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[661] Alexis Hunter, *War and Nature* (1979) photocopy, 23 x 16 cm (2 panels), IWM ART 15570 1-4.
[662] Internal memorandum, "Alexis Hunter: War and Nature 1979," Angela Weight (Art Department, IWM) to Deputy Director, 30 December 1982; IWM Art Files: Hunter, Alexis.
[663] Ibid.
[664] '…this Museum's terms of reference are conflicts since 1914 in which the forces of Britain and the Commonwealth have been involved… I accept your argument that it is proper to acquire examples of contemporary statements about the general nature of war provided their relevant to our terms of reference can be demonstrated…' Note, Deputy Director (IWM) to Angela Weight, 4 January 1983; IWM Art Files: Hunter, Alexis.
[665] Laura Brandon, *Art and War* (London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2007), 90. Brandon was talking about the division between purchases and commissions, arguing that Weight has influenced the production of works that the IWM has later purchased through her friendships with contemporary artists.

lithographs and artist's books by the Scottish poet/artist Ian Hamilton Finlay over a number of years. Although Darracott had gifted a group of Finlay postcards to the IWM on his retirement, Weight built on this with the purchase of Finlay's screenprints Arcadia and Necktank (f.47) in 1984. These screenprints feature war machines produced in bright colours, and were in part influenced by Finlay's own association with conflict – he had served in the Second World War as a young man.[666] Weight solicited these from the artist to bolster the print collection, later sighting a deficiency of his work at the IWM.[667] These two prints published by Finlay's own *Wild Hawthorn Press* reflected the artist's interest in the innovation or folly of historical progression.[668] This message of Finlay's was explored in much of his work, and to collect the key British artist was also to collect a prominent voice in the contemporary discussion on the place of conflict in society. This may have been at the forefront of Weight's mind when she thought about work for the IWM art collection.[669] Such activity continued the Art Department's trajectory from the 1970s of acquiring prints to strengthen the Museum's art collection as a whole.

The collection of works by significant artists assisted Weight in her goal to promote the IWM as a place to see modern British and contemporary art, on par with the Tate and other similar London venues.[670] At one point in the Museum's history, following the transfer of the First World War Ministry of Information collection to the IWM in 1918, their collection of British modern artists rivalled that of any collecting institution.[671] Weight's ambition was often realised through print collecting specifically, as works by contemporary and historical artists were cheaper in print form. However, artists who were historically prominent as printmakers were also targeted for the collection. This can be seen clearly with the acquisition of two engravings by S.W. Hayter in 1986 about the Spanish Civil War. Solicited from a dealer, their previous inclusion in a major Surrealist show was part of their appeal, and was written

[666] Michael McNay, "Obituary: Ian Hamilton Finlay," *The Guardian*, 29 March 2006.
[667] Letter, Angela Weight (Art Department, IWM) to commercial gallery, 29 August 1990; IWM Art Files: Finlay, Ian Hamilton.
[668] Herausgegeben Von and Rosemarie E. Pahlke, *Ian Hamilton Finlay : Prints 1963-1997 Druckgrafik* (Ostfildern: Cantz, 1997).
[669] Weight also enjoyed the personal associations that she made with artists while negotiating to collect their material: Interview with Angela Weight (former IWM Keeper of Art), London, 6 December 2012.
[670] Ibid.
[671] Sue Malvern, "War, Memory and Museums: Art and Artefact in the Imperial War Museum," *History Workshop Journal* 49, Spring (2000), 188.

into a submission for their purchase in 1986.[672] The prints were a pure formal artistic response to the war, but they also discuss the relationship between Surrealism and political thought during the Spanish Civil War.[673] The fact that Hayter was one of Britain's most important printmakers of the 20th century added to the Art Department's interest in the prints.[674] Hayter's unique philosophy that harnessed the engraving technique for Surrealist artistic expression was taught to other artists through his iconic Paris studio, Atelier 17.[675] His unmistakable style is apparent in the two engravings *Composition* (f.48) and *Ayuda a España* both from 1937.[676]

The Art Department continued the pattern established by Darracott of collecting prints about conflicts that were not well represented in the IWM collections. Weight's Department acquired works that responded to post Second World War conflicts – further building on their collection of contemporary subject matter in the prints. These conflicts were somewhat difficult to define, and Britain's involvement with them was minor or ambiguous. Around the time of the mid 1980s, the Art Department added to the holdings of Cold War art by accepting a donation of two copies of the print *Mutant* (1985)[677] from the artist Tim Head (b.1946) in 1986. It depicted a computer graphic of a skull, comprised of lines of printed words from themes of the new digital age and national security. The Art Department had agreed the subject matter of this digital print was interesting, and Weight knew the artist and felt the print typified his work, as it used digital imagery and an abstract mark to create an image.[678] The digital technique used in this print was in itself a reference to the computer-age. An example of a print collected by the Department that related to a conflict not directly

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[672] Acquisition Proposal, "S.W. Hayter," Art Department (IWM) 11 March 1986; IWM Art Files: Hayter, Stanley W.

[673] Many of the Surrealists arguably came to reject early notions of artistic expression as a primary mode to evoke revolutionary social change: Robin Adèle Greeley, *Surrealism and the Spanish Civil War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 1-2.

[674] Acquisition Proposal, "S.W. Hayter," Art Department (IWM) 11 March 1986; IWM Art Files: Hayter, Stanley W.

[675] Alexandra Fae Walton, "The Influence of S. W. Hayter on Australian Printmaking," unpublished Honours thesis (Canberra: Australian National University, 2007).

[676] Hayter visited Spain during the Civil War and on his return to Paris was commissioned by the French art dealer Ambroise Vollard to create these prints. Acquisition Proposal, "S.W. Hayter," Art Department (IWM) 11 March 1986; IWM Art Files: Hayter, Stanley W. Weight had already purchased two lithographs on the Spanish Civil War by Fontsere in 1981.

[677] Tim Head, *Mutant* (1985) digital print, 69.4 x 96.4 cm, IWM ART 16241 1-2.

[678] The Art Department had earlier missed out on a photographic piece by him, and Weight felt the print was to some extent a consolation gift from the artist. Interview with Angela Weight (former IWM Keeper of Art), London, 6 December 2012.

involving Britain, was a donation from the American artist Frank Rowe about the Vietnam War. It was fortunate for the IWM that *The Fugitive* (f.49) by Rowe was donated to their collection, as it was a bequest of the artist to any museum in the UK. As the etching was about the Vietnam War, and 'the strife that went on in our country [United States] during the Vietnam War',[679] it was offered to the IWM and gratefully accepted by Weight, who wrote to the artist's widow that '…we do not have very much material relating to the Vietnam War in the Department of Art.'[680] *The Fugitive* enhanced the IWM's material about the Vietnam War and the conflict's social history, which the IWM covers to a limited extent. However, as this print depicted the tension between Vietnam War protestors and law enforcement in the US, it also spoke to a strong theme of anti-war protest found in the IWM art collection.

Focusing on post-Second World War conflicts was important in ensuring the IWM was up to date, rather than stuck in 1945.[681] In the case of some conflicts, such as 'The Troubles' in Northern Ireland, a large proportion of the works collected by the Art Department were prints. This was partly because the artists making political works about Northern Ireland chose printmaking as a democratic and distributable medium.[682] The first prints to be acquired about the conflict in Northern Ireland by the IWM were by Kieran McCann (b.1963) – purchased from the artist in 1988. His woodcuts have a naïve quality, but a dark subtext, which explores the signs and symbols of political organisations (f.50). Without the use of copious illustration, they give the viewer a sense of the ambience of the time and a feeling of an underlying menace. These woodcuts were followed by a purchase of over 50 prints in a variety of mediums (including linocuts, lithographs and etchings) by British artist Anthony Davies (b.1947), who was resident in Belfast from the early 1980s. In a confrontational style that could almost be likened to collage, Davies captured scenes he witnessed of the suffering and violence in Belfast. Weight was forced to defend her decision to acquire a large number of Davies' prints, which she did by explaining that the subject matter of each work explained something different about the conflict, and that they were created in suites that should be kept

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[679] Letter, donor to Museums & Galleries Commission, London, 21 April 1987; IWM Art Files: Rowe, Frank (1921-85).

[680] Letter, Angela Weight (Art Department, IWM) to donor, 5 June 1987; IWM Art Files: Rowe, Frank (1921-85).

[681] As discussed in: Interview with Angela Weight (former IWM Keeper of Art), London, 6 December 2012.

[682] In her interview Jenny Wood gives an example of the suites collected from the Northern Ireland conflict, and says they were collected because they were coming out of Northern Ireland, and the fact that they were prints was more to do with the artist's decision to use printmaking as a medium to affect public opinion in the style of broadsheets: Interview with Jenny Wood (former IWM curator), London, 26 November 2012.

together.[683] In making this case for the Davies prints, Weight was treating them as art first and historical evidence second.

Despite the IWM's commitment to representing the activities of British troops in Northern Ireland in their collection, the political flammability of the subject made the Museum nervous of publicly displaying those parts of its collection or making any political comment on the matter.[684] There were historical reasons for approaching the topic with a high degree of caution, including bomb threats that the Museum had received in the early 1970s.[685] Weight has described the Museum in the 1980s as having a risk-averse culture.[686] Despite this, Davies' *No Surrender* series was highlighted in a works on paper exhibition put on by Weight and her staff in 1991, a show which Weight says was actually about the Troubles in Northern Ireland, but called *Works on Paper* in deference to the perceived sensitivity of the theme at the time.[687] As the IWM was trying to develop new audiences at this time, it was deemed important that the art collection make a name for itself, but also that gaps in subject matter (such as the recent conflicts) were addressed. Weight was a strong force for driving the print collection in a certain direction, but as the next section will show, the Art Department under Weight was also flexible and responsive to social change.

Social change and print acquisitions in the 1990s and early 2000s

In the early 1990s, the Art Department collected a number of prints relating to conflict in the Gulf and political events in Europe that critically engaged with the emotional and ethical dilemmas of these struggles. Two etchings and two relief prints were acquired in 1992 from Walid Siti, an Iraqi-Kurdish artist who moved to London in 1984. Siti was prevented from returning to his homeland due to the Iran-Iraq war and the persecution of the Kurds. These

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[683] Note, Angela Weight (Art Department, IWM) to Deputy Director, 9 March 1989; IWM Art Files: Davies, Anthony.

[684] See the following thesis for IWM self-censorship regarding Northern Ireland in the era of Director Noble Frankland: Alys Cundy, "A century of reinvention: Display policy and practice at the Imperial War Museum, London 1917-2017," unpublished PhD thesis (Bristol: University of Bristol, 2015).

[685] In the minutes of an IWM Board of Trustees meeting from 1971, an incident was recorded where 13 IWM warders had failed to carry out their duties one Sunday and their actions had "so depleted the staff that the Museum was unable to open." The warders were reprimanded, but in an explanation of their behaviour to the Trustees the Director said that the IWM had received 20 bomb threats in prior weeks. The Director also revealed that he had spoken to all the Museum staff about bomb threats and that precautions were being taken, such as bag searches. Minutes of Board of Trustees Meeting, 24 November 1971, Imperial War Museum, London; Board of Trustee Minutes: Nov 1969-Nov 1978.

[686] Moriarty and Weight, "The Legacy of Interaction."

[687] Interview with Angela Weight (former IWM Keeper of Art), London, 6 December 2012.

events were echoed in his intense, sombre and reflective work.[688] In one etching from his *War Series* (1985-9) (f.51), numerous veiled figures of women mourn dead bodies of men in a featureless landscape. A dark cloud and black serrated edges envelope the scene. This is an image of individual and community suffering. The theme of women bearing the burden of loss recurs in his later work.[689] A print such as this challenges museum audiences to pay attention to the plight of marginalised groups, and promotes discussion about war atrocities. In a similar vein, the Art Department in 1992 purchased four etchings about political events in Europe and the Gulf War by the Scottish artist Ken Currie. These came from his series of etchings titled *The Age of Uncertainty*, a cry of concern about Europe's collapse into sectarian and ethnic conflict.[690] In one print, *Reprisal* (1991) (f.52), a man wearing a cone shaped hat tortures another person with a bag over their head. The atmospheric etching explores the dark aspects of human nature.[691] While the IWM advertises itself as an apolitical organisation, through this acquisition it provided a platform for an artist's political commentary.

The type of collecting that occurred in this decade by the Art Department was in aid of educating IWM visitors about recent conflicts and challenging common perceptions of war history. Print acquisitions like those just discussed corresponded to the broader collecting strategies of the Art Department. The sort of critical reflection that could be found in Ken Currie's prints was also present in the work of John Keane, who was commissioned by the Artistic Records Committee in 1990 to be an official war artist covering the Gulf War. Keane produced drawings, paintings and even one lithograph (*Peace Giant*, 1990)[692] that were exhibited at the IWM in 1992. It was his paintings in particular, such as *Mickey Mouse at the Front* (1991),[693] that received a lot of attention from the press and proved to be controversial and to stand the test of time as instigators of debate.[694] This showed that paintings could gain

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[688] "Works on Paper by Walid Mustafa, Tahir Hamid, Karim Azad," exhibition catalogue (London: Kufa Gallery, 1987).

[689] "War Series I," Imperial War Museums, accessed 14 April 2015, http://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/19982. *War Series I* was included in the exhibition *Black and White* as one of 24 works in the Breakthrough gallery at the IWM.

[690] Tom Normand, *Ken Currie: Details of a Journey* (Aldershot, Hampshire: Lund Humphries, 2002), 70-71.

[691] Bill Hare, *Ken Currie: The Age of Uncertainty* (Glasgow: Glasgow Print Studio, 1992), 1-3.

[692] John Keane, *Peace Giant* (1990) lithograph, collage and carborundum print, 56.8 x 44.9 cm, IWM ART 16404.

[693] John Keane, *Mickey Mouse at the Front* (1991) oil on canvas, 173 x 198.5 cm, IWM ART 16414.

[694] Mark Lawson, "John Keane, artist of war – from the Gulf War to Islamic State," *The Guardian*, 12 June 2015.

the type of visibility that might subversively shift public opinion. Keane's oeuvre remains an example of bold commissioning by the IWM that sits largely outside the print collection.

The print acquisitions of the 1990s also responded to the recent social changes that had occurred in the ordinary citizen's experience and memory of war. Such social changes sat within a changing British society that had seen a rise in the middle class over the last three decades of the 20th century, as well as the widespread use of new technologies in private homes by the 1990s. The opportunities afforded by home televisions, computers, internet and electronic mail meant that more messages were sent and more information stored in the 1990s than ever before.[695] This became known as the 'information age'. Analysing these changes through the development of their collection enabled the IWM to engage current audiences, and to demonstrate how war has changed in the modern era. The first broad social change was the media's role in reporting war to ordinary people in the UK. During the 1990s, artists began to discuss the shift that had occurred over the course of the 20th century in the average person's relationship to conflict, or more specifically their distance from conflict.[696] Although countries such as Britain and Australia had been involved in a number of wars following the Second World War, it seemed as if the average citizen was increasingly removed from this experience, while simultaneously able to access images of conflict. The First Gulf War of 1990-91 was for many people mediated through their television screens, and while they could see images, and visions of war through new military technologies, they were emotionally disengaged from what they were seeing, particularly if images were in night vision or aerial views of terrain.[697] Another social change that occurred which influenced artistic production was the way cultural memory of previous wars was collectively built through family histories, and the connected rising popularity of a culture of commemoration.[698] Through prints the IWM brought artists' family war histories into the public space of the Museum.

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[695] Jeremy Black, *Modern British History since 1900* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000), 101 and 125.
[696] Brandon, *Art and War*, 1 & 7.
[697] Stephen Badsey, "Media War and Media Management," in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Modern Warfare*, ed. George Kassimeris and John Buckley (University of Wolverhampton: Ashgate, 2010), 401. Badsey discusses the term 'media war', which was in use just after the First Gulf War, and described the 'exploitation of news media by armed forces' and the 'intrusion by the military into the civilian sphere of the domestic media and public opinion.'
[698] The rising prominence and significance of memory within academia and society has been referred to as the 'memory boom': Jay Winter, "The Generation of Memory: Reflections on the "Memory Boom" in Contemporary Historical Studies," *Canadian Military History* 10, no. 3 (2001), article 5. And Jay Winter, "Notes on the Memory Boom: War, Remembrance and the Uses of the Past," in *Memory, trauma and world politics:*

In the early 2000s, the Art Department started collecting prints that directly interrogated the idea of a mediated experience of conflict, and questioned how a contemporary audience could understand present and past conflict. These works often took the printmaking medium as a starting point for their ideas. Printmaking does not produce an image that is the immediate output of the artist's hand, instead the matrix and the printing press intervene between the artist and the image.[699] Colin Self, whose prints about the machinery of war were actively solicited by the IWM staff from 2001 onwards, harnessed an aspect of mediation in the printmaking process to make a statement about conflict. Self utilised an unusual printmaking technique involving the inking of metal objects, including saw and knife blades, in the prints purchased by the IWM. This gave his images of aircraft the appearance of Meccano creations, linking the toys of children with the war games of adults.[700] By analogising war to games, Self questions whether war is ever justified or fully understood by those waging it. Throughout his career, Self has explored the subject of nuclear war and the nuclear bomber, reflecting a mistrust in human behaviour and the political process in the modern era.[701] *Stealth Bomber I* (2000) incorporated US Air Force insignia and an image of the cartoon character Snoopy.[702] The reference to the comic book character, who fantasises about being a flying ace, contrasts with the menacing shapes of the metal 'found objects' printed by Self.[703]

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reflections on the relationship between past and present, ed. Duncan Bell, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 54-73. See also: Kerwin Lee Klein, "On the Emergence of *Memory* in Historical Discourse," *Representations* 69, no. Winter (2000), 127-129.; and Sharon Macdonald, *Memorylands: Heritage and Identity in Europe Today* (London; New York: Routledge, 2013). The rise in a culture of commemoration in Europe in the 1990s can be seen in a number of ways, for example the boom in memorial museums. More memorial museums had opened from 1998 to 2008 than in the one hundred years prior: Suzanne Bardgett, "Reviewed Work: Memorial Museums: The Global Rush to Commemorate Atrocities by Paul Williams," *Oral History* 36, no. 2 (2008), 113-114.

[699] Taylor calls this quality of printmaking 'mediation': Sue Taylor, "Mediation and Multiplicity," *Art Journal* 58, no. 1 (1999), 105.

[700] Simon Martin and Marco Livingstone, *Colin Self: Art in the Nuclear Age* (Chichester, United Kingdom: Pallant House Gallery, 2008), 44.

[701] "Self, Colin," in *Benezit Dictionary of British Graphic Artists and Illustrators*, volume 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 345. Self's reflection of social anxieties around the nuclear threat in the 1960s is present in his sculpture of a charred sunbather, 'The Nuclear Victim (Beach Girl)', from 1966. This sculpture is also in the IWM collection (IWM ART 15091).

[702] Colin Self, *Stealth Bomber I; The Odyssey / Iliad Suite (The Siege of Troy)* (2000) etching, 74.8 x 106.3 cm, IWM ART 16749.

[703] Self viewed these found objects as having the 'authority of industry', a social authority which he believed art had once held in past centuries, and which is now lost. *Stealth Bomber I* was created as part of Self's *Odyssey/Iliad Suite* of prints. Martin and Livingstone, *Colin Self*, 23.

Another set of prints, acquired from the artist Darren Almond in 2002, were about the experience of conflict as a historical concept, and therefore mediated through time and learnt knowledge. How is this different to war as a current national experience? While for many citizens who are not part of the military, both are a mediated experience of conflict. However, historical distance allows people to somewhat disassociate their personal identity from the war. When a nation is currently at war, there is a certain amount of pressure on its citizens to patriotically support the decision to go to war or to outright reject, even protest, that decision. Almonds prints, as opposed to Self's, did not need to take an overt political stance on the morality of the Second World War and the Holocaust, but could instead reflect on the lived experience of these events and their repercussions in later years. Almond's prints showed images about Auschwitz, to comment on the atmosphere of Auschwitz and its emotional weight as a place (f.53).[704] Image transfer prints are unique, made by a computer onto paper, a process that blurs the photograph taken by the artist. The grid introduces a formal distancing architectural quality to these bleak images.[705] Almond said in an interview 'I'm the first generation removed from any experience of the Second World War. To me it's a completely abstract notion.'[706] His work speaks to others of the younger generation, some of whom are visitors to the IWM. But it also uses the physical mediation process to reference the mediation of time and space in an understanding of war. This is a critical reflection, but also a reflection on the printmaking medium chosen by the artist.

In interview, one IWM curator suggested that the recent surge in interest in family histories, aided by the invention of the internet, has driven some artists to explore their family war story, which has been a new theme to emerge in the print collection.[707] These prints become objects of public memory that prompt visitors to reflect on war. They also draw attention to the relationship between personal and public memories, and in this way the printmaking process can play a role in how memory itself is represented. This can be seen in John

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[704] "Explore through the Artist: Darren Almond," Imperial War Museums, accessed 24 March 2015, http://archive.iwm.org.uk/upload/package/99/artists/darren_almond.html.

[705] Acquisition Proposal, "Recommended Purchases: Darren Almond," Art Department (IWM) (undated) 2001; IWM Art Files: Almond, Darren.

[706] In the acquisition proposal for Almond's work Angela Weight quotes from an interview the artist gave: ibid. For Weight this is also a reason to acquire the works: the artist says that as a person of his generation he has to choose to engage with the war, and Weight says that that is what the IWM is striving to do- to engage the younger audience in this history.

[707] Interview with Jenny Wood (former IWM curator), London, 26 November 2012.

Walker's series of etchings *Passing Bells* (c.1998), purchased in 2001.[708] *Passing Bells* was inspired by the recollections of the artist's father, John Henry Walker, who saw action during the Battle of the Somme in 1916 and at Passchendaele. The title of the series was derived from the opening line of Wilfred Owen's famous poem "Anthem for Doomed Youth": 'What passing-bells for those who die as cattle?' This theme is reflected in the recurring motif of a sheep's skull, a symbol of vulnerable individuals being led 'en masse' to slaughter (f.54).[709] Another IWM curator commented on the ability of prints to overlay imagery. Layering has a number of implications for emotional associations and meaning construction, because it implies that historical understanding is a palimpsest of memories and shared experiences. The IWM purchased a series of prints in 1999 by Australian artist Ray Arnold that utilises this technique. Arnold's *History/Memory Suite* (1998) was a series of soft-ground etchings inspired by the artist's visit to the First World War battlefields in Northern France, where he retraced the journey of his great grandfather who fought at the Western Front. In a work from this series called *Blood and Bone/Haemorrhage Poem* (f.55), Arnold overlays wreaths for the dead, relating them to his own connection to the spirits of the dead.[710] The ability of prints to overlay motifs allows a melange of ideas to be built up that intersect, and hence represent the complexity of human emotion.

With their focus on collecting contemporary artist responses to conflict, which sometimes led to the acquisition of prints related to the notion of conflict in a concept-driven and/or abstracted manner, the Art Department pushed the boundaries of what they could collect within the IWM's remit. Evidence for this lies in the acquisition files that reveal Weight was sometimes required to argue her case for bringing certain prints into the collection to the IWM Director-General of the time, particularly when those prints were only related to war as a general concept rather than a specific conflict. In one file note related to an acquisition, Weight wrote that while she was trying to stretch the terms of reference a little, in terms of the art collection it was reasonable to do so, as current attitudes to war were important and

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[708] Interview with Roger Tolson (former IWM Head of Art), London, 28 November 2012. Tolson discussed this in reference to Langlands and Bell.

[709] Roy Forward, "The Universal Soldier: John Walker's Passing Bells," National Gallery of Australia, 2000, accessed 12 July 2013, http://nga.gov.au/exhibitions/unisoldier/index.htm. The sheep skull also loosely symbolises his father: Brandon, *Art and War*, 121.

[710] Raymond Arnold, *Raymond Arnold: Memory/History: A Suite of 10 Etchings* (Australia: Australian Galleries, 2002) Essay by Katherine McDonald. Etchings printed by Luc Guerin at Atelier Lacourière et Frélaut in Paris, 1998.

could be compared with other generations.[711] An example of a print that explored the concept of war in a general sense was *Victorious and Defeated* (1982)[712] an etching by Scottish artist Derek Hill, which was acquired into the IWM collection in the 1980s. The etching was part of a body of work that explored the concepts of victory and defeat in relation to a number of phenomena, including sport and war. Hill studied this theme as the 'expression of two emotional extremes.'[713] Works such as this which have a link to the experience of war, but a tenuous one to the actual events of history, and artworks that are non-representational in style, can cause conflict within museums where other staff question their inclusion and ease of understanding for the usual visitors of war museums. However, Weight was often successful in bringing such works into the IWM print collection.[714] What this suggests is that a collection is shaped both by individuals and society as a whole, not just the corporate functions of a museum. Roger Tolson suggested that in some cases, and he gave the IWM art collection as an example, a collection may even drive the overall purpose of a museum.[715]

In this era, the Art Department were effective at acquiring different styles of art for the print collection. This was partly because Weight and her staff had a certain amount of flexibility and autonomy within their roles. Weight was the last 'Keeper' of the art collection, before the management restructure of the IWM turned the Art Department into an Art Section and discarded the 'Keeper' position titles.[716] Under the old system the Keepers were the second tier of management under the Director-General. There were seven Keepers in Weight's time at the IWM.[717] One curator revealed in an interview that,

> … when Angela Weight was in charge of the collection, she pretty much decided
> what came into the collection. If it was a big amount of money she would have to

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[711] Weight argued that contemporary attitudes to war were important and could be compared with 1920s and 30s attitudes, and the Deputy Director agreed that general statements about war were relevant to the Museum: Note, "Alexis Hunter: War and Nature," Angela Weight (Art Department, IWM) to Deputy Director, 30 December 1982; IWM Art Files: Hunter, Alexis.

[712] Derek Hill, *Victorious and Defeated* (1982) etching, 38.3 x 56.9 cm, IWM ART 15529.

[713] From artist's exhibition statement on file: Derek Hill, "Artist's Statement," from exhibition at Imperial War Museum, 21 January - 5 April, (London: Imperial War Museum, 1983); IWM Art Files: Hill, Derek.

[714] There was also a purchase of an abstract work *Barbette* by John Kirkwood in 1994.

[715] Interview with Roger Tolson (former IWM Head of Art), London, 28 November 2012.

[716] Interview with Jenny Wood (former IWM curator), London, 26 November 2012.; interview with Roger Tolson (former IWM Head of Art), London, 28 November 2012.

[717] Interview with Angela Weight (former IWM Keeper of Art), London, 6 December 2012.

write a justification for the Director, but her recommendations were generally taken on board, and there was enough money to be able to buy significant items.[718]

In her interview, Weight says that she was given an increased budget for acquisitions, and in fact she could spend up to a certain amount without consultation with any management.[719] Her attitude to corporate guidelines was to not let them constrain her. She felt that corporate guidelines were a fairly recent invention that came about with a general increase in managerialism in the museum world, and they did not always take into account the organic nature of curatorial work.[720] During her time at the IWM, Weight worked under three different Director-Generals: Noble Frankland, Alan Borg and Robert Crawford.[721] She had varying relationships with all three, but was generally supported in her role, and cites money as a key constraint in making acquisitions generally.[722] The flexibility that Weight had in her role was not completely available to subsequent Heads of the Art Section – it also partly explains why Weight's era was such a period of progress for the print collection.

Collecting historical prints

The Art Department not only implemented a strategy of collecting contemporary prints over the 1980s and 1990s, but applied what could be deemed a revisionist strategy to the collecting of historical prints from the two world wars. This collecting mirrored the contemporary print acquisitions strategy to some extent because the Department targeted works which were less representational in their style and subject matter. In particular, they acquired prints by artists that had been, for one reason or another, outside the official war art commissions. But these were also artists whose war work had been acclaimed in later years for its artistic merit, and offered new perspectives on past conflicts. A group of etchings by British artist Percy Delf Smith (1882-1948) from the series *Dance of Death* (1920) were purchased in 1997 from a London dealer, along with two more series of drypoints by the same artist.[723] The *Dance of Death* prints appear in both the AWM and IWM collections, and

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[718] Interview with Jenny Wood (former IWM curator), London, 26 November 2012.
[719] Interview with Angela Weight (former IWM Keeper of Art), London, 6 December 2012.
[720] She did, however, believe in practicing good management and working within guidelines. Ibid.
[721] Noble Frankland, Director-General (1960-1982), Alan Borg, Director-General (1982-1995), Robert Crawford, Director-General (1995-2008).
[722] Interview with Angela Weight (former IWM Keeper of Art), London, 6 December 2012.
[723] Internal Memorandum, Keeper of Art (Art Department, IWM) to Assistant Director, 19 June 1997; IWM Art Files: Smith, Percy (1882-1948).

is an arresting series of images.[724] In his set of etchings, Smith featured the figure of death as a skeletal spectre haunting the battlefields of the Western Front (f.56). Smith was a private in the British army, but not an official artist. His *Dance of Death* prints drew on the medieval allegory of the *Danse macabre*.[725] The etchings employ a unique and allegorical style, compared with other art from this period. In contrast to Muirhead Bone's depiction of the industrial power of Britain, Smith's images provide a psychological and emotional insight into the mind of a soldier. The IWM were keen to acquire the complete set when they had the opportunity to do so.[726]

The Art Department collected historical works with an art historical eye, acquiring works that were abstract or artistically progressive for their time, as a way to enliven the print collection for a contemporary audience. The acquisition of two prints by Merlyn Evans during Weight's tenure was an example of the avant-garde types of artists sought. This artist was identified as being unlike many others, except perhaps Wyndham Lewis, in an article by the Times.[727] In 1983, a relative of the artist donated an etching/aquatint to the IWM called *The Execution* (1945-6),[728] depicting the hanging of Mussolini, a work which is abstracted to the point where human and inanimate material seem to have merged into one organic machine of death. This print was donated to the IWM after the Museum purchased an Evans painting with the same title that bears much resemblance to the print. The Art Department purchased another Evans aquatint from the Second World War in 1992, this one titled *The Chess Players* (1951) (f.57) was an allegory for the 1939 non-aggression pact between Germany and Russia.[729] Once again Evans' unique style rendered the chess players as machine-like and at the same time organic, with apparent teeth and sinuous muscles. The implication of such a direct political

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[724] The entire three sets of prints made by Smith after his service in the First World War was described by Weight in a memorandum about the purchase as his 'magnum opus'. Ibid.

[725] Campbell Dodgson, "Mr. Percy Smith's "Dance of Death"," *The Print Collector's Quarterly* 8, April (1921), 323-326.

[726] Internal Memorandum, Keeper of Art (Art Department, IWM) to Assistant Director, 19 June 1997; IWM Art Files: Smith, Percy (1882-1948).

[727] John Russell Taylor, "Urgent Visions of a 'Lost Leader'," *The Times*, 2 April 1985. Evans was a Welsh-born painter and printmaker who grew up in Glasgow. He attended art school during the 1930s and despite discouragement he experimented with abstraction, and became known as a British Surrealist, although there are also Cubist elements in his work. In the Second World War he was an engineer with the South African army in North Africa and Italy, and he produced anti-war subjects that were violent allegories of the Second World War: David Fraser Jenkins, "Merlyn Oliver Evans 1910–1973," Tate, accessed 2 July 2013, http://www.tate.org.uk/art/artists/merlyn-oliver-evans-1073.

[728] Merlyn Evans, *The Execution* (1945-6) etching and aquatint, 52.3 x 68.4 cm, IWM ART 15713 21.

[729] Photocopied pages from catalogue (London: Austin/Desmond and Phipps, 1992), 35-37. And: Consignment Note, Austin/Desmond and Phipps, 22 July 1992; IWM Art Files: Evans, Merlyn (1910-1973).

subject was that between these two powers the smaller countries of Europe would be sacrificed like pawns.[730] The inclusion of prints in the collection by artists like Evans brought the potential for new narratives to be told by the IWM, and such acquisitions created distinct pockets of political and allegorical works within the print collection.

When the Art Department collected prints from the two world wars, they began to balance the gender composition of the print collection with acquisitions of work by women artists. These were historical examples of war art from a women's perspective, and they built on the small collection of such works already present in the prints. These acquisitions were made over a number of years, and involved different acquisition methods and various members of the Art Department – and they varied in style. Two Modernist Second World War lithographs by Margaret Lang (active 1940) were purchased in 1984.[731] Called *Contemplation of Chaos* (1938) and *Approaching Blackout* (1940),[732] the imagery of these prints is ambiguous but poetic, and suggestive of war experience. In 1992 the Art Department accepted a bequest from Gwendoline May (1903-1992), which included an etching of *The Costume Loft, The Old Vic Theatre* (c.1941) (f.58) after a Second World War bombing.[733] In 1993 they solicited a donation of two lithographs of London during the Blitz by Priscilla Thornycroft (aka Ann Siebert, b.1917). In a letter to the artist, Weight expressed her interest in acquiring war works by 'unofficial' observers.[734] The acquisition of prints by women artists was to remain a small but ever present part of the Art Department's collecting, and the prints they acquired by women artists were often highly individual responses to war history. For example, in 2002 they acquired an iris print by Elaine Shemilt (b.1954) that responded to the Falklands War as well as her mother's Argentine nationality (f.59). The acquisition followed an exhibition including the artist at the IWM called *Traces of Conflict*.[735] Before Weight's tenure, the number of women artists represented in the print collection was very small, and it is still the

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[730] Ibid, 37.

[731] Letter, vendor to Michael Moody (IWM), 11 January 1984; IWM Art Files: Lang, Margaret.

[732] *Contemplation of Chaos* (1938) lithograph, 37 x 35.5 cm, IWM ART 15774; and *Approaching Blackout* (1940) lithograph, 41.6 x 35.2 cm, IWM ART 15775.

[733] Letter, "Miss Gwendolen Marie May RE. Deceased," Farrer & Co. (London) to IWM, 8 June 1992; IWM Art Files: May, Gwendoline Marie.

[734] Letter, Angela Weight (Art Departmet, IWM) to artist, 9 September 1993; IWM Art Files: Thornycroft, Priscilla. Thornycroft seems to have sketched in controlled public places without a permit, and portrays ordinary Londoners in a very different way to the 'upbeat' images of artists like Edward Ardizzone: Kathleen Palmer, *Women War Artists* (London: Tate Publishing and Imperial War Museum, 2011), 59.

[735] *Traces of Conflict: The Falklands Revisited 1982-2002* was held at the IWM in 2002. The exhibition was about the Falklands War, and included three other artists: John Russell Taylor, "My world and welcome to it," *The Times*, 1 May 2002. An Iris print is a high quality inkjet print.

case today that less than 10% of prints in the main IWM print collection were produced by women artists. This may be because war content is traditionally a male domain,[736] but this makes the women artist print acquisitions all the more significant to a well-rounded narrative at the IWM.

Weight believed that the art collection could raise the IWM's profile and credibility, because art had a large specialist audience that the Museum could appeal to, and she made the revitalisation of the art collection her goal.[737] In the 1980s she oversaw the construction of new exhibition galleries for the Art Department,[738] creating new spaces that could showcase all art mediums in a gallery setting, and allow for changeovers (which benefits prints). Artist prints were an area where Weight could see her vision realised because of their accessibility, and the development of the print collection was a deliberate policy on her part.[739] In her last years at the IWM the Art Department did not add greatly to the collection, choosing to acquire historical rather than contemporary prints.[740] Weight had left a legacy of collecting contemporary artists, in her time increasing the print collection's holding of contemporary artists substantially. I calculate that around 45% of her print acquisitions were by artists who had produced works post 1970. This number of contemporary artists was far greater than the number acquired under her predecessor, Darracott, and many of these works were either responding to contemporary conflicts or reflecting on the general subject of war, as opposed to remembering or commemorating early wars. By her retirement, Weight had overseen the acquisition of almost 500 artist prints, more than a third of the number of prints in the main art collection today.

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[736] The IWM has showcased its women artists in the past with exhibitions drawn from other areas of the art collection. In this press release they stress that the number of commissioned women artists is on the rise: "Women War Artists," IWM London Press Release, 2011, accessed 10 June 2017, http://www.iwm.org.uk/sites/default/files/press-release/Women_War_Artists_Press_Release.pdf.

[737] Interview with Angela Weight (former IWM Keeper of Art), London, 6 December 2012. She also saw the Museum as an important resource for artists because of its historical collection.

[738] In interview, Moody notes that the prestige of the IWM art collection rose in the 1980s thanks to Weight, and how she expanded the Department's exhibitions, acquisitions and publications: Moody and Smith; IWM Catalogue Number: 32102, Reel 10.

[739] Interview with Angela Weight (former IWM Keeper of Art), London, 6 December 2012.

[740] With purchases of a Bone drypoint from 1915 of *Piccadilly Circus* showing searchlights shining above the buildings, and two wood engravings by George Buday, the Hungarian Expressionist printmaker who had settled in England during the Second World War: Grant M. Waters, *Dictionary of British Artists Working 1900-1950* (Eastbourne: Eastbourne Fine Art Publications, 1975), 51. The 1941 spring issue of the *Times Literary Supplement* carried his large wood engraving of the female face of Britannia. This print and another showing an Auxiliary Territorial Service worker as Joan of Arc were both purchased by the Art Department in 2005. Note: An article on George Buday written by Simon Brett, which was photocopied and placed in the IWM George Buday file, without its citation information.

The Art Section from 2005-2014

The IWM art curators continued collecting prints by contemporary artists about
contemporary conflicts, and they prioritised the contemporary because the Museum already
had a strong First and Second World War collection.[741] This was partly under the advice of
Weight, who sometimes acted as a consultant to the Section.[742] There was a view among the
art curators that the IWM as an institution with limited funds should be collecting promising
emerging artists.[743] The art curators were also interested in making the collection relevant to
an audience of today; for example, Sara Bevan said it is important for the IWM to collect
subjects that are conceptualising conflict and responding to social phenomena.[744] Some staff
members saw the IWM as an institution which, for the most part, has been relevant to
contemporary history at any point in time – allowing it to be an institution that can reinvent
itself.[745] When developing the art collection, the curators considered how to represent war
history, but also for whom they were building the collection. They were aware of shaping a
repository of national memory and influencing public understandings of war history, for
current and future generations of visitors. This is a history that reflects on the role of
historical institutions themselves, and tries to make connections between historical
experiences through time. The IWM can be relevant to contemporary society by having
exhibitions about conflict that draw out conceptual themes, which stimulate debate about the
role of war in society.[746] The broad collecting of prints in the past paved the way for the print
collection to be supportive of such an agenda, and the Art Section saw this part of the
collection as allowing for a critical or conceptual interpretation of war or relevant historical
events.[747] Nowadays the Museum operates in a world of burgeoning museology and museum

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[741] Interview with Kathleen Palmer, (former IWM Head of Art), London, 6 December 2012.

[742] Interview with Sara Bevan (IWM curator), London, 23 November 2012.

[743] Interview with Kathleen Palmer, (former IWM Head of Art), London, 6 December 2012.

[744] Interview with Sara Bevan (IWM curator), London, 23 November 2012. Bevan gave the example of drones as a subject that contemporary artists are responding to.

[745] Discussed in: Interview with Jenny Wood (former IWM curator), London, 26 November 2012.; interview with Roger Tolson (former IWM Head of Art), London, 28 November 2012.

[746] In this way the IWM could be more in line with modern museum theory, such as: Kylie Message, *New Museums and the Making of Culture* (Oxford and New York: Berg Publishers, 2006). In interview, Roger Tolson discussed the need for the IWM to make visitors think about the nature of citizenship and war, and to engage in debate rather than accepting that war is inevitable: Interview with Roger Tolson (former IWM Head of Art), London, 28 November 2012.

[747] Particularly because prints are an affordable means of collecting contemporary art, non-British art, and non-official art: Interview with Richard Slocombe (IWM senior curator), London, 4 December 2012.; interview with Sara Bevan (IWM curator), London, 23 November 2012.

theory, but also an increasingly managerial culture in museums,[748] which the curators of today must negotiate.

After Weight retired in 2005, the management of the IWM Art Section was temporarily in the hands of curator Roger Tolson, who passed the 'Head of Art' position to Kathleen Palmer in 2010.[749] When Palmer came to the IWM in 2001 from a previous position at the Sainsbury Centre for Visual Arts she held an Art History undergraduate degree and a Museum Studies Masters.[750] She was Senior Curator in the Art Section from 2005 until 2010, and then she occupied the Head of Art role until 2016. In 2008 the Directorship of the IWM also changed, with Diane Lees taking the role over from her predecessor, Robert Crawford. She is the IWM's first female Director-General.[751] This confluence of a female Head of Art, supported and mentored by a previous female Head of Art, and a female Director-General at the IWM saw the promotion of women artists whose work was held in the collection. This happened through an exhibition curated by Kathleen Palmer in 2011 called *Women War Artists*, which was accompanied by a small book. This exhibition contained a number of prints displayed alongside other media.[752]

In the new millennium, there has been cultural change at the IWM with the implementation of more bureaucratic internal processes. For example, there are now further layers of middle management.[753] The collections development process has become more systematised with the implementation of corporate documents that make collecting strategies official, such as the 'Acquisition and Disposal Policy'.[754] While these processes create obstacles for curators, they also create accountability for curatorial decisions within the Museum. At the same time, the

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[748] Interview with Richard Slocombe (IWM senior curator), London, 4 December 2012. Slocombe gives the 2010 restructure as an example of a change in the IWM that has led to increased managerialism.

[749] Interview with Roger Tolson (former IWM Head of Art), London, 28 November 2012.

[750] Interview with Kathleen Palmer, (former IWM Head of Art), London, 6 December 2012.

[751] Interview with Diane Lees (IWM Director-General), London, 7 January 2013. Lees has usually worked in museums with a social purpose. Previous to the IWM she established the UK's only museum of law in Nottingham.

[752] Palmer, *Women War Artists* (2011).

[753] According to Lees' interview this started happening under her predecessor. She says the main changes she made when she took on the job as Director-General were to promote the IWM more than it had been promoted, and to build on the already solid foundations: Interview with Diane Lees (IWM Director-General), London, 7 January 2013.

[754] These are revised periodically, see: Imperial War Museum Acquisition and Disposal Policy, approved February 2005 (London: Imperial War Museum, 2005).; Imperial War Museum Acquisition and Disposal Policy, approved March 2011 (London: Imperial War Museum, 2011). The most recent policy is due for review in 2016.

official collecting policies of the IWM have become broader. The 2005 Acquisition and Disposal Policy contained a number of new terms that encapsulated the IWM's remit, as it discussed the need to focus on the 'causes, course, and consequences' of conflict (not just the events of war but the contextual phenomena surrounding its history) and it emphasised that the social history of war was a priority for the IWM. It also stated the IWM was interested in the material history from both allied and enemy countries.[755] The Director-General expects the art curators to interpret the remit, with the help of the Art Trustee, and to collect for aesthetic reasons as well as the social historical reasons outlined in the remit.[756] This new complexion of the internal workings of the IWM has some influence on the collecting of prints by the Art Section.

With the shift in the official policies for curatorial collecting, toward a broader, more contextualised interpretation of war history, and toward a predominantly contemporary arts based acquisition program, there was a slight change in attitude to print collecting in the Art Section. When interviewed, many of the curators said they had never deliberately worked to develop a 'print collection' as such, but merely collected prints serendipitously as part of their general art collecting focus.[757] Weight had a clear idea of how she was developing the print collection as its own sub-collection,[758] but during Tolson's time as Head of Art, and afterwards, this notion of the print collection as a stand-alone entity faded.[759] IWM curators said there was a deliberate policy to acquire works from a non-official perspective,[760] and this would have favoured print acquisitions. The acquisitions at this time were often judged on the

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[755] Imperial War Museum Acquisition and Disposal Policy, approved February 2005 (London: Imperial War Museum, 2005).

[756] Interview with Diane Lees (IWM Director-General), London, 7 January 2013. Although this is not stated as policy.

[757] From the following interviews: Interview with Sara Bevan (IWM curator), London, 23 November 2012.; interview with Richard Slocombe (IWM senior curator), London, 4 December 2012.; interview with Jenny Wood (former IWM curator), London, 26 November 2012.

[758] Transcript from: Interview with Angela Weight (former IWM Keeper of Art), London, 6 December 2012.: Alexandra Walton: 'Do you think that you were thinking of the print collection, sometimes, as its own collection within a collection and trying to develop it?' Angela Weight: 'Yes.' Walton: 'You were?' Weight: 'Same with drawings and cartoons, I think they are all capable of specialist development within the Department and require specialist knowledge, with their own history behind them, their own techniques...' Weight later says that she was not taking the print collection in a different direction to the rest of the art collection. It was all about developing the collection and making it as interesting and comprehensive as possible.

[759] A concept of the print collection as a subsection of the art collection has been revived in the IWM Art Section since my own fieldwork there in September- December 2012.

[760] Interview with Kathleen Palmer, (former IWM Head of Art), London, 6 December 2012.; interview with Sara Bevan (IWM curator), London, 23 November 2012.

quality of the artist and the relevancy of the subject matter, rather than conscious collecting of different mediums.[761] However, sometimes a certain art medium will suit particular subject matter. The recent military activities of Britain related to the 'war on terror' created a new set of subject areas for the IWM. A series of inkjet prints by Langlands and Bell called *world wide web.af* (2004) (f.60), purchased in 2006 during Tolson's time as Head of Art, were a comment on the war in Afghanistan that worked well in the print medium. This series showed militaristic imagery such as fighter planes or damaged buildings, which were layered with a grid structure and letters. The letters were in theme for each image, such as acronyms for NGOs or web page country endings.[762] Tolson thought the artists' concept worked well with inkjet when they overlayed the photographs with their own framework of typography and graphics. The abstract structure of the NGOs with their names and the reality of the landscape of Afghanistan was a disjuncture and an interesting juxtaposition.[763] This series was an example of how the continued regular collecting of prints was due to the medium itself often supporting the new subject areas prioritised by the Art Section.

In describing the causes, consequences and social feeling at the time around war, the Art Section collected some overtly political works to support a critical interpretation of conflict,[764] which was achievable through acquiring prints.[765] Sometimes these contemporary political prints used a traditional printmaking technique in a new way, and sometimes they used an entirely new technique. They were often cynically reflecting on the causes or reception of war as a result of political game playing, as observed by an apathetic general public. Recent examples were the 2010 purchase of a photomontage print by kennardphillips called *Photo Op* (2007) (f.61), and a woodcut purchased in 2011 by Christiane Baumgartner, created in the same year, called *Game Over*.[766] Capturing the zeitgeist of the 2000s and commenting on the ethically dubious Iraq War, *Photo Op* manipulated an image of former

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[761] Interview with Jenny Wood (former IWM curator), London, 26 November 2012.

[762] Langlands and Bell, "Prints: World Wide Web.Af," 2012, accessed 12 July 2013, http://www.langlandsandbell.com/world-wide-web-af-prints.html.

[763] Interview with Roger Tolson (former IWM Head of Art), London, 28 November 2012.

[764] Interview with Sara Bevan (IWM curator), London, 23 November 2012.; interview with Kathleen Palmer, (former IWM Head of Art), London, 6 December 2012. Palmer says they were collecting works about how British society was responding to events.

[765] Interview with Kathleen Palmer, (former IWM Head of Art), London, 6 December 2012.: 'I think that, partly because of the nature of the medium we tend to come across more material that is overtly political in printmaking.'

[766] Christiane Baumgartner, *Game Over* (2011) woodcut, IWM ART 106.5 x 140 cm, IWM ART 17514. Information on IWM collections database, AdLib.

British Prime Minister Tony Blair taking a 'selfie' with his mobile phone, and placed a desert landscape and large explosion in the background. kennardphillips's image reached a large audience through exhibitions, and through its reproduction on the internet. The significance of *Photo Op* was quickly understood by the IWM art curators, who purchase the image ahead of any other UK national collection.[767] It carried the message that Blair was frivolous with his decision to send Britain to war.

Baumgartner's *Game Over* was included in the 2013 IWM exhibition *Catalyst*, and was an intense political piece that blended the contemporary with the traditional in its technique. Baumgartner took an image from a digital video still of television documentary archive footage of a plane in flight during the Second World War. The artist translated this digital still into a woodcut, faithfully reproducing the light and dark shades, producing an evocative but slightly distorted image that could be from any conflict. The blending of the traditional and the contemporary techniques may signify the passage of time, and the continuing presence of machines of war. This print touched on the contemporary person's experience of conflict as mediated through television, and it was also a reference to computer gaming,[768] with the notion that many people today are conditioned to violent imagery through such mediums. The IWM were keen to collect examples of subversive or political thinking of our time – they were documenting the social milieu.[769]

The Art Section members also sought to acquire works of art that confronted the difficult ethical and emotional questions around war.[770] The subjects of conflict and death that can be found at the IWM are universal human experiences, but they can be difficult to present in a way that is non-threatening to visitors. However, it is possible to view the IWM as a museum of 'dark tourism', which concerns a desire to experience sites associated with death. There may be various motivations for visiting tourist destinations such as these, even including anti-

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[767] Richard Slocombe, "Introduction," *Unofficial War Artist Peter Kennard* (London, Imperial War Museums, 2015), 3.

[768] Sara Bevan, *Art from Contemporary Conflict* (London: Imperial War Museum, 2015), 39. And Acquisition Proposal, "Christiane Baumgartner," Art Section (IWM) 11 May 2011; IWM Art Files: Baumgartiner, Christiane (b.1967).

[769] This may not always be in line with what other Sections at the Museum perceive to be a safe option, although in interviews there was no discussion of hindrance to politically controversial works on display.

[770] Interview with Sara Bevan (IWM curator), London, 23 November 2012.; Interview with Kathleen Palmer, (former IWM Head of Art), London, 6 December 2012.

war sentiments.[771] Two print series acquired by the Art Section in 2012 addressed these matters. The first was a series of prints by Miroslaw Balka produced by Edition Copenhagen that reflected on memory and the Holocaust. The Balka prints were an important acquisition for the IWM, as previously the artist had made a number of installations that were of interest to the Art Section, but not easily collectable.[772] The second was a series of etchings by Albert Adams that could be termed Expressionist in their style. The Adams prints used the recurring image of a monkey on a man's back to produce an emotional understanding of the burden and violence of experience of conflict (f.62).[773] Some of the curators when interviewed discussed how art is able to get to the heart of what something feels like to experience.[774] The imagery of Adams captured certain emotions and thoughts that non-interpretive objects could not convey to a museum visitor.[775] It is apparent that print collection was harnessed to represent war in ways that interrogated the emotional subject matter of the IWM. Works like the Adams prints fulfilled the Museum's role to address difficult content.

Collecting prints for a complex museum

In recent years the IWM has evolved to be both a museum with a focus on British war history, and a museum that puts the theme of war into a global context for an international audience.[776] The Museum presents British history through the lens of war, and this is arguably why it is important for it to maintain a social history viewpoint. The Museum is partly able to do this because it is not a service institution.[777] However, the IWM is also an international

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[771] Caroline Winter, "Tourism, Social Memory and the Great War," *Annals of Tourism Research* 36, no. 4 (2009), 616-617.

[772] The prints were accessible to the curators. Interview with Sara Bevan (IWM curator), London, 23 November 2012.

[773] They did not refer to one conflict in particular, but instead to human atrocities, such as the Holocaust and the War in Darfur.

[774] This was discussed in particular with Jenny Wood: Interview with Jenny Wood (former IWM curator), London, 26 November 2012.

[775] Interview with Richard Slocombe (IWM senior curator), London, 4 December 2012. '..we found his work very interesting in a sense that he was using a medium, drypoint etchings and aquatint, this technique that had this great historical pedigree for capturing conflict… and then using that traditional use of the medium to capture those sort of emotions and approaches to war... I think in that case the medium is the message very much so... It was key to their success as artworks.'

[776] Interview with Roger Tolson (former IWM Head of Art), London, 28 November 2012. '…the content is weighted towards British experience because that's what we hold. The subject matter is international, and so whether we are showing an Argentinian gun or a British gun- in a sense does it matter? We are showing you a gun and the story around it is what becomes interesting.'

[777] The service institutions (like the RAF Museum, the Army Museum and the National Maritime Museum) take on the pure military matters leaving the IWM free to be broader in its scope. Discussed in: Interview with Roger Tolson (former IWM Head of Art), London, 28 November 2012.

museum of war in the 20th century, and the collecting of international prints by the art curators over a number of years has somewhat anticipated this shift at the IWM. The 'Imperial' purpose of the First World War years saw the Museum develop collections which were relevant to dominion nations, and this international relevance evolved into an even wider cosmopolitan outlook.[778] In the 2011-12 annual report of the IWM, the Vision Statement urged the Museum to be the 'world's leading authority on conflict and its impact-focusing on Britain, its former Empire and the Commonwealth, from the First World War to the present'.[779] Although it was not attempting to represent all global conflicts, through its Vision Statement, the IWM was attempting to have international relevance and appeal. The IWM attracts a high number of international visitors, partly due to its main branch being located in London.[780] Nowadays, themes that appeal to an international audience, and could be considered world themes, are prominent at the IWM. An example is the highly profiled Museum's Holocaust display and Holocaust Fellowship.[781]

The collecting of international works, which has been an almost unique aspect to the print and poster collections since the First World War, helps the IWM to live up to its status as a 'world museum'. Under Tolson and Palmer the art curators targeted relevant prints by important international artists from all conflicts.[782] Tolson first identified a George Grosz print that was eventually purchased at auction by the IWM in 2008. It had a particular

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[778] See discussion on Cosmopolitan Memory in: Macdonald, *Memorylands* (2013), 188-215.

[779] They promote themselves as an institution that explores the wider nature of war through the history of British people and allied nations at war: "1.1 Our vision," Annual Report and Account 2011-2012 (London: Imperial War Museum and The Stationery Office, 2012).

[780] Two other branches are also located in London. The IWM has five branches: IWM London in Lambeth, HMS Belfast (moored on the Thames), The Churchill War Rooms in Westminster, IWM Duxford (an airfield in Cambridgeshire) and IWM North, located in Manchester. The fact that IWM has several branches also accounts for its high visitor numbers.

[781] Interview with Sara Bevan (IWM curator), London, 23 November 2012. Sara Bevan gave the example of the Holocaust as a world event, which also linked to British history. Suzanne Bardgett, "The Imperial War Museum and the History of War," Making History: The changing face of the profession in Britain, The Institute of Historical Research, 2008, accessed 7 June 2013, http://www.history.ac.uk/makinghistory/resources/articles/IWM.html. In her article Bardgett says: 'The opening of the *Holocaust Exhibition* in 2000 was a major turning point: that the Museum had chosen to deal with this complex and difficult subject in its galleries opened many people's eyes to the breadth of our interests. Today the Museum's exhibitions programme is international in scope, frequently introducing people to unexpected aspects of war – such as *Camouflage* (2007) or how Ian Fleming's wartime intelligence work informed his novel-writing *For Your Eyes Only: Ian Fleming and James Bond* (2008).'

[782] In fact, the IWM curators have told me that it is only since my contact with them that they have re-visited the print collection as its own autonomous part of the art collection, and in doing so they have noted its high content of international artists which is not found in other parts of the art collection: Interview with Richard Slocombe (IWM senior curator), London, 4 December 2012.

relevance to a theme the IWM were exploring at the time of disability and conflict.[783] The Grosz lithograph called *Strassenecke [Street Corner]* from 1922 showed a German street scene from the interwar period, where people pass by a busking amputee from the war.[784] In the post-war period Grosz made many prints that commented on the social and economic dislocations which plagued Germany.[785] Such a phenomenon was common in many countries who participated in the First World War, and the acquisition of the Grosz lithograph by the Art Section drew out the universality of this phenomenon. The collecting of international prints enabled the Art Section to present more viewpoints in the Museum than just the British viewpoint, and it gave the print collection a point of difference to the IWM paintings, drawings and sculpture collections. While the international viewpoint is contained in the print collection, the art curators were able to represent Britain's culturally diverse society through other art acquisitions. For example, in 2013 they acquired Shanti Panchal's watercolour *Boys Return from Helmand* (2010).[786] It is a portrait of his Indian/British sons who both completed tours of duty in Afghanistan, and various allusions within the painting make reference to issues of cross-cultural identity within the armed forces.[787]

Although there were examples of increased managerialism and regulatory processes at the IWM in later years, as seen in initiatives like the implementation of the Collections Development Committee (CDC) in 2010,[788] such administrative impediments may not actually have had a profound effect on what was collected. The CDC was put in place to act as a filter for works that potentially required vetting from Museum staff who came from outside the curatorial departments. There are a number of triggers when acquiring a work that could mean the work will go through formal approval. These include the price of the work, the size of the work or any storage issues it may present. If the work is over £2,000 or 1 metre in length it will warrant review, and the curators will have to justify their purchase to

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[783] Printed email, Roger Tolson (IWM Head of Art) to Richard Slocombe, 13 March 2008; IWM Art Files: Grosz, George.

[784] George Grosz, *Strassenecke [Street Corner]* (1922) lithograph, 49 x 35.5 cm, IWM ART 17434.

[785] He repeatedly included the same person 'types' in these works: including the beggar, the prostitute and the profiteer: Beth Irwin Lewis, *George Grosz: Art and Politics in the Weimar Republic* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1971), 137-139.

[786] Shanti Panchal, *Boys Return from Helmand* (2010) watercolour, 77.6 x 59.2 cm, IWM ART 17596.

[787] "Boys Return from Helmand," Imperial War Museums, accessed 29 April 2018, https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/43404.

[788] The Collections Development Committee was first mentioned in an annual report in the 2010-2011 financial year: Annual Report and Account 2010-2011 (London: Imperial War Museum and The Stationery Office, 2011). Richard Slocombe says there was a wider restructure of the IWM in 2010: Interview with Richard Slocombe (IWM senior curator), London, 4 December 2012.

the Committee who has the ability to say no to items based on their relevance to the institution.[789] This of course depends on the changing institution, which was shown to be broadening its purpose and engagement with historical narratives. In fact, some of the IWM curators said that the Art Section challenged the thinking of the CDC by questioning the IWM's interpretation of its own remit.[790] Relevance itself, however, is not an immediate trigger for the CDC, so some prints that could be deemed tangential may never be put forward for review. Often prints are cheaper than other types of artworks, so they may not trigger the CDC review process as often as paintings or sculpture, and this may mean that in future prints will still be able to move somewhat outside of the scrutiny of management. However, prints do not always escape review because sometimes they are larger than the recommended size. The impact of this administrative procedure is hard to measure; for instance, it may be the case that curators are less willing to bring some items before of the CDC. But it is certain that analytical prints consistent with the acquisitions of recent years have been collected, despite going through the CDC.

A print series by Annabel Dover (b.1975) was acquired by the IWM in 2011, and required to go before the CDC due to its size. This was a series of five cyanotypes produced from objects important to Dover's family, each of which represented an individual's story from the Second World War.[791] An obscure print technique, cyanotypes are unique photographic prints in which chemically treated paper is exposed to light. The objects that Dover placed on the paper acted as stencils, and where light was able to touch the paper around the object, it changed colour, leaving the image of the object as a shadow on the page, which is fixed during a process of washing the paper.[792] The novelty of the medium allowed the artist to achieve something unique in the message she wished to convey. She explored the significance we place on objects, and social exchange of memory and experience through exchange of objects. One of the prints presented a hat worn by Dover's relative the day she received a telegram that her husband was missing in action. The hat was new but was never

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[789] Discussed in: Interview with Kathleen Palmer, (former IWM Head of Art), London, 6 December 2012.; interview with Jenny Wood (former IWM curator), London, 26 November 2012.

[790] Interview with Kathleen Palmer, (former IWM Head of Art), London, 6 December 2012.; interview with Sara Bevan (IWM curator), London, 23 November 2012.; interview with Richard Slocombe (IWM senior curator), London, 4 December 2012.

[791] Acquisition Proposal, "Annabel Dover," Art Department (IWM), 5 May 2011; IWM Art Files: Dover, Annabel.

[792] Ibid.

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worn again (f.63).[793] The Art Section included three of Dover's cyanotypes in an exhibition about individual and public memory, *Loss* that they jointly organised with the Golden Thread Gallery in Belfast.[794] The cyanotype series linked a number of collecting themes for the IWM Art Section, which were significant to their current purpose. These themes included the exploration of individual and public memory, and the human consequences of war. Usually, prints that have a link with memory, such as the John Walker and Ray Arnold prints discussed earlier, perform memory work for the Museum by linking the past with the present. However, Dover's prints, and others like them, speak to the idea of memory by inviting the visitor to reflect on the activities of the Museum itself.[795]

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Print collecting since the 1980s was different to earlier periods in that it was focused on contemporary artists, and the prints acquired presented general interpretations of war. The presence of a strong curatorial figure in Angela Weight at the IWM from the period of the early 1980s had a marked impact on the quality and shape of the artist prints collection. The Art Section's broad contextualising and critique of war through acquisitions encouraged IWM visitors to question the history being presented to them. In this way, the IWM moved further away from its state-authorised narratives of the First and Second World War eras.

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[793] "New City Exhibition Explores the Issues Surrounding Conflict and Loss, 2 June," *Belfast Telegraph*, 2 June 2012. In interview, curator Sara Bevan discussed how the shadow of the object is important in this work, because it evokes a sense of the memory of the object.

[794] Letter, Sara Bevan (IWM curator) to artist, 7 July 2012; IWM Art Files: Dover, Annabel. "Loss," Golden Thread Gallery, accessed 12 June 2017, http://www.goldenthreadgallery.co.uk/events/loss/?v=79cba1185463

[795] Interview with Sara Bevan (IWM curator), London, 23 November 2012.

6. Print collecting at the AWM from the First World War to the 1970s

At this point in the thesis I commence an examination of AWM print collecting, and firstly I focus on the decades from the inception of the AWM in the First World War to the 1970s. The discussion in this chapter covers print collecting at particular moments over this period: specifically, during the First World War, in the interwar years, and in the 1970s. I have considered this as one collecting moment because the print acquisitions over these years were usually made by AWM staff members who were not specialist art curators. In some cases, the AWM Director at the time made print acquisitions. In later AWM chapters, the curators rise to prominence in their influence over the print collection. Print collecting reflected the process of history making at the AWM over this time, from amassing an accurate and comprehensive record of the Australian contribution in the First World War and simultaneously defining Australian identity, to setting Australia's war history within a broader context, to extending the scope to cover the Second World War, subsequent wars, and Australia's colonial past. With these changes in focus, the types of prints that were collected and how they were collected changed as well.

The AWM was unlike the IWM because it was very much the vision of a core group of men from within the AIF, despite also being a government-approved project.[796] In the First World War, a group of prints were commissioned from Australia's first official war artist, Will Dyson, which directly reflected the beliefs of the AWM founders, particularly C.E.W. Bean. They were an homage to, and record of, the ordinary Australian soldiers on the Western Front, and through them Dyson constructed an image of the Australian character. The prints that were acquired shortly after the First World War were predominantly British, and supported the notion of Australia's connectedness to Britain, and Australians as a British 'type'.[797] In the interwar years the AWM staff, headed by the long-standing first AWM Director, John Treloar, strove to amass a comprehensive material record of Australia's

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[796] Inglis argues that the AWM, once it opened, was more of a people's museum than the IWM in London because a visitor did not need to be familiar with conflict to understand the way objects were used at the AWM, with accessible layouts of plan models of battles and personal stories highlighted. K.S. Inglis, "A Sacred Place: The Making of the Australian War Memorial," *War & Society* 3, no. 2 (1985), 111. Bean and Treloar both hoped the Memorial would help a generation to grieve, but also recognised that it would develop beyond the needs of the generation's war victims: Michael McKernan, *Here Is Their Spirit: A History of the Australian War Memorial 1917-1990* (St. Lucia, QLD: University of Queensland Press in assocation with the Australian War Memorial, 1991), xiv.

[797] Neville Meaney, "Britishness and Australian Identity: The Problem of Nationalism in Australian History and Historiography," *Australian Historical Studies* 32, no. 116 (2001), 80.

involvement in the First World War. The few prints that were collected in the interwar period were predominantly assessed as visual documents: they served a purpose as material cultural records of the experiences of Australians at war. However, because these prints were peripheral items to the main body of collecting, some unexpected subjects were acquired that began collecting patterns, which influenced print collecting in later decades.

In 1941, the AWM finally opened a long-awaited building to house the collection. However, they were also compelled to extend their collecting scope to include the Second World War. They did not collect artistic prints during the war. The reason for this was a combination of the facts that Australian artists were not producing many prints in this period, and the focus of AWM staff on acquiring other art mediums through a new round of official war art acquisitions. The extension of the Memorial's scope in 1952 to include all conflicts involving Australians before and after the First World War, later led to the acquisition of a number of prints relating to Australia's colonial military forces and 19th century conflicts, such as the Boer War. These colonial prints, acquired in the 1970s, allowed the AWM to understand not just the military history of these conflicts, but also aspects of social history. They were some of the best surviving visual records of the 19th century, as they were printed in bulk through illustrated newspapers and magazines, and survived the ravages of time; hence their collectability for the AWM. In the 1970s the AWM began to engage with new museum ideas and practices, which were being implemented in other cultural institutions in Australia. These changes were brought in under a new Director, Noel Flanagan, who strove to professionalize the Memorial and bring it up to date with the latest museum methods. Flanagan also questioned the core purpose of the Memorial, raising the issue of the AWM's title, which does not contain the word 'museum'.

A record and tribute: the prints of Will Dyson

The ideologies behind the founding of the AWM, as a contrast to the governmental ideologies behind the founding of the IWM, created a different context for print collecting during the First World War. The first series of prints acquired for the AWM was very close to the founder's hearts because the Australian artist who produced them, Will Dyson, was friends with Bean and part of an inner circle of Australians in Europe who were discussing the concept for an Australian war museum. Dyson was one of the creators of the AWM founding concept and its core philosophies, and was also influential as Australia's first

official war artist and an instigator of the Australian official war art scheme.[798] The official war art scheme for Australia was initially suggested to the Australian government by Dyson himself, and he volunteered to become an Australian official artist at the front.[799] The lithographs and drawings Dyson produced for his own commission were probably influenced by his background as a political cartoonist, as through them he deftly created a character type for the Australia soldiers. Before the war, Dyson was a well-known illustrator of newspaper cartoons, having drawn for the *Bulletin* and the Adelaide *Critic*.[800] In 1910 he married Ruby Lindsay, who was a member of a well-known family of Australian artists, the Lindsays (discussed later). They moved to London where Dyson was employed on the *Daily Herald,* and became a popular figure.[801] He drew political cartoons about social inequality, the war, and he met other prominent Australian expatriates like Bean.

Dysons lithographs were some of the first artworks to become part of the AWM collection. They provided images that could be used by the AWM to show national pride in Australians and their ordinary contributions. Dyson set himself this role of being the visual chronicler of the Australian soldiers on the Western Front. He explained the aims of his work in a letter written in September 1916 to argue for his appointment:

> The precise nature of my work in France would be to interpret in a series of drawings
> for national preservation, the sentiments and special Australian characteristics of an
> army. I should make no drawings of actual military operations or places. My drawings
> would be such studies of Australian soldiers and their neighbours as would be
> suggested to me by personal contact with our men in their European surroundings.
> What it would require for this is that I should be quartered for periods with
> Australians in zones where the facilities for such works would not be in conflict with
> military requirements. The actual work would be done, in its first stages, in my

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[798] Ross McMullin writes that there was an informal group gathered around Bean... and that Dyson directly influenced Bean's conception of how the post-war commemoration of Australian soldiers might be carried out. Ross McMullin, "Will Dyson: Australia's Forgotten Genius " *The Sydney Papers* 19, no. 1 (2007), 23.

[799] Letter, Lieutenant William Dyson (artist) to Australian High Commission, 23 August 1916; AWM 94/1233 'Request for Information – Will Dyson'. He was appointed in an honorary capacity in December 1916 and a paid capacity in May 1917.

[800] Vane Lindesay, "Dyson, William Henry (Will) (1880–1938)," *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, published first in hardcopy 1981, accessed online 11 November 2014, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/dyson-william-henry-will-6074/text10399.

[801] McMullin, "Will Dyson," 17.

quarters- that is the drawing itself- to be worked up while in England. I should carry
no apparatus. I should wish for no facilities for moving about, but it would be
advantageous for me to be in a position to avail myself of any such facilities as might
offer.[802]

He was the first Australian artist to visit the front during the First World War, travelling to
France in December 1916, and remaining there until May 1917, making records of the
Australian involvement in the war. After a brief period, he returned to France as a Lieutenant
in the AIF in November 1917. He produced many sketches from his time there, and presented
the whole of his work to the Commonwealth government.[803] In November 1918 he published
Australia at War, containing some of his best drawings from the front.[804] In *Australia at War*
he wrote about the soldiers he drew, and his images and writing reflect the respect he held for
these men.[805]

From his drawings, Dyson decided to produce a series of 32 lithographs of Australian
soldiers at the Western Front. In his series of lithographs, Dyson focused on the Australian
soldiers in their rest periods, as an attempt to reflect the reality of their experience of the war
(it was not all battles and action) and also to make a study of the individuals rather than the
context of war.[806] He depicted these men in a sympathetic light, and subtly framed them as
the best of the Australian character. Dyson's personal and outgoing nature meant that he
formed easy relationships with the men, unlike Bean who was naturally more quiet and
reserved, but both shared an admiration for the Australian diggers.[807] Dyson's lithographs fed
into the creation of national identity by mythologising the Australian soldier 'type' as a true-
hearted, tough, laconic, and stoic figure that formed the back bone of the Australian army. An
example from the set, *One of the Old Platoon* is a particularly evocative image of an

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[802] Letter, Will Dyson (artist) copy sent to General Birdwood, 19 September 1916; IWM Artist File: Will Dyson.
[803] Letter, Chairman of the Tribunal (Guildhall, EC), 6 November 1916; AWM 06/1299.: 'In continuation of my
letter of 17 October, regarding Mr William Dyson, I beg to inform you that it has now been decided, with the
approval of the War Office, to employ him temporarily under the Commonwealth Govt on special work in
connection with our military forces. He is proceeding to the Camp at Bulford, the Head-quarters of the AIF, at
once. The War Office has been requested to inform the Director General of Recruiting of this.'
[804] Will Dyson, *Australia at War: A Winter Record / Made by Will Dyson on the Somme and at Ypres During the
Campaigns of 1916 and 191 ; with an Introduction by G.K. Chesterton*, First Edition (London: Cecil Palmer and
Hayward, 1918).
[805] McMullin, "Will Dyson," 21.
[806] Ibid, 19.
[807] McKernan, *Here Is Their Spirit*, 31.

Australian digger, carrying his cumbersome kit, wearing the iconic slouch hat, bending over to read the makeshift cross that marks the grave of a former mate. There is a stillness to the image, and the Australian soldier seems to feel the pain of loss (f.64). Dyson was working against a war art tradition of depicting soldiers in heroic poses, instead portraying a different type of heroism.

These prints were produced through an official war art scheme, a separate Australian one that was similar to the British and Canadian versions and managed by the Australian High Commission in London.[808] A number of Australian artists who were expatriates in London were appointed to produce largely drawings and paintings of events and their experiences of the war. They included artists such as Arthur Streeton, George Lambert, and Fred Leist. They were encouraged to produce accurate works, but according to their own interests and skills. With the exception of Dyson who lived with the soldiers on the frontline, the artists were largely engaged with troops behind the lines.[809] Some of these artists produced works that referenced a tradition of large-scale history painting. In the case of Streeton, he painted landscapes informed by his own impressionist sensibilities (f.65).[810] An important difference between this scheme and the British one was that the British official war art commissioners were in charge of propaganda and publicity. Both the British and Australian schemes sought to create a record, both sought to report the 'truth'; however, as Condé argues, the Australian scheme in particular was overlaid with an explicit memorialising intention. The Australian official war art scheme, it would seem partly for this reason, did not seek to employ modern styles of art.[811] While not many official war artists for Australia created prints, this was the context for the type of art Dyson created for the AWM.

Dyson's drawings and prints were unlike the landscapes or war scenes depicted by the subsequent Australian official war artists, and he had a particular purpose in mind for his art. Dyson quite deliberately chose to make a set of lithographs, and outlined his reasons in a memorandum, stating that the special value of lithographs lay in the facts that they could be sent in triplicate in separate ships to Australia to ensure their safe arrival, and multiple copies

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[808] Another branch was administered through the Australian War Records Section (AWRS).
[809] Lola Wilkins, "Official War Art at the Australian War Memorial," *Agora* 45, no. 2 (2010), 20.
[810] Ibid, 20.
[811] Anne-Marie Condé, "John Treloar, Official War Art and the Australian War Memorial," *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 53, no. 3 (2007), 457.

could fulfil a number of requirements, such as for official exhibitions or sale.[812] The memorandum reveals Dyson's wish to widely disseminate his images and the ideology behind the images, which were in harmony with Bean's ideology. Bean wanted Dyson's art to be displayed in a separate bespoke gallery, and in his view Dyson's sketches were 'the only pictures which adequately depict the utter weariness, misery, and distress of the men at the front during the winters of 1916 and 1917.'[813] Dyson depicted the Australian soldiers in a way that Bean believed befitted how they should be remembered and revered by Australians for their sacrifice. However, a gallery for Dyson's art was never built. His drawings were displayed for five years from 1941-1946 in the gallery called Aircraft Hall, until they were removed to make way for Second World War exhibits.[814]

British prints: post-war collecting and a print series exchange

The AWM received several sets of Dyson's lithographs, and did not undertake any active soliciting of Australian artistic prints for the remainder of the war, and this seemed consistent with the needs of the AWM considering the other Australian war prints of the era did not go nearly as far as the Dyson prints in characterising Australia at war. The lack of print collecting can be explained by a shortage of Australian artists producing prints about the war.[815] Treloar managed the official war art commissions, and those artists did not choose to produce sets of prints. Australian artists were not encouraged to produce print series in their official war artist contracts as a profit-making exercise, unlike the British artists employed by the British Department of Information.[816] Australian artists outside the official schemes did not tend to choose the subject of war for their printmaking. New and rediscovered printmaking mediums, such as linocuts, woodcuts and wood-engravings were popular among artists in the 1920s in Australia, as they were meant to be cheap and easily accessible to ordinary people.[817] There were also printmaking societies established after the war, such as

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[812] Memorandum, "Regarding the making and use of lithographs for immediate exhibition in Australia, and for other uses," Will Dyson, 1919; AWM 94/1233 'Request for Information – Will Dyson'.

[813] Quote from Australian War Memorial Report by Parliamentary Standing Committee on Public Works, 4.: in K.S. Inglis, "A Sacred Place," 103. And McKernan, *Here Is Their Spirit*, 114. Also in McKernan, *Here Is Their Spirit*, 23: from the AWM 1941 Guide: Dyson 'sensed the futility of war with greater depth of feeling than any other official artist'.

[814] McKernan, *Here Is Their Spirit*, 190.

[815] In his second book in the *Printed* series, Butler discusses how relatively few print images were produced by Australian artists in response to the First World War. Roger Butler, *Printed: Images by Australian Artists 1885-1955* (Canberra: National Gallery of Australia, 2007), 209.

[816] See chapter 3 for an example extract from James McBey's artist contract.

[817] Nicholas Draffin, *Australian Woodcuts and Linocuts of the 1920s and 1930s* (South Melbourne: Sun Books, 1976), 7.

the Australian Painter-Etchers Society, which was active between 1920 and 1938.[818] Women artists pioneered the avant-garde Australian art of the 1920s, which was influenced by European Modernism and particularly British Modernism. Many of these women artists practised printmaking as a core medium in their artistic repertoire.[819] The artists of the Australian Painter-Etchers Society at this time often worked on 'Australiana' themes, such as Margaret Preston's interest in Australian flora and indigenous art, and Jessie Traill's prints of industrial projects like the Sydney Harbour Bridge.

Dyson and the family he married into, the Lindsays, were some of the only artists producing memorable etchings and artistic posters in response to the war at the time. The Lindsays were a large family of ten children. At least four of the brothers, and one sister, Dyson's wife Ruby Lindsay, worked as artists and produced newspaper illustrations.[820] Three of Dyson's brothers-in-law produced war art of some sort. The eldest brother, Lionel, made an etching in 1914 called *The martyrdom of Belgium* that spoke out against Germany's invasion of Belgium (f.66). The youngest brother, Daryl had enlisted with the AIF in 1915 and served in France. He created etchings of the war damage inflicted on churches, among other subjects.[821] The AWM never collected the First World War etchings produced by these two brothers, but they did collect their drawings. The AWM also acquired a series of lithographic posters created by Norman Lindsay for the Australian government as part of a 'recruitment kit' (f.67).[822] Compulsory conscription had been rejected in Australia and Lindsay's posters, created in 1918, used aggressive caricatures of the German soldier as a blood-thirsty ape-man to provoke violent emotional responses.[823] These posters were fairly atypical of the work Australian artists were producing at the time.

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[818] Butler, *Printed*, xiv.

[819] Ron Radford, "Introduction," in *Modern Australian Women: Paintings & Prints 1925-1945*, ed. Jane Hylton (Adelaide: Art Gallery of South Australia, 2000), 6.

[820] The Lindsays initially became known in the field of illustrative journalism: Robert C. Littlewood, *Ruby Lindsay (1887-1919)* (Melbourne: Douglas Stewart Fine Books, 2010), 1.

[821] Butler, *Printed*, 209-217.

[822] Emily Robertson who has studied the Norman Lindsay recruitment kit says that the AWM does not have a complete record of how it entered into the collection- although it seems to have entered in pieces: Email communication, Emily Robertson (University of Canberra and UNSW) with Alexandra Walton, 10 April 2014. As it was a government commission it could easily have been transferred to the AWM collection around the time it was made or later.

[823] Norman Lindsay, *?,* c.1918. chromolithograph on paper. Australian War Memorial collection ARTV00078, sheet: 99 x 99 x 74.4 cm. Syd. Day, The Printer Ltd (Printer). Also see: Emily Robertson, "Norman Lindsay and the 'Asianisation' of the German Soldier in Australia During the First World War," *The Round Table: The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs* 103, no. 2 (2014), 219-225.

The prints that did enter the AWM immediately after the war were mostly British prints. Dyson's lithographs could be compared with two other sets of prints to enter the collection in 1920, which were two series of etchings of the Middle Eastern front in the First World War, by two British artists, David Barker (1888-1946) and James McBey.[824] McBey's etchings of the Australian Camel Corps in the Sinai desert portray them as hard and resilient. This was the same series collected by Britain's Department of Information in 1917. To the British they were a record of war experience, but to the Australians they were also a record of the Australian contribution to the war effort. In contrast, Barker's etchings showed the environment of the Middle East, with no particular focus on military activities.[825] It is possible these two series were targeted because they illustrated a theatre of the war which Dyson himself did not record. Given that the Australian identity was linked with Britain in the minds of the AWM founders, collecting British artists to demonstrate war experience relevant to Australians was not contradictory. Barker was in the same or similar places to Australian troops, and his prints, such as *A mosque at Baghdad* showed scenes that Australian soldiers experienced during their war service (f.68). Such scenes were otherwise completely exotic to Australian eyes in this era. For Australians of this era, it allowed them to see what their soldiers had seen, and perhaps it linked the AWM collection with reports from war correspondents that would have reached Australia.

The early influx of British prints into the AWM collection was due in large part to an exchange of commissioned prints series, which took place between Britain and Australia. A set of Dyson's series of lithographs were exchanged by the Australian government for a set of *Britain's Efforts and Ideals* in 1921, so each foundation series of prints was to eventually reside in each country's national war museum.[826] This important connection between the two

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[824] Information on AWM collections database, MICA.

[825] Barker's etchings were similar to those by Cain, referenced in chapter 3.

[826] It was the Imperial War Museum who originally requested a set of Dyson's lithographs. The officials at 'Australia House' in London recommended the exchange, stating that the 'Efforts and Ideals' lithographs would, 'be of great value to the Australian War Museum.' Memorandum, IWM to the Official Secretary (High Commissioner's Offices, Australia House, London), 24 October 1919; AWM 95/1482. The reason the Dyson lithographs came to the attention of the IWM was due to a set being sent to the British Museum: Letter, IWM to Australia House, 9 October 1919: AWM 94/1233 'Request for Information – Will Dyson'. 'About six months ago, I was requested to send to the British Museum for a small case containing 32 lithographs. These were duly brought to my office but I have been quite unable to trace any correspondence in the matter. Mr Campbell Dodgson, of the British Museum, asked me a few days ago if I had been able to establish the claim of the IWM to these prints. It is assumed that they are presented to the Nation, but whether to the Imperial War Museum or the British Museum is not clear. Mr Dyson himself knows nothing of the matter.'

series meant the institutions had essentially swapped national identity-defining sets of lithographs. As with the *Efforts and Ideals* series, Dyson's prints attempted to use the authority of the artistic object to give weight and significance to the images and the ideas behind them. Dyson usually worked as a cartoonist, so embarking on a print project of lithographs both allowed him to use his drawing skills and disseminate his images widely, while producing original art objects that were more highly regarded than reproduced images in newspapers or magazines. The fact that Dyson requested his print series to be presented to a number of Australian and international cultural institutions is evidence of this.[827] The exchange of the print series saw Dyson's portrayal of Australian soldiers embedded at the IWM, while the *Efforts and Ideals* lithographs disclosed to Australians some of the British cultural ideals they fought for. This allowed each institution to see how the Australians and British portrayed themselves and their role in the war.

The interwar period: Australian experiences of war

In the interwar years the AWM held well-attended temporary displays in both Melbourne and Sydney, and Melrose argues that it was one of the nation's premier cultural experiences. Analysing the inter-war displays, he argues that the Australian soldier was presented as a "great and victorious fighter" and that "Within the Memorial's inter-war displays victory was also offered as the ultimate justification for the cost of war."[828] there were discussions among the AWM Committee members about what the AWM would achieve as an institution.[829] Bean had a personal interest in commemorating each Australian who died as a result of the First World War, a purpose which led to the idea of a Roll of Honour recording each individual's name. This broad vision was steadily constrained as the Roll of Honour was given physical form in the 1950s.[830] In later years, the scope of the AWM remained focused on an Australian experience of war. The importance of the 'Australian experience' as a rationale for AWM collecting is still reflected in corporate documents today, such as the

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[827] Memorandum, "Regarding the making and use of lithographs for immediate exhibition in Australia, and for other uses," Will Dyson, 1919; AWM 94/1233 'Request for Information – Will Dyson'.

[828] Craig Melrose, "'A Praise That Never Ages': The Australian War Memorial and the 'national' interpretation of the First World War, 1922-35," unpublished PhD thesis, School of History, Philosophy, Religion and Classics (Queensland: University of Queensland, 2005).

[829] Would it be a memorial or/and a museum, would the collections be colossal in scale, or manageable, how would the building reflect the aims of the AWM?: McKernan, *Here Is Their Spirit*, 75& 94-95.

[830] It was intended to include not only the three services, but also merchant seamen and other civilians, and those who died in later years as a result of their wounds. Peter Londey, "Known Soldiers: The Roll of Honour at the Australian War Memorial," in *When the Soldiers Return: November 2007 Conference Proceedings*, ed. Martin Crotty (Brisbane: University of Queensland, 2009), 264.

AWM mission statement that clarifies the Memorial's purpose to, 'assist Australians to remember, interpret, and understand the Australian experience of war and its impact on this society.'[831] The Australian experience of war was necessarily defined largely through the experience of men who fought in war.[832] To this day, this focus affects the type of objects that are collected by the AWM: collecting is mostly limited to items that have a direct relevance to the story of Australia at war, as opposed to items that provide a context for Australia's involvement in war.

While efforts were made by AWM staff to collect personal records, and finalise large official art commissions, prints were only sporadically collected. The reduction in print collecting may have been partly because the Depression in Australia contributed to the reduction of the production of prints across a number of techniques in the 1930s, and this lasted well into the Second World War.[833] It was also perhaps partly due to funding, and perhaps in later years the AWM founders felt they had assembled a large enough art collection.[834] At this stage they imagined the AWM remit would cover only the First World War. In these years the AWM were largely taking donations, rather than actively soliciting prints. The handful of prints that came in during the interwar period were from a variety of sources, and each had different relationships to how the AWM defined its remit. Some helped the AWM to tell its narrative of the AIF at war, while others seemed peripheral to this focused narrative, and instead gave some context for the wars in which Australians were fighting. Overall, the prints collected were mostly acquired for reasons of material record rather than to enhance the art collection.[835] That is not to say they were not artistic, but taken alongside the other items that were being collected by the AWM at the time, their value as primary source material was evidently their appeal to the AWM staff.[836]

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[831] "Mission Statement," *Australian War Memorial Annual Report 2013-2014*, (Canberra: AWM, 2014).
[832] This is apparent from a reading of the 1942 guide to the AWM galleries: *Guide to Australian War Memorial*, 2nd edition (Canberra: AWM, 1942).
[833] Draffin, *Australian Woodcuts*, 9.
[834] Collecting for the AWM did take place throughout the 1920s and into the 1930s. Condé writes that the collecting of private records stopped abruptly in 1930. She says that 1919-1930 were 'the years when, as individuals and as a nation, Australian tried to make sense of their war.' Anne-Marie Condé, "Capturing the Records of War: Collecting at the Mitchell Library and the Australian War Memorial," *Australian Historical Studies* 36, no. 125 (2005), 135. She also states that there were cuts in government funding to the Memorial in 1930 which affected its collecting area. See ibid, 142. (she cites AWM 93 item 12/3/62 part 3).
[835] Many of the prints acquired at this time arrived at the AWM as part of a group of items that included written documents.
[836] They were using non-traditional evidence as public historians do, and their history belonged to the public.

This reason for collecting matched how the rest of the art collection was developed at this time. During the First World War, the founders of the AWM felt war art should provide an accurate visual record of people and events. They particularly relied on eye-witness testimony to ensure the accuracy of their large commissioned paintings.[837] A thesis by Margaret Hutchison on the First World War official commissions of Australia argued that while art was valued by men like Bean and Treloar, it was not necessarily completely understood and it served a very specific role in their eyes as documentary record.[838] This made most of the Australian official war art from the First World War quite traditional in style; however, some print acquisition from the interwar period would move away from this preferred style.

One of the most striking prints to be acquired in this period was a linocut by Australian internee O. Hermann (active 1918). The style of this print employed European Modernist ideas even though the print was not collected for its artistic value. It was different from the prints that had been collected prior, as it showed the internee experience of Australians who were labelled 'enemy aliens' because they had migrated from Germany. Therefore, it bore witness to an experience that many Australians at the time would have been unfamiliar with. It arrived at the AWM as an external donation in 1926. The linocut had been produced in the Holsworthy Internment Camp, near Sydney, by an artist who to date has only been identified as O. Hermann, who may have been a teacher in the camp art school.[839] The name of the work is *Linocut No. 10.* It depicts an Australian landscape in the evening, and it was produced in 1918. The time of day the artist has chosen to depict is most interesting – it suggests enchantment with the Australian bush, which is captured beautifully by the artist's use of shape and colour (f.69). Despite its artistry, this print was acquired for its value as primary source material about this aspect of Australia's war history, it was presented along with other relics from the camp.[840] The kind of history narratives the AWM started to create by collecting items like this print were ones that offered more perspectives on Australia's role in the First World War.

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[837] Margaret Hutchison, "'Accurate to the Point of Mania': Eyewitness Testimony and Memory Making in Australia's Official Paintings of the First World War," *Australian Historical Studies* 46, no. 1 (2015), 28-33.
[838] Margaret V. Hutchison, "Painting War: Memory Making and Australia's Official War Art Scheme, 1916-1922," unpublished PhD thesis, School of History (Canberra: Australian National University, 2015).
[839] "No. 10," Australian War Memorial, accessed 26 January 2015, http://www.awm.gov.au/collection/ART09342/.
[840] Letter, AWM curator to donor's representative, 29 July 1926; AWM 7/4/175. Series AWM 93.

This linocut was evidence of Australian political decisions during the war, and it revealed a disturbing aspect of Australia's role in the First World War. Rather than reiterating the image of the heroic digger, it disclosed the sad story of internment camps in Australia where people were kept like prisoners. Historian, Mahon Murphy, documents that civilian internment camps within Dominion nations, such as Australia, were part of a centralised policy of the British Empire.[841] The Holsworthy Internment Camp was the largest in Australia during the First World War, holding between 4000-5000 internees. Most internees were either from the Austro-Hungarian Empire or Germany temporarily living in Australia, or naturalised and native born Australians of German descent. They were often interned without trial or knowledge of their crimes.[842] It is possible the artist of this print was deported to Germany after the war, as many naturalised Australians of German heritage were. Although there was a thriving artistic life at the camp, there was also malaise and depression. Holsworthy camp was considered the harshest and most gaol-like in Australia, with internees kept behind barbed wire. This history makes the linocut even more engaging. Was the artist dreaming of the freedom of the Australian bush, over the barbed wire? Did the artist feel they were Australian; that they had a relationship with the country and its landscape? What the linocut does reveal, through its being acquired, is that a work of artistic expression can become a testimony and a political object, without intention on the part of the artist. It was a counter-narrative deliberately brought in to the AWM at this time with other evidence of internment camps in Australia.

In the interwar period, the AWM commenced collecting French artist prints, which may also be considered outside the Memorial's usual art collecting scope at the time. Fine art prints and popular prints have a particular significance for French visual culture.[843] These prints were souvenirs of the areas where Australians had been fighting, and the visual culture of

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[841] Murphy writes that the camp system strengthened British imperial identity. However, there were tensions between the Australian and British governments over the poor treatment of German captives in Australian camps. The British feared this would lead to reprisals against British captives in German camps. These kinds of situations meant Britain felt compelled the intervene quite directly in Dominion affairs in regards to internment camps: Mahon Murphy, *Colonial captivity during the First World War: internment and the fall of the German Empire, 1914-1919* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 4 & 26.

[842] "'Holsworthy Internment Camp'. The Enemy at Home: German Internees in World War I Australia," Website of the NSW Migration Heritage Centre at the Powerhouse Museum, Sydney, 2011, accessed 11 November 2014, http://www.migrationheritage.nsw.gov.au/exhibition/enemyathome/holsworthy-internment-camp/.

[843] The IWM Bute collection, for example, contains thousands of artistic and popular French prints from the First World War period.

their allies. Australian and British soldiers would have encountered and collected prints such as these in France. Paul Mansard and Marcel Augis were both pseudonyms of the French artist H. Dupont (1890-1961), whose small colourful etchings in the French graphic style were ubiquitous during the First World War.[844] One etching in the AWM collection attributed to 'Augis' and some attributed to 'Mansard' arrived as a donation in 1934, as part of Treloar's project to encourage families of First World War soldiers to donate their private records.[845] The records mostly consisted of letters written and received and diaries,[846] but small items like these prints also made their way to the AWM through this pathway. The Augis etching of 'Le basilique' was a common subject for Dupont, who often chose ruined buildings to depict (f.70). This cathedral was also a well-known landmark for Australian soldiers, thousands of whom would have marched passed it and remembered it for its famous leaning Virgin of Albert statue.

Although these first French print acquisitions were not part of a focused plan for the development of the collection, they were the impetus for the AWM to continue collecting French artist prints of quality. Such collecting could come about because of the French printmaking tradition, and thus the easy availability of French prints from the First World War. At first many of these acquisitions were unsolicited, but in later years this became a deliberate collecting strategy. A Hansi woodcut was acquired by the AWM in 1937 with a large group of items that consisted of uniforms, medals and other items on paper – some artistic prints among these were not immediately recognised as being artworks required for the art collection.[847] Instead they were given to the AWM Library where they were held as items of interest for research. A group of artworks were transferred from the Research Centre into the art collection in 1947, this print being among them. Oncle Hansi (Jean-Jacques Waltz) was actually born in Alsace, an area that has at various times been part of either France or Germany, and which has cultural influences from both countries.[848] He was pro-French and produced satirical works against the Germans in the First World War. These were

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[844] The H stands for Henri. Prints such as these are also present in the IWM collection.

[845] The request was for any private records, as the AWM were collecting written records. The donor sent in three aquatints: Letter, Treloar (AWM Director) to donor, 2 July 1934; AWM 12/11/5286. Series AWM 93, folios 1 & 6.

[846] Condé, "Capturing the Records of War," 149.

[847] Note, purchase of collection of 291 items including war prints, 4 August 1937; AWM 7/4/465 Part 02. Series AWM 93.

[848] At this time Alsace had been annexed by the Germans following the Franco-Prussian war of 1870.

a progression on earlier satire about German immigrants to Alsace, and German tourists.[849] The AWM woodcut shows silhouettes of Germans returning to their country from France in 1918 across the Rhine, dressed as tourists (f.71).[850] Hansi's work would have been accessible to Australians fighting in France – this one was from an edition of 200. The H. Dupont and Hansi prints were the first non-British or Australian prints to enter the AWM art collection- a testament to Australia's involvement in France during the war.

In 1938 the Memorial collected a series of etchings of Gallipoli and the Western Front by Gilbert Roach (1895-1972), and it seems these were the only deliberate acquisition of prints in the interwar years. Their attraction to the AWM is clear as they helped to fill a gap in images of Gallipoli, particularly as the Australian official war artist commissions began after the Gallipoli campaign. This gap was partly addressed in 1919 when the AWM sent a team to document the landscape of Gallipoli and create records after the fighting there. The team included the artist George Lambert who produced paintings that imagined the Australian soldiers within the landscape.[851] However, the Roach prints were important historical evidence, as eye-witness accounts from Gallipoli. They were probably purchased in 1938 along with drawings from Gallipoli by Bean, who knew Roach as a former contributor to the *Anzac Book*. The *ANZAC Book* was an initiative of Bean's to compile images, poems and other writings about the Australian experience of Gallipoli from soldiers who had served there.[852] Roach sketched on the spot during his time at Gallipoli in 1915, and his etchings were created later from the drawings made at the time (f.72). These were the only prints on the subject of Gallipoli to enter the AWM collection for many years. The reason not many other artistic prints from Gallipoli have been collected may be because not many were produced. After this time the collecting of prints became more sporadic for a number of decades. Without a champion for the print collection, or someone with an arts background to think regularly about prints, the collection did not develop.

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[849] Robert Debré, *Jean-Jacques Waltz Dit Hansi: Symbole de la Résistance Alsacienne* (Colmar: la Cour d'Appel, 1969), 12-20.
[850] AWM collections database, MICA.
[851] They were known as the 'Australian Historical Mission' sent in 1919. Janda Gooding, *Gallipoli Revisited: In the Footsteps of Charles Bean and the Australian Historical Mission* (Prahran: Hardie Grant, 2009).
[852] Australian Army and Charles Edwin Woodrow Bean, *The Anzac Book. Written and Illustrated in Gallipoli by the Men of Anzac,* ed. C.E.W. Bean (Australia: Cassell & Company, 1916).

The Second World War and after: extending the AWM scope

It was not until days before the outbreak of the Second World War that Treloar wrote to the Memorial's Board of Management on 29 August 1939 to suggest halting the current AWM activities and extending its scope to include the coming war, and making the AWM 'a general war memorial'.[853] The decision was delayed while the Board recommended AWM staff press on with completion of the building and installation of the First World War exhibits, and while the nature of Australia's involvement in the new war was ascertained. Finally, in February 1941 the Board decided to recommend to the government that the AWM Act be changed to extend the scope of the Memorial to include the present war.[854] This meant the inclusion of exhibitions in the new building had to be rethought in light of this new scope. Thus, it was the new war that compelled the AWM to diverge from its original concept.

As the AWM set about collecting for the Second World War, it once again established an official war art commissioning scheme, headed up by Treloar. Although it did collect modernist art and thus had the potential to commission modern Australian printmakers, there were no prints produced by the Australian Second World War commissions. Furthermore, no prints came to the AWM indirectly through the official war art commissions. The Second World War prints currently in the Memorial's collection were acquired long after the war itself. The focus on other mediums in the AWM art collecting at this time revealed a somewhat peripheral interest in prints. This could possibly be a result of prints being out of favour in the Australian public eye after the Second World War, mirroring the phenomenon in the UK at this time.[855] The number of prints produced by Australian artists in response to the First and Second World Wars was quite limited, apart from poster design.[856] However, there was also a lack of interest in prints on the part of the AWM staff. Treloar himself did not have a strong arts background, and thus he focused on commissioning a limited range of artistic media.

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[853] Note, Treloar (AWM Director) to Board members, 29 August 1939; AWM 234/1/8. Series AWM 93: in McKernan, *Here Is Their Spirit*, 160.
[854] McKernan, *Here Is Their Spirit*, 160-7.
[855] Radford, "Introduction," 9.
[856] Butler, *Printed… 1885-1955*, 219. Butler surveyed all Australian printmaking to come to this conclusion, drawing on the extensive collections of the National Gallery of Australia, Prints and Drawings Department.

The Memorial was instead focused at this time on the controversies surrounding their official war art commissions of drawings, paintings and sculpture. After initially looking to the conservative Academy of Australian Art to provide official war artists, on the advice of William Dargie, long-time serving older generation artist on the AWM Art Council, the Memorial was criticised by other members of the Australian arts community for ignoring modernist artists.[857] The AWM met with these criticisms by commissioning well known Australian modernists later in the war, including people like Donald Friend, Russell Drysdale and Nora Heysen. For example, a series of important paintings by Heysen that documented the pioneering research being undertaken in Australia into malaria (1943-45) was acquired under the official war art scheme.[858] Heysen's tense relationship with Treloar during her time as an official war artist is well documented, but despite not always seeing eye to eye with modernist artists, Treloar administrated the Second World War official art program with great commitment.[859]

The one series of prints to be collected in this Second World War period were acquired once again as a material record of events. They were a group of illustrations created by Meyer Isaacman (active 1946) of Japanese Second World War leaders who were being tried for war crimes at the International Military Tribunal in Tokyo (f.73). Isaacman was attending the tribunal as an artist for the British Commonwealth Occupation News publication, and his caricatures appeared in the BCON weekend magazine. They were presented to the Memorial by the artist in 1948 and transferred into the Art Section later on.[860] The AWM seemed to be interested in these images as a documentation of the figures on trial, and they also collected the matrices for these prints. There was some uncertainty as to how to treat the prints as they were newspaper illustrations, not original artistic prints, and therefore not to be categorised as works of art, it was presumed.[861] This gave them less legitimacy as objects of authentic

[857] 'In Australia the Contemporary Art Society in Melbourne agitated for more modernist artists to be considered and appointed as official war artists. The conservatism of the Memorial's art committee, its involvement with the controversial Australian Academy of Art, and its concern with realism meant there was little interest in employing artists such as Sidney Nolan (1917–1992) and Albert Tucker (1914–1999). However, the appointed artists such as Sali Herman (1898–1993), Donald Friend (1915–1989) and Sybil Craig provided a more modern perspective.' Wilkins, "Official War Art," 23.

[858] Cherie L Prosser and Ian A Clark, "The war on malaria and Nora Heysen's documentation of Australian medical research through art between 1943 and 1945," *Medical Journal of Australia* 194, no. 8 (2011), 418-9.

[859] Anne-Marie Condé, "John Treloar", 451-2.

[860] Letter, Australian Military History Section (BCOF, Japan) to AWM Director, 7 April 1948; AWM 749/050/001. Series AWM 315, folio 2.

[861] Note, AWM Director to AWM Library staff, 13 June 1948; AWM 749/050/001. Series AWM 315, folio 5.

artistic expression, which was an attitude that obviously changed when they were later transferred into the art collection.

These prints highlighted another aspect of the way the Memorial was constructing histories through the collecting of images. In the Isaacman file the AWM made a distinction between *records* (items of research interest, not necessarily of exhibition interest) and *relics* (items that were exhibitable as material records of the time).[862] The Isaacman prints fell into the category of records in this instance, rather than being collected as exhibitable objects, like most other artist prints. It is an example of how the collection serves both a research purpose and a display purpose. For research purposes, arguably the net is cast a little wider in terms of what items could be considered collectable.[863] These items are likely to be of historical interest but perhaps not aesthetically striking enough for display. This distinction in collection items continues today at the AWM and other museums. At the end of the war, with virtually no prints acquired, the Second World War insofar as it was to be defined through prints at the AWM was to be left to the collecting of later generations.

The AWM in transition in the 1970s

The 1970s was a disjuncture at the AWM from the conservative ideologies of the preceding two decades. W.R. Lancaster as AWM Director from 1966 to 1974 was interested in making the AWM more professional. In 1975 Noel Flanagan took over the directorship of the AWM, and he set himself a goal to bring the Memorial in line with new museum trends and ideas.[864] The changes he made to the AWM and its scope were eventually to have a substantial effect on the print collection (discussed further in Chapter 7). Included among the changes under Flanagan was: the building of much needed offsite storage and conservation laboratories; the revitalisation of some of the display areas; the doubling of staff numbers; the obtaining of more funding for acquisitions; the hiring of academic military historians in research

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[862] Note, AWM Director to AWM staff member, 27 July 1948; AWM 749/050/001. Series AWM 315, folio 9.
[863] The AWM makes its art collection available to external researchers. Researchers are welcome to make an appointment and are accompanied by a curator when viewing art objects.
[864] John Farquharson, "Flanagan, Noel Joseph (1917–2009)," Obituaries Australia, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, accessed 11 November 2014, http://oa.anu.edu.au/obituary/flanagan-noel-joseph-386/text387. 'When Noel Flanagan took over as director of the Australian War Memorial in January 1975, he brought a wind of change that blew away what then Prime Minister Gough Whitlam described as its 'fusty image'. His program of renewal set it on a path of revitalisation that laid the groundwork for what it has become today – one of the nation's most vibrant and respected institutions.'

positions; the founding of an annual military history conference; and the establishment of a corps of volunteer guides to the galleries.[865] Flanagan also expanded the scope of the AWM in legislation to cover the causes and aftermath of war, not just the course of conflicts.[866] These changes signalled a transformation in how the AWM engaged with history making. There was greater outreach to the Australian community through travelling exhibitions, and annual visitor numbers increased.[867]

The wave of change at the AWM, initiated in the 1970s, was apparent in the acquisition of a handful of prints in 1973 that related to pre First World War conflicts. This was a nod to the expanded scope of the Memorial; however, records indicate AWM staff were unsure about the inclusion of colonial conflicts in their collecting scope. The colonial prints were visual material evidence of a kind the AWM could not easily find otherwise, and for this reason they were valuable.[868] A chromolithograph[869] after Richard Caton-Woodville (1856-1927) had been accepted in 1973 from a donor, but it raised the problem of official art from this era containing a significant level of bias. Furthermore, images from this period were less likely to be verifiable by photographs. The print, *All that was left of them,* was reportedly an incident from the Boer War (1899-1902) where a squadron from the 17th Lancers were surprised and killed (f.74). A letter about the print written by Acting Director A.J. Sweeting shows that he was aware of Caton-Woodville as a 'battle painter' but that the AWM should also be wary of exaggerated descriptions of such scenes from the Boer War correspondents.[870] Caton-Woodville was a quasi-war correspondent, whose artistic records helped the British government combat the unpopularity of the war.[871]

In 1973 and 1974, three Henry Bunnett (1845-1910) chromolithographs were sent to Director Lancaster, purchased from a vendor, showing colonial period uniforms from the Victorian

[865] Ibid.
[866] McKernan, *Here Is Their Spirit*, 287.
[867] Farquharson, "Flanagan".
[868] The printed images from the colonial era collected by the AWM had been produced in large editions, and therefore they were more likely to survive the ravages of time than a unique drawing or painting.
[869] This basically means colour lithograph, but it more specifically refers to a 19th century form of commercial lithography. Chromolithography replaced colouring by hand, and it began to give way to the less expensive 4-color offset printing method in the early 1920's. This was a reproduction of a painting by Caton-Woodville.
[870] Letter, A.J. Sweeting (AWM Acting Director) to donor, 15 November 1973; 895/004/124. Series AWM 315, folios 1-4.
[871] Laura Brandon, *Art and War* (London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2007), 34.

infantry, artillery and mounted rifles.[872] These were a safer form of historical image, which did not show any events or incidents that could be distorted. The prints acquired in these years were some of the first from colonial wars in the AWM collection, and there was internal confusion as to whether the AWM was acting within its remit. Files on a potential colonial print purchase being considered in 1976 question whether the subject's timeframe fell within the Memorial's charter.[873] Another set of Crimean War prints were turned down in 1977 because the conflict was outside the scope of the War Memorial Act.[874] At this time some staff members within the AWM were collecting colonial period prints, while others were questioning the acquisition of these items. This confusion may have stemmed from the new Act, which used vague wording in its description of the revised scope of the Memorial.

By collecting prints depicting colonial conflicts and military regalia, the AWM were re-imagining the Australian past for their visitors. It was slightly different to their usual historicising of the recent past. As we can see from the above examples, the AWM were collecting British and Australian colonial prints for information about the conflicts Australia had been involved in. For the most part they collected for military history information; however, the further significance of collecting some colonial prints was they were able to reveal popular attitudes of the time, because of how prints were used in this era. Wood-engravings made in the 19th century were often illustrations for newspapers, such as the *Australasian Sketcher*, a monthly magazine published by the Argus in Melbourne between 1873 and 1889 (f.75).[875] So the collecting of these prints could enlighten the AWM curators on social historical attitudes, moving the tone of these displays away from military record to

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[872] Letter, vendor to Director Lancaster (AWM), 23 October 1973; 895/003/084. Series AWM 315, folio 1. In the same file, folio 15, a letter from October 1974 shows the third Bunnett print being acquired.

[873] Note, John Reid (Art Section, AWM) to Director Flanagan, 30 August 1976; 895/003/084. Series AWM 315, folio 48. The note discusses a print collected in 1976: 'The price asked for this rather fine print from the London Illustrated News is not prohibitive… The question is whether the subject falls within the War Memorial's charter. It would be an early wars subject and ideal for loan to the barracks in Perth, or suitable for the Western Australian museum.'

[874] Letter, Director Flanagan (AWM) to vendor, 9 February 1977; 895/003/084. Series AWM 315, folio 59. Letter regarding prints about the Crimean War turned down in 1977: 'I feel that while the lithographs would probably be academically valuable, it would not be possible to utilise them for the general benefit of the public because of their susceptibility to light damage. Also the Crimean War is outside the limits of the War Memorial Act, and with funds limited there is a particular need at this stage to exercise care in selection of purchases.' The Director recommends this after advice from Judith Mackay, a curator, who questions whether the AWM should be collecting British prints when there is much great Australian art still to be collected.

[875] Many wood-engravings from the Australasian Sketcher are held by the State Library of Victoria and have been digitised by the National Library of Australia. For more information see: "The Australasian Sketcher with Pen and Pencil (Melbourne, Vic. : 1873 - 1889)," *National Library of Australia*, accessed 13 March 2015, http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/title/49.

social record. However, these types of reproduction engravings were mass produced and had strong links to the commercial world rather than the artistic world. So while they were being collected by the Art Section because of their historical record, there was always the question of whether they met the criteria of artistic originals.[876] In a personal communication, one AWM curator pointed out that most of these prints were collected retrospectively in a tight market, and so perhaps the rules on originality were relaxed for objects from this era.[877] The colonial print acquisitions were to open up a myriad of possibilities but also uncertainties for the AWM curators.

Another problem with collecting prints from Australia's colonial military history was deciding which conflicts should be included, because this would determine how the AWM would frame its colonial history, the history which led to the key conflict of the First World War. Should the Memorial begin its coverage of Australia's European military history with the first colonial militia groups, such as the New South Wales contingent that was sent to the Sudan? Or should the British military that patrolled the first European colonies in Australia be included in the AWM display, giving the British element a stronger role in the Australian identity constructed at the AWM? The current colonial display and much of its collection was founded in the 1980s by historians like Peter Burness and Peter Stanley.[878] The AWM was able to include pre First World War conflicts in their scope because Australia's 'European' history did not extend that far back, but the inclusion of the colonial period was to raise many questions for future curators about what should be included and what should not be included. The debates taking place at the Memorial reached their peak under a new Director, who was to be a main instrument of change in the following decade.

Flanagan was an arguably unusual appointment as AWM Director: he had no military history qualifications, no previous background with the AWM unlike his predecessor, and minor experience with museums from a study tour he had taken in America in 1974. Instead, his

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[876] They were not true artistic originals because instead of being produced in limited edition in close consultation with the original maker of the image, they were produced as a commercial process. For example, a wood-engraving (as many 19th century newspaper illustrations were) a career engraver, a technician rather than an artist, would reproduce an artist's sketch, and then this would be printed by the press in a very large edition of newspaper runs. Other commercial print technologies were used apart from wood-engraving, but this allowed for a large number of these printed images to be in the public domain.

[877] Email communication, Alexandra Torrens (Art Section, AWM) with Alexandra Walton, 27 March 2015.

[878] Interview with Peter Stanley (Former AWM Principal Historian), Canberra, 10 June 2014. Stanley says Burness was the driving force behind the establishment of the AWM colonial galleries.

background had been in the Australian public service. When he came to the AWM it was in a neglected state, particularly in regards to the conservation of objects.[879] He recognised that more staff, increased professionalization among the staff, and more money would be needed to restore the Memorial to a place of eminence in the museum world, but he initially met with some resistance.[880] Flanagan had to work to have the AWM's role as a museum prioritised in the eyes of the AWM management and the government bodies in charge. McKernan writes that Flanagan, 'complained of the confusion of chronology in the galleries and the fact that the 'display has only rare reference to the historical background of a particular item''.[881] At his first meeting with the Board, Flanagan walked them through the galleries pointing out problems in the display and stressing the need for changes to be made.[882] There were some ingrained inconsistencies at the AWM that Flanagan addressed, and chief among them was a potential tension between the AWM's dual functions as both museum and memorial.

The two functions of the AWM, memorial and museum, had led to some confusion of purpose at the institution, apparent in debates over the Memorial's title. In 1923, the question of whether the Australian government and AWM Committee were building a museum or a memorial surfaced at the October Committee meeting, and it was decided that it should henceforth be referred to as the 'Australian War Memorial', with an additional museum function.[883] Previously 'museum' had been the official name, but Bean also called the project 'monument' and 'memorial'.[884] The two functions blended well in the minds of the committee, envisaged as 'commemoration through understanding'.[885] However, over 50 years later, Flanagan returned the conversation to the AWM's dual purpose, with a proposed name change to the Australian War Memorial Museum. The reason why he considered changing the Memorial's name once again to incorporate 'museum' was because his visits to overseas

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[879] John Farquharson and Noel Flanagan, *Noel Flanagan interviewed by John Farquharson* (Canberra, 1997); TRC 3615, Cassette 3, Side A.

[880] Farquharson, "Flanagan".

[881] McKernan, *Here Is Their Spirit*, 292.

[882] Farquharson, "Flanagan".

[883] McKernan, *Here Is Their Spirit*, 78. August 1923: Pearce told the Senate that 'the Australian War Museum is regarded by the government as the Australian National War Memorial… and it shall eventually be established at the Federal Capital at Canberra…'

[884] Inglis writes 'After the war [Bean] was apt to use interchangeably the words museum, monument, memorial, temple and shrine, foreseeing a place which would concentrate purposes dispersed in London between the Cenotaph, the Tomb of the Unknown Warrior and the Imperial War Museum: Inglis, "A Sacred Place," 104. The title of the Australian War Memorial was embodied in a bill of 1925: K.S. Inglis, *Sacred Places: War Memorials in the Australian Landscape* (Carlton, VIC: Melbourne University Press, 1998), 317.

[885] McKernan, *Here Is Their Spirit*, 331.

institutions led him to believe the AWM name did not readily convey to other museum directors the actual nature of the organisation. He suggested the name change to the Board, pointing out that other collecting institutions of military relics were known as museums. The Board unanimously agreed to the name change, recognising the existing title was confusing, even for many Australians who still called it the Australian War Museum, but later the Board back-flipped and the title was not changed.[886]

While the memorial versus museum aspect was an issue, there was no evidence that it had a profound impact on print collecting. What remained important to the AWM acquisitions was its purpose of commemoration through understanding.[887] This is not to say that the decision to give prominence to the AWM's memorial purpose did not have consequences for the role of the institution in Australia, and its history-making. With the museum function bound to its memorial function, the AWM would have trouble convincing some members of the public of its objectivity in its interpretation of war history.[888] The key difference between a museum and memorial is the responsibility a memorial holds as a space for remembrance and grief.[889] Beaumont argues for the importance of the interface between private and national memories at officially commissioned sites as an essential element if 'a memory of the past is to resonate with the present.'[890] At the same time, she accepts that memories of war are selective, politically mediated and culturally embedded.[891] War prints can reflect private memories, and when placed in a public setting these can become part of a public remembrance of war.

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[886] Ibid, 287-290.

[887] Inglis has even argued, writing in 1985, before the arrival of the 'unknown soldier' into the Hall of Memory at the AWM in 1993, that the museum galleries of the building in fact most expressed its memorial purpose: Inglis, "A Sacred Place," 123. However, AWM staff working in the 1980s and 1990s viewed it differently, with the commemorative and museum areas of the AWM having a clear distinction. Email communication, Peter Londey (Australian National University) with Alexandra Walton, 8 April 2017.

[888] For example, in this newspaper reader's comment which criticised the AWM for excluding anti-war protests in Australia from its historical displays. Jane O'Dwyer, "Memorial Tells Only Part of the Story," *The Canberra Times*, 2 October 2000.

[889] White argues that differences between memorials and museums 'may be more apparent in idealized definitions than in practice.' Geoffrey M. White, "Museum/Memorial/Shrine: National Narrative in National Spaces," *Museum Anthropology* 21, no. 1 (1997), 9.

[890] Joan Beaumont, "Australian Memory and the US Wartime Alliance: The Australian–American Memorial and the Battle of the Coral Sea " *War & Society* 22, no. 1 (2004), 69-70.

[891] Ibid, 70.

The first wave of AWM print collecting, in the final years and immediately following the First World War, aided the Memorial's founders in constructing an Australian national history and Australian identity. The surge of print collecting in the 1970s re-evaluated the AWM scope, specifically by including pre-First World War prints for a colonial display. The following chapter will discuss how Flanagan's employment of fine art professionals in the AWM Art Section enhanced the collecting of prints, and also changed the complexion of print collecting at the AWM. The new art staff appointed in the mid-1970s to early 1980s were originally custodians of a print collection that was heavily centred on the First World War, and almost completely ignored the recent conflicts of the Cold War, of which Australia was very much a part.

7. Challenging traditions: AWM print collecting under Anna Gray from 1979 to 1994

This chapter examines fifteen years of print collecting at the AWM, from 1979 to 1994, the most prolific period of print collecting for the Memorial due to the efforts of a particular curator who actively sought prints for the art collection. The previous chapter discussed a time of concentrated print collecting centred around the First World War, where the prints acquired were usually either official commissions or consistent with the ideologies of the AWM founders. The previous chapter also discussed changes that took place at the AWM around the 1970s at the instigation of the new Director, Noel Flanagan. The new AWM staff hired by Flanagan considered narratives about emotion and experience to be the way forward for history making at the Memorial. A number of military historians were employed, as well as professional curators, and social history was given prominence at the AWM. There were other forces within the institution that instigated change, including the confirmation of an expanded AWM collecting scope in the 1980 Act. These changes were relevant to the 1980s and 1990s period because Flanagan had built a context where there were trained curators of art. These curators had the independence to develop their collections in line with Flanagan's vision for a modern AWM.

The Art Section's print collection from 1979 was intentionally developed as a counter-balance to the earlier dominant narratives of the AWM, and its collection of official war art. Anna Gray, a new curator to the Art Section in 1980, was largely responsible for targeting the prints as a sub-section of the art collection that could be shaped through acquisitions. Gray came to the AWM from a prior position at the Art Gallery of Western Australia in the Education Section. She was originally from a theatre background and had also tutored in philosophy in Perth.[892] When Gray entered the position, the official war art constituted more than 90 percent of the art collection.[893] Gray was to counteract this with her acquisitions of non-official art for the print collection. She and her staff selected works that showed alternative viewpoints in relation to a broad spectrum of conflicts, and they used the print collection to increase the representation of international artists in the art collection. The prints acquired were not illustrative accounts of war, but artistic responses containing public and

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[892] Sasha Grishin, "Retiring head of Australian art at NGA Anna Gray leaves big shoes to fill," *The Canberra Times*, 13 April 2016.
[893] Gavin Fry, "Australian Official War Art and Artists," *Journal of the Australian War Memorial* October, no. 1 (1982), 24-25.

cultural memory of war. Evidence from the prints collected, the official files, and interviews, makes clear that the boundaries of collecting for the AWM were being pushed in terms of subject matter, scope and artistic style by the acquisition of prints in this period.

The AWM art curators targeted prints at different times according to particular groupings. Originally hired by the AWM as the pre-1939 curator of art, Gray focused on collecting world renowned international artistic prints which offered new perspectives on the First World War, and brought artistic credibility to the whole art collection. This method challenged the Memorial's focus on the Australian experience. Although the collecting of international prints was not approved unequivocally in the AWM 1980 Act,[894] Gray persuaded managers to support her in this endeavour. The international prints have become a recognised feature of the AWM print collection. In the 1990s, Gray began to work with the post-1939 collection as well. Social change was a great influence over the print acquisitions related to Vietnam and the First Gulf War, as she decided to collect non-official prints relating to these conflicts. While many of the Vietnam War prints collected by the AWM were created by veterans of the war, the Gulf War prints were often produced by professional Australian artists responding to the impact of the conflict on wider society.

The traditional and the new

During his time as Director, Flanagan contributed to the revitalisation of the AWM as a collecting institution by boosting staff numbers, and hiring museum professionals rather than ex-military personnel.[895] This created an atmosphere where discussions about the purpose of the Memorial were encouraged. The new curators thought that the AWM should inspire visitors to make an emotional connection with its historical content.[896] This was in line with new museum ideas about audience engagement. Before he retired, Flanagan had hired a number of art curators, to professionalise this aspect of the Memorial. The Art Section had two curators at any one time. This reflects the value placed on the art collection and the importance of its role at the AWM in this period. John Reid and Judith Mackay were hired in

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[894] Commonwealth Consolidated Acts, *Australian War Memorial Act 1980 – Sect 5* (Canberra, 1980), accessed 11 June 2017 http://www.austlii.edu.au/au/legis/cth/consol_act/awma1980244/s5.html
[895] Interview with Peter Stanley (former AWM Principal Historian), Canberra, 10 June 2014.
[896] Interview with Peter Stanley (former AWM Principal Historian), Canberra, 10 June 2014.; interview with Anna Gray (former AWM Head of Art), Canberra, 6 May 2014. Peter Stanley said that in the mid-1980s some of the AWM staff started using 'experience and emotions' as a motto. This motto did not seem to encompass the political aspects of war.

the 1970s, and when they left they were replaced by Gavin Fry and Anna Gray in 1980. Fry and Gray were both senior curators in the Art Section, before Fry moved on to another position and Gray took charge of the whole Section, becoming Head of Art. She remained in the position until 1995.[897] This AWM period was characterised by a new era of professionalism at the AWM, but also by an amendment to the AWM Act that widened the scope of the Memorial. While the AWM 1952 Act had covered any 'wars or war-like operations' in which Australians had participated, the 1980 Act provided that the Memorial could cover the causes and aftermath of the wars in which Australia had been involved.[898]

Alongside the myriad of changes occurring around this time, there were still elements of the old Memorial culture present among some of its staff and processes. Tension between traditional AWM attitudes and the changing ideas among its staff was apparent in discussions around the acquisition of Noel Counihan prints in 1978 and 1979. Their relevance to the remit was more fiercely debated than that of the colonial prints, acquired prior.[899] Counihan's prints about the post Second World War era in Europe and the Vietnam War, were acquired by Judith Mackay. Mackay was interested in Counihan as the leader of the Social Realism art movement in wartime Melbourne, and his work as a peace activist. Mackay was also interested in Counihan's later works about the Vietnam War.[900] She drafted an agenda item for a meeting of the full Board of Trustees in November 1978, where she recommended the purchase of a screenprint called *Boy in Helmet* (f.76).[901] She based her proposal on the grounds that the work had historical value as a contemporary expression of the anti-war feeling prevalent in Australian society in the 1960s.[902]

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[897] Interview with Anna Gray (former AWM Head of Art), Canberra, 6 May 2014. Also: Email communication, Peter Burness (Military History Section, AWM) with Alexandra Walton, 24 June 2014.
[898] Michael McKernan, *Here is their spirit: a history of the Australian War Memorial 1917-1990* (St. Lucia, QLD: University of Queensland Press and Australian War Memorial, 1991), 228-287; Commonwealth Consolidated Acts, *Australian War Memorial Act 1980 – Sect 5* (Canberra, 1980), accessed 11 June 2017 http://www.austlii.edu.au/au/legis/cth/consol_act/awma1980244/s5.html
[899] See discussion in chapter 6.
[900] Note, Judith McKay (Art Section, AWM) to Flanagan, 5 May 1978; AWM315, 895/3/111, folio 2.
[901] The AWM did not purchase *Boy in Helmet* in the end.
[902] While the Vietnam War had been initially somewhat popular in Australia, there were demonstrations when US President Lyndon B. Johnson visited in 1966. With the success of the Viet Cong's Tet Offensive in 1968, and the growing numbers of Australian casualties, anti-war sentiment grew. The issue of conscription for an unjust war was the primary focus of the peace movement in Australia. Large Moratoriums to end the war began by 1970, and by this date the Australian government began withdrawing forces: Stuart Macintyre, *A concise history of Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 231-232.

Mackay emphasised that the existing art collection did not contain anti-war statements at this stage. And the officially commissioned art of the Vietnam conflict did not reflect art styles characteristic of the time. She also pointed out that Counihan was a major Australian artist not represented in the AWM collection at that time.[903] These three points were all to be addressed through print collecting in the following years. At this time, the Board resolved to follow some of Mackay's recommendations; however, they also held a general discussion on the acquisition policy,

> and the desirability of including such kinds of non-representational art in the collection. It was agreed that further consideration needs to be given by the Gallery Committee to such questions as the relative value of aesthetic merit and historical importance of particular works and artists in the collection in view of the War Memorial's functions under the AWM Act 1962.[904]

This print acquisition, led by one of the new staff members, threatened longstanding art attitudes at the AWM, and indicated that the majority of the art collection at this time was probably 'representational' in style.

Despite the reservations of the Trustees, new ideas at the AWM about the value of artistic merit and non-representational art were gaining momentum. This was consistent with the new professionalism of the AWM, because it supported a true art historical agenda for the art collection. At the time of the *Boy in Helmet* proposal, the AWM had also ordered a set of linocuts from Counihan, with the series title *War or Peace*. The rare set of twelve linocuts were produced as a booklet in the 1950s, with accompanying poems written by the Australian novelist Jack Lindsay. They were later published again in book form by Gryphon Books.[905] The AWM set, however, was a facsimile from 1978. Despite this, the graphic images maintained their strength of impact, and they prefigured a new type of print collecting in

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[903] Minute, "Acquisition of War Works by Noel Counihan," Judith Mackay (Art Section, AWM), 27 October 1978; 895/003/111. Series AWM 315; folio 17.

[904] Minutes of the 35th Meeting of the Board, 13 November 1978, Australian War Memorial, Canberra; 895/003/111. Series AWM 315, folio 25. The Board did not appear to follow up on this question.

[905] Noel Counihan and Jack Lindsay, *War or Peace: Twelve Linocuts*, Preface by Robert Smith (Melbourne: Gryphon Books, 1979).

several ways:[906] They depicted political tensions in post-Second World War Europe; they offered a non-official perspective and they represented the peace-activism movement. In an interview about the works with James Gleeson, Counihan stated,

> Here I was concerned with the struggle for war. It seemed to me that the outcome would depend on the mobilisation of mass opinion throughout the world and that, if things were allowed to go rip, the way they were going, the war was inevitable.[907]

Portrayed are images of incinerators in concentration camps, women and children hiding in subway tunnels, protest rallies, and the greed of politicians (f.77). This series was less conflict specific than the Vietnam work that Mackay was originally proposing to collect, but they did, like *Boy in Helmet*, approach the 'non-representational' because they were not naturalistic, nor did they represent a particular military aspect of a conflict, but rather a social historical aspect. They were distinctive to other works in the art collection because of their grotesque and symbolic imagery.

Flanagan's successors as Director after his retirement in 1982 to varying degrees provided the space for AWM curators, such as Gray, to develop and carry out their own collecting visions.[908] McKernan was Deputy Director through most of Gray's time at the AWM, and it is clear from the number of print acquisition proposals that he signed off on that he was supportive of Gray's curatorial vision for the print collection. McKernan came to the AWM through academia, having previously worked as a historian at the University of New South Wales. McKernan had a close working relationship with Brendan Kelson, who was joint Deputy Director with him, and then succeeded Pearson as Director (1990-1994). Kelson had definite ideas about broadening the scope of the Memorial, which tied in well with Gray's

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[906] This print portfolio was about the impact of war on society, and included among its images were those of greedy politicians, sick children, and protesting workers and mothers.

[907] James Gleeson and Noel Counihan, "James Gleeson Interviews: Noel Counihan 2 November," *James Gleeson Oral History Collection* (Canberra: National Gallery of Australia, 1979).

[908] Air Vice Marshal James Flemming, Director from 1982-1987, was supportive of the arts. The appointment of Keith Pearson was a move back to civilian leadership, as he had come to the Memorial from the Department of Veterans' Affairs. He was Director from 1987-1990. In this brief period, he was sympathetic to courageous print acquisitions, and was likely influenced by the Deputy Director Dr Michael McKernan on this front. John Farquharson and Noel Flanagan, *Noel Flanagan interviewed by John Farquharson* (Canberra, 1997); TRC 3615, Cassette 4, Side A.

ambitions.[909] Gray was able to take the print collection in new directions because she had support from management, particularly under McKernan and Kelson. The AWM management were convinced by her reasoning for collecting a range of high profile artists.[910] Gray says that the limits to collecting at this time for her were mostly funding related.[911] This implies an open attitude to exploring different collecting avenues at the AWM at this time. Kelson, McKernan and Gray all left the AWM around the same time with Kelson and McKernan departing in 1994 and Gray in 1995.

Gray came to the field of visual art a few years into her career. She had a Bachelor of Arts in Philosophy and later gained a Masters in Aesthetics. Most of her training came from the five years she spent at the Art Gallery of Western Australia.[912] Gray was attracted to take a job at the AWM because of their collection of George Lambert paintings and drawings.[913] Gray is the current Head of Australian Art and Senior Curator of Australia Painting and Sculpture before 1920 at the National Gallery of Australia, and she also specialises in British art. During her time at the AWM, Gray regarded the print collection as a collection in its own right with its own purpose, not just an adjunct to the paintings and drawings. She employed the print collection as a key development area of the art collection because this fulfilled a number of aspirations she had for the AWM art collection. Principally these were to broaden the range of artists represented at the AWM, and include a greater range of historical and political viewpoints to AWM narratives via the art collection, particularly unofficial responses to war.[914] Gray was aware of British cultural institutions and their collections, such as the IWM and British Museum, and this likely influenced what she knew was achievable

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[909] For example, Peter Londey heard Kelson speak about the importance of bringing in to the AWM narratives the wartime experience of all the post-war migrants to Australia. Email communication, Peter Londey (ANU) with Alexandra Walton, 15 April 2017. Kelson also signed off on many print acquisition proposals.

[910] For example, Gray collected First World War prints by German Expressionists (discussed below). The Director at this time was Flemming, with Kelson working under him, later to be Director. The AWM files and collecting decisions reveal that they allowed Gray to continue to target German First World War prints as examples of art by enemy forces, but also for their artistic significance.

[911] Interview with Anna Gray (former AWM Head of Art), Canberra, 6 May 2014.

[912] Grishin, "Retiring head of Australian art."

[913] She later wrote her Art History PhD thesis on Lambert at the University of Melbourne. Interview with Anna Gray (former AWM Head of Art), Canberra, 6 May 2014.; interview with Lola Wilkins (former AWM Head of Art), Canberra, 8 May 2014. Gray was to produce: Anna Gray, *George Lambert 1873-1930: Catalogue Raisonné: Paintings and Sculpture, Drawings in Public Collections* (Perth: Bonamy Press in association with Sotheby's and Australian War Memorial, 1996).

[914] These are my conclusions from my interview with Gray and from studying her print acquisitions: Interview with Anna Gray (former AWM Head of Art), Canberra, 6 May 2014.

for the AWM. She also wished to realise her aspirations within her limited acquisitions budget.

Expanding the colonial prints collection

In the early 1980s Gray was approached by the AWM historians to collect for the colonial conflicts section of the Memorial's galleries, which were soon to be established. This occurred shortly after the Memorial's adoption of the AWM 1980 Act, which allowed for a broad approach to the AWM scope that gave free reign to the historians who were interested in colonial military history. Over these years, through the expansion of the colonial prints collection, the Art Section curators demonstrated that historical objects can subvert accepted museum narratives just as much as contemporary art, and that curators in institutions like the AWM are able to collect according to their own priorities and can avoid pressure from internal guidelines. As discussed in the previous chapter, the establishment of the new colonial galleries was itself a challenge to the dominance of First World War based national narratives at the AWM.[915] Peter Stanley remembers that there was almost no scrutiny from management in the creation of these galleries, and this afforded them the space to use their own initiative.[916] The colonial print acquisitions helped to build a sense of military activity in pre-First World War Australia. In particular, the colonial print acquisitions emphasised non-official historical narratives. Prints and drawings were more likely to have survived from colonial times than paintings or sculptures due to their multiplicity, and this was one pragmatic reason why they were sought for the colonial galleries. The number of colonial prints in the AWM collection was augmented considerably from 1982 to 1987 with many important acquisitions, and this helped to balance the art collection further away from a focus on the two world wars.

The AWM war historians had identified many lines of colonial-era collecting, and some of those lines of collecting in themselves pushed the limits of the AWM scope under the 1980 Act.[917] They included: the British army era from 1788-1870; the Eureka Stockade 1854; the

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[915] See chapter 6.

[916] Interview with Peter Stanley (former AWM Principal Historian), Canberra, 10 June 2014. Stanley says that although Flemming halted the progress of the colonial galleries for a number of months, because he did not think the project was worth seeing through, Burness and Stanley were none-the-less able to develop the content and exhibition labels without a lot of oversight.

[917] The colonial-era 'lines of collecting' that I have listed all come from the AWM's internal collections database, where curators are able to categorise objects according to conflict theme.

Crimean War 1854-6; the British navy in Australia until 1911; Australian colonial forces 1854-1901; the war in New Zealand 1860-66; the Sudan War (and the New South Wales contingent) 1885; and South Africa (the Boer War) 1899-1902. Their selection showed an interest in forces that shaped Australia pre-Federation, not merely noteworthy conflicts Australians had been involved in. The AWM Art Section relaxed their set of originality requirements for colonial printed objects, due to the scarcity of items from this time.[918] And they sometimes acquired popular printed material.[919]

Most of the colonial prints in the AWM collection were acquired by the Art Section, whether or not they were strictly original works of art or reproductions. Usually, 'reproduction' images would have been acquired by another AWM collecting area.[920] It was in 1983 that Gray decided she would change her policy of not acquiring wood-engravings from newspapers that were common to this era, and which were not true original artistic prints but rather an early form of reproduction print, to one of acquiring such items into the art collection, for their usefulness as research items.[921] There were prints made from other reproduction techniques of the era available for acquisition. One such print, an etching from a steel plate by Edward Backhouse (active 1942), after a sketch by his relative, James Backhouse, called *A Chain Gang* (1842) (f.78) was acquired as an example of 'the involvement of British soldiers in Australia prior to federation… depicting the soldiers supervising convicts.'[922] The etching had been published in *A Narrative of a visit to the*

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[918] They did not insist on 'artistic originals', but instead were content to accept printed images that had been reproduced in large quantities for illustrating newspapers, and other items. These were referred to by the AWM as 'reproductions', but are also sometimes referred to as 'popular prints'.

[919] For example, they acquired *The 77th Galop song-sheet cover with headpiece* (1856) – a cover page for sheet music of the era. This colour lithograph related to the celebrations in Australia of the declaration of peace in the Crimea: Acquisition Proposal, "Band of Nsw Volunteer Rifles- Declaration of Peace in Crimea- Botanic Gardens Sydney," Art Section (AWM), 28 September 1982; 749/006/021. Series AWM 315, folio 31 c. The acquisition proposal for this object was written in the early 1980s, a time when much of the colonial display and its collection was founded by historians within the AWM like Peter Burness and aided by Peter Stanley.

[920] Usually these items would have been collected by the section of the AWM that has always collected published, private and official documents (the Research Centre).

[921] In a note to the Assistant Director, Gray wrote: 'It has to date been my policy not to acquire wood-engravings cut from newspapers… However, a Melbourne dealer recently offered a quantity of colonial wood-engravings from newspapers for purchase and following discussions with the Curator of Military Heraldry, the Curator of post 1939 art (and ship models) and the History & Publications section I have recently revised this decision. I now believe that a selection of such items would be valuable additions to the collection.' Note, Anne Gray (Art Section, AWM) to Michael McKernan, 6 June 1983; 895/003/168. Series AWM 315, folio 2.

[922] Acquisition Proposal, "A Chain Gang- Convicts Going to Work near Sydney 1842," Art Section (AWM), 28 April 1984; 895/003/168. Series AWM 315, folio 8.

Australian Colonies (1843) by James Backhouse.[923] It offered a unique view of a line of convicts, walking through scrub, and British officers walking in amongst them. The acquisition went through on the basis of this social historical justification, so it was the relationship between the soldiers and the convicts that was of interest to the Art Section, as it showed the role of the British army in shaping Australia – but it did not depict a war subject.

The Backhouse print can be contrasted to one acquired a few years later in 1985; a wood engraving after a drawing by W.T. Smedley (1858-1920) of *The Eureka Stockade, Ballarat, 3 December 1854*.[924] Subjects such as the Eureka Stockade, an internal miners' rebellion, did not readily fit under the AWM remit of Australians' experience in wars or war-like operations. This print was published in the *Picturesque Atlas of Australasia*, which was a grand cultural project of 19th century Australia involving government, private and academic enterprise. The image itself takes the perspective of the soldiers of the 12th and 40th Victorian Regiments, who are attempting to break the stockade. The engraving was acquired on the basis that the AWM policy recommended the 'collecting of material related to warlike operations in which Australians were involved prior to 1914.'[925] However, like the Backhouse print, it mainly gave an insight into political and social tensions in pre-federation Australia. With the range of 19th century printed images open to them, the art curators at this time had the choice to gather many examples of bland prints showing various regimental uniforms and so on. However, they chose a number of prints that described political attitudes of the era, which were also more visually exciting.

Colonial prints published in illustrated newspapers favoured scenes of colonial progress, and orchestrated events, such as military exercises, when reporting on news items, so usually they took an official line when reporting on social matters.[926] However, cartoons and commentary images published in magazines could reveal common attitudes of the populace – the contrast between official and unofficial narratives in this era was marked. In 1983 the AWM purchased a Livingston Hopkins (1846-1947) print as a 'valuable counter-balance to the more

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[923] James Backhouse, *A Narrative of a Visit to the Australian Colonies* (London: Hamilton, Adams, 1843).

[924] After W.T. Smedley, *The Eureka Stockade, Ballarat, 3 December 1854* (1886) hand coloured wood engraving, 20.8 x 30.2 cm, AWM ART 94391

[925] Acquisition Proposal, "after W.T. Smedley," Art Section (AWM), 9 May 1985; 895/003/093. Series AWM 315, folio 7.

[926] Peter Dowling, "Truth Versus Art in Nineteenth-Century Graphic Journalism: The Colonial Australian Case," *Media History* 5, no. 2 (1999), 110.

official representations of the departure of the NSW contingent for the Soudan in our collection.'[927] The Hopkins print was an illustration to *The Bulletin*, appearing in that magazine on 20 June 1885. Hopkins was expected to do a special cartoon about the approaching return of the contingent.[928] The New South Wales Sudan contingent had not been very successful, as they had arrived too late to see any action. However, they had unfortunately still sustained deaths due to illness.[929] Near the time of their return to Australia in June 1885, the New South Wales Art Gallery Trust attempted to purchase a painting by the British painter Miss Elizabeth Thompson (later Lady Butler) titled *Calling the roll after an engagement, Crimea (The Roll Call)* 1874, which showed exhausted and injured soldiers after a battle of the Crimean War. The painting bought by the Gallery was discovered to be a replica, and the Sydney dealer refunded the Gallery and returned the painting to London. Widespread interest was shown in the replica episode, and Hopkins seized upon the picture as a basis for his parody *Roll Call* or *The return of the New South Wales Continent from the Sudan* (f.79).[930] The characters in the cartoon are placed in similar positions to those of Thompson's painting, exemplifying how the painting medium is often used for a grand official narrative, and the print medium is often used for a satiric alternative narrative.

The AWM curators did not purchase the Hopkins print for its information about Australia's military campaign in the Sudan War, instead *Roll Call* presents a perspective on the return of the Sudan Contingent that is not seen in the illustrated newspapers or official art of the period – the reaction of sections of the public who felt the Contingent had been a failure, an embarrassment and a waste of public money.[931] Despite the ill feelings of some toward the episode, the Contingent returned to a grand formal reception at Circular Quay on 23 June 1885.[932] In the background of the print, Hopkins sketched a faint impression of Sydney harbour, and in the foreground he depicted the raggedy group of returned soldiers who were

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[927] Acquisition Proposal, "Livingston Hopkins," Art Section (AWM), 7 October 1983; 749/006/021. Series AWM 315, folio 42 b. An Arthur Collingridge painting *The departure of the Australian Contingent for the Sudan 1885* is an image that exemplifies official narratives about the conflict. It shows the triumphant farewell of the NSW contingent on their expedition.

[928] The Bulletin had been publishing satirical cartoons about the expedition through its duration. K. S. Inglis, *The Rehearsal: Australians at War in the Sudan 1885* (Adelaide: Rigby, 1985), 140-141.

[929] Ibid, 128-129.

[930] Joan Kerr, "Livingston Hopkins B. 1846 Bellefontaine, Logan County, Ohio, USA," *Design and Art Australia Online*, last updated 24 January 2013, accessed 11 June 2017, http://www.daao.org.au/bio/livingston-hopkins/biography/.

[931] The prints are not just showing the victories of the Australian military past, but its humiliations as well.

[932] Inglis, *The Rehearsal*, 131-134.

lined up for the roll-call.[933] Hopkins had a propensity to develop comic visual types, and a favourite Australian type of his 'a little boy from Manly' appears in the foreground, wearing an oversized medal.[934] The figure was used by Hopkins as an emblem of Australia, the young colony who gave its small contribution to the Sudan cause. It is a comment about Australia's position on the world stage.[935] The version of the print in the AWM collection is a hand-coloured wood-engraving, signed by the artist below the image with his full signature, but the newspaper version would not have appeared in colour.[936] It was signed in the image 'Hop', referring to Hopkins' nickname 'Hop of the Bulletin'.[937] In the early years of the Commonwealth, *The Bulletin* represented the republican strand of Australian nationalism, and Hopkins' images were influential.[938] The art curators had realised the importance of non-official images from this early era in contributing to balanced historical narratives, and they were to apply this to later collecting for contemporary conflicts as well.

Around the time the colonial gallery was established, one print was purchased in 1985 that represented the frontier conflicts between European immigrants to Australia and Aboriginal peoples, and therefore seriously challenged the narratives of the AWM at the time. This acquisition was a clear demonstration of how curators sometimes collect according to how they anticipate the collection should develop, rather than along the agreed collecting guidelines. It was a lithograph called *Mounted police and blacks* (c.1852) after Godfrey Mundy (1804-1860) (f.80). At the time of purchase the art collection contained no objects that referenced the colonial frontier conflicts, so this print was earmarked as being for display in the 'pre-Federation Gallery'.[939] The episode at Slaughterhouse Creek in 1838, where a large number of Aboriginal people were killed by British troops in Australia, was the second

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[933] They are a comical group of characters, some with injuries or illness. Lord Loftus, the then Governor of New South Wales who was involved with the dispatch of troops to the Sudan, appears as the 'Sergeant' taking the roll-call.

[934] This character originated from a letter to acting premier William Dalley, who had assembled the contingent, from an eight-year-old boy in Manly, who wanted to donate to the cause. K.S. Inglis, *Sacred Places: War Memorials in the Australian Landscape* (Carlton, VIC: Melbourne University Press, 1998), 16-17.

[935] Ibid, 16-17.

[936] Acquisition Proposal, "Livingston Hopkins," Art Section (AWM), 7 October 1983; 749/006/021. Series AWM 315, folio 42 b.

[937] Hopkins had come out to Australia from the US, having sketched his way through the American civil war. He was fervently anti-English and was interested in colonial politics.

[938] Kerr, "Livingston Hopkins".

[939] Acquisition Proposal, "Mounted Police and Blacks," Art Section (AWM), 3 May 1985; 895/003/160. Series AWM 315, folio 22. This print was in fact displayed at least twice in the AWM permanent galleries before frontier conflicts were an accepted part of the Memorial's scope: 1992 and 2000 in soldiers of the Queen gallery (see chapter 9).

largest massacre of Aboriginals in mainland Australia.[940] The massacre depicted in the lithograph provided the frontispiece to Mundy's book *Our Antipodes: or, Residence and Rambles in the Australasian colonies, with a Glimpse of the Goldfields* published in three volumes in London in 1852. The lithograph was executed by W.L. Walton (active 1852) after sketches by Mundy.[941] The incident happened in 1838, but Colonel Mundy did not arrive in Australia until 1846. In the year he arrived he was told by members of the mounted police in Sydney about the incident.[942] The print therefore depicted a one-sided view of the massacre. Nevertheless, for the AWM to include it in their collection and displays confronted this 'unsafe' era of history for white Australians that the Memorial had thus far avoided.

There had been an ongoing debate in the Australian media and scholarly discourse as to whether the AWM should accept the clashes between European settlers and Aboriginal peoples as fitting the definition of a war, and therefore falling within the remit of the Memorial.[943] The AWM Act arguably does not cover such conflicts, but some historians and public intellectuals contended that the AWM had a responsibility to tell this story of Australia's military and conflict history.[944] During the 1980s, historian Peter Stanley was

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[940] The Slaughterhouse Creek (or Waterloo Creek) massacre occurred when mounted police from Sydney set out on a two-month punitive campaign in central NSW arresting Aboriginal men. In an attack on a camp near the Creek, a mounted Corporal was speared in the leg. The mounted police then opened fire on the camp. There was no official report of the number Aboriginal people killed – it may have been anywhere between 50 to 300. John Connor, *Australian frontier wars, 1788*-1838 (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press Ltd, 2002), 110-111.

[941] Elena Rensch, "Aborigines in war: depictions of Aborigines in the art collection of the Australian War Memorial," *Australian Aboriginal Studies*, no. 2 (1990), 89-91. And Godfrey Charles Mundy, *Our Antipodes; or, Residence and Rambles in the Australasian Colonies, with a Glimpse of the Gold Fields* (London: R. Bentley, 1852). 'Our Antipodes' was first published in three volumes. When it was published in its third edition in 1855, it was only published as one volume. *Mounted police and blacks* was the frontispiece.

[942] Ken Macnab and Russel Ward, "Mundy, Godfrey Charles (1804–1860)," Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, published first in hardcopy 1967, accessed 12 June 2017, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/mundy-godfrey-charles-2490/text3351. And Lyndall Ryan, "Waterlook Creek Norther New South Wales, 1838," in *Frontier Conflict: The Australian Experience*, ed. Bain Attwood and S. G. Foster (Canberra: National Museum of Australia, 2003), 39.

[943] Winter points out the significance of the AWM having "no trace whatsoever of the long campaign of racial violence against aborigines which has accompanied the whole of Australian history…" Arguing that this decision is because "The Australian War Memorial is a sacred site, telling a sacred story, without the blemishes that a full account of the history of warfare in Australia would necessarily introduce." Jay Winter, "Museums and the Representation of War," *Museum and Society* 10, no. 3 (2012), 153.

[944] "War Memorial Battle over Frontier Conflict Recognition," in *7.30 Report, 26 February* (Australian Broadcasting Corporation, 2009). One of the first voices in this debate was Ken Inglis, who suggested the Australian War Memorial should include these frontier encounters at the launch of his book *Sacred Places* in 1998: Tom Griffiths, "The Language of Conflict," in *Frontier Conflict: The Australian Experience*, ed. Bain Attwood and S. G. Foster (Canberra: National Museum of Australia, 2003), 135-149. For a museum, there is a stronger obligation to include episodes such as this in their historical narrative, because as White argues, unlike a memorial a museum is expected to focus on historical analysis rather than celebratory stories.

involved in creating the AWM's colonial era display, and he considered the lack of inclusion of frontier conflicts, then a new area of research in military history, as a missed opportunity to be regretted.[945] Later the AWM's missed opportunity became a decided stance. When military historians and other academics called for frontier conflicts to be defined as wars, they were met with refusal – and only in the last year has the AWM begun to prominently include these narratives.[946] The Memorial's previous position was that all wars represented at the AWM were wars that took place overseas and against other nations. If the frontier conflicts were to be accepted as part of Australia's war history by the AWM, they would be the first conflict that could be called a civil war. However, as demonstrated above, internal rebellions such as the Eureka Stockade had been represented at the AWM for some years.[947]

Testing boundaries: collecting international prints

From the early 1980s, Gray also challenged boundaries and accepted ideas with a pattern of print collecting that supported a high level of contextual analysis of Australia's involvement in wars. She began to collect international prints as a way to include varied viewpoints in the Memorial's First World War narrative, but which also challenged the Australian focused remit of the AWM.[948] There was a precedent in the print collection of acquiring British works, particularly due to the First World War exchange of Dyson's lithographs for the *Efforts and Ideals* series. Gray argued for the continued collecting of international prints to give depth to the overall art collection.[949] She augmented the AWM's holdings of Nevinson,

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However, he also argues that in certain institutional contexts 'the lines of distinction between the work of 'history' and the work of 'commemoration' become blurred…' Geoffrey M. White, "Museum/Memorial/Shrine: National Narrative in National Spaces," *Museum Anthropology* 21, no. 1 (1997), 24.

[945] Interview with Peter Stanley (former AWM Principal Historian), Canberra, 10 June 2014.

[946] Email communication, Ryan Johnston (Art Section, AWM) with Alexandra Walton, 16 June 2017. Johnston said that the AWM has recently acquired and exhibited a Rover Thomas colonial massacre painting in the context of understanding Indigenous military service. See: "Rover Thomas painting Ruby Plains Massacre 1 joins Memorial art collection," Australian War Memorial, 3 March 2017, accessed 17 June 2017, https://oldsite.awm.gov.au/media/releases/rover-thomas-painting-ruby-plains-massacre-1-joins-memorial-art-collection/

[947] The fact that the AWM did not include frontier conflicts was a deep point of contention for many Australians up until recent years, as shown by Tim Flannery's comment at the 2014 National Australia Day Council that it gave him a 'personal sense of outrage': Catherine Armitage, "Tim Flannery in call to honour Aborigines killed in land wars," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 January 2014. At the time, Brendan Nelson, Director of the AWM, responded that the Memorial was not the appropriate place to commemorate this era of history: Ibid.

[948] See discussion in Chapter 6 about the initial AWM focus on the Australian Imperial Force, which in later years became a focus on the 'Australian experience' of war.

[949] Interview with Anna Gray (former AWM Head of Art), Canberra, 6 May 2014. In particular, Gray was interested in showing the First World War from the German, French and British points of view: Email communication, Anna Gray (NGA) with Alexandra Walton, 16 June 2017.

Nash, Brangwyn, and started collecting prints from Ravilious' submarine series in 1982-4.[950] Gray wrote in acquisition proposals that the print collection had 'a selective collection of British artists', and argued '…it was important to see the war from other people's perspectives'.[951] Gray also appeared to be interested in obtaining works by well-known artists for the collection, through the accessible medium of prints. They did not reflect the 'Australian experience' of war, but instead gave a context for the war that Australians had experienced, from an outsider perspective. International print acquisitions were an exciting prospect for the AWM curators as career-arts professionals, because they called for research on international artists and occasionally international travel.

French prints were another international collecting precedent seized upon by Gray, even though they were not as openly or widely collected in the early years of the Memorial. The French have a strong graphic tradition, developed during the time of the French Third Republic.[952] Like the British, the Australian soldiers would have come across French original and popular prints and illustrations as part of a common experience of the two world wars. Gray commenced building the bulk of the AWM's collection of French prints in 1987, when she made a number of acquisitions of works by French printmakers from the First World War. She focused particularly on original prints by esteemed French artists working in the medium. This included a large group of photo-engravings by Jean-Louis Forain, the well-known illustrator and social commentator.[953] These works portrayed a variety of aspects of war from the French point of view, and have been used in exhibition areas of the AWM, such

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[950] The AWM also collected some British prints that were never acquired by curators at the IWM; for example, in 1986 it purchased an important lithograph by John Copley (the husband of Ethel Gabain, the Second World War official artist). The lithograph by Copley, titled *Recruits* (1915) depicted a line-up of British men volunteering to be trained for war. The men are both young and old, and dressed in a variety of civilian clothes. Their faces and their hats portray their former selves as individuals, but now they form one anonymous body. Harold J. L. Wright, *The Lithographs of John Copley and Ethel Gabain* (Chicago: Albert Roullier Art Galleries, 1924).

[951] The 'selective collection' statement was used in various acquisition proposals for these artists.

[952] In France, at the turn of the century, works on paper were an important aesthetic vehicle independent of painting, and the primary means to promote, criticise, or satirize social and political ideals: Phillip Dennis Cate, ed. *The Graphic Arts and French Society, 1871-1914* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1988), vii.

[953] Forain was in the trenches during the First World War. From 1914 he made a series of illustrations for *Le Figaro* and *L'Opinion*. Two hundred of these were made into a portfolio called *De la Marne au Rhin*. They comment on the war from a decidedly French point of view, but also reveal the cruelties and desolation of war. Many of the AWM's Forain prints were from this portfolio, and they are more accurately categorised as reproduction prints. Alicia Craig Faxon, *Jean-Louis Forain: A Catalogue Raisonné of the Prints* (New York: Garland, 1982), 31-32.

as the old First World War display called *Echoes of the Guns*.[954] Before it was replaced in the latest AWM renovations, this display discussed the aftermath of the First World War. It was one of the sections of the AWM galleries most aligned with social history.

Works by French artists are virtually non-existent in other parts of the AWM art collection, and so the print collection is an area where the French war experience is truly represented in their own form of cultural expression. French printmakers had their own aesthetic and perspectives on the First World War. A group of engravings by Jean-Émile Laboureur, purchased in 1989, demonstrate the artist's unique style, but also the use of line and caricature found in many French prints (f.81). A lithograph by Pasquet (active 1917) called *Australien* (1917) acquired by Gray, depicted a whimsical image of an Australian soldier and gave an account of how the 'diggers' appeared to other nationalities (f.82).[955] In 1994, another French print with an Australian connection was acquired – an etching by Gaston Balande (1880-1971) called *Hospital Ward* (c.1917) (f.83) Balande was a French artist who studied with renowned Australian artist Rupert Bunny.[956] This etching from 1917 was of interest to the Art Section for its subject matter of a scene inside a hospital ward in France, but also for the artist's association with a prominent Australian artist.[957] However, it is also a unique work for its tone and style, which treads the balance between faithful depiction and sinister ambience. This is partly created by the use of the drypoint technique, which produces dark furry lines, and retains plate tone, giving a shaded look to the image. The print relates to other French First World War prints in the AWM collection, but also to a Bunny painting held by the War Memorial called *Waiting to be x-rayed* (1915).[958] This oil painting depicts a scene in a hospital in France, and carries a subtle element of alarm, with a patient being positioned under an x-ray machine in the back of the composition.[959]

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[954] Stanley said the mini-gallery 'Echoes of the Guns' discussed the consequences of the First World War, and was different in this way to the majority of the AWM galleries. It was demolished in 2014 as part of the First World War display refurbishment at the AWM. Interview with Peter Stanley (former AWM Principal Historian), Canberra, 10 June 2014.

[955] Acquisition Proposal, "Pasquet," Art Section (AWM), 2 June 1987; 895/003/230. Series AWM 315, folio 1.

[956] Although Balande was declared unfit for service during the First World War, he was nevertheless engaged as an official army painter in 1917: "Balande, Gaston," in *Benezit: Dictionary of Artists, Volume 1* (Paris: Grund, 2006), 1014.

[957] Acquisition Proposal, "Gustave Balande," Art Section (AWM), 29 November 1994; 94/0845.

[958] Rupert Bunny, *Waiting to be x-rayed* (1915) oil on canvas, 59.7 x 74.3 cm (framed), AWM ART 50255.

[959] "Waiting to Be X-Rayed," AWM, accessed 3 November 2014, http://www.awm.gov.au/collection/ART50255/.

Gray further developed the AWM collection of international prints in the 1980s by acquiring a number of First World War prints by German Expressionist artists, and this was to become the most significant strand of international print collecting for the AWM due to the art historical value of the works. Like France, Germany was a country with a strong printmaking tradition,[960] which explained the prevalence of German printmakers responding to the First World War. The artists Gray targeted were internationally renowned, and they offered a perspective on the war that was new to the art collection. The decision for Gray to acquire works by German artists was helped by the availability of a rare First World War lithograph by the major German Expressionist Erich Heckel in 1983.[961] This work, called *Armierungssoldat – Sapper* (1916) is a head and shoulder portrait of a German soldier (f.84). Heckel had served with the German forces in the medical corps.[962] Gray recommended the purchase of this print, writing in her acquisition proposal, 'The AWM has little representation of the enemy forces during the First World War, and only one work executed by a member of the German forces.' She focused on Heckel's artistic standing, writing that the prints he made of First World War soldiers 'are said to be among the most powerful and emotionally moving images in German art of the war period.'[963]

This acquisition was followed the next year with the purchase of four George Grosz photolithographs.[964] Grosz was a German satiric artist of international repute, and these works were brought in to 'enhance the Memorial's holdings of work depicting the First World War

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[960] Early relief printmaking was being practised in central Europe and southern Germany by at least the second quarter of the fifth century. And the intaglio process of printing from engraved plates began most likely in Germany in the 1430s: Peter Parshall and Rainer Schoch, "Early Woodcuts and the Reception of the Primitive," in *Origins of European Printmaking: Fifteenth-century woodcuts and their public* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005), 1. Germany continued to excel at printmaking, with the likes of Johannes Gutenberg inventing mechanical moveable type printing in 1439, the prints of Albrecht Durer in the German Renaissance. And the German printmaking tradition continued, see for example the prints of the German Expressionists in the 20th century, and: Antony Griffiths and Frances Carey, *German Printmaking in the Age of Goethe* (London, British Museum Press, 1994).

[961] It was available from a dealer that Gray regularly dealt with.

[962] Stephanie Barron and Wolf-Dieter Dube, *German Expressionism: Art and Society* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1997), 25.

[963] Acquisition Proposal, "Erich Heckel," Art Section (AWM), 20 April 1983; 895/003/167. Series AWM 315, folio 3.

[964] This element of Gray's collecting legacy has continued with the acquisition of two more George Grosz photolithographs by the AWM Art Section in 2011. Produced just after the First World War, these are good examples of the artist using prints for both artistic profit and to influence the opinions of ordinary Germans, as the writer of an article argues that he produced two versions of these print: one for the working classes, and one more refined version of 100 for the art market. The AWM has purchased examples from the limited edition. Penny Fisher, "Caustic Images of Weimar Germany: Two George Grosz Prints," *World of Antiques & Art* 82, Feb-August (2012), 84-85.

from the German point of view.'[965] Grosz was a member of the German forces, but he was not sympathetic to German militarism, and these lithographs express his anguish.[966] His print *Tumult – Turmoil* (1915) is an emotional expression of this torment (f.85). Using scratched lines that look frantic and chaotic, the image represents a fighting field. Kelson supported the acquisition of these works as 'an excellent counterpoint to the work of Dyson and others already in the collection', a purpose that he and Gray had discussed together.[967] Both Gray and Kelson were aware of the counter-narratives they were introducing to the AWM collection through these print acquisitions.

The majority of the German First World War prints collected by Gray were more critical of conflict and rebellious in sentiment than those by the British and Australian artists from this period, both official and non-official. This is due to Gray's focus on the artists of the Expressionist movement, who strove to depict the raw undisguised degradation of German society, and the brutality of war.[968] Gray acquired the German Expressionist prints to fill a gap in the AWM art collection, as they presented the images of death and hardships of war that were missing from official war art,[969] and this arguably supported a more unsentimental learning experience for AWM visitors. The artists that Gray sought were internationally collectable, and thus their paintings were prohibitively expensive. But their prints were affordable for the AWM. In some cases, an artist's print series was one of the most celebrated parts of their oeuvre, as in the case of Otto Dix. The Art Section made attempts to purchase war works by Dix in the mid-1980s, and were finally successful in 1987 with the acquisition of six etchings from the portfolio of 50 called *Der Krieg (The War)* from 1924.[970] Dix had volunteered for the German army in 1914, being initially open to the experience of war, and he served on the Western Front and in Russia.[971] However, works such as *Sturmtruppe geht unter gas vor [Storm troopers advancing under a gas attack]* (1924) reveal the nightmarish

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[965] Note attached to George Grosz lithographs acquisition proposal, Anne Gray (Art Section, AWM) to Brendan Kelson, 12 June 1984; 895/003/130. Series AWM 315, folio 17.

[966] Barron and Dube, *German Expressionism*, 25 & 40.

[967] Note attached to George Grosz lithographs acquisition proposal, Brendan Kelson (Assistant Director, AWM), 22 June 1984; 895/003/130. Series AWM 315, folio 18.

[968] In fact, when the First World War broke out, some of the Expressionist artists saw it as an opportunity to reinvigorate German society. However, their initial fervour for war quickly turned to bitterness: Barron and Dube, *German Expressionism*, 16 & 25.

[969] Interview with Anna Gray (former AWM Head of Art), Canberra, 6 May 2014.

[970] A seventh etching from this series was purchase later in 1991.

[971] Dix was a prodigious soldier, as well as an artist. Ashley Bassie, *Expressionism* (New York: Parkstone Press International, 2012), 103-104.

quality to his memories of the conflict (f.86). He illustrated German soldiers storming enemy troops in France, their gas masks dehumanising them in that moment, attesting to the ability of the chaos of battle to strip human nature of kindness and decency. Dix was a master of the etching and aquatint techniques, producing a look of decay by subjecting the plate to multiple acid baths, and stopping out parts of the image to create ghastly white highlights.[972]

Some of the German prints that Gray collected depicted the themes of grief and intense anguish, and the print collection came to include many works that commented on the emotional experience of war.[973] This type of subject matter was also represented in the French prints, but the German prints often showed an intensely personal reflection on the destruction and destitution caused by war. In 1989, the AWM acquired a print by Käthe Kollwitz, which was later followed by another. Kollwitz analysed loss and the cruelty of war in many works that she produced, having lost her own son Peter in the First World War.[974] She was a major German Secessionist artist, and in 1989 Gray discovered a woodcut by Kollwitz, *Die Eltern (The parents)* (1923) (f.87) available for purchase. Since her acquisition budget was limited, Gray secured sponsorship from Mercedes Benz for this print. This initiative revealed her ability to work outside the usual processes of the Memorial, and also her determination to build the collection in this area.[975] The print was a very personal creation of Kollwitz's which explored her own grief at the loss of her son. In her proposal for this acquisition, Gray wrote, 'The intensely moving subject of mourning is a serious omission from the permanent collection. To rectify the situation with a work of this calibre would greatly enhance the integrity of the collection.'[976] The print's connection with commemoration was important for the AWM, particularly given its link to Kollwitz's famous statues *Die Trauernden Eltern*

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[972] Heather Hess, "Shock Troops Advance under Gas (Sturmtruppe Geht Unter Gas Vor) from the War (Der Krieg)," *The Museum of Modern Art*, last updated 2011, accessed 20 March 2015, http://www.moma.org/collection_ge/object.php?object_id=63260.

[973] In interview, Lola Wilkins cites the print collection as being an area of the art collection that brings the subject of grief to the AWM, through printmakers like Kollwitz but also others like Forain. Interview with Lola Wilkins (former AWM Head of Art), Canberra, 8 May 2014.

[974] Winter discusses a sculpture memorial created by Kollwitz to sit before her son's grave in the Roggevelde German war cemetery in Belgium. Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 108-110.

[975] Interview with Anna Gray (former AWM Head of Art), Canberra, 6 May 2014. It was donated to the AWM by Mercedes-Benz along with a Kollwitz lithograph, *Die Mutter (The mothers)* (1919). Nancy Tingey, "Graphic Art by Kathe Kollwitz," *Journal of the Australian War Memorial* 17 (1990), 51-52.

[976] Acquisition Proposal, "Kathe Kollwitz," Art Section (AWM), 3 March 1989; 895/001/130. Series AWM 315, folio 83.

(The grieving parents) (1932) in the war cemetery where her son is buried.[977] This work exemplified the importance of the printmaking technique to the final image, and the message that the artist was trying to convey through that image. Kollwitz attempted to produce this image in a number of different printmaking techniques, working from lithography through to etching and finally settling on woodcut, as this technique produced the ragged edged lines that conveyed the intense emotions Kollwitz wished to express. It became the third woodcut in a series of seven, titled *War*.[978]

While Gray consciously sought to improve the quality of artists that were present in the AWM art collection through print collecting, her acquisitions of First World War German prints also brought the perspective of the enemy into the art collection. Because many of these prints have been displayed in the past in designated areas of the AWM's former First World War Galleries,[979] this made the enemy visible to the AWM audience, revealing the combatants in this conflict as a nation filled with real people. One of the print acquisitions from 1988 comprised of the work of a German artist who was pro war and whose art verged on propaganda. This was Max Liebermann, leader of the Berlin Secession. In 1987 Gray started researching Liebermann prints for purchase, the following year purchasing six lithographs, some of which were illustrations in *Kriegszeit*, a pro-war journal produced from 1914-1916 by the Berlin art dealer Paul Cassirer.[980] They presented a very different view to the German Expressionist works that Gray had focused on up until that point.[981] Liebermann was an accomplished draughtsman and had a painterly style, as can be seen from *Wohlauf, Kameraden (Farewell Comrades)* (1914) showing a German soldier mounting his horse before going into battle (f.88). This confident and patriotic tone of Liebermann's prints are undercut by Expressionist prints which show the impact of war on a defeated nation.

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[977] Winter, *Sites of Memory*, 108-111.

[978] Tingey, "Graphic art by Kathe Kollwitz," 51-52.

[979] These designated areas of the former AWM First World War galleries (pre-2014), known as the 'international prints wall' (informally) and 'Echoes of the Guns', will be discussed in chapter 9.

[980] An example of a Liebermann print used on the cover of this journal is a 1914 lithograph titled *Sturm (Attack)* by the AWM (ART50229) or *March, March, Hurrah! (Marsch, Marsch, Hurrah!)* by the Museum of Modern Art. See: "Paul Cassirer, Berlin," Museum of Modern Art, accessed 12 November 2014, http://www.moma.org/collection_ge/browse_results.php?criteria=O%3AAD%3AE%3A11881|A%3AAR%3AE%3A3&page_number=347&template_id=1&sort_order=4&view_all=1.

[981] In her acquisition proposal for the Liebermann prints, Gray stated that the AWM had not yet acquired German prints from the First World War showing 'an assertive German attitude'. Gray said their propaganda element would make them companions with war posters: Acquisition Proposal, "Max Liebermann," Art Section (AWM), 2 March 1988; 895/003/130. Series AWM 315, folio 77.

Gray's final significant acquisition in this area was a Max Beckmann drypoint, which she purchased in 1990. It was titled *Prosit Neujahr (Happy New Year)* (1919) (f.89), and was number 17 from the series *Gesichter (Faces)*.[982] The work describes the macabre and tense atmosphere in Germany towards the end of the First World War as the structure of their pre-war society collapsed. The contorted and clownish faces of the revellers betray the fear and apprehension that threatens to break through the forced jollity of a New Year celebration at a hospital.[983] Gray wished to include this work in her now considerable collection of significant German prints of the First World War as an example of a work by Beckmann, another well-known artist and printmaker, and in support of the other examples of German First World War work in the collection. She justified her recommendation through her previous collecting policy, stating, '…In the last 10 years the memorial has developed a policy of acquiring selective international prints relating to Australia's involvement in war and how war is perceived on all sides.'[984] Gray succeeded in bringing the German perspective of the First World War to the art collection through prints.[985]

Building a Second World War print collection

When Fry left the Art Section in the mid-1980s, pre and post 1939 collecting then fell under Gray's purview,[986] and this allowed her to extend the plan she had for the print collection to other conflict areas. Unlike Fry, she chose to broaden the scope of the Second World War collection through print acquisitions, collecting both Australian and international prints, favouring those which embodied unique subjects or modes of representation. Australia's Second World War official artists were prolific in painting and drawing, and the appeal to collect prints from the Second World War had been lacking in the past.[987] But Gray's acquisitions showed that Second World War prints could visualise the conflict in distinctive ways, employing the Modernist styles of the mid-20th century. This was exemplified in an etching by the Hungro-American printmaker Ralph Fabri called *Triumphal Arch* (1939),

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[982] James Hofmaier, *Max Beckmann : Catalogue Raisonné of His Prints*, vol. 1 (Bern: Galerie Kornfeld, 1990), 201-203 & 288-290.

[983] "Max Beckmann 1884-1950: 3. 'Prosit Neujahr. Happy New Year'," Catalogue 6, issue 228, *Prints for collectors : a special catalogue of fine etchings and lithographs by 19th and 20th century masters* (London: William Weston Gallery, 1990).

[984] Acquisition Proposal, "Max Beckmann," Art Section (AWM), 4 October 1990; 90/1660.

[985] The print collection comes with its own display limitations, which will be discussed in chapter 9. This impacts its ability to reach audiences.

[986] Interview with Anna Gray (former AWM Head of Art), Canberra, 6 May 2014.

[987] See Chapter 6 discussion on the official war art commissions of the Second World War.

acquired by Gray in 1986.[988] The etching depicted events just prior to the Second World War: it showed a procession of German soldiers in a circus context, marching through a triumphal arch in a sinister performance (f.90). Fabri was foreseeing the destruction of the imminent war, and he reflected the pre-war mood in Europe, and the politics of Fascism.[989] Another unusual Second World War print collected by Gray in that same year was a lithograph by an Australian artist, Frank Hinder, called *Advance* (1947) (f.91). Hinder was a noted modernist, who served in the camouflage unit of the Royal Australian Engineers during the war. His image of a soldier in action was portrayed in a Futurist manner, which captured the movement of the soldier advancing, rather than the details of his uniform, or circumstances of the battle. This aspect of the image was highlighted by Gray in the acquisition proposal when she recommended it for the AWM collection.[990]

Gray broadened the art collection's coverage of the Second World War period through these acquisitions; taking into view the international political landscape and a variety of Australian homefronts. The impact of the conflict on those at home was part of the social historical context of war that the AWM curators throughout the Memorial wanted to cultivate during the 1980s.[991] The homefront theme appeared in Gray's 1987 acquisition of an aquatint by Australian artist Christine Aldor (1913-1970), called *Searchlights* (1942). In this evocative print, Aldor showed searchlights in operation at an encampment, as part of Australia's anti-aircraft defences (f.92). The bright searchlights in the distance contrasted sharply with the figures, the tents, and the silhouette of a tree. Aldor used aquatint, a technique of intaglio printmaking that utilises a powdered rosin, to create a mottled effect for the night-time sky in the background. This work was of interest because it depicted wartime South Australia (the print was produced in Adelaide), of which there was little material already in the AWM collection, and therefore it furthered Gray's attempts at inclusiveness.[992] This print was not

[988] Acquisition Proposal, "Ralph Fabri," Art Section (AWM), 11 September 1986; 895/003/204. Series AWM 315, folio 38).

[989] Ibid. Fabri was also an example of how Gray strove to build the print collection with important international printmakers: LuLen Walker, "Ralph Fabri: American Visionary Printmaker," Georgetown University Library, 1 May 2001, last accessed 11 June 2017, http://www.library.georgetown.edu/exhibition/ralph-fabri-american-visionary-printmaker

[990] Acquisition Proposal, "Frank Hinder," Art Section (AWM), 7 October 1986; 895/003/223. Series AWM 315, folio 5.

[991] Interview with Peter Stanley (former AWM Principal Historian), Canberra, 10 June 2014.

[992] Acquisition Proposal, "Christine Aldor," Art Section (AWM), 9 December 1987; 895/003/098. Series AWM 315, folio 18.

the type of artwork that would have been collected at the time of the Second World War. However, it was an aesthetically strong work that proffered an interesting perspective.

There were a number of American artists represented in the Second World War prints collected by Gray, because this was a conflict in which they were particularly visible to Australians. However, the American printmakers that Gray collected did not necessarily have an Australian link, and often represented an outsider perspective, like the international prints of the First World War. Many of these prints were purchased from American art dealers.[993] Gray collected a series of linocuts by Eli Jacobi (1898-1984), which portrayed his experience of the US army. Jacobi was born in Russia, studied in Palestine, spent the First World War in Greece, and emigrated to New York at the end of the First World War.[994] In 1942 he was drafted and spent three years in the US army, serving in the Pacific area.[995] He produced a series of linocuts after he was discharged, and the AWM acquired three of these in 1990. Jacobi was a humanist, and his series explored the experience and survival of the individual soldier in the face of the tragedy and fear of war. One image titled *The Brass* (1946) is a caricature of '3 star' generals from the perspective of the ordinary soldier (f.93). Three generals face off like bull dogs with their 3 stars clearly visible on their helmets. A contrasting image of three skeletal-looking soldiers, grimly smoking together titled *Survivors* (1947)[996] is a comment about the ambiguity of survival in war.[997] This universal subject would be relevant in any war museum collection.

While the art curators were choosing prints based partly on subject matter that was not already well covered by the art collection, they were not acquiring to fill gaps in the historical narrative as such. Neither were the US artists very big names, like the German artists, although they were often held a position in art historical texts. What the art curators mainly focused on was taking into the collection fresh perspectives and interesting imagery. In 1991,

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[993] The art curators would have a range of American war prints available and chose on the basis of subject matter and artistic merit. An example of a print by an American artist that was rejected by the Art Section in 1989 was a traditional-style lithograph of an infantry line of American soldiers in France by Kerry Eby called *Infantry, Château-Thierry* (1920-21). Letter, Anne Gray (Art Section, AWM) to an American dealer, 1 August 1989; 89/0983.

[994] In New York Jacobi established himself as an illustrator, but was a victim of the Depression. During these years he made more than thirty linocuts documenting the lives of the 'forgotten men' of the street called the Bowery: Elisa M. Rothstein, *Eli Jacobi: Linoleum Block Prints* (New York: Mary Ryan Gallery, 1986), 1.

[995] Larry E. Sullivan, "Eli Jacobi," *Arts Magazine* 61, November (1986), 109.

[996] Eli Jacobi, *Survivors* (1947) linocut, 32.8 x 41.8 cm, AWM ART 29489.

[997] Ibid.

Gray collected a work which belonged to the interwar period, by American artist John McClellan (1908-1986), but which seemed to eerily predict the arrival of war. It was unusual for the AWM to collect items describing events leading up to war. McClellan was a British born artist who worked in New York. His lithograph titled *Panic* (1937) is considered to be one of his best works (f.94). He wrote that the image was a prediction of the Second World War, which came to him in a dream. It depicts a group of picnickers in a forest, fleeing from some unknown and unstated force, as countless refugees were to do during the Second World War.[998] McClellan was later to serve in the war, and his unit was one of the first to reach the German concentration camps when they were discovered by the allies.[999]

Gray wanted her conception of the print collection, and the role of international prints, to be understood and remembered as a collecting strategy, not to be reversed or diluted by future curatorial decisions. Like many women collectors throughout history, she had a focused and determined agenda to her collecting that served multiple purposes: including a social purpose of enhancing a national collection of art, and a personal purpose of consolidating her professional portfolio.[1000] Gray won a grant to view prints at the British Museum, called the Harold Wright scholarship. She wrote a report from the cataloguing information gathered, which cemented the inclusion and importance of international prints in the AWM art collection. This internal report produced in 1992 was called *The Australian War Memorial's International Print Collection*, and it made clear Gray's intention to build a significant body of works by international artists. It included an introduction to the prints in the collection from each country by Gray, with a particular focus on Britain, France and Germany.[1001] She also held an exhibition of her acquisitions called *Western Front: Printmaker's Views*, which was a moderately sized display in the AWM galleries.[1002] Thus, prints served the purpose of

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[998] Acquisition Proposal, "John McClellan," Art Section (AWM), 18 November 1991; 89/0983.

[999] "John Ward McClellan (Biographical Details)," *The British Museum*, accessed 12 November 2014, http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/term_details.aspx?bioId=115279.

[1000] Gere and Vaizey argue that great women collectors in the 20th century have often chosen to collect in the public interest and leave their collections to public institutions: Charlotte Gere and Marina Vaizey, *Great Women Collectors* (London: Philip Wilson Publishers in association with Harry N. Abrams Inc., 1999), 13. In the introduction to her edited book of women collectors and patrons in early modern Europe, Lawrence argues that women patrons have often used collecting and commissions for their own broader agendas: Cynthia Miller Lawrence, *Women and art in early modern Europe: patrons, collectors, and connoisseurs* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), 5-10.

[1001] Anne Gray, "The Australian War Memorial's International Print Collection," unpublished bound document (Canberra: Australian War Memorial, 1992).

[1002] Sasha Grishin, "Print Exhibition Adds to War Memorial Credits," *The Canberra Times*, 4 August 1989.

bringing representative works by significant international artists into the art collection because of their affordability.

International print collecting by the art curators was almost exclusively in the historical area, rather than for recent conflicts. This may have been because when they came to collect for conflicts such as the Gulf War they were building their collection from the ground up. Gray imagined that the international prints would be integrated into the historical display spaces throughout the Memorial to add emotional impact in all of the displays.[1003] This attitude permeated the Art Section where international and colonial prints have continued to be collected regularly, and displayed in special areas of the AWM galleries.[1004] The report written by Gray ensured the future AWM curators were always aware of the history of that section of the art collection, and its acquisitions of avant-garde international prints.[1005] But of course Gray's strategy was bound to this period's understanding of the AWM's role, with a focus on broadening narratives and strengthening the artistic credentials of the art collection. Her collecting helped make the print collection distinctive, not only in its international scope, but also in its strong avant-garde element.

Collecting for post 1945 conflicts: the Vietnam War

From 1990, the Art Section turned its attention to more recent conflicts, collecting prints related to the Vietnam War and the First Gulf War (1990-1991), and through these acquisitions the AWM engaged with discussions that were being had in public forums outside the Memorial. This made them more responsive to the needs of a contemporary audience. The Vietnam War had not been represented in the print collection up until this point, but Gray wanted to expand this part of the art collection beyond the illustrative paintings and drawings of the official war artists, Bruce Fletcher and Ken McFadyen.[1006] A key acquisition for the Art Section in 1988 of a painting by Australian artist and anti-war activist, Clifton

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[1003] Interview with Anna Gray (former AWM Head of Art), Canberra, 6 May 2014.
[1004] For example, before the renovation of the First World War galleries, there was a special wall set up in the First World War area that was just for the display of First World War international prints. This came in with the earlier renovation of the Sinai-Palestine galleries and was not necessarily under Gray: Email communication, Peter Burness (Military History Section, AWM) with Alexandra Walton, 24 June 2014. (See discussion in chapter 9).
[1005] As can be gleaned from some interviews with curators: Interview with Laura Webster (AWM senior curator), Canberra, 22 May 2014.
[1006] Interview with Anna Gray (former AWM Head of Art), Canberra, 6 May 2014.

Pugh, was a model for one strand of 1990s print collecting: Vietnam War protest prints. Pugh's *The Vietnam body counts* (1966)[1007] expressed his horror at the unnecessary killing of civilians during the war.[1008] Gray specifically targeted non-official prints, including works from the protest movement in Australia. In 1991, the AWM Art Section sought an exchange of posters for a screenprint by Antoinette Starkiewicz (b.1950) called *Vietnam Statement* (1971).[1009] The very clear statement of this image, of a man's head blindfolded and gagged by the American flag, was to criticise how the American government was treating its people (f.95). The link between the Vietnam War protest movements in Australia and the US made this print relevant to the AWM. It was acquired to demonstrate the extent and forms of the protest movement in Australia, and as a contrast to the official war art of Vietnam, or the art of returned servicemen or posters of the time.[1010]

While some protest works were acquired, the majority of which were amalgamated into the poster collection rather than the print collection, a large proportion of the Vietnam War prints collected by the Art Section were created by returned soldiers from Vietnam. This is because many Australian artists of the time were not engaging with the Vietnam War, but returned soldiers had much to express about their experiences. Through art-making they worked through trauma and made their perspective on the conflict heard. Australia's involvement in the Vietnam War from 1962-1972 had been divisive within Australian society.[1011] The AWM would have found it easier to collect for this conflict, particularly protest works, in the 1990s rather than at the time. However, the AWM still has ongoing relationships with its stakeholders from the Vietnam Veterans Association, which may create complexity when dealing with artworks such as these prints.[1012] Stakeholders, including veterans groups, can

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[1007] Clifton Pugh, *The Vietnam body counts* (1966) oil and enamel on hardboard, 122 x 182.7 cm, AWM ART 90934.

[1008] Laura Brandon, *Art and War* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2007), 103.

[1009] Starkiewicz was born in Poland but lived in Australia from the age of ten. She was involved with the artist collective at the Yellow House in Sydney in the early 1970s. A copy of the print was shown at the Yellow House retrospective at the Art Gallery of New South Wales the year before its acquisition by the AWM. Joanna Mendelssohn, "The Yellow House, 1970-72," catalogue (Potts Point, Sydney: Art Gallery of New South Wales, 1990).

[1010] Acquisition Proposal, "Antoinette Starkiewicz," Art Section (AWM), 14 January 1991; 89/1475.

[1011] Jeff Doyle, Jeffrey Grey, and Peter Pierce, *Australia's Vietnam War* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2002), 55-63.

[1012] Other protest prints collected include: A screenprint by Richard Cornish, who was a student protestor in Australia during the Vietnam War, called *Australian conscript* (1969), which was an engaging work showing a young boy's face almost obscured by his large helmet- the type worn by Australians in Vietnam. The style was very fluid and informal, created by brushstrokes that later became part of the printing process.

have an impact on collections and displays. Vietnam veterans have in the past been a particularly engaged and vocal stakeholder group for the AWM. One example of a veteran complaint about a label in the AWM's Vietnam War Gallery (opened in 2008) caused the Memorial to re-check sources and consider altering the caption.[1013] While having limited stakeholder involvement might liberate a museum in some ways, certain groups, such as veterans, also benefit a museum by bringing a new set of attitudes to the narrative. Contemporary AWM audiences might take an interest in the Vietnam War protests in Australia, but the Vietnam soldiers' perspectives are arguably the unheard stories of the Vietnam War.

The acquisition of non-official Vietnam War prints brought new themes into the art collection, including the theme of psychological strain on returned soldiers. This was an area that the AWM could discuss in a manner that did not appear to criticise Vietnam veterans, but instead critiqued the war and the general impact of war on individuals. In recent years, Ben Quilty has also been successful with this subject matter as an official war artist, because this perspective humanises Australian soldiers, and critiques the system but not the individual or the underlying morality of their actions.[1014] One such print series was created by a returned Australian soldier, and was a unique find for the AWM in 1991. This series was particularly moving because it did speak from individual experience, and seemed to critique the morality of war. It was a set of 22 state proof etchings by the Australian artist Trevor Lyons (1945-1990). The series of etchings was derived from Lyons' traumatic experiences in Vietnam and the subsequent reconstructive surgery that he had to undergo after sustaining a facial injury from a bomb attack.[1015] Lyons titled the series *Journeys in my head* (1987), because the etchings explored both physical and mental injury.

The images created were as much a result of the etching medium as the artist's concept, because of the way the medium allowed the artist to create a series of images to express states of mind.[1016] The 22 'state proofs' were created by successively printing and then altering and

[1013] Ashley Ekins, "History under fire," *Wartime: official magazine of the Australian War Memorial* 46 (2009), 6-7.

[1014] Laura Webster, *Ben Quilty: after Afghanistan* (Canberra, Australian War Memorial, 2013).

[1015] Roger Butler, "Trevor Lyons (1945-1990): Journeys in My Head (States 1, 7, 13, 22)," in *Artists in Action : From the Collection of the Australian War Memorial*, ed. Lola Wilkins (Canberra: Australian War Memorial, 2003), 140.

[1016] Also discussed in chapter 2.

then re-printing the etching plate, to create a progression of images; or to reveal the progression of the image whilst revealing the progression of the artist's psychological state (f.96).[1017] The etching series was in a similar vein to the German Expressionist prints of the First World War, such as the works of Dix, in that it reflected on the artist's experience of the war and confronted the deep psychological and physical scarring he endured. The images themselves, particularly towards the end of the series, are confronting, with the proof from the 21st state showing the skull partly laid bare, and partly obscured by the chaotic effect of the etching plate being deeply bitten by acid (f.97). This series was both eye-witness account and critical comment, and not the perspective of a detached observer.

These prints made by soldier artists fell somewhere between protest and commemoration, being anti-war statements that still sympathised with the men who served. Other acquisitions of this type focused on faces, portraits of soldiers or potential soldiers, and all youthful soldiers. Figurative works, and particularly portraits, are a common subject for artists wishing to empathise with and present the human side of the soldiers' experience. Dennis Trew (b.1950) came to the attention of the AWM through an exhibition of Vietnam War work, called *Vietnam Voices*, held in 1997 at Casula Powerhouse, Sydney. His large work, *Names from the book of the dead* (1992) contained 104 laser scan prints of soldiers who had died in the war (f.98), taken from a newspaper supplement (from *The Australian*). They were a broad cross section of Australian men, and each image was accompanied by a short biographical note. It was a commemorative work, which sent the message that death is indiscriminate. The smaller images were arranged around a large central image of the artist, as the one who came back alive. Trew was a sailor on the troopship HMAS *Hobart*, and thus felt partly responsible for ferrying soldiers to their deaths.[1018] The text accompanying the image alluded to the difficulty of integrating back into society after the war.[1019] Prints such as these, by soldiers who served, had the potential to pave a way for further examination of the Vietnam War.[1020]

[1017] Butler, "Trevor Lyons," 140.

[1018] Simon Forrester and Elena Taylor, "'Death's artefact…': recent art and war," Artlink 14, no. 4 (1994), 28-29.

[1019] Adam Lucas, *Vietnam Voices, 12 April - 8 June* (Sydney; Casula Powerhouse Arts Centre, 1997), 10-13.

[1020] Another example of a Vietnam veteran artist print employing portraiture was a lithograph by David Thomas, of a young boy with barbed wire wrapped around his face, *Untitled* (1988). It was part of another exhibition of Vietnam War art called *Vietnam Dog Tags*, held in 1992 in Sydney: Acquisition Proposal, "David Thomas," Art Section (AWM), 28 April 1993; 91/1474. There were a number of *Dog Tags* exhibitions held from 1986, bringing together veterans who were also artists, both trained and untrained: Doyle, Grey, and Pierce, *Australia's Vietnam War*, 93-94. Thomas was one of the few American Vietnam Veterans to be represented in the Dog Tags exhibition.

The Art Section purchased another remarkable print series about the Vietnam War in 1994 that delved into the morality and result of the war. This was a series of six etchings and lithographs by Tina Lawton (1944-1968), produced around 1968. The series strays into the abstract and symbolic in its comment on the war and its effect on people, and consequently it is not a representative or easily accessible series of artworks. Born in Adelaide, and trained in printmaking at the South Australian School of Art, Lawton became an acclaimed folk singer in the 1960s, and entertained the troops in Vietnam. She found the experience haunting, and returned to printmaking to express her thoughts – placing herself as a rare type: an artist who responded to the Vietnam War from direct experience, and also from a woman's perspective.[1021] Curator Lola Wilkins included four of Lawton's prints in an exhibition *Through Women's Eyes: Australian Women Artists and War 1914-1994*, shortly after their purchase by the AWM, as works that showed 'a different aspect' to other artists who either did not see the war, or who did so from a male perspective or an official standpoint.[1022] Wilkins' exhibition of women war artists preceded the IWM's by sixteen years, and shows that Wilkins was keen to promote the work of women artists and supported in this endeavour before she took the role of Head of Art at the Memorial in 1997. However, the Lawton prints have not been put on display since then according to recent AWM records.[1023]

Lawton was an artist who struggled with conflicting pressures to protest against the war and help those serving, eventually making the decision to put her own life at risk by touring the military hospitals in the region, and afterwards spurning fame to pursue printmaking. The six prints purchased by the AWM were made after her tour of Vietnam, in the Glasgow School of Art where she was enrolled in 1968.[1024] The works are complex and emotive, using dismembered body parts that sometimes merge with gas masks or bird heads to create strange hybrid beings (f.99). The titles include terms such as *Speak no evil, Bunfight* and *Compromise*, which heighten the disturbing lurid colours used in the printing process. The works themselves were in fact printed by Australian artist Barbara Hanrahan, who visited

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[1021] Lawton went to Vietnam twice to entertain the troops, and was the first Australian entertainer in the Mekong Delta area. Norman Abjorensen, "A young artist who's life was forever changed by war," *The Canberra Times*, 13 November 1994.

[1022] Ibid. The Lawton prints received a good response in the press when displayed in 'Through women's eyes'.

[1023] Information from my search of the locations field in the AWM collections database, MICA, on 20 July 2015.

[1024] Tragically, this was in the last year of her life, as she was killed in a light plane crash in Kenya in 1968. Acquisition Proposal, "Tina Lawton," Art Section (AWM), 15 December 1993; 92/1150.

Lawton's parents some years after the death of their daughter, and who brought this print series to the attention of the Australian art community.[1025] As a woman artist who had created works about war herself, she knew their value. These prints were a slightly risky acquisition because of their harsh and surreal aesthetic, and their positioning falls in between the political divide in Australia surrounding the Vietnam War at that time. But for these reasons this was also a courageous collecting decision.

The First Gulf War and unofficial prints

When the time came to collect art about the First Gulf War, Gray made the specific decision not to commission official artists, but to collect unofficial artistic responses to the war from galleries around Australia.[1026] Gray was convinced after the Vietnam War commissions that artists could not work well alongside the military without feeling constrained by their own obligations to the personnel they met.[1027] Furthermore, as was evident in past print acquisitions, Gray was interested in artistic responses to war that were analytical, or an interpretation of social attitudes.

The Gulf War works she acquired for the print collection were part of broader social discussions about the war, such as its environmental impact. Two out of four Gulf War etchings by George Gittoes, collected in 1992, referenced this theme of environmental destruction and government greed linked with war. A prolific Australian artist, Gittoes has visited multiple conflict areas across the globe, and his works have been regularly collected by the AWM in drawings, paintings and prints. In particular, the Memorial owns a large number of sketches of scenes that Gittoes has personally witnessed, and these usually include a handwritten explanation or story alongside.[1028] The four Gulf War prints are all part of his *Empire State Suite*, and are different to his drawings in that they are less immediate in style and use allegorical imagery. In *Hounds* (1991), an oily seabird representing the environment

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[1025] Barbara Hanrahan, "Tina Lawton: Printmaker," in *Tina Lawton 1944-1968: Prints* (Canberra: Australian Girls Own Gallery (aGOG), 1989).

[1026] Interview with Anna Gray (former AWM Head of Art), Canberra, 6 May 2014; interview with Lola Wilkins (former AWM Head of Art), Canberra, 8 May 2014. Wilkins says they were amazed at the time at how much there actually was being produced by artists outside of official commissions.

[1027] Interview with Anna Gray (former AWM Head of Art), Canberra, 6 May 2014.

[1028] Gittoes has regularly visited war zones for a number of decades: John McDonald, "George Gittoes: On the Front Line," *Artist Profile*, no. 12 (2010), 52-60. The AWM have another print by Gittoes made in 2000 about Australians and the UN Land Mine Clearance Training Team, so they continue to collect Gittoes prints.

is torn to shreds by a pack of dogs representing both sides of the conflict (f.100).[1029] Gittoes uses symbolic images and phrases in these works, for example the phrase 'dogs of war' comes to mind when viewing his etching *Hounds*. These prints reflected modern attitudes towards the environment, and modern cynicism towards war and the reasons why wars are fought.[1030]

The unofficial artistic responses to the Gulf War portrayed the conflict in ways that an official artist never could because the non-official artists were free to use daring tropes and question the morality of the Australian military. This was demonstrated by prints acquired by the Art Section in 1993, which discussed the war through the use of childlike imagery, or images usually related to children, as a way to extract moral truths. Ros Evans (active 1988 – 1994), a Canberra artist, produced a number of works about the Gulf War using various print techniques. Her screenprint *Warpaper* (1991), used a repetitive pattern on 27 sheets of paper, and was exhibited as wallpaper for a child's bedroom in a 1991 exhibition. When seen at a distance in the familiar context of a bedroom the viewer is at first at ease with the wallpaper, but upon closer inspection they see the pattern of helicopters superimposed over a flag of skulls (f.101). A statement for the work that appears in the catalogue to the exhibition ironically explains, 'The Bush administration seeks to impose a New World Order… where the USA will be the world's policemen… every child should be aware of these matters right from the beginning.'[1031] The other works that Evans produced also related somehow to children, whether they were a counting book, or a print of equations. The implication was that war impacts society, right to the core, even affecting our children.[1032] Print acquisitions

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[1029] "Hounds," Australian War Memorial, accessed 13 November 2014, http://www.awm.gov.au/collection/ART29720/.

[1030] Another Gulf War work responding to the environmental destruction brought about by the conflict was created by the Indigenous Australian artist Judy Watson. Purchased in 1992, the style of her lithograph *Gulf* (1991) was less symbolic than Gittoes and more expressive as she depicts plumes of black smoke rising from three oil wells burning in a Kuwait landscape.

[1031] Unknown, *Matters: An Exhibition by Canberra School of Art Printmaking Graduates* (Canberra: Canberra School of Art, 1991).

[1032] In contrast to Evans, Australian artist Dean Bowen usually works with simplified forms. His naïve, direct quality references Jean Dubuffet and 'art brut'. (Art brut is a French term that translates as 'raw art', invented by the French artist Jean Dubuffet to describe untrained art, such as graffiti or naïve art, which is made outside the academic tradition of fine art.) Through it, he makes his art accessible and highlights absurd aspects of human behaviour. Susan McCulloch, *Dean Bowen: Selected Prints, Sculpture and Tapestries 1988-1995* (Collingwood, VIC; Paddington, NSW: Australian Galleries, 1995), 8. This type of imagery produces an immediate effect on the viewer, as can be seen in three prints of Bowen's about the Gulf War. Two untitled, and one titled *Night battle* (1991), contain the simplified yet recognisable forms of planes and tanks, as if drawn by a child. These depictions are a contradiction to the actual destructive nature of the objects. "Recent Etchings, Paintings and Small Sculpture," in Dean Bowen exhibition sheet and invitations, 5-28 April (Canberra:

such as these suggest that the AWM curators expected to reach an audience with little bias or sympathy towards the military.

The ability of unofficial art to question social structures was again apparent in another theme that appeared in the Gulf War prints collected by the AWM – these prints questioned the media's role in representing the war, reflecting a discussion about the media's ability to manipulate the public's visual experience and understanding of war. Like the IWM curators, the AWM Art Section collected artist responses to this type of social change. The Gulf War was the first to be covered by satellite footage, and thus communicated directly to viewers in the countries involved.[1033] An etching by Latvian-born Australian artist Jan Senbergs called *All the news that's fit to know* (1992), depicts the silhouette of a cameraman recording a chaotic urban war scene of explosions and damaged buildings (f.102). The man has almost merged into his camera, morphing into one media creature, signifying the artist's concern about the way machines encroach on human values and the landscape.[1034] It is one of two Senbergs prints that were collected by the AWM in 1993 that commented on the media and its role in the Gulf War, and the impact of the war on viewers of the news.[1035]

The collection of Gulf War non-official prints revealed that the AWM Art Section in this period were not pressured to represent conservative narratives. Also, for the most part the art curators did not seek out famous artists for this collection. As with some of the Second World War print collecting, they favoured interesting artistic responses that went beyond reportage, and offered alternative viewpoints. Enid Ratnam-Keese (b.1939) referred to the Gulf War in her 1991 drypoint *March for the time is running out* (f.103), but her work also traversed through time to relate to her own identity and early memories of childhood that coincided

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Beaver Galleries, 1998). The AWM curators believed this was a comment on the fundamentally primitive and crude nature of warfare. Acquisition Proposal, "Dean Bowen," Art Section (AWM), 27 April 1993; 98/0692.

[1033] The satellite images carried 'the first real-time TV battle pictures to the world public.' Sir Peter Anson and Dennis Cummings, "The First Space War: The Contribution of Satellites to the Gulf War " *RUSI Journal* 136, no. 4 (1991), 45.

[1034] *All the news that's fit to know* (1992) complements another print acquired by the Art Section in 1993 in the way it merges technology, nature and war. *Urban Rhino under Missile Attack* (1993), by Western Australian artist John Tarry, brings together the frame of a rhinoceros with the industry of war. Within the etching the rhino's body is seemingly composed of metal structures, towers and grids. This was the result of the particular photo-etching process used by Tarry. The work speaks of the delineation of territories, as well as media and technology in the Gulf War: Note about 'Urban Rhino under Missile Attack', John Tarry (artist) to Art Section (AWM), 20 December 1993; 93/0878.

[1035] Anne Gray, "Gulf War Art," *Art and Australia* 31, no. 2 (1993), 208-215.

with the Second World War.[1036] Her response to the Gulf War was drawn from newspaper, magazine and television images. In this print she showed the march of Kurdish refugees seeking sanctuary, and the powerlessness of those affected by war.[1037] For the AWM, the subject of Kurdish refugees had not been covered by the collection before this acquisition, and her work was included in the exhibition *Through Women's Eyes*.[1038] These works were semi-figurative in style and thought-provoking, but they were a direct comment on the Gulf War, not a general or abstracted subject. At this point in time the print acquisitions of the AWM were not dissimilar to some of the IWM print collecting.[1039] Furthermore, at this juncture in the AWM's history it was arguably at its most museum-like, in that through its art acquisitions it strove to provide analytical interpretations of war history.

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Gray was a strong curatorial figure who had a certain amount of freedom to collect within her role, in a similar cast to Weight from the IWM. During her time, a number of factors coalesced to result in a new wave of print collecting, including an international focus for the print collection. If the AWM to the curators at this time was a site of memory of war, where visitors should be able to have the emotional connection and experience of war, then the artistic prints were key objects through which human emotion and experience could be conveyed, and they gave a wide variety of such perspectives of war. They were also objects that could interpret and analyse events and ideas connected with war history, thus fulfilling the role of a museum collection that does more than merely construct a celebratory history.

[1036] Acquisition Proposal, "Enid Ratnam-Keese," Art Section (AWM), 28 October 1993; 93/0467. Ratnam-Keese was born in 1939 and has frightening memories of her father being recruited by the Japanese to work on the Burma railway.

[1037] Ibid.

[1038] See Lola Wilkins, *Through Women's Eyes : Australian Women Artists and War 1914-1994* (Brisbane: AWM and Queensland Art Gallery, 1995).

[1039] For example, the Ken Currie print purchased by the IWM in 1991 also used distorted figurative imagery to comment on the Gulf War and ethnic conflict.

8. Influenced by external: AWM print collecting from the mid-1990s to 2014

This final chapter on print collecting at the AWM examines the activities of the Art Section since the retirement of Anna Gray in 1995. This is a period which has seen the sustained collecting of prints, though not with a deliberate agenda of shaping the print collection as its own unique sub-section of the art collection. Print acquisitions in this era were part of a drive for the art collection to bring varied voices and perspectives on war to the AWM's historical narrative. The new team in the Art Section after Gray left included Lola Wilkins as Head of Art – a curator who had been with the Section since the mid-1980s and was sympathetic to Gray's vision for the art collection. Wilkins had a holistic vision for art collecting that focused on representing the zeitgeist of her time through a range of mediums. In 2012 she retired and the position was given to Ryan Johnston, the current AWM Head of Art. There was also a change in Directorship at the beginning of this period, and a heightened public interest in war history in Australia.

Although some of Gray's attitudes towards art collecting were retained in the Art Section after she left, her influence dissipated after her departure in 1995. Unlike Angela Weight at the IWM who continued to advise the Art Section in London, Gray completely handed over responsibility for the AWM art collection to the ongoing curators once she moved on, as she took up a new position in Perth as Director of the Lawrence Wilson Art Gallery.[1040] Her successors remembered Gray's intention to develop the print collection, and they continued to collect prints regularly from the mid-1990s. However, their acquisitions were more an outcome of targeting particular subjects, rather than having a specific agenda for the print collection. The new appointment of Wilkins as Head of Art coincided with the emergence of a renewed social interest within Australia in the memory of the two world wars and the commemoration of these conflicts (on a national scale).[1041] This social phenomenon was

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[1040] This was confirmed in interviews with Gray and Wilkins: Interview with Anna Gray (former AWM Head of Art), Canberra, 6 May 2014.; interview with Lola Wilkins (former AWM Head of Art), Canberra, 8 May 2014. Gray remained in Perth for another five years, and then moved back to Canberra to become Head of Australian Art at the National Gallery of Australia.

[1041] For literature that discusses this renewed social interest in war, see: Bruce Scates, "In Gallipoli's Shadow: Pilgrimage, Memory, Mourning and the Great War," *Australian Historical Studies* 33, no. 119 (2002), 1-21; Graeme Davison, "The Habit of Commemoration and the Revival of Anzac Day," *Australian Cultural History* 22 (2003), 73–82; Joan Beaumont, "The State of Australian History of War," *Australian Historical Studies* 34, no. 121 (2003), 165-68; Marilyn Lake et. al., *What's wrong with ANZAC? The Militarisation of Australian History* (Sydney: University of NSW Press, 2010); Martin Crotty and Christina Spittel, "The One Day of the Year and All That: Anzac between History and Memory," *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 58, no. 1 (2012), 123-31.; Christina Twomey, "Trauma and the Reinvigoration of Anzac: An Argument," *History Australia* 10, no. 3 (2013),

reflected in the prints collected from the mid-1990s to the early 2000s. The process of printmaking lends itself to commemorative subjects, because imagery can be layered and reinterpreted by the printmaker. The commemorative prints collected by the Art Section at this time often related to memory of the two world wars (but not exclusively). The Art Section also responded to the war experience of marginal groups within Australian society, by collecting prints by artists from diverse backgrounds, including Indigenous, Jewish and European immigrant artists. In both their historical and contemporary print collecting, the Art Section sought to incorporate varied perspectives on memories of war, because they believed this would enrich the historical war narrative that could be told by the AWM.

The Art Section's collecting of contemporary prints was transformed when Australia became involved in peacekeeping operations in neighbouring countries in the late 1990s, and then involved in new conflicts in the Middle-East in the early 2000s. Wilkins decided in 1999, in conjunction with her colleagues and the then AWM Director Major General Gower, to reinstate Australia's official war art scheme, which had been abandoned after the Vietnam War. Some prints were produced as a result of official artist commissions to East Timor. Australia's military involvement in wars in Iraq and Afghanistan gave renewed purpose to the AWM Art Section, which could continue official war art commissions in these new conflict zones, but could also collect for these new conflicts in a way that strongly engaged with contemporary Australian art. The non-official prints relating to these conflicts that were acquired, often adopted stances that were critical of Australia's involvement in these wars. As a result of the Art Section's focus on collecting contemporary art, a number of prints were acquired that utilized new and experimental printmaking techniques.

Changes in leadership and commemorative collecting

Discussions about the purpose of the AWM and its displays were held at the Memorial from the 1980s all the way through to the 1990s, and they culminated in this period with the drafting of the 1996 Gallery Masterplan.[1042] An increase in museum policy documents was a feature of the AWM in the 1990s and represented a change in work culture between the Gray and Wilkins eras. In 1996, the AWM was once again an organisation in transition with a new

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85–108; Matt McDonald, "Remembering Gallipoli: Anzac, the Great War and Australian Memory Politics," *Australian Journal of Politics & History* 63, no. 3 (2017), 406-18.
[1042] Interview with Peter Stanley (former AWM Principal Historian), Canberra, 10 June 2014.

Director, Major General Stephen Gower, taking up his role at the Memorial that year. As Director of the AWM for 17 years, Gower, who retired in 2012, influenced the tone of the Memorial's public programs and displays. Coming from a military background, as a former Major General, Gower brought an operational military history flavour to the type of history the AWM produced, according to interviews with former and current staff.[1043] His Directorship came at a time when the AWM had been focused on social history since the 1980s. Gower's interest in military history saw the Historical Research Section renamed the Military History Section in 1998, and at this time the AWM established closer ties with the Defence Force.[1044] Gower also encouraged the continued publication of a number of official histories by the Military History Section, consistent with Bean's official histories of the First World War, which were published between 1920 and 1942. In displays, military operations were discussed in labels for objects, and a high standard of factual accuracy in the identification of military signs and symbols was prioritised at the Memorial. Gower himself reviewed many labels for object displays, and fostered a less autonomous environment for AWM curators.

In the mid-1990s, those years of transitioning leadership for the Art Section, prints were still collected regularly. The presence of Gray in the Art Section towards the end of her tenure (in 1994/5) continued to influence print collecting, despite her being often away on study leave. Gray completed her studies in the last year of her tenure at the AWM (she was undertaking a PhD through Melbourne university).[1045] After Gray's departure, Jean McAuslan, another Art Section member, was Acting Head of Art for a year, before Wilkins was made Head of Art in 1997. Wilkins originally came from Adelaide, where she obtained a Bachelor of Arts with a major in art history from Flinders University. Wilkins did not employ the print collection as a key development area of the art collection in the same way that Gray had, but she did consciously build the print collection. She was aware of the prints as a distinctive area for development, and she shaped the print collection in the same vein that she chose to develop

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[1043] Interview with Peter Stanley (former AWM Principal Historian), Canberra, 10 June 2014.; interview with Lola Wilkins (former AWM Head of Art), Canberra, 8 May 2014.; interview with Warwick Heywood (AWM curator), Canberra, 22 May 2014.

[1044] Interview with Peter Stanley (former AWM Principal Historian), Canberra, 10 June 2014.; Peter Stanley, "In the 'street of the historians': practising history at the Australian War Memorial," *Academy of the Social Sciences* 26, no. 2 (2007), 33.

[1045] Gray took regular leave for research purposes in her last five years at the AWM (including to take up a Harold Wright Fellowship): Interview with Anna Gray (former AWM Head of Art), Canberra, 6 May 2014.

the other parts of the art collection. This was to seek varied artistic expressions to develop diverse perspectives in the overall art narrative, and to try and bolster the AWM's assemblage of works by women artists.[1046] Wilkins believed that in developing the art collection it was her role to anticipate the needs of future AWM audiences, and help audiences of the future understand the present.[1047]

In the 1990s the Art Section was paying attention to social change happening in Australia, which resonated in the way the Section was to collect prints, particularly in the latter part of the decade and afterwards. They captured artistic responses to, and reflections of, social change. Gray's departure arguably left the collecting of prints open to more external influences, as her specific direction for the print collection was not adopted. This included a revitalisation of public commemoration of the two world wars. Immediately it was apparent that the prints entering the art collection from 1995 were reflective of the gaining trend in the 1990s for Australian society to reflect on and commemorate past wars.[1048] Following the anti-war sentiments of the 1960s and 1970s in Australia, the 1990s saw a revitalisation of the myth of the 'Anzac spirit' and the role of war history in Australian nationalist feeling.[1049] The AWM played an important part in this social change, as a place where commemorative acts took place and speeches were made that reinforced these nationalist ideals. These sentiments were harnessed by governments as a way to influence popular opinion in Australia, and to develop a sense of connection and identity within Australia and with that current government.[1050] This occurred with both the major Australian political parties. The speech

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[1046] Interview with Lola Wilkins (former AWM Head of Art), Canberra, 8 May 2014. Wilkins said that she regrets that there has not been a balanced representation of women in the official war art commissions, but to some extent these artists are chosen for their prior engagement with war and conflict as a subject of their work.

[1047] Interview with Lola Wilkins (former AWM Head of Art), Canberra, 8 May 2014. Wilkins said that current curators have to look beyond their own understanding of what is important about the present, and try to anticipate what people in the future will think is important about our time.

[1048] This movement may be linked to the burgeoning of interest in historical memory and commemoration in other parts of the world, including Europe: Macdonald writes about this phenomenon in 'Memorylands' calling this return to historical memory 'past presencing' because it is making use of the past for present concerns: Sharon Macdonald, *Memorylands: Heritage and Identity in Europe Today* (London and New York: Routledge, 2013), 12-13. But arguably Australia embraced this phenomenon with particular fervour (see chapter 1).

[1049] Inglis writes that in 1960 he thought Anzac Day ceremonies would disappear. And while embarking on his survey of memorials in 1983, he did not foresee the resurgence of commemoration that would occur in Australia, or the entombment of the Unknown Soldier in 1993: K.S. Inglis, *Sacred places: war memorials in the Australian landscape* (Carlton, Vic: Melbourne University Press, 1998), 9.

[1050] Beaumont writes the Anzac legend was appropriated by PM Hughes, and later non-Labor governments, from 1916 onwards: Joan Beaumont, "The Anzac legend," in Joan Beaumont (ed.) *Australia's war, 1914-18* (St. Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 1995), 168-169. She argues that when the legend re-emerged in the mainstream of popular culture in the 1970s and 1980s, it played its traditional political role of creating national

given by Labor politician and then Prime Minister, Paul Keating, in the 1993 ceremony at the AWM to unveil the newly installed tomb of the Unknown Soldier, was evidence of the growing interest in commemoration in Australia in the 1990s.[1051] Mythologies about Australia's role in the First World War were then appropriated by his successor as Prime Minister in 1996, Liberal politician John Howard.[1052] This interest in remembering Australia's military history and linking it with national identity is still strong today.[1053] The prints collected in the second half of the 1990s reflected on past conflicts, but it must also be said that at that time Australia's military activities only involved peacekeeping operations. Contemporary artists, with a few exceptions like George Gittoes, tended to not engage with peacekeeping operations as a subject. So for curators wishing to collect a wide range of contemporary art, rather than just historical art from past wars, reflective works were the only option.

While public commemoration of past conflicts was often tied to nationalism in Australia,[1054] the commemorative prints collected by the Art Section were never nationalistic in tone, and instead were often linked with personal stories. This Art Section were aware of a more

cohesion and building an Australian identity. Ibid, 175-176. The interest in Anzac became very strong in the 1990s.

[1051] Hon. Paul J. Keating MP, "Funeral Service of the Unknown Australian Soldier" (speech, Canberra, 11 November 1993), PM Transcripts, Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, accessed 14 June 2017, http://pmtranscripts.pmc.gov.au/taxonomy/term/9?page=90. Also see Martin Crotty and Christina Spittel, "The One Day of the Year and All That: Anzac between History and Memory," *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 58, no. 1 (2012), 123-131. For how the Anzac story has been debated in scholarly history and how it still remains a strong part of the Australian consciousness to this day.

[1052] For example, see the speech given by John Howard at Gallipoli, Turkey on Anzac Day 2005, where he commences thusly: 'Ninety years ago, as dawn began to break, the first sons of a young nation assailed these shores. These young Australians, with their New Zealand comrades, had come to do their bit in a maelstrom not of their making.' He then continues, 'They bequeathed Australia a lasting sense of national identity.' Hon. John Howard MP, "Address at Anzac Day Dawn Service," (speech, Gallipoli, 25 April 2005), Parliamentary Library, accessed 14 June 2017, http://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/download/media/pressrel/CBUF6/upload_binary/cbuf65.pdf;fileType=appl ication%2Fpdf#search=%22media/pressrel/cbuf6%29%22.

[1053] In conversation with a friend I realised that many Australians seek to remember 'our Anzac history' as a form of imagining and reimagining an Australian identity – she told me that on 'world heritage day' it was difficult to explain to her son what his heritage was as an Australian born child, and that the Memorial and stories of Anzac were something that she could point to for him.

[1054] Twomey links the "resurgence of war-centred nationalism in Australia since the 1980s" and the reinvigoration of interest in Anzac Day with the phenomenon of "interest in the 'traumatic' impact of war experiences.": Christina Twomey, "Trauma and the Reinvigoration of Anzac: An Argument," *History Australia* 10, no. 3 (2013), 85 and 87. She also cites McKenna's argument that the transfer of national moments offshore conveniently avoids contentions around Australia's colonial past and Aboriginal dispossession that overshadow other commemorative activities, such as Australia Day: Mark McKenna, "Anzac Day: How did it become Australia's national day?" In Marilyn Lake et. al., *What's wrong with ANZAC? The Militarisation of Australian History* (Sydney: University of NSW Press, 2010), 112. Cited in Twomey, "Trauma," 86.

nuanced role for commemoration, which they supported through their print acquisitions. Works such as Barbara Hanrahan's etching, *Wedding in war-time, 1915* (1983), collected in 1995, and Murray Kirkland's series of etched and treated zinc plates from 1998, *Reginald Clarence Scanes, Number 2975, 53rd Battalion, A.I.F.*, were just the beginning of a group of prints collected that responded to past conflicts. These included an element of commemoration or at least empathy for the people who were involved, particularly in the two world wars. There was some precedent for commemorative works to be acquired, as two Hanrahan prints in a similar commemorative vein were collected in 1992.[1055] The subject reflected Hanrahan's interest in the First World War and her exploration of the relationship between women and men, partly revealed through her use of decorative design in the flat surface of the print (f.104).[1056] The AWM recorded that the phenomenon of war-time weddings as depicted by Hanrahan would be compatible with their display of homefront activities, which contained a section on war brides.[1057] These works linked personal remembrance with community commemoration, which suited the AWM purposes well as a modern form of commemoration. However, such works also subverted the authoritative 'voice' of the Memorial, by giving prominence to other voices through prints.

The reason more personal commemorative themes appeared in the print acquisitions was because of the changing memory work required of the AWM by the Australian population in the 1990s, as people were less likely to have a personal memory of their own or a direct link to a war experience through a close relative.[1058] This was probably a result of both the print acquisition choices curators were making, and the work artists were producing at this time. Kirkland (b.1962) was a Canberra artist who made his commemorative work in response to the AWM collection, specifically the military records collection. He chose one man's story of war service to represent, in an effort to look past the horrifying statistics of the First World

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[1055] The two former Hanrahan prints were acquired because they related to two commemorative days for Australians as the titles of the works suggest: *Poppy Day* (1982) and *Armistice Day* (1978). Acquisition Proposal, "Barbara Hanrahan," Art Section (AWM), 17 September 1992; 92/1269.

[1056] Themes that Hanrahan used to explore the relationship between men and women included 'the sexual war', and weddings: Alison Carroll, *Barbara Hanrahan: Printmaker* (Netley, South Australia: Wakefield Press, 1986), 30 & 63. Her detailed and decorative style stemmed from a long term interest in patterning: ibid, 61.

[1057] Acquisition Proposal, "Barbara Hanrahan," Art Section (AWM), 30 March 1995; 94/0845.

[1058] The challenge for memorials today is to communicate their value and meaning to an increasing number of people who have little knowledge of past wars. Caroline Winter, "Tourism, Social Memory and the Great War," *Annals of Tourism Research* 36, no. 4 (2009), 613.

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War to the individual's experience.[1059] Kirkland's work was an artist's book made of etched zinc plates, which presented what is usually the printing matrix as the finished work. The zinc plates were etched with text, and some were etched with ghostly silhouettes of soldiers (f.105). The soft grey and brown tones of the zinc plates were sometimes deeply bitten by the acid so that the edges disintegrated.[1060] The AWM mission statement of 'commemoration through understanding' was fully realised by this artist's book, as its effect was to use one personal story from the First World War to help a contemporary person understand and empathise with war experience.[1061] This work appealed to the Memorial as a reflective piece, but also as a complementary object that related to papers held in another part of the collection.[1062] The Art Section continued to acquire commemorative works from this point on, from artists such as Ray Arnold, and others who will be discussed.

Continuing with previous print collecting patterns

The Art Section continued collecting historical prints throughout the 1990s and 2000s, in some ways in line with previous patterns of collecting. They were motivated to build further upon the strong art and social historical foundations of the collection. International prints relating to the two world wars were valued for their different historical viewpoints and their art historical significance. Acquired in this era were some important prints series by the artists Louis Abel-Truchet, Lucien-Hector Jonas (1880-1947) and the Swiss-French artist, Félix Vallotton, which brought with them a definite French perspective on the war, containing subject matter such as the Battle of Verdun.[1063] The AWM had not tended to collect on battles like Verdun due to the lack of Australian involvement, and so this was also a subtle extension of the collecting scope. As well as French specific material these prints also brought with them subject matter which is universal to war history. A group of lithographs by Abel-Truchet, purchased in 2006, portrayed French soldiers' feelings of

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[1059] He eventually made three works about three individuals: Murray Kirkland, "Behind Every Number," accessed 17 March 2015, http://murraykirklandartist.com.au/behind-every-number/.

[1060] Ibid.

[1061] In the AWM's 'Statement of Expectations' it is stated that the AWM, 'will remain true to its founding concept as a shrine, a museum that supports commemoration through understanding and an archive holding key records': "Statement of Expectations," Australian War Memorial, accessed 26 March 2015, https://www.awm.gov.au/about/expectations/.

[1062] "2975 Private Scanes, Reginald Clarence," in *AWM Digitised Collection: Papers* (Canberra: Australian War Memorial, 1918); ID Number: RCDIG1057371.

[1063] Terry Ingram, "War Memorial Builds on Blocks," *Australian Financial Review*, 22 November 2007. 'The Australian War Memorial is quietly building a remarkable body of international art, recently buying a collection of black and white woodcuts by Swiss artist Félix Vallotton.' The article goes on to say that they were purchased from the artist's family.

homesickness in the trenches of the Western Front.[1064] In some ways they revealed a softer side of war than the Jonas and Vallotton prints.

Prints from Jonas and Vallotton were on display in the past in a former part of the AWM First World War galleries, termed the 'International Print Wall' by the Art Section. They portrayed dark scenes of violence, an aspect of conflict which is not always represented in other display areas of the AWM.[1065] Jonas was a well-known artist working in Paris during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and exhibiting regularly at the Paris salons. The nationalistic images he produced were very popular with the French public, and many became illustrations for French magazines.[1066] The lithographs purchased by the AWM include a scene of carnage at the battle between the French and Germans at Verdun, *Le rempart de Verdun [The rampart of Verdun]* (c.1916) (f.106). The woodcuts by Vallotton, called *C'est la guerre! [This is war]* (1915-16), are the same series held by the IWM. They use a highly graphic style, with comic book-like images of soldiers, to portray barbarous scenes from the trenches. Their striking appearance is due to Vallotton's use of heavily inked blocks of colour, but this also attracted criticism, as these prints were deemed less nuanced examples of Vallotton's artistic output.[1067] These acquisitions built on the previous French print purchases by illustrating more of the actual French experience and attitudes towards war.

Some of the historical print acquisitions of this era introduced different experiences of the world wars, and also new artistic styles, to the AWM print collection – but they followed the pattern of historical print collecting from the previous era, which favoured artistic quality, and alternative subject matter. For example, a lithograph by Thea Proctor titled *The aeroplane [Stunting]* (c.1918) exhibited a Modernist style adopted by some artists in

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[1064] Information from AWM collections database, MICA, and viewed at the AWM. These prints show scenes such as a soldier dreaming of his wife and child while asleep in a trench.

[1065] While I was working at the AWM, the 'international print wall' was a small display space specifically reserved for the collection of First World War international prints, but it is no longer in use since the recent refurbishment of the AWM First World War galleries (opened in 2014).

[1066] Jonas enlisted in 1915 as a military painter attached to the Musée de l'Armée and was sent to the Front. During his time on the Front, he made prodigious amounts of drawings, which were reproduced in various papers and magazines, including *L'Illustration*. "Jonas, Lucien Hector," in *Benezit: Dictionary of Artists, volume 7* (Paris: Grund, 2006), 896-897.

[1067] Deborah L. Goodman, "Vallotton and the Great War," in *Félix Vallotton*, ed. Lesley K. Baier and Sasha M. Newman (New Haven and New York: Yale University Art Gallery and Abbeville Press, 1991), 193-211.

Australia in the 1920s and 1930s, with a focus on design and decorative motifs (f.107).[1068] This style was used to good effect in this print, which shows a group of women watching an airplane caught in spotlights, possibly above London, where Proctor lived during the First World War.[1069] The women are fashionably dressed and arranged in groups along a balcony. But one may note the absence of men, a familiar sight in London during the war. While the airplane is portrayed as a fascinating machine and proof of human endeavour, the print also suggests a threatening undertone, with the groups of women responding with awe and distress.[1070] The Proctor lithograph was purchased in 2007, and it showed a continued interest in including Modernist art in the print collection.[1071]

One print series acquired in 1999 conveyed the prisoner of war (POW) experience of Australians in the Second World War, but it was less Modernist in its style. It was definitely acquired through its link with a dominant AWM narrative, so this set it apart from the print acquisitions just discussed. There was heightened interest in the POW experience in the early to mid-1990s, particularly as those people who had been POWs were reaching old age.[1072] The 'Folio of drypoints from drawings made in captivity 1942-45' by Ray Parkin (1910-2005), who was a prisoner in the Burma-Thailand railway camp, was also a special commemoration of Weary Dunlop, the famous POW medical doctor.[1073] Parkin and Dunlop had been POWs together and formed a friendship, and the prints that were collected by the

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[1068] Andrew Sayers, "Thea Proctor: Artist and Tastemaker," in *The World of Thea Proctor*, eds. Barry Humphries et. al. (Canberra: Craftsman House and National Portrait Gallery, 2005), 5-7.

[1069] Sarah Engledow, "The World of Thea Proctor," in *The World of Thea Proctor*, eds. Barry Humphries et. al. (Canberra: Craftsman House and National Portrait Gallery, 2005), 39.

[1070] This is a subjective interpretation, and left to the viewer to contemplate.

[1071] Other international prints were acquired along these lines as well, including a linocut by Weaver Hawkins called *The two minute silence* (1928), which depicts British commemoration of the First World War. This acquisition followed an earlier acquisition of a Hawkins painting by the AWM called *Two minutes silence* (1953) of a similar theme of commemoration; however, the painting was created after the Second World War. See Claire Baddeley, "Weaver Hawkins (1893-1977): Two Minutes Silence," in *Artists in Action : From the Collection of the Australian War Memorial*, ed. Lola Wilkins (Canberra: Australian War Memorial, 2003), 126-127.

[1072] For example, see Gavan McCormack and Hank Nelson, *The Burma-Thailand Railway: memory and history* (St. Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 1993). This book followed an ANU conference in 1992 about POWs and was launched by the then Prime Minister, Paul Keating.

[1073] Sir Edward Dunlop was a senior medical officer in prisoner-of-war camps in Java and on the Burma Thailand Railway from 1942 to 1945. He wrote a personal account of his experiences in his published war diaries: E. E. Dunlop, *The War Diaries of Weary Dunlop. Java and the Burma-Thailand Railway 1942/1945* (Melbourne: Nelson, 1986).

AWM were from the Weary Dunlop estate. They were part of a group of original etchings, drawings and drypoints by Parkin, brought in with other documents from the estate.[1074]

Parkin had been on the HMAS *Perth*, and was captured at sea by the Japanese. He worked on the Burma-Thailand railway, with Dunlop, making drawings of his experiences the whole time. When Parkin was to be sent to Japan, Dunlop took his drawings and kept them safe.[1075] The drypoints show scenes that Parkin witnessed as a POW in a style that is illustrative, but also quite individual. The prints give a sense of life for the POWs in this notorious camp, which included periods of work and recreation, and constantly being guarded. Some images seem benign in their subject matter, while others show harsh realities, such as *Sick parade, Hintoku River Camp* (1943-56), which depicts a group of sick POWs (f.108). This print acquisition while focusing on the experience of soldiers, was still speaking to largely non-traditional AWM narratives.

In 2003, two prints that were acquired about the First Gulf war added to the already substantial number of prints responding to this conflict, but also continued this strand of print acquisitions that engaged in 'analytical comment'.[1076] The new First Gulf War print acquisitions were in keeping with Gray's pattern of collecting non-official artistic responses to the conflict. They included a linocut by Canberra artist G.W. Bot (b.1954), which was collected alongside a drawing that related to the second War in Iraq. The Persian prayer rug is a visual theme that occurs in both of Bot's works related to the two Gulf wars. In the linocut *Tree of Death, Crucifixion, Gulf War* (1991) Bot creates the overall work out of nine tessellating prayer rugs that also contain the symbolic imagery of The Tree of Death, its counter-part The Tree of Life, and the Virgin Mary (f.109). The mixture of Christian and Islamic symbolism suggests the universality of life and death.[1077] The AWM curators thought that Bot sought to remind the viewer of their own mortality and condemn the senseless

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[1074] Note, "Final Receipt: Showing Donation of Items from the Dunlop Estate," Art Section (AWM), 4 March 1998; 97/0463.

[1075] John Elder, "Drawing a Fine Line," *The Sunday Age*, 9 November 1997.

[1076] Collecting for the First Gulf War was given further significance when Australia invaded Iraq as part of a multi-national force in 2003, and in doing so instigated the Second Gulf War.

[1077] Peter Haynes, "G. W. Bot. The Long Paddock.," in *G.W. Bot: The Long Paddock: A 30 Year Survey 9 Oct - 20 November 2010* (Goulburn: Goulburn Regional Art Gallery, 2010), 9.

slaughter of civilians in Iraq.[1078] This print is fascinating for its highly allegorical and spiritual aspects compared with other works in the collection.

New voices represented by print collecting

The Art Section in the mid-1990s began acquiring prints that brought new voices to the collection in an effort to engage with Australia's multicultural society.[1079] This may have been the influence of Wilkins, who made it her prerogative to include varied stories in art collecting, but it probably also revealed a general attitude in the Art Section of seeking diversity in the AWM war history narrative through the art collection.[1080] It also demonstrates how the attitudes of the AWM curators were a product of their society, as multiculturalism was increasingly valued and discussed in Australia in the lead-up to the mid-1990s.[1081] In the screenprint (from a linocut) *Jarlujangka Wangki* (1985), Jimmy Pike, who was a famous Aboriginal Australian artist, presented an Aboriginal perspective on a bombing raid in the Western Australian desert during the Second World War, an oral story that was told to him by his family (f.110).[1082] Pike was himself born in 1941 in the Great Sandy Desert of North Western Australia, a member of the Walmajarri people. He was introduced to European printmaking techniques in the 1980s and his art has been widely acclaimed since.[1083] Pike's screenprint was acquired by the AWM in 1995, under the collecting remit of representing subjects that related to the effect of war on the Australian homefront. For the AWM curators, the print not only revealed the emotional impact of a bombing raid on a nomadic Aboriginal community, who were not involved in the war up until that point, but it also brought an Australian Aboriginal artistic style into the collection. Previously, there had only been two

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[1078] Acquisition Proposal, "G. W. Bot," Art Section (AWM), 27 August 2003; 03/0626.

[1079] Multiculturalism had been a political policy, a characteristic of Australian society (in the late 20th century one in five of Australia's inhabitants were born elsewhere), and 'a word and an idea' which 'remained fluid and contested': Stuart Macintyre, *A concise history of Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, 282-284.

[1080] Interview with Lola Wilkins (former AWM Head of Art), Canberra, 8 May 2014.

[1081] Building a multicultural Australia was key government concern during this period: '…the Hawke-Keating Labor years of 1986-1996 were characterized by the expansion of multicultural programs… Strong efforts were also made to develop multiculturalism as a nationalist ideology, with public political discourse strongly emphasising 'cultural diversity' and 'tolerance' as core characteristics of Australian national identity, crucial to the country's future prosperity.' Gwenda Tavan, *John Howard's multicultural paradox*, paper presented at the John Howard's Decade Conference, Australian National University, 3 March 2006, accessed 12 June 2017, http://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/search/display/display.w3p;query=Id%3A%22media%2Fpressrel%2FIMYI6%22

[1082] Michael O'Ferrall, *Jimmy Pike- Desert Designs 1981-1995* (Perth: Art Gallery of Western Australia, 1995), 22.

[1083] Ibid, 7.

other Aboriginal artists represented in the entire AWM art collection.[1084] The acquisition of Pike's screenprint was the first time a work by an Aboriginal artist entered the print collection. What this type of collecting signified was an increased interest, on the part of the curators, in the lived experience of different sectors of society during war time.

The Jimmy Pike acquisition was followed several years later, in 2001, by the acquisition of a linocut by Lesley Murray (b.1968). Murray's linocut *Black soldier* (1994) was acquired by the AWM Art Section after it was included in an exhibition of her prints at the Fremantle Arts Centre, and a copy of the print was reproduced in Imprint magazine.[1085] The AWM curators stated that the acquisition of this print would be an opportunity to represent the significance of the service of Aboriginal soldiers in the Second World War, as well as being pertinent to the history of Aboriginal culture within contemporary Australian social history. [1086] Murray is a Koorie woman, and this work is an intimate portrait of her grandfather, William Murray, who served in the Second World War. However, in the relief print he remains nameless, so that he may represent many Aboriginal servicemen (f.111).[1087] This is significant, as Murray means for this print to represent the impact of war at both the personal level and the community level. In a way this print then functions as all objects in a war museum do – using the story of the individual to represent the wider war narrative. In this case, the wider narrative is that of Indigenous servicemen in Australia's war history.

It was only in the 1990s with the general surge of remembrance of the two world wars that the role of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander servicemen was recognised.[1088] These men originally received a lower pay rate and no land on their return from war, unlike other

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[1084] Acquisition Proposal, "Jimmy Pike," Art Section (AWM), 12 December 1994; 94/0826. The other two Aboriginal artists acquired into the collection before Pike were Paddy Wainburrauga and Ellen Jose.

[1085] "Lesley Murray Relief Prints and Collographs," *Imprint* 36, no. 1 (2001), 19.

[1086] Acquisition Proposal, "Lesley Murray," Art Section (AWM), 21 May 2001; 01/0355. It's also worth noting that there were more Aboriginal soldiers in the Second World War than at any other time. See John Moremon, "Indigenous Australians at War," Department of Veterans' Affairs, Australian Government, accessed 13 November 2014, http://www.dva.gov.au/benefitsAndServices/ind/Pages/at_war.aspx. 'In all, an estimated 3,000 Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders served in the armed forces in World War II – many in specially raised Indigenous units.'

[1087] This information is taken from the acquisition proposal for the work, largely from an artist's statement included in the proposal: Acquisition Proposal, "Lesley Murray," Art Section (AWM), 21 May 2001; 01/0355.

[1088] This was also helped by the publication of: Robert A. Hall, *The Black Diggers: Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders in the Second World War* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1989).

soldiers.[1089] The current Art Section, headed by Ryan Johnston, strives to prioritise the inclusion of works by Indigenous artists in the AWM collection, and to strengthen the Indigenous voice in the AWM as a whole. In interview, Johnston shared that when he first started working at the AWM there were less than ten Indigenous works in the collection. But with recent acquisitions, including the commission of Tony Albert to Norforce, those numbers have reached the several hundred, and there are now multiple opportunities to tell the stories of Indigenous war experiences.[1090] This drive to include varied voices in the art collection was something that has stayed with the AWM curators to the present.

The Art Section again collected social histories of war when they acquired prints by artists who had been transported to Australia as internees on the ship 'Dunera' during the Second World War.[1091] This was a deliberate focus on a marginalised community that was culturally important to Australia. The internee experience was represented in 1997 with two acquisitions of prints from internment camps: one by Erwin Fabian, and a series of six monotypes from 1945 by Henry Talbot. The interest that the AWM showed in European emigrée artists at this time may have come about through the work of the NGA curator, Roger Butler, on an exhibition of artists who had arrived on the 'Dunera', called *The Europeans*.[1092] Fabian's monotype *Man lying with crazy city behind* (c.1941) reveals a feeling of psychological division and isolation, and is about the displacement felt by Fabian on leaving Germany and being interned in Australia (f.112).[1093] While Fabian's work explores the psychology of his situation, the monotypes by Talbot show the daily life of the Australian

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[1089] Moremon, "Indigenous Australians at war." See also: Peter Londey, "Indigenous Australian Servicemen" Australian War Memorial, accessed 13 November 2014,
https://www.awm.gov.au/encyclopedia/aborigines/indigenous/.
[1090] Interview with Ryan Johnston (AWM Head of Art), Canberra, 2 July 2014.
[1091] The *Dunera* is historically significant as it held, amongst its passengers, a dynamic group of prominent German and Italian intellectuals, professionals, artists and craftsmen who fled Europe to escape Fascism and Nazi persecution only to be interned in Australia in the Hay and Tatura prison camps. Many of the *Dunera* internees produced a significant body of original creative material which later became of artistic and academic interest. For information on the *Dunera* see: Benzion Patkin, *The Dunera Internees* (New South Wales and Victora: Cassell Australia, 1979).
[1092] Roger Butler, *The Europeans : Emigré Artists in Australia, 1930-1960* (Canberra: National Gallery of Australia, 1997).
[1093] This aspect of the print was important to the Art Section, who wanted to collect around the experience of internees, a theme that they expected was to be represented in the AWM displays in the future. Their reflection on the significance of the internee experience and the *Dunera* coincided, and was perhaps informed by, the exhibition of *The Europeans* that was taking place at the time at the NGA. The Fabian print and Simon print brought were acquired around same time, and referred to in the Fabian acquisition proposal: Acquisition Proposal, "Erwin Fabian," Art Section (AWM), 27 March 1997; 93/1314. A drawing by Fabian was purchased at the same time.

Army, which he joined shortly after being discharged from the internment camp.[1094] These prints weave a story about the early wave of European immigration into Australia, and the importance of the creative internees in the Second World War to Australian culture, as well as their unique experiences. The inclusion of these artists strengthened the narratives which could be told at the AWM, and they wanted these prints as a reflection of experience. The Art Section were involved in a movement in other cultural institutions at this time to recognise the hidden story of Australia's internees.[1095] This subject matter, along with the prints by Aboriginal artists, represented a public history narrative that was constructed by members of the public as well as the curators, and this helped the AWM to be more inclusive.

In a similar theme of including different Australian voices in the AWM collection, the Jewish experience was incorporated in 1996 with the acquisition of Danial Kogan's linocut collage from his print series called *Childproof* (1996). His series was about ten Holocaust survivors, and it attempted to convey the effect of war on children. For each survivor he created a portrait, and included some text from an interview with them about their experiences. Each person's story was presented as a set of three prints – one with an image only, one with Yiddish text and one with English text. Kogan (b.1943) was a newborn when his father, sister and brother were taken in the South of France and sent to a concentration camp. He and his mother survived and they emigrated to Australia in 1951.[1096] The AWM decided to purchase an artist's proof of Kogan's self-portrait in the Yiddish version of his experience as an infant (f.113). It is the first print in the *Childproof* series, as Kogan was the youngest of the survivors he documented.[1097] Despite the great importance of the subject, the Holocaust

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[1094] Acquisition Proposal, "Henry Talbot," Art Section (AWM), 8 October 1998; 97/0207. It might seem unusual for Talbot to have enough goodwill to join the Australian Army after being interned, but in one source he states that on arriving at port in Australia he found that, 'credit must be given to the Australians whose attitude was so different from the hostility of the British. We were greeted with friendship, given fresh food, treated as human beings…' This was just before he was interned at Hay Camp. Patkin, *The Dunera Internees*, 64.

[1095] The AWM curators were interested that Simon was reflecting on his experience, and they hoped that the print they acquired from him would be displayed in the AWM galleries in an area dedicated to the story of civilian internees and the Dunera: Acquisition Proposal, "Bruno Simon," Art Section (AWM), 6 February 1997; 96/0901.

[1096] Margaret Maguire, "Childproof: An Interview with Daniel Kogan," *Imprint* 30, no. 2 (1995), 20-21.

[1097] The text of this print tells Kogan's story, and the handprints of a child that appear on either side of his portrait refer to a loss of innocence. Even though Kogan could not have had a memory of this experience from his infancy, this print was still a testament to pre-memory and his experience. The AWM curators said it was important that the Holocaust be represented in the collection. They said this work would be a significant edition their holdings of artworks relating to the Holocaust: Acquisition Proposal, "Danial Kogan," Art Section (AWM), 18 December 1995; 94/0112.

display at the AWM in 2014 only included a handful of objects.[1098] A year after the acquisition of Kogan's work, an etching by the Austrian-Italian artist Bruno Simon (b.1920) called *Hitler speaks on* (1981, after an original monotype from 1945) also engaged with the theme of the Holocaust, by depicting Hitler and his vitriol and the destruction it caused (f.114). Simon also happened to be a 'Dunera boy', who had spent time as an internee in Hay Camp, and at Tatura Camp.[1099] These prints were the only two in the AWM collection that could be said to address the Holocaust.[1100]

Some of the prints acquired by the Art Section from varied Australian voices reflected the fact that certain conflicts, which most Australians would consider marginal to Australian war history, have been highly important for particular sections of the population.[1101] These acquisitions helped to include the experiences of a broader cross-section of the Australian population in the AWM narratives. A group of four photo-etchings by Elizabeth Dobrilla (b.1970) discussing the former Yugoslavian conflict, were acquired in 1998-99.[1102] One image is repeated in all four of Dobrilla's prints, and it layers her Serbian grandmother's doily pattern over an image of a young Bosnian soldier pouring water over his head from a helmet (f.115).[1103] Here the AWM curators were interested in how the images from both sides of the conflict symbolised the impact of war on ordinary people and a culture. They also argued for their inclusion by referencing the small contingent of Australian peacekeepers who served with the NATO led stabilisation force from 1997.[1104] These are monoprint photo-etchings, meaning that each image has been uniquely inked with its own colour pattern. The series is called *Set the table… pull the trigger* (referring to stereotypical female and male roles). It questioned the role of the print media itself, showing how images of conflict can

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[1098] The experiences of Australian citizens who survived the Holocaust are much better represented at institutions such as the Sydney Jewish Museum: From my analysis of the display and the print collection at the AWM. The Sydney Jewish Museum is dedicated to documenting and teaching a history of the Holocaust. From: "About," Sydney Jewish Museum, accessed 17 March 2015, http://sydneyjewishmuseum.com.au/about/.
[1099] "Simon, Bruno," National Gallery of Australia, accessed 23 March 2015, http://www.printsandprintmaking.gov.au/references/357/.
[1100] They complement a small number of other artworks about the Holocaust in the AWM collection, including paintings by Alan Moore about the liberation of the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp.
[1101] This type of collecting continued to move outside the strict boundaries of the AWM's collecting policies because of its tangential association with Australian military history. The first criteria for deciding if something should be acquired in even recent AWM acquisition policy was '…to establish that the item is of significance to Australian military history;' from: "Evaluating Material for Inclusion in the National Collection," AWM Collection Development Plan 2007-2010, Section 2.1 (Canberra: Australian War Memorial, 2007), 4.
[1102] Information from AWM collections database, MICA.
[1103] Sheridan Palmer, "Divisions of Unrest: The Prints of Elizabeth Dobrilla," *Imprint* 35, no. 3 (2000), 11.
[1104] Acquisition Proposal, "Elizabeth Dobrilla," Art Section (AWM), 4 October 2005; 05/0641.

influence a public's perception.[1105] The memories held by people like Dobrilla's grandmother lead us to question whose experience comprises Australian war history, and public memory of war experience. In one way these narratives suit a changing AWM audience, and perhaps a changing Australian population, but in another way they did not follow some of the dominant AWM narratives, which were still informed by the Memorial's early period.

Collecting for new conflicts

In 1999, Australia and the UN became involved in the conflict within East Timor following the August 1999 referendum on independence from Indonesia, and Australian Defence Force personnel were being deployed to East Timor on a scale that had been unmatched since the Vietnam War. This prompted the Art Section to reinstate the Australian official war art scheme, which had been dormant for thirty years since the end of the Vietnam War.[1106] The re-instigation of the program was welcomed by the then AWM Director, Steve Gower, because of what it was thought the program could do for the AWM.[1107] As Elena Taylor, former curator at the Australian War Memorial said, the reinstatement of the official war art scheme was brought about with the view that official art can synthesise the experience of war in the way that a photograph cannot.[1108] This signalled a significant change to Art Section collecting, because it was the beginning of a new era of collecting contemporary art related to the contemporary Australian military.

[1105] See her artist statement for an exhibition: Elizabeth Dobrilla, "Trigger…Trail…Trial: Installation & Limited Edition Prints, March 7 - 31," artist statement (Melbourne: Gallery 101, 2000). Also see Elizabeth Dobrilla, "The Visual Representation of the Former Yugoslavian Conflict: An Exploration in Print Media," Master of Arts in Fine Art by Project (Melbourne: Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology University, 1999). In her Master thesis she states in her rationale, 'Print media and its visual representations of the former Yugoslavian crisis has played an influential and political role in the perception of a highly complex and volatile situation. The media's use of imagery to give emphasis and emotional impact to the factual reportage of particular events is well documented and continues to mediate our understanding of this ongoing national crisis.' And from her description: 'Through the use and exploration of traditional printmaking processes and mediums… a sustained exploration of the collected documentation will be undertaken incorporating those techniques of image manipulation currently employed in the visual representation of factual events in print media such as blurring, cropping and juxtaposition.'

[1106] Lola Wilkins, "Official War Art at the Australian War Memorial," *Agora* 45, no. 2 (2010), 24. In the article Wilkins says, 'the war artist program [following Vietnam] had produced 300 works, and the Memorial's trustees decided not to appoint any more artists. In addition, public opinion had grown critical of Australian involvement in the war, and many artists chose to reflect this debate in their work.' What she does not say is that the work of the official war artists to Vietnam was not as successful as previous commissions, a combination of the illustrative styles of the artists chosen, and the difficult conditions they were in.

[1107] Interview with Lola Wilkins (former AWM Head of Art), Canberra, 8 May 2014.

[1108] Rob Ditessa, "Art in the War Zone," *Artist's Palette*, no. 13 (2000), 15. Taylor is quoted in this article as arguing that war art is more than just documentary evidence, although it can be used as such.

The official war artists to East Timor were stationed with the military, and put into the heart of Australian military culture. The first artists to be commissioned to visit East Timor and record the Australian military's peacekeeping activities there following the conflict were Rick Amor in 1999 and subsequently Wendy Sharpe towards the end of 1999/early 2000. The decision to record peacekeeping activities through the official war art program came after the Memorial had held regular exhibitions on peacekeeping since 1993.[1109] Between the end of the Vietnam War and before 2000, peacekeeping activities were the predominant work of the Australian military.[1110] It may have been simpler to reinstate the official war art scheme in this context, as the Memorial had to work closely alongside the military bureaucracy to ensure the safety of artists and their access to military zones.[1111] The AWM's reinstatement of official war artists came much later than the IWM's reinstatement of their scheme following The Troubles in Northern Ireland, despite the AWM putting on exhibitions about Peacekeeping since 1993.[1112] Both countries were involved with localised conflict zones in their geographical areas. Apart from Dyson's contribution, the official artist commissions only account for a small percentage of the AWM's prints.[1113]

[1109] The AWM toured a large peacekeeping exhibition in 2001: "Keeping the peace: stories of Australian peacekeepers," Australian War Memorial, accessed 12 June 2017, https://www.awm.gov.au/visit/exhibitions/peacekeeping. Australia had major peacekeeping operations in Cambodia, Somalia and Rwanda in the 1990s, and many unofficial works by George Gittoes about these conflicts were collected by the AWM Art Section. In the late 1990s there were also discussions at the AWM about adding peacekeepers to the Roll of Honour. After an Australian serviceman was killed in a peacekeeping operation in 1988 the Memorial decided that peacekeepers generally should be added to the Roll of Honour, although the details of this question were debated and peacekeepers were not finally added to the Roll of Honour until many years later. Peter Londey, "Known Soldiers: The Roll of Honour at the Australian War Memorial," in *When the Soldiers Return: November 2007 Conference Proceedings*, ed. Martin Crotty (Brisbane: University of Queensland, 2009), 266.

[1110] Minute, "Appointment of Official War Artist(S) to East Timor," Lola Wilkins (Art Section, AWM) to Director and Assistant Director, 17 September 1999; 99/2904. This document states that the draughtsmanship skills of Rick Amor and Wendy Sharpe made them desirable for the appointment.

[1111] In interview, Wilkins explained this in reference to the reinstatement of the official war art scheme, and sending Amor to East Timor: '…we couldn't just send the artist, we had to have Defence on board because they had to get the person there, so they have clearances, issues, because if they take an artist that's one less soldier…' Interview with Lola Wilkins (former AWM Head of Art), Canberra, 8 May 2014.

[1112] The Troubles in Northern Ireland spanned the late 1960s to the late 1990s, and the IWM reinstated official war art commissions through a new committee called the Artistic Records Committee in 1972 (later the Art Commissions Committee).

[1113] If we discount the surplus impressions of Dyson's lithographs in the AWM print collection, the Australian official war artist prints account for just over 5% of the print collection.

Through these official commissions to East Timor the AWM was able to portray Australia as a nation that lent a military presence when allies, or neighbours, were in need of aid.[1114] A small number of prints were produced as a result of these commissions, which were the beginning of the representation of a new set of conflicts in the print collection. The few prints by the official war artists helped the AWM to shape a narrative of the conflict, and presented Australia's foreign relations in a certain light to its visitors: particularly as they were produced under circumstances which were inaccessible to most Australians, and through official avenues. Sharpe and Amor both created prints that pictured the Australian military in East Timor, or the rebuilding of East Timor following conflict. Sharpe produced five soft-ground etchings of human interest subjects, such as the Australian military Christmas Eve concert, and East Timorese children on Christmas Day (f.116). Her instructions were to make works about, 'subjects concerning the INTERFET operations in East Timor… particular areas of interest… are the representation of the diversity of ADF involvement, the impact of the conflict on East Timor and the civilian population, and the multi-national nature of the peacekeeping force.'[1115] Sharpe chose to focus on the people of the ADF and East Timor in many of her works, which complemented her usual focus on the figure and drawing from life. This style was probably one reason Sharpe was chosen for the appointment, but it was also important to the AWM that Sharpe was the first woman official war artist since 1945.[1116] She depicted the ADF personnel, as well as the East Timorese, in a sympathetic light.[1117]

Amor only produced one print as part of his commission, but it is a striking lithograph of a desolated East Timorese landscape. *East Timor 1999,* shows the wide-scale destruction that Amor saw in East Timor following the conflict, and it gives a sense of the silent eerie scenery (f.117).[1118] In comparison to Sharpe's work this print avoids human sentiment and forces the viewer into a detached consideration of the conflict in East Timor. Amor was chosen because

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[1114] Australia's involvement in East Timor may have contributed to a surge of nationalism apparent in the 1990s. While Australian nationalism has always existed, it has been written about as being 'recrudescent' in the 1990s: Katya Johanson and Hilary Glow, "Honour Bound in Australia: From Defensive Nationalism to Critical Nationalism," *National Identities* 11, no. 4 (2009), 385. It is linked with the re-emergence of commemoration in the 1990s of past wars involving Australia.

[1115] Note, "Agreement between the AWM and Wendy Sharpe," Art Section (AWM), 8 December 1999; 99/3026.

[1116] Steve Gower, "Wendy Sharpe (b. 1960): Midnight at Suai Cathedral," in *Artist's in Action : From the Collection of the Australian War Memorial*, ed. Lola Wilkins (Canberra: Australian War Memorial, 2003), 156.

[1117] Sharpe and Amor may have been influenced by their attachment to the military in the way that Gray was concerned about years earlier.

[1118] This print is related to his large-scale painting, *Rural destruction* (1999-2000), for which he used Sukoloro, which had been burnt to the ground, as the backdrop.

the urban environment and its inhabitants have been the subject of his work for a number of years, and the AWM wanted his treatment of this theme for their official war art commission.[1119] The contrast between Amor and Sharpe's art demonstrates how different two artist's reactions to the same topic can be. However, Sharpe was sent to East Timor after Amor, at a time when tensions had lessened.[1120] The work of Sharpe and Amor has been criticised for its remoteness to the actual situation for East Timorese people, possibly a product of their attachment to INTERFET and short-term deployments.[1121] Neither questioned the Australian military in their works or delved deeply into the political tensions that sparked the conflict. They reported on what they saw of East Timor and the presence of the Australian military, and in this way their work, including their prints, were more akin to the lithographs of Dyson than other non-official works in the print collection.

One group of prominent AWM stakeholders are current military personnel, who see themselves represented in the AWM's official art,[1122] and this brings into question the ability of official war art to criticise the nation and the Australian military. Jon Cattapan, who was later appointed as an Australian official war artist to East Timor in 2009, took the attitude that the official war artists are not there to be champions of the army, and he felt he could achieve what he wanted to in his own work while meeting the AWM's expectations for the commission.[1123] Cattapan created works about the foreignness of the Australian military in East Timor, and the foreignness of the soldiers' experiences. He went to East Timor with a specific idea in mind of how to engage with the commission, and he produced a series of paintings as well as monoprints. He planned to incorporate his previous work on night time scenes and city scapes, and thus in his paintings he decided to work with the night vision goggles that soldiers used when they went out on patrol.[1124] He created a unique triptych oil

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[1119] For a discussion of Amor's art see: Gary Catalano, *The Solitary Watcher : Rick Amor and His Art* (Carlton South, Vic: Melbourne University Press, 2001).

[1120] She was there a few weeks later than Amor, and she even witnessed a tour of duty concert for the Australian military: Catherine Speck, "Wendy Sharpe: Official War Artist in East Timor," *Artlink* 33, no. 3 (2013), 66-67.

[1121] Jennifer Phipps, "Power and Art in East Timor," *Artlink* 28, no. 1 (2008), 56-57.

[1122] For example, they are portrayed in the works of official war artists, such as eX de Medici and Ben Quilty.

[1123] Interview with Jon Cattapan (official war artist to East Timor), conducted over the phone, Canberra and Melbourne, 16 June 2014. Cattapan said, 'Yes, I was constrained by the subject matter, but I was also inspired by it.'

[1124] Interview with Jon Cattapan (official war artist to East Timor), conducted over the phone, Canberra and Melbourne, 16 June 2014.

on canvas[1125] for the AWM commission that harnessed the eerie effect of night vision goggles and gave viewers an insight into the visual experience of the Australian military.[1126] The works from Cattapan's commission entered the AWM art collection in 2009, and they were well received as works that conceptualised the experience of the Australian military. Cattapan had the impression during his commission that the AWM was in a state of change at that time, and he spoke in his interview about the increasing number of works by contemporary AWM official war artists that explored war experiences rather than war events.[1127]

The attack on the World Trade Centre in New York on 11 September 2001 began a new era of Australian military involvement in the global phenomenon known as 'the war on terror'.[1128] While no official prints were produced for the conflicts that followed, the art curators continued to collect many unofficial prints. In 2003 two prints were acquired that commented on the 11 September attacks – these were two inkjets on vinyl by Tony Coleing, a highly regarded Australian artist who had engaged with military themes since the 1990s. Titled *Hell hits Manhattan* (2001-2002) and *Penta-gone* (2001-2002) they were apocalyptic aerial images of Manhattan Island above the World Trade Centre and the Pentagon respectively (f.118). The images were digitally manipulated to incorporate a portrait of bin Laden, depicted in devil-like flames or smoke, and the ground was distorted and the colours lurid.[1129] In his work, Coleing focuses on the 'computer age' and many of its consequences – such as the possibility of international terrorism. The medium of the computer has fittingly been important to the creation of these images.[1130] Using digital print technology, Coleing was

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[1125] Jon Cattapan, *Night patrols (around Maliana)* (2009) oil on Belgian linen, 120 xo 300 cm (three panels), AWM ART 93993.

[1126] Laura Webster and Diana Warnes, *Perspectives: Jon Cattapan / Ex De Medici* (Canberra: Australian War Memorial, 2010), 8.

[1127] Interview with Jon Cattapan (official war artist to East Timor), conducted over the phone, Canberra and Melbourne, 16 June 2014.

[1128] The term 'war on terror' or 'global war on terror' was coined by President George W. Bush in an address to a joint session of the US Congress on 20 September 2001. It describes measures employed by the US and allied governments against organisations committing terrorist attacks. See: Gregory W. Morgan, "Global War on Terror," in *The Encyclopedia of Middle East Wars: The United States in the Persian Gulf, Afghanistan, and Iraq Conflicts, volume II: E-L*, ed. Spencer C. Tucker (Santa Barbara, California; Denver, Colorado; Oxford, England: ABC-CLIO, 2010), 486-488.

[1129] Acquisition Proposal, "Tony Coleing," Art Section (AWM), 11 June 2003; 03/0256.

[1130] In this way they are comparable to the 1980s digital print by Tim Head, collected by the IWM: See chapter 5. The artist in both cases has used a digital print medium to comment on the significance of digital technologies to our experience and understanding of contemporary conflict.

able to create prints on a large scale, using unusual mediums.[1131] These prints illustrated that the globalisation of war was accompanied by the globalisation of images of war.[1132] The portrait of Bin Laden, used by Coleing, was known to a large number of people in countries across the world. The images that were linked in the global public mind with the political and ideological turmoil behind the conflicts of the new millennium were ripe for artistic appropriation. The acquisition of these prints illustrated the Art Section's ambition to reflect the society of the present for the visitors of the future.

This new era of conflict was in a macabre sense an opportunity for the AWM Art Section to bring its collection to the forefront of contemporary art in Australia.[1133] In interview, Laura Webster speculated that the collecting of contemporary art by the AWM largely occurred due to contemporary conflicts.[1134] But these new conflict acquisitions held a further significance for the Art Section, as they pushed the Section's print collecting further than before in its political and avant-garde acquisitions. In print collecting, a focused response to the Second Gulf War, now known better as the Iraq War, occurred in 2005, and included print series that linked their commentary on this War with wider political and social concerns – social discussions of which the Art Section curators were aware. A new series of four etchings from Ray Arnold, known as the *Bayeux soldier* series (2004), used a layering effect to link the current soldiers in Iraq with past military conflicts, and depicted soldiers wearing their equipment (f.119).[1135] The focus on equipment and apparel harkens back to his past series *Body Armour*, where using disassembled armour of the French King Henri IV (1589-1610) Arnold explored the idea of embellished metal protecting and enclosing the body, and the role of Henri as a heroic soldier and commander. The artist wrote of the parallel series'

> Concepts of woven surfaces and soldiers' 'kits' are employed to construct images
> about protection...Australian soldiers are deployed in Iraq as I write...[they] are still in

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[1131] "A Communication Error Has Occurred!," press release for exhibition: Tony Coleing Recent Work, (Sydney: Utopia Art, 2003). In this case the AWM conservators were reassured as to the durability of the material. Acquisition Proposal, "Tony Coleing," Art Section (AWM), 11 June 2003; 03/0256.

[1132] As described in the previous chapter, real-time images of war were first made global through satellite technology in the First Gulf War. Sir Peter Anson and Dennis Cummings, "The First Space War: The Contribution of Satellites to the Gulf War " *RUSI Journal* 136, no. 4 (1991), 45-53.

[1133] This was discussed in interview with Stanley: Interview with Peter Stanley (former AWM Principal Historian), Canberra, 10 June 2014.

[1134] Interview with Laura Webster (AWM senior curator), Canberra, 22 May 2014.

[1135] Acquisition Proposal, "Ray Arnold," Art Section (AWM), 31 October 2005; 99/0946.

danger as they were on the Somme...the prints are symbols of 'wishful thinking' in most respects but none the less remain tokens of protection for them...[1136]

In his earlier print series, *Memory/History Suite* (1998), Arnold represented the endurance of public memory of the First World War and its ability to effect personal emotion.[1137] By linking the vulnerability of soldiers in the contemporary war with the memory of carnage in past wars, he was traversing the memory/history divide for a contemporary audience.[1138] In a way these prints brought together a number of concerns of the Memorial in one set of objects – including making past conflicts relevant to the present. This series set the tone for the type of contemporary work that was to be acquired for the print collection in connection to the recent conflicts. Unlike the documentary records of the official artists sent to East Timor, the prints acquired from this time commented on the morality of new wars.

As the AWM curators continued to collect prints related to the Iraq War it became apparent that their inclusion of culturally diverse perspectives in print acquisitions would provide new political comments on the war. In 2006, the Art Section acquired a series of prints relating to the Iraq war by Fatima Killeen (b.1968), which particularly criticised Australia's involvement in the war from a Moroccan/Australian artist's perspective.[1139] Killeen's work was on display at ANCA Gallery in Canberra, and from this the AWM acquired four of her prints.[1140] They were colour collograph prints, made by gluing materials to paper, and then using that surface as the inked matrix. Materials such as fabric, cut out shapes and plastics can be seen in the imagery of Killeen's prints, used to create tessellating patterns that referenced Islamic art.[1141]

[1136] Quoted on AWM website: "Bayeux Soldier I (Study)," Australian War Memorial, accessed 26 March 2015, https://www.awm.gov.au/collection/ART92870/. Also see: Raymond Arnold and Katherine McDonald, *Body Armour : Char Corps* (Mt. Nelson, Tasmania: Partners Press, 2005).

[1137] Caroline Durré, "Review of Raymond Arnold and Danny Mcdonald 'Press/Print' at Australian Galleries Works on Paper, Melbourne 1999," *Imprint* 34, no. 4 (1999), 13.

[1138] Key scholarship in the 1980s introduced the concept of memory as converse to history. Modern scholarship often argues that memory and history are not really opposites: Kerwin Lee Klein, "On the Emergence of *Memory* in Historical Discourse," *Representations* 69, no. Winter (2000), 127-129.

[1139] Through her art Killeen hopes to bridge the divide between the Arab world and the West. Omar bin Musa, "Between Two Worlds," *The Canberra Times*, 28 August 2006.

[1140] In October 2005 Fatima held an exhibition, *Oil, Stone and Soil* at the ANCA Gallery in Dickson, Canberra of her most recent works (12-23 October). Acquisition Proposal, "Fatima Killeen," Art Section (AWM), 14 March 2006; 05/1162.

[1141] There is significance to Killeen using found objects in her works – she uses fabrics to represent women's stories, and thinks about how the materials of her found objects create different associations for the viewer. Fatima Killeen, "Faith Fashion Fusion: Muslim Women's Style in Australia," PowerHouse Museum blog, 2012, accessed 14 June 2017, http://www.powerhousemuseum.com/faithfashion/sartorial-stories/fatima-killeen/.

Killeen also used Islamic calligraphy, sometimes alongside silhouettes of oil rigs and other symbols for the Iraq War and political greed.[1142] Two of her prints were particularly potent political comments with their titles of *"The piecekeeping mission"* and *"We do not endorse the content"*; the first referring to Australia's arguably unethical involvement in the Iraq War, and the second referring to the media's representation of the conflict (f.120).[1143] In the acquisition proposal, the Art Section were not circumspect when giving their reasons for acquiring this protest work, stating

> [these prints] are important images exploring how the conflict in Iraq, in which Australia continues to be involved, is impacting upon this country and the Middle East as a whole, through cultural and physical destruction, economic sanctions and the loss of infrastructure and resources.[1144]

Killeen's identity as a Muslim Australian woman was important in this series – and her prints contained political critique that went beyond what the AWM would normally promote in its galleries.[1145] Perhaps tellingly, Killeen's prints were not displayed in the decade following the Memorial's acquisition of them. They finally went on temporary display in part of the AWM's permanent galleries in 2016.[1146] This could be viewed as an indication of increasing willingness at the AWM to encourage political debate.

The Art Section's collecting of critical prints represented a departure from its very early print collecting following the First World War. When collecting for historical conflicts, such as the two world wars, or the Vietnam War, the Art Section argued for the importance of collecting the art of enemy forces, as a way to include a broad understanding of conflict in the AWM narratives, which avoided narrow remembrances of war.[1147] For example, the perspectives of German soldiers from the First World War were represented in some print acquisitions.

[1142] The Islamic calligraphy in the two prints discussed refers to God being the only creator and destroyer of life irrespective of wars, and carries the underlying protest message of the series of prints. A reviewer of her exhibition stated that these works were obviously made in the spirit of anti-war art: Sasha Grishin, "The Other Side of the War on Terror," *The Canberra Times*, 3 September 2003.

[1143] Acquisition Proposal, "Fatima Killeen," Art Section (AWM), 14 March 2006; 05/1162.

[1144] Ibid.

[1145] Some of Killeen's prints have been on display in the AWM's post-1945 conflicts galleries. See chapter 9 for further discussion on displaying prints at the AWM.

[1146] Information taken from AWM collections database, MICA.

[1147] For example, see Gray's argument for the purchase of a print by Erich Heckel (in Chapter 7).

However, with contemporary conflicts one current Art Section curator pointed out that it was difficult to collect art that was representative of terrorist organisations or certain political regimes.[1148] Hence, the Art Section began to focus on collecting the perspectives of people from countries such as Iraq and Afghanistan currently in Australia, who had been affected by the wars involving Australia, particularly those people who arrived in Australia as refugees of war.[1149] One example of this collecting was the acquisition of a set of prints produced by Afghani refugees living in South Australia. This series was unlike any else that had been collected from the War in Afghanistan, since it did not depict the experience of Australian soldiers or the Australian military at work. These prints spoke to the feelings of the Afghani refugees; they talked about memory, family and experience. For example, the linocut *Where should I go? Futureless* (2003) by Sayed Muzafar Hussaini (active 2003), clearly expressed feelings of displacement (f.121). The prints were produced as part of a program of mental health, and were testament to how printmaking remains an art medium of the disenfranchised.[1150] To date, these are the only prints in the collection that specifically address the War in Afghanistan.[1151]

The importance of the message and the medium

The Art Section under Wilkins was slowly changing, not just in terms of the conflicts represented in art collecting and the types of prints being collected, but also in the composition of the section itself. Curators from a new generation employed in the Art Section were involved in collecting political and analytical prints, and they held an attitude that collecting for the AWM should aim to develop an art appreciating audience.[1152] They believed art acquired by AWM curators should either create a broader understanding of conflict, and

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[1148] Interview with Laura Webster (AWM senior curator), Canberra, 22 May 2014.

[1149] Interview with Laura Webster (AWM senior curator), Canberra, 22 May 2014.; interview with Ryan Johnston (AWM Head of Art), Canberra, 2 July 2014. He says that when collecting for the future, he wants the Afghani immigrants to Australia to be able to come to the AWM in ten years' time and see their experience represented.

[1150] The linocuts were created during art therapy workshops. They were later incorporated into a travelling exhibition – 'Pictures in My Heart', which became a sell-out show during the 2004 Adelaide Fringe Festival. By July 2005, all the artists involved in producing works for the 'Pictures in My Heart' exhibition had been granted permanent protection in Australia. Acquisition Proposal, "Afghan Refugee Prints," Art Section (AWM), 15 February 2007; 06/0625. The Art Section had the opportunity to take quite a number of these linocuts, but they instead made a selection of five: From correspondence on file: Email Claire Baddeley (Art Section, AWM), 23 August 2006; 06/0625.

[1151] Otherwise, the conflict is represented in the AWM art collection by official war artist paintings and photographs.

[1152] Interview with Laura Webster (AWM senior curator), Canberra, 22 May 2014.; interview with Warwick Heywood (AWM curator), Canberra, 22 May 2014.

interpret history not just document it, or convey emotional experience.[1153] The newer Art Section curators came from a slightly different career background from previous curators, like Gray and Wilkins, because they had more specialised university education for their roles. This university education may have been in the form of visual arts training, or it may have come from a specialised Art History and Curatorship degree.[1154] Interviews reveal that some of them were attracted to the AWM for the subject matter in the art collection, as they had engaged with theoretical debates in art and war in their courses.[1155] The new generation of curators in the Art Section had a subject-focused approach to their acquisitions, which may have also reflected an increased focus on conflict as subject matter for contemporary artists internationally.

The effect of such a background may be linked with the current Art Section not viewing the print collection as its own sub-collection necessarily.[1156] In interviews these curators, such as Laura Webster and Warwick Heywood, have stated that they usually collect works based on subject matter, or a work's engagement with the themes of the Memorial, or interesting themes in contemporary art discussions, rather than attempting to create a representative body of works from each art medium.[1157] Heywood said that AWM curators collect based on a range of values, including aesthetic value, sophistication in an artist's handling of the subject, its representational value (for example, soldier art would be assessed on different criteria to a contemporary artist's work).[1158] This younger generation of curators has its own theoretically-informed perception of what the focus for art collecting at the Memorial should be. Webster

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[1153] Interview with Warwick Heywood (AWM curator), Canberra, 22 May 2014.; interview with Laura Webster (AWM senior curator), Canberra, 22 May 2014.; interview with Ryan Johnston (AWM Head of Art), Canberra, 2 July 2014.

[1154] For example: "Programs and Courses: Bachelor of Art History and Curatorship," Australian National University, accessed 11 March 2015, http://programsandcourses.anu.edu.au/program/BAHCR.

[1155] Warwick Heywood looked for a curatorial job at the AWM because his Honours thesis from the College of Fine Arts, Sydney (now University of New South Wales Art & Design) looked at the representation of the soldier. He was interested in critical ideas around the military and art. He expected the AWM to be a conservative institution, but one where he may be able to engage with interesting ideas. Ryan Johnston also had a war art element to his PhD. Laura Webster had worked with the National Gallery of Australia's Ken Tyler print collection. From: Interview with Warwick Heywood (AWM curator), Canberra, 22 May 2014.; interview with Ryan Johnston (AWM Head of Art), Canberra, 2 July 2014.; interview with Laura Webster (AWM senior curator), Canberra, 22 May 2014.

[1156] The theoretical backgrounds of the contemporary curators may have also had an effect on the official war art scheme, which in recent years has commissioned a string of Postmodernist artists.: Interview with Warwick Heywood (AWM curator), Canberra, 22 May 2014.

[1157] Interview with Laura Webster (AWM senior curator), Canberra, 22 May 2014.; interview with Warwick Heywood (AWM curator), Canberra, 22 May 2014.

[1158] Interview with Warwick Heywood (AWM curator), Canberra, 22 May 2014.

said that the lack of focus on any one art medium allows for AWM curators to assess art objects from different mediums together. She pointed out that large art collections, such as the National Gallery of Australia, separate out their collections by medium.[1159] This reflects their need to prioritise art historical narratives, but it also arguably limits their ability to make cross-media acquisition decisions.

Contemporary artists often work across mediums themselves, finding the best one for their artistic expression. Artists who turn to printmaking will often try out a range of techniques. With the combination of the Art Section's open and concept oriented collecting, and the exploration of new print techniques by contemporary artists, the AWM began to acquire prints which employed experimental techniques to craft a particular message about war. These techniques were sometimes prompted by new technology, and sometimes they revived past printmaking technologies.[1160] Printmaking has traditionally been a medium that encourages technical experimentation, and sometimes artists invent their own unique printmaking techniques. Jon Cattapan, the official artist to East Timor who produced the series of paintings inspired by night vision goggles (discussed earlier) also used an experimental printmaking technique that he calls 'carbon drawings' as part of his official war art commission. He created a set of these to satisfy the commission requirements for a number of small works on paper (f.122).[1161]

When Cattapan creates a carbon drawing, he firstly makes a freehand drawing onto paper from elements chosen from a digital photograph printout, and then he traces this drawing onto the final work, creating a 'double drawing'.[1162] The carbon drawings for the official

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[1159] Interview with Laura Webster (AWM senior curator), Canberra, 22 May 2014. Webster suggested that when comparing works across different mediums a curator is able to identify similar themes or lines of discussion among a range of contemporary art.

[1160] This simultaneous movement towards new technologies and going back to simple forms of printmaking has been echoed in the wider contemporary art scene: Paul Coldwell, *Printmaking: A Contemporary Perspective* (London: Black Dog Publishing, 2010), 42. One example of this from the AWM included thermal prints on cotton by the artist Elena Gallegos, created in 2001-2003 and acquired in 2003. These prints used a technique of heat printing photographs onto fabric, to create a work like *America Flag in Australia Map* (2001). Thermal prints can be made with a heat sensitive vinyl material, called Thermo Print. This object is a quilted American Flag in the shape of Australia, which is a comment on the role of American politics in the military actions of Australia. Its acquisition in 2003 suggested the AWM curators might have seen its potential use as a criticism of Australia's entry into the Iraq War as a direct consequence of the decisions of the Bush administration in the US.

[1161] Webster and Warnes, *Perspectives*, 5.

[1162] Jon Cattapan says of his carbon drawings: 'In a sense they are dual drawings because one drawing is destroyed by tracing over the top of it, but it stays as a fragile drawing. It meant that I could cannibalise the

commission were composites of digital photographs of East Timor taken by the artist himself. Figures and objects were selected from different photographs and layered to create a unique image.[1163] These works demonstrate the importance of the medium to the message of the image, because the transfer print process combined with the uniqueness of each image gives a sense of the soldier figures being placed in the landscape. Cattapan had been using this technique before his commission, and while he calls them 'carbon drawings', the AWM classifies them as a series of monoprints.[1164] Cattapan's commission has been characterized by the Memorial as a shift in official war art commissions to a more curatorial approach than previously, with a wider diversity of practices and media consciously sought.[1165] Following Cattapan's commission, the AWM held an exhibition of his work that featured his monoprints, called *Perspectives*. His work appeared alongside that of another commissioned artist, eX de Medici, and in the exhibition the curators highlighted the artistic practice of both artists.[1166]

Another work responding to the Vietnam War using new printmaking techniques was acquired around this time, and this print also demonstrated how the process of art-making can in itself be a way to show the human consequences and questionable morality of war. This was a large ink jet print by Terry Eichler (b.1945) titled *Meditation on 2,063,500 deaths* (2009) (f.123). It was produced using ink jet printing, as well as collage and pencil on

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images. I have a good sense that they tell for me a story of experience of being there with soldiers on patrol, on day patrols, they were added into the final painting. You can cannibalise images, circulate them.' Interview with Jon Cattapan (official war artist to East Timor), conducted over the phone, Canberra and Melbourne, 16 June 2014.

[1163] Webster and Warnes, *Perspectives*, 6.

[1164] Interview with Laura Webster (AWM senior curator), Canberra, 22 May 2014.; interview with Jon Cattapan (official war artist to East Timor), conducted over the phone, Canberra and Melbourne, 16 June 2014. The AWM Art Section classify Jon Cattapan's 'carbon drawings' as monoprints, because of the technique he uses. Cattapan is happy for them to classify this technique as a form of printmaking although he himself does not. An explanation of the technique was provided in the AWM's 'Perspectives' exhibition: 'The monoprint drawings he calls the *Carbon group* are composites of digital photographs taken by the artist during his time in Timor–Leste. The works are created by a process which mimics the use of old-fashioned carbon copies. The images are not exact replicas, but drawn freehand from printouts of the digital photographs and traced onto paper. This transfer process gives the resulting works a heightened sense of removal from the events the artist witnessed, so that they become, in effect, an imaginative retelling of these events.' From: Laura Webster and Diana Warnes, "Perspectives: Jon Cattapan and Ex De Medici," *Exhibitions, Australian War Memorial*, 2010, accessed 20 November 2014, https://www.awm.gov.au/exhibitions/perspectives/cattapan.asp.

[1165] Johnson pinpoints this shift in official war art commissions to the appointment of Brown and Green in 2007: Ryan Johnston, "Recalling history to duty: 100 years of Australian war art," *Artlink* 35, no. 1 (2015), 17.

[1166] Webster and Warnes, *Perspectives*

Vietnamese note paper.[1167] Eichler was conscripted for the Vietnam War in his early twenties, and worked as an interpreter. He was greatly affected by his experiences during the war. The background to the work is a photograph taken by Eichler while out on patrol. It shows seven Vietnamese children standing in front of charcoal kilns. The photograph for Eichler personified the resilience of the children. The photograph was printed in a large scale, with the entire work constructed from 24 different A4 pages. Over the ink jet print, Eichler has drawn triangular hat symbols, each one representing 50 Vietnamese deaths. Other symbols at the end of the piece represented deaths from other nationalities. The process of drawing the symbols was for Eichler a meditative experience, a way of honouring the individuals behind the symbols.[1168] Eichler created the print so that he himself could come to an emotional understanding of the subject of the work, and the printing technique of ink jet was used within the piece for this objective. A print like this moves beyond documenting war, or even analysing war, to become a therapeutic processing of war.

Digital techniques in printmaking, using computer technologies, have been gaining importance in the world of art, and their presence in the AWM art collection has also been increasing. Digital technologies allow for the easy juxtaposition of images and ideas,[1169] exemplified in the prints of Australian artists Gordon Bennett and Michael Callaghan, acquired by the Art Section. In their works, various references and symbols are included to discuss the complexities of the Iraq War. In 2009 an inkjet print by Bennett was purchased called *Always in the name of God* (2006) (f.124).[1170] In a critical manner, the print made reference to the Iraq War, but it also commented generally on the nature of war, and the context of events that led to the War in Iraq. As in many cases in printmaking, the technique

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[1167] Information from AWM collections database, MICA. This work was purchased by the AWM after it was exhibited in the Casula Powerhouse exhibition *Nam Bang!* (4 April – 21 June 2009). Acquisition Proposal, "Terry Eichler," Art Section (AWM), 24 June 2009; 09/1613.

[1168] Artist statement, "Some Background Information About 'Meditation on 2,063,500 Deaths'," Terry Eichler, 24 Feburary 2009; 09/1613. The number of symbols would have taken a long time to inscribe, and helps the artist to be conscious of the number of deaths which occurred.

[1169] Paul Coldwell, "New Technology New Opportunities," in *Printmaking: A Contemporary Perspective* (London: Black Dog Publishing, 2010), 159-181.

[1170] The Art Section were late in acquiring things from this exhibition of Gordon Bennett's and this ink jet print was one of the last things left. From: Interview with Lola Wilkins (former AWM Head of Art), Canberra, 8 May 2014. Laura Webster said: 'I would say that in the acquisition process, finding it sometimes is the hardest part before getting it through, I mean that's with other mediums as well, it's just again because we're so specific it's really trying to keep your eyes out to get those acquisitions, before you even attempt to get them through.' Both Wilkins and Webster say that no one had thought to tell the AWM the exhibition was happening. They do not always get thought of by the art world, although that attitude is slowly changing. Interview with Laura Webster (AWM senior curator), Canberra, 22 May 2014.

had the effect of allowing the artist to bring together varied motifs sourced from a variety of imagery in the popular imagination. Bennett incorporated the New York skyline and a plane to indicate the attacks on the World Trade Center, and he included dead bodies below, alongside a black bible with a white crucifix inscribed with 'morte' (death). In the print, the background of pink pixels has been overwritten with references from the Koran. Bennett linked the current conflict with previous conflicts in Australia's past – of wars between Indigenous and settler communities. Bennett made artistic links in this print as well, as the New York cityscape was appropriated from works by Jean-Michel Basquiat.[1171] This grisly scene depicts an event, but also a particular global moment in time, and all the destruction in the world at that time – denoted by the appropriation and synthetisation of global images.

The historical narrative shaped by the curators' print collecting was one which linked geographical, temporal and cultural spaces. Another example of this was the acquisition of a set of digital prints in response to Australia's continued involvement in the war on terror and the Iraq War, which was purchased in 2010, from Michael Callaghan, called *Antara* and *Iraqi Civilian Casualties* (2009-2010).[1172] The digital prints were the product of an Arts Fellowship at the School of Art, Australian National University.[1173] The entire body of work *The Torture Memo – recent works* included sculpture and screenprints, where Callaghan merged images of war and terror with English and Islamic text, as can be seen in *Iraqi Civilian Casualties* (f.125). One newspaper article about the exhibition wrote that Callaghan wished for the prints to entice viewers to think about the conflict, rather than impose his own political beliefs. The article stated they were collected by the AWM 'despite their implicit criticism of the Iraq conflict',[1174] as if criticism of war was not something that the reporter expected to see at the AWM.[1175] Callaghan's prints were displayed outside the Research Centre at the AWM near the post 1945 conflict galleries, but not as part of the display within these galleries. This is

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[1171] This information appeared on the acquisition proposal for the work, but could also be found on the AWM website: "Always in the Name of God," Australian War Memorial, accessed 7 November 2014, http://www.awm.gov.au/collection/ART94000/.

[1172] Earlier in his career, Callaghan was involved with Redback Graphix, a printmaking and poster collaborative from the 1980s, which set a new bench mark for artistic posters and their involvement with political protest in Australia. Anna Zagala, *Redback Graphix* (Canberra: National Gallery of Australia, 2008).

[1173] The works partly came to the attention of the War Memorial staff because of the proximity of the ANU to the AWM in Canberra.

[1174] Andrew Taylor, "Softly, Softly Approach to Vicious War," *The Sun-Herald*, 20 June 2010.

[1175] This testified to a perception that these types of print acquisitions were different from the usual collecting directions of the AWM (despite the collecting of political subject matter being by then well established in the Art Section, particularly with print collecting).

partly because of the lack of room for artworks of different sizes to be displayed in the post 1945 area of the AWM. The Art Section often use a corridor at the end of those galleries to display their works, which allows them more freedom in what they can display.[1176] Callaghan's analytical works were not out of place in this area of the display; but neither were they featured in the main historical galleries.

A new guard at the AWM and a return to commemorative collecting

In 2012, Lola Wilkins retired and the management of the Art Section was handed over to a new Head of Art, Ryan Johnston, who had come to the Section from a previous position as Acting Director of Shepparton Art Museum. Johnston's new objectives for the AWM art collection intend for it to become a key national collection for Australia that engages with contemporary art discussions. He also strives to maintain certain directions in art collecting that occurred under his predecessors. For example, he feels that the internationalism of the print collection is important to maintain, as a way to combat parochial perspectives on war history.[1177] Many of the staff working under Wilkins remained in their positions, creating some sense of continuity of purpose for the Art Section rather than a complete renewal. However, in 2012 there were new appointments made to a number of key management positions at the AWM. In interviews, the curators discussed the importance of the role played not just by AWM Directors, but Assistant Directors, for the Art Section. This is because usually prints are such small acquisition items in terms of budget that they are not required to go before Council or even the AWM Director, but every acquisition has to go by the Assistant Director for sign off, so for the curator it is important to have an Assistant Director who is sympathetic to their vision for the collection. The AWM curators say they have a supportive Assistant Director in Tim Sullivan, who is encouraging of innovative approaches to art at the Memorial, so in the current AWM climate they are able to pursue the directions that they think are right for the collection.[1178]

Johnston's tenure has coincided with a new Director for the AWM, with the placement of Dr Brendan Nelson in the position. Nelson, as a former politician, was an unexpected appointment as AWM Director in 2012. He applied for the position after it was publicised

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[1176] This was certainly true at the time I worked at the AWM, and artworks are still hung in this space today.

[1177] Interview with Ryan Johnston (AWM Head of Art), Canberra, 2 July 2014.

[1178] Interview with Warwick Heywood (AWM curator), Canberra, 22 May 2014.; interview with Ryan Johnston (AWM Head of Art), Canberra, 2 July 2014.

that the Memorial would consider hiring a director without military experience. Nelson was a former Defence Minister for Australia, and was involved in a controversial political decision to send the Australian military into Afghanistan.[1179] He has brought to the AWM his own focus that is steeped in commemoration and a sentimental remembrance of war.[1180] The change in leadership for both the Memorial and the Art Section also occurred around the same time as the centenary of the First World War, which in Australia effectively commenced with the official opening of the newly renovated First World War galleries at the AWM in 2015.[1181] This was in contrast to the UK institutions, which commenced their First World War celebrations with the 'declaration of war' on 4 August in 2014.[1182] The coming together of these various people and events created a new and very specific environment for the AWM Art Section, where they continued with a highly contemporary mode of collecting under Johnston, but also engaged to a high degree with commemoration of the First World War as required by the Director and preparations for the centenary.[1183] Johnston's attitude is that there are different ways to interpret commemoration, and that contemporary art and commemoration can align.[1184]

A work that blends contemporary interpretations of conflict and a commemorative element was discussed at a conference at the Australian National University in Canberra by Johnston in February 2014, *War Art and Truth*.[1185] This is a work by Tom Nicholson, collected by the Art Section, titled *Comparative monument (Palestine)* (2012) (f.126). The work is an installation piece that utilises printmaking.[1186] Nicholson has taken pictures of First World War monuments in Victoria, Australia, that list their war dead and mention Palestinian cities

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[1179] Mark Dapin, "Finding Ourselves in the Shadow of War," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 October 2013.

[1180] Interview with Peter Stanley (former AWM Principal Historian), Canberra, 10 June 2014. Stanley thinks that such a focus for the Memorial might have a detrimental effect on its research role. See also chapter 1.

[1181] The new AWM First World War galleries had a soft opening in December 2014 and an official opening on Anzac Day 2015: Alexandra Walton, "Australia in the Great War, Australian War Memorial, Canberra," *Australian Historical Studies* 46, no. 2 (2015), 304.

[1182] Some centenary events began in the UK even before the 4 August date: see the First World War Centenary Partnership Events Calendar (led by the IWM): "First World War Centenary: Take Part in This Global Commemoration 2014-2018," First World War Centenary Partnership: Led by IWM, accessed 12 June 2017, http://www.1914.org/events-calendar/.

[1183] Interview with Laura Webster (AWM senior curator), Canberra, 22 May 2014.; interview with Warwick Heywood (AWM curator), Canberra, 22 May 2014.

[1184] Interview with Ryan Johnston (AWM Head of Art), Canberra, 2 July 2014.

[1185] Ryan Johnston, "The Traffic in History: Australian Public Memory and the First World War," (paper presented at the War, Art and Truth Conference, Australian National University, Canberra, 13-14 February 2014).

[1186] Interview with Ryan Johnston (AWM Head of Art), Canberra, 2 July 2014.: Johnston said that he would not class this work as a print, rather an assemblage or installation, but that it did include printmaking techniques.

where these people fought and died, and he has made many multiple prints of these images and arranged them into piles.[1187] The piles of prints are in a sense infinite since they can be reprinted from a digital file the artist has provided the Memorial.[1188] Viewers of the work are able to take copies of the monuments as they please. The artist added another element to the work when he visited Palestine and Israel, and created an exhibition of the piece, highlighting Australia's involvement in the region during the First World War.[1189] People viewing the images of the monuments could see the name of local towns inscribed on the memorials of small Australian towns. Their reactions to the exhibition were documented by Nicholson and brought back to the War Memorial.[1190] This movement between places and sites created a link between people and the places of Palestine or Israel and Australia, but it also commented on the way war can traverse geographical locations and locations in time.[1191] Nicholson was drawing a line between the First World War and the conflicts of today, showing how the First World War centenary still resonates with dilemmas of today.[1192] It is a comment on how the activity of commemoration blurs the past and present.

The most recent series of prints collected by the AWM link contemporary art practice with First World War commemoration, but they also comment on public war memorialisation and go to the heart of the materiality and the history of printmaking. This is a commissioned piece that began production in 2014 for the First World War Centenary: a folio of loose prints in a presentation box that brings together a number of contemporary artists to create prints from a sample of techniques, which respond to the AWM collection and the Centenary.[1193] A connoisseurship printmaking tradition was consciously invoked by the Section in their commissioning of this folio. Webster revealed that the idea of a print folio had been on the

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[1187] "Comparative Monument (Palestine), 2012," Tom Nicholson, 2014, accessed 12 March 2015, http://www.tomn.net/projects/2012_05/. See also: Tom Nicholson, *Project: Comparative Monument (Palestine)* (Massachusetts: ARTMargins and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2013), 87-92.
[1188] Interview with Laura Webster (AWM senior curator), Canberra, 22 May 2014.
[1189] "Comparative Monument," Nicholson.
[1190] Johnston, "The Traffic in History." And also: Nicholson, Tom, "Comparative Monument (Palestine)," Monash University Art Design & Architecture, accessed 12 March 2015, http://www.artdes.monash.edu.au/fineart/research.php#!/research/projects/comparative-monument-palestine.html.
[1191] Linking geographical and temporal places is a recurring theme in contemporary war prints collected by the AWM.
[1192] Johnston, "The Traffic in History." Also Interview with Laura Webster (AWM senior curator), Canberra, 22 May 2014.
[1193] Sally Pryor, "Anzac Prints an Exercise in Art and Memory," *The Canberra Times*, 5 December 2014. Curator, Laura Webster, is quoted in the article as saying the multiplicity of the print folio will allow it to be toured around simultaneous locations in Australia and New Zealand.

Art Section's agenda for a long time, and the Centenary was an opportune time for it.[1194] Heywood says the reason the Art Section wanted to create a print folio was because there were people within the Section who had a particular interest in printmaking, and while prints are not usually included in official art commissions, they suggested a print commission as a continuation of the AWM print collecting tradition.[1195] This is an example of how collections within collections can have a historical tradition which may be known to future curators.[1196] It is evidence that printmaking will continue to have a unique and protected position within the AWM Art Section's collecting.

The first artist to be commissioned for the print folio was Mike Parr, a celebrated Australian printmaker whose interests include self-portraiture and the distortion of memory over time (f.127). Parr's print explores the dichotomy of personal and public memory of war, and his own family's war history.[1197] The other artists commissioned include both printmakers and non-printmakers using the medium for the first time. They worked in the Canberra Megalo Print Studio alongside master printer John Loane. The artists were able to choose between a few traditional analogue print techniques, which Megalo Studio specialises in: namely etching, woodcut, lithography or screenprint.[1198] The folio contains works by ten artists from Australia and New Zealand and was officially acquired by the AWM for the First World War Centenary. It is also to be offered for donation to a number of 'peer institutions' around the world, including the IWM (an echo of the First World War print exchange between the IWM and AWM). Through this folio, prints will once again play the role of ambassador, carrier of a social message, focus for collaboration, and tool of artistic reflection on war.

[1194] Interview with Laura Webster (AWM senior curator), Canberra, 22 May 2014.

[1195] Interview with Warwick Heywood (AWM curator), Canberra, 22 May 2014.

[1196] Interview with Ryan Johnston (AWM Head of Art), Canberra, 2 July 2014.: 'It's about remembering the First World War today, so we're asking artists just to respond to the history and the legacy of the First World War in contemporary Australia and New Zealand.' The ten artists will be five Australians and five New Zealanders. Johnston goes on to say that each produce a print in an edition of twenty for a portfolio. It's their own perspective, they respond to the idea of the centenary and the First World War. The Art Section are looking for culturally diverse perspectives.

[1197] The image he created for the portfolio is a part self-portrait and part portrait of his father. See: "Anzac Centenary Print Portfolio: Australian War Memorial," companion booklet (Canberra, Australian War Memorial, 2016).

[1198] Interview with Laura Webster (AWM senior curator), Canberra, 22 May 2014.

The new era of the AWM saw the concentrated and continued collecting of prints, not far behind the extent of print collecting seen during the 1980s. Print acquisitions were broad in subject scope, responsive to public discussions and attitudes, and participative in political comment on contemporary warfare. The art curators had a certain amount of support from management over these years. At the same time, a commemorative approach to military history was a strong element at the AWM from the 1990s onwards, and influenced print collecting.

9. The position of prints in the IWM and AWM

Throughout the previous chapters I have argued that in the history of the IWM and AWM print collections, the curators were not always moving within the strict guidelines of their museums. To some extent, curators deferred to museum agendas, outlined in acquisition plans and corporate guidelines, when making their decisions. However, the histories of the print collections show that the art curators did not always collect within the museum remits. This chapter examines whether the print collections are subversive collections within their institutions, by investigating potential occasions for disjuncture between museum and collection in recent times. It also considers the art curators' motivations behind building the IWM and AWM print collections, and how they thought the print collections enriched the art collections overall. Finally, it discusses the history of using the print collections within the war museum displays. I argue that in both the IWM and AWM, the print collections are challenging to the museums; however, the varied voices present in the IWM print collection is an easier fit within its museum spaces, which contains diverse narratives and agendas compared with the more unified voice of the AWM exhibitions. The curators of the two war museums had similar motivations behind the way they developed the print collections, and valued the diversity to the overall art collection that prints could bring. To this day there continues to be challenging acquisitions made for both the IWM and AWM print collections, and these acquisitions are partly justified by the curators as building on earlier collecting decisions.

The print collections as subversive elements within the war museums

The discussion in chapter 1 on historical narratives and commemorative functions in the IWM and AWM, and the emotional role of art for visitor experiences, developed my argument about the underlying messages being promoted at the war museums. I argued that while the AWM was more influenced by the military through its Council and relations with the Australian Defence Force, there was military influence at both museums. Likewise, there was a commemorative element present at both museums, with sentimentalized commemoration particularly apparent at the AWM under the most recent Director, Brendan Nelson. The IWM had more variation in the tone of its displays from one gallery to the next, and conservative stakeholder influence was present in some IWM exhibitions, for example in the Lord Ashcroft Gallery. Both museums were clearly largely focused on national war histories in their narratives, but the varied IWM displays provided a platform for different

internal staff agendas. Chapters 3-8 explored how internal debates within the war museums occurred over the acquisition of some prints,[1199] and I argued in the introduction that this could be likened to Clifford's theory of museums as 'contact zones' where museums are places for contentious and collaborative interactions. The introduction also argued that art objects bring their own messages to war museum displays, and the print collections have the potential to have active voices within the museums. In this section I argue that the IWM and AWM print collections could be subversive to the messages of their war museums. This is in part because curators collect for what they anticipate to be of interest to future generations.[1200]

The characteristics of both the IWM and AWM print collections meant they were able to show a broad variety of responses to war, or critical interpretations of conflict. The print collections broadly supported a social history approach- because, as has been discussed throughout this thesis, they were often collected for the social historical narratives they could contribute to the two museums.[1201] Some examples given in the preceding chapters were the Dobrilla prints about the Yugoslavian conflict from the AWM, and the prints by Iraqi-Kurdish artist Walid Siti from the IWM.[1202] Was the print collection of one institution more subversive than the other? It is difficult to say because the objects stay the same in the museums, while the institutions change around them. As the IWM display discussed in chapter 1 was varied in its content and tone, so the prints supported some areas of the display more than others.[1203] The difference between the AWM messages and their print collection narratives was, if anything, more marked than at the IWM. This is because, in the period covered by this thesis, the AWM galleries focused predominantly on telling a chronological Australian military history using a traditional historical approach. In contrast the IWM galleries explored themes and social histories more in line with the sorts of divergent

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[1199] For example, the Alexis Hunter prints discussed in chapter 5 or the Noel Counihan prints discussed in chapter 7.

[1200] I made a case for how the colonial prints were subversive to the AWM when first collected in the 1970s, and later on in the Memorial's history as well, in chapters 6 and 7: for example, how the Mundy print challenged the argument that conflicts between Europeans and Indigenous peoples were not wars. This print was likely acquired with the idea that colonial conflicts could be a future collecting area for the AWM (see chapter 7).

[1201] In particular, see chapter 4.

[1202] See chapters 8 and 5.

[1203] Interviewees from the IWM commented that their display spaces were very varied in tone from one to the next. Interview with Sara Bevan (IWM curator), London, 23 November 2012.; interview with Diane Lees (IWM Director-General), London, 7 January 2013. In her 2013 interview, Lees said some areas of the IWM display have competing narratives, and she hoped the Museum would be shaped in the future so that the displays presented more of a consistent discussion around those areas.

narratives that suit the print collections. In chapter 2, I argued that the print collections showed characteristics that were prominent or particular to those collections, including their representations of international artists and subject matter, a propensity towards politicism, the inclusion of largely unofficial artist responses to war, a portion of allegorical and symbolist imagery, and a portion of graphically violent imagery. Each of these characteristics may be taken in turn to analyse to what extent they are potentially challenging or subversive to the war museums.

Many of the prints collected by both the IWM and AWM could support national narratives in the museums, particularly those which tell stories of the Australian or British experience of war by illustrating industry, or soldiers and civilians. However, as previously stated, one of the main distinctions of the print collections from the other parts of the art collections in both the IWM and AWM is their strong representation of international artists. These collections of international prints arguably challenge national narratives that may be present in the war museums, because they move outside the focus on the Australian or British experience of war. However, their effectiveness in challenging museum narratives depends to some extent on whether or not they are displayed, and the manner in which they are displayed. If they are hidden away in largely unseen corners of the museums, then they become somewhat marginalised. As discussed below, in the cases of the IWM and AWM both museums have featured their international prints in permanent display spaces and temporary exhibitions.

The German expressionist prints of Pechstein and Grosz acquired by the IWM, or Dix and Beckmann, acquired by the AWM, humanize the German soldiers of the First World War. In humanizing German soldiers, they question an assumption that British and Australian involvement in the First World War was fully justified and beyond reproach. Visitors to the war museums may be open to such historical interpretations. A visitor survey conducted at the AWM in the mid-1990s found that visitors who had not been personally involved in the Second World War wished to understand the 'motivations, culture and behaviour' of former enemies, and wanted displays to 'focus on the humanity' of the enemy.[1204] Prints by international artists about contemporary wars have the potential to be even more challenging

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[1204] This was in contrast to older visitors, who believed that attempts to humanise the former enemy would be inappropriate. Linda Ferguson, "In search of resolution: The Australian War Memorial, 'The Enemy,' and front-end evaluation," *Visitor Behaviour* XII, nos. 3-4 (1997), 27-28.

and subversive to visitors, however it is of note that neither collection has acquired contemporary prints that bring an international perspective that strongly criticizes Britain or Australia.[1205] The AWM prints by Afghan refugees bring an outsider's perspective on the effects of the Afghanistan War, which throws light on Australia's involvement in the war.

Political or social comment is frequently contained in the two print collections, particularly within the contemporary prints, and they almost always carry an anti-war message.[1206] It is difficult to know to what extent curators are able to include social or political comment in the displays without seeming partisan, particularly when engaging with a recent or ongoing public debate. Prints that present a political narrative or viewpoint may support or challenge governmental or stakeholder soft power within the museums, depending on the message of the political print and how closely it aligns with or rejects the message of the government or stakeholder influences. Examples within the AWM include: some of the Vietnam War prints do not show the Australian military in a positive light, particularly those produced by Australian veteran soldiers that criticize how Australian soldiers were treated, for example the Beattie prints, or question their own actions as soldiers, for example the Trew print.[1207] Other AWM prints challenge the hegemonic mono-cultural war narrative of the AWM, such as the Killeen, Bennett and Pike prints. From within the IWM, political prints also question government and military involvement in conflict, such as the Iraq War (for example, kennardphillips' *Photo Op*), or give a perspective to conflicts involving the British military from 'enemy' perspectives, such as the McCann and Davies prints about Northern Ireland. Political prints may support social histories, particularly if they are interpreted within their historical context, which in turn can often support an audience focused museum that wishes to create an interesting learning experience for their visitors.

Forms of soft power may be challenged by some prints, particularly at the AWM, because many of their prints were acquired during the 1980s when Anna Gray was collecting to

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[1205] The prints of Fatima Killeen, acquired by the AWM, may be the closest – see chapter 8.

[1206] Examples of political prints discussed in previous chapters include: The Joan Miro stencil from chapter 4; the Frank Rowe, Walid Siti, Ken Currie and Langlands and Bell prints from chapter 5; the Noel Counihan and Livingstone Hopkins prints from chapter 7; and the Antoinette Starkiewicz, Elena Gallegos and Gordon Bennett prints from chapter 8. These could all be argued to carry an anti-war message. There are also the examples of propaganda prints given throughout the thesis, which are political and clearly carry a pro-war message, such as the German Red Cross series and *Efforts and Ideals* series discussed in chapter 3.

[1207] The AWM poster collection also contains objects that challenge Australia's role in the Vietnam War, including a large group of anti-conscription and moratorium posters.

provide a counter-balance to dominant narratives at the Memorial. This is more likely to occur with prints that have been produced outside of official commissions, and therefore represent an unofficial and potentially anti-official response to war.[1208] Unofficial prints can bring voices to the war museum narrative that are not part of the main narrative, and may say different things about war history. For example, internee prints by Weissenborn, Kormis, and O. Hermann, tell the story of detention centres set up within Britain and Australia during the Second World War. Unofficial prints can redress the gender imbalance present in official commissions, such as prints by Stoneman, Hunter and Hanrahan, with these prints also presenting women's perspectives on the nature of warfare and its social impact. Unofficial prints can also bring in subversive opinions from within the military experience, such as the AWM Vietnam War prints or prints by Eli Jacobi, which show the soldier experience in a bad light. While official prints tend to document the activities of the military, such as the prints of Jon Cattapan, unofficial prints may document outside events and social changes related to war, such as the prints by Senbergs that discuss journalism, or prints by Gittoes and Judy Watson that discuss war's impact on the environment.

Prints that use allegory or symbolism in their imagery[1209] are possibly too obscure for modern generalist visitors to the war museums, particularly if the imagery is unfamiliar to them. For example, there are two prints from the First World War era in both the IWM and AWM collections, whose hidden meaning may be lost on today's visitors. Percy Smith's *Dance of Death* etchings draw on the 'Danse Macabre' allegory about death as the great equalizer of men. And Frank Brangwyn's *Freedom of the Seas* lithograph from the *Efforts and Ideals* series uses the symbol of a giant squid, which is a familiar image of the era (also found in a number of First World War posters) to represent the spread of enemy forces over Europe (f.128). The imagery of allegorical and symbolist prints may challenge the expectations of war museum visitors. Allegorical and symbolist prints are likely to support social histories over military histories, as they reveal more about cultural and social attitudes of the society which produced them, rather than factual details about events. They eschew the 'personal

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[1208] Even prints from later official commissions (such as those by Amor and Sharpe) are more akin to earlier official prints (such as Dyson), as argued in chapter 8.
[1209] For example, the de Bruycker and *Efforts and Ideals* prints discussed in chapter 3, the Currie and Delf Smith prints discussed in chapter 5, the Fabri print discussed in chapter 7, and the Bot and Killeen prints discussed in chapter 8.

stories' approach of the war museums.[1210] Symbolism in the prints of Counihan, Newton and Currie, Fabri, Gittoes, Bot, Beattie, Finlay etc. provide broad comments about death, politics, and war. Their imagery does not contain 'historical evidence', except to be evidence of historical social attitudes.

Prints are more likely to support analytical commemoration, rather than idealistic commemoration, which is subversive to government desires to control the commemorative narrative.[1211] This form of analytical commemoration also reveals and makes apparent the museum's own processes of public memory making. Many of the prints from both collections analyse commemoration itself: for example, at the IWM, Michael Sandle's prints look at monuments and structures as forgotten fragments of a past, while Annabel Dover's cyanotypes discuss how objects may prompt and promote certain war memories in individuals. At the AWM, Murray Kirkland's prints bring First World War remembrance back to the stories of individuals, and Tom Nicholson's installation shows how commemoration crosses borders in space and time. When viewed overall, only a certain percentage of the IWM and AWM print collections engage in discussions of commemoration, and usually when they do it is a broader analysis that they partake in. Commemoration can also be a subject through which to challenge assumptions about who should be remembered and how they should be remembered. The Anzac Centenary Print Portfolio does this through prints which bring non-Caucasian war stories to the fore, and by analysing personal and state forms of commemoration.

Some prints support discussions of grief and death in displays, which has the potential to be politically subversive for the military and government, which might prefer to gloss over the hard facts of war service. Scholars have raised concerns about the representation of grief and death in war art, particularly the potential for horror to be aestheticized, and therefore misrepresented as a thing of beauty.[1212] However, the print collection does not shy away from

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[1210] The foundation for the 'personal stories' approach at the IWM, for example, was discussed in chapter 3 with the decision to collect ordinary objects and the histories of the people connected to them. This approach is still in use today at the IWM, and drives many acquisition decisions, particularly in collecting areas outside the Art Section.

[1211] For example, earlier in the thesis I argued that some of the AWM prints with commemorative subject matter were not nationalist in tone because they focused on personal stories (see chapter 8: Hanrahan and Kirkland prints), and IWM prints with commemorative subject matter focused on the nature of war remembrance for contemporary audiences (see chapter 5: Arnold and Dover prints).

[1212] Monica Bohm-Duchen, *Art and the Second World War* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2013), 8.

these themes, and contains a number of images of grief or images of the true visceral horrors of war. The curators identify these images with certain printmakers who produced 'unofficial' images of frontline combat and focused on a 'grotesque' aesthetic.[1213] For example, physical horror is present in the Otto Dix *Der Krieg* series, and the prints by Félix Vallotton that show bodies tangled in barbed wire or Louis Forain that show dead French civilians. There are also prints that present psychological horror, from the Trevor Lyons series, to the Albert Adams series. Such imagery recognises that death and injury are a part of war, and forcefully addresses this fact. Other intimate images of grief are apparent in works such as the Kollwitz prints, which are some of the best art objects at the AWM for representing the subjects of loss and grief in wartime.

When considering whether or not to display images of violence, curators have to be sensitive to the various needs of visitors. Some people visit with small children. Some visitors to the AWM have had experience in the military and may be suffering from post-traumatic stress disorder. Some visitors may have lost a family member in war.[1214] The museum staff of the IWM and AWM are aware of the complexities of representing their difficult subject matter in a direct manner in a museum setting.[1215] In interview, Wilkins said the challenge at the AWM was to strike a balance between telling the full story and paying heed to the commemorative requirement, and she said it was a case of being honest, respectful of visitors and not using emotive language.[1216] The IWM sometimes approaches this problem by having a content warning for particular exhibitions. Overall, it is usually the curators who decide when, where and how to display confronting objects on a case by case basis.

The motivations behind building the IWM and AWM print collections

The print acquisition histories examined in the preceding six chapters and the interviews that I conducted with curators from the IWM and AWM reveal that the two Art Sections had similar reasons for building the print collections. These will be elaborated on below to reveal how these curators thought the print collection enriched the overall art collections. In

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[1213] Interview with Anna Gray (former AWM Head of Art), Canberra, 6 May 2014.; interview with Warwick Heywood (AWM curator), Canberra, 22 May 2014.; interview with Lola Wilkins (former AWM Head of Art), Canberra, 8 May 2014.

[1214] This was discussed in: Interview with Warwick Heywood (AWM curator), Canberra, 22 May 2014.

[1215] Mike Moody and Lyn Smith, *Mike Moody interviewed by Lyn Smith* (London, 2009); IWM Catalogue Number: 32102, Reel 5.

[1216] Interview with Lola Wilkins (former AWM Head of Art), Canberra, 8 May 2014.

building the print collections they also considered broadly how the art collections would be used, by their own visitors and researchers and the wider community.

Building a collection for the future

IWM and AWM art curators were both motivated to collect prints due to an understanding that they were building a national collection for future generations, one that was representative and had merit merely by existing, and this collection had a broad use including but not limited to museum displays. The strand of thinking that the curators were building a collection for future curators, researchers and visitors was made evident in collections chapters, particularly chapter 5 and 8 that demonstrated curators were thinking about who future audiences might be (including generations of Australians whose relatives had immigrated as refugees of Afghanistan, for example) and how to best represent the zeitgeist of the times they were reflecting, including recent conflicts (and thus they collected for social historical subject matter, including, for example, the media's role in our daily lives as communicator of images of war). Some examples of print acquisitions suggested that curators collected for what they thought might be future strands of collecting – an example of this was the acquisition discussed in chapter 7 of the Mundy print that was about frontier conflicts between Aboriginals and Europeans. This acquisition was clearly outside the then stated remit of the AWM, but was in line with what could be considered a future direction for the Memorial. The collection chapters made apparent that generations of war museum curators from the 1970s were attempting to have a variety of perspectives and experiences of war represented by their print collections, and this was partly for their current visitors and partly with the future visitorship in mind.

Building a collection for use

The curators of the IWM and AWM were building a national collection of war art for a broad range of uses, even if most of it was not put on display. In fact, they were clearly deliberately collecting beyond the needs of display purposes, even when displays were rotated. As they were building a national collection, the IWM and AWM curators were aware of avoiding duplication with other national collections, particularly in the case of prints.[1217] While interpretive potential was one consideration when collecting an object, it did not supersede

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[1217] Interview with Laura Webster (AWM senior curator), Canberra, 22 May 2014. Webster said that they would collect a print that was also in another Australian national collection only if they thought it was especially important for the AWM collection.

other considerations if that object added value to the overall representative quality of the collection. For example, the art curators of both museums saw the art collections as a base for research, not just display. Both Sections provided special access to their collections for researchers, and this made the collections accessible beyond their ability to be displayed. For example, the IWM Art Section provided special visits to the art store (or previously the print room) for researchers who had a view to publishing their material,[1218] thus ensuring the collection would be analysed and images made available through publications (f.129). This also created opportunities for art objects to become part of alternative narratives external to the Museum through outside researchers.

Particularly since the 1990s, the art curators would have had the digital accessibility of their collections in mind when acquiring works. The 'digital revolution' in museums has made collections far more available to visitors through a number of technological means. While the internet allows catalogue information and interpretation of objects to be available to visitors from their own homes, the implementation of database systems in museums has increased the capacity for staff to manage collections and capture detailed knowledge about objects.[1219] A national collection also has the responsibility of being a repository of loans for other smaller collections, and this was a way that works of art could have further opportunities of being displayed.[1220] Laura Webster noted that while prints were often used in the rotation of displays in the AWM permanent spaces, certain prints (such as the German Expressionist First World War prints) were also often loaned out to other institutions due to their popularity with the public.[1221]

[1218] In the case of IWM particularly, private viewings of the art collection are provided to academic researchers, as they have been for a number of years. Research visitors will generally have an art historical or a historical focus to their research. At the IWM, such research visitors come from around the world and the IWM will host around one to two per week. The AWM art collection is also open to researchers, but usually receives less research visitors.

[1219] Paul F. Marty, "An Introduction to Museum Informatics," in *Museum informatics: people, information, and technology in museums*, eds. Paul F. Marty and Katherine Burton Jones (New York and London: Taylor & Francis, 2008), 7.

[1220] Both the IWM and AWM art loans programmes are quite active, with the IWM sending out on average over 100 works on loan to temporary exhibitions at external museums and galleries each year. These are a mixture of paintings, sculptures and works on paper.

[1221] Interview with Laura Webster (AWM senior curator), Canberra, 22 May 2014. Webster mentions the Félix Vallotton prints as being regularly requested by other institutions.

<u>Building a historical collection</u>

Furthermore, in both the cases of the IWM and AWM it was clear that the art collection served a purpose as a collection of historical material that added to the historical narratives of the institutions. This was evident from chapter 4, where Darracott and Weight valued the introduction of historical perspectives from previous alien internees in Britain from the Second World War, and in chapter 7 when Gray worked with the AWM historians to build a collection of Australian colonial prints that aided the creation of a historical colonial collection. The integration of an art collection of the size and quality of the AWM's within a large social history collection is what makes the Memorial's position unique, in Johnston's opinion. He also thinks it is important for the various collecting departments to be thinking of the AWM's collection as one whole collection.[1222] At the IWM, the social historical aspect to the museum's narratives was at the forefront of their messaging. When Diane Lees came in to the IWM Director-General role there was a re-evaluation of the purpose and mission of the Museum. Palmer says that the IWM decided it communicated best with its audience when making a personal connection of some kind, such as through telling stories about how other people have experienced events in conflict.[1223] The art collections were seen by both the art curators and museum management as being integral to this, as demonstrated in chapter 1.

<u>Building an art collection</u>

However, a very important point to come out of the print collecting decisions of the IWM and AWM curators, particularly since the 1970s period at both museums was that both Art Sections were striving to build an <u>art collection</u>, not just an assemblage of art that was representative of historical subject matter, but a group of works that had intrinsic value as an art collection with different significant artists and a representative range of art styles. This was partly because the art curators in both institutions choose to associate themselves with a peer group of external art curators and art historians. For example, the AWM Art Section sees itself as a grouping of art historians with art historical objectives and concerns.[1224] For IWM art collecting, there was a strong emphasis on artistic quality over documentary coverage.[1225]

[1222] Interview with Ryan Johnston (AWM Head of Art), Canberra, 2 July 2014.
[1223] Interview with Kathleen Palmer, (former IWM Head of Art), London, 6 December 2012.
[1224] Interview with Warwick Heywood (AWM curator), Canberra, 22 May 2014. Heywood is interested in collecting progressive art – although on occasion in the past he has hesitated to suggest works that he likes for acquisition because he felt they were too unconventional and leftist for the AWM.
[1225] Interview with Kathleen Palmer, (former IWM Head of Art), London, 6 December 2012.

One of the reasons Slocombe had an interest in the IWM's art collection was because war art was grounded in the social and political circumstances of its time. He believed that art galleries tend to perpetuate the impression that art exists in a vacuum, "I never really held with that view, so the IWM's collection of art created in the context of conflict always appealed because it was something different, it was something very much reacting to its surroundings…"[1226] Johnston said, "in two hundred years' time when people are slightly less fussed about precisely what type of button was on that particular type of jacket [the art collection] can reach people with emotional resonance who are at a substantial historical or emotional remove from a particular moment in history."[1227]

In relation to the need to build a collection of art representative of a range of mediums of art, curators would also feel that a key aspect of artistic practice was lacking if printmaking was not properly represented at the IWM and AWM. Although some curators argued that they do not deliberately seek to acquire prints (see chapters 5 and 8) it also became clear that they do value having a diversity of art mediums in their collections, and they assume this will happen serendipitously. Slocombe argued that certain print acquisitions he has made provided a counter-point to non-print works created contemporaneously, because they broaden our understanding of British artistic production during the war years.[1228] Johnston explained that part of the reason why the AWM Art Section continues to deliberately acquire a range of art mediums is to ensure that the diversity of Australian cultural practice is represented at the Memorial.[1229] The art curators at both the IWM and AWM see their collection as having a special place within the wider art historical canon of each country. This was argued in chapter 5, when I discussed how Weight was building an art collection at the IWM that she hoped would be respected alongside other significant national art collections in Britain. The building of a significant art collection goes hand in hand in the minds of IWM and AWM art curators with building future audiences at the museums, particularly art appreciating audiences, as argued in chapter 1.

[1226] Interview with Richard Slocombe (IWM senior curator), London, 4 December 2012.
[1227] Interview with Ryan Johnston (AWM Head of Art), Canberra, 2 July 2014.
[1228] Interview with Richard Slocombe (IWM senior curator), London, 4 December 2012. This is an argument that prints are important to collect in and of themselves because the museums should have a diverse representation of cultural production in the collections – prints are evidence that artists were experimenting with those techniques at those times for the purposes of war art production.
[1229] Interview with Ryan Johnston (AWM Head of Art), Canberra, 2 July 2014.

<u>Building an international collection</u>

For later curators, part of the point of collecting prints was to internationalise the art collection. How is it that the print collections of both the IWM and AWM became internationalized when an international scope for graphics was not formally agreed? The collection chapters throughout demonstrated that initially international prints were acquired by the IWM and AWM as slightly peripheral items to the main collections of official war art, or as examples of soldier 'souvenirs' from Europe (see chapters 3 and 6). I then argued that this became an established collecting pattern for curators of later eras. Curators from both the IWM and AWM were shown to have targeted a variety of viewpoints in their collecting, in chapters 4 and 8 for example. So, in fact the print collections for both the IWM and AWM became a key avenue through which to collect non-British or Australian works. For the IWM, internationalizing the art collection was a way to provide counter-narratives to the largely British-centric viewpoint of the paintings and drawings collections. At the AWM, internationalizing the art collection did the same for the Australian-focused official collection, but was also highly prized for being able to enrich the Memorial's art collection with significant international artists. While the IWM focused on collecting mainly French, German and US artists, the AWM also focused on British prints. The fact that prints were eminently affordable and collectable made this option all the more attractive to the curators, particularly Weight and Gray.

The other side to this coin was that the IWM and AWM curators from recent times had inherited a print collection with some international examples, mainly from the First World War era, a time when museum collections were not necessarily as focused and scrutinized as they are in modern museums where resources are stringently regulated. Curators must always work within and around the collecting decisions of the past, and try and shape their collection so that it has some overall rationale. When making acquisition decisions the curators are always referring back to the collection they have, and how this object might complement the others – either because it builds on a focused strand of collecting or it fills a gap. An object's interpretive potential is also taken into account.[1230] So in one sense, making the most of the international aspect of the print collections in a modern curator's mind also solved an inconsistency in the art collection. In both the IWM and AWM cases, the art curators

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[1230] Interview with Richard Slocombe (IWM senior curator), London, 4 December 2012.

identified the international prints as serving a contemporary purpose of providing a variety of perspectives on war history to modern audiences. This may not have been the intention behind the original collection of these objects. The example of the Prussian National Association of the Red Cross print folio given in chapter 3 may have been collected by the IWM in 1917 as a curiosity of German propaganda, rather than in the spirit of understanding and humanising the enemy.

<u>Building a collection of unofficial perspectives</u>

If the IWM and AWM did not have a print collection it is clear in both examples that the art curators would feel they are losing a valuable repository of unofficial perspectives from their collections (see chapter 7 – this was a key collecting focus for Gray). The IWM Art Section set out deliberately to collect historical prints and other artworks that came from an unofficial perspective. It was seen as important because the art curators were conscious that the historical official war art collection was propaganda, intended to boost morale in wartime.[1231] In both cases, the curators spoke of having limited budgets for acquisitions, although in Weight's era she said that she had an increased budget from previous times and a certain amount of collecting autonomy. However, with limited budgets the IWM and AWM curators would not be able to afford to collect the range of unofficial perspectives through paintings and sculpture that they could with prints. Furthermore, both IWM and AWM curators identified unofficial political comments with their print collections (see for example, chapter 5). Again, this aspect of the print collection also made it a valuable counter-point to the official art collections, even with contemporary art commissions.

The curators were motivated to target prints as an area where they could include a range of unofficial perspectives, and also political and international perspectives, because of the affordability and availability of prints. The affordable aspect meant that they could purchase more, and therefore a wider range, but also that their acquisitions were not heavily scrutinized by management. While I argued that management, usually in the form of an Assistant Director or Director, was aware of most acquisitions and had been persuaded by curators' arguments (see chapters 5 and 7 in particular), it is also fair to say that because

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[1231] 'I think we felt it was quite necessary and important to have some artists who were responding in a more personal way to the events of the First and Second World War... something that wasn't being commissioned or chosen by the government, to give something that has a slightly independent voice.' Interview with Kathleen Palmer, (former IWM Head of Art), London, 6 December 2012.

these were low cost acquisitions and not very storage or resource intensive (in the form of conservation, framing, etc.) then those managers also did not have to worry about their own actions being scrutinized by the Board/Council in either institution. Drawings are also works on paper and cheaper than paintings, but they do not come in multiples the way that prints do, and therefore they are less collectable and available. This, along with their low cost, was an aspect that allowed curators, such a Gray, to pursue international print acquisitions for the purpose of bringing works by significant European artists into the art collections.

Artist prints in war museum displays

Prints are not able to be a subversive element in museum narratives if they are not put on display in the first place. The meanings that can be made through the display of a museum object is contextualised and mediated by its surroundings.[1232] This section analyses how prints have been exhibited in the war museums in the past, and the potential effectiveness of prints within the IWM and AWM galleries as they were when I examined them in 2014-2016. The war museums can put on a controversial display if they claim they are merely representing the voice of a third party (for example, the Peter Kennard exhibition at IWM in 2015). However, the museum must take on responsibility for giving a platform to those ideas. Even the broaching of some subjects can court negative public opinion. In practice, prints support competing agendas within the war museums, and their main contribution to war museums displays is analytical comment. They are also able to enable inclusive historical narratives within the war museums because they represent a wide range of external voices.

Although I claim that prints can be a subversive element in war museum displays, it is difficult to measure the effect of print displays on audiences. Reception Theory states that audiences will decode the artworks they are viewing in their own individual ways, according to their background and the context. So neither the artist, curator or museum has complete

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[1232] Dudley argues against this to a certain extent in arguing for a return to the materiality of the object, saying that objects themselves can lead to 'people's direct, embodied, emotional engagements with them'. However, she says 'Even if it were possible to disentangle objects from information and from the classificatory processes embedded in the museum enterprise, it could still be argued that museum objects never stand alone. The physical things in museums and galleries continue to comprise one element in a composite, but rather than being part of an object-information package they exist within an object-subject interaction. This is the interaction between inanimate, physical thing and conscious person, and constitutes the moments in which a material thing is perceived and sensorially experienced. Sandra H. Dudley, ed., *Museum Materialities: Objects, Engagements, Interpretations* (London: Routledge, 2010), 5.

control over how their exhibitions are received.[1233] Although a visitor may visit a certain display space, they may still not choose to engage with particular works on display – so the potential for the prints to be subversive is dependent on the receiver to some extent. The public reception of individual prints is not something that has been captured in internal museum records or the press. However, there were press responses to the AWM's *Western Front: Printmaker's views* and the IWM's *Dance of Death: Images of Mortality in European Graphics of the First World War* as discussed below.

The war museums' efforts to be more accessible and inclusive are conflicted with their efforts to be popular. One side of this issue is that while curators and historians may strive to present histories that are analytical and inclusive, other sorts of narratives (such as sentimentalised commemoration, for instance) may be more broadly popular. The other side of the issue centres around the actual design and construction of museum displays. Part of the problem is that prints do not always suit the kinds of displays modern history museums create to attract 'experience seeking' audiences. Prints are not able to be part of the 'disneyfication'[1234] of the museums, as their physical characteristics mean they suit certain types of displays more than others. This will be discussed in detail below. How these display spaces differ between the two museums, and how the ways of displaying prints have changed over time, affect the way prints have been able to potentially contribute to the war museum narratives.

How the IWM and AWM displays have changed over time – general

A public history understanding of how museums make meaning includes the understanding that museum displays are performative.[1235] They are spaces where a history is decided on

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[1233] Christian Heath and Dirk vom Lehn, "Configuring Reception: (Dis-)Regarding the 'Spectator' in Museums and Galleries," *Theory, Culture & Society* 21, no. 6 (2004), 43-65.

[1234] A term used to describe the change (or perceived change) in museums towards 'dumbing down' for the sake of entertainment and development of their visitors as 'paying customers' (for example, see discussions in Sharon Macdonald, *Behind the Scenes at the Science Museum* (Oxford: Berg, 2002), 40 & 69.) The move towards increased use of audio-visual displays is sometimes linked in debates with the 'disneyfication' of museums, and sometimes linked with increasing democratisation in museums (see Andrea Whitcomb, *Re-imagining the museum: beyond the mausoleum* (London: Routledge, 2003), 1-2.)

[1235] James B. Gardiner, "Contested Terrain: History, Museums, and the Public," *The Public Historian* 26, no. 4 (2004), 19-20. He argues that there is always interpretation in museum displays and that visitors should understand this. The curatorial process should be shared with the public.

amongst the curators and the executive staff of the institution, and it is performed for the visiting public. Over the years, the way history has been performed in displays at the AWM has changed. In its early years of exhibiting in Sydney and Melbourne, the AWM catered to people who had been close to the First World War. They had often fought, or lost a loved one, or worked for the war in some way. However, there was still a concern to explain frontline war experiences to a large Australian audience who had not been there.[1236] When the AWM collection opened to the public in its new building in Canberra, most explanatory text was succinct and contained in the AWM Guide booklet.[1237] Wilkins in her interview points out that more and more text and explanation is used in the AWM displays spaces now that the audience for the AWM has transitioned to a populace who have not experienced war themselves, and require more of information for understanding. For Wilkins, the most apparent change in AWM displays over the years she worked there was the transition from the visual to the verbal.[1238] Where once a wall would be hung with paintings, these were increasingly replaced with large text panels in line with the perceived needs of a new generation of visitors (f.130).

In the historical displays of the IWM and AWM, the objects are required to act as 'evidence' for the historical narrative being presented. In the war museum historical displays, 'contemporaneity' is an important criterion for objects. This is the idea that an object should have been created at the time of the historical event being illustrated. The IWM historians place great emphasis on this, particularly in displays that require some degree of testimony, such as in the Holocaust Galleries. This can then make it difficult to include a highly interpretive medium, such as artist prints, which are often created 'after the event' or created purely as an artistic response to war. In the new renovations, some key art items were included in the historical conflict displays at the IWM and in their multi-object themed exhibitions (but many of these were oil paintings or sculptures).[1239] At the AWM, some wall spaces of the permanent historical galleries have always been reserved for works on paper changeovers, which are managed by the Art Section, while paintings or sculpture on

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[1236] Hence the detailed captions written by Treloar for the first AWM exhibition in Melbourne: Michael McKernan, *Here Is Their Spirit: A History of the Australian War Memorial 1917-1990* (St. Lucia, QLD: University of Queensland Press in assocation with the Australian War Memorial, 1991), 73-74.

[1237] "Guide to the Australian War Memorial," second edition (Canberra: Australian War Memorial, 1942).

[1238] Interview with Lola Wilkins (former AWM Head of Art), Canberra, 8 May 2014.

[1239] For example, a Colin Self sculpture *The Nuclear Victim (Beach Girl)* (1966) has been included in the nuclear conflict display.

permanent display in the historical areas are usually chosen in consultation with an AWM historian.[1240]

Display spaces for prints

When examined in 2014, there was a notable difference between the museums in that the IWM had dedicated galleries to display art only, whereas at the AWM much of the art on display was integrated throughout the conflict galleries and shown alongside other collection items. There are benefits and drawbacks to having prints displayed primarily in the art galleries of the IWM and AWM displays. The IWM art curators prefer to have their dedicated art galleries, as they argue that within their exhibitions they can create narratives with the art that could not appear anywhere else in the Museum, and that they could not achieve if art was required to be completely integrated throughout the other galleries.[1241] Slocombe said that the IWM has a tradition of exhibiting art as art, and to a certain extent having dedicated spaces for showing art, even from its early years at the Crystal Palace (f.131).[1242] The types of exhibitions that have been held in the dedicated art galleries were often closely aligned with art historical exhibitions usually seen in an art gallery. For example, *Truth and Memory* on display at the IWM in 2014 focused on how British artists responded to the First World War, and examined their ideological and stylistic concerns across a range of art mediums.[1243]

These display spaces offered the potential to have print exhibitions, or exhibitions containing prints, with an art historical focus. They allowed for the print collection to develop its full display potential in exhibitions whose narratives were driven by the print collections themselves. However, the dedicated art spaces at the IWM meant that prints were not often included in the historical displays. This meant they were less likely to support, and challenge, a historical narrative within the war museums through direct juxtaposition with the historical displays. When interviewed about the AWM, both Gray and Wilkins expressed an opinion that art should be integrated in historical displays, because art can provide a special context,

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[1240] This is usually the case when an AWM historian is taking the lead on curating a large historical permanent display.
[1241] Interview with Kathleen Palmer (former IWM Head of Art), London, 6 December 2012.; interview with Richard Slocombe (IWM senior curator), London, 4 December 2012.
[1242] Interview with Richard Slocombe (IWM senior curator), London, 4 December 2012.
[1243] *Truth and Memory: British Art of the First World War* (19 July 2014- 8 March 2015) was the major art retrospective at IWM London for the 2014 Centenary, curated by Richard Slocombe.

as it is able to offer an emotional interpretation of the subject of discussion.[1244] In this way, prints could provide a counter sub-text for historical narratives. For example, AWM collections database records show that a work from the Dix *Der Krieg* series was displayed in the Western Front historical displays in 2005.[1245] These galleries displayed objects such as muddied Australian uniforms that evoked the squalor of the trenches, and photographs that showed actual scenes from the Western Front. However, unlike these objects the Dix prints captured the fear and psychological anguish he experienced as a German machine gunner during the allied offensive on the Somme in 1916.

The set-up of display spaces at the museums offered different potentials for the display of prints, and the meanings which could be made through their inclusion. While the AWM Art Section did not have the large exhibition areas devoted solely to art, they did have small areas that could be used for limited art exhibitions, such as the 'link' gallery outside of the Second World War galleries. This space was usually used to present a Second World War theme from the art collection that was supplementary to the military histories presented in the main gallery. For example, the link gallery might include a display about the research into malaria that took place during the Second World War, or a display about the work of artist Russell Drysdale, who created works around Albury during the war. Spaces such as this offered the potential for very specific themed exhibitions to be explored through the print collection, or through a display of prints and other art objects. Another area reserved for the AWM art collection was an exit corridor outside of the 'Post 1945 Conflicts' galleries. The Art Section was able to display recent acquisitions in this area, particularly ones that related to contemporary conflicts. There was no unifying theme necessary for the works in this display, so it could be hung in an art gallery style to promote individual works from the collection. Also, as addressed in chapter 8 when discussing the display of Michael Callaghan's prints here, this area of the AWM galleries was peripheral enough to allow politically charged works to be displayed here without attracting concern from other staff sections of the Memorial. Visitors exiting the Post 1945 galleries would have to walk past this display, and those interested would stay to view the art. The extent to which the exit corridor display influenced visitors probably varied from person to person.

[1244] Interview with Lola Wilkins (former AWM Head of Art), Canberra, 8 May 2014; interview with Anna Gray (former AWM Head of Art), Canberra, 6 May 2014.
[1245] From AWM collections database, MICA.

Outside the integrated display of prints in the AWM galleries, there were other areas where prints were regularly shown. For example, a space near the side of the AWM stairwell displayed small works, or works with a commemorative theme, and here prints had been exhibited. They were likely to introduce viewers to an analysis of the act of commemoration, and therefore take the discussion beyond other commemorative areas of the AWM. An area like this was an in-between space that the Art Section had been able to commandeer for its own purposes. This demonstrates how the narratives provided by the art collection are often different to the other collection areas in their focus, and these stand-alone spaces are needed for these variant themes. It would not be impossible to integrate variant themes into the historical displays, but it is not prioritized over telling the war history. Both museums see their duty as making sure the public are educated in the narrative of the war histories. When prints are not speaking directly to the historical narrative displays, they arguably are still able to provide a counter-narrative if on display in another area of the museum. Contemporary prints often stand a good chance of being shown at the IWM, for example the Albert Adams series was displayed when it was first acquired,[1246] and this way they have a chance to richly enhance the narratives being told by the IWM overall. In conjunction with other artworks they enhance the social historical narratives at the IWM with cultural narratives, and introduce audiences to new ways of thinking about war.

Prints have specific ways that they can be displayed thanks to their physical characteristics, and this can affect how they are able to influence the narratives of the museums. In the case of artist prints, many of these objects are smaller than contemporary paintings (which are often large) or grand historical narrative paintings that may be found in war museum displays. Most of them are printed on paper, categorising them as 'works on paper' alongside watercolours and pencil drawings. Works on paper are sensitive to light, and thus can only be displayed for short periods of time throughout the year, whereas a painting may hang on a wall indefinitely as long as it is regularly cleaned and checked for damage.[1247] This means prints are regularly rotated in the permanent displays of their institutions, and if the museum

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[1246] This is from my observations of the Albert Adams display at the IWM in 2012, and the *Truth and Memory* exhibition, viewed at the IWM in 2014.

[1247] Sara Bevan made the point that the artist prints would be displayed less if there were not art only spaces within the IWM, as they would not be able to endure the longer changeover times of the historical galleries. Interview with Sara Bevan (IWM curator), London, 23 November 2012.

decides that certain hanging areas are dedicated 'works on paper' rotation spaces, then it provides an opportunity for a greater number of prints to be displayed in the galleries. As small works, prints excel if they are exhibited in areas where they may be observed in an intimate setting by visitors,[1248] so rather than hanging on a large central wall, they may be seen in a quieter area of the museum. This allows for prints to engage in the telling of personal stories (such as the Hanrahan or Kirkland works), or to contribute to specific themed displays. Some contemporary prints are large and may be displayed in wide spaces like paintings, but usually these must be kept away from direct light for conservation reasons.

The display of prints in the past

There have been times in the histories of the two museums when prints were more permanently and prominently on display, thanks to the action of certain art curators. While there have not been many dedicated print exhibitions at the AWM, there was one 1989 exhibition curated by Anna Gray called *Western Front: Printmaker's views*. This exhibition showcased her acquisitions of international prints, and challenged the narrow remit of the 'Australian experience' of war at the AWM. The international flavour of this exhibition was noted in the critical response that appeared in the local press. Sasha Grishin, writing for the Canberra Times, praised the overall direction of travel for the AWM's art collection after viewing this exhibition, and in his review he focused on the German prints. He ended by saying: "This good exhibition shows the growing depths of the War Memorial's collection of prints."[1249] Another short review stated, "A little known collector of Australian and international prints is the Australian War Memorial."[1250] These reviews show that the print exhibition helped to bring the overall AWM art collection to the public eye.

In other cases there have been areas of the AWM galleries where prints were regularly displayed. In the former First World War AWM galleries, a small section titled 'Echoes of the Guns' considered the after effects of the war on broader society. It was one of the only

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[1248] This was suggested by Lola Wilkins in interview: Interview with Lola Wilkins (former AWM Head of Art), Canberra, 8 May 2014. Also see: Linda C. Hults, *The Print in the Western World, an introductory history* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996), 4. 'Traditionally, the print is a hand-held work that can and indeed must be closely viewed.'

[1249] In a review of the exhibition, Sasha Grishin contrasted the German art with the 'allied' art, mainly the British and French prints. He claimed, 'from what is on display, the Germans won the artistic war hands down.' Will Dyson prints were also included in the show. Sasha Grishin, "Print Exhibition Adds to War Memorial Credits," *The Canberra Times*, 4 August 1989.

[1250] Amanda Lynch, "Art during war," *The Canberra Times*, 23 March 1989.

dedicated reflective areas of the AWM permanent display. It was an area where prints featured as part of changeovers, and where international artists who depicted grief, such as Kollwitz and Forain were featured, with images that showed grieving family members of victims of war. The AWM collection of international First World War prints has regularly been on display, because there were allocated spaces for these prints in the former First World War galleries (f.132).[1251] As many of these works utilised grotesque imagery, they introduced viewers to a discussion of the violence and horrors of war. These display spaces are now no longer present at the AWM due to recent renovations, and this restricts the opportunities for prints to be displayed at the AWM. If collection items are unable to contribute to present displays, their only power lies in potential future exhibitions or in their availability to researchers through special access, and the public through digital means and publications.

In comparison with the AWM display, which has seen little emphasis on exhibitions of prints in the past, the IWM in the past held a number of shows featuring prints. This often occurred under the direction of Michael Moody, who worked at the IWM from 1969 to 2009, first under Darracott and then under Weight, and who took an interest in the graphic art collection.[1252] Moody's exhibitions, which drew heavily on the graphic art collection, including the poster collection, the Bute collection,[1253] and the artist prints collection, were probably the first exhibitions of the IWM that featured the prints. In a taped interview from the IWM archive, Moody stated that his exhibitions began occurring in 1978. He also said that they had small budgets and he would often create design elements himself.[1254] They were often themed exhibitions which emphasised the divergent narratives that could be told with the print collection, for example with an international flavour, or with an allegorical theme.

[1251] There was the 'international prints wall' in the former First World War galleries, and the official war art commissions are usually exhibited for a time in a special temporary exhibition space following their acquisition into the AWM collection.

[1252] Interview with Kathleen Palmer (former IWM Head of Art), London, 6 December 2012. Palmer remembers an exhibition that Moody curated that explored how the image of Joan of Arc was used in French propaganda material in the Second World War.

[1253] This is a collection of French artistic and popular prints that is usually held separate to the rest of the IWM print collection because of its formation as one collection assembled by the 5th Marquess de Bute and donated to the IWM in 1951.

[1254] Moody and Smith; IWM Catalogue Number: 32102, Reel 4.

Moody's exhibition *Dance of Death: Images of Mortality in European Graphics of the First World War* from 1991 featured the artist prints donated to the IWM by Sir Alfred Mond, etchings by de Bruycker, and the First World War series by Smith, also called *Dance of Death*.[1255] The phrase referred to the late medieval allegory on the universality of death, and was typical of the poetic imagery that interested Moody. Exhibitions such as these were quite different from the usual historical narratives and displays presented at the IWM. It is also difficult to imagine a curator being given the authority to mount a small hand-made exhibition at the IWM in its modern iteration where professional designers are employed for all displays. One review of the exhibition singled out the Thomas Heine print as being unpredictable, but said that without any Otto Dix prints the show was "one-legged".[1256] Another review said that the works in *Dance of Death* were a contrast to "…jingoistic propaganda posters printed to boost a country's morale."[1257] Overall, the exhibition was well received in the press, although it did not received the amount of press coverage that a blockbuster exhibition would.

The display spaces at the IWM changed considerably in the years between Darracott and Palmer. Slocombe says that the period during the 1970s and 1980s was when the print collection and the Bute collection was most often on display, and it was partly because the old rooms were excellent display spaces for works on paper.[1258] Weight says the works on paper exhibitions were usually mounted in large display cases in the past.[1259] Moody remembered the early galleries at the IWM being "musty and dusty" with unimpressive hanging systems for the art on display.[1260] In 1975 Darracott wrote an internal memorandum to the Director (then Noble Frankland) about the problem of the gallery arrangements, stating that improvement of standards would be indispensable to future recognition of the art collection's significance.[1261] The IWM was refurbished in the 1980s, which gave the Art

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[1255] Mike Moody, "Dance of death: images of mortality in European graphics of the First World War: 18 April-30 June," unpublished catalogue (London: Imperial War Museum, 1991)

[1256] Guy Burn, "American Posters of the Second World War and Dance of Death." Features article from IWM file: Press Cuttings: Sep 1989-Mar 1992: ART/AD09/PRE/002/2.

[1257] Lisa Tuomivaara, "What's On & Where To Go," *Durrant's*, 25 March 1992.

[1258] Interview with Richard Slocombe (IWM senior curator), London, 4 December 2012.

[1259] Interview with Angela Weight (former IWM Keeper of Art), London, 6 December 2012.

[1260] Moody and Smith; IWM Catalogue Number: 32102, Reel 2.

[1261] Internal Memorandum, "The Art Collection," Joseph Darracott (Art Department, IWM), 25 June 1975; IWM file: Acquisition and Disposals Policy: EN4/50/m (i-iii).

Department larger galleries for exhibitions (f.133).[1262] In those updated IWM galleries, many of the contemporary prints have been on display at least once, although some have never been put on display at the AWM (such as Terry Eichler's *Meditation on 2,063,500 deaths*, or G.W. Bot's *Tree of Death, Crucifixion, Gulf War*).[1263]

In the AWM galleries, the prints which were most regularly on display were usually the colonial prints, as the small collection of colonial objects held by the AWM required prints to fill wall space. Prints that had a stronger link with social or political comment, such as the Hopkins colonial print *The roll-call* (1885), were able to present a viewpoint in historical displays that offered an insight into the zeitgeist of a particular place and time, in this case pre-Federation Australia and the critical view of the War in the Sudan. Prints that have a subversive element to their narrative focus have been able to be displayed without attraction criticism in these galleries when they were categorised under a broader theme. For example, the Mundy print *Mounted police and blacks* (1852) was displayed on two occasions in 1992 and 2000 in an area focused on British forces in colonial Australia,[1264] and brought its historical message about frontier conflicts to this gallery.

‘Disneyfication’ of the museums

Both war museums seek to be popular places of entertainment and education, and these are clearly the Directorial strategies of Lees and Nelson, evidenced by programmes including school visits and education activities aimed at adults, and entertaining exhibits such as ‘Secret War’ that “explores the undercover world of espionage, covert operations and the work of Britain's Special Forces”.[1265] The transition of the IWM and AWM towards becoming more populist and reaching a wider audience is partly due to the influence of changing museum cultures.[1266] However, in regards to the war museums in particular, it is also a reflection of how the visuality of warfare has changed, and with it, the contemporary

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[1262] Moody and Smith; IWM Catalogue Number: 32102, Reel 19. Tolson said architectural space was a limiting factor for the art section, so renovated spaces helped the art section. He said art was slowly become more recognised at the IWM. Interview with Roger Tolson (former IWM Head of Art), London, 28 November 2012.
[1263] Information from my search of the locations field in the AWM collections database, MICA, on 20 July 2015.
[1264] From AWM collections database, MICA.
[1265] “IWM London: Secret War,” 2016, accessed 26 March 2017, http://www.iwm.org.uk/exhibitions/iwm-london/secret-war.
[1266] Macdonald discusses this in relation to museum cultures from the late 1980s, ‘If the nineteenth century museum had sought to transform a populace into a public, and had seen that as a major political advance, it now seemed a time to transform that public into more active and plural subjects: consumers.’ Sharon Macdonald, *Behind the Scenes*, 37.

person's relationship to and understanding of war. The visuality of warfare is demonstrated by Paul Virilio, who argues that warfare has become increasingly about technologies of representation, and that these technologies of representation even influence war itself, as satellite images, journalistic images, and even night vision, play a role in military engagements.[1267] These representations of war also influence the public's perception of modern warfare. The museums engage with new technologies of visuality and display, which allows them to connect with the new way war is brought to the public as a visual spectacle through the media, and to replicate the technologies of warfare that have their own attraction. This is one reason why bright colours, large technology items and digital technologies feature prominently in the displays of the IWM and AWM. This is also a strategy for the museums to develop themselves as sites of 'dark tourism', and take advantage of that unique area of entertainment and visitorship. 'Dark tourism' describes the propensity for people to visit sites of horror or dark subject matter. A rich body of research into dark tourism examines why these sites are popular destinations for entertainment.[1268] The IWM and AWM take advantage of this trend by having displays which appeal to a sense of shock or the macabre (for example, displaying large numbers of weapons or showing the extent of war damage on objects). They have become what Virilio would call "distraction machines", having similarities with other forms of popular visual entertainment.[1269] Distraction is a tool of institutions of power, as the distracted subject surrenders to power- the entertained visitor is more receptive to the messages of the museum.

The design of the galleries at the AWM is influenced by modern methods of museum display, which museums adopt to be up to date with the latest trends in shaping 'visitor experience'. New museum display design techniques encourage the use of technology, colour, text and graphics, as well as layers of information, intended to cater to the different interests of visitors, who can then select what they read (f.134).[1270] The AWM in recent years has

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[1267] Paul Virilio, "Preface to the English Edition: The Sight Machine," in *War and cinema: the logistics of Perception* (London and New York: Verso, 1989), 1-4. And Paul Virilio, "Military Force is Based Upon Deception," *War and cinema: the logistics of Perception* (London and New York: Verso, 1989), 5-10.

[1268] Richard Sharpley and Philip R. Stone, eds., *The Darker Side of Travel: The Theory and Practice of Dark Tourism* (Clevedon: Channel View Publications, 2009).; John Lennon and Malcolm Foley, *Dark Tourism: The Attraction of Death and Disaster* (London: Continuum, 2000).; Caroline Winter, "Tourism, Social Memory and the Great War," *Annals of Tourism Research* 36, no. 4 (2009), 607-626.

[1269] Paul Virilio, *The Vision Machine* (London: British Film Institute, 1994): Referenced in Tony Bennett, "Civic Seeing: Museums and the Organization of Vision," in *A Companion to Museum Studies*, ed. Sharon Macdonald (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 276.

[1270] Philip Hughes, *Exhibition Design* (London: Laurence King, 2010), 17-19 & 40-41.

followed recent museum display design, which has made the display spaces very different to the older style galleries that incorporated many artworks and did not have much explanatory text, according to the memories of Gray and Stanley.[1271] Such display designs cater to new audiences who come to be entertained.[1272] While new display designs are intended to incorporate art objects, it is questionable whether the art collections and print collections are truly compatible with these spaces. Where does this leave prints in the displays, as small scale two dimensional works on paper? While the technologies of warfare create more distance between people and the real human toll of war, the prints bring a human element back into the displays in dealing with themes of grief, psychological trauma, and human responses to war. Some artists themselves deal with the theme of the technologies of warfare (such as the Australian official artist Jon Cattapan) and these often discuss the intersection between human and technology, and how the experience of war for soldiers and bystanders is mediated and distorted through technology. In collecting and displaying prints like these, the curators are opening up a new discourse within the display- but how strongly the prints speak back to large bright AV-heavy exhibits is another question. Prints are usually small works on paper and like many art objects require quiet contemplation, and for this reason they are often shown in quiet, small spaces of the galleries. Their strength lies in being able to reflect on human experience, but they are often overwhelmed by the 'overdesigned' display spaces favoured by the war museums. The narratives of resistance to state war histories found in many prints are hampered by these display spaces.

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Prints allow for a variety of voices to be represented in historical displays, and they aid war museum audiences in empathizing and having an emotional experience of war history, and at the same time many prints are able to provide analysis and social comment on war and its impact on society. The print collections have the potential to act as subversive collections within the war museums; however, they have been somewhat limited by the frequency and the ways in which they were included in the war museums' displays. This has implications

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[1271] Interview with Anna Gray (former AWM Head of Art), Canberra, 6 May 2014.; interview with Peter Stanley (former AWM Principal Historian), Canberra, 10 June 2014. Gray in interview said the old galleries had a quiet and reverential feel, and that the First World War galleries that were at the Memorial during her time had not been substantially altered from their original state when the AWM was first built.
[1272] An example of this from the IWM display includes an animation in the newly renovated First World War galleries that shows the tensions and alliances between European power pre First World War.

for the future development of the print collections, because the potential for display is an element of the decision making that goes into pursuing an acquisition. It also means that prints may have a greater effect on future rather than present museum narratives.

<u>**Conclusion**</u>

This thesis set out to examine the historical development of two collections and analyse the relationship of these collections to their institutions. The research and analysis focused on the IWM and AWM artist print collections, and produced findings related to the two case studies. The print collections were developed through a range of collecting strategies and were influenced by different curator perspectives over time. The factors influencing the development of the print collections included the actions of individual curators, power balances within the IWM and AWM, the material qualities of the prints themselves, and how all of these factors have been influenced by social change. While print collecting broadly reflected the aims of the institutions at different times, the findings indicate that on occasion the print acquisitions challenged more widely held views, and introduced divergent narratives within the war museums.

The divergence from the central institutions' narratives is more evident in certain eras. In the early years of the IWM and AWM, when the museums were more conservative, print collecting generally followed suit, but included some surprise acquisitions that did not readily serve the standard museum narratives. In the eras of freedom and inclusiveness at the war museums, during the 1970s and 1980s, print collecting flourished and many prints were acquired that represented non-traditional war narratives. Both war museums have entered another more conservative phase, but the print acquisitions continue to include many non-traditional and challenging themes. This is because collecting precedents have been set by earlier acquisitions that the curators of today can follow and use as a rationale for their collecting decisions. While the print collections are small sections of the art collections of the IWM and AWM, their significance is tied to the specific roles they can play in shaping narratives of public memory and history in the museums.

Artist prints offer something unique to war museums

A history that focuses on the development and significance of a collection can give insight into the role a collection can play within its museum.[1273] My analysis can improve the usage

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[1273] Whitcomb argues that, 'Both managers and museum staff need to develop a more reflective approach to collecting and exhibition development, one that thinks about the political or ideological nuances of what is being said.' Andrea Whitcomb, *Re-imagining the museum: beyond the mausoleum* (London: Routledge, 2003), 77.

of the print collections by their museums: if a museum understands the true nature of a part of its collection, it can harness that collection with purpose. For example, both the war museums have said that they are trying to be self-examining and courageous.[1274] Embracing the unexpected attributes of the print collections can help to do this. In both case study museums, the print collection's role is to challenge, to broach abstract concepts, and to introduce interpreted personal memories to museum narratives.[1275] The subversive aspect of each print collection is understood by analysing both its shape, and the internal conversations that occurred around print collecting in the past. Although they could be seen as 'quiet' collections compared with audio-visual immersive exhibits and large vehicles and aircraft-prints are impactful objects in their own way when well displayed.

This thesis has detailed how the print collections have been built up over the histories of the IWM and AWM and the various factors that have influenced collecting throughout. The current collection is the result of this cumulative process. The reasons why something was collected in the past may not be aligned to the ideologies of today, but the object remains in the collection. Curators are required to rationalise the collection, so it can be presented to war museum visitors as a coherent statement that accords with the needs of the institution. As argued throughout this thesis, artist prints can serve different functions. They are not merely records of war, or objects belonging to an art historical record, but they can reflect diverse experiences of war or social discussions around war. They can be celebratory, commemorative, or images of protest. Prints sometimes have links to other items within the war museum collections, including artworks that the prints reproduce, or documents or other objects that inspire the creation of prints.[1276] Over its history the IWM print collection transitioned from containing predominantly prints that were a record of war, to also containing prints that commented on the general nature of war and its consequences. Over its history the AWM print collection moved from being a patriotic record of Australia at war, to a collection that engaged with more political ideas and included varied voices. Chapter 2 discussed particular features of the IWM and AWM print collections that distinguish them

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[1274] The IWM's brand values are to be: Courageous, Authoritative, Relevant and Empathetic. Taken from "Our brand values drive everything that we do," intranet webpage, Imperial War Museums, last modified 6 November 2014, accessed 16 June 2017, http://intranet/brand/toolkit/Pages/What%20are%20our%20brand%20values.aspx.
[1275] As argued in chapter 1.
[1276] For example, the Kirkland prints at the AWM that were inspired by the Memorial's military records collection, discussed in chapter 8.

from other areas of the art collections, including their representation of international artists, and their significant amount of political imagery. Chapter 9 discussed how these unique characteristics allow the print collections to provide subversive counter-narratives within the war museums, but that this is limited by how they are used in displays. Conceptual or analytical subject matter in contemporary prints can be associated with non-traditional printmaking techniques.

It was demonstrated in the collection histories of the IWM and AWM that different eras of the institutions favoured print collecting for different print functions. In the early eras of both the IWM and AWM, artist prints, like most of the art objects, were required to be an accurate historical record of events of the two world wars. This was why the IWM favoured 'eye-witness' accounts from artists who had served or at least visited the front, and why the AWM founders held the prints of Will Dyson in such high regard. Over the decades, as social change altered the war museums and influenced print collecting, the prints reflected social discussions around war, and thus they were more likely to serve a strong social historical purpose within their museums. In these years, prints were acquired to serve an art historical purpose as well. The thesis demonstrated that in later years, artist prints were collected that responded to the needs of contemporary war museum audiences. At the AWM, prints were collected which responded to the new commemorative needs of visitors, including ones that told personal stories about past wars which allowed visitors to relate to historical war experiences.[1277]

It is possible that prints, although they have been collected for the purpose of serving one function in a past era, can serve another function in a different era. For example, a print which may be used for a celebratory narrative of war could in the future be used to explain conflicting political ideologies of a past conflict. However, something which has been demonstrated throughout the thesis is that earlier collecting patterns influence later collecting patterns. Although curators may collect for different print functions, they will often choose to retain some collecting attitudes of previous curators to create continuity in the collection, or

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[1277] Discussed in chapter 8: These works linked personal remembrance with community commemoration, which suited the AWM purposes well as a modern form of commemoration. However, such works also subverted the authoritative 'voice' of the Memorial, by giving prominence to other voices through prints.

because they can appropriate aspects of it to suit their contemporary purposes. This means the print collections are legacy collections.

The influence of social change on what is collected reaches beyond the responses of curators, to cultural production. Movements in society influence what artist prints are created in response to war, and in turn what artist prints are collected by war museums. For example, movements in the buyer's market for artist prints can influence whether or not artists choose to create war print series, as was seen in the Second World War era in both Britain and Australia. Artists could turn a profit from printmaking during the print boom of the First World War era, but not so in later years. There were therefore less print series being produced, and less print series produced using progressive or experimental artistic styles, during the Second World War. Another example of how society affects artistic production was apparent in the Vietnam War era, where social thought encouraged artists to reject the war completely and therefore disregard it in their art making. When the AWM came to collect artist prints relating to the Vietnam War, they did not find the range of artist responses usual to other conflicts, so instead they predominantly collected protest movement artworks, and works produced later by Vietnam War veterans. Finally, the example of prints produced by Afghani refugees in Australia as part of a program of mental health showed how printmaking remains an art medium that is available to the disenfranchised, who use printmaking to communicate their experiences.

I have argued that prints can potentially shape public memory and history as objects of personal memory, interpretation and reflection.[1278] This is because they are objects created by an artist, often from their personal experience or understanding of conflict. Furthermore, they are often intimate objects. A certain type of printmaking tradition favours prints made in series, not just multiples, and prints which are small, and which become objects of connoisseurship. Prints are different to paintings in their intimacy- while it is possible for paintings to achieve the feel of intimate personal pieces, they have a tradition in war art of being the medium for large historical narrative works. Many of the paintings in the IWM and AWM are impersonal portraits of military personnel, or grand scenes related to a particular conflict. It has been demonstrated that prints can use techniques of layering of imagery to make statements about historical connections, or connections between emotion and events, or

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[1278] See introduction chapter. Also see examples such as the Murray linocut *Black soldier* (1994), discussed in chapter 8, and the Shemilt iris print, discussed in chapter 5.

memories and history.[1279] Many of the prints in the IWM and AWM collections bring personal stories to the cacophony of memories deposited at the museums. The AWM German Expressionist prints relay personal stories of some of the printmakers, through our knowledge of the biographies of the artists. In a similar vein, the Nevinson prints of the IWM store the personal memories and experiences of the artist through his images, but also through the writings he left behind from the war years. The Kirkland prints at the AWM record and present the personal story of a First World War soldier, while some of the prints by women artists from the First World War at the IWM record a different set of experiences from the usual male narratives of war.

The materiality of a print as an artistic object, which encompasses the print's process of production as well as its physical attributes, influences the message that is inherent in its imagery. The thesis has shown how artists use various printmaking techniques to produce different types of visual comments on war, with some printmaking techniques lending themselves to certain types of imagery. The material qualities of prints add a social historical element to their production and use, which was discussed in chapter 2 and demonstrated throughout the collection chapters. This quality was their ability to be produced in multiples, and how this is connected with their use for the visualisation and dissemination of political and social comment. This links the materiality of prints with their potential to provide subversive counter-narratives to war museums. However, the materiality of prints can also influence their acquisition, as has been shown in both the IWM and AWM collection histories. Material qualities can influence what is collected, but also when and how prints are collected. For example, artist prints are often small works on paper, which makes them more affordable than paintings. This has encouraged their acquisition during times when the two Art Sections have faced budget constraints, as has been expressed in interviews with curators, including Weight, Gray and Wilkins.[1280] Artist prints have often been collected in series, and this is due to their historical tradition of being created in series, but it is also a factor of their ability to be stored more easily than paintings and sculpture. They are thin and light, and so can often be stored in large numbers in solander boxes with sheets of archival paper to separate them. Their small size and affordability, has allowed the print collections of the IWM and AWM to be an area of 'alternative narrative' in the wider art collection. Prints were

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[1279] See, for example, the Ray Arnold print series discussed in chapter 5.
[1280] See chapters 5 and 8.

able to be acquired without too much criticism, in a direction that challenged some of the traditional notions of the art collections in these war museums, because they did not attract attention through their storage or budget requirements.

The role of the curator in building subversive collections

Over the histories of the IWM and AWM the art curators had agency to influence and shape the print collections, but to what extent were they influential as individuals beyond their expected behaviour as staff members of the war museums? In literature discussing the expansion of the art curation profession, particularly the increase in numbers of curating courses that occurred in the 1990s, it has been argued that curators and institutions were merely supporting an increasingly regulated visual arts terrain beholden to both market and government agendas.[1281] However, my thesis argues that even within government-driven institutions such as the war museums, there was a degree of curatorial autonomy in regards to collection development decisions. The evidence from the collection chapters shows that curators were able to have a certain amount of independence of management and corporate documents. For example, it was demonstrated in chapter 5 that Weight did not let corporate guidelines inhibit her vision for the collection.[1282] Curators need this autonomy within their roles to bring public discourse into the museum narratives, but they are dependent on some museum support for this autonomy. They are particularly dependent on understanding managers, whether this be from a Director or Assistant Director, not necessarily from all tiers of management, and some funding that is in their control. Curators were able to overcome management constraints and regulation through: a purposeful collecting strategy, which as demonstrated by the later years of curatorial collecting at both the IWM and AWM could overcome various types of limitations in the museum; and a strong curatorial response to social change, which provided the curators with a sense of confidence in their decisions to reflect social discussions about war. The outcomes of curatorial autonomy in developing the print collections were acquisitions that pushed at the very edges of the museums' scope.

The art collections have the potential to challenge the narratives of the war museums, because artists themselves create works that challenge society. The print collecting of the IWM and

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[1281] Richard Hylton, "Thoughts on Curating," in *Issues in curating contemporary art and performance,* eds. Judith Rugg and Michèle Sedgwick (Bristol and Chicago: Intellect Books, 2007), 113-115.
[1282] Demonstrated through her interview and collecting strategies- see chapter 5.

AWM at various points in the collection histories could even be said to anticipate changes in attitudes at the two museums about what the museums should be collecting and presenting to their audiences. Because of their willingness to stretch the boundaries of the remit, or to collect beyond the museum's scope occasionally, within reason, the IWM and AWM art curators sometimes led the institutional collecting priorities.[1283] At the same time, curators collected for what they anticipated to be the needs of future generations of visitors. In these instances, curators collected to reflect the zeitgeist of their society, trying to capture common attitudes of the time or important waves of thought regarding the ordinary person's experience of conflict.[1284] Prints such as Gordon Bennett's inkjet *Always in the name of God* (2006) exemplify this type of collecting. The curator is supposed to be guided by the museum's corporate policies in their collecting decisions, but as they are in a position to be constantly assessing the museums aims, needs, public, and potential, they inevitably think more progressively about how the museum might develop itself further, and what the future might look like regarding the function of the museum and its collection. They therefore respond to the latest social thinking in their subject area, as exemplified by the contemporary IWM curators acquiring prints about individual and public memory in recent years.[1285] The curators also choose to build future audiences with their collecting strategy, for example, the AWM art curators are striving to develop a population of Memorial visitors who admire contemporary art. A museum's terms of reference are often partly written by the very curators who test its boundaries through their collecting decisions. Curators push for progress while still working within the culture of the museum, as perhaps do other museum staff members.

The current art curators of the AWM and IWM are constantly balancing the public discourses external to the museum that inform their ideas, and the culture that they are part of daily within the museum. However, which public ideas are taken in by curators through prints? The evidence from both war museums suggests that prints do not merely mirror the rest of the art collections, but play certain roles, as discussed in chapters 2 and 9 in particular. This was true whether or not the print collections were developed either knowingly or

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[1283] This was argued by Roger Tolson in his interview: Interview with Roger Tolson (former IWM Head of Art), London, 28 November 2012. One example of this was the acquisition of the Mundy print about the Waterloo Creek massacre, which predated and anticipated the (only recent) inclusion of frontier conflicts in the AWM's narratives (see chapter 7).
[1284] Some of the curators discussed this as being a particular aim of their collecting: see chapter 9.
[1285] For example, the Dover cyanotype series: see chapter 5.

serendipitously by art curators. As discussed in chapters 5 and 8, the current art curators have always collected prints without necessarily thinking of themselves as developing a 'print collection' within the wider art collections. However, their acquisitions of prints have been consistent, and both museums have collected prints related to contemporary conflicts, often with a political or social imperative (such as *Photo Op*, Albert Adams, Darren Almond for IWM or Bennett, Callaghan, or Gallegos for AWM). Also, the prominence of women Heads of Art at both the IWM and AWM from the 1980s onwards resulted in an increased level of engagement with the work of women artists, and women's perspectives on war, through collecting and displaying prints.

Do the fundamental structures of the war museums affect collection development?

The prints collected by the IWM and AWM curators over a number of years tell a story that does not always align with the museums' more conservative messages.[1286] These instances of resistance are driven by the curators bringing prints, which are reflective of public discourses, into the collections and histories being constructed by the museums. One example of this was the prints by Alexis Hunter collected by Angela Weight at the IWM, which gave a feminist reading of war that disrupted the masculine-dominated war narratives of the IWM in the 1980s. An example at the AWM was a print collected by Anna Gray in 1985 after Godfrey Mundy called *Mounted police and blacks*, which portrayed a notorious massacre of Aboriginal people. It reflected the wars between Aboriginal peoples and European settlers in the AWM, which had formally refused to include these conflicts in its scope.[1287] Examples like these unsettle any notion that the curators as staff members of the institutions are always working within the main institutional directives, and that therefore the institution itself always presents a unified narrative. There are some contextual narratives to war histories where prints can readily contribute, and I have previously argued that war prints can reflect historical sociocultural attitudes. This is relevant to those artist prints with an original political or social purpose that were disseminated through publications or exhibits- the AWM's colonial era prints for example. When collected, such prints offered a set of understandings of the past. Changing museum structures over time did affect print collecting,

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[1286] I have argued that the museums have social management aims in the introduction and chapter 1 in particular, in the light of Tony Bennett's work. However, I have also recognised that these aims are not the only driving force behind decision making in the war museums.

[1287] See discussion in chapter 7.

particularly as changing structures affected the professionalization of staff members, curatorial autonomy, and the importance of commemoration in the war museums.

Social change influenced the collecting of artist prints when it had an impact on the war museums themselves, alongside changing power structures within the museums. As was argued in chapter 2, and demonstrated in the history of the IWM and AWM collections, political prints can often be polarised in their relationship to the state narrative of war history. They can be consistent with the messages of the government of the day, particularly when they have been commissioned or used for specific governmental purposes, as in the case of the *Efforts and Ideals* (1918) lithographs,[1288] or they can be highly critical of government narratives, and anti-war or anti-government, as in the case of the *Photo Op* (2007) photomontage in the collection of the IWM.[1289] Such prints bring a social and political context to the narrative of war museums that reveals or critiques the political decisions that led to war. In the early phase of the IWM, some of the print acquisitions reflected a state agenda. At the AWM, early print acquisitions served the aims of the founders of the institution, but this was not necessarily a government agenda. The thesis demonstrated that society influences the structure and management of the museum, and therefore the environment curators are working in, over time. Freer environments allow for individual curators to have a stronger voice, and hence more political and critical prints are acquired. Both the IWM and AWM underwent periods of change where individual staff members were questioning the institutions, and this coincided with the decades of the 1970s and 1980s, when new ideas about the role of museums swept through a large swathe of the museum sector in both Britain and Australia, driven by critical theory and museology scholarship. This not only allowed for more curatorial freedom, but also encouraged more professional curatorial appointments to be made in the museums. The trained professionals of the later years at the IWM and AWM were more comfortable than their predecessors in collecting prints which were anti-war or highly confronting depictions of violence or grief.[1290] They also prioritised collecting for artistic significance.

[1288] This series of lithographs was commissioned by the British Department of Information during the First World War for propaganda purposes: see chapter 3.
[1289] See chapter 5 for this and other examples of political prints acquired by the IWM.
[1290] For example, at the AWM the new curators of the 1970s pushed forward acquisitions such as the Counihan *War or Peace* (1979) linocuts: see chapter 5.

The functions of the two museums, particularly whether the institution was primarily a museum or memorial, were examined in the thesis to ascertain how this affected print collecting. While the IWM performs some minor commemorative roles, it is apparent that it predominantly functions as a museum of social history, and has done so for decades. There were always social influences on the development of its print collection, but in recent periods when museums were thought to be in service to their visitors, social discussions have appeared in the subjects of artist print acquisitions. This may be because in order to survive, museums have to be responsive to their visitors and their social milieu, they cannot be backward institutions that command authority because of their esteemed place in the production of knowledge. Instead they must compete to be relevant and stimulating to audiences who have access to other forms of entertainment, education and information. In the case of the AWM, the institution is purportedly both a museum and memorial, but as I argued in chapters 1, the museum and memorial purposes have both changed over time to address the needs of new audiences. Prints play both memory and history roles, and in later years of the AWM, a number of the prints collected have a largely commemorative aspect and others a largely social historical aspect. The museum/memorial tension arguably creates complications when the AWM is concerned about how to display confronting objects for museum visitors who seek critical interpretations of war history, while simultaneously being sensitive to other visitors' needs.

Do these collections support a state agenda? Chapter 9 argues that while to some extent they do, in actual fact, the museum cannot hope to completely control the objects and their interpretation. While collections are built to be more than the sum of their parts, and to form historical narratives through the reading of objects in groups, when they are in displays, they actually speak to multiple narratives and interpretations. For example, the Vietnam War print created by Eichler can be understood as an indictment on the involvement of Australian troops in Vietnam, or as a piece for personal reflection. Eichler created the print so that he himself could come to an emotional understanding of the subject of the work, and the printing technique of ink jet was used within the piece for this objective. A print like this moves beyond documenting war, or even analysing war, to become a therapeutic processing of war. When put on display, this work would be interpreted and responded to differently by different audience groups, including Vietnam veterans, young people with no experience of war, etc. This print represents a soldier's voice, not a government voice, but could also be threatening to other veterans. Having said that, chapter 9 also argued that prints are rarely

used throughout all the display spaces. Prints are mostly displayed in art-only spaces within the war museums, and this has its benefits and drawbacks. In the IWM, prints arguably do not directly speak to some historical narratives enough, but on the positive side they are able to be incorporated into conceptual discussions in art displays. Ultimately, many of the prints have the potential to support a varied agenda and undermine certain government agendas, but in reality they currently rarely do so in display spaces.

I have commented on there being different cultures within the museums, and different staff perspectives on who the museum audiences are, and how other sections should be catering to these audiences. Sometimes opinions from other staff areas can become involved in art acquisition decisions through mechanisms such as the IWM's Collection Development Committee. However, I found that this did not seem to inhibit the art curators from developing the print collection in the direction they saw fit. I argued that this is partly due to prints being able to avoid various levels of scrutiny because of their low cost and resource requirements, and also due to the curators' abilities to argue their case for acquisitions convincingly. However, staff attitudes to museum visitors reveals something about the type of messaging occurring in the war museums, which are thought to have a particular part of the population visiting them, who are 'less questioning and critical' than typical art appreciating audiences. The art sections strive to attract a different audience segment who are potentially more analytical. Is this challenging for the museum- that a national public is not homogenous? Since the museums 'catch up' with the progressive nature of their art objects, objects that were once considered disturbingly avant-garde are later accepted, even celebrated, so an avant-garde style is not usually something that holds a work back from being in displays. Even contemporary art that is sometimes considered to be too esoteric for war museum audiences, is often able to be displayed by the war museums occasionally. Art curators engage with contemporary art partly because they want to be part of their own professional circles in their area of interest, and thus their perspectives on what should be collected also have a basis of confidence through peers outside of the war museums.

In both their historical and contemporary print collecting, the Art Sections of IWM and AWM sought to incorporate varied perspectives on memories of war, because they believed this would enrich the historical war narrative that could be told by the museums. However, this focus was slightly different at the two institutions. At the AWM, voices that reflect the varied cultural make-up of Australian society were a priority for inclusion in the print

collection. For example, their move to incorporate Indigenous art into their collection, as described by Ryan Johnston in chapter 8, was apparent in print acquisitions, and also later art collecting and exhibitions.[1291] The AWM is a memorial and a museum for the Australian people, and there is a real need to engage with Australia's multicultural society.[1292] The push to represent minority communities was not equally matched at the IWM, although the art curators in Darracott and Weight's era introduced some new voices to the Museum's narrative through print collecting.[1293] At the IWM, varied perspectives appear in their galleries through certain war themes that have a world-wide focus, such as their Holocaust galleries.[1294] In chapter 5 I argued that to a certain extent the IWM regards itself as a 'global museum' with an international audience, despite its largely British-focused narratives. Therefore, the way the IWM positions itself in society can influence its narratives.

Evaluating the study and ways forward

This study has examined the development and significance of the print collections, with attention paid to the internal workings of the institutions and their staff. The methodology chosen, including semi-structured interviews with staff, interpretations of the collections through analysis of objects, and primary source material from official records, has provided an insight into not only what the artworks meant, and what their significance was, but also what decisions went into building the collections, what the culture of each institution was at particular times, and what the collections meant to the curators and staff at the institutions. The collection histories have been presented chronologically, to add emphasis to the collecting, not just the collection. The 'collecting moments' approach has allowed the grouping of collecting into particular eras that featured a prevailing attitude, figure, or process of collecting, which has illuminated how such influences might have shaped the

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[1291] For example, many new acquisitions of Indigenous art were showcased in an exhibition at the Australian War Memorial called *For Country, For Nation* (23 September 2016 – 27 September 2017), which focused on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander stories of military service through art. I viewed this exhibition in Canberra in December 2016.

[1292] This is reflected in the acquisition of prints by Aboriginal artists, immigrant and refugee communities (see chapter 8).

[1293] For example, prisoner of war art (see chapters 4 and 8), art by 'enemy' forces such as German First World War art (see chapters 5 and 7), and art from other perspectives, such as Feminist interpretations of war collected at the IWM (see chapter 5).

[1294] In 2001 the first 'Holocaust Memorial Day' was held in Britain – the 56th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz. Macdonald argues it articulated a 'reconfigured vision of national identity.' Sharon Macdonald, "Commemorating the Holocaust: Reconfiguring National Identity in the Twenty-first Century," in *The Politics of Heritage: The Legacies of 'Race',* eds. Jo Littler and Roshi Naidoo (London: Routledge, 2005), 49. The IWM's Holocaust exhibition opened in 2000: See chapter 5.

collections. The benefit of looking at two case studies instead of one has been that there were some patterns which were true to both institutions, and some that seemed to arise from the different functions of the two.

I believe this research could lead to further print collection histories based within museums. With the recent changes in the structure of the IWM curatorial departments, the Museum could yield new results for a similar study in the future. This study adds to the literature on print collections and their significance,[1295] and rights an imbalance in literature that focuses on painting collections rather than prints. It may also inspire other work on different parts of the IWM and AWM art collections. For example, the IWM Bute collection, which contains many examples of French artist and popular prints from the First World War, could be the focus of a PhD with an emphasis on collecting ideologies. In this case the collecting ideology would be that of an individual, rather than the changing collecting focus of an institution with a turnover of staff.

Collections form differently in museums to those which are the product of one visionary, but also my research has shown that museum collections may not necessarily form according to a top-down model. This is because curators can move at the boundaries or sometimes outside the limitations of the museum management and guidelines. Tony Bennett argues that governments are able influence public museums,[1296] and the IWM and AWM exemplify how forms of soft power can permeate the museum through its governance bodies and prominent stakeholders. However, I have demonstrated that the day to day decisions taken by a museum, including which objects to acquire into the national collection, are dependent on the personalities and attitudes of its staff. This was apparent even in the modern era where museum staff are beholden to a host of internal regulations. The significance of this is that these collecting decisions build on each other to form the foundation for the historical narratives that the museum will take into the future. Museums should hire, develop and trust their professionals to think forward, ahead of the institution, so that they can be progressive and responsive. While a museum is a platform, and the curator is a facilitator, it is the curator who is in a position to be the gatekeeper of museum displays and narratives.

[1295] See for example: Antony Griffiths, *Landmarks in Print Collecting: Connoisseurs and Donors at the British Museum since 1753* (London: British Museum Press, 1996).
[1296] Bennett's arguments are presented in the introduction chapter.

From the earliest days of the war museums, both the IWM and AWM founders believed that art was a necessary part of their collections, and that art objects provided something unique. This unique aspect was related to the ability of art to be interpretive. Art is an attempt to communicate, and through creating or viewing an art object, a person may reflect on their own individual experience, or engage with abstract concepts or critical reflection. In this way, art provides an important human element to the displays of war museums. The history of the development of the print collections, as outlined here, demonstrates that artist prints have come to be an important part of the IWM and AWM art collections, which enliven the war narrative of both countries.

While this thesis is in essence a collections history, it has implications for museums studies and critical curating. It not only demonstrates the significance of the print collections to the war museums, as collections that provide counter-narratives and analytical viewpoints to traditional war museum narratives, but by analysing the debates and ideologies behind the development of the collections it shows that the narratives created by museums through their collections are the product of decisions taken by individuals working in the museums. These individuals are as much a product of networks, social discussions, and individual agendas as museum guidelines, management, and agreed upon collecting frameworks.

Museums have a more prominent place in our society than ever. They are seen by the public as institutions of enlightenment and education, and their collections, in all their parts, have significance as the repositories of collective histories. The managerial nature of museums is also coming under increased scrutiny, as it affects the role of the curator within the institution and the quality of histories that are being produced for the public. While I do not advocate for a dismissal of collecting guidelines in national museums, which are often the product of managers and curators themselves, I do advocate for an awareness that rules are made to be bent, and sometimes broken. When a museum places trust in the vision and competency of its professional staff, the rewards are a responsive institution to society and a museum that can be a leader of its field.

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Appendix: Companion Illustrations to PhD Thesis

Figure numbers correspond

to in text references in the thesis.

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions. Please access it through this link:

https://da.wikipedia.org/wiki/Imperial_War_Museum#/media/File:The_Imperial_war_museum.jpg

(f.1) The Imperial War Museum, London. Exterior.

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions. Please access it through this link:

https://ramblingwombat.wordpress.com/2017/07/17/australian-war-memorial-lest-we-forget/

(f.2) The Australian War Memorial, Canberra. Exterior.

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions. Please access it through this link:

https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/205191572

(f. 3) The Army Gallery at the Imperial War Museum, seen shortly after the Museum first opened to the public in 1920 at Crystal Palace, London. The Museum was based at Crystal Palace between 1920 and 1923. © IWM (Q 17030)

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions.

(f.4) The Australian War Memorial with Mount Ainslie backdrop

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions. Please access it through this link:

https://www.watoday.com.au/national/act/new-wwi-galleries-at-australian-war-memorial-20141130-11x79e.html

(f.5) The new AWM First World War galleries, 2016

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions. Please access it through this link:

http://cassonmann.com/#!project/singleproject/24

(f.6) Lord Ashcroft Gallery, Extraordinary Heroes, IWM

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions. Please access it through this link:

https://www.campervanfinder.com.au/australian-war-memorial/#!jig[1]/FL/23404633939

(f.7) AWM Commemorative courtyard

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions. Please access it through this link:

https://www.travelblog.org/Photos/8431520

(f.8) Alex Seton, *As of Today* (2011-2014)

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions. Please access it through this link:

https://www.lostateminor.com/2010/06/21/queen-and-country-by-steve-mcqueen/

(f.9) Steve McQueen, *Queen and Country* (2006) IWM ART 17290

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions. Please access it through this link:

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Honor%C3%A9_Daumier_-_Gargantua.jpg

(f.10) Honoré Daumier, *Gargantua* (1831) lithograph

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions.

(f.11) Pulling an intaglio print from a printing press

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Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions. Please access it through this link:

https://www.ngv.vic.gov.au/explore/collection/work/41042/

(f.12) Jacques Callott, *Pillage et incendie d'un village* (*Looting and burning a village*), from the series *Miseries of War* (1633) etching

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions. Please access it through this link:

https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=11363001&objectId=1334999&partId=1

(f.13) Francisco Goya, *Por Que? (Why?)*, plate 32 from the series *Disasters of War* (1863) etching and drypoint

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions.

(f.14) Frank Brangwyn, from: *At the Front and at the Base* (1915) woodcut, 15.8 x 20.9 cm, IWM ART 95b

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions. Please access it through this link:

https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/7057

(f.15) Jules de Bruycker, *La Mort Sonnant le Glas audessus des Flandres* (1917) etching, 89.7 x 72.9 cm, IWM ART 113

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions.

(f.16) Muirhead Bone, *Tanks* (c.1916) charcoal, 57.2 x 76 cm

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions.

(f.17) James McBey, *The long patrol: strange signals* (1919) etching, 22.7 x 39.2 cm (plate-mark), IWM ART 2467

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions.

(f.18) Frank Brangwyn, *The freedom of the seas* (1917)
from *Efforts and* Ideals, lithograph, 46.6 x 73.8 cm, IWM ART 655

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions.

(f.19) C.R.W. Nevinson, *Building aircraft: banking at 4,000 feet* (1917)
 from *Efforts and Ideals*, lithograph, 47.5 x 37.3 cm, IWM ART 695

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions.

(f.20) C.R.W. Nevinson, *Returning to the trenches* (1916) etching, 21.8 x 28 cm, IWM ART 6450

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions. Please access it through this link:

https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/20086

(f.21) Paul Nash, *Men marching at night* (1918) lithograph, 66.4 x 49.6 cm, IWM ART 1605

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions. Please access it through this link:

https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/20095

(f.22) Paul Nash, *Void of war* (c.1918) lithograph, 48.9 x 57.4 cm, IWM ART 15514

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions.

(f.23) Robert Gibbings, *The retreat from Serbia* (1919) woodcut, 17.7 x 17.7 cm, IWM ART 1478

(f.24) George W. Bellows, *The murder of nurse Cavell* (1918) lithograph, 47.6 x 62.2 cm, IWM ART 1919

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions.

(f.25) Frederick Detwiller, *The Bows; wooden ship yard, Noank, Connecticut, USA (War Series 2)* (c.1920) etching and aquatint, 29.8 x 42.5 cm, IWM ART 4079

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions.

(f.26) Anna Airy, *The shell forge* (c.1918) etching, 30.4 x 34.9 cm, IWM ART 1989

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions. Please access it through this link:

https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/5151

(f.27) George Clausen, *Youth Mourning* (1916) oil on canvas, 91.4 x 91.4 cm, IWM ART 4655

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions. Please access it through this link:

https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/21194

(f.28) G.W. Lennox Paterson, *Patrol-training in a peaceful village, 1941* (c.1941) wood-engraving, 20.3 x 15.2 cm, IWM ART LD 5757

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https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/10174

(f.29) Ethel Gabain, *Boys from south east London gathering sticks in Cookham* (1940) lithograph, 33 x 46.9 cm, IWM ART LD 308

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions. Please access it through this link:

https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/11427

(f.30) Anthony Gross, *Observation post with gulls: 'Solomon' and 'Sheba'* (1941) etching, 27.6 x 39.6 cm, IWM ART LD 1218

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https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/22488

(f.31) Eric Ravilious, *Submarines: working controls whilst submerged* (1941) lithograph, 26.7 x 34.2 cm, IWM ART LD 6746

(f.32) C.R.W. Nevinson, *A flooded trench on the Yser* (1916)

etching and drypoint, 29.3 x 45cm, IWM ART 15124

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions.

(f.33) Edward Wadsworth, *Drydocked for scaling and painting* (c.1918)

woodcut, 33 x 26.4 cm, IWM ART 16380

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions. Please access it through this link:

https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/3615

(f.34) Horace Brodzky, *Camouflaged ships* (1919) woodcut, 33.4 x 34.5 cm, IWM ART 5539

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions.

(f.35) Ernest Eric Newton, *They know not what they do* (1940) etching, 19.6 x 24.7 cm IWM ART LD 6587

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions.

(f.36) Basil Catchpole, *Dickebusch Lake, Belgium* (1916) etching, 13.3 x 24.7 cm, IWM ART 6453

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions.

(f.37) R.B. Kitaj, *The Intelligence Bulletin*, from *In Our Time: Covers for a library after the life for the most part* (1969) screenprint, 78 x 57.3 cm, IWM ART 15811

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https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/36830

(f.38) Félix Vallotton, woodcut from *C'est la Guerre* (1915-16) 26 x 33.6 cm, IWM ART 6486 4

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions. Please access it through this link:

https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/21458

(f.39) Max Pechstein, *Marschierende Kompanie [Company on the march]*, from *Sommeschlacht [Battle of the Somme]* (1920) etching, 52.7 x 42 cm, IWM ART 6295 9

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions.

(f.40) Erich Wolfsfeld, *Wounded German Soldier*, etching, 31.1 x 27.3 cm, IWM ART 5727

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions. Please access it through this link:

https://www.moma.org/collection/works/72236

(f.41) Joan Miró, *Aidez l'Espagne* (1937) stencil on paper, 31.3 x 24.5 cm, IWM ART 15319

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions. Please access it through this link:

https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/19028

(f.42) John Mennie, *Prisoners of war working on Thai-Burma railway at Kanu Camp, Thailand 1943*, woodcut, 38 x 42.2 cm, IWM ART 16712 (1)

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions.

(f.43) Hellmuth Weissenborn, *'WC' Hutchinson Camp* (1940) linocut, IWM ART 15989 8

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions.

(f.44) Erich Kahn, *Lecture on the lawn II* (1940) watercolour and wax stencil, 21.4 x 34 cm, IWM ART 17026

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions. Please access it through this link:

https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/23706

(f.45) Michael Sandle, *Untitled 1985 (Death and the Bulldozer)* etching and aquatint, 41.8 x 38.3 cm, IWM ART 16022

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions.

(f.46) Alison Stoneman, from *Ypres portfolio- the Romanticism of Destruction* (1974) photographic aquatint monoprints, 35.5 x 43.8 cm, IWM ART 15597

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions. Please access it through this link:

https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/9262

(f.47) Ian Hamilton Finlay, *Necktank (1918)* (1973) screenprint, 26.7 x 35.7 cm, IWM ART 15807

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions.

(f.48) S.W. Hayter, *Composition* (1937) engraving and mezzotint, 9 x 15.2 cm, IWM ART 16077

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions.

(f.49) Frank Rowe, *The Fugitive* (date unknown) etching, 19 x 26.2 cm, IWM ART 16201

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions. Please access it through this link:

https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/18175

(f.50) Kieran McCann, *1690 Boy[ne] - We'll Remember You Jimmy San[ds]* (1988) woodcut, 60.8 x 49.2 cm, IWM ART 16325 4

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions.

(f.51) Walid Siti, *War Series I* (1985-89) etching, 22.6 x 29.8 cm, IWM ART 16456

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions. Please access it through this link:

https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/5823

(f.52) Ken Currie, *Reprisal* (1991) etching and aquatint, 68.7 x 50.8 cm, IWM ART 16427

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions.

(f.53) Darren Almond, *Image Transfer III* (2000) heat transfer, IWM ART 16763

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions. Please access it through this link:

https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/37223

(f.54) John Walker, *Passing Bells – Untitled 25* (1998) etching, 46.6 x 36.3 cm, IWM ART 16744 30

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions. Please access it through this link:

https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/885

(f.55) Ray Arnold, *Blood and Bone/Haemorrhage Poem*, from *History/Memory Suite* (1998) soft-ground etching, 137.2 x 68.2 cm, IWM ART 16743 10

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions. Please access it through this link:

https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/24949

(f.56) Percy Delf Smith, *Death Awed*, from *Dance of Death* (1920) etching and drypoint, 27.5 x 33.2 cm, IWM ART 16640 (2)

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions.

(f.57) Merlyn Evans, *The Chess Players* (1951) aquatint, 57.5 x 51.2 cm, IWM ART 16441

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions. Please access it through this link:

https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/17835

(f.58) Gwendoline May, *The Costume Loft, The Old Vic Theatre* (c.1941) etching, 34.7 x 24.1 cm, IWM ART 16436

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions.

(f.59) Elaine Shemilt, *I* (2002) iris print, 116 x 90 cm, IWM ART 17169

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions.

(f.60) Langlands and Bell, *world wide web.af: The Boneyard* (2004) inkjet, 66 x 85 cm IWM ART 17180 1

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions. Please access it through this link:

https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/42971

(f.61) kennardphillipps, *Photo Op* (2007) photomontage, 56 x 54.7 cm, IWM ART 17541

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions.

(f.62) Albert Adams, *Ape on Skeleton* (2004) etching and aquatint, 43.5 x 30 cm, IWM ART 17570

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions.

(f.63) Annabel Dover, *[hat]* (2010) cyanotype, 111.7 x 77.6 cm IWM ART 17554

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions.

(f.64) Will Dyson, *One of the Old Platoon* (1917) lithograph, 76 x 51 cm, AWM ART02245.001

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions. Please access it through this link:

https://www.awm.gov.au/collection/C173844

(f.65) Arthur Streeton, *Amiens, the Key of the West* (1918) oil painting, 135.5 x 194.5 cm, AWM ART12436

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions. Please access it through this link:

http://www.printsandprintmaking.gov.au/works/7252/images/5020/

(f.66) Lionel Lindsay, *The martyrdom of Belgium* (1914) etching, 17.4 x 12.1 cm (plate-mark)

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions. Please access it through this link:

https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-136208830/view

(f.67) Norman Lindsay, *Poster from 'Recruitment Kit'* (1918), 99 x 74.4

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions. Please access it through this link:

https://www.awm.gov.au/collection/C174657

(f.68) David Barker, *A mosque at Baghdad* (1919) etching, 27.7 x 16.6 (plate-mark), AWM ART00081

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions. Please access it through this link:

https://www.awm.gov.au/collection/C155836

(f.69) O Hermann, *Linocut No. 10* (1918) linocut, 30.2 x 24.4 cm, AWM ART09342

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions. Please access it through this link:

https://www.awm.gov.au/collection/C167902

(f.70) Augis (H Dupont), *Le basilique* (c.1918) colour etching and aquatint, 33.4 x 23.4 cm, AWM ART12267

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions.

(f.71) Hansi, *Passage du Rhin* (1918) woodcut, 25.2 x 50.4 cm, AWM ART92106

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions.

(f.72) Gilbert Roach, *1915 Gallipoli*, etching, 15.2 x 22 cm, AWM ART13630

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions.

(f.73) Meyer Isaacman, *Webb, Keenan, Tojo* (1946), cardboard engraving, 23.7 x 31.1 cm, AWM ART92183

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions.

(f.74) Richard Caton-Woodville, *All that was left of them* (c.1901) chromolithograph, 55.7 x 83.8 cm, AWM ART19502

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions.

(f.75) Example of *Australasian Sketcher* cover

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions. Please access it through this link:

https://artsearch.nga.gov.au/detail.cfm?irn=90200

(f.76) Noel Counihan, *Boy in helmet* (1968) screenprint, 71.2 x 52 cm (National Gallery of Australia collection)

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions.

(f.77) Noel Counihan, *The scared men* (1978) from the series *War or Peace* linocut, 33 x 33.5 cm, AWM ART28182.007

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions. Please access it through this link:

https://www.awm.gov.au/collection/C167903

(f.78) Edward Backhouse, *A chain gang* (1842) etching, 22.2 x 34.2 cm, AWM ART19846

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions. Please access it through this link:

https://www.awm.gov.au/collection/C171494

(f.79) Livingston Hopkins, *Roll Call* (1885) hand coloured engraving, 44 x 57 cm AWM ART19840

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https://www.awm.gov.au/collection/C174087

(f.80) Godfrey Mundy, *Mounted police and blacks* (c.1852) lithograph, 30 x 43.8 cm, AWM ART50023

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions. Please access it through this link:

https://www.awm.gov.au/collection/C187264

(f.81) Jean Emile Laboureur, *l'Espion (the spy)* (1916) engraving, 17.6 x 13.9 cm, AWM ART50240

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions. Please access it through this link:

https://www.awm.gov.au/collection/C179164

(f.82) Pasquet, *Australien* (1917) lithograph, 32.5 x 25.5 cm, AWM ART50160

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(f.83) Gaston Balande, *Hospital ward* (c.1917) etching and aquatint, 27.8 x 37.8 cm, AWM ART90370

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(f.84) Erich Heckel, *Armierungssoldat – Sapper* (1916) lithograph, 50 x 35.5 cm, AWM ART19837

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions.

(f.85) George Grosz, *Tumult – Turmoil* (1915) photolithograph, 24 x 31.4 cm, AWM ART19996

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(f.86) Otto Dix, *Sturmtruppe geht unter gas vor [Storm troopers advancing under a gas attack]* (1924) etching, aquatint and drypoint, 19.4 x 29 cm (plate-mark), AWM ART50157

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(f.87) Käthe Kollwitz, *Die Eltern (The parents)* (1923) woodcut 47.9 x 59.5 cm, AWM ART50253

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https://www.awm.gov.au/collection/C181819

(f.88) Max Liebermann, *Wohlauf, Kameraden (Farewell Comrades)* (1914) lithograph, 48.2 x 32 cm, AWM ART50226

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https://www.awm.gov.au/collection/C188182

(f.89) Max Beckmann, *Prosit Neujahr (Happy New Year)* (1919) drypoint, 29.8 x 37.1 cm, AWM ART50283

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(f.90) Ralph Fabri, *Triumphal Arch* (1939) etching, 17.2 x 22.2 cm (plate-mark), AWM ART92105

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(f.91) Frank Hinder, *Advance* (1947) lithograph, 40.6 x 31 cm, AWM ART29026

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(f.92) Christine Aldor, *Searchlights* (1942) aquatint, 30.2 x 23.8 cm, AWM ART29348

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions.

(f.93) Eli Jacobi, *The Brass* (1946) linocut, 20.3 x 25.2 cm, AWM ART29490

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions.

(f.94) John McClellan, *Panic* (1937) lithograph, 34.0 x 49 cm, AWM ART29717

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https://www.awm.gov.au/collection/C263657

(f.95) Antoinette Starkiewicz, *Vietnam Statement* (1971) screenprint, 101.6 x 76.2 cm, AWM
ART90010

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this link:*

https://www.awm.gov.au/collection/C229052

(f.96) Trevor Lyons, *Journeys in my head* (1987) 6th state, etching and aquatint, 56.2 x 38 cm,
AWM ART45090

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this link:*

https://www.awm.gov.au/collection/C229123

(f.97) Trevor Lyons, *Journeys in my head* (1987) 19th state, etching and aquatint, 56.2 x 38
cm, AWM ART45103

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this link:*

https://www.awm.gov.au/collection/C1005908

(f.98) Dennis Trew, *Names from the book of the dead* (1992) page 3, laser scan prints on
paper, 105 x 653.4 cm (entire installation), AWM ART90255.003

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this link:*

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(f.99) Tina Lawton, *Scream* (c.1968) lithograph, 76.2 x 56.8 cm, AWM ART90139

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(f.100) George Gittoes, *Hounds* (1991) etching and aquatint, 34.8 x 35 cm, AWM ART29720

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(f.101) Ros Evans, *Warpaper* (1991) screenprint, 56.4 x 76.4 cm, AWM ART90023

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https://www.awm.gov.au/collection/C271630

(f.102) Jan Senbergs, *All the news that's fit to know* (1992) etching, 28.4 x 40 cm, AWM ART29785

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https://www.awm.gov.au/collection/C275276

(f.103) Enid Ratnam-Keese, *March for the time is running out* (1991) drypoint, 225.5 x 151.4 cm, AWM ART90163

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(f.104) Barbara Hanrahan, *Wedding in war-time, 1915* (1983) etching, 76.2 x 58 cm, AWM ART90401

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https://www.awm.gov.au/collection/C374139

(f.105) Murray Kirkland, *Reginald Clarence Scanes, Number 2975, 53rd Battalion, A.I.F., Plate 7* (1998) etched and treated zinc plate, 8.6 x 6.8 cm, AWM ART90955

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https://www.awm.gov.au/collection/C1147015

(f.106) Lucien Hector Jonas, *Devant les ramparts de Verdun (In front of the ramparts at Verdun)* (c.1916) lithograph, 61 x 42 cm, AWM ART92978

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(f.107) Thea Proctor, *The aeroplane [Stunting]* (c.1918) lithograph, 42.8 x 37.4 cm AWM ART93177

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https://www.awm.gov.au/collection/C989714

(f.108) Ray Parkin, *Sick parade, Hintoku River Camp* (1943-56) drypoint on Japanese paper, 5.8 x 16.3 cm, AWM ART90933.022

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https://www.awm.gov.au/collection/C1027196

(f.109) G.W. Bot, *Tree of death, crucifixion, Gulf War* (1991) nine linocuts, 97 x 54.6 cm, AWM ART92167

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https://www.awm.gov.au/collection/C289037

(f.110) Jimmy Pike, *Jarlujangka Wangki* (1985) screenprint (from linocut), 50 x 60 cm AWM ART90371

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(f.111) Lesley Murray, *Black soldier* (1994) linocut, 105 x 55 cm, AWM ART91484

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(f.112) Erwin Fabian, *Man lying with crazy city behind* (c.1941) monotype, 20 x 22.3 cm, AWM ART90720

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions.

(f.113) Danial Kogan, *Childproof: Danial* (1996) linocut collage on paper, 30.8 x 30.2 cm, AWM ART90451

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions.

(f.114) Bruno Simon, *Hitler speaks on* (1981) etching and aquatint, 50.3 x 69.6 cm, AWM ART90689

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(f.115) Elizabeth Dobrilla, *"Set the table...pull the trigger" No.5-1* (1998) photo-etching, 73.6 x 95.4 cm, AWM ART92809

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(f.116) Wendy Sharpe, *Christmas Day, Suai* (2000) soft-ground etching, 38.4 x 57 cm, AWM ART91176

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(f.117) Rick Amor, *East Timor 1999* (2001) lithograph, 56 x 76 cm, AWM ART91651

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions.

(f.118) Tony Coleing, *Penta-gone* (2001) inkjet, AWM ART92136

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions. Please access it through this link:

https://www.awm.gov.au/collection/C1128314

(f.119) Ray Arnold, *Bayeux soldat II - US Medic* (2004), etching and aquatint, 70.7 x 70.6 cm, AWM ART92869

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(f.120) Fatima Killeen, *The Piecekeeping mission* (2005) collograph, 61.8 x 47.2 cm AWM ART92903

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions.

(f.121) Sayed Muzafar Hussaini, *Where should I go? futureless* (2003) linocut, 56 x 41.8 cm, AWM ART93281

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https://www.awm.gov.au/collection/C1238047

(f.122) Jon Cattapan, *Waiting at H-Pod, Dili* (2008) carbon drawing, 57 x 76.2 cm, AWM ART93984

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https://www.awm.gov.au/collection/C1241307

(f.123) Terry Eichler, *Meditation on 2,063,500 deaths* (2009)

inkjet, pencil on paper, 86 x 96 cm, AWM ART94017

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(f.124) Gordon Bennett, *Always in the name of God* (2006) inkjet, 60.8 x 82 cm, AWM ART94000

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https://www.awm.gov.au/collection/C1264943

(f.125) Michael Callaghan, *Iraqi Civilian Casualties* (2009-2010) digital print, 111 x 140 cm, AWM ART94221

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https://www.awm.gov.au/collection/C2126876

(f.126) Tom Nicholson, *Comparative Monument (Palestine)* (2012) installation, AWM ART96669

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(f.127) The making of the Anzac Centenary Print Portfolio: Mike Parr working with John Loane at Megalo Print Studio and Gallery, 2014. Photograph by Kris Kerehona.

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https://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/object/1028329

(f.128) H and C Graham Ltd, *Poster: The Prussian Octopus* (c.1916), lithograph and letterpress, 381 x 534 mm

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(f.129) Curator, Jenny Wood, in the old IWM print room

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions.

(f.130) View of the AWM galleries in 1975: Director Flanagan hosting the Prime Minister of Malaysia

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https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/205192064

(f.131) View of the IWM's Art Gallery at South Kensington, London, August 1929

(f.132) Jonas prints displayed on the 'international print wall' at the AWM– formerly part of the First World War galleries, before the 2015 refurbishment.

Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions.

(f.133) The Art Department pose for a photo at the handover of the 'D floor' galleries at IWM London.

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(f.134) Entrance to the AWM's Afghanistan War gallery. *Afghanistan: the Australian story*