

**Abstracts**

**Carol Acton (University of Waterloo)**

**“They make a wilderness and call it peace”: Storm Jameson, Irene Rathbone and the female gaze on postwar suffering.’**

Storm Jameson, an astute observer of the post-war trauma carried by returning soldiers in the aftermath of the First World War, wrote of her husband, Guy Chapman, ‘At the time he may have seemed to come out of the experience simply older, nervously exhausted, infinitely less ingenuous. In fact and in depth he was marked, as with a brand.’ (A Kind of Survivor, Preface, 13) In her two aftermath novels, Company Parade and Love in Winter, her female protagonist applies the same penetrating gaze to uncover the physical and emotional trauma of returned combatants, even as she is painfully aware of her own exclusion from the war experience that caused the trauma. Intimate relationships between men and women expose the injury hidden from public sight behind the eyes or beneath clothing. Jameson uses this perspective to create an empathetic relationship between the war generation of young men and women that shows the interdependence of their scars, as well as making these part of the more generalised social trauma that is war’s legacy. In her novels and in Irene Rathbone’s They Call it Peace, the trauma lies hidden beneath a fraught surface tension which works to conceal it, but which at any moment may shatter to expose the irreparable damage of the war on the individual and society. In Jameson’s writing in particular, this surface is represented through popular discourses such as advertising that reconstruct the war so as to conceal its damage.

This discussion places Jameson’s and Rathbone’s fiction in the context of contemporary discourses that respond to war injury, especially those that purport to cure injury in the context of a renewed definition of citizenship characterised by the physically and mentally strong man. It considers how fiction can resist what Jameson and Rathbone see as a conspiracy of forgetting, wherein combatants are increasingly alienated from their environment not just by their war experience, but by the postwar social structure that rejects them. For both writers, fiction is important in taking them beyond the necessary constraints of the war memoir which historically has been seen as the dominant vehicle for women’s representation of the war, allowing the fictional female voice to expose private suffering and at the same time to carry a broad social critique.

**Anders Ahlbäck (Åbo Akademi University)**

**‘Army critique, democratization and male citizenship in the Nordic countries, 1900–1930’**

The gradual emergence of equal suffrage in the Nordic countries during the first decades of the twentieth century brought in its train a storm of criticisms against military institutions. The new mass parties of the political centre and left – ranging from social liberal and agrarians to different hues of socialist parties – all seemed to have in common a strong loathing of the existing army system. They demanded the “modernization” and “democratization” of the military sphere. Although they differed over what this meant, they were remarkably unanimous in their scathing critique of the then state of affairs. The army was cried down for being economically wasteful and mismanaged, a morally pernicious environment for young men, a hotbed for militarism, “Prussianism” and warmongering, and a bastion of antiquated upper-class arrogance and authoritarianism.

This broad wave of army critique strongly emerged in Sweden and Denmark in the decades preceding the First World War, but the war reinforced it and brought about the emergence of heated army critical political debates in Finland and Norway as well. It had a significant impact on defence policies and military culture in all the Nordic countries in the 1920s, only to rather suddenly peter out under the increasing threat of a new war in the mid-1930s.

In this paper, outlining a research project in its start-up phase, I approach “army loathing” as a transnational cultural phenomenon, in which different uses of an international discourse show strong commonalities yet produced dissimilar outcomes in the four Nordic countries of the era. The transnational perspective brings into view the breadth and magnitude of this phenomenon, which has not been properly recognized as a major societal issue when “the Nordic Model” was in the making.

At the core of army critique as a phenomenon that crossed party-political division lines and national borders, I argue, was not primarily peace idealism or repudiation of military violence as such. What the political parties in question shared was rather a deeply felt indignation over the abusive treatment of young men in military service

and the unworthiness of young male citizens being forced to serve questionable interests beyond democratic control. Traditional methods of military education were thus rapidly becoming incompatible with contemporary, increasingly egalitarian notions of masculinity and male citizenship. To the left, the military became an embodiment of all the hateful structures in traditional society that prevented lower-class men from acting out a dignified political masculinity.

**Clive Barrett (Chair, The Peace Museum, Bradford and Visiting Fellow, Department of Theology and Religious Studies, University of Leeds)**

**“Once for Every Man and Nation” - Songs of War Resistance, 1914-1918’**

Music sustained British anti-war campaigners and conscientious objectors during the First World War, and especially with the introduction of conscription in 1916.

This presentation draws on two unique records, and several illustrations from both will be shown: the cell-wall graffiti of imprisoned conscientious objectors in Richmond Castle, Yorkshire, in 1916; and The C.O’s Song Book - Songs of Peace, Liberty and Comradeship published by the No-Conscription Fellowship in 1916, an item in the collection of the Peace Museum, Bradford. The songs that conscientious objectors (Christian or sectarian or Socialist) were singing, and which their diaries confirm sustained them in their imprisonment, were both sacred and secular, with an emphasis on personal commitment and responsibility. This reflected a marked development from the more establishment pre-war peace movements. Many songs were verses from a previous generation of campaigners put to music, including those by the British Corn Law rhymer Ebenezer Elliot and several examples of verses by 19th century American Fireside Poets, not least the 1848/49 anti-war poems of James Robert Lowell and the verse of the Quaker poet, John Greenleaf Whittier. The breadth of the C.O’s Song Book places Whittier’s “Dear Lord and Father of Mankind” alongside “The Red Flag”.

From across the Atlantic, where the peace movement was trying to keep the U.S. out of the war in Europe, comes the 1915 recording (which will be played) by the Peerless Quartet of an Alfred Bryan song “I Didn’t Raise My Boy to be a Soldier”. A band played this song from the New York quayside as a Henry Ford sponsored Peace Ship set sail carrying Bryan and others on a peace mission to Europe.

Some of the lesser known hymns in the C.O’s Song Book can be heard still inspiring Martin Luther King in his anti-Viet Nam war stance in 1967. The songs raise questions about the relationship between individual and collective commitment and responsibility in peace and social change movements today.

**Christian Bartolf (Ghandi Information Centre, Berlin)**

**‘Karl Kraus, Kurt Tucholsky, Carl von Ossietzky and the “Nie Wieder Krieg!“ (Never again War!) demonstrations between 1919 and 1924 in Germany and Austria’**

Widely unknown may be the fact that in the beginning of the year 1920 the Austrian writer Karl Kraus (through his Berlin readings of “The Last Days of Mankind”) influenced the organizers of the annual 'Nie Wieder Krieg!' (Never Again War!) - demonstrations between first of August 1920 and 1924 in Germany and Austria which were organized by the young journalist Carl von Ossietzky, secretary of the German Peace Society and editor of the 'Nie Wieder Krieg!' publications, and which paved the floor for public readings of Kurt Tucholsky’s anti-war lyrics (“Krieg dem Kriege” for 1920, “Drei Minuten Gehör” for 1922) – both, the later Nobel Peace Laureate Ossietzky and the lawyer Tucholsky worked as journalists and writers for the famous Mosse publishing house – these poems recited by actors like Ernst Friedrich (author of the anti-war bestseller “War against War” (1924), published in four languages, and later founder of the famous anti-war museum of Berlin. Initiated by a peace federation of war veterans (Friedensbund der Kriegsteilnehmer; 1919-1927, with local groups and maximum 30.000 members), Karl Vetter (editor of the “Berliner Volks-Zeitung”) as well as eminent pacifists and scientists like Emil Julius Gumbel and Georg Friedrich Nicolai and the book seller Otto Lehmann-Rußbüldt, the annual 'Nie Wieder Krieg!' (Never Again War!) - demonstrations between 1920 and 1924 in Germany and Austria attracted 15.000 participants in the year 1920 and 200.000 participants in the year 1921 in the center of Berlin (“Lustgarten”). Supported by the trade unions and social democrats, altogether 500.000 participants (1921) were active throughout Germany and later Austria under the slogan 'Nie Wieder Krieg!' (Never Again War!). This lecture multi-media presentation (with photos and songs) will present the background of the anti-war activities of war veterans and pacifist intellectuals who themselves became ardent pacifists after their military service between 1914 and 1918 (like Carl von Ossietzky, Kurt Tucholsky and Arnold Zweig).

**Elizabeth Benjamin (University of Lorraine)**

**'The Surgeon and the Photographer: the Transplantation of Trauma and the Reappropriation of Resistance'**

*'While guns rumbled in the distance, we sang, painted, made collages and wrote poems with all our might'*- Hans/Jean Arp

*'The horror of our time, the paralyzing background of events, is made visible'*- Hugo Ball

The image of Dada is one of hysterical rebellion: a movement that pushed the boundaries of resistance to the point of nihilistic denial. It is perhaps for this reason that while Dada is recognised as a reaction against war and nationalism more broadly, it is not often deemed legitimate to the same extent as more mainstream forms of both resistance and the avant-garde.

Dada was not simply an international movement that performed the role of political and artistic refuge but formed an a-national expression of the rejection of brutality. Obsessive use of multi-linguality, often in simultaneity, provided a radically safe space of expression in which foreignness and belonging were one and the same, where a common policy of rejection created an active playground of acceptance. Within this fluctuating relationship between direct objection on the one hand and tactics of diversion and distraction on the other, we might ask, was Dada's rampant activity a productive processing of trauma, a significant and instructive form of multi-national pacifism, or simply a form of pathological escapism through art?

A century later, contemporary art still does not hesitate to cite Dada among its influences. Artists such as Geoffrey Farmer appropriate grotesque Dada fragmentation as a much gentler comment on humanity. Works like his *The Surgeon and the Photographer* (2009-2013) slice and paste the shattered human form into 365 unique yet homogenised puppets, yet speak more to postmodern ludic eccentricity than the shock of mutilation and mechanised destruction. What is the danger of drawing upon a movement so steeped in the horror of loss? Is this reappropriation of resistance essentially a resistance to resistance, a gesture through which anti-art is legitimated and thus rendered impotent? We might say that the redoubled resistance of this new art re-glorifies the effects of war and the aestheticisation of trauma.

This paper will investigate the ways in which resistance to war and responses to trauma are transplanted into the contemporary art world, to posit multiplicity as the new manifestation of loss, and furthermore that Dada fragmentation has become postmodern multiplication. Beginning with an analysis of the myriad modes of denial and hiding in Dada work, in the Cabaret Voltaire masks, filmic effects of disappearance in works such as *Vormittagsspuk* [Ghosts Before Breakfast], and sonic overload as performed by the simultaneous poems, the paper will go on to assess Dada's relation to the human response to memories of tragedy, including the commercialisation of grief and the problematic nature of temporally appropriate commemoration. The paper will be particularly pertinent to both the centenary of World War I and that of Dada's own hundredth birthday, February 2016, thus taking into account centennial exhibitions to analyse global reactions to this historic socio-artistic moment of resistance.

**Lois Bibbings (University of Bristol)**

**'Gender Dissidents and Gender Dissidence: Conscientious Objectors, Suffragists and Suffragettes'**

On the surface, First World War conscientious objectors to military service rejected conventional ideas about men and manliness (in refusing to fight they were rebelling against mainstream notions of masculinity) but, on closer reflection, a range of different perspectives can be offered as to the maleness of these men and their (in)actions. This paper explores these ideas, building on existing research and writings on gender and objection. In order to do so, it utilises a comparison with those other supposed gender dissidents of the early twentieth century, female campaigners for women's suffrage. Here the focus is upon the actions and treatment of these women and men, as well as how they were seen and have since been viewed by others – and how they viewed themselves. In addition, divisions and dissonances within the ranks of WW1 objectors, suffragists and suffragettes are investigated, along with links, intersections and parallels between them.

**Marc Calvini-Lefebvre (Aix-Marseille University)**

**'From Greenham to the Hague and on to Kabul: what place for history in feminist resistance to war?'**

Feminist resistance to contemporary imperial wars in Afghanistan and Iraq has been vibrant, sophisticated and inspiring. It has also appeared at worst ignorant of, and at best uninterested in, its own history.<sup>i</sup> Where a previous

generation of activists and historians, participating in and inspired by Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp enthusiastically rediscovered the 1915 Women's Peace Congress of the Hague and felt that the deeds and words of anti-war-suffragists, 'illuminat[ed] and validat[ed]' their own struggles,<sup>ii</sup> contemporary pacifist feminisms barely gesture to the 1980s let alone the Great War. This paper proposes to seek out the roots of this sudden bout of collective amnesia and to explore the issues it raises regarding the place of history (and historians) in the articulation of pacifist feminisms.

The roots, I shall argue, can be traced to the 1990s backlash, within feminist history, against the early enthusiasm for the anti-war suffragists.<sup>iii</sup> Accused of being dangerous essentialists, their standing in the feminist imaginary (and therefore their potential to serve as role models for the present) was durably weakened and interest returned to the pro-war rivals they had briefly eclipsed.<sup>iv</sup> I will offer a twofold critique of that more sceptical literature. My first claim shall be that the determination to brand these campaigners as essentialists was all too often an attempt to use the scientific clout of history to silence feminist voices in the present (those claiming a lineage with the anti-war suffragists) rather than to conduct a contextually and conceptually sensitive historical enquiry. And I will argue, secondly, that by shifting historians' attentions away from the anti-war suffragists, it has done a disservice to the contemporary feminist movement. That is not to say, of course, that there is nothing problematic to contemporary ears in the forms that feminist resistance to the Great War took. But it is to say, paraphrasing Antoinette Burton, that contemporary pacifist feminist thinking and action has much to gain from engaging with its long, rich, inspiring and upsetting history, warts and all.

### **Wendy Chmielewski (George R. Cooley Curator, Swarthmore College Peace Collection)**

#### **'Resources for Researching Opposition to WW1'**

The Swarthmore College Peace Collection contains vast resources on the WWI era, in a wide variety of formats—paper documents, publications, photographs, posters, and memorabilia. The SCPC resources include American, British, French, and German material on the war, and the various forms of resistance to it. This presentation will provide an overview of the resources available, going beyond the SCPC web site, demonstrating how to use available bibliographic aids for research, and covering available digital resources. Future digitization projects will be discussed. Audience discussion/participation will be sought to discuss what type of bibliographic resources and digital primary resources would be most helpful for future research.

### **Panel: Classics and Resistance**

#### **Chair: Professor Angie Hobbs (University of Sheffield)**

#### **Professor Lorna Hardwick (The Open University)**

##### **'The Poetics of Slippery Concepts: WW1 Receptions of Ancient Peace, Power and Struggle'**

The underlying context of this paper is three-fold. It draws on the critical controversy about the role of poets and poetry in shaping cultural memories of WW1 and the social and moral judgements made about it. It listens to questions posed by historians and literary critics about the relationship between the perceived 'reality' of the war and the poetry and prose composed (then or later) by people with first-hand experience of the war. It probes the different ways in which poets and prose writers got to know classical material (directly or indirectly) and how it was mediated in their poetry.

I will then use this infrastructure to suggest some approaches to analysing the poetics of peace, power and struggle that are embedded in the literary work of WW1 writers. We know from the research of scholars such as Elizabeth Vandiver that the poetry produced by participants used Greek and Roman models in various ways, many of which were not hostile to the notion or practice of war. Sheila Murnaghan has recently suggested that models of ancient experience were, wittingly or unwittingly, embedded in prose narrative structures. My discussion aims to build on these approaches to look at how (for example) the Hellenic and Roman poetics of peace (themselves problematic) were threaded through WW1 poetry and prose and how both the poetics and the associations of peace shifted over time.

#### **Dr Elizabeth Pender (University of Leeds)**

##### **'Hellenic Idealism: from Gilbert Murray to the Union of Democratic Control'**

Any enquiry into the place of Classics in the cultural thought of WW1 will encounter the influential figure of Professor Gilbert Murray -- the foremost politically active Classicist of the period. A Liberal activist, parliamentary

candidate, social reformer, energetic pamphleteer, Chairman of the League of Nations Union and Head of its Committee of Intellectual Co-operation, he was also Professor of Greek at the University of Glasgow (1889-99) and Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford (1908-36).

This paper will consider Murray's influence on two of his Classics students at Glasgow: Jane Esdon Malloch (1874-1937), later suffragette and hunger-striker, and Henry Noel Brailsford (1873-1958), later anti-war journalist and prominent member of the UDC. The relationships and interactions between these figures open to view a commitment to progressive politics based upon a shared Hellenic Idealism. But their respective positions on WW1, pacifism and violence show how this Idealism was combined with other influences and lived out in very different public and private lives. Through these three Classicists the inherent contradictions of the Hellenic tradition are made manifest, since a shared dedication to ancient Greek principles and values can be seen driving opposing views and political action.

### **Professor Miranda Hickman (McGill University)**

#### **'Iphigenia and 'The Sight of Ships': H.D.'s Euripidean Resistance to WWI'**

This paper considers how twentieth-century modernist poet H.D. responds to the First World War by way of her Hellenism, the extensive engagement with Ancient Greek literature pivotal to her work. In 1915, H.D. composed her *Choruses from Iphigenia in Aulis*, a translation of Euripides' tragedy examining the human passion for war. Drawing upon evidence of this text, this paper will interrogate the critical tendency to attribute to H.D. a straightforward pacifist position, yet still suggest her resistance to aspects of war discourse. While in later years H.D. suggests a more definite critique of war logic, her texts of the WWI moment, such as the *Iphigenia in Aulis*, sometimes signal an investment in forms of beauty and heroism uniquely available through war and wartime. This dimension of her thought, deserving recognition, coexists alongside other cues of her work suggesting resistance to war. Indeed she gravitates toward Euripides in part because, likely influenced by the thought of Gilbert Murray and Jane Harrison, she reads his work as offering powerful critiques of war: in her "Notes on Euripides," she even describes him, admiringly, as "anti-war." Thus the paper argues that while H.D. has often been associated with pacifism, her *Iphigenia at Aulis* complicates our ability to credit her with a clear pacifist line.

### **Donna Coates (University of Calgary)**

#### **'Winners and Losers: Australian and Canadian Women's Fictional Responses to the First World Wars'**

At the outbreak of the First World War, both Australia and Canada were small, sparsely populated postcolonial cultures eager to rush to the defence of Mother England; both had little martial experience, and both were vast distances from the fields of battle. But difference, rather than similarity, prevailed in the women's war fictions which emerged from each country. My paper will demonstrate that Australian women writers did not write their own novels—over twenty in number—but had them written for them by the dominant ideology which permitted only one voice, a single interpretation of war which essentially glorified the Anzacs' participation in the hostilities. Dutiful myrmidons, Australian women writers took their orders from war correspondent and historian C. E. W. Bean, and were his mouthpiece or interlocutor. Because their works were obsessed with hero worship of the Anzac, they reflect a unique form of female powerlessness. Canadian women writers' texts, of which there were only seven, by contrast foreground strong women—insubordinates--determined to make their part in war matter. Their female characters seize war as an opportunity to loosen the patriarchal grip on their lives, as heroines move out of the home and hearth and take up meaningful occupations which give them strength and confidence in their abilities. Amid the chaos occasioned by war, Canadian writers insist that the time is ripe to restructure society, to create "a new world order" which incorporates women's voices and values into the design. My essay will offer reasons for why these differences occurred, but it will also stress the extent to which several of their texts, particularly those by L. M. Montgomery and Francis Marion Beynon—were, in subtle ways, pleas for peace, replete with instructions on how to avoid war. It will demonstrate how Canadian women writers managed to gain small victories during a turbulent historical period, whereas Australian women writers lost both the literary war and the battle between the sexes.

### **Sandi E. Cooper (College of Staten Island and The Graduate School – CUNY)**

#### **'Feminism Fractured: World War One as a Watershed'**

With particular emphasis on the French case, this paper will explore the implosion of the women's movement in the face of national mobilization and national coalition governments. In many ways, the centripetal force of the war

finally broke apart pre-war tensions within feminist organizations. On the continent, as opposed to the Anglo-American world, an uneasy superficial unity that focused on the suffrage barely covered the class and ideological splinters that broke forth amid the war. At the conclusion of the war, radicalized women found their only home, albeit briefly, in the new born Communist parties.

## **Martin Crick**

### **'British Socialism and the First World War'**

The debates and splits which occurred within continental Social-Democracy over the issue of support for the war only had faint echoes within the British Socialist movement. For the Labour Party as a whole, which made no claim to be Socialist, and which was only admitted to the Second International in 1908 by means of a special resolution, there was never any question of opposing the war. Of the various Socialist groups the ILP was retrospectively seen as the 'conscience' of the labour movement, officially opposing the war and upholding the principles of international socialism, but the reality was more ambiguous and complex. The British Socialist Party, avowedly Marxist, declared in favour of the war but split over the issue in 1916. Its anti-war faction gained control of the party but developed no coherent strategy for opposing the war. Two smaller groupings, the Socialist Labour Party and the Socialist Party of Great Britain, both adopted anti-war positions but from differing standpoints.

This paper will suggest that:

- 1) The overwhelming support for the war amongst the British working class was predictable given the development of a 'radical patriotism' from the 17<sup>th</sup> century onwards and of the triumph of imperialist ideology in the 19<sup>th</sup> century
- 2) There was no one response from Socialists opposed to the war but a variety of responses, ambiguous and complex, and no coherent strategy of opposition to the war
- 3) To capture this ambiguity and complexity one needs to focus on local and even individual responses to the war rather than the pronouncements of party leaders or executives

## **Phillip Dehne (St. Joseph's College, New York)**

### **'The Quest to End Neutrality: Lord Robert Cecil's Plan for Perpetual Peace'**

A luminary of the British and global peace movements throughout the interwar years, Lord Robert Cecil was well known to his contemporaries as an architect and advocate for the League of Nations and as the leading force behind the iconic Peace Ballot initiative of 1935. By utilizing a variety of sources including extensive research in Cecil's papers at the British Library and Hatfield, this paper suggests that the main reason for his peace activism was his successful experience in waging economic warfare. Cecil's experience as Britain's Minister of Blockade during the First World War, and in particular his negotiations with businesses and governments in neutral Denmark, Sweden, and the Netherlands, nurtured his sense of how peace between states must mean an end of the existing types of neutrality. Economic pressure on an aggressor, he believed, could work to end their aggression, but only if all states refused to trade with the aggressor. Cecil's perception that the mere threat of universal economic warfare could stop potential combatants before they even got a chance to squeeze the trigger was the fundamental assertion that underlay his drafting and support for a League of Nations at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919.

## **Marie-Michèle Doucet (University of Montréal)**

### **'Disarmament of Hatred through Children's Literature: Madeleine Vernet's tales of peace and reconciliation'**

*"All mothers of the world with their young ones  
Want to join hands  
All around the world, what a beautiful round!  
What a powerful round of love and peace  
The moms of the world will do  
With their little ones who are holding hands"*

Recent studies have considered the concept of "sortie de guerre" and have shown the complex nature of military and cultural demobilization in post-war France. John Horne states that military and economic demobilization were necessary to the establishment of peace, but that cultural demobilization determined "what type of peace it would

be” [Horne, 2009]. Prior to this statement, Madeleine Vernet expressed similar thoughts. Her work in the 1920s and 1930s is centered on moral disarmament, or more precisely, on the disarmament of hatred against Germany. A member of the most radical branch of the women’s peace movement in France, Vernet was convinced that peace could only be obtained through Franco-German reconciliation and fought tirelessly against the widely popular anti-German discourse in France at the time, even within feminist and pacifist circles. But the task is far from easy. For a large majority of the population in France, animosity towards Germany did not end with the Armistice on November 11th, 1918.

Believing children play an important role in the establishment of peace, and convinced that women should work for peace in their home rather than in the public sphere, she paid particular attention to the moral education of children. President of the short lived Ligue des femmes contre la guerre and founder of the pacifist and educative journal *La Mère Éducatrice*, Vernet is also the author of many books for children. At a time when children’s literature is built around a nationalist anti-German discourse [Siegel, 2004], Vernet hoped that her tales of peace and reconciliation would stop the “poisoning of children’s brains”. Historians having studied French pacifists’ efforts toward moral disarmament rarely address the participation of women in this process. It is misleading to minimize the work done by women on this issue and to assume that it only reflects the work done by men. Using the three children’s books written by Vernet between 1929 and 1933, as well as children’s tales published in *La Mère Éducatrice* in the 1920s, this paper offers a unique insight into the work done by Madeleine Vernet at a time when the large majority of the population in France was not ready to forgive or forget Germany’s actions during the war.

This paper will also argue that within these stories, Vernet takes a very strong and very radical stance on many political debates of the interwar period: Franco-German reconciliation, peace treaties, Germany’s responsibility for the outbreak of the war, etc. These sources, which have so far been underused by historians, gives us a very interesting perspective, a gendered perspective, on Franco-German reconciliation and international relations in the decades after the Great War.

### **Aled Eirug (Swansea University/Cardiff University)**

#### **‘Opposition to the Great War in Wales’**

My proposed presentation for the conference will be to assess the nature and extent of opposition to the Great War in Wales.

I will consider the growth of the anti-war movement, and the nature of the opposition, on religious and political grounds.

My presentation will analyse the sources of opposition, on political and religious grounds. My analysis of the opposition to the War on religious grounds, will include an analysis of the role of the Fellowship of Reconciliation in Wales, and the anti-war activists grouped around the anti-war newspaper, ‘Y Deyrnas’, based in Bangor.

The organisation of anti-war activity on a political basis in Wales will be examined, primarily through an analysis of the main bodies involved in the anti-war movement – the No Conscription Fellowship, the Independent Labour Party, and the National Council for Civil Liberties.

I will focus on a number of geographical areas in south Wales which were recognised as strongholds of the ILP and featured a substantial amount of anti-war activity. I will also analyse the level of anti-war activity within the South Wales Miners’ Federation, and its significance.

I will also highlight the extent of conscientious objection in Wales, and the extent to which they reflected a wider degree of opposition to the War in their communities. The number of conscientious objectors in Wales will be quantified and analysed on the basis of geographical location ; grounds of objection ; whether absolutist or ‘alternativist’; political/religious allegiance ; and treatment by local tribunals. The question of whether conscientious objectors did so on the basis of a private personal individual response to conscription, rather than as part of a broader political and collective response, will be considered.

There will also be an analysis of the response of the State to the anti-war movement, especially from 1916 onwards.

### **Sabine Grimshaw (University of Leeds and Imperial War Museum)**

#### **‘Representation and Resistance: Anti-War Women during the First World War’**

Knowledge of women's resistance to the First World War in Britain is currently dominated by the Women's International League (WIL) and its most prominent members. In contrast, our understanding of women's opposition to war at the local level is somewhat limited. In particular, there has been little inquiry into how female supporters and family members of conscientious objectors experienced the war. In addition, beyond investigations into WIL's self-representations, there has been limited research on how anti-war women were represented in the anti-war press. By looking into individual case studies of female war resisters and comparing these against how women were portrayed in anti-war newspapers and journals, this paper will consider both how women engaged in war resistance and the differences and similarities between representation and experience. In doing so, this paper hopes to shed light on the complex gendered arena of resistance to the First World War.

**Christa Hämmerle (University of Vienna)**

**'Concepts of Peace in Ego-documents of Austrian Women and Women's Journals (1914-1918/19)'**

This paper proceeds from the observation of a more or less linear development of the topic of peace in Austrian women's journals (the feminist press). Although making early experiences with censorship, these journals from the beginning supported war acceptance or even adopted discourse fragments of the publicly staged 'war enthusiasm' of summer 1914. In such an atmosphere, authors of all relevant social factions or nearly all wings of the heterogeneous women's movements did – if at all – refer to ideals of peace, or hope for peace, only very vaguely, and propagated the absolute need of patriotism instead of internationalism; even the proletarian women's movement, with its "Arbeiterinnen-Zeitung", which had been clearly orientated anti-militaristic before the outbreak of the war, accepted such a 'need' and for a longer time referred to their earlier concepts of peace only implicitly or quite ambivalently. In the bourgeois women's press, such an attitude partially changed in the light of the women's international peace conference in Den Hague (where at least some Austrian feminists participated), which can be seen as a first watershed in this respect – albeit it also deepened the gap between a little radical, more pacifistic orientated wing of the women's movement, and its mostly moderate parts. In their journals, the topic of peace later arose primarily in close relation to the increasing disaster of insufficient food supply, the growth of protest at the 'home front' from 1916 onwards.

These findings will be compared to how the topic of peace or pacifism was addressed in female diaries of the time. Whereas two of these diaries come from two well-known feminists, who – against expectation – hardly thematised the topic of peace and resistance, the other were written by 'unknown' women; they were no agents of public (gender) discourses, such as Marianne Hainisch and Rosa Mayreder, who both kept a diary published in 'their' journals during World War I. The latter diaries are documented in the "Sammlung Frauennachlässe" (Collection of Women's Personal Papers) at the Department of History at the University of Vienna (see [www.univie.ac.at/sfn](http://www.univie.ac.at/sfn); <http://www.univie.ac.at/Geschichte/salon21/?cat=157>). They demonstrate that the topic of peace, or wishes for quick peace, could already be recorded in summer 1914 – albeit quite contradictory, as the writers could switch quickly from expressions of patriotism to the longing for peace. What can we learn from this, how and when, in which contexts did this change during war, which (more or less fluid) concepts of peace did arise in 'private' writings of women then? Did they refer to resistance against war? And what can we learn by comparing these texts with public texts?

**June Hannam (University of the West of England)**

**'Isabella Ford: Campaigning for Peace as a Socialist and a Feminist in World War One'**

This talk will explore the ideas and activities of Isabella Ford who campaigned for peace during the First World War, both at a national and at a local level. It is contended here that a focus on one woman's work for peace can reveal the complexities of the alliances formed, the tactics used and the arguments put forward by peace activists during this period. She brought together many different strands of thinking and political practice- as a Quaker, a member of the socialist group, the Independent Labour Party, and a suffragist. At times peace activism brought such groups together but it could also create tensions between them which were exacerbated once the war drew to a close. Although the ideas and practices of peace activists were framed by the specific context of the pre-war suffrage and socialist movements, it will be argued here that many of the issues raised and the strategies that were developed continue to have relevance for those concerned with peace in the present day.

**Sarah Hellowell (Northumbria University)**

## **“Freedom lies at the bottom of these great problems”: a Feminist Campaign for Peace’**

In April 1915, six days after the second battle of Ypres, three British women attended the International Congress of Women at The Hague, this gathering of internationally-minded suffragists marked the beginning of an international women’s peace organisation that celebrated its own centenary in 2015. The Hague Congress led to the formation International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace (ICWPP), which was renamed the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) in 1919. This remarkable effort by women to unite their activism for peace and women’s rights across national boundaries highlights an important aspect of war resistance during the Great War. The British Women’s International League (WIL) was founded in October 1915 as one of the earliest national sections of the ICWPP and was led by prominent suffragists and labour women, such as Emmeline Pethick Lawrence, Isabella Ford, Helena Swanwick, Kathleen Courtney and Margaret Bondfield.

This paper will consider how these British women moved from the campaign for suffrage towards a movement for peace, international interdependence and promoted the ideals of a transnational womanhood. The records of WIL show that a concern for ‘freedom’ in the widest sense was considered to be a logical link between the issues of women’s rights and peace. Helena Swanwick, chairman of the WIL, will provide a useful case-study on the motivation and aims of the organisation. Born in Munich to a German (of Danish origin) father and English mother, she was raised in Britain and graduated from Girton College, Cambridge in 1868. Whilst living in Manchester, Swanwick came into contact with the Women’s Co-operative Guild and the Independent Labour Party, joining the National Union of Women’s Suffrage Societies and Labour Party. On the outbreak of war, she condemned militarism and advocated peace, becoming a founding member of the Union of Democratic Control and the WILPF. She wrote extensively for the Manchester Guardian, and edited Common Cause and Foreign Affairs. In addition, she published *The Future of the Women’s Movement, Builders of Peace: Ten Years History of the Union of Democratic Control*, and an autobiography: *I Have Been Young*. In 1924 she represented Great Britain as a substitute delegate to the League of Nations Assembly and she wrote extensively on issues relating to international relations.

Swanwick’s writing demonstrates a female-centred vision of peace as she linked the aims of feminism, socialism and pacifism. This paper will analyse her work and role within WIL to highlight the work of British feminists in the resistance to the Great War and their further campaigns for internationalism in the interwar period. Swanwick developed a feminist critique of war and stressed the importance of women’s representation to secure permanent peace. This paper will focus on Swanwick’s feminist response to war as a leading member of the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom.

## **Nick Hiley (University of Kent) and Chloë Mason**

### **‘Alice Wheeldon, Internal Security and Justice in Wartime or in any Time of Terror?’**

The Wheeldon case in which Alice Wheeldon (and her family) was convicted and imprisoned for conspiracy to murder PM David Lloyd George and Arthur Henderson, Labour leader was embargoed by the British government for many decades.

Behind the 1917 arrests was the contest between departmental security services and MI5. While the case appeared to be a triumph for the service at the Ministry for Munitions (PMS2), the revelations of how undercover investigations were conducted led to the disbandment of the service, but not to the review of the case. With the case archive open, and with further years of researching the historical incidents touched upon during the case, Dr Nick Hiley will describe his growing understanding of the PMS2 frame-up and investigations associated with the trial. Nick also tracked down the descendants of Alice Wheeldon, including the children of her daughter Winnie Mason, her son-in-law Alf Mason and her son, William Marshall Wheeldon.

One of Alice Wheeldon’s great granddaughters, Dr Chloë Mason will talk about the secrecy surrounding the case and how we are stripping that away in our campaign to clear the family’s names. This campaign has a legal side since the trial was not fair. The legal remedy for this historic case or miscarriage of justice would be for the convictions to be quashed. Our legal team at St Philips in Birmingham is preparing an application to the Criminal Cases Review Commission.

## **Sarah Hudspith (University of Leeds)**

### **'A world without borders: Tolstoy's vision of peace'**

In my keynote address I will chart the development of Tolstoy's engagement with war, militarism, patriotism and universal brotherhood. I will show that in fiction such as the *Sevastopol Sketches* and *War and Peace* he highlights the way in which the fallibility of human nature undermines the theoretical arguments for war, and that he condemns state-sanctioned killing both on and off the battle field. I will examine how Tolstoy's study of power and hierarchy, in the context of a profound analysis of the Gospels and alongside discussion with conscientious objectors, led to his development of the ethic of non-violent resistance to evil, culminating in his philosophical work *The Kingdom of God is Within You*.

I will demonstrate how Tolstoy's growing anti-militarism informed his views on state and nationhood and his ideal of a borderless society in which cultural difference could co-exist with universal brotherhood. I will argue that Tolstoy posits a model of globality that offers a striking alternative in the age of global conflict and the migrant crisis

### **Karen Hunt (Keele University)**

#### **'An anti-militarist not a pacifist: Dora Montefiore and the Great War'**

Too often it is assumed that the only opposition to the Great War came from pacifists. We know that the women's movement was divided by their responses to the war but the strand of war resistance which pre-dated the Great War – anti-militarism – is rarely acknowledged as a discrete position with its own trajectory through the war years. Socialist women like Dora Montefiore organised internationally against the militarist preparations of governments around the world in the early decades of the century. Pre-war socialist women debated the issue of when it was legitimate to use 'force', for example as a suffragette when your government denied you citizenship. Divisions on this question then intensified with the outbreak of war; with the failure of demands for a negotiated peace; and then with the success of the Russian Revolution. Dora Montefiore was one of a range of British socialist women who sustained an anti-militarist practice throughout the war, which for her and for others like Helen Crawford, was to lead to (a critical) communism. But in the war that conclusion was not predictable just as it was not clear at the time how long the war would last and what form it would take from month to month. Anti-militarists, like other opponents of the war, had to decide if, when and how to build alliances with other opponents of the war. In addition, women anti-militarists not only explored whether they accepted the essentialist arguments of many of their pacifist sisters, but also whether they too wished to make a gendered critique of war. Did they see opposition to this war as primarily a woman's issue, and did they distinguish their arguments from other feminist opponents of war?

Dora Montefiore was a well-travelled British woman who in the decade before WW1 was an activist in the British socialist movement, suffrage movement (first as an imprisoned suffragette and then as an adult suffragist) and within both the socialist and women's Internationals and as a transnational propagandist in Europe, the United States, Australia and South Africa. It was particularly her experience of the White Dominions which reconfigured her political priorities in the years immediately preceding the war as she campaigned against growing militarism, bringing her Australian experiences of resistance to state-imposed military training for boys to comrades in South Africa, Britain and continental Europe. This paper explores what the war meant for her as socialist woman, anti-militarist and mother of a son serving with the Australian Imperial Forces. Exploring one woman's anti-militarist journey through the war allows us both to nuance our picture of resistance to war and to see how such a practice developed closely entwined with the demands of family and friends as well as party and ideology.

### **Emily Johns (Artist/Author) and Gabriel Carlyle (Peace Activist/Author)**

#### **'Resisting Empire's Call: Resistance to the First World War in the Global South and the Fourth World'**

'One of the 'chief ironies' of imperialism', notes historian Glenford Delroy Howe, is that during the First World War people 'throughout the colonial world ... were called upon and many even eagerly volunteered to defend the very nations and institutions which kept them in subjugation and robbed them of their identities'.

India alone contributed over one million men (all volunteers), while over 2 million Africans served as soldiers and labourers.

The Government is currently exhorting us to celebrate 'the crucial contribution of the Commonwealth countries during the First World War', with David Cameron declaring that 'in battlefields across the world today are the graves of people of all faiths and people of no faith, side by side. They fought together, they fell together, and together they defended the freedoms we enjoy today.'

But there was also opposition and resistance to the War and its horrors by people in what is today called the Global South, as well as from the 'fourth world' of indigenous peoples.

Sometimes this was violent, sometimes nonviolent. Unsurprisingly, it took place in widely-differing contexts and was seldom 'purely' about the war.

In this session we briefly survey a small number of examples from within the British empire, focussing on resistance in Africa, the West Indies, and New Zealand - scattered fragments of a history that has still to be written.

Topics examined include the successful use of indigenous culture by the Waikato Maori tribal confederation and the Chewa people of Nyasaland to resist conscription, as well as the only known black conscientious objector (a Jamaican) to serve jail time in Britain during the First World War.

We also situate this resistance within the broader context of the World War that already existed on 27 June 1914. Namely, the war by the European (and American) empires against much of the rest of the world.

### **Tamar Katriel (University of Haifa) and Irit Dekel (Humboldt-University Berlin, and Bard College Berlin)**

#### **'Remembering Ernst Friedrich and his post-WWI anti-war legacy'**

In this paper we address the construction of post-WWI anti-war activism in public memory by asking how Ernst Friedrich – German pacifist, anarchist, writer and orator - has been remembered over the years. In what ways, through what venues, at what points in time and by which cultural agents has his memory been inscribed in the collective memory of subsequent generations? Most commemorative projects related to Ernst Friedrich focus on his personal charisma on the one hand and on the stark visual rhetoric he employed in criticizing European war culture through the extensive use of photographs of martial destruction and bodily mutilation on the other. The gruesome war photographs Friedrich disseminated in his bestselling book "War on War", which was published in 1924, and which he then mounted in the Anti-War museum he founded in Berlin a year later, have become icons of WWI atrocities and the human wastefulness of war, and serve as icons of its commemoration in the centennial. These photographs came to dominate Friedrich's memory even though his legacy is more complex than the 'moral shock' strategy often associated with his work. It actually combines a critical facet – the harsh and bitter critique of war – and a constructivist one in which Friedrich lays out his vision of the good society. The constructivist facet of Friedrich's legacy can be mostly found in his books for children, in some of his journalistic writings and in the center for peace education he promoted till the year of his death (1967), yet it has often been downplayed in projects commemorating his legacy.

We consider the memorization of Ernst Friedrich and his anti-war activism as an evolving commemorative project, which is currently mainly centered at the Berlin Anti-War museum that was reopened by his grandson, Tommy Spree, in 1982. The re-establishment of the Anti-War Museum marks one turning point in the process of Friedrich's commemoration, and the 100 years anniversary of the outbreak of WWI marks another juncture in which his legacy has been re-evaluated and re-presented. Our analysis will trace how Friedrich's anti-war activism has been depicted and situated historically in relation to the pacifist movement of which he was a part that included such figures as Kaethe Kolwitz, Kurt Tucholski, and Albert Einstein, and in terms of the mythic construction of a transnational lineage of nonviolent activism, including global cultural icons such as Mahatma Gandhi, Martin Luther King and others. It will furthermore explore the ways in which the shifts in Friedrich's commemoration at different points in time reflect wider social and political changes that have taken place over the past several decades in Germany and Europe more generally. We will show that while Friedrich's critique of war is foregrounded in the commemoration of his legacy, the links he made between militarism, capitalism, nationalism remain unacknowledged, reflecting post-WWII politics of culture.

### **André Keil (Durham University)**

#### **'Activists, the State and the Struggle for Civil Liberties: The Union of Democratic Control and the Bund Neues Vaterland during the First World War'**

My paper will discuss and compare the activities of the members of two dissenting organisations – the Union of Democratic Control (UDC) in Britain and the Bund Neues Vaterland (New Fatherland League, BNV) in Germany – and their experiences of state repression during the First World War. In addition to discussing the individual experiences of confrontation with the wartime state in both countries, this paper also sheds light on the campaigns for civil liberties in Britain and the post-war entanglements between pacifist and early human rights activism in the Weimar Republic.

The First World War radically changed the relationship between the state and pacifist activists. Yet initially most pacifist organisations in Britain and Germany sought to avoid any allegations of seditious activities and kept a low profile to avoid state repression. They instead presented rather innocuous demands such as the reform of international relations towards a system of arbitration and the public democratic control of foreign policies. Even calls for peace were initially rather vague and undetermined. It is therefore hard to explain why from early 1915 onwards pacifist organisations became a primary target of state repression. One possible answer to this question is that pacifists and their activities were increasingly construed as a challenge to national unity and the collective 'will to victory'. Against the backdrop of the totalisation of warfare and rising casualty numbers, the authorities understood demands for peace and reconciliation with the enemy as a challenge to national unity and endurance.

Against the backdrop of different pre-war political cultures, the comparison of the UDC and the BNV allows to understand how their experiences under the state of exception facilitated the emergence of new fields of activism. Pacifists in both countries began to campaign for civil liberties and set up bodies to protest against the emergency measures. In Britain, the National Council for Civil Liberties (NCCL) was created in early 1916 under the leadership of the president of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, Robert Smillie. In Germany, members of the New Fatherland League such as Otto Lehmann-Rußbüldt developed the League into a campaigning body for peace, democratic reform and civil liberties. Eventually, in 1922 the league was renamed the German League for Human Rights (Deutsche Liga für

Menschenrechte). The fact that many pacifist and anti-war activists were also involved in the emerging civil liberties campaigns suggests a link between the experiences of repression and persecution and the emergence of civil liberties as a campaigning issue.

My paper will discuss these often neglected historical links and will thus offer a fresh perspective on peace activism during the First World War. Furthermore, it will present some of the findings of a larger research project on experiences of emergency government and the transformations of political cultures in Britain and Germany during the First World War.

### **Markus Kirchhoff (Saxonian Academy of Sciences and Humanities, Leipzig)**

#### **'Intermediaries between Nations? German-Jewish Political Opposition to War 1914–1919'**

The most common picture of German Jews during the Great War was their fulfilling their fatherland's duty – against perfidious antisemitic charges they would hide from doing so. The more remarkable it seems that there were a considerable number of German Jewish politicians raising voices of doubt, leading to outspoken opposition to continued warfare. Most notably this was the case with politicians of Jewish background who opposed the course of majority social democracy since 1915 and in 1917 joined the Independent Social Democratic Party. Here especially Eduard Bernstein and Hugo Haase as well as Kurt Eisner became known for their resistance to obviously annexationist German war aims. But at least in the last months of the war, also representatives of the Jewish elite and high finance, like Albert Ballin and Max Warburg, tried to influence German politics to conclude peace.

Thus, within the leftist, but also the liberal and the conservative strata there were Jewish voices which during the war in varying degrees called for an immediate end of hostilities and international reconciliation. From November 1918 – the month of the armistice, the collapse of the old regime and the emergence of a republican Germany – the presence of Jews in German politics even increased considerably. Now, up to Versailles, again most notably Jewish politicians of the USPD, and, in a more street-fighting manner, within radical Spartacus and communist groupings, strove for new, pacifist international politics, including the admittance of German responsibility for the war and the longing for new mechanics securing a lasting peace as envisioned in the League of Nations. At the same time, the German-Jewish elite mainly of the financial sector offered their services during the time of the peace negotiations to alleviate international tensions – not at least hoping to prevent another catastrophic war.

The paper will discuss the scope of opposition to war and the longing for peace among German-Jewish politicians during WWI and the beginning of the inter-war period. It asks whether Eduard Bernstein's claim in 1917 that it was the role of the Jews to act as intermediaries and to form a pacifist element between the nations may serve as a certain commonality of the depicted efforts, though of Jews from quite different camps. In doing so, it tries to hint at the potentiality and, more so, to the limits of Jews as a diasporic, transnational population to function as a factor of reconciliation in modern politics.

### **Avi Klein (Haifa University)**

## **'The Strike Against the War'**

One of the most interesting plans to stop The First World War was the strike against the war. This plan appeared in The Socialist International Congress of 1891. The argument was that war can't be executed without the labour of the working class. This idea caught the attention of several dominant figures from the international labour movement. Keir Hardie was its most ardent advocate in Britain. In 1910, Hardy and the French delegate Édouard Vaillant proposed an official plan to the Socialist International Congress for a strike in the case that a war would erupt. The Independent Labour Party and the British Socialist Party supported it. In July 1914, The Labour Party threatened with a workers strike if the British government would declare war. The threat wasn't implemented, and the strike against the war wasn't executed. However this tactic for preventing and stopping wars didn't go away. In 1920 a war between The Soviet Union and Poland erupted. The British government made threats of joining this war. On May 1920, the ship Jolly George, which was full of arms, was about to sail for Poland. This time the labour movement acted quickly, the workers went on a strike, and the ship did not sail. The labour movement threatened the government that if Britain would intervene in this war, then it would declare a general strike. The government backed down. There are 4 reasons to the success the second time around. One, was that the strike to stop The First World War needed coordination between the labour movements of various countries. That proved hard to execute. To prevent Britain from entering the Russian-Polish war the British labour movement not needed to coordinate with any other labour movement. Two, was that unlike The First World War, the Russian-Polish War was far and wasn't considered a threat to the British people. Three, was that a war against The Soviet Union was less accepted by the labour movement of Great Britain, than against Germany and the Kaiser. The last reason is that this strike before The First World War was mainly a "bluff threat", meaning that it was used to scare the governments, but wasn't meant to be implemented. The shock of the war demonstrated the labour movement that if it wanted to prevent war, it had to resort to more drastic measures. This tactic should be considered as the strongest form of civil disobedience. It is not simply an act of individual conscientious objection, but collective acts of disturbing and hurting the war effort. It is carried by a civil society organization, but not by an individualistic liberal civil society organization, but by a collective, socialist civil society organization like the trade unions. This strategy shatters the appearance of a national war, and turns the war into a war for the ruling classes. It's a unique tactic of the socialist pacifist movement, which can't be carried away by any other pacifist movement.

## **Angelique Leszczawski-Schwerk (Dresden University of Technology**

### **'Emotional Resistance to War – The Diary of Magdalena (Webersfeld) Bylczynska (1914-1917)'**

*I am not crying. These are pains where tears seems to be irony.*

(Magdalena Bylczynska)

„Love, grief, hate and fear are among the emotions most immediately associated with the rhetoric, experience and memory of war. War is often lived through and remembered as a time of heightened emotional intensity during which patriotic fervour, the break-up of families, encounters with the enemy, loss of life, and extraordinary levels of violence engender a range of complex emotional responses.“

New studies have examined that human beings are programmed to respond to violence with emotions. For instance killing creates fear or destruction may generate despair and these emotions can be treated as mechanisms within the process of war.

However these individual emotions have not yet been fully analysed in detail, in particular with regard to the Eastern Front of World War I. Memories of both sexes highlight experiences showing emotions related to and caused by suffering and trauma. Those sources do not only shed light on war, they are also documents that can be perceived as (passive) "resistance in words" or evidence of "emotional conflicts". My thesis is that resistance can be regarded as an "inner retreat" and "emotional resistance" accusing war. In addition "resistance in words" could be seen as an expression of longing for peace.

This paper explores this phenomenon in light of the memories of the Polish Jew Magdalena Bylczynska, who wrote a diary during the First World War and lived in Galicia. The war is described from the perspective of a woman and a Jew who experienced not only the daily life of war very closely but also between the fronts and it focuses on the conditions of the Galician civilians in towns and villages. The authenticity of her writing is emphasized by the language and reaches a plastic effect: The female author notes in detail the facts of suffering, poverty and daily life in the war zone.

The multi-ethnic region of Galicia, an administrative unit of the Habsburg Empire, was as a borderland a place of war, which was rolled over and devastated by several fronts. At the same time, members of one nation - Poles, Jews, Ukrainians – fought against each other in different armies. The clashes of the First World War culminated in

Galicia in different fights and battles for the region: first the Russian occupation of Galicia to June 1915, secondly the German-Austrian recapture until June 1916, thirdly the second Russian occupation of Galicia and again the recapture. Hence the front war affected the lives of the civilian population and at the same time refugees fled through Galicia to reach safe areas.

Moreover I will analyse in my paper reports from the Galician press recorded by the Jewish War Archive. They are describing in particular the suffering and violence caused by the occupation of the Russian army in Galicia resulting in trauma of Jewish women and war refugees.

### **Martin Malone (University of Sheffield, White Rose Consortium)**

#### **'Critical witness as a means of resistance: working towards a viable 21st-century poetics'**

Central to my proposal is a performative act of critical witness to the nation's commemoration of the Great War. At its core is a desire to exert some pressure upon the notion of 'appropriate' linguistic registers for remembering a century-old conflict that has grown to represent the core mythology for subsequent creative constructions of modern warfare. As Fran Brearton observed, the Great War enjoys an "extraordinarily privileged place in the U.K.'s cultural memory". As a result of this, its centenary occupies highly politicised ground, alongside its socio-cultural eminence: a phenomenon I have termed 'the Ghost Economy'. My current PhD in Poetry at Sheffield University, therefore, represents a creative and critical hybrid; part of which, hopes to open up new spaces between the literary, sociological and critical registers of the Great War, alongside those of the 21st century. The resulting collection seeks, then, a transitional idiolect of commemoration for our times; one which grows out of developing poetics, methodology and performance-practice. I am striving towards some serious exploration of the possibilities for re-imagining the Great War's cultural legacies within the resonant multiple contexts of the present day; a synergistic research path which mixes contemporaneous material with contemporary signifiers. Thus, the self-revelatory instincts of the Great War trench lyric become enmeshed in a dialogue with present day idiolects in an attempt to create a vibrant act of memorial and critical witness: lines and resonant phrases from Owen, Gurney, Rosenberg et al become entwined with current idioms and present contexts; such as textspeak, Twitter and mobile communications. Working in this way, I hope to revisit Eliot's modernist approach, whereby history is made present so that the failures of the past can act as beacons for the future.

### **Nick Mansfield (University of Central Lancashire)**

#### **'Feigned illness, Self-harm and Suicide in the British Army: A Long Established Tradition of Resistance'**

Historians of the Great War using the local press will have all come across coroner's reports of suicides of servicemen, either on leave or convalescing from wounds, who took their own lives rather than return to the horrors of the front. Such tragedies are also mirrored in the suicides of wives and parents unable to cope with the stress of their husbands or children being in danger. These personal calamities were not recorded systematically and seem to have been regarded as an unfortunate but inevitable consequence of the conflict.

Similarly accounts of feigned illness to avoid active service are sometimes found in oral history collections of the war. As well as reporting sick ('playing the old soldier') to avoid fatigues or the trenches, after the introduction of conscription in 1916, accounts occur of deliberate trickery to fail the medical examination. Reluctant conscripts resorted to wheezes such as eating soap, which would allegedly increase the rate of heartbeat, causing army doctors to diagnose palpitations or other irregularities and turn down the recruit. Such stories occur from 1916 to the 1950s, along with anecdotes of more drastic and deliberate self harm, especially damaging limbs, designed to achieve the same end.

Unsurprisingly feigned illness, self harm and suicide are almost entirely absent from established official narratives of the Great War. Lack of verifiable reports and systematic recording of such acts may also explain the paucity of academic interest in the topic. Yet the pre-1914 professional British army was concerned about the problem, especially given its major role as an imperial gendarmerie. Boring garrison duty in uncongenial foreign climates often caused mental illness amongst soldiers and, with the availability of firearms, resulted in the late Victorian soldier having a suicide rate of three times that of British civilians. Less drastic feigned illness and self harm also had a long tradition in the nineteenth century army and can be linked to ongoing low level class conflict and rank and file opposition to the harshness of military life.

This paper, draws on research from the author's forthcoming book; *Soldiers as Workers – class, employment, conflict and the nineteenth century military* (Liverpool University Press, 2016), to argue the continuities in this corporal resistance within the army. Though not as perhaps as radically acceptable as political forms of struggle; evidence suggests that feigned illness, self harm and even suicide were widespread and should be regarded as a logical, legitimate and even heroic defiance to war.

### **Jessica Meyer (University of Leeds)**

#### **'“There really was such a thing as shell shock”': Reconsidering Psychological Trauma as Resistance to War'**

In her important work, *The Female Malady* (1987), Elaine Showalter argued that British soldiers during the First World War were 'silenced and immobilized and forced, like women, to express their conflicts through the body' (171). The result was an epidemic of psychological disorders, usually classified under the term 'shell shock'. Showalter's analysis of shell shock in Britain as a form of resistance to the horrors of war has proved extremely influential, shaping popular understandings of the condition not least through its influence on the work of Pat Barker in the *Regeneration* trilogy. This construction of shell shock is, however, deeply problematic for a number of reasons. This paper will explore perhaps the most significant of these, the incidence of post-war psychological breakdown among British ex-servicemen, and reflect on the implications for contemporary understandings of psychological trauma, and its place in the history of the First World War, as a stigmatised condition.

### **John Mullen (Université Paris Est Créteil)**

#### **'Resisting war priorities in song: a comparison of Britain and France'**

First World War music-hall has the reputation of being jingoistic, and the image of fevered audiences celebrating heroism and the war drive is the one which most of us have in mind. Certainly, accounts of soldiers being recruited to the army, on stage in the halls by star singers, tends to reinforce this vision. Soldiers' songs (sometimes, a little misleadingly referred to as "trench songs"), on the other hand, have a reputation as bitter, disillusioned songs of resistance ("Hanging on the Old Barbed Wire" is presented as an archetypal piece).

Based on a study of over a thousand British music hall songs and over a hundred British soldiers' songs, this contribution will attempt to evaluate the extent to which these images are over-simplified. How far was it possible to express on the music hall stage resistance to war priorities, and where it was not possible, why was it not possible? Why was bitterness and anti-militarism so present in soldiers' songs and what were the limits on the expression of these attitudes, even in such informal repertoires?

In order to answer these questions, I will look at the main processes and actors which shaped the repertoires of music hall and of soldiers' songs. After briefly considering the space for resistance to war priorities in other types of shows (particularly in revue), I will compare the conclusions to the French repertoire of café concert and music-hall, where a very different kind of song is dominant.

### **David Murphy (University of Stirling)**

#### **'No More Wars, No More Empires: Pacifism and the birth of anti-colonial discourse in France'**

In the mid-1920s, Lamine Senghor, a former tirailleur sénégalais and decorated veteran of WW1, emerged as arguably the leading figure of the nascent anti-colonial movement in France. On 24 November 1924, Senghor made his entry on to the French political scene when he appeared as a witness for the defence in a libel trial in Paris. A month previously, the French Caribbean novelist René Maran had published an article 'The good disciple' in which he accused Blaise Diagne, Senegalese deputy to the French parliament, feted for his role in a recruitment drive across West Africa in early 1918, of having received 'a certain commission for each soldier recruited'. Unsurprisingly, Diagne sued for libel. As with so much of the racial and anti-colonial politics of 1920s France, the fault line between the two men centred on the 'blood debt' that France was deemed to owe to its colonial troops: over 130,000 black African troops had participated in the war with over 30,000 killed. When Senghor appeared as a witness for the defence, his testimony emphasised the physical and mental suffering of veterans of WW1: 'Instead of attempting to prove precisely how much the great slaver trader [Diagne] received for each Senegalese he recruited, they should have brought before him a whole procession of those blinded and mutilated in the war. [...] All of these victims would have spat in his face the infamy of the mission that he had undertaken.' Senghor's

words were particularly persuasive, as he himself had been gassed at Verdun in 1917, contracting TB which left him in poor health until his early death in 1927 (aged just 38).

After the trial, Senghor became the leading black radical voice in France. In the mid-1920s, articles by Senghor and other militants for the radical anti-colonial press would regularly cite the alleged French deployment during the war of the tirailleurs as cannon fodder alongside other examples of French misrule, including massacres in the colonies, as examples of the general barbarism of Empire. At public meetings, Senghor would regularly share a platform with the likes of Paul Vaillant-Couturier and Henri Barbusse, men who had gravitated towards communism out of an earlier involvement in the virulently anti-war Association Républicaine des Anciens Combattants (ARAC). The aim of this paper is thus to reveal the ways in which France's 'blood debt' towards its colonial troops, combined with the reading of WW1 as a product of capitalist-imperialism, lead European and colonised actors to come together to forge an anti-colonial, anti-war discourse. This nascent anti-colonial movement united militants from Africa, Asia and the Caribbean who worked with social movements in Europe to create a short-lived but highly significant form of anti-colonial thought and activism.

### **Corinne Painter (University of Leeds)**

#### **“‘Better to be killed than to kill’”: Pacifism and Jewish identity in the works of Clementine Krämer (1873-1942)’**

Clementine Krämer was a German Jewish writer, poet, pacifist and activist in the women's movement and this paper aims to address how she attempted to balance these different identities in the shadow of the First World War. Born in rural south Germany just after German unification and Jewish emancipation, Krämer moved to Munich in 1891 and worked on improving social conditions for poor and migrant Jewish women. She ran German language classes, set up sewing groups, raised funds, and encouraged other middle class Jewish women to join her. In 1910 she joined the League of Jewish women and was one of the leaders of the Munich branch. It was through this social work that Krämer became involved in welfare work during the First World War. She and other activists ran a soup kitchen, mobilised other women to sew garments for soldiers, and raised money for the needy.

However, despite this public support for the war, privately Krämer expressed pacifist beliefs. In 1917, she wrote a letter to her nephew, stating that she saw herself as a "citizen of the world" and professing a belief that Germany had no claim to Alsace. There is no evidence to suggest that Krämer expressed these pacifist beliefs publicly; as a woman and a Jew, she was already a potential target for anti-Semites (who saw Jews as shirkers and had instigated the "Jewish census" to propagate this idea), and those who blamed women for having wasteful habits and causing Germany unnecessary hardship. Krämer had to balance her multiple identities as a woman, a Jew, a pacifist and a writer while publicly engaging with the war effort.

After the war, Krämer's pacifism became more pronounced. This paper will explore how Krämer balanced her identities in her novel *Die Rauferei*. This novel was published in 1927 but it is set earlier in a small Bavarian village directly in the shadow of the war and its aftermath. It is in this novel that Krämer sets out her pacifist ideas including "it is better to be killed than to kill" but throughout the story, the characters' beliefs are tested by circumstances beyond their control. This paper will look at the nuances of Krämer's pacifism and the difficulties she faced in reconciling her pacifism with her activism in a hostile environment. As she was both a member of her community and a leader, her struggles give us an, as yet unexplored, insight into war responses at this time.

### **Cyril Pearce (University of Leeds)**

#### **'Communities of Resistance- Mapping British Conscientious Objectors'**

The story of Britain's 1914-18 war resisters has, hitherto, been the story of men detached from the communities which created and supported them and confined in their description as 'Conscientious Objectors'. Work to identify and locate Conscientious Objectors makes it possible to begin to change that story. We can now place them in their 'home' areas and begin to say something about the influences which made them war resisters and to acknowledge the role of women in making that resistance possible.

### **Panel: 'Military Occupations and resistance to war 1914-24'**

#### **Tammy Proctor: (Utah State University)**

This panel will explore what "resistance to war" meant in the context of the war's military occupations. The link between the two was a paradoxical one. For civilians living in conquered areas, "resisting war" could mean

endorsing the status quo. Occupation regimes were fully aware of this and sought to foster a spirit of acceptance. For instance, the Austrian authorities in occupied Serbia pursued a policy of “depoliticization” and “denationalization,” and the German government-general in occupied Belgium encouraged and broadcast civilians’ expressions of war-weariness. Conversely, “resisting occupation” could mean endorsing continued warfare. By helping allied armies (through espionage or recruitment) and exhorting fellow civilians to see the occupying troops as enemies, resisting civilians demonstrated a commitment to seeing the war through to the end of occupation. As to armed resistance, rare in the West but more prevalent in the East, it obviously widened the sphere of violence. In short, resisting war and resisting occupation could contradict each other.

But there were also cases where opposition to war and opposition to occupation reinforced each other. One example is resistance to forced labour, which opposed both the authority of occupation regimes and the war effort of the occupying state. A second example is that of civilians disseminating dissenting opinions from within the occupying state’s citizenry: in 1915-1916, for instance, the Belgian clandestine press went to great lengths to publicize Richard Grelling’s *J’accuse, von einem Deutschen*, a banned indictment of Germany’s war as imperialist. A third example is that of humanitarian interventions (food relief, protests against forced labour), which sought to narrow the remit of war’s violence and to limit occupation regimes’ powers of exploitation of conquered lands.

For citizens of conquering states (military or civilians), criticism of invasion and occupation fostered a critical distance to the war their state was waging. In other words, war and occupation could be rejected in the same breath. Some criticisms were expressed during the war, as in the stormy discussions of 14 and 15 June 1917 in the Austrian House of Representatives. Other criticisms were voiced after the war. Examples are such controversial works as *Etappe Gent*, a muckraking occupation memoir by Heinrich Wandt (1920-1921) or *Zacharias Pamperl*, a satirical novel by Fritz Wittels that highlighted atrocities in Galicia (1923).

The panel seeks to explore the dynamics of resistance to war and/or to occupation in different geographical and political contexts; using a variety of public and private sources; and both during and after the war.

#### **Papers:**

##### **Emmanuel Debruyne (Paris Institute for Advanced Studies),**

##### **Resisting Resistance: the German Secret Police in Occupied Belgium and France**

During the four years of the occupation, different branches of the German secret police monitored and subjugated French and Belgian citizens. The Zentralpolizeistelle in the government-general and the Geheime Feldpolizei in the area closer to the front suppressed occupied citizens’ underground attempts to resist to the occupation or to the war, in order to keep them into an attitude of docile neutrality. Denunciations, arrests, trials, executions, deportations and even sometimes torture were used to make the occupied zone secure and exploitable.

##### **James Connolly (University of Manchester)**

##### **‘Mightier than the Sword? Notable Protests in the Occupied Nord, 1914-1918.’**

This paper proposes that local notables in the occupied Nord during the First World War engaged in a form of ‘respectable resistance’ by protesting against German policies and thus the occupation more generally. It examines the form of such protests, demonstrating that they were often polite but firm letters drawing on a sense of duty and international law, and attempts to judge both the motives, success and significance of such resistance.

##### **Tammy Proctor (Utah State University)**

##### **American Neutrality and the Urge to Resist in Belgium and Northern France**

This paper will look at the US delegates in the Commission for Relief in Belgium and their struggles to maintain a neutral stance in the face of Belgian and French resistance to German occupation.

##### **Daniel Prosterman (Salem College)**

##### **“‘To Ensure a Permanent and Universal Pacification’: The Great War and the Forging of a Global Anti-Nuclear Movement’**

My paper, entitled “‘To Ensure a Permanent and Universal Pacification’: The Great War and the Forging of a Global Anti-Nuclear Movement,” posits that World War I catalyzed an activist discourse against industrial radiation

poisoning and the militarization of the atom by nation-states during the 1910s-20s. This presentation will build upon research for my manuscript in progress, *Atomic Dreams: Creating a Nuclear World before the Cold War*.

The title for this presentation is taken from H. G. Wells' pacifist, anti-nuclear novel, *The World Set Free* (1914), written amid the massive military buildup that enabled the Great War. Fascinated by and fearful of ongoing scientific discoveries concerning radioactivity, Wells crafted the text as a warning against the creation of what he termed "atomic" weapons. In his vision, such arms would rain a hellfire upon cities. Fusing political commentary with science fiction, Wells argued that nuclear technology held humanity's fate, with atomic weaponry capable of destroying civilization. Wells' anti-nuclear activism informed the pacifist and world government campaigns of other organizations, including the National Peace Council.

While Wells argued against future atomic weapons construction, national governments contracted with private companies to place thousands of people on the frontlines of atomic industry during the First World War. Beginning in 1917, the US government in particular purchased millions of luminescent wristwatches, gun sights, compasses, and cockpit control panels hand-painted by women in factories throughout the country. Little did the workers know that the radium that produced the world's first glow-in-dark-products also caused radiation poisoning and a variety of deadly forms of cancer. Even after the companies began to provide male supervisors with protective gear, they continued to contend that the paint—deemed critical to winning trench warfare in Europe—was safe for the women painters. Despite their worsening health, the so-called Radium Girls organized the first class-action lawsuits of their kind, seeking compensation for their overwhelming medical expenses and improved workplace safety regulations. Just as these cases presented some of the earliest examples of workplace safety concerns involving radiation poisoning, this paper will examine the painters as representing a broader class of atomic laborers created during World War I. Their work—and suffering—was deemed essential to victory in the conflict; yet, the government did not recognize the women as providing service for the war effort, much less service that was life-threatening in nature. Integrating an array of sources from literature to science to political culture, I intend to connect the work of Wells and other activists with the Radium Girls to provide a compelling portrait of the Great War's influence on global anti-nuclear activism.

### **Julian Putkowski**

#### **'Engagement, Disengagement and Resistance'**

Julian Putkowski maintains military historians have oversold working class enthusiasm for war. Seduced neither by recruitment propaganda and patriotic flummery, he argues economic imperatives prompted masses of workers to enlist in 1914. However, wartime volunteers' deference to military authority was always qualified, and the Army employed coercion, bribery and censorship to quell dissent. Nevertheless, soldiers sporadically engaged in collective bargaining throughout the war and the hundreds of thousands took part in post-war mutinies about tardy demobilization effectively challenging the (sic.) warfare state. The government capitulated but simultaneously subverted the development of political solidarity between soldiers, sailors, airmen and militant industrial workers.

### **Brigitte Rath (University of Vienna)**

#### **War Resistance in Gendered Contexts: The National and International Efforts of the Austrian "Bund der Kriegsdienstgegner"**

After World War I, the Austrian peace movement developed in many ways. One very active group were the "Bund der Kriegsdienstgegner" (= "War Resisters Austria"), a national branch of the "War Resisters International" (WRI), which had been founded in Bilhoven (Holland) in 1921. "War Resisters Austria", today nearly completely forgotten, was very active in Austria and in its international orientation and efforts, until they were forbidden in the Austro-fascist period in 1936. It is difficult to find out how many members the "Bund der Kriegsdienstgegner" actually had, but beside the main branch in Vienna, there is also evidence of regional groups in the Austrian provinces of Styria and Upper Austria.

In my paper I analyse the development of the multi-faceted, left wing, liberal, and anarchistic, composition of this group, analyse their activities, and have a look at networks with other national and international groups. Particular emphasis will be put on the fact that one of the most active and influential actors in this NGO was a woman: Olga Misař (1876, Vienna – 1950, London).

Olga Misař had already been active in the Women's peace movement ("Women's International League for Peace and Freedom") during the Great War. She became the secretary of the "Bund der Kriegsdienstgegner" and acted also in "War Resisters International". As a journalist, she published in the regional as well as in the international peace press. From 1929 onwards, with her intensive participation, the Austrian branch informed in the German biweekly magazine "Deutsche Zukunft" ("German Future") about the political situation in Austria, mainly emphasising the ongoing danger of a civil war and the rising violence of armed groups

Organising big demonstrations in cooperation with other peace groups was another part of Olga Misař's activity. In 1928, as part of an aspired international peace network, she invited Mahatma Gandhi, who was in London at this time, to Vienna; but he did not accept the invitation. In July of the same year, she was one of the main organisers of the "II International Conference of the War Resisters International" that took place in Austria, assembling prominent international participants. In this context, the Viennese jurist, historian and peace activist Franz Kobler published "Gewalt und Gewaltlosigkeit" ("Violence and Nonviolence"), assembling texts of prominent international peace activists, from Gandhi to Bulgakov and Romain Rolland.

The "Bund der Kriegsdienstgegner", and Olga Misař as one of its main activists were exceptionally sensitive and clear-sighted with regard to national and international political developments. In 1936, during the Austro fascist period, "War Resisters Austria" was dissolved. For one year Olga Misař fought against this dissolution – without success.

### **Philippa Read (University of Leeds, White Rose Consortium)**

#### **'In Defence of Life: Marcelle Cappy's Resistance to War'**

Nationalist, jingoistic sentiment disseminated by top-down discourses legitimised France's involvement in the First World War and inspired anti-German sentiment by demonising the enemy in propaganda imagery and even the school curriculum. The same rhetoric tended also to intentionally 'heroise' the self-sacrificial, unfalteringly brave French soldier on the battlefield, as a means of boosting morale at home and filling the population with confidence and pride that Frenchmen were doing their best, not only to protect the nation, but also to heroically attack the enemy. As part of this 'heroisation' process, popular tropes and grandiose discourse which reminded people of the birthplace of heroism, the ancient world, were often deployed in wartime messages.

Wartime pacifists responded to such messages diffused by the nationalist doctrine by questioning France's legitimacy in entering the conflict. Pacifist discourse encouraged people to consider the suffering of war, the basic equality of all human beings, including a humanised version of the German enemy. Pacifists also grappled with the concept of heroic warfare, borrowed from another age and so popularly adopted in rhetoric from figures like ethnic nationalist Maurice Barrès. This paper concerns itself with the intensely pacifist beliefs of French journalist and writer Marcelle Cappy. The focus is specifically the ways in which she, like several anti-war thinkers throughout France and Europe responded to classical tropes in wartime nationalist ideals of heroism as part of her own discourse.

### **Stephan Resch (The University of Auckland)**

#### **'Stefan Zweig in Swiss Exile: Escapism or Resistance to War?'**

Stefan Zweig is widely regarded as an outstanding pacifist and a champion of the European cause. Yet his journey towards pacifist convictions has not been without contradictions. Zweig spent considerable time translating and promoting French and Belgian writers in German-speaking countries before WWI, only then to be carried away by the wave of patriotism that swept through the Austro-Hungarian Empire at the outbreak of the war. Yet, concurrently, the correspondence with Romain Rolland and the work on his play "Jeremia" were instrumental in making him realise the brutal nature of modern warfare and the inherent inhumanity of a nationalist worldview.

Zweig's exile in Switzerland is equally riddled with inconsistencies. While delegated to work in the Austrian War Archives to write glorifying accounts of battles, in private, Zweig started writing pacifist parables. Knowing that the draft for front line military service would be imminent, Zweig cited a lecture tour in Switzerland and a secondment as a foreign correspondent for the *Neue Freie Presse* as reasons to ask for a temporary break from his military duties.

In this paper I will explore how the years spent in Switzerland (1917-1919) were formative for Zweig's pacifist outlook and his lifelong commitment for a united Europe. I will examine how his interactions with a number of notable exiled pacifists such as Alfred H. Fried and Fritz von Unruh and some radical democrats, all with their own pacifist agenda, would shape his so called defeatist definition of pacifism.

Especially from early 1918 onwards, Zweig gains notoriety as an outspoken opponent of the war. I will also investigate how Zweig's literary output deals with his personal fear of being regarded as a traitor and draft dodger, as it becomes increasingly clear to the authorities that he has no intention to return to his military duties before the end of the war and he is instead actively undermining the Austrian war effort with his writing from Switzerland.

**Alison Ronan (Manchester Metropolitan University)**

**'The Manchester No-Conscription Fellowship Maintenance Committee 1916-1918: Quakers and socialists creating a geographical and symbolic site of resistance.'**

Drawing on the surfacing narratives about conscientious objectors during the First World War, this paper suggests that in Manchester and probably in other industrial cities, there was a particular form of opposition to conscription. It uses the example of a small, urban network of resistance against conscription, the Maintenance Committee, to highlight the ways in which local and regional groups supported a national organisation in a time of war. The focus of this resistance was against the conscription of men into the armed forces and to support the families of the objectors, and women emerge as particularly vigorous campaigners, drawing on their pre-war activism as pacifists, socialists and suffragists.

In 1916, local anti-war activists, spearheaded by Quakers and socialists, established a local 'underground' committee, the Manchester No-Conscription Fellowship (NCF) Maintenance Committee. This provided support for the families of resisters throughout the war. The committee relied on donations and set up a scheme of 'levies' from local individuals and organisations in order to provide financial assistance. There were over 16 affiliated organisations who continued to donate in Manchester, although meetings were not 'minute-d' as the committee was increasingly aware of the increasing DORA surveillance. It responded by constantly updating the lists of the Maintenance Committee and its subdivisions, urging members to destroy previous copies. The NCF office was regularly raided and anti-war material confiscated under Reg. 27 of DORA. Despite these threats of raids and arrest, the campaigns continued: for example the young socialists and suffragists Muriel Wallhead and her friend Ellen Wilkinson, who were delegates to the Maintenance Committee, continuously spoke out against the war in the city and across the North West. In 1918, Manchester NCF began its own CO journal, at times edited by socialist and suffrage women, which kept local families up to date with national NCF news and provided news of local resisters. It also provided a platform for debate.

The Manchester Maintenance committee provides examples of how a group of resisters worked together over a number of years; it reveals a complex branch network, which involved people from a range of organisations and which covered a number of contemporary issues emerging from the conscription question. It is possible to track some of the campaigners in the immediate aftermath of the war as their focus shifted to relief work in Europe.

**Thomas Schneider (Erich Maria Remarque Centre, Osnabrück University)**

**“‘The First Real War Poems’”: Reactions of German Pacifist Publishers to World War I, 1914–1918’**

With the beginning of the First World War and the implementation of restrictive new censorship regulations in August 1914, German pacifist publishers developed different modes and methods to keep their anti-war statements. First, publishers as Herwarth Walden with his periodical *Der Sturm*, dropped all political statements and published only non-political art and literature not related to the war theme. Second, publishers as Franz Pfemfert with his periodical *Die Aktion*, expressively denied political statements but instead increased publications of art and literature from ›enemy‹ countries such as France or the UK. More over Pfemfert since late 1914 constructed an opposition between pro-war poetry and ›real‹ war poetry seemingly written by frontline soldiers and thus confronted ›authenticity‹ with ›untrue‹ representations of the war. Third, publishers as the Alsatian René Schickele with his periodical *Die Weißen Blätter* first tried to publish anti-war literature, then was banned and went into Swiss exile to install his publication series »Europäische Bücher« at the Max Rascher publishing house, Zurich, to provide a platform for international anti-war authors. These books, published at Max Rascher were smuggled into the Kaiserreich and functioned provided a counter-discourse against the vast majority of pro-war publications during the war years.

My paper will briefly describe these different methods of opposing the pro-war discourse with a special view on the exploitation of the »authenticity« term as the key point of legitimizing anti-war statements. More over a short view on the texts published within this discourse will especially deal with the question whether these texts indeed provided a different view and representation of the war than pro-war texts of that time.

**Romina Seefried (University of Passau)**

**'Losing the Battle a Second Time: Alexander Moritz Frey's Literary Resistance to the Great War and Hitler's Self-Conception'**

Since his works had fallen victim to the pyres of the book burnings in 1933, the literary remains of the German novelist Alexander Moritz Frey have long been forgotten. And so has his courageous and inexorable literary fight against his former fellow soldier Adolf Hitler. But as the centenary of the Great War passed recently, his pacifistic legacy finally seems to be rediscovered.

Frey was the only German writer who could give a first-hand account of Hitler's purportedly brave fight in the trenches. But what he dared to portray instead was the unadorned truth of what had really happened there. Frey had always been a pacifist and yet he joined the army to fight at the Western front. His way to write against the incredible brutality of the Great War was not to depict it as a generation-spanning, collective experience. But rather as a strictly individual one, by describing what he encountered at the war's dressing stations, where he served as a paramedic - together with Adolf Hitler.

In my presentation, I will give account of Frey's numerous anti-war texts which serve as a model for many well-intentioned but yet somehow tongue-tied attempts to end the war by using words only. The major objective of my presentation is to explore the different facets of literary resistance to the Great War and thereby identify the forms of authors' individual opposition. I want to shed light on the difference between the individual and the collective war experience as it appears in literary texts. I will also outline the self-conception of pacifistic writers during the First World War being that their texts or that literature as such would subserve the pacifistic cause as humanitarian effort. I will reconstruct the sociocultural impact of literary pacifism regarding the outbreak of the war in 1914 including the interwar period up to 1924.

**Christina Theodosiou (Panthéon-Sorbonne University)**

**'Remembering 1917: anti-war commemorations in France in the aftermath of the Great War'**

This paper studies the emergence of an alternative, pacifist, commemoration in France in the years following the Great War. It focuses on the anti-war commemorative actions carried out by the antimilitarist branch of the French pacifism during the victory celebrations in Paris in 1919, and the celebrations of Armistice Day and All Saints' Day from 1920 to 1924. The material sources on which this paper is based are: the press, both associative and political, local and national, public discourses and personal writings, and finally police files concerning both the antiwar activist groups' counter-commemorations, and the commemorations organized by the communist and socialist municipalities.

Thus, the first aspect to be considered is that of the souvenir of the war resistance during the Great War, in particular the souvenir of the political and military events of 1917: the Russian Revolution on the Eastern Front, the Chemin des Dames mutiny on the Western Front, and finally the strikes actions, in particular the female workers' strikes in the Paris clothing industry. This paper will argue that by recalling the souvenir of 1917 resistance to war, the antimilitarist branch of the French pacifism essentially sought to challenge the 'union sacrée', that is the political compromise of the French society's entry into war, and thus to discredit those using its reminiscence to quiet down post-war social and political tensions. The second question we shall address deals with the place of antiwar activism in the post-war commemorations. In this perspective, this paper will examine the ways in which, from 1919 to 1924, political groups like the Communist Party, veteran's associations such as the ARAC, or feminist groups, used the post-war commemorations to denounce both the Great War and the ongoing armed conflicts (the occupation of the Ruhr by the French and Belgian troops, the Franco-Syrian War or the implication of France in the war of Rif). Finally, we will explore the differences between the commemoration perpetuating the souvenir of 1917 and the commemorative practices and discourse of the humanitarian branch of the French pacifism. Both of them aimed to challenge patriotic stereotypes and heroic representations of war and death in the battlefield. But while the ones denounced conjointly war mentalities with capitalist society, and thus advocated for a new social order, the others celebrated the peace without victory by condemning the war's absurd violence. The aim is to demonstrate the diversity of memories and pacifist mnemonic practices in the aftermath of the Great War, and therefore the variety of ideological, political and even feminist motivations for opposing the war. Therefore, we will turn our attention to the symbols and the images used in each of the two cases, the ritual, and finally the use of common and diverse language elements. In the same vein, we will particularly explore the ways in which commemorative discourse constructed and used the image of the victim.

## **Peter Van den Dungen (University of Bradford)**

### **'Frans Masereel's Visual Condemnation of War & Militarism (1915-1920)'**

Da war Frans Masereel, der mit seinem Holzschnitten gegen die Greuel des Krieges vor unsern Augen das ueberdauernde zeichnerische Denkmal des Krieges schnitt, diese unvergaenglichen Blaetter in Schwarz und Weiss, die an Wucht und Zorn selbst hinter Goya's "Desastros de la Guerra" nicht zurueckstehen (Stefan Zweig, Die Welt von gestern).

One of the main centres of opposition to the Great War was Geneva, in neutral Switzerland. Here, artists, writers, and other intellectuals and refugees from several European countries found a safe haven for their protestations or refusal to be conscripted. At the heart of this group (that Pierre-Jean Jouve aptly referred to as the 'little International of the mind') was Romain Rolland (1866-1944), whose famous essay, *Above the battle* (1914) made him the conscience of Europe. In 1916 he received the Nobel prize for literature (for 1915) 'as a tribute to the lofty idealism of his literary production'. Indeed, it could also be regarded as a prize for peace, given his efforts devoted to combatting French revanchism, making German culture better appreciated in France, and condemning the European slaughter. For many of the people around him, the war represented a turning-point in their lives. This was certainly true for the Flemish graphic artist, Frans Masereel (1889-1972) who became a close friend of Rolland. With his help, Masereel arrived in Geneva in July 1915 to work as a volunteer for the Prisoners of War Agency of the International Committee of the Red Cross that Rolland had helped to set up. Masereel rejected demands of the Belgian authorities in Paris (where he had gone after the German invasion of Belgium), and then in Geneva to make himself available for military service. In the police register of foreigners in Geneva he was called a Belgian deserter. Masereel's work for the Red Cross brought him overwhelming evidence every day of the misery of war which only strengthened his opposition to it. He expressed it through the countless illustrations he drew (etchings, woodcuts) for several papers in Geneva which became his main source of income. For the international monthly *Demain* (started in 1916) he designed the images for the front cover. Later in the same year, he helped to launch another monthly, *Les Tablettes* for which he became the in-house illustrator. In 1917 Jean Debrit launched *La Feuille*, a daily pacifist bulletin to combat the lies, hate and prejudice of the mainstream media. Masereel provided the front-page illustration for the next three years – a strenuous and unique achievement. His illustrations were often in the nature of a cynical comment on sayings by leading politicians, or stories in the daily press. No country, party, profession or institution was immune from his biting criticism which only had one target – war itself. It has been estimated that he made more than 1,000 anti-war cartoons for *La Feuille*. Stefan Zweig, who became a 'brotherly friend' of the artist (he was to write the first biography of him in 1923), regretted that these images were only seen in Geneva, and was convinced that if they could have been dropped as leaflets from planes on cities and armies (instead of bombs), they would have shortened the war.

## **Cynthia Wachtell (Yeshiva University)**

### **'One Man Among Many: New York's Socialist Jews and Resistance to World War I'**

My paternal grandfather, Benjamin Wachtell, was born in New York City in the early 1890s into a poor family of Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe. He dropped out of school after ninth grade but became a self-educated socialist, reading books by night borrowed from the bookstore where he worked by day. In April 1918, within two weeks of America's declaration of war, he was drafted. The local Brooklyn paper, in which his name was listed among those ordered to report to an army base read, "Brooklyn must furnish 2,107 . . . for the special call for 150,000 recently made by President Wilson." But when he faced his draft board he stated, "If you put a gun in my hands, I will shoot myself before I shoot another man." In the end, he agreed to serve far from the battle lines, in a military hospital in the American South.

In my paper I will explore my grandfather's history as a war resister and situate it in a larger context of war resistance. My paper will begin with a review of his official war record and consider, for example, why he might have misrepresented his age on his draft registration card. Next, I will explore the evident influence of the socialist press on his war resistance. He kept a wartime book of clippings from *The Masses* and other radical papers, and I will draw upon these century old articles to illuminate his ideological opposition to the war. Lastly, I will situate my grandfather within a larger body of Jewish radicals in New York City who resisted the war and war service. From the *Jewish Forward*, which held mass meetings against the war in which speakers addressed the audience in both English and Yiddish, to Congressman Meyer London, who represented New York City's predominantly Jewish Lower East Side and voted against America's entry into the conflict, New York's socialist Jews took a strong stance against the war.

By examining the history of my grandfather, an individual whose stance of war resistance has been completely lost to history, I hope to show the way that a man utterly without prominence or political power attempted war resistance. So, too, I hope to illuminate a larger history of New York Jews who opposed WWI.

**Jagoda Wierzejska (Polish Literature Institute, University of Warsaw),**

**“‘Everywhere in today Europe we are inheritors of ourselves’”. Remarks on the pacifistic idea in the works of Józef Wittlin’**

The paper will be devoted to the development and meanings of the pacifist idea in the works of Józef Wittlin, one of the leading intellectuals of the anti-war attitude, writing in Polish in the twentieth century.

Wittlin, the Polish writer of the Jewish origins was born in 1896, in Austrian Galicia. During the interwar period he was living in the Second Polish Republic, and since the 40s in the US. The beginnings of Wittlin’s pacifism date back to 1914. They are related to his close friendship with Joseph Roth, also a pacifist, the influence of the theory of language elaborated by Karl Krauss, but first and foremost to the historical concrete i.e. the experience of war: author’s service in the East Legion and the 21st Vienna Battalion of K.k. Feldjäger during the World War I, and then observing the Polish-Ukrainian War 1918-1919 in Eastern Galicia.

The first emanation of the writer’s pacifism are Hymny [Hymns] (1920). They were created under the influence of Polish-Ukrainian strife of Lviv, in which the writer decided not to take part, although he was obliged to participate in the duties a civil war imposed on the civilian population, e.g. in burying the dead. In the years immediately after the war these literary works the most clearly on the Polish ground present the pacifist ideology, which was devised in the trenches of the Great War by the soldiers-writers (e.g. *Le Feu* by Henri Barbusse, *Der Mensch ist gut* by Leonhard Frank, highly appreciated by Wittlin). Then, in his essays from the 20s and 30s, the writer reflected on pacifism from the philosophical angle. He primarily considered traps of the pacifist ideology and art, but not to reject them, on the contrary, to defend the ideology and art in question from attacks by both, nationalists and communists, for failing to see the causes of war and allegedly naive moralistic utopia. Finally, Wittlin tried to summarize his pacifist thought in his opus magnum *Sól ziemi* [Salt of the Earth] (1935). The novel, rooted in the Austrian realities of the first month of the Great War, is an analysis of the mechanisms of imperialist war and the extremely alienating nature of civilization, expressed in the language of artistic prose. The author designed the work as a trilogy, but was not able to finish it after the World War II. He regarded the imperative that art should pertain to the “last things” and thus bring us salvation from the dehumanised reality as paralyzing. Some of his friends joked bitterly that he would have need the World War III to complete the novel. It seems, however, that his temptation to silence grew stronger because of the fact that during the World War II he experienced an absolute bankruptcy of ideals, in which he still tried to believe in the 20s and 30s: the liberalism, the democracy and the Christian ethics.

In addition to author’s understanding of the role of art, the perception and artistic representations of the Great War, as well as the Polish-Ukrainian War and the Polish-Soviet War in Polish culture of the 20s and 30s will provide the context for the analysis in the paper. Polish understanding of the experience of the Great War is different from the Western European. Western European writers-pacifists portrayed the senselessness of war as a fratricidal massacre, because they adopted an universal point of view. Polish writers-soldiers participated in the literally fratricidal battles, because they perceived them as struggle for independence. Hence the delay of the pacifist trend in Polish culture, its weakness and limited popularity in relation to the Western pacifism, as well as the attempts to combine it with patriotic ideas. Against this background, Wittlin’s work seems to be very special. Considering Polish political and cultural circumstances, the writer took on the pacifist idea unusually early and in a unique way. As perhaps the only Polish-speaking author he wrote in the pacifist manner about the battle of Lviv, regarded in the Polish discourse as a symbol of a fight for the unity of the country and a national will to survive. Then – however he abandoned the illusion that the Great War would have opened the way to a better peace than before the war – he tried to defend the pacifist position in the face of first, the “superficial bourgeois pacifism” characteristic for the late wave of anti-militarist works in Poland in the 30s which maintained that illusion, and second, the increasing and uncritical militaristic and state-building campaign in the Second Polish Republic. As a result, Wittlin has become one of the most interesting and ethically responsible pacifist intellectuals in East-Central Europe.

**Barbara Winslow (Brooklyn College, The City University of New York)**

**‘Sylvia Pankhurst: Not a peace campaigner, but a feminist, socialist, suffragette, AND activist against the British government’s WWI campaign.’**

World War One ushered in new forms of women's and feminist peace activism. Historically, there had been connections between women's rights and peace organizing: connections between militarization and violence against women; maternalist arguments advocating woman as mother of humanity; essentialist arguments that women, as mothers, daughters, wives, and sisters are more inclined toward peaceful solutions to personal as well as global conflict. Prior to the outbreak of WWI suffragists and other feminist activists organized globally for peace.

When war broke out in 1914, suffragettes and suffragists ended their campaign for the vote, divided amongst themselves on the issue of supporting or opposing the war.

Women's and feminist resistance to war was multifaceted, ranging from silence about war and the repressive policies initiated by the British government, to working for an international women's peace organization, to providing necessary services to those on the home front suffering from the ravages of war.

Pankhurst was one of a small group of women who had been involved in international socialist, feminist, peace, labor and working class struggles, but who did not accept either the maternalist or essentialist arguments for peace. Instead they actively opposed their government's policies in promoting war and repressive home front war policies. Many paid a heavy price: some like Alice Wheeldon or Rosa Luxemburg were imprisoned; others such as Emma Goldman were exiled. Working with a small group of women in London's East End, Pankhurst's suffragette organization, the East London Federation of the Suffragettes (later named the Workers' Suffrage Federation and then the Workers' Socialist Federation) campaigned tirelessly to ease the suffering of the already impoverished East End and to oppose the government's repressive war time measures, including conscription, the Defense of the Realm Act (DORA), the Munitions Act and the National Register Act. She also was a daring journalist. Her newspaper, *The Women's* (later *Workers'*) *Dreadnought* exposed government corruption, was the first to report on the 1916 Easter Rising. Defying government press regulations, she published anti-war poems and letters written by soldiers on the front. At the same time Pankhurst and her organization found it necessary to relieve wartime suffering. While the ELFS/WSF continually demonstrated and lobbied for nationalization of food supplies, it also created food distribution centers, milk centers, restaurants, day care centers (*crèches*) and even a cooperative toy factory. Finally, during the war most women's suffrage organizations and individuals stopped campaigning for the vote, working primarily around issues of war (and peace). Pankhurst however, remained the only suffrage campaigner to pursue the franchise for all women, regardless of class, age or marital status.

This paper will discuss Pankhurst's activism, but it will also situate her politics in the context of a small but influential group of revolutionary women who organized for an international coalition of women against the horrors of war and government repression.

### **River Wolton and performers (Derbyshire Courage of Conscience)**

#### **'Derbyshire Courage of Conscience: Developing resources for schools, and creative responses from young people.'**

'Courage of Conscience' is a Heritage Lottery-funded project to uncover and celebrate the stories of Derbyshire WW1 conscientious objectors and their families. The project held public meetings to raise awareness of COs, and explored local and national archives to gather hidden histories of war resistance in the county. Gertie Whitfield of Whitworks developed the material into a creative teaching package for primary and secondary schools, and poet River Wolton worked with young people aged 16-30 to write original work based on the stories uncovered. The project's findings will be presented through a short talk about our pilot work in schools, and through live performances.

### **Benjamin Ziemann (University of Sheffield)**

#### **"Resistance to War in Germany, 1914-1918"**

In the autumn of 1918, the German war machine came to a grinding halt. As German soldiers at the Western Front left their unit in their droves, with only a small number of actual combat troops remaining in the front line, the general staff had to declare its bankruptcy and called for an armistice. As turbulent events unfolded, the revolution had won before the military leaders could finalise the armistice. These events, aptly labelled a "military strike" by

historian Wilhelm Deist, did not emerge out of the blue. However, the exact sequence of events from the summer of 1918 to Armistice Day is still disputed among historians, both in its contours and in its implications.

This paper will present new empirical research on the actual extent and the dynamics of the widespread refusal of German soldiers since July 1918 to carry on fighting. It will then contextualise these findings in the history of anti-war resistance and pacifism in Germany from 1914 to 1918, and discuss whether the 'military strike' was an extension of these developments or perhaps rather a break with them. Particular emphasis is placed on an analysis of the role of the organised socialist labour movement in these developments, and on the remembrance of these developments in the post-war period.