

## **HLA@IFOA Conference 2014:** **Representing World War I: Perspectives at the Centenary**

An international conference to mark the Centenary of the beginning of World War I, hosted by *Humber College's School of Liberal Arts and Sciences* at the *International Festival of Authors* in Toronto.

### **Conference Programme:**

**Friday October 31<sup>st</sup>**

**8:00 – 9:00 am: Registration and coffee.**

**9:00 – 10:30 am: Keynote Lecture:**

**Dr. Michael Neiberg, Professor of History, United States Army War College**

Michael S. Neiberg was born and raised in Pittsburgh. Educated at the University of Michigan (BA) and Carnegie Mellon University (MA and PhD), he has taught at the United States Air Force Academy and the University of Southern Mississippi. He is now Professor of History at the United States Army War College in the Department of National Security and Strategy.

Dr. Neiberg has academic backgrounds in social history, military history, French history, and American history. He has published widely on the theme of war in the world, especially in the era of the two world wars. His most recent books are *Dance of the Furies: Europe and the Outbreak of War in 1914* (Harvard University Press, 2011) and *The Blood of Free Men: The Liberation of Paris, 1944* (Basic Books, 2012). In 2015 Basic Books will publish his most recent book *TERMINAL: The Potsdam Conference and the End of the Age of Total War in Europe, 1914-1945*. He lives with his wife, two daughters, and assorted pets in Carlisle, Pennsylvania.

#### **Topic of Lecture:**

For the last century, historians have focused most of their attention on a small number of decision-making elites in the fateful year of 1914. This project, however, looks at the reactions of people far from the centers of power. It shows that they did not blindly follow their leaders or desire war as a way to avenge ancient slights to national honor. The ways that they did respond to the outbreak of the war gives us new insights into what happened in 1914 and what it means a century later.

**10:45am-12:15pm:**

**Concurrent Sessions:**

## **Session 1: Film and Literature**

**Chris Irwin**, Humber College

### **“Reflections on the Possibility of “Another Europe” in Renoir’s La Grande Illusion”**

Jean Renoir’s *La Grande Illusion* is obviously a political film. Less obvious is what the film’s political message is. That it was released in 1937 and that it has a World War I setting makes it tempting to interpret its political content in one of two ways: either as an artistic intervention into French and European politics, or as a poignant reflection on the possibility of “another Europe” that could come to be, one that could find the resources in its cultural heritage that could help it to avoid repeating the catastrophe of the First World War.

However, *La Grande Illusion* presents Europe’s past as a deceptively complex interpretive problem. Images, ideals, sentiments, and practices from the past are constantly distracting the characters (and audience) from the hard task of facing the war-ravaged present. At the same time, the film’s narrative structure and the relations between the characters reveal that these turns to the past provide no comfort. The film uses relentless, disruptive forward motion – physical and temporal – to deny any attempt to find solace in the rich traditions of European religious, cultural, or social history. As the film moves from France to Germany and then finally to Switzerland, the characters are repeatedly forced out of their reflections about an idealized past, whether these be tragic, hopeful, or nostalgic.

In this paper, I will argue that *La Grande Illusion* does not offer a meditation on a humanist or socialist Europe that might come to be, but rather on a Europe that has never been. Moreover, I will argue that the film develops the position that “another Europe” cannot be found until the idealization of the past is replaced with a critical assessment of Europe’s history and traditions.

**Nick Milne**, University of Ottawa

### **“World War One Rewritten: Bernard Newman's 'The Cavalry Went Through’”**

The interwar years saw a boom in the writing of works that would now fall under the heading of “alternate history.” The function of WWI as what Samuel Hynes has called “a gap in history” occasioned an interest in works that unsettled established understandings of the past, and historians and authors alike met this interest in volumes like J.C. Squire’s enormously popular *'If It Had Happened Otherwise'* (1931).

The most prominent work of fiction in this field – and arguably the first novel-length work of its kind in English – was Bernard Newman’s 1930

novel, 'The Cavalry Went Through'. Newman re-imagines the conduct and outcome of WWI through the fictional career of General Henry Berrington Duncan, a brilliant English equivalent to the German General Paul von Lettow-Vorbeck. Duncan achieves great success in the East African theatre through a variety of unorthodox means, and is then dispatched the Western Front with the ultimate consequence that the war is eventually won for the Allies in the summer of 1917.

My paper shows the means by which Newman's text engages with the contemporary tide of popular criticism over Allied handling of the war even as it serves as the foundational example of an essentially new form of novel.

Through its explicit critiques of Allied grand strategy, its promotion of novel approaches to discipline and tactics, and its radical revisioning of the reputations of real historical figures under fictional names, 'The Cavalry Went Through' offers a new perspective on the past even as it re-imagines it.

**Zachary Abram**, University of Ottawa

### **"The Comforts of Home: Sex Workers, Domesticity, and the Canadian War Novel"**

Sex work was a reality of wartime London. The influx of lonely, scared and temporarily rich soldiers made for an eager clientele, which resulted in greater supply. According to one Canadian soldier, English women were "snakes from hell with fire in their mouth all over." For the narrator of Charles Yale Harrison's Great War novel *Generals Die in Bed* (1929), however, the sex worker he hires, Gladys, is "that delightful combination of wife, mother, and courtesan – and I, a common soldier on leave, have her!" (94).

As ubiquitous as khaki, sex workers are a recurring trope in Canadian war fiction. They are rarely singled out for derision and, in fact, are acknowledged to play a vital role in the war effort. In novels like *Generals Die in Bed*, Colin McDougall's *Execution*, and Timothy Findley's *The Wars*, sex workers allow Canadian soldiers to forge a distinctly domestic space while overseas. This space constitutes a surrogate home-front, which affords the soldier on leave comfort that transcends mere sexual release.

Indicative of the persistent schism between the front and the home-front, this proxy space inevitably becomes untenable. In *Generals Die in Bed*, for instance, Gladys takes her man to a show to distract him. The spectacle serves only to alienate him from the non-military population. As the audience sings and dances, he lashes out: "These people have no right to laugh... They have no business to forget. They should be made to remember" (89). Representations of the relationship between soldier and prostitute in Canadian war fiction serve as a crucial tool for understanding the fraught

relationship between the soldier and the home-front and vice versa.

Works Cited: Harrison, Charles Yale. *Generals Die in Bed*. 1930. Toronto: Annick Press, 2007. Print.

## **Session 2: Aboriginal Participation in WWI**

**Andrew J. McLaughlin**, University of Waterloo  
**“The Mississaugas of the New Credit First Nation and the First World War”**

The Mississaugas of the New Credit First Nation are a community with a rich and intricate history, and their relations with European settlers and colonizing governments have been based on cooperation, diplomacy and peace. Indeed, the name “Credit Indians” was bestowed upon them due to responsible trade relations and political and military alliances with colonizing European powers. The New Credit peoples have also contributed to the military history of Canada in many ways; they fought and died alongside the British Crown and defended the colony during the American invasion in the War of 1812, for instance. Although the contribution of indigenous peoples to the War of 1812 is well-known, their contribution to the Canadian war effort during the First World War is not. The history of the Mississaugas of the New Credit offers a case study of just such a contribution. How did the “New Credit Indians” contribute to the war effort? How was their community affected by the war, and how is their service in it remembered? These questions form an important inquiry into aboriginal history that highlights a deep interrelationship with Canadian military history, and uncovers a long-lasting partnership between a First Nations people and the Canadian government.

**Katherine Wilson**, Queen’s University.  
**“Red Man On The Warpath”: The Problem of Native Canadian Enlistment During the First World War.”**

Close to 4,000 members of the Canadian Expeditionary Force were of Aboriginal descent, a very high number given the limited civil rights afforded to Aboriginals in the early twentieth century. This number is especially striking given the problems that many Aboriginal men faced when attempting to enlist in the war.

When war broke out in 1914 Canada did not have a clear military policy, and the Militia Act of 1904 was especially ambiguous regarding the role Aboriginals were to play in the military. Much of this ambiguity was due to the idea at the turn of the century that Aboriginals were “a disappearing

race." Because at the start of the war, recruitment centers were flooded with volunteers, local recruiting officers could afford to be very picky, and most agents would have relied on their own personal prejudices against Aboriginals when considering their attempts to enlist.

This paper will build on much of the scholarly research done on Native Canadian contributions to the war effort, but focus purely on the early days of the war and the problem of recruitment by looking at the popular images of Aboriginals in Canada at the time. Within these popular images includes the reoccurring tropes of the "Nobel Savage," or the "Bloodthirsty Savage." As already stated local recruiting officers would have accepted or rejected Aboriginal recruits based on personal prejudices, which would have been necessarily informed by the dominant images of Native Canadians existing the time.

### **Session 3: British and German Military Operations and Indian Participation in WWI**

**John A Boyd, US Army: 81<sup>st</sup> Regional Support Command**  
**"The British and German campaigns in German East Africa (GEA) 1914-1918."**

The majority of authors on the subject have written what amounts to flattering or "romantic" analyses of LTC Paul Von Lettow-Vorbeck's campaign in GEA. In fact, some extoll Vorbeck as the first commander in modern warfare to conduct a guerilla campaign. Granted, Vorbeck achieves a great defensive victory at Tanga in NOV 1914, but this, if anything, pushes him to continue conventional warfare. Strategically, 1915 proves that Lord Kitchner was right; a small British force could have contained/neutralized the Germans in GEA. Vorbeck -- with a force that numbered 10,000 at its height, could never have successfully waged war on a continental scale -- he had neither the logistics, weapons nor German soldiers in theater to achieve more than a marginal defense. Nor did Vorbeck successfully slow major British offensives once mounted. Generals Smuts and Van Deventer were hampered more by supply lines and the vast size of German East Africa than Lettow-Vorbeck. Lettow-Vorbeck will only begin to approach a level of guerilla warfare in 1917-1918 when conventional warfare tactics and operations become impossible for a continually undersupplied and shrinking force. However, if the ultimate aim of Lettow-Vorbeck is to lure the British and South Africans into costly campaigns and divert manpower from the Western Front: He wins! History is replete with campaigns that should never have been fought -- German East Africa is one of them.

**Jose Abraham, Concordia University**  
**"Between Empire and Nation: Legacy of Indian Sepoys of the World War I"**

There is an uncomfortable silence in India over their contribution to World War I and the nationalist history glosses over it. However, India made extraordinary sacrifices for the war efforts and had given full military, political and economic support. India sent more than 1.3 million soldiers to fight for the British Empire between 1914 and 1918, who served in France and Belgium (Flanders), Mesopotamia, Egypt and Palestine. Smaller contingents were sent to Aden, East Africa, Gallipoli and Salonika. Indian voluntary army was substantially bigger than the combined troops of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. Even though, the Indian soldiers were not equipped to fight modern warfare, they performed magnificently. Nearly 60,000 of them sacrificed their lives in the World War 1. The Royal Indian Marine ships were also actively participated in the Mesopotamia campaign. The Army nurses of the Queen Alexandra's Imperial Military Nursing Service, which had its origins in the Indian Army, served in Flanders, the Mediterranean, the Balkans, the Middle East and on board hospital ships. India also exported animals and large quantities of food and fodder to the war zones. In 1917, India made an outright gift of £100 million towards the cost of the war. India's contributions for the war was largely because of the overwhelming support of the Indian national leaders. Indian nationalist such as Gandhi and Tilak proclaimed their commitment to the British cause. They played a significant role in recruiting soldiers for the army. It was seen as showing loyalty to British Empire anticipating dominion status and home rule in return after the war. Through fighting in the war, masculinist nationalists also hoped to prove that Indian were bold, strong and manly, subverting the gender implication of colonialism as the emasculation of the colonized male.

**12:15-1:30pm**

Lunch

**1:30-3:00pm**

Concurrent Sessions:

#### **Session 4: Children and the Homefront**

Jennifer Marotta, Humber College

**“'Isn't this an Awful War?": Children on Liberty, Loss, and Longing within the *Family Herald and Weekly Star*, 1914-1918.”**

Canada's most popular weekly, The Family Herald and Weekly Star, had long been interested in its young readers. By nurturing correspondence, they hoped to sell magazines, and intervene in issues of Canadian childhood. As pen pals in “The Maple Leaf Club,” the weekly hegemonically shaped its readers' behaviour and beliefs in an astute combination of coercion and consent, earnestness and humour, and correction and compassion. Editors sought to influence, imperceptibly and irresistibly, a reader's inner dialogue. The

“child” in the weekly was, in Peter Stoneley’s apt expression, “ideological” rather than “actual.” Yet this too served a purpose. What was projected to readers often embodied adult needs—a need to believe in childhood innocence and limitless potential as well as their authoritative role in its preservation.

WWI offers a unique lens within which to examine this relationship. Canadian Imperialism was a common theme. So too was the bravery of the enlisted (many mere children themselves), the regret of those who had to stay on farms, the duty felt to participate in charitable work and home front responsibilities, an interest in technologies of war, empathy for children in war zones, and countless wishes for peace. WWI inevitably brought confusion into the lives of young readers. The weekly personalized its educational mission by counselling the bereaved on the virtues of stoicism and gratitude. In this correspondence club one catches a small glimpse of the realities of human suffering not even the edited and polished Family Herald could quite gloss over. It is the sad, serious, and compassionate tone that makes these examples stand out so vividly from their cheerier neighbours in the column. When given the opportunity, during the tumultuous years of the Great War, children turned to their page for advice and emotional support in addition to entertainment.

**Erin Pack-Jordan**, Utah State Archives

**"Nicht im Katalog: World War I and the Decline of German Language Education in the United States."**

In the decades prior to World War I, over a quarter of American high school students studied German as a foreign language. Several states in the Midwest, including Indiana and Wisconsin, even offered instruction in elementary schools.

However, the backlash German culture during and following the War resulted in a decline for language instruction. According to Paul Finkelman, the German language was a “major target” before and after the War. Although all foreign languages were dismissed as anti-patriotic or worse, German received the brunt of American hostility. Some citizens even believed that a mass German conspiracy was underfoot, out to corrupt impressionable students.

The direct impact of World War I and existing nativist tendencies influenced the sharp decrease or outright ban of German language instruction in schools. A revealing article in Literary Digest entitled “American Students Boycotting German: French and Spanish Are Crowding Out the Enemy Tongue”

shows the prevailing attitude present in schools at the time.

This paper will explain the causes, results, impacts, and direct relationship of World War I on the decrease in German language instruction in the United States. Building upon existent scholarship that has traced out this historical move away from German, this paper begins the process of exploring the lingering effects of this cultural shift into the present day.

### **Session 5: Participation of Canadian Churches and The YMCA in Canada, Britain, and the USA.**

**Gordon Heath**, McMaster University Divinity College  
**“Apocalypse Now: Canadian Churches and the First World War”**

Most accounts of Canada and WWI either ignore or merely mention in passing the churches' experience. Such neglect does not do justice to the remarkable influence of the wartime churches nor to the religious identity of the young Dominion. This paper is a corrective to that inattention. This paper will also demonstrate how the churches' support for the war was often wholehearted, but just as often nuanced and critical, shaped by either the classic just war paradigm or pacifism's outright rejection of violence. The war heightened issues of Canadianization, attitudes to violence, and ministry to the bereaved and the disillusioned. It also exacerbated ethnic tensions within and between denominations, and challenged notions of national and imperial identity.

I have recently edited a volume entitled *Canadian Churches and War* (2014), and this paper will draw upon many of the conclusions set forth in the book.

**Jonathan Weier**, Western University  
**“The Romance of the Red Triangle: First World War YMCA Memoirs and the YMCA Worker Experience”**

During the First World War, the YMCA played a significant role providing recreational, religious and medical services to combatants and POWs. YMCA workers were present in training camps, on battlefields, in rear areas, and in POW camps on every continent. This work was a global work in which numerous national YMCAs were active though some national YMCAs were involved much more prominently and fill a larger space in this history; particularly YMCAs in Canada, Great Britain and the United States.

This paper will examine memoirs written by First World War YMCA workers from the Canadian, British and American YMCAs. Though some of these memoirs were



published, often by the YMCA itself, many others were self-published or deposited unpublished in various YMCA archives. These memoirs showed a remarkable commonality of experience and opinion on the part of YMCA workers despite the increasingly national identities apparent in this period in the YMCA.

Soldiers' memoirs like Ernst Junger's *Storm of Steel* and Siegfried Sassoon's *Complete Memoirs of George Sherston* represent some of the most compelling First World War literature. These memoirs are common sources for historians studying the everyday experience of the First World War.<sup>1</sup> The memoirs of YMCA workers provide a new body of work that offer a different vision of the spaces in which war was fought and of the experiences of those involved. While YMCA workers, most of whom were men, were present, in uniform, in the front lines, they were not warriors. As such they provide a contrasting view of the masculine experience of the First World War.

### **Session 6: WWI and Race Relations**

**Adam Ewing**, Virginia Commonwealth University

**"Kimbanguism, the Rising Tide of Colour, and Rebellious Rumour-Making in World War I-era Africa."**

In the spring of 1921, a young Bakongo Christian named Simon Kimbangu announced that he had been called to heal and preach in the name of the Lord, broke from his European mission, and inaugurated an independent African ministry. As thousands flocked to Kimbangu's village, and as the revival acquired an increasingly anticolonial bent, officials in the Belgian Congo began to suspect the influence of the pan-African movement emanating from the United States. Indeed, the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), the anticolonial, "race first" organization launched by Jamaican activist Marcus Garvey amidst the ferment of World War I, had recently held its massively successful International Convention of the Negro Peoples of the World, news of which was carried across the globe. Garveyite organizers were active along the west African coast, and had recently been expelled from the Belgian Congo. The Garveyite paper, the *Negro World*, was discovered to be circulating among the financial backers of the nascent Kimbanguist church. Scholarly treatments of the Kimbanguist revival have not satisfactorily explained the connection between the revival and the currents of Garveyist organizing. This is partly because they have not examined Kimbanguism as an extension of the forces unleashed by the recently concluded world war. In particular, attention has not been paid to the importance of wartime rumor—of receding white authority, of a "rising tide of color"—in establishing an ideological, affective, and political framework in which colonial administrators and subjects came to understand themselves and each

other. Garveyism's remarkable penetration of sub-Saharan Africa after the war—and colonial officials' resulting and unrestrained dread—reflects the extent to which Garvey and his followers sustained and benefited from traditions of rebellious rumor-making galvanized by the First World War

**Olga Alexeeva**, Université de Québec à Montréal

**"Forgotten Ally: China's contribution to the Allied victory in WWI"**

The First World War coincided with a profound transformation of Chinese civilization and of Chinese national identity. With the breaking of war in Europe, China's government wanted to take active part in the conflict and proposed, in August 1914, its military assistance to Great Britain. London has refused the offer of Beijing and China officially stayed neutral country till 1917. However, helping Allies in their war against Germany was considered by some Chinese political and intellectual elites as an opportunity to China to finally join the international community as an equal partner and get rid itself of 19th century colonial humiliations. Following this reasoning, China has launched a new strategy in 1915 and proposed to send to European front laborers instead of soldiers, in order to link China to the international system and the Allies. Between 1915 and 1917, Great Britain, France and Russia has recruited over 350, 000 Chinese workers to be dispatched to the Western and Eastern front lines in Europe. These Chinese were to replace laborers mobilized in the war but also to perform all kinds of works related to the war effort: construction of military fortification and industrial rebuilding of roads and railways near the front line; production of explosives or bombs; clearing corpses and wounded from the battlefield etc. This paper will analyse the forms of Chinese participation in the First World War and evaluate the contribution of China's workers and authorities to the Allies victory.

**Robert Kane**, Niagara University

**"Worse Than Armageddon: The Transnational Anticipation of Global Racial Conflict during the Great War"**

Before 1914, anticipations of global racial conflict by German, English, American, Japanese and other commentators worldwide were common. At least since Kaiser Wilhelm II's dire warnings of the rise of a "Yellow Peril" in the 1890s, various peoples across the globe had feared that the inevitable challenge to European supremacy in world affairs would produce almost apocalyptic violence along racial lines. What's more, Japan's victory against Russia in 1905 only worsened these fears. One well-known promoter of this expectation remarked in 1913 that the impending conflict of color was

the most consequential matter that then faced the world and was far more significant than naval arms races or the future of the “little Balkan states” that captured the attention of the Great Powers. In retrospect, this claim hardly seems prophetic. The two issues that the author dismissed were key causes of the First World War, which had a profound impact on the subsequent course of human history in so many ways. Yet, the carnage of the Great War on the battlefields of Europe did not diminish the transnational anticipation that something even worse lurked just over the horizon. Utilizing the insights of Reinhard Koselleck and other theorists of historical time, this paper analyzes the rhetoric of future racial conflict during the First World War, especially that which was expressed by Japanese elites and white elites of the Anglophone nations of the Pacific Rim. It argues at a most basic level that previsions of a global race war were a means by which elites attempted to build broader support for the conservation of their respective domestic political prominence or of the established racial hierarchies of the early twentieth century.

**3:15-4:45pm:**

Concurrent Sessions:

### **Session 7: Perspectives: Hungary**

**Tamas Stark, Institute of History, Hungarian Academy of Sciences**  
**“The “Ostjuden” question in Hungary during World War I: How Galician Jewish refugees became Hungary's “Number One Enemies””**

During the Fall of 1914, tens of thousands of Galician Jews escaped to Hungary, mainly to Budapest, ahead of the Russian imperial army. With their traditional lifestyle and clothing, and their isolation from local residents (even from Hungarian Jews) they caught the local residents' attention. Since the early nineteenth century, Jewish immigration from the Eastern Habsburg territories, especially from Galicia, was on the Hungarian political agenda. Until World War I, the Hungarian elite viewed Hungary's Jewish community as a homogeneous group belonging to Hungary. With the massive increase of Galician Jewish refugees in 1914, the ‘Jewish question’ became a major issue of political discourse throughout the war years.

Galician Jews were the target of critics, and newspapers waged discrediting campaigns. Galician Jews were presented as “parasites”, “black marketers”, “shirkers”, and “collaborators with the Russian invaders”. In 1918 the campaign culminated in the creation of the myth of “Jewish invasion” from the East.

By the end of the war due to the discrediting campaigns the meaning of the expression “Jews from Galicia” or “Ostjuden” gradually and dramatically evolved to include not only the war refugees, but all Jews whose ancestors originated from the Eastern districts of Austria-Hungary or from Russia. After the war “Eastern Jews” were made scapegoat for post-war revolts, and finally for the disintegration of the Kingdom of Hungary. These unwanted, “alien” Jews became the first victims of the Hungarian Holocaust.

My proposed presentation is the fruit of my latest research, on the basis of the following sources: contemporary daily and weekly newspapers, with special regard to the newspapers of the Jewish community; Diary of the House of Representatives; memoirs; files of Hungarian Central Statistical Office.

**Steven Totosy-de Zepetnek, Purdue University**  
**"Margit Kaffka's (1880-1918) Letters and World War I"**

In the presentation "Margit Kaffka's (1880-1918) Letters and World War I" Kaffka's personal letters in which she writes about various matters and issues about the war are analyzed and explored. Kaffka is one of the earliest Hungarian women writers who is considered today a feminist author and whose fiction is studied increasingly since the 1990s in the context of women's voices against patriarchy and its concomitant social rules and practices. The to date most complete collection of Kaffka's letters was published in 2010 (Ed. Zsuzsanna Simon) and they are explored in the presentation with regard to Kaffka's political and ideological views in the context of life writing.

**Lilla Szabo, Hungarian National Gallery, Budapest**  
**"A Ball of Fire Will Sweep Through Europe"**

Baron László Mednyánszky, Hungarian painter, (1852 –1919)  
war-correspondent's life and work is an adequate reflection of the historic, social and artistic turning points and issues characterising the period between the mid-19th century and World War I. He pursued each path of artistic, social and individual achievement. His aristocratic background did not exclude sensitivity towards social problems. His dramatic paintings portray social outcasts, vagabonds. He served as a war correspondent, he

painted a series of dramatic pictures of the battlefields and the wounded soldiers. His life and work can be set against the historical tapestry of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy: the 1848–49 revolution, the Compromise of 1867, World War I and the dissolution of the Monarchy. The major tendencies of European art history, from naturalism to expressionism can be traced in his works. His oeuvre, as well as the entries in his diary, contain many conceptual parallels, whose sources can be traced to literary and philosophical, as well as historical and the occasional political economy studies. In his diaries in 1894, he mentions reading Tolstoy's Sevastopol (taken place during the Crimean war) and Hyppolite Taine's Les Origines de la France contemporaine, 1876–1894) which set his own experiences into the broader perspectives of history. He realised that the outcasts of society, whom he had until then met as individuals, now appeared as a dynamic mass and, also, that the European revolutions, including the Hungarian one, would eventually trigger a world-wide cataclysm. He wrote after the reading those books: „In the near future will be an hudge ball-fire wich sweeps through Europe...”.

### **Session 8: Perspectives: Canada**

**Graeme Thompson**, Oxford University

#### **“Imperial War and Liberal Politics: The Great War, Britishness, and Empire in Canadian Political Thought, 1914-1919”**

This paper re-examines the ideas of Canadian intellectuals with regard to the First World War. Bringing together the perspectives of Imperial history and the history of political thought, the essay explores how notions of identity and ideology shaped Canadians' perceptions of the conflict.

Though the Great War is often regarded as an affirmation of Canadian nationalism and independence, recent scholarship has recovered the significance of the British Empire to early-twentieth century Canadians. This work synthesises those positions by emphasising Canada's place in the imperial political discourses of the British World. In particular, it denies that Canadians' views of the Great War were conditioned by an assertion of Dominion independence in necessary opposition to a British political identity. Instead, it asserts that their responses to the war were motivated by overlapping and competing ideas of Britishness, Empire, and Canadian nationalism. These contested notions of politics and identity prompted a range of arguments that justified particular roles for Canada in the imperial war effort; legitimised support for, and opposition to, military conscription and total war; and prescribed political outcomes for the British Empire in the aftermath of the conflict.

In 1914 Canada marched to war in a deeply British and imperial context. The Great War was both a European and a global conflict, and Canadians were motivated by national and imperial sentiments. This paper therefore aims to illuminate the contours of these historical debates by demonstrating that Canadian liberal intellectuals deployed political rhetoric that at once asserted Canadian nationality and claimed the inherent rights, responsibilities, and equality of British subjects. Few imagined a contradiction in being both Canadian and British, fighting an imperial war in the name of liberal politics.

**Rachel Lea Heide, Canada's Department of National Defence**  
**"Prologue to an Air Force: Nationalism, Sense of Identity, and the Genesis of a Canadian Air Force, 1916-1918"**

When Great Britain went to war in 1914, Canada followed as a loyal colony. Hence, it was not out of the ordinary for Canadians' wanting to serve in the air war over Europe to join the British air services (Royal Flying Corps, Royal Naval Air Service, and Royal Air Force). Nevertheless, some Canadian airmen developed a sense of national identity while under the British and began calling for a separate Canadian Air Force so that their accomplishments might be better recognized for Canada and so that their expertise might be preserved in a peacetime air service. Even Canadian government officials found the idea appealing and lobbied British officials. Eventually, the British allowed the formation of two Canadian squadrons in 1918. Although this was too late for the units to garner any combat experience, the service's advocates and future leaders were demonstrating both Canadian nationalism and the genesis of military professionalization.

This paper recounts the journey of Canada's airmen from colonials subsumed under the British to Canadian nationalists vocally advocating for a separate air force. This case study illustrates the three stages of military professionalization. While serving under the British, the Canadian airmen fulfilled the first stage of professionalization when they came to self-identify as professional Canadian airmen. They worked on the second stage as they cultivated expertise and responsibility to the Canadian government and its peacetime needs. Lastly, these airmen successfully convinced Canadian political masters of the legitimacy of their proposal, and these government officials joined in lobbying the British for a separate air force. This story of early Canadian nationalism should be recognized as the genesis of the current Royal Canadian Air Force that serves and protects Canada today.

**Jonathan Scotland, Western University**  
**“A Painter’s Pen: A.Y. Jackson’s & the Great War, 1914-1964”**

Between 1915 and 1919 A.Y. Jackson served as an infantryman, a mail clerk, and war artist. Parts of his service were certainly exceptional, but until he joined the Canada War Memorial Fund he lived an ordinary private’s war. The contrasts between each could not be stronger: one creative the other destructive. Jackson’s papers record his shifting impressions of the war’s meaning with many letters clearly tailored to the recipient, highlighting how he constructed, re-constructed, and omitted details of his daily life. Those to family are obvious examples of self-censorship. Others are highly confessional and much more critical of the war experience. When read in conjunction with his published writing and interviews Jackson’s words provide a unique way to consider how one man recorded and reformulated his wartime experience throughout his life.

Despite many calls to consider the soldier’s experience, how individual Canadians like Jackson understood their war, and its postwar impact in particular, remains sorely overlooked, especially in Canada. By interrogating Jackson’s war writing this paper considers the conflict’s impact on one individual. It stresses how his written record of the war—be it during the conflict or after—was an ongoing process and argues that the tailoring of his experience for specific audiences continued throughout his life. This comparison of Jackson’s recollections rethink's his oeuvre (both in print and on canvas) and challenges how such sources are utilized by calling for a re-evaluation of historical considerations of the lived experience of the Great War and its postwar impact.

**END OF DAY ONE**

## **Saturday, November 1<sup>st</sup>**

**8:00 – 9:00 am: Registration and coffee.**

**9:00 – 10:30 am: Keynote Event:  
Dr. David Stevenson, London School of Economics  
On-stage interview conducted by CBC's Michael Enright**

Dr. David Stevenson is Professor of International History at the London School of Economics & Political Science. He holds the chair endowed by Sir Daniel Stevenson in 1926. His publications include *French War Aims against Germany, 1914-1919* (Oxford, 1982); *The First World War and International Politics* (Oxford, 1998); *Armaments and the Coming of War: Europe, 1904-1914* (Oxford, 1996); *1914-1918: the History of the First World War* (Penguin, 2004); and *With Our Backs to the Wall: Victory and Defeat in 1918* (Penguin, 2011). He is currently writing an international history of the year 1917.

### **Topic of Interview:**

Professor Stevenson will be addressing the origins of the war and the 1914 crisis. He will be referring back to his work on the arms race before 1914, commenting on the link between arms competition and the origins of the war, and making comparisons with other arms races. This will link into a wider discussion about strategy, including the Schlieffen-Moltke



Plan, and whether war planning helped to undermine the European peace. Stevenson is currently editing and contributing to a book on arms races from the nineteenth to the twenty-first centuries, and will be making comparisons with 1939 and the Cold War, not to mention the current situation.

In the second part of the discussion Stevenson will address “war aims” and what the war was about. His first book was on French war aims; more recently he has done research on the war aims of the Central Powers and written about the war as a contest between rival projects for European integration. This will allow the discussion to revisit the 'Fischer thesis' and would connect to the debate in Britain, where attitudes towards British involvement in the war have become tied in with controversies about the UK's position in Europe.

Interviewer:

**Michael Enright**

Veteran Broadcaster

Michael Enright, host of CBC Radio One's The Sunday Edition, is known for his superb interviewing skills and exceptional investigative reporting that breaks through the boundaries of standard news broadcasting. Enright delivers engaging talks on what is going on in Canada and around the world, tying in personal anecdotes from his wide ranging career, and also speaks with authority on issues surrounding the media, including media literacy and the future of journalism.

Prior to joining The Sunday Edition, he hosted This Morning for three years, and he spent ten years hosting CBC Radio's As It Happens. In 1974, Enright hosted CBC Radio's This Country in the Morning. He has also been the temporary host of Sunday Morning, Cross Country Checkup and Montreal's morning radio show, Daybreak.

He has written for Time magazine and was the editor of Quest. As assistant managing editor of Maclean's, he oversaw the magazine's shift from a monthly to a weekly publication. Enright worked for The Toronto Star as a political writer and was Washington correspondent for The Globe and Mail. He received a Southam Fellowship for Journalism in 1979 to study Chinese history.

Enright was one of the three judges for the Scotiabank Giller Literary Prize for 2010 and was appointed to the Order of Canada in 2012.

**10:45am-12:15pm:**

**Concurrent Sessions:**

### **Session 9: Canada: Words and Music**

**Kathy Garay**, McMaster University

**Alexander Cann**, Artistic Director of the Bach-Elgar Choir

## **“Representing the First World War in Words and Music: Exploration and Performance – *Voices in War*.”**

This panel will consist of three distinct parts. It will focus on the process of research and collaboration by which a unique Remembrance performance is being conceptualized and created. The presenters, an academic and a practicing choral conductor and teacher, will explore the rich and extensive archival and musical sources available, describe the selection process and demonstrate, with readings and musical illustrations, the results of this interdisciplinary synthesis.

### **1. Kathy Garay, McMaster University**

The concept of integrating First World War letters into a concert of remembrance: *Voices in War*, was inspired in part by the richness and proximity of McMaster University’s vast archival holdings, reflecting multiple aspects of the Great War. Rather than select some of better-known British collections (the poignant love letters between Roland Leighton and his fiancé Vera Brittain, for example) we decided to limit our selections to the Canadian materials, and to encompass the home front as well as the wealth of letters from the men at the front and behind the lines. While I presented selections from a small proportion of these archives online in a wide-ranging website on Peace and War in the Twentieth Century ([pw20c@mcmaster.ca](http://pw20c@mcmaster.ca)), most of this material exists only in its unique handwritten original form. The first task, then, was to select and review the various collections and then transcribe the materials which seemed to offer the most likelihood of blending with and augmenting the musical selections. It is important for the readings to reflect various elements and aspects of the war: the home front, the significance of class and gender, the privations of trench life as well as the reconstruction of “home comforts” (via letters from home, parcels, entertainment and even the adoption of pets), the allocation of regular leave to provide some respite – just as we expect the music to do.

The process of winnowing – which is still ongoing – has resulted in selections from 4 major collections – the letters and journals of Ontario banker turned farmer E.R. Crombie, Hamiltonian sock knitter extraordinaire Marion Simpson, McMaster University graduate and determined volunteer Bernard Trotter, and Charles Mitchell, a civil engineer who was over 40 when he too volunteered for service.

### **2. Alexander Cann, Artistic Director of the Bach-Elgar Choir**

Cann's paper outlines the concept of the program, providing background information for each major composer and composition included, with a particular focus on the popular song repertoire featured in the McMaster archive. The music selected for this program is in two parts: the first part is an attempt to invoke prevalent cultural attitudes to war in Canada in 1914 and the second part draws from international repertoire which emerged in response to the war. Much of the music from the first part is overtly propagandistic or at least reflective of chauvinist nationalist perspectives. The second part includes great humanistic

works which arose directly in response to the disaster of mechanized warfare from major composers from both sides of the conflict.

This musical program features the music of the immediate pre-war and post-war period in an effort to understand the conflict through the art of its day, specifically in a Canadian context.

The working draft of musical selections is as follows:

Elgar – The Spirit of England (with soprano Solo)

Popular songs from the McMaster Archive

Nation shall not rise against nation – from Dona Nobis Pacem – Vaughan Williams (possible baritone solo)

Credo – from Mass in G minor -- Vaughan Williams

Walford Davies – Requiem (with soprano solo)

Willan – How they so softly rest

Stanford – At the Abbey Gate (with baritone solo)

Finzi – Channel Firing – from Before and After Summer (for baritone solo)

Debussy – Noel pur les enfants qui n’ont pas de maison (for soprano solo)

Reger – Requiem (with choir and soprano solo)

### **3. Performance**

The final part of this panel presentation will consist of recorded selections from the music and readings performed by the Bach Elgar choir and guest readers.

## **Session 10: American Women and Propaganda**

**Keith Phelan Gorman**, University Archives, The University of North Carolina at Greensboro

**“Doing Their Bit:’ Food, Propaganda, and the Mobilization of the American Homefront”**

With the outbreak of war in Europe in 1914, governments quickly determined that to win an industrial war they would need to intervene in all aspects of civilian life to increase war production, mobilize troops, ration resources, and sustain public morale. In the case of the American entry into the war in 1917, the US government employed propaganda to promote patriotism and collective sacrifice as well as censorship to control dissent. This paper will examine the role that the United States Committee on Public Information played in mobilizing women to participate in a wartime economy. Citing the need to collectively respond to a national emergency, Gorman will argue that the Committee on Public Information promoted a new and temporary role for women in the public sphere. Focusing on the government’s pamphlet campaign, Gorman will explore how gender specific representations of “patriotism” and “duty” were used to mobilize women in the private and public spheres that constituted the homefront. Within the domestic spheres, women were

asked to perform patriotic duty through the cultivation of “war gardens,” the preserving of food, and the adopting of new recipes. And, within the public sphere, women were encouraged to support commercial food production by volunteering to join the Women’s Land Army.

**Jennifer Motszko, University Archives, University of North Carolina at Greensboro**  
**“We Need You: Portrayals of Women in World War I American Red Cross Posters”**

The first ‘total’ war, World War One was waged not only on the battlefield, but also by men, women, and children on what would be called the homefront. For the first time, women were asked to participate in a national war movement. They were mobilized to do a range of activities, from donating clothes and money to serving as nurses and doctors with the Red Cross. To increase support for various aspects of the war effort, full-color, large-format posters were created to illustrate the need for aid to soldiers and civilians around the world. Images of women featured prominently among World War One posters, most especially in those produced for the American Red Cross.

This presentation will show how the dichotomy of imagery represented in these posters mirrored the changing position of women in society, from supplicant to participant. Perhaps the most well-known of these posters, Alonzo Earl Foringer’s “The Greatest Mother in the World” is reminiscent of Michelangelo’s Pieta, showing a Red Cross nurse cradling a wounded soldier. Juxtaposed to this image is Harrison Fisher’s “I Summon You to Comradeship in the Red Cross,” which displays a highly sexualized image of a woman draped in the American flag.

**Kathelene McCarty Smith, University Archives, University of North Carolina at Greensboro**

**“Every Girl Pulling for Victory: Sacrifice and Social Consciousness During the Great War”**

Patriotism and sacrifice were not exclusive to America’s men during World War I. Posters, pamphlets, film, and public commemorations encouraged women to support the war effort. By purchasing bonds, donating materials, and taking men’s places in factory and field, women truly became the second line of defense. At a small woman’s college in Greensboro, North Carolina, the students took the call to arms seriously. As the young women moved rapidly into men’s duties vacated by war, their responsibilities expanded to tending the college farm, keeping the campus grounds, and preserving thousands of pounds of food. With this rise in national responsibility, came the demand of independence. The suffrage movement swept the campus; a natural result of the change in the standard social roles. The considerable efforts of the students during the war years and the subsequent move toward women’s suffrage left a large footprint of sacrifice and social consciousness not seen on campus before or since. This presentation will illustrate the swift mobilization of the home front and its inevitable social consequences through the micro-study of this small college community.

## **Session 11: Perspectives: Britain**

**Linda Parker**, Independent Scholar

**“Remembrance or Reformation? -The impact of war-time service on Anglican army chaplains with particular reference to its results in their role in commemoration of the British dead of the Great War.”**

This paper will examine the way in which the ideas of the chaplains were changed by their experiences at war resulting in their realisation of the weaknesses both of pre-war society and the established church. This prompted in their participation in several reports, such as those of the National Mission and the Cairn's Report, 'The Army and Religion', as well as actively lobbying for immediate change in the church. As one of their number, the Revd Eric Milner White said: “We are revolutionaries not at all in spirit, but actually in fact.”

In terms of remembrance, chaplains were involved with rituals of remembrance, ex-service organisations, regimental associations, battlefield tourism and the writing of regimental histories, but also showed a determination to redeem the sacrifices they had witnessed by urging social and political reformation as the only acceptable response to war. There was a definite tension between the desire of the clergy to take part in rituals of remembrance and comfort and their reluctance to endorse the elements of constructed social cohesion implicit in those rituals.

Examples of this tension can be found in the efforts of former chaplains such as P.B. ‘Tubby’ Clayton of Toc H, G. Studdert Kennedy and David Railton to use the lessons learned in war to ameliorate the social inequality and industrial strife of inter-war Britain

Sources used will include the church press, national and local press, parish magazines, the published and unpublished writings, letters and sermons of former chaplains. These will be analysed in the light of recent and contemporary opinion on issues of remembrance and reformation.

**Halette Wilson**, Wilfrid Laurier University

**“Representations of The Bryce Report and Wartime Atrocities in British Newspapers: August 1914 – May 1915”**

The topic of propaganda and our relationship with it has garnered considerable attention, academic and popular, throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Chastened by First World War exposure, early commentators on Britain's experience impugned propagandists as

devious tricksters responsible for misleading an innocent public. They lampooned popular figures and publications like the Bryce Report, an official British investigation into the Belgian Atrocities, attributing its noted success to regretful wartime deceit, simple jingoism, or popular naïveté. Contemporary scholars, including Adrian Gregory, Catriona Pennell, and David Monger, have undertaken to complicate British propaganda and rehabilitate wartime audiences, while John Horne and Alan Kramer re-examined the technical veracity of the Bryce Report's findings. Despite those developments, the report's cultural resonance has yet to be reassessed. This paper proposes to contextualize its popular acceptance, especially in the press, by analyzing representations of wartime atrocities in *The Times* and *The Manchester Guardian* between August 1914 and May 1915. It argues that the newspapers' and their readers' responses to the Bryce Report were distinctly shaped by their engagement with atrocity narratives prior to the report's publication, which included monitoring and critiquing individual accounts, foreign inquiries, and Britain's own investigation. They accepted the Bryce Report not because they were blinded by a propagandistic ploy, but because they actively participated in a culture of criticism. Examining this topic facilitates a deeper, more complex understanding of the report's cultural significance, and elucidates questions surrounding the synergetic relationship between propagandists and their targets, the construction of wartime narratives, and the power of the press.

**12:00-12:45pm**

Lunch

**1:00-2:30pm**

Concurrent Sessions:

### **Session 12: Canada: Myths, Memorialism and Commemoration**

**Ian McKay**, Queen's University  
"The Paradoxes of Vimy,"

This paper will examine the emergent myths and symbols attached to Flanders Fields and Vimy Ridge. The Great War, fought by heroic Canadians on behalf of civilization against the forces of barbarism who, at Vimy Ridge, laid the basis of Canadian nationalism, became the 'Myth of Canada,' one celebrated in commemorations for 'the Fallen,' in gatherings of returned soldiers, and in political campaigns.

Or did it?

If we look at the decade following the end of the War, how did Canadians view the recent events in Europe? Did they see them as nation-building – and were they building the same

sort of nation? Was there one unifying 'Myth of Canada' resulting from the Great War, or were there many rival myths, many of them unsettling to anyone who seeks in Vimy Ridge specifically and Great War memories generally the seeds of Canadian nationhood? By examining rival discourses about the War, and accessing debates among Christians, liberal internationalists, returned soldiers, politicians and intellectuals in Canada about the war's purpose, conduct and meaning, this paper seeks to reappraise the extent to which the first post-war decade saw the triumph of a war-based conception of a new Canadian nation.

**Malcolm Ferguson**, Queen's University

**"Made and Remade: Canadian National Monuments to the First World War"**

This paper will examine the overtly prescriptive nature of federally sponsored commemoration of the Great War and the effectiveness of such attempts to dictate a common war experience to Canadians. Focusing on The Response - Canada's National War Memorial - this project will explore the ways in which the monument was conceived and created as a national project with larger nationalist aims emphasizing domestic unity and a shared war experience, and presenting a positive and inspiring message to Canadians. Rather than responding to an existent national sentiment towards the meaning of the war, the creators of the national memorial actively sought to suppress the possibility of differing interpretations of the conflict. Through uncovering the diversity of public discourses surrounding the National War Memorial project and other similar publicly funded commemorative initiatives, this paper will investigate the extent to which many Canadians proved resistant to authoritative declarations of the war's meaning, instead choosing to interpret the national commemorative landscape in more individual, and often contradictory, ways.

**Thomas Littlewood**, University of New Brunswick in Fredericton.

**"Lest we Forget: A Digital Spatialization of Great War Memorials in New Brunswick"**

Every November 11, crowds gather at war memorials to pay tribute to those men and women who gave their lives in war. The ritual of Remembrance Day is well a well-studied topic and Jonathan F. Vance's 1994 work *Death So Noble: Memory, Meaning, and the First World War* has become the most important book in the canon. Other works, such as Robert Shipley's *To Mark Our Place: A History of Canadian War Memorials* provides a study of some of the memorials in the country; however, as the centenary approaches, a new study is needed. New Brunswick, as the only bilingual province in Canada, provides an interesting and telling perspective on the commemoration of war in both English and French communities in a small geographic space. Due to this linguistic divide, New Brunswick is often seen as a microcosm for Canada as a

whole. New Brunswick is also a province divided on religious lines, and so an analysis of war memorials sheds light on the role of religion in commemoration. There is also much to be learnt from the various shapes, inscriptions, constructions, and locations of these memorials.

The goal of the project was to map all of the war memorials in New Brunswick and to present the findings from the research on a purpose-built website.

This public history project is important because it allows for the spatialization of what is normally a text- and photo-based discussion. The new cartographical medium provides answers to questions about commemoration, and of course, asks new questions.

This project examines the role of a war memorial in the cultural rite of commemoration and analyses the way in which the memorial itself can change the way a community remembers the war dead.

### **Session 13: Canada and Australia: Men and Women in the War**

**Andrew Iarocci**, Western University

#### **“The Employment of Women as Drivers in the Canadian Army Service Corps, 1917-1918”**

The Canadian Expeditionary Force faced an increasing shortage of soldiers by late 1916. In the British forces, women had already begun to replace men in some ancillary roles (as drivers for example). Canadians took note, and some parliamentarians wondered why Canadian women could not follow their British counterparts into military trades (beyond the already existing nursing service).

The Canadian Army Service Corps (CASC) was the military branch responsible for transportation and supply. In early 1917 Lieutenant-General H.M. Lawson, a British expert on manpower allocation, suggested that women ought to take over many of the duties of the Army Service Corps – especially motor vehicle driving – along the army’s Lines of the Communication (the transportation corridors leading from base areas up to the battle zones), thus freeing up greater numbers of soldiers for infantry service. In this context, the CASC considered hiring Canadian women to drive military vehicles in the United Kingdom.

In the spring of 1917, the CASC solicited applications, and received statements of interest from dozens of Canadian women who were situated in the United Kingdom. Many were already skilled drivers. Although the CASC did indeed hire about a dozen women to serve as ambulance drivers, the scheme was abandoned before reaching its full potential, as various overseas authorities withdrew their support.



This paper will explore the origins, development, and demise of the women's driving section in the CASC, touching on such wartime themes as human resources allocation, evolving gender roles, and the impact of the motor vehicle. The paper's content is drawn from a larger book project, *Chariots of Mars: Mechanization and Logistics in Canada's Overseas Forces, 1914-19*, which I am writing under contract with the University of Toronto Press.

**Mary G. Chaktsiris**, Queen's University

**"Extending the "Invitation to Manliness": Manhood, Empire, and the Great War in Toronto, 1914-1919"**

"The empire needs men, money, and munitions – which are you supplying?" In Canada, as in other parts of empire, First World War posters with slogans such as this appealed to notions of manhood that valorized courage, duty, and sacrifice. Influenced by literature on masculinity and the war (Bourke; Mosse; Myer; Roper), and incorporating research both in Canada and the United Kingdom, this paper explores (1) how constructed wartime roles for men and women either as nurses or soldiers, financiers or knitters, were represented in war posters, the press, and government policies in Canada and the United Kingdom, and (2) how these constructed roles played a critical part in the Canadian and imperial war effort as women entered industry, returning veterans struggled to re-adjust to civilian life, and communities dealt with rising civil tensions.

Set against the backdrop of community relations in Toronto, then the largest English-speaking city in the Dominion of Canada, this paper explores how the war shaped conflicts about gender, race, and empire on both sides of the Atlantic. Largely marginalized in broader histories of the "European War," this paper demonstrates the participation and inclusion of Toronto in imperial gendered circuits encouraging men and women to participate in the war effort along gendered lines. Involvement in this conference would also place Canada, and its 60,000 war dead across the fields of Flanders and France, within the broader umbrella of research about the Great War. Fitting the themes of Session 1 and Session 2, this paper invites further discussion of the commemoration and memory of the conflict in Canada as moment of transition from colony to nation, especially considering the segregation or absence of Canada from larger scholarship on the Great War.

**Ian Willis**, University of Wollongong, Australia

**"'Ministering Angels', the Red Cross on the Australian wartime homefront."**

The outbreak of the First World War in 1914 saw thousands of women across rural Australia join newly established Red Cross branches. Country women sewed, knitted and cooked for God, King and Country, while they were encouraged to see themselves as 'ministering angels' dutifully serving 'their boys' and the imperial cause. Their successes meant that by 1918 they owned the story of the homefront war effort in many localities. In New South Wales Camden district women joined local Red Cross branches and their affiliates. These conservative country women did their patriotic duty in an outpost of the British Empire. They ran stalls and raffles, and received considerable community support through cash donations from individuals and community organizations. The Red Cross in Australia was national federation of state-based divisions, with a place-based branch network that attracted middle class women as volunteers. Under the enlightened national leadership of founder Lady Helen Munro Ferguson, local branches across the country harnessed and thrived using parochialism and localism for national patriotic purposes. The society re-enforced this with an iconography that presented the organisation as mothers and guardian angels to wounded soldiers on the battlefield. The experience of these women was highly personal, sometimes tragic, always inspiring as they devoted their lives with missionary zeal for the Red Cross cause. In their wake the women created the most important voluntary organisation in district history, a small part of the narrative of the Australian Red Cross, arguably the country's most important not-for-profit organisation. Local Red Cross volunteering in war and peace provides a small window into the national and transnational perspectives of one of the world's most important welfare organisations.

#### **Session 14: Fashioning Identity and Memory of World War I Hungary**

**Peter Pastor**, Montclair State University, Montclair, NJ,  
**"Imagining the Internal Enemy on the Hungarian Home Front"**

This presentation deals with the evolution of the socio-political perception of the internal enemy as the war progressed. In the multinational Hungarian monarchy the non-Magyar nationalities were suspected of sympathizing with the enemy from the very beginning. As the war brought increased hardship and the specter of defeat loomed the persecution and prosecution of the nationalities increased. They were seen as bent on dismantling historic Hungary. The Jews at the beginning of the war were seen as loyal supporters of the war effort, yet by 1917 anti-Semitism became a serious problem as Jews were labeled war profiteers and shirkers of military duty. The influx of Hassidic refugees from Russian occupied Galicia generated a xenophobic anti-Semitism in Hungary. Towards the end of the war the nationalities and the Jews were viewed by a large segment of the population

as responsible for the military defeat.

**Gergely Romsics**, Visiting Scholar, Harriman Institute, Columbia University,  
New York

**“The Great War in Hungarian Soldiers’ Letters, Diaries, and  
Memoirs—Narrativizing Liminality”**

This presentation addresses how participant narratives about the war and the front may be used by historians. By highlighting the ways in which front experiences are embedded into accounts about their personal lives and "grand history" as perceived by these same individuals, this paper explores the concepts and modes of thinking about war and the self available to early twentieth century persons from various social strata, levels of education, and experience. The key argument of the paper is that narrating war and the "wartime self" is always a narration based on shared conceptualizations of the world, at least to a degree. Wartime narrations of the self represent the best tools for understanding the cognitive processes at work in soldiers and officers who were trying to rationalize their position amidst the carnage. Failure often means the breakdown of narrative and language and the drift to detached states of mind, as evidenced by the hospital records of shell-shocked troops.

**János Mazsu**, Debrecen University, Hungary

**“War and Communal Memory. The Military Cemetery of Debrecen and the  
Possibilities of Representation through Geospatial Information”**

János Mazsu’s paper looks at the military cemetery of the Hungarian city of Debrecen which is called the Cemetery of Heroes. Until the outbreak of World War I it consisted of the graves of soldiers who lost their life in the Battle of August 2, 1849, which took place in the closing days of the 1848–49 Revolution and War of Liberation. The cemetery was re-commissioned in August 1914 and throughout the war it served as a burial ground for soldiers fallen at the front or those who died in the city hospitals. The cemetery serves as a place of memory (*lieu de memoire*) and at the present the renewal of communal memory about the dead of World War I is being explored through a geospatial information project. The process and the results of the project are described in the presentation.

**2:30pm- onwards: Free Time**

## **END OF DAY TWO**

### **Sunday November 2<sup>nd</sup>**

**9:00-10:00am: Registration and coffee.**

**10:00am -12:00 noon: Keynote Event:  
Panel of International WWI Scholars**

**Dr. David Stevenson**, London School of Economics, UK

**Dr. Annika Mombauer**, The Open University, UK

**Dr. Nicolas Offenstadt**, Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, France

Moderator: **Dr. Ian McKay**, Queen's University

#### **Topic of Panel Discussion:**

This will be a national/transnational discussion about the cultural memory of WWI and the ways in which the recollection of the war has changed over the past 100 years. It will also include a look at how contemporary governments in Europe have (or haven't) memorialized the war at the centenary. Our panelists, each of whom is an expert within different national historical frameworks, will bring British, French and German national perspectives to this discussion.

### **David Stevenson:**

Dr. David Stevenson is Professor of International History at the London School of Economics & Political Science. He holds the chair endowed by Sir Daniel Stevenson in 1926. His publications include *French War Aims against Germany, 1914-1919* (Oxford, 1982); *The First World War and International Politics* (Oxford, 1998); *Armaments and the Coming of War: Europe, 1904-1914* (Oxford, 1996); *1914-1918: The History of the First World War* (Penguin, 2004); and *With Our Backs to the Wall: Victory and Defeat in 1918* (Penguin, 2011). He is currently writing an international history of the year 1917.

### **Annika Mombauer**

Dr. Mombauer is a Senior Lecturer in Modern European History at The Open University, UK. She studied history at the Westfälische-Wilhelms-Universität in Münster, Germany, and at the University of Sussex, UK, where she was awarded a D.Phil in History in 1998. From 2006 until 2011 she was the Secretary of the German History Society. She is a member of the Editorial Board of *1914-1918 Online* (Encyclopedia of the First World War).

Annika Mombauer's research interests are in nineteenth and twentieth-century European history, in particular Imperial Germany and the origins of the First World War, in the history of the First World War and in its historiography.

She has published widely on German military planning in the years before the First World War, and has contributed to the recent historiographical debate on the nature of the Schlieffen Plan. She is currently working on a review article on recent publications on the First World War for *Central European History*, and a comparative history of the Battle of the Marne of 1914, to be published by Cambridge University Press.

She recently published *Die Julikrise. Europas Weg in den Ersten Weltkrieg* (Beck Verlag, Munich 2014) and a document collection entitled *The Origins of the First World War: diplomatic and military documents* (Manchester University Press, Manchester 2013). Among her other publications is a study of the historiographical debates on the causes of the war of 1914, entitled *The Origins of the First World War: Controversies and Consensus*, (Longman, London 2002) for which she is planning a new and extended edition. Her DPhil thesis was published as *Helmuth von Moltke and the Origins of the First World War* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2001).

### **Nicolas Offenstadt**

Dr. Offenstadt is a lecturer of history and historiography at the Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne. His research focuses on the practice of war and peace from the Middle Ages to the Modern era. He is co-editor of *Genèsis*, a French academic journal of social sciences and history created in 1990. Offenstadt contributes regularly to the *Monde des Livres*, and *L'Histoire* and is an active member of the *Collectif de recherché international et de débat sur la guerre de 1914-1918* and the *CVUH* (Comité de vigilance face aux usages publics de l'histoire).

Offenstadt's research interests have been recently focused on war in cultural memory. He has published widely on World War I, including: *Les Fusillés de la Grande Guerre et la mémoire collective 1914-1918*, (1999/2009), « *Si je reviens comme je l'espère* » : *Lettres du front et de l'arrière, 1914-1918* (2003), and the very popular *La Grand Guerre en 30 questions*, (2007). He has come to the attention of the French public more recently for criticizing the former government of Nicolas Sarkozy for its change in the guidelines on the teaching of history.

Moderator:

**Ian McKay**

Ian McKay has taught history at Queen's University since 1988; his recent publications in *Reasoning Otherwise* (2008), winner of the Sir John A. Macdonald prize of the Canadian Historical Association; *In The Province of History* (2011), winner of the Pierre Savard Award of the International Canadian Studies Association; and, with Jamie Swift, *Warrior Nation: Rebranding Canada in an Age of Anxiety* (2012).

**12:00 noon – 1:30pm: Lunch**

**END OF CONFERENCE**

**Conference Review Board:**

Jay Winter, Yale University

Joan Beaumont, Australian National University

William Wicken, York University

Tim Cook, Carleton University

Terry Copp, Wilfrid Laurier University

Ian Beckett, University of Kent

Geoffrey Hayes, University of Waterloo

Santanu Das, King's College London

Donna Akers, University of Texas at Arlington