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Personal Narratives, Peripheral Theatres: Essays on the Great War (1914–18)

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Introduction

One hundred years exhaust the limits of human memory. No one who fought in the Great War, and few who were just babies at the time, can still be living and breathing. But memories of another kind still subsist. My grandfather, a Nottinghamshire village policeman, enlisted and fought in the trenches, survived the Battle of the Somme (indeed the whole war) because he was gassed and invalided out of the army. The mustard gas ruined his lungs and shortened his life, but he still lived long enough to meet his grandchildren. Although I knew him as a child, I never heard him talk of his war experiences. My father told me that he never spoke to his own sons about his war. My father, in contrast, who saw active service throughout the Second World War, and was at the Battle of El Alamein, the invasion of Sicily and the drive up through Italy, was quite content to tell his children about his war experiences. He was, however, careful to render all his accounts comedic. His war was one of the constant movements, on convoys, back and forth across the desert and forced marches chasing and being chased by the enemy. His tales were of dodging danger and staying hale. Like my mother, who served in RAF Bomber Command, he started the war as an expectant teenager and returned home in1946 at the age of 27 having had a lifetime's worth of adventure on three continents. His experiences, perhaps perversely, became the bedtime stories of my own children.

Thus, memories of the Great War live in me, but they coexist with the richer accounts of my father's war, and here the contrast could not be greater. The Great War, in my family, was always the one of which one could not speak. The Second World War was the one about which tales abounded. No doubt this distinction is a distortion of the historical record and of some of the terrible deprivations and sufferings endured between 1939 and 1945. But it speaks to certain realities which other families and other historians have noted. The Great War has certainly been one about which the drawing out of personal testimony has been protracted and distressing. A certain reticence about the war seemed natural to its participants, but it has become urgent, following the 50th anniversary of the war, to collect people's micro-histories in the spirit which informed both the 50th anniversary and the recent centenary, the spirit of "Lest We Forget." The second point of radical

contrast is of course that of mobility. My grandfather saw very little of France before he saw a field hospital, and most of what he saw was mud glimpsed from ground level. Both the war and the popular image of it have remained remarkably static in our imaginations. The iconography has scarcely changed in 100 years: the muddy trenches, the barbed wire, artillery barrages, No-man's land and the charging of well-defended positions.

Extending the range of perceptions of the Great War is the purpose of this collection, in exactly the two domains mentioned above. The war of 1914–18 was more than just the Western and Eastern Fronts—to have been a great war, a world war, the conflict has to have extended well beyond the parameters of Europe, and to have had consequences well beyond these specific years. *Personal Narratives, Peripheral Theatres* look at the people, the places, the phases and the aspects of the war that do not readily come to mind. Around the margins of the war, there are many stories which still need bringing to light. One such story is that of the Portuguese. Although Portugal did not officially enter the war until March 1916, tensions had been running high over with Germany over cross-border incidents in east Africa and would come to a head over the German U-boat campaign and Portugal's traditional close ties with Britain. Portugal was in domestic turmoil in the years preceding the outbreak of the war and subsequent involvement in it continued to divide the country bitterly. Controversy raged between parties committed to the war and those who opposed it or otherwise found the nation ill-prepared for military engagements. Three essays in this volume take up the Portuguese perspective on the war. The first looks at experience in France post-March 1916 of the Portuguese Expeditionary Force (a group which eventually rose to 55,000 men), particularly during the hiatus before fighting began (Portugal did not sustain its first western front casualty until April 1917). Diarist Américo Olavo reports the leisure pursuits of the junior officer class around the trenches of Flanders and their tendency to perpetuate the divisions of the home country on active service. Our second essay contrasts the outlooks of two Portuguese artists, one an official war artist at the front and the other an avant-gardist who was deeply affected by the war although he did not leave his native country for its duration. The third piece looks at how the war was reported back in Portugal by the committed political journalism of the Republican movement there. This essay shows just how fragile the Portuguese state was and how vulnerable it was to political turbulence in respect of the war. Together, these three essays reveal how military set-backs, when they started to occur, could shake a nation to its institutional foundations.

France could not realistically be regarded as on the margin of the Great War. And yet there are aspects of French culture that have only more recently been given equal consideration with either official historical sources or accounts of adult military personnel. In particular, this volume looks at the participation of what we would now consider to be children, as under-age enlistees, and the involvement *in extremis* of animals on the western front and of the emotional bonds that grew up between fighting men and these creatures. Two chapters look at the testimony of child-soldiers and look at the ideas, schooling and social pressure which informed their commitment to the national cause. One of these also explores the way that

child-soldier testimony could be taken up to reinforce establishment discourses and to endorse the French educational system as it existed in 1914 and hoped to go on after the war. A further article looks at the newly considered role of animals in the First World War, and the appalling rates of injury, suffering and death that they experienced. Recorded memoirs also uncover the consolation and intimacy which certain animals afforded troops under these harshest of conditions.

Where major writers figure in this volume, it is for their oblique renderings of war experience. Céline's anti-war novels are discussed not so much for their polemical objections to the war itself but rather for their presence lurking behind other professional considerations. His subsequent career as a medical advisor and hygienist, and his commentaries on developments in industrial practices, are shown to be informed by his sensitivity to inhuman organizational behavior. In a similar vein, the war content of *Casse-Pipe* is less important than an analysis of how its publication and republication helped to rehabilitate a writer whose reputation had suffered continual reappraisal in the turbulent years of the Second World War and its aftermath. Indeed, the uses of the First World War as *exemplum* are manifest in other papers too. Dalton Trumbo's *Johnny Got his Gun* was published to keep America out of the war in 1939, only to be willingly suppressed shortly afterwards to get America into the war. This article looks at just how an anti-war novel and the film based upon it, showing such a potent instance of human suffering, could be a political football over the course of the mid-twentieth century. This, and a further article on the conflict in East Africa, look at how fiction and cinema joined the cultural fray, taking up the causes of the past to reprocess them for the ideologies of new ages. Indeed, how the boy's own adventures of the early century would become the cautionary tales of a postcolonial world sensitized (but perhaps not sufficiently) to their own euro-centricity and concealed racism.

Also part of a recent movement in historiography is to consider the impact of the war on the home front, on communities far from the fighting. In this volume, we look at contrasting fictional treatments of alienation from the war experienced by the people, mainly women, left behind. In particular, an article explores communities in the Corrège in France, Cornwall in England and in faraway Canada for the devastating effects of war suffering and loss. Deprivations are shown to take multiple forms and these works of fiction enlarge our sense of what it was to be a casualty of war. Significantly, a volunteer nurse on the western front, Cecily Hamilton, was writing a novel in the last days of the war which would reflect the rising nihilism of the time. Hamilton's neglected novel, *William: An Englishman* (1919), comes to conclusions about modern warfare and its consequences for the social fabric of Europe, which, although fruit of her pessimistic experiences 1914–1918, comes to address some of the realities of the next world war. Hamilton understood where industrialized war was taking us, abolishing the distinction between the front lines and the homeland.

Intimist accounts of the war have to be conjoined with the macro-effects of the war if we are to understand its importance for the twentieth century, going forward. The break-up of nineteenth-century empires and the ruination of combatant nations meant turmoil for the vast populations in Europe and beyond. The Spanish Flu

epidemic of 1918/19 was nature's contribution to the misery and it was neither well understood nor well-handled by the responsible authorities. Some of the political situations left by the war were addressed at Versailles in 1919, some new ones were created by Versailles agreements, but others were simply ignored or felt to be too intractable to be broached. Perhaps the most momentous of these was the exchange of populations between Turkey and Greece. So many peoples found themselves on the wrong side of the redrawn lines of modern nations, and such was the persistence of nationalist feeling after the war that it was at all levels felt prudent to relocate ethnic populations from their generational homes to these redefined and rebounded nations. This process was effected with great insensitivity in many cases, and with much loss of life. A parallel instance of emergent persecution was that of the Jewish communities living in Austro-Hungarian-run Galicia. Having experienced a degree of toleration, if not actually acceptance, these peoples found themselves after the break-up of the Hapsburg empire exposed to new forces of nationalism. The affirmation of Polish identity following the reformation of that nation after over a century of partition between Russia and Prussia left these communities at the mercy of new intolerant and aggressive regional actors. Again, freedoms were constrained and lives were lost, as Jews were held to account for their past loyalties to Vienna.

While realpolitik was playing itself out on the frontiers of Europe, the First World War was also the cradle for forward-looking and optimistic views about a future. The German-Jewish philosopher Franz Rosenzweig projected in the final years of the war a new internationalist *mitteleuropa* connecting Germanic central Europe with Turkey by the bridge of a nationless Balkan region. Rosenzweig posits an identity-less Balkans to shift eastward a new European-centered empire or new Levant, that could embrace both Turkey (a contingent German ally of the war) and Egypt and parts of the Middle East, a genuine union of east and west. This was a way of thinking about the future which escaped old ethnic nationalisms and which found in the First World War itself a necessary crucible for positive change. Another way of reading this idea was as a justification for German imperial expansion eastward and the forcible sublimation of Slav identities under external ideas of a greater destiny. A country whose modest international presence did not prevent it from pursuing an independent foreign policy during these years was Denmark. We include an essay on the preservation of Danish neutrality during the Great War, something that many contemporary figures thought to be a near impossible achievement. Certainly, the invasion of Denmark by Hitler in 1940 revealed to some extent just how improbable the respect for the territorial sovereignty of Germany's neighbor to the north had been in 1914. But then this outcome was the fruit of some exceptionally adroit diplomacy on the part of Danish leaders and a clear sense of national purpose formed by the trauma of Prussian invasion of Schleswig-Holstein in 1864. This essay draws out the continuity of situations between 1914 and 1939 but also shows the very different character these conflicts assumed. High hopes for independence were also harbored by M.P.T. Acharya, the Indian nationalist leader and intellectual who found himself seeking allies in Berlin for the cause of Indian emancipation from British rule during the war, having already built a reputation for himself as a revolutionary activist in many countries

around the world. During much of the war he had been based in Afghanistan, where he organized and agitated for insurrection against the British. The collapse of the German war effort in 1918 meant that Acharya was obliged to transfer his hopes to the Soviets, who quickly took up the mantle of the Czarist Russians, who had been traditional rivals of the British in Afghanistan and the Hindu Kush. His skill as an organizer of revolutionary groups was sorely tested by the convoluted Bolshevik politics of these years and the unmanageable differences between Muslim and Hindu elements of the Indian revolutionary movement. He became disillusioned with the behavior and imperial ambitions of the Soviets, as they maneuvered themselves into dominant position in the central Asian republics. Acharya withdrew from the region and gradually became associated with postures we would now identify as pacifist. In these turbulent times, my enemy's enemy, twice over, could not be relied upon to be my friend.

Finally, we present as a coda an article on how the term "Great War", a phrase we have been using throughout this volume, came to become common currency. Certainly, the scale of the conflict in these years was unprecedented but it remains to be explored the extent to which other wars past and future could make the phrase meaningful and/or useful. In the British political discourse which this article follows in detail, we see how the term could come to serve a number of ideological purposes in changing political and social contexts. In particular, we discover how the term predated hostilities in 1914 and existed to some extent in anticipation of them. It could be and was used as a propaganda device to engage volunteers in the conflict, using "great" in the sense of a momentous challenge not to be missed. Frequently, the term was used with heavy irony to carry the very mixed feelings that, to say the least, the war engendered. All in all, we feel that this volume takes a fresh look at the mentalities and experiences which went on to condition many of the significant events of the rest of the century. A hundred years on, we can see why this is so with some clarity.

Anthony Barker

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Part I
Personal Narratives of War

Leisure and Free Time in the Trenches of Flanders: Américo Olavo's Account

José Barbosa Machado

Abstract *Na Grande Guerra* (Guimarães & C.ª Editores, 1919) by Américo Olavo is one of the most interesting autobiographical accounts that has been written about Portuguese participation on the European scene during the first Great War. In a style surely influenced by Eça de Queirós, the author describes in detail, and always with a sharply critical tone, the activities to which soldiers and officers devoted themselves in the trenches of Flanders. Thus, irony plays a fundamental role in the characterisation of human types and absurd situations. Not exactly a book tending towards the comic, like *A Malta das Trincheiras* by André Brun, or a diatribe against Portuguese participation in the war, like many other books that were written and published, it is first and foremost an *apologia* for that participation, politically close to the views of Afonso Costa's Democratic Party.

Américo Olavo's military narrative *Na Grande Guerra* ("In the Great War"; Olavo, 1919, 2015) is one of the most fascinating autobiographic works about Portugal's participation in the European theatre of World War I. In a style likely influenced by that of Eça de Queirós, Américo Olavo describes in detail the activities of soldiers, and particularly officers, in the trenches in Flanders.[1] His prose is marked by a sharp critical spirit in which irony plays a crucial role in characterizing human types and

Translated by Milton M. Azevedo, *University of California, Berkeley.*

[1]Besides *Na Grande Guerra*, Américo Olavo wrote, in coauthorship with Chagas Franco, the collection of essays *Centro da Vida*. He also wrote *Os Preconceitos da Viscondessa*, *Suzana, Rebelde, Cartão de uma Noiva, O Pequeno Cantor, Estéril,* and *Uma Tragédia* (Liv. Guimarães, 1909). All of these works are out of print and hard to find.

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farcical situations. However, his book is neither a comical work like André Brun's[2] *A Malta das Trincheiras* ("The Trench Chaps") nor, like so many other books, an indictment of Portugal's role in the First World War. On the contrary, it is a celebration of said participation, politically in line with the views of Afonso Costa's[3] *Partido Democrático* ("Democratic Party").

Américo Olavo, whose full name was Américo Olavo Correia de Azevedo, was born on December 16, 1882 in Funchal, today the capital of the self-governing Island of Madeira. He was trained as an officer at the *Escola do Exército* ("Army Academy"), was commissioned in the infantry, and later took a Law degree. He became a freemason in 1901, joined the so-called "Young Turks",[4] and steadfastly defended republican ideals. He became involved in republican conspiracies from 1906 to 1910, when the monarchy was abolished and Portugal became a republic. As a result of his efforts he was elected a Deputy to the Constitutional Assembly in 1911 and successively re-elected until 1925.

An early supporter of Portugal's entry in the war and of sending troops to the European theatre, Captain Américo Olavo volunteered for the *Corpo Expedicionário Português* ("Portuguese Expeditionary Corps," usually referred to as CEP) that fought in Flanders as part of the British First Army. Imprisoned by the Germans during the battle of La Lys (April 9, 1918), he returned to Portugal in early 1919 and was decorated for bravery with the *Cruz de Guerra* ("War Cross") and the *Ordem da Torre e Espada* ("Tower and Sword Order"), Third Class.

Re-entering political life, he was elected a Deputy for Funchal in the elections of May 11, 1919. Between March 8 and July 6, 1924, he served as War Minister in a cabinet made up of members of the Democratic Party, independents, and intellectuals linked to the Lisbon-based liberal magazine *Seara Nova* ("New Harvest"). In June 1924, during his term as War Minister, there was a revolt of aviation officers, and he was killed on February 8, 1927, during the republican coup against the military dictatorship that had been instituted on May 28, 1926.

As mentioned in the 1919 edition, *Na Grande Guerra* was originally intended as a two-volume work on Américo Olavo's experience in the trenches of Flanders. The first published volume goes as far as the battle of April 9, 1918. Olavo meant for the second volume to be an account of his experience as a war prisoner. He may have given up on this idea when his brother, Carlos Olavo (1881–1958), who had

[2]André Francisco Brun (1881–1926) was a Portuguese Army officer who fought in World War I and distinguished himself as an author and playwright, usually in a humoristic vein. (*Wikipedia,* s.v. "André Brun," accessed December 10, 2015, https://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Andr%C3%A9_Brun).

[3]Afonso Augusto Costa (1871–1937) was a Portuguese Law Professor and politician, and a member of the Cabinet that decided on Portugal's war declaration on Germany. (*Wikipedia,* s.v. "Afonso Costa," accessed December 10, 2015, https://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Afonso_Costa).

[4]A group of Portuguese Army officers, organized around the *Jovem Turquia* ("Young Turkey") masonic lodge, who took part in political actions leading to Portugal's entry in World War I. (*Wikipedia,* s.v. "Jovem Turquia," accessed December 10, 2015, https://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jovem_Turquia).

also been a war prisoner, published his *Jornal d'um Prisioneiro de Guerra na Alemanha* ("Journal of a War Prisoner in Germany," 1919).

In the first chapter, "A declaração" ("Declaration of War"), Américo Olavo sought to justify the need for Portugal's entry in the war. Essentially, he backed the position adopted in 1916 by the Democratic Party, to which he belonged:

> When on August 7 the Cabinet headed by Dr Bernardino Machado proposed that Portugal follow her old and faithful ally [England], it did no more than to seek confirmation of the constitutionally mandated adoption of a national conduct from which we must not deviate under any pretext. On that date our future attitude was pre-determined, and our place among the fighting nations rigorously established in such a clear and evident manner, that only the mentally blind could fail to see it. (Olavo, 2015, p. 7)[5]

From that viewpoint, the justification for Portugal's entry in the war was, or seemed to be, constitutional and legal, and therefore the government was merely implementing existing treaties with England, and entering the war was considered both necessary and unavoidable. We know today that such a position was biased and demagogic. However, since Américo Olavo was a politician committed to the pro-war faction, his opinion could hardly have been otherwise.

In his view, the responsibility for the Portuguese disaster in Flanders was not the fault of the 1916 Cabinet, which decided to send the Expeditionary Corps. On the contrary, he believed it fell to the illegitimate and Germanophile cabinet chaired by Sidónio Pais,[6] which stopped supporting the Expeditionary Corps in 1918 and left it to its own devices. Further blame, in his opinion, went to the cowardly and incompetent officers who commanded the troops.

As a career officer, Américo Olavo resented the reluctance to depart for Flanders displayed by some of his colleagues, who grasped at any excuse to avoid duty.

> Since the Army was an institution specifically created to make war, it was criminal to let officers collect the benefits and advantages of their status in peace time and, when the time came to go to war, to make sacrifices and to run risks, allow them to drop the burden of their obligations upon the shoulders of those who (…) were willing to perform their duty as soldiers, no matter how bitter the hour and how hard and violent the situations to be faced. (Olavo, 2015, p. 17)

As an Army Captain, Américo Olavo set an example, volunteering as soon as the war broke out in 1914: "I felt, as a voter and military man, that I had a moral obligation to request being included in any of the units that might be mobilized for war service" (Olavo, 2015, p. 18). In fact, his expectations eventually came true: in 1917 the Portuguese Expeditionary Corps, already organized, received orders to depart for Flanders, even though the argument against such a move was still raging, and in spite the fact that public opinion, with the exception of a few pro-government

[5]All citations from *Na Grande Guerra* are from Olavo, 2015.

[6]Sidónio Bernardino Cardoso da Silva Pais (1872–1918) was a Major in the Portuguese Army who headed a coup d'état against Afonso Costa's government in 1917 and governed Portugal dictatorially until his assassination on December 14, 1918. (*Wikipedia,* s.v. "Sidónio Pais," accessed December 10, 2015, https://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sid%C3%B3nio_Pais).

newspapers, was unanimously against it. “Under such poor, disastrous moral circumstances”, he wrote, “the first contingent departed for France, followed by others, without demonstrations or fights and even, one might say, with confidence and almost gladness in some sectors” (Olavo, 2015, p. 18).

From the second chapter on, Américo Olavo describes his own experience as an expeditionary. The voyage to Brest afforded him an opportunity to mention a few Portuguese characteristics he viewed negatively, like the rough features of a decaying, rudderless nation oblivious of its glorious past. Confined to the ship’s hold, the troops became seasick:

> I went to see my soldiers. There were only a few on the deck that morning. Wrapped up in their overcoats, scarves pulled up to their eyes, they did not look like the descendants of ancient navigators who astonished the world with the wonderful prowess of their feats. Their pale, fatigued, seasick faces evinced sleepless nights (…) some of them were seeing the sea for the first time. (Olavo, 2015, p. 22)

As the troops get used to the pitch and roll of the ship and, fortunately, to the fresh air on deck, they “recover from seasickness” and pass the time singing, dancing, or just watching the sea.

> What else can those poor devils do, having been dragged from the fields, where their education was neglected or even, in those days, thwarted? Being illiterate, they cannot read anything that might amuse or educate them. They cannot write to their families, whom they miss dearly. They cannot, as they put it, even relax, except by looking at the vast blue sea. (Olavo, 2015, p. 25)

Enjoying abundant meals and comfortable cabins, officers spent most of their time smoking, gambling, talking about women and griping about the government that had sent them to war:

> They gossip, talk about domestic and foreign politics, attack ministers, tear apart, with a few words of conceited and irresponsible criticism, projects that took many days to be planned and executed (…) And as is usually the case among Portuguese men, conversation invariably shifts to womanizing, each one endeavouring to hide the vanity that compels him to boast of his affairs. They work on the details, spicing them with imagination so as to make them livelier, more suggestive, more rakish, and slipping quite naturally toward pornography and obscenity. (Olavo, 2015, p. 23)

The officers’ views on politics did not differ much from those held by citizens today:

> Nobody bothers to say or think how things might be done better, but everyone agrees, by virtue of a deep-seated national quirk, that things are in a sorrowful, shameful state, for in Portugal anyone who holds a high position is necessarily considered an idiot, a scoundrel, or a thief. (Olavo, 2015, p. 28)

At times someone would sing the *fado* in the officers’ improvised mess:

> A tall, slender young man walks in, swaggering, his long hair sticking out under a cap worn askew over one ear. He was from Coimbra, where as a student he had spent many a night getting drunk in bars. They say he sings well, and it seems to be true, because the obscene jokes cease, giving way to a respectful silence (…)

> The initial chords set the tone and his voice begins, drawn out poignantly it gradually reveals the sufferings of a maudlin harlot in love. His voice rises sweetly, like a prayer begging for pity and admiration for that unhappy woman inescapably bound for a hospital. On the audience's faces I detect moved countenances, agitated emotions, and moist eyes. Someone attempts a clumsy comment, "He sounds like a nightingale!" to which another replies, curtly, "Shut your trap, you idiot!" And at once a shouting match erupts, at first about a nightingale's singing and somehow shifting to the matter of the fabric of our new uniforms (…)
>
> The husky voice starts again, modulating *fado* inflections, whining loose verses that delight the listeners. Someone requests a well-known *fado,* the audience whispers approvingly, and the *fado* begins, full of feeling and sensuality, caressing the listeners' libido. At another request the singer excuses himself, "No more today, I'm wiped out, tomorrow is another day," but he goes on anyway, a cigarette stub dangling from his lips, hands busy with the guitar, eyes half-shut because of the smoke, and he starts, "That woman (…)" But then an officer appears at the door, shouting, "Hey boys, we've sighted land! It looks like we're arriving in Oporto! (Olavo, 2015, pp. 24–25)

Those rowdy, gambling officers were a "synthesis of Portuguese life: laziness, gossip, vanity, ignorance and pretence of cleverness, *fado* and gambling" (Olavo, 2015, p. 29).

Once in France, battalions were sent for specialized training to villages in the rear areas, several kilometres behind the front lines. The troops were billeted in barns and the officers in family homes. Days were spent on long marches, drilling, and intensive training in trench warfare.

According to Américo Olavo, the training carried out in the rear areas, while waiting for orders to march to the trenches, could have been more effective and useful if their new equipment had been issued in advance. The equipment used for instruction in Portugal was totally different from what they would use in the trenches. The rifles, ammunition, hand grenades, mortars, gas masks, and so on were totally new, and consequently training had to go back to square one. While the troops waited for the new equipment, they were kept busy with more drill and marches, thus wasting weeks that might have been more productive if they had been properly equipped.

> Once at the camp, training aimed at loosening the men's limbs, strengthening them for maximum flexibility and endurance. Later they were trained to use the recently-issued English Lee Enfield rifle, and in the afternoon there were long, exhausting marches, purportedly for preparing soldiers for such long displacements as might become necessary. (Olavo, 2015, p. 52)

Far from friends and home comforts, after a day's training soldiers "tried to find some kind of distraction to rest their mind and drive away longing memories that would inevitably sadden them" (Olavo, 2015, p. 47). Some such distractions included a walk to the nearest village for a drink with comrades at an *estaminet* and, with luck, to meet a charming young woman. Particularly in villages and small towns,

> [t]emptation came in the shape of women who, back home in peacetime, even in the poorest villages, would never have even warranted a glance (…) Two months away from civilization, lost in those tiny hamlets, visiting the nearby villages only from time to time, doomed to live in a region where there were thousands of men and only a couple dozen of Eve's daughters, women much more homely than those we might have scorned in the past now became the cause of sleepless nights, restless days, and troubled hearts. (Olavo, 2015, p. 58)

Américo Olavo's company was billeted in Avroult. Well installed in family homes, officers enjoyed comforts denied to the troops, such as room and board and a living room that served as their mess. Dinner was usually "abundant, with plenty of wine and beer, and coffee to be enjoyed with spirits" (Olavo, 2015, p. 61). They chatted, bragged about love affairs, talked about Portugal's political troubles, and griped.

Regarding those dinners, Américo Olavo comments again on incompetent officers, his comrades:

> For some, military life was just a job, a means to collect a salary at the end of the month, to support a lazy, unexceptional, obscure existence. Never had they suspected the State might someday ask them to undergo sacrifices or run risks in return for the sums it paid them every month (…) There are officers here in France who say, even in the presence of their soldiers, that they have been sent to a slaughterhouse for the sole purpose of serving Mr Afonso Costa's goals, Mr Bernardino Machado's vileness, or Mr Nórton Matos's shady deals. At mess there are often arguments about politics, about the hatred for politicians who honoured our alliance treaties and who wished to lend their effort to the admirable cause of the saving of Latin civilization. The most terrible things are said about England and the English, and when things quiet down, they amuse themselves singing parodic *fados* in which not even the High Command is spared.

Américo Olavo tells about a senior officer who said "at the mess, with effrontery and anger, and in the presence of lower-ranking officers" (Olavo, 2015, p. 78), that Afonso Costa had sold their skins to the English. Sometime later, that officer "gave up a command position in the unit in which he was supposed to have the glory of leading troops, and went to hide his fears in the comfort of a brigade adjutancy" (Olavo, 2015, p. 78), that is, a desk job in the rear, far away from the danger of the trenches. Worse still, there were officers who considered "such running away from front line risks (…) which contributed to demoralizing the troops" something natural, and only regretted "not being able to do the same" (Olavo, 2015, p. 78).

Another officer "who had returned from the front with a chin twitch caused by a nervous spasm, stated that life on the front lines could only be defined by the word *horror*, and vowed never to set foot there again" (Olavo, 2015, p. 78). A few days later he walked out on the soldiers under his command and secured for himself a safe rear line secondment that would protect him from the risks and dangers he feared. "And he thought that was the right and proper thing to do, and he did not feel ashamed that his men noticed his fear or lack of commitment to sacrifice for the country he supposedly represented" (Olavo, 2015, p. 78).

Others, whom Américo Olavo, while still in Portugal, had heard talk against taking part in the war, once they got to France became obsessed with "securing an assignment outside their unit, or at least in the command of a battalion, which was less dangerous." Such opportunistic military men, "good enough only for acts of peace", preferred to be in "places where they did not have to make war" (Olavo, 2015, p. 79).

> The Army has become infected with the fever to escape, and many want to spend the war in the rear lines, in the comfort of a well-supplied mess, comfortable quarters, and good pay. Some even say, with more amorality than cynicism, "If this is war, let me have more of it."

> Even worse than that, I have seen professional military men reporting sick, begging doctors to let them stay in hospital for a few days, or to recommend them for a leave, or for permanent release from active duty, even if the price of saving their body turned out to be their moral death. (Olavo, 2015, p. 79)

With the advantage of a hundred years' hindsight, however, it seems hardly surprising that officers opposed to Portugal's participation in the war, particularly in Europe,[7] should endeavour to avoid service in the trenches. Therefore, Américo Olavo's strong criticism, based as it was on his enthusiastic support for such participation, needs to be taken with a grain of salt.

From Avroult, Américo Olavo's company moved on to Enguinegattes, where officers were again billeted in private homes. Three days later, they had already found their way to intimacy with the women living in the house, thus "securing some small concessions" (Olavo, 2015, p. 84) to improve their personal comfort.

> The old lady, her daughter, and her granddaughters wished to be pleasant, to show their gratitude for a few home repairs I had my soldiers do for them. They also wanted to correspond to the kindness with which they were treated, the small attentions which they had not received until our arrival. (Olavo, 2015, p. 84)

They secured "ample lodgings—a large bedroom, a spacious room for dining and reading—and the right to cook on that enormous stove that nearly took up the whole kitchen" (Olavo, 2015, p. 85). After dinner they went for a walk on the road,

> to see the young women, children, and old folks working the land which the young men's strong hands had been forced to abandon, so the land might go on producing for the families left behind. While there was still daylight, we amused ourselves watching the aeroplanes from the Estrée Blanche School performing their dangerous flying manoeuvres. (Olavo, 2015, p. 88)

When Ribeiro Gomes, an officer who played the piano well, was billeted at the same house in Enguinegattes, his fellow officers welcomed him enthusiastically:

> As soon as Ribeiro Gomes arrived, visitors started flocking in to greet him, eager to find out what was going on in Lisbon, in politics as well as at the fashionable bars and restaurants, as if they feared those magnificent institutions might have suffered from their absence. (Olavo, 2015, p. 85)

There was in the house an old, dusty piano, completely out of tune. Ribeiro Gomes, "ever keen on improving their living conditions, started working on the piano, which the old lady said had not been played since the Prussian invasion in 1870" (Olavo, 2015, p. 87). When the piano became operational again, they had one more source of entertainment for their evenings.

> As soon as dinner was over, while we were still at table, enjoying a second cup of coffee dutifully provided by our orderlies, Ribeiro Gomes would sit at the piano at our request, gently running his fingers on the keyboard in search of some feeling he endeavoured to express in

[7]Portugal fought off German attacks against her African colonies of Angola and Mozambique since October 1914. (*Wikipedia,* s.v. "Portugal na Primeira Guerra Mundial," accessed December 10, 2015, https://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Portugal_na_Primeira_Guerra_Mundial).

> notes. He usually began with the classics, which he brought to life with zest, and after his favourite composers, Beethoven and Schubert, he would start playing opera arias and end up with a few predictable pieces, requested by this or that comrade. (Olavo, 2015, p. 88)

When the pianist tired, they would go out for "a long walk on the road, to pass time and get tired, to prepare their muscles for a night of restful sleep" (Olavo, 2015, p. 88).

The officers' comfort contrasted sharply with conditions prevailing in soldiers' lodgings. Although Américo Olavo does not go into details, we have information from other sources. The troops slept on straw piled up in barns, amidst an abundance of fleas, lice, and other parasites. They lined up for chow, not always plentiful or varied, hygiene was precarious, and clothing inadequate, particularly for rainy or cold conditions. In other words, more than ninety per cent of the Army lacked basic needs. Officers were a privileged class. We do not have much information about the sergeants' situation.

In their free time, the soldiers helped farmers with their field work. Besides keeping themselves busy at something useful, they earned the locals' esteem as well as gifts of food staples with which to improve their diet.

> And they all threw themselves with gusto into that activity, which for many of them meant more than simply memories of their peacetime life—it actually meant returning to the peaceful work in the fields, in which man's effort marries the earth to extract from it the goods he requires. (Olavo, 2015, p. 90)

Américo Olavo, who commanded a company, sometimes deigned to talk to his soldiers—something unusual for a captain, who as a matter of habit tended to keep his distance from the troops and to deal directly with subaltern officers, sergeants, and orderlies.

> Sometimes I talk to them about our country, trying to make them understand that it is for her that we are fighting in this corner of France. And at least I have the solace of feeling in their words that, despite the discipline I keep, I am surrounded by friends. Sometimes I have them sit in a circle around me and I tell them at length about our country's history, about the time when, rich, strong, and powerful, we used to amaze the world with the boldness of our enterprises! (Olavo, 2015, pp. 109–110)

The contact among officers and locals—mostly women, since the men, except for the elderly, were away at war—"has resulted in the habit of *collage* [hooking up] with the *nouveau arrivé* [newly-arrived], which most women engage in, and actually seek with interest, even eagerly, like a vice" (Olavo, 2015, p. 90). It was a rare officer who did not have a French girl friend.

> They say this is an immoral country, because the women, having been left behind, give themselves up to those they fancy, just a few days after meeting them. Even the engaged girls, whose fiancés are at the front, have got used to this life of amorous intimacy with the available men. (Olavo, 2015, p. 90)

Generally speaking, the population, "out of affection, or gratitude, or the desires of the flesh, or even just as a pastime, in a manner of speaking" (Olavo, 2015, pp. 90–91), got along very well with the Portuguese, "the most recent intruders to arrive in their village and to install themselves in the intimacy of their homes" (Olavo, 2015, p. 91).

One day Américo Olavo and his comrades billeted in Enguinegattes decided to offer a dinner to their battalion Commandant and other fellow officers. They bought champagne, spirits, fruit, and sweets in the town of Aire.

> The menus are a joint effort, scribbled the night before on the back of postcards adorned with the Portuguese flag. They are cast in a language perfectly in tune with the plain, monotonous dishes we can offer, but also reflecting our pleasure in seeing our comrades at our table. Naturally, at the top of the menu the soup is introduced by the words *ab introibo,* and as an allusion to our Commandant's habit to say, "Well, here comes our friend So-and-So", the traditional main course is introduced by the opening, "Well, here comes our faithful friend codfish." (Olavo, 2015, p. 92)

> With plenty of flowers, a lot of light, and an impeccable white tablecloth, one dines with pleasure, even though the food is mediocre (…) Faces begin to turn red, eyes light up, conversation becomes livelier. At this dinner we are friends rather than soldiers, and the Commandant knows how to put his officers entirely at ease, the only formalities being those dictated by good manners and good taste (…) We then start raising toasts to Lieutenant X, to Captain Y, to Major Z, until several toasts have been raised to every officer present (…) And then we talk about women, pleasures, travels, and to *épater* the less cultivated, some talk about art or literature, but when time comes for coffee and spirits, we go back to griping about military matters. (Olavo, 2015, pp. 95–96)

Américo Olavo leaves for Le Thouret, where he is inserted for a few days in a British company to train for trench duties. There he meets Johnstone, a Scottish officer who speaks some Portuguese picked up during short stays in Cape Verde and Brazil. Johnstone adores whisky. "He talks a lot, mentions the Portuguese he has met, gives long descriptions of dinners, evenings spent at the *estaminets*, and drinking binges" (Olavo, 2015, p. 101). Américo Olavo and Johnstone share biscuits and corned-beef, drink water when there is nothing else to drink, and elaborate on the virtues of whisky. Américo Olavo orders a case from Battalion Headquarters, they open the first bottle, and start drinking. Word gets around and English officers begin to show up at their tent. "I guess their sense of smell captures the presence of the wonderful liquid, which they currently find hard to obtain. Or maybe it is Johnstone's presence that attracts them. Pretty soon the bottle is empty" (Olavo, 2015, p. 103).

Liquor was the only means to prevent troops from mulling too much over the war. In addition, it gave them enough stamina to put up with the hardships of trench life. Maybe because they had been there longer, the English drank a lot more. The wine issued to the Portuguese troops was bad, "a lot worse than the *carrascão* [cheap rough wine] we drink back home" (Olavo, 2015, p. 120). But the English thought it was quite good.

> Johnstone, however, resigned and heroic, wants to share his comrades' hard life, he wants us all to suffer the same martyrdom of exchanging the comforting, tempting whisky for that horrible, vinegary dark beverage. With his ever shaking hand he presented his cup and, lifting it cautiously to his lips, he emptied it in a single gulp. He winked in delight, muttered *very good* and reached out for a refill (…) Johnstone is among his comrades, clean-shaven and looking like a yellow frog, but his enthusiasm is no match for theirs, as he misses the elixir which alone can enliven his mind. He looks dull, almost indifferent, abandoned by his usual good humour, which so often amuses us. Despite our repeated toasts, the watered-down brandy drunk before, during and after our trip, had not been enough to wake him up. (Olavo, 2015, pp. 120–122)

In the meantime, the company settles down in Fosse, a hamlet closer to the front, and officers try to maintain the comfort to which they had become accustomed. They set up their mess in a *ferme* and, whenever possible, treat their battalion comrades to dinner. "Dinner is a merry, animated, even noisy affair. We try to make it last, seized as we are by the fear of the boring hours that will come after it" (Olavo, 2015, p. 110). Not having the piano that used to amuse them in Enguinegattes, they decide to try to rent one in Béthune, "a little town located some ten kilometres away," which Américo Olavo visits whenever he can, "to escape boredom" (Olavo, 2015, p. 110). He goes to town with some comrades in search of the piano and they meet a certain *mademoiselle* Froissart, the owner of a music instrument store. She receives them deferentially and, since no piano is available, she promises to find them one.

> *Mademoiselle* is surprised at the ease with which we all speak French, some even better than the locals, whose pronunciation suffers from being exposed to the *patois.* She talks to us at length, in a conversation that ends with rather expensive champagne at the café next door, which also happens to belong to her. (Olavo, 2015, p. 111)

She lets them know she has "studied at the Conservatory in Lille, the piano was her only source of amusement" (Olavo, 2015, p. 111), and she was glad to play for them.

> Our search for a piano afforded us a magnificent evening of true art. Above all, it was an improvement in social relations that would often bring us back to Béthune, where our acquaintances included ladies like the shapely young woman who sold me newspapers and that charming *mademoiselle* Froissart, who gently insisted that we call on her whenever we came to town. (Olavo, 2015, p. 112)

Socializing with the Béthune ladies intensifies as the Portuguese officers, bringing offers of wine and cakes from their canteen, spend more and more evenings with them. "We spend very pleasant moments of intimacy. This is nearly happiness, an oasis in this wilderness of boredom, isolation, and sadness(…)" and "(…) since flirting with discretion is allowed, time goes by quickly, fleetingly, giving us the illusion of an independent, carefree life without troubles or crushing homesickness" (Olavo, 2015, p. 113). Finally, a piano materializes and "is cushioned with soft mattresses, on a solid, spacious military truck" (Olavo, 2015, p. 113) that takes it from Béthune to Fosse. All in keeping with the time-honoured tradition of using military transportation, supposedly intended for Army purposes only, for jobs having nothing to do with war.

> We finally have our longed-for pastime, which fills our nights with pleasure, even though our mess tends to lose intimacy as amusements increase and attract other comrades who had kept their distance until now. (Olavo, 2015, pp. 113–114)

At last the company leaves for the front and arrives in Fauquissart and then in Neuve-Chapelle, where trench duty begins. Until that moment, visits to the front had been brief, for training purposes only, but now comfort is drastically curtailed.

> And now, farewell, quiet nights of soothing rest in the cosiness of mattresses and the luxury of a few poorly washed old cotton sheets. Farewell, unforgettable pleasant hours of intimacy at our mess, sitting around our table next to the piano, listening to Beethoven, Schubert, Debussy, and Grieg with heartfelt emotion. Farewell, happy evenings in Merville and Béthune, amiable conviviality, welcoming relations, which offered us the illusion and evocation of peacetime surrounded by our loved ones. (Olavo, 2015, p. 130)

Américo Olavo's view of trench life is contradictory. On the one hand, he recognizes that the trenches can be rather quiet, as the soldiers' duties involve far more standing guard than actual fighting. Rarely is an explosion or even a shot heard nearby. On the other hand, he acknowledges that trench life is hard, mostly due to the lack of the creature comforts to which he was accustomed:

> Despite this near-peacefulness, life here is tiring and after a few days it wears out the most resistant man. From stand–to at dusk until stand–to at dawn, it is impossible to have a moment's sleep (…) By the end of six or seven days of this harsh routine, the strong feel an urgent need to rest, and the weak just fall ill (…) Life drags on monotonously. There is not a single moment of pleasure, peace, or happiness. The only distractions that help us pass the time are our work and the action in the area in front of our parapet during the night, and, during the day, watching the flight of scouting and artillery liaison aeroplanes. (Olavo, 2015, p. 36)

In such a context, there is an increase in envy and scorn for those comfortably installed at the rear, at General Headquarters, on bureaucratic appointments, or for those who, having left for Portugal supposedly on a short leave, have not returned. In Flanders there are now two opposed groups that hate each other: the combatants and the *cachapins,* or shirkers. Américo Olavo speaks his mind: "In this stationary war, this war of positions, which someone has correctly described as a war of batteries, companies and platoons, everyone tries to be precisely where no war is being made" (Olavo, 2015, p. 140).

After little more than a month in the trenches, Américo Olavo realizes the troops have dwindled down "for lack of replacement of the few that were killed or wounded in combat, or the many that were pushed to the limit of their resistance by hard work and intense cold" (Olavo, 2015, p. 139). But the main reason for the lack of officers in the trenches is that so many shirkers continuously try to secure an assignment in the rear, at the headquarters of a battalion, brigade, or division, or even at Expeditionary Corps Headquarters:

> At any given battalion headquarters, besides the Commandant and the Second-in-Command, there are also an adjutant, an observer, a liaison officer, a gas specialist, a grenade specialist, a machine gun specialist — what do I know, all sorts of niches, where the protected lucky ones can sit and wait, almost in security and comfort, for the end of this cruel war. As soon as one of these positions becomes vacant, the companies are contacted to provide the next lucky fellow, even though doing so will be to their disadvantage. Most of these officers, however, have never spent a single day on the lines, nor counted the minutes of a night of constant vigilance, nor taken part in missions beyond the trenches, nor run the risk of an attack with grenades, or mortars, or machine guns.
>
> They always sleep in peace, reassured by the dedication and courage of those at the front. They eat hot lunches and dinners at regular times, enjoy leisurely conversations, read novels to kill time, and it is no exaggeration to say that, every now and then, they can afford the luxury and pleasure of fresh contact with clean sheets. (Olavo, 2015, pp. 140–141)

At brigade level the number of shirkers is even greater and the laziness and luxury they enjoy is almost scandalous:

> When we reach the brigades, we find a spit-and-polish General Staff, comfortably installed in a well preserved *château*, living pleasantly, dressing well and tastefully, promenading with pleasure, and sleeping in peace.

> The number and good disposition of the officers living there—captains, lieutenants, second-lieutenants—contribute to make war an almost desirable and safe occupation. There are eighteen or twenty of them, but only two or three actually do any work, either because of their temperament, or because they want to justify their situation. (Olavo, 2015, p. 142)

Even more scandalous is life at Division Headquarters or Expeditionary Corps Headquarters:

> There, in some small town or major village, populous and fully protected, except perhaps from long distance bombardment, the General Headquarters is located, a noisy beehive of several dozen officers. That is the happy, quiet and comfortable residence of what I would call the aristocratic segment of this operational unit.
>
> Wearing smart uniforms, magnificent pelisses, and staff armbands, they go in and out in groups, some talking, others working silently at their desk, while others go for long drives in the rear areas, comfortably and pompously installed in racing automobiles.
>
> They sleep on large, soft mattresses, in spacious, airy rooms where they often receive the gentle care of female hands that offer them the impression of the family life we have forsaken.
>
> They take their meals in messes that seem luxurious and merry to the rest of us, they dress fastidiously and elegantly, and they treat us—poor, obscure, inglorious trench workers—with haughty scorn for our soiled uniforms and muddy boots. As far as they are concerned, we are the beggars from the lines, to be carefully kept at arm's length. (Olavo, 2015, pp. 146–147)

Such differences between the two groups "contribute to creating a deep gap between line officers and the lucky ones dubbed *cachapins* (…) The advantages are for those who rest; for those who sacrifice themselves there is only (…) more sacrifice" (Olavo, 2015, pp. 141–142), and nearly all shirkers "are there to shine, to enjoy, to give orders. We are there to obey, to work, to fight, to suffer, to die" (Olavo, 2015, p. 147).

> And these, who make up such a useless court, number in the hundreds, playing a merely decorative role in offices dealing with information, complaints, instruction, burials, billeting, whatever, and they are charged with the most bizarre duties. (Olavo, 2015, p. 148)

Américo Olavo's indignation inveighs against those lucky enough to secure a comfortable situation far from the trenches, which allows them to live peacefully, pleasurably and well-provided for:

> There are officers who left Portugal before I did, in order to fill vacancies in front line units, and who are still (…) unassigned, for whatever reason or pretext, so that even after many months in France, they have yet to report to what should be their logical assignment (…) Months go by fast, one after another, and no force can drag them away from the pleasures in which they let themselves be immersed. Even though they constantly feel under the threat of being sent to their supposed destinations, they go on enjoying the comfort (…) and the hope that the end of the war will find them where they are (…) They live in the carefree merriment of beaches and towns, lodged in good hotels, in excellent *appartements,* some of them enjoying a cosy family life. It is even rumoured that a few have secured a situation for their wife and children, right there at the base. (Olavo, 2015, pp. 152–154)

Nonetheless, Américo Olavo recognizes that there are exceptions, line officers who, like him, refuse to leave the trenches, as well as officers who, having an opportunity to remain in the rear, choose to volunteer for line duty:

> There are also officers who do not wish to leave the lines and even refuse a comfortable posting in the rear for one that may entail sacrifice or even death (…) One of those officers is Captain Jaime Batista, who left a position at Division Headquarters in order to command a company (…) When dozens of officers grasp every kind of pretext to avoid trench duty, while others hang on to unjustifiable assignments, this officer gives up the comfort, safety and pleasures of a position in the rear to risk his life next to the troops. (Olavo, 2015, pp. 158–159)

Receiving the visit of friends is one of the main pleasures in the trenches: "These hours after lunch can be spent pleasantly when we are lucky enough to meet friends we have not seen in a long time" (Olavo, 2015, p. 160). Sá Cardoso and the painter Sousa Lopes are two such welcome guests.

Alfredo Ernesto de Sá Cardoso, a career artillery officer, and also a freemason and a republican, was a personal friend of Américo Olavo's. After the war he served as a Cabinet Member from June 29, 1919 to January 21, 1920. Américo Olavo was pleased to receive him.

> We talked with pride about that admirable gesture that was our participation in the war. Whatever the travails we have to suffer, the hardships we have to undergo, and the dangers we have to face, we bless the hour when we joined the fight in order to live up to the obligations of our alliance with England, and to place ourselves next to France and Italy, our Latin sisters, who are fighting for a civilization that is also ours, and for Liberty and Right. (Olavo, 2015, p. 160)

> We regret with disgust the attitude of many who, unable to understand the reach and the imperative of their obligation to the Fatherland, belittle our efforts, despise the actions of the men who have been the interpreters of the will and the interests of our country. (Olavo, 2015, pp. 160–161)

> Even though there are officers who gripe about their assignments, and others who shirk their duty, and although politicians unpatriotically inveigh against our military action or become involved in revolutionary movements, and although the men who brought us to this military enterprise may be slandered for their loyalty to the given word, to the treaties signed, to the help given their ally [England], to the support of Latin civilization, World History will forever bear the eternal, shining testimonials of our small country's sacrifice, honour, and chivalry. (Olavo, 2015, p. 161)

Sousa Lopes, a painter, visits the trenches to make sketches he will later use in his paintings about the Expeditionary Corps, which are now at the Military Museum in Lisbon. Américo Olavo accompanies him, shows him the parapet, no man's land, the sentry posts, and the dugouts.

> At daybreak I wake up Sousa Lopes with the good news. He does not believe me at first, but when I confirm it he tosses away his comfortable blankets, rushes through his fastidious *toilette*, and shows up amazed at the door of the first-aid post where I found him a place to sleep. Since magnificent weather promises him a long stay in this strange landscape, we decide to spend some time over coffee and toasts served by dutiful orderlies in my command post, where a stove keeps us warm. (Olavo, 2015, p. 169)

> When we get to the first line, we turn right. The painter takes advantage of my every stop to sketch his impressions. I walk up to the parapet, get into a dugout or another, and when I come back I find him, pencil in hand, sketching trench scenes, mines, a bridge over a ditch, graves of unknown soldiers which someone's charity tends to daily. Everything holds interest for him. Every now and then he asks me to wait so he can finish a sketch. (Olavo, 2015, pp. 171–172)

After a week of trench duty, the companies spend another week recovering strength in the nearby villages. Even there, amidst considerable danger due to constant bombardments, the troops try to maintain a minimum of comfort. Those days of rest, however, are not enough, and "in early February, fatigue and near-exhaustion, as well as the drastic reduction of troops, made it urgent for my brigade to be relieved" (Olavo, 2015, p. 175). They left for Paradis, located a few kilometres away from the lines, where "soldiers are lodged in the *grainiers* of the *fermes* and officers in small, decrepit rooms" (Olavo, 2015, p. 175). Even so they enjoy the "quiet nights, in the nearly forgotten freshness of clean sheets, sometimes sunk in a vast French bed with worn-out springs" (Olavo, 2015, p. 175). They even try to recover some of the creature comforts they once enjoyed in other billets, such as the mess and the piano, which they have brought over from Fosse. They spend a month resting and recovering strength.

> Afternoons and evenings, however, are free and quiet. Sometimes we walk along the roads leading to Béthune—always dear to our heart and where so many affections await us—, to Merville, to Lestrem, where Sá Cardoso is billeted, we go everywhere that old, strong friendships attract us, where we can feel the soothing happiness of being with those who kept us company in moments of peace and merriment, which we now remember with longing and feel so distant, after a long year of work, of fighting, of sacrifice, of suffering. (Olavo, 2015, p. 176)

> On other afternoons we remain in our cramped lodgings, listening with pleasure to Gomes playing the piano. Sometimes Sousa Lopes comes by for a trip to Merville or Béthune in the ample comfort of a coach I have permitted myself to buy. (Olavo, 2015, p. 177)

On cold February evenings, sometimes they listen to Ribeiro Gomes playing the piano, and sometimes, sitting around the stove, they listen to their elderly landlady's stories, "which go back to the distant days of her youth" (Olavo, 2015, p. 178).

Américo Olavo's company, short of men like all the others, returns to the trenches and is caught in the German offensive of April 9, 1918, during which he is captured and sent to a prisoner camp in Germany.

> A constant deluge of iron rains all over us, the enemy has too many cannon and mortars firing so many shots that their sounds generate a single, continuous, awesome rumble that rolls on interminably, over the land, which trembles and vibrates as if shaken up. I have the impression that a monstrous storm is pouring over us, and my ears are incessantly echoing the sound of a thousand thunders, followed immediately by another thousand, and so on, ceaselessly. (Olavo, 2015, p. 220)

> Disarmed, extenuated, after trampling on mud for half an hour along crumbling, rubble-filled trenches, facing hundreds of men armed to the teeth, all resistance would be pointless and any intention to go on fighting, sheer madness. The six of us were surrounded, and from that moment on there was no more hope of salvation, we were no longer fighters but *vanquished* prisoners, walking under guard, carrying the weight of defeat toward captivity, where we would live for an uncertain period of time under the yoke of brutal and barbarous Germany. (Olavo, 2015, p. 226)

For Américo Olavo the war was over, soon to be replaced by the discomfort, suffering, misery, and homesickness of a prisoner camp. Those would be the themes of his brother Carlos Olavo's book, *Jornal d'um Prisioneiro de Guerra na Alemanha*.

Américo Olavo's memoir-based book gives us a rather restrained account of the life of Portuguese soldiers in Flanders, particularly those of the officer class. Readers may get the impression that the war, with the exception of the battle of April 9, 1918, was not nearly as bad as other writers have described it. However, we know from other sources, autobiographical or historical, that the war as a whole, and not just that last battle had a very negative impact on the troops' morale, well-being, and health. To minimize such an impact, as Américo Olavo tried to do in order to justify the political options and the individuals belonging to his political party who were responsible for the decision to send men to the trenches, while it is understandable, nevertheless causes a negative impression on today's readers.

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Opening the Eyes of Memory: War Painting in Adriano Sousa Lopes and Amadeo de Souza-Cardoso

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Abstract After a hundred years, when we open the eyes of memory with photographs, drawings and paintings of the Great War, it is impossible not to feel the horror of war. Beyond recording events and allowing us to remember them, what is the purpose of the art of the period? How can we bring to life a war which became a huge generalized massacre, a mechanical war with tanks, artillery, gas, airplanes and submarines, hidden and without a face, with no clear goals? During the conflict, war not only lost its traditional iconography—the horse, the flag, the soldier, the hero—but even the traditional "language" of painting struggled to express the states of light and movement, of speed and noise, of pieces of flying metal and fragmentation. It is in this context that this article seeks to compare the artistic and iconographic language of João Sousa Lopes and Amadeu Sousa Cardoso. In Sousa Lopes, an official war artist working in the trenches of Flanders, the horror and the absurdity of the unnatural violence is expressed in a figurative and realistic way. In Amadeu Sousa Cardoso, the language is contemporary and abstract, as well as profoundly original in aesthetic, conceptual and artistic terms. In his war paintings, and above all in the painting titled "Entrada", Amadeu, twenty years before Picasso, shows how war leads to the destruction of life, harmony and the Light. In the perversity of war, electric light, traditionally a symbol of modernity, becomes something unnatural.

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1 Introduction

One hundred years later, as the eyes of memory are opened by photographs and paintings of the Great War, it is impossible not to feel the horror of war. The commemoration of the centenary of the First World War has provided a direct access to thousands of photographs about various aspects of the war, hundreds of drawings that filled the periodical newspapers and dozens of paintings created throughout Europe, Canada and America, from 1914 to 1918. Confronted with these images, and beyond their value as documents, as a means of not forgetting, we can´t avoid the question of what exactly the purpose of the art of the period is?

With few exceptions[1] and perhaps because we have as a reference point works from the Second World War, we think that these images represent important documents, but recreated at a distance or through individual experiences. They rarely touch the essence they leave us out. Possibly for two reasons: on the one hand, we are facing a new kind of war, and on the other, abstract art is taking its first steps as a new poetic language. How do you bring to life a war which became a huge generalized massacre, a mechanical war with tanks, artillery, gas, aeroplanes and submarines, hidden and without a face, with no clear goals?

During the 1914–1918 conflict, war not only lost its traditional iconography—the horse, the flag, the soldier, the hero—but even the traditional "languages" of painting struggled to express the states of light and movement, of speed and noise, of pieces of flying metal and fragmentation, elements and states that become themselves signs and symbols of modern technology and aesthetics.

In the field of the arts, these new heights of destruction and military power demanded the creation of plastic languages of greater impact, with an iconography that breaks with the traditional. More sensitive to an abstract aesthetic, the avant-garde painters—in most cases mobilized or voluntarily enlisted and therefore directly involved in the confrontation—had difficulty in finding in the new pictorial language the energy and maturity to express the scale of tragedy. From 1914 to 1918, Léger, Malevich, and futurist artists such as Severini and Boccioni, by employing the aesthetic of collage and breaking light, by fragmenting forms and colours and using letters and coded numbers, were the most able to open up new pathways.

It is within this context that this article analyses the effects of the First World War on the work of Adriano Sousa Lopes and Amadeo de Souza-Cardoso.

We believe that war paintings done by these two artists in this period correspond to their best work, specifically through the original use of perspective, the expressiveness and impact of the message, the emotion of a wounded humanity and the feeling of destruction and yawning absence. Both painters chose to leave Portugal while still young in order to pursue their studies in Paris, where they were living when the conflict began. Both were persistent and ambitious, aspiring to

[1] *Sandham Memorial Chapel* by Stanley Spencer; *Path of glory* by Christopher Nevinson, an official War Artist; *Gassed* by John Singer Sargent; and the triptych *The War* by Otto Dix.

recognition. Both of their lives would be touched by war; a war that would also be uniquely present in their drawings, engravings and paintings. However, Sousa Lopes and Souza-Cardoso were very distinct personalities, with almost opposing life paths, interior dispositions and sensitivities.

By looking at the language, pictorial expressiveness and war iconography of their paintings, the divergence of their aesthetic conceptions becomes apparent. In Sousa Lopes, an official war artist working in the trenches of Flanders, the horror and the absurdity of the unnatural violence is expressed in a figurative and realistic way, employing a drawing style that is both firm and incisive as well as suggestively poetic. In Amadeo, the language is contemporary and abstract, as well as profoundly original in aesthetic, conceptual and artistic terms.

Comparing two photographs of the artists in their studios reveals their distinctive temperaments and personalities, concerns and dreams, tastes and complexity of compositions. Differences in their social ambitions, cultural links and ties of friendship are also revealed (Figs. 1 and 2).

Adriano, who had simple tastes and a shy and retiring personality, almost insecure, adheres to academic disciplines, following the canon in term of themes, ideals of beauty and balance of the composition. He seems to remove himself from his paintings, using them to gain visibility and recognition[2] http://hemerotecadigital.cm-lisboa.pt/OBRAS/IlustracaoPort/1907/N66/N66_master/N66.pdf. The young Amadeo, proud and confident, with an intense and imposing personality, looks at us in a penetrating and fearless way. His secure posture and the intensity of his look, almost provocative in their audacity, suggest a world with no barriers. But the image also shows us something else: he composes the picture with the care with which he will organise his mature compositions. Amadeo, the person and the painter, has mastered classical rules and models and admires sophisticated compositions. The magic of this photographic composition reminds us of another composition: *Las Meninas* by Velasquez. The main terms of comparison are the assertiveness of the painter figure, the use of the mirror to create multiple planes and levels of depth, as well as the balanced dialogue between the verticality and horizontality of lines and forms. However, Amadeo introduces personal elements of his doubly modern language: the play on the gaze, eyes that look and are looked at, the use of the mirror to suggest depth and broken lines in zigzag that cross the six planes of the painting, giving it dynamism. The result is a wonderful structure for organizing the space.

Amadeo questioned the rules with method, searching inwardly for his own way: "Every artist, that truly is one, has in himself something unmistakable that belongs to him only and no one else. We, the young, seek within ourselves that thing which if it is really there, will reveal itself" (Pamplona, 1983, pp. 62–63).

[2]*Retrato de Mulher* (*Portrait of a Woman*), painted by Sousa Lopes and presented at the Salon in 1907. Photograph published in the review *Ilustração Portugueza* 66 (27/5/1907): 3. Accessed February 1, 2016.

Fig. 1 *Retrato de Mulher* (*Portrait of Woman*), painted by Sousa Lopes, Inv. 566 © Hemeroteca Municipal Lisboa

Fig. 2 *Amadeo de Souza-Cardoso in his studio, Paris 1907* © Museu Calouste Gulbenkian—Coleção Moderna

2 Adriano de Sousa Lopes in the Trenches

Ten years older than Amadeo, Adriano Sousa Lopes (1879–1944) graduated in painting—with a specialization in history painting—from the Royal Academy of Fine Arts in Lisbon. In 1903, he moved to Paris on an official scholarship. He travelled across Europe and exhibited in successive years in the traditional and academic *Salon des Artistes Français*.

In 1917, by then 38 years old, he organized his first solo exhibition in the National Society of Fine Arts (SNBA) in Lisbon, exhibiting 265 works. The exhibition was a huge success. Recognized in academic circles and politically close to the regime, Sousa Lopes proposed to enlist as official artist to the Portuguese Expeditionary Corps. He was then dispatched to Flanders, where he was stationed in the Fauquissart sector and participated in the battle of La Lys.

After the armistice, he returned to Paris and working from his experiences and sketches created a series of drawings, etchings, prints and oils—without a doubt his most penetrating and genuinely authentic works.

During the Twenties, like everyone else in Europe, he tried to forget the horrors of the conflict. He married a sophisticated and coquettish Parisian woman and returned to his well-crafted female portraits, as well as landscapes and historical works, coloured with patriotic feeling.

During this period the Lisbon Artillery Museum commissioned him to create some large canvasses on the war, which he completed in a strange mix of the apologetic and the celebratory.

Further rising to prominence in Portuguese cultural and political circles, he organized a second solo exhibition in 1927 at SNBA—47 of 148 works were on the theme of war. In 1929, he was appointed director of the National Museum of Contemporary Art (Lisbon), benefiting from that moment from numerous scholarships that allowed him to travel throughout Europe and the world.

2.1 The Authenticity of the Moment

Because of his strong academic training, Sousa Lopes was highly accomplished at drawing. So we might say, metaphorically, that it will be his weapon during the period he spent on the battlefields of the First World War. Depending on his proximity/remoteness from areas of direct contact with the enemy, Sousa Lopes´s drawing went through various adaptations. Quick sketches, made in the trenches, bear highly specific features: simple lines, loosely drawn or tangled up to show up textures; abstract and rhythmic contours; greater attention to the key subjects; shadows drawn with a darker outline and also the use of words to bring out what the drawing can't show—"boots", "blood", "naked legs". As the painter found himself in a place of great tension, these drawings are very expressive.

Something similar applies to the smaller etchings and paintings that Sousa Lopes produced during and immediately after his participation in the war. In formal and stylistic terms, these are unprecedented works in the artist's aesthetic. In the etchings in particular, the painter is able to portray an even more unvarnished and all-encompassing reality than in the drawings made in the midst of the war zone, underlining the devastating character of this international event.

We might compare two examples. The drawing entitled *Cristo das Trincheiras*[3] (*Christ of the trenches, 1917*), made on sight, and the etching which it inspires, *Uma Encruzilhada perigosa*[4] (*A dangerous crossroads, 1917–1921*), show similarities in the composition and the expressiveness of the iconographic elements. The dark image of a devastated landscape, where a mutilated body is nailed to a tree and remains hanging there as if it were a crucified Christ, is equally disturbing in the drawing and the engraving. What distinguishes them in formal terms is a simpler line, in the case of the drawing, and the energetic use of discontinuous lines and chiaroscuro contrasts in the etching. The inversion of the vertical elements (body suspended, tree and shelter) from right to left also influences the way we look at the image. In the drawing, these elements close down our field of vision, whilst in the engraving they appear immediately in front of our eyes, releasing the vanishing point, that is providing continuity to the composition.

However, it is in *Sepultura de um soldado português desconhecido, na Terra de Ninguém* (*Grave of an unknown Portuguese soldier in no man's land*) that we are violently faced with the hostile reality of this conflict. In a cold and inhospitable scene, a dense patch of black lines contrasts with clear empty spaces, holes made by grenades. On the right, a cross made with pieces of wood traversed by a shovel serves as a grave to a dead Portuguese soldier, as the title indicates. There is no movement or noise, only silence and desolation. Even time seems to have stopped. The "no man's land" is barren of life and continuity. The soldiers have been condemned to a real hell. We can say that the documentary content of this picture goes beyond the mere recording of events, moving the viewer and making him/her reflect on the atrocities of this war.

We would also highlight in this period some oil paintings where Sousa Lopes moves away from the figurative, opting instead for colour modelling, applied in impasto in the style of the impressionists. In *Ruínas da igreja de Merville*[5] (*Ruins of the Church of Merville*, 1918), the painter uses the ruins of the Christian church to create an interesting allegory. Various gradations of earth tones are thickly applied on successive vertical planes, arranged in perspective, framed by a quiet pleasant blue sky. The intense and symbolic light, which penetrates the centre of composition, seems to suggest a divine look of condemnation on human actions but, at the same time, offers a glimmer of hope for a better tomorrow.

[3]Charcoal on paper, 16 x 24 cm. Particular Collection, Lisbon.

[4]Etching on paper, 21.2 x 29.8 cm. MNAC-MC, Lisbon.

[5]Oil on canvas, 54 x 65 cm. Musée de l'Armée, Paris.

Fig. 3 *Sepultura de um soldado português desconhecido, na Terra de Ninguém* (*Grave of an unknown Portuguese soldier in no man's land*) Etching on paper, 21 × 29.2 cm. 1918 © Fotografia de Paulo Costa—Museu Calouste Gulbenkian- Coleção Moderna

Cena de Batalha[6] (*Battle Scene*, 1918–1920) and *Bombardeamento aéreo*[7] (*Aerial Bombardment*, 1918) are set in nocturnal environments that challenge the artist's aesthetic in terms of palette and light concentration/diffusion. The first, vertically composed, has a base of dark green tones, where subtle black contours suggest the soldiers´ heads, placed along a trench. Orange tones illuminate these figures, evoking flashes of fire. In the middle plane, a mixture of blacks and blues, applied in circular strokes, suggest column of smoke. On the highest plane, a dark blue assumes the hue of the night sky. In the second picture, the brightening effect of colour is heightened. Bombs fall from the sky, leaving light beams in their trails which cross each other. As they fall to the ground they provoke fire flashes that illuminate the space, in shades of yellow and red. In these pictures, we can see the same compositional freedom present in the drawings made at the battle front, to which is added a more expressive (pure) use of colour than in the pictures painted for the Lisbon Artillery Museum (current Military Museum of Lisbon) (Figs. 3 and 4).

[6]Oil on canvas, 45 x 50 cm. Particular Collection, Lisbon.

[7]Oil on wood, 118 x 90 cm. Veteran´s Museum, Lisbon.

Fig. 4 *"Very-lights"*. Etching and water colour on paper, 65.1 × 51.9 cm. 1919 © Fotografia de Paulo Costa, Museu Calouste Gulbenkian—Coleção Moderna

2.2 The Sublimation of the Portuguese Hero

As the scene of the battlefield begins to recede in both physical and temporal terms, both Sousa Lopes's drawing and monumental painting acquire more figurative and naturalistic characteristics. This can be explained, on the one hand, by the official, patriotic and propagandist character the works begin to assume and on the other by the collective desire to forget the atrocities witnessed during the conflict.

Drawings such as *Maqueiros*[8] (*Stretcher bearers*, 1918), *Soldado morto*[9] (*Dead Soldier*, 1918–1919) or *Soldado rastejando*[10] (*Soldier crawling*, undated), for example, reveal a strong technique in terms of the depiction of the human figure. Clothing, movements of the body and facial expressions are depicted with great detail and psychological impact, as well elaborate light/shadow effects. However, it is an austere drawing with little expressiveness and a restrictive message (Fig. 5).

[8]Charcoal on paper, 39 x 59 cm. Military Museum, Lisbon.

[9]Charcoal on paper, 24 x 45 cm. Particular Collection, Lisbon.

[10]Charcoal on paper, 36.4 x 53.2 cm. Ajuda National Palace, Lisbon.

Fig. 5 *Patrulha de reconhecimento na Terra de Ninguém* (*Reconnaissance patrol in no man's land*). Etching on paper, 56.4 × 75.3 cm. 1919 © Fotografia de Paulo Costa, Museu Calouste Gulbenkian—Coleção Moderna

The same occurs with the drawings which serve as studies for the large-scale oil paintings. In terms of the structure of the composition and the technical dexterity of the various elements, they are almost identical to the final works. We can ascertain this, for example, in *Estudo para a Destruição de um obus*[11] (*Study for Destruction of a howitzer*, 1918–1919) and the final oil painting,[12] where an episode in the battle of *La Lys* is depicted, which the artist would not have observed but would have known about through his companions. In both images, the centre is occupied by the shell and by a soldier who stands holding a pick-axe. He tries desperately to destroy the howitzer, to avoid letting it fall into the hands of the enemy, who arrive on the left-hand side, wielding their weapons.

By filling in the left-hand side with more soldiers in the painting than in drawing, the painter brings the enemy and his bayonet closer to the stomach of the Portuguese gunner, provoking an increasing tension and an immediate feeling of entrapment, as if he were telling us that for this man no salvation is possible. Reinforcing this heroic image, the gunner's companions appear, who, whether injured or killed, are fallen at his feet, no longer able to help him, as do flames which rise and devour the background.

In formal terms, both these two works allude to other western history paintings. *Três de Maio de 1808 em Madrid*[13] (*The Third of May 1808 in Madrid*) by Goya seems to have been an inspiration for Sousa Lopes. We can observe similarities

[11]Charcoal on paper, 27 x 41 cm. Particular Collection, Lisbon.

[12]*Destruição de um obus* (*Destruction of a howitzer*), 1925. Oil on canvas. 470 x 298 cm. Military Museum, Lisbon.

[13]Oil on canvas, 268 x 347 cm. Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid.

with Sousa Lopes's painting in terms of the use of the palette (with a predominance of earth tones, blacks and whites), the representation of the figures, the confrontation between the hero and the aggressor, in the psychological dimension of the scene or in the light/shadow contrasts that give greater or less importance to certain figures.

Another example is provided by *Rendição nas trincheiras* (*Surrender in the trenches*), a subject worked on by the artist in charcoal, etching and oil technique, thus reaching different levels of expressiveness and plasticity. The working sketch[14] is meticulously drawn and almost totally followed in the etching. In it we can see an orderly movement of a group of soldiers that extends in perspective from right to left until it reaches the figure who is believed to be Américo Olavo, the Commander who hosted Sousa Lopes in his section of the trenches. Wrapped in thick layers of snow and camouflaged by nets, these soldiers are moving away from the front lines, through a connecting trench, which a sign on the right tells us is called "Masselot", leaving behind them a cemetery filled with crosses, where their comrades rest. Comparing the etching[15] with the drawing, it becomes clear that the compositional structure has not changed, except for the group of soldiers which disappears. Only the Commander remains in the image, surrounded by the same desolate scene. He no longer holds a gun in his left hand, but instead a shovel. Now his appearance is more realistic and his figure bulkier and more imposing. The painter appears to have a specific intent in using this technique solely to depict his commanding officer. As was seen in previous cases, the etchings of Sousa Lopes are more expressive than his drawings. Aware of this fact, the painter portrays the figure of Américo Olavo not as leader of an army withdrawing from the trenches, but as a man who walks alone in a desolate landscape, leaving behind his dead comrades, which he himself has buried using the shovel he brings with him. In this way, the message is broadened (Fig. 6).

However, when the artist depicts the same scene in an oil painting, first in a small-scale study,[16] then later on a large canvas, its basic elements appear to become insufficient from the point of view of the psychological depth that war painting requires. The battalion that was following Américo Olavo along the trench in the study drawing is now placed to the right of the composition. The foreground is no longer centred on the Commander (who again carries his gun instead of a shovel), but on a group of soldiers, who walk exhausted and bent under the weight of their bags, their weapons, and the weeks of weariness that permanently keeping watch on the enemy has imposed on them. By drawing the human figures on a larger than life scale, filling the entire composition and depicted with white Impasto, which contrasts with the earthy tones of their garments, he confers on them a very strong psychological dimension. The painter again portrays the difficult lives of the

[14] *Fauquissart,* 1918. Charcoal on paper, 29.5 x 40 cm. Military Museum, Lisbon.

[15] *Masselot*, 1919. Etching on paper, 30.5 x 42.5 cm. MNAC-MC, Lisbon.

[16] *Uma rendição no Inverno de 1917* (*A surrender in the winter of 1917*), 1918. Oil on canvas, 135 × 88 cm. Musée de l'Armée, Paris.

Fig. 6 *Duas ordenanças de Infantaria 11 (Two ordinances of 11th Infantry)*. Etching on paper, 30.8 × 24.5 cm. 1918 © Fotografia de Paulo Costa, Museu Calouste Gulbenkian—Coleção Moderna

soldiers in the new trench warfare, showing them as moving ghosts. It should be noted also that the soldiers walk in an inverse direction to the viewer, that is, from right to left, as if they were walking backwards. They surrender, as the title states, and remove any trace of hope in the future. They are condemned beings and everything that surrounds them points to it. Yet again, the "glorious effort of the Portuguese people"[17] is underlined.

There are clear affinities between this work and *Gassed* (1919), by John Singer Sargent,[18] whom since 1904 Sousa Lopes had considered "the greatest painter of the era" (Silveira & Silveira, 2015, p. 224). In addition to a horizontal and realistic composition, the two artists resort to symbolic imagery which appears to have man's

[17]Sousa Lopes words to Norton de Matos, Portuguese Minister of War (April,1917).

[18]Oil on canvas. 229 x 610 cm. Imperial War Museum, London.

Fig. 7 *A Rendição (The Surrender)*. Oil on canvas. 296 × 1252 cm. 1919–1922. Inv. nº 000592 © Museu Militar de Lisboa

dehumanization as its goal. The war, a cruel and traumatic experience, is shown to us through the eyes of these artists, who will not allow any other interpretation except their own (Fig. 7).

3 Amadeo de Souza-Cardoso: Caught by the War

Whilst on holiday in Portugal, Amadeo was surprised by the outbreak of the conflict. Although planning to return to Paris in 1915 and again in 1916, he ended up spending the war years exiled in his home-town of Manhufe, in the north of the country. This physical and artistic isolation forced him to speed up a process of interior creativity. In 1918, at the stage where he had developed his own language and expressed it with creative maturity, he fell ill with the Spanish flu a few days before the Armistice. He died on the 25th October 1918, aged 30.

3.1 Paris: A Time for Absorbing and Learning

To better understand the changes that the war environment produced in Amadeo, we have to go back to his experiences in Paris from 1906 to 1914. They involve painters, sculptors, musicians, writers and choreographers of various nationalities and backgrounds, some of whom came from the peripheries to the centre of the artistic world that Paris represented. It was a loosely structured learning, undertaken with different modernist and bohemian schools, from Modigliani to Brancusi and Delaunay, going onto Rousseau, Chagall and Matisse, following the rhythm of Apollinaire's poetry and writing, as well as Satie and Stravinsky's music.

Amadeo, who had thought of being an architect, found the influences of modernism challenging. If, from the artistic point of view, he adheres immediately to avant-garde experiments, from the point of view of his socio-cultural values, he felt quite distant from them.

Subjects such as mechanics and its dynamism, noise, speed and the syncopated rhythms of life and the modern city, the fascination with light, with technique and

progress did not integrate themselves easily into his worldview. Amadeo in Paris was a young man of rural origins, with aristocratic values, searching for his own path. He was equally fascinated by the forms of Modigliani and Brancusi and the colours of Leger, Severini or Kandinsky, as by the Flemish primitives and the colours of medieval stained glass.[19] The Paris years of Amadeo were a time of learning and absorption. His landscapes, stories and figures point to a graceful world, of fantasy outside of time. Moving away from realism and painting as imitation, he produces works, which although figurative, have a dreamlike subject matter and resonance. Amadeo drew on a classical style and form, but one which upsets academic balance to assume its own dimensions and proportions.

In *Clown, Cavalo, Salamandra* (Fig. 8) the shapes create dynamism and effect through the use of patches of colour (yellow, green, blue and red), in a rhythmic harmony of joyful colours and movement. It is a delicate and sophisticated painting, with a suggestive power and archetypal memory, which in terms of its iconography distances itself from modernist themes. Through the rhythm of the lines and colours, the observer is involved in the harmony of music. It is a very sensory painting, emotional, that departs from the logic and aesthetics of cubist and futurist construction.

The acceleration, stylization and elongation of the figures, their gentleness and delicateness, combined with harmonic movements and rhythms, as well as an intense brilliance, produce beautiful paintings dominated by plays of colour and rhythm. Without abandoning classical models and aesthetics, Amadeo creates a balance and a harmony that, although not yet dissonant, undermines them. "He extends the truth through the over excitation of intentions", as Jerome Doucet writes of him in 1912 in the Introduction of *XX Dessins.*[20]

His first works, the *XX Dessins,* directly inspired by the Kandinsky album *Klänge-Sounds,*[21] immediately challenge the academic style. During the same period, he illustrates and transcribes a short story, by Flaubert, entitled *La Legende de Saint Julien l'Hospitalier*, using the style of the richly illuminated manuscripts of the early Renaissance. The imagination of the themes, the drawing and resulting rhythm cadence give expression to the dialogue that literature, painting, sculpture, music and even ballet are having with each other at this beginning of the 20th century (Fig. 9).

[19]The effect that stained glass had on Amadeo is visible in the original way in which he assimilates and develops his cubist experience between 1912 and 1915: the excessive length of the lines, greater clarity and fragmentation of forms, artificial plays on tones and shadows. The technical is particularly achieved in *Barcos* (*Boats*, 1913) and *A Menina dos Cravos* (*The girl with carnations*, 1913).

[20]*XX Déssins* is an album of drawings made in Indian ink by Amadeo de Souza Cardoso, published in 1912.

[21]The poems, drawings and engravings of the pictorial work *Klänge* were created by Kandinsky between 1908 and 1912. It is published in Munich in 1912.

Fig. 8 *Title unknown* [*Clown, Cavalo, Salamandra*]. Gouache on paper. 23.8 × 31.8 cm. 1911 © Fotografia de Paulo Costa, Museu Calouste Gulbenkian—Coleção Moderna

Fig. 9 *La Tourmente* (*The Turmoil*). Original drawing for *XX Dessins*. Indian ink and gouache on paper. 1912 © Fotografia de Paulo Costa, Museu Calouste Gulbenkian—Coleção Moderna

In this world of discovery and affirmation, the young Amadeo, who worked forms and colours with originality and provocation, is recognized not only in Paris but also in Berlin, Hamburg, London, New York and Chicago.

1913 was the year when the painter Amadeo is recognized in the United States and Germany, a year of explosive vitality in Paris with the premiere of Stravinsky´s *The Rite of Spring* by the Ballets Russe, and *Les Peintres Cubistes* and *Alcools* by Apollinaire.

Throughout the 20th century, Amadeo's name will be mentioned in European modernism context thanks these early works.

The burden of the war removed him physically and culturally from the centres of dissemination. His mature work, carried out between 1915 and 1918, left no disciples or schools, either in Portugal or abroad. These profoundly innovative and original paintings, almost unknown even to Portuguese people until the 1980s, remain on the margins of the European and Portuguese modernist movement.

3.2 Portugal, Isolation and Artistic Maturity

When he returned to Portugal in 1914, Amadeo isolated himself in Manhufe, as was mentioned earlier. Isolation did not mean not receiving correspondence, newspapers or not staying informed. It meant resuming a non-urban existence, with natural rhythms and ancestral ways of living, being a witness to the life of a rural community, absorbed by survival in accordance with the rhythms of nature. This return accelerated a process of tension, confrontation and interior creativity. His experiences became the basis which give expression to his pictorial creation.

The influences of the war become explicit in Amadeo's painting from 1914 on, with the painting *Mulher Decepada* (*Woman Beheaded*) and, in 1917, with the paintings known as *Zinc*, *Brut*, and *Entrada* (*Entrance*). But they are also revealed implicitly, through the change in the colour palette, the clutter and fragmentation of the composition, no longer with a centre, and by the absence of his usual points of reference: vitality and confidence, joy and magic.

The *Mulher Decepada* (Fig. 10) watercolour anticipates in an intuitive way the tragic changes that will scar all of Europe. Although belonging to a series of humorous drawings about frustrated loves, the subtitle of this work leaves little room for interpretation: *Brisement de la grâce croisée de violence nouvelle* (*the breaking of grace, marked by the cross of a new violence*) (Fig. 11).

The horizontal plane is reinforced by the hanging head and the right hand that resists. Vertically, the white blouse and the skirt of the apron form a cross together with the horizontal line. This large cross is linked to other smaller crosses and to the drops of blood (consequences of the violence), increasing the feeling of suffering and death.

The effects of violence are also conveyed through the destruction of the woman's womb, a symbol of fertility. All the joys of life conveyed through the strong and clear colours of the clothes, are tinged with black patches coming from

Fig. 10 *Mulher Decepada brisement de la grace croisée de la violence nouvelle* (*The breaking of grace, marked by the cross of a new violence*). Watercolour on paper. 24 × 15.8 cm. 1914 © Fotografia de Paulo Costa, Museu Calouste Gulbenkian —Coleção Moderna

the background. The caption which accompanies the image leaves no room for doubt: grace has been broken (Fig. 12).

From 1914 to 1915 onwards, torn masks and faces become an obsession for Amadeo, wide-open eyes staring at us that penetrate us and penetrate beyond appearances, lonely and suffering heads, touched by violence and defeat.

Eyes are a constant presence in Amadeo's work, even when they become windows or in more abstract works, such as *Zinc*, hidden gloomy circles. When Amadeo paints figures closely bound to nature, forming a dense pictorial ensemble with a dramatic charge and directness, these characters—the old woman, the miller, the mad person, the pastor, the piper—are symbolic. His pictures, immersed and dense, cease to tell stories and directly reveal a suspended state of mind. They seek to immortalize a long-standing rural way of life, crude, painful, lonely, heavy and deformed which becomes contagious. Far removed from the gentle, delicate forms and joy of his Parisian works, this expressionistic phase coincides with a deep inner soul- searching by Amadeo.

Fig. 11 *Tête Ocean* (*Ocean Head*). Watercolour on paper. 25.4 × 18.8 cm. 1915 © Fotografia de Paulo Costa, Museu Calouste Gulbenkian—Coleção Moderna

Fig. 12 *Title unknown* [*Janelas do Pescador*]. Oil on canvas. 27.4 × 34.8 cm. 1915 © Fotografia de Paulo Costa, Museu Calouste Gulbenkian—Coleção Moderna

Fig. 13 *Figura Negra* (*Black Figure*). Oil on canvas. 50 × 50 cm. 1914 © Fotografia de Paulo Costa, Museu Calouste Gulbenkian—Coleção Moderna

From 1914 to 1916, the painter prepared 111 works for exhibition in Portugal and the United States. Exhibitions were held in Oporto and Lisbon, and were as visited as they were misunderstood. From the conflict between the process of maturity and the frustration of artistic misunderstanding, his final phase brilliantly emerges with a burst of creativity. Traces of the war are present and implicitly suggested by the changes in the colour palette and by the absence of his usual points of reference: vitality and confidence, joy and magic (Fig. 13).

From a technical point of view, there are no sudden changes in Amadeo's work; as a versatile painter he works according to a personal goal of capturing the "inner expression of things",[22] in other words, moving towards abstraction. 1917 was a year of frenetic activity. Amadeo introduced new materials into his paintings (glass, wood, hooks, mirrors, sand, etc.) and his works became highly complex in their composition. These are chromatically dense works, with a tension in their movement and forms. The fragmentation and chromatic intensity produce a thematic depth that distinguishes these late paintings from all his previous iconography. Strangely, these paintings, painted in Manhufe, reveal a cosmopolitan and urban character that the early Parisian paintings lacked.

[22]Title attributed to one of his paintings from 1916.

In the last two years of his life, the artist contrasts the simple shapes (which were features of his earlier painting) with large patches of colour and tones. In order to achieve abstraction, he experiments with overlaying planes, textures and fragmented forms. This technique of filling the entire space of the canvas with tones becomes the painter's typical creative approach in relation to the succession of overlapping planes and sense of depth, in other words, the background of his paintings. In these overlapping planes, a new dimension emerges in the painting of Amadeo. Shapes and colours remain, but in the overall scheme of things become dependent on each other, as well the final structure of the composition. To put it another way, there are two pillars—colour and forms and the conceptualisation of the space. The overall artistic composition of the painting becomes the main priority. This is characteristic of Amadeo's abstract painting in 1917: a well-structured arrangement of the space and colour. The paintings deliberately do not have a defined centre, but points around which the painting is organized. This disordered and fragmented composition is also an implicit sign of the experience of war in Amadeo's painting.

3.2.1 The Theme of War in Abstract Paintings

In 1917, Amadeo's painting was organized around two main themes: music and war. They have common subjects: violas, guitars and musical instruments. From an iconographic point of view, the effects of the war are explicitly present in the untitled paintings such as *Zinc*, *Brut 300 TSF* and in an indirect but more elaborate way, in *Entrada*, all from 1917. A comparative analysis of these three paintings, and the preparatory study for *Entrada*, allows us to observe the following: a movement from the simple to the complex, both in iconographic and compositional terms and technique; Amadeo´s evolution into abstraction; the power of his symbols, which come to life in the close relationship between them and the typical objects of works (Fig. 14).

To give an example, Amadeo paints the word "ZINC" along the top of painting within the painting, above a crucified man's head, a poor soldier killed in war.[23] "ZINC" symbolizes the crown of thorns or "Ecce Homo". Zinc was used in artillery weapons and therefore the painter employs it as a metaphor for death. Subsequently, in the study for *Entrada*, he writes "ZINC" in the lower left hand corner; understood as symbol of death "ZINC" becomes the meeting point of the tensions between the different subjects of the study. In the [*Entrada*] painting, in the same lower left-hand corner, this word is replaced by "LA", followed by the painter's name. In brief: in the logical sequence of symbolism, the "LA" sign which traditionally symbolizes harmony needs to be understood as the destruction of harmony; by associating his name with it, Amadeo becomes a participant in the disharmony. In conclusion, Amadeo's creative process obliges us to go on a mental

[23]Private Collection of Mr. Ilídio Pinho (Porto).

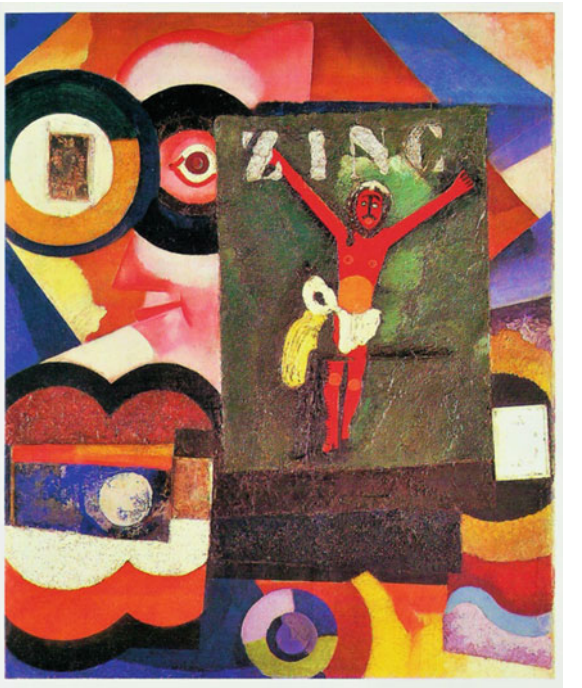

Fig. 14 *Title unknown [ZINC]*. Oil and collage on canvas. 59 × 49 cm. 1915 © Fundação Ilídio Pinho, Porto

and emotional journey that moves from analogy to interiority. His abstract painting, almost sealed off, is dense and full of tension, pregnant with all the signs for war he has been refining.

The *ZINC* painting is different from all of Amadeo´s other works and is the first in this series. It is closer to the figurative. Amadeo is searching for his own war iconography and adequate compositional forms. The painting's greatest depth comes from the staring eye and viewing eye, which penetrates us, but which can also be struck. With a harmonious background and resorting to large-sized forms, the composition has the appearance of a collage divided into four sections: in the foreground, on right hand side of the painting, a large rectangle depicts the crucified man; on the left-hand side in the background, we see a powerful mask with an ironic smile and two huge staring eyes; the third part is filled by large guitars, lying down, whose arms and head are represented by a dense black rectangle. Finally, in the lower part of the central area, a coloured target aims to balance the composition, by concentrating the meaning in one detail: small and surrounded by black it brings to mind a threat. We can say that in this searching, Amadeo finds black as the colour which absorbs all and can destroy all (Fig. 15).

Brut 300 TSF is the most explicit painting about the day to day experience of war. In it we find allusions to the works of Léger and Malevich, and the futurists Severini and Boccioni.

It is an environment composed of a multiple fragmentation of objects: a special edition of a newspaper, a drum expanded to a ridiculous degree that becomes a

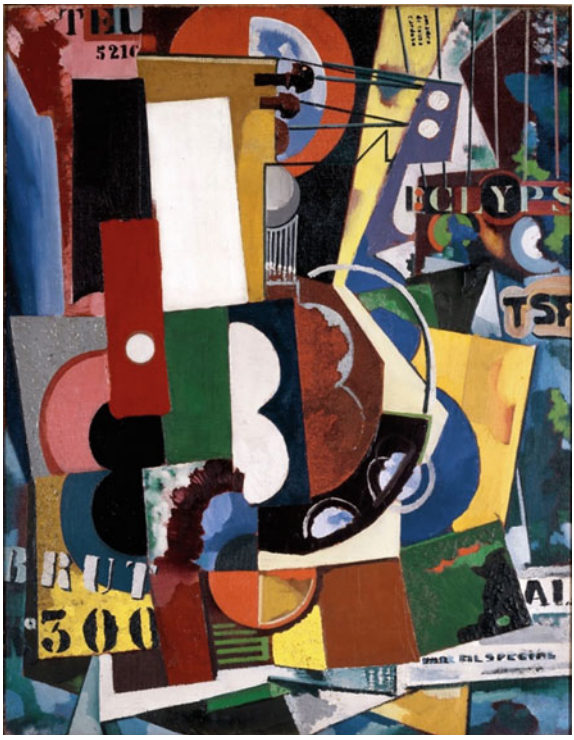

Fig. 15 *Title unknown* [*Brut 300 TSF*]. Oil and sand on canvas. 85.8 × 66.2 cm. 1917 © Fotografia de Paulo Costa, Museu Calouste Gulbenkian—Coleção Moderna

pistol, the rudder and metallic bow of a ship, an aeroplane propeller, a terrified eye, half eye and half target, a pendulum on the point of setting fire to the centre of the composition, iron bars, electric wires, and human shadows. Letters and numbers frame the entire composition: registration numbers, seemingly abstract, evoke the cipher machines used in war; TSF, wireless telephony and ÉCLYPSE in front of the fuselage of an aeroplane evoke progress, but also its destructive power.[24]

Here composition is integrated, centralized and arranged around a central axis. Black unifies and unites all parts of the composition. In the centre, on the left-hand side, Amadeo's guitars assume their final shape. As in other works, for example in *Trou de la serrure,*[25] Amadeo creates depth on the right side, through overlapping planes and colours. The feeling of space leads us ultimately to a final plane, vaporous and labyrinthine. Here we look for an exit; instead we are met by an aeroplane, a target-eye and metal structures. The iconography of the last paintings has been fully realized. But it needs to be perfected to his aesthetic. By looking at

[24]In 1916 there was a total eclipse. Amadeo names it symbolically, as an expression of the extension of human and social disorder to the cosmic forces.

[25]*Trou de la serrure parto da viola Bom ménage Fraise avant garde* (*Keyhole viola's childbirth Good combination Strawberry avant-garde*, 1916). Oil on canvas. 70 x 58 cm. C.A.M./FCG.

the context of war, Amadeo wants to penetrate to its very essence while attempting new approaches in plastic and compositional terms.

Comparing *Brut 300 TSF* with the study for *Entrada*, a common structure is evident in both: the set of guitars. There are also references to *Brut 300*, the newspaper and the metal structures. Novelty relates to search for depth. The centre of the study is placed at a deep level, reached by pushing to the side the more superficial elements and levels. It evidences a closed structure: no escape is possible on either side, limitations are imposed that force us towards the centre where we find a hole.

Generally speaking in Amadeo's paintings, few changes are made between the preparatory study and the final work. The artist knows which direction he wants to take the work in. His preparatory studies show how meticulous and rigorous he is. However, the study for *Entrada* is significantly different to the final work, freeing itself up to develop a more abstract language.

Entrada is an ambitious and profoundly original work aesthetically, conceptually and plastically. It is a unique painting, in that the theme of war was virtually ignored by domestically-based Portuguese artists during the conflict and is exceptional, representing a milestone in the history of European abstractionism. During this period it was still usual for painters to use figurative language in works related to war.

Among the abstract works of 1917, this painting is unique in its theme, its chromatic range and its construction of forms, which seal it off. Amadeo takes inspiration from the Cubist still lives to create in abstract language a war painting in which the natural elements and life itself have been vitally erased– more than just dead, life is unrecognizable and absent. Reflecting on the effects of war through the genre of modernist still life is deeply original and ambitious (Fig. 16).

Thematic conceptualization is achieved by associating forms and objects. There is a predominance of cold, acidic and dark colours, which coincide with Amadeo's colour palette in the period. Successive horizontal forms dominate the picture suggesting the artificiality of a fixed reality, where there are few elements of life: fruit, in a state of decomposition; insects, trapped or killed; a cello that resembles the shadow of a hanged man, a pear with the shape of a woman's body lying and bleeding. Although the painting has a great unity, we can differentiate between three vertical axes, according to the amount of light. The fruits in the central axis are all twisted, touched by rot, a metaphor for destruction and death that comes from within and envelops them. The fruits more exposed to light are painted against a white background; the colours appear to be joyful but are misleading. The shadows that surround the fruit take away all the naturalness of the light. The presence of matches accentuates the surrounding artificiality. Insects are trapped within some of the black circles. Everything points to the centre of the composition, in part because the edges of this square are compact and oppressive. The centre corresponds to a large inner circle, covered, however, by a yellow cloth, suggesting a tattered flag. As the centre is covered, our gaze is shifted towards *Entrada*, an inscription written with black letters against a white background, a caption which points us towards a dark and absorbing hole or to the point of a gun or a tunnel with railings. A sense of danger

Fig. 16 *Title unknown* [*Entrada*]. Oil and collage on canvas. 93.5 × 75.5 cm. 1917 © Fotografia de Paulo Costa, Museu Calouste Gulbenkian—Coleção Moderna

emerges from the red saw against a strong yellow, painted in the foreground and superimposed on *Entrada*. A thick horizontal black and grey line gives life to this symbolic saw. This new technique of underling the contours with wide and dark brushstrokes, mixing grey blue and black tones, allows the artist to add a dimension of interior depth, without limits. The tunnel—a dark circle—takes us to that ultimate plane, threatening, with no exit. If we associate *Entrada* with the periscope[26] above the shade of the hanged man, the light bulb and the dark window, we easily arrive at the image of the mousetrap and the image of insects caught in traps. It is a symbolic language, open to lesser or greater interpretation, more or less threatening, that narrows down to a sense of anguish and loss.

[26]The French newspaper *L'Illustration* in a special issue of August 8, 1914 called for a general mobilization in France. On the front page Georges Scot drew a French soldier barricading the enemy. The message of this image is enhanced by the inscription "Do Not Enter". In 1917, Amadeo summarizes the tragic evolution of the conflict with this bitter pun.

The guitar on the left-hand side has aggressive strings, like the beak of a bird and is the colour of blood; it doesn't play, doesn't bring harmony and the yellow circle above it is not the Sun and cannot produce light. The light sources are artificial and interiorized; the light of the matches does not heat, but burns. The inscription "LA" which appears frequently in his works, is found at the bottom of the painting next to Amadeo's name, as if he meant to suggest he too is affected by the anguish caused by the loss of harmony. A great silence, together with the absence of everything that represented life for the painter and for the Modernists, takes hold of the painting. Amadeo continues to draw on his basic iconography, maintaining his aesthetic and his technical originality. Nonetheless, in this painting the guitars, circles, flowers, fruit and insects provoke a feeling of absence. Absence of movement, rhythm, time and joy.

The painting suggests violence, fear, anguish and even death. But as an abstract painting it cannot be directly related to the world conflict. It is an inner meditation on the destructiveness of war. The preparatory study for the painting can provide clarifications and allow for more specific interpretations linked to the conflict. In concrete terms, how can we establish a connection between the *Entrada* preparatory study and the war? We can do so through the associations created by words: "zinc"—as it was a much-sought-after metal for weapons; "La Correspondence"[27] was the name of a military newspaper, one of the first Spanish information dailies, which published a special edition; "Wotan", a name associated with the activity of war and the famous newly-industrialized electric bulbs; the seal bearing Amadeo's name, variously repeated—"Cardoso, Cardoso, Cardoso"; the obsessions present in his works from 1916 and 1917—"Brut 300", "KK", "52". And the word highlighted in capital letters, preserved in the painting - "ENTRADA" - key to the understanding the painting and its preparatory study. As a first attempt, words are used to render things more explicit, when Amadeo removes them it is because the strictly pictorial elements have done their work: colours, shapes, textures, overlapping planes and levels of depth convey violence, anguish, fear, insecurity and even death. By freeing itself from the concrete, the meaning of the work becomes more profound and universal, creating an empathic force that moves us without the need for an intermediary. Once we inwardly apprehend (fix) the sense which he wishes to give to his creative work, it is freed of the superfluous (Fig. 17).

In the centre of the study, an eye from an undefined dark face stares at us. Next to it we find a collage with advertising for the Wotan electric light bulb—an allusion to the Germanic god, warrior and king. Around the eye several circles overlap each other covering the entire space of the canvas. Broken lines, the familiar metal structures in a zig-zag shape frame the composition, gently leading us to the central space. Dolls or human figures play with the circles. The profiled face which appears in the preparatory study is covered by a yellow flag, which

[27] *La Correspondência Militar*, a Spanish military journal, founded in the 19th century, which during the First World War, assumed the defence of the German position.

Fig. 17 *Preparatory study of [Entrada]*. 1917 © Fotografia de Paulo Costa, Museu Calouste Gulbenkian—Coleção Moderna

becomes torn in the painting. The study is filled with a profusion of eyes and dark circles, holes that attract our gaze into the depths.

In the painting, the human figures disappear and the sense of pain becomes more abstract, but even more asphyxiating. Life has its representatives in the insects and the vegetable kingdom; death leaves its mark on the painting and touches us. A submarine periscope appears, peering out. Depth is not achieved through fragmentation and overlapping forms; the overlaps are dark centres which act as tunnels dug towards deep and closed interiors. Depth is created by a careful mix of dense blues, blacks and greys, by the dynamism of the textures and by the large black brush-strokes that outline and shade the iconographic elements of the painting.

4 Conclusion

The life of Adriano Sousa Lopes was marked by war. He was touched physically, emotionally and aesthetically by these events. At first the impact of the confrontation and the memories of the trenches was recreated in cold, sharp works.

Then, in a process of sublimation, he rendered the war in a more ordinary way and trivialized the message in order to promote patriotic heroism.

Amadeo's is a sensitivity wounded by war. The innovation, richness and complexity of the works created between 1916 and 1917 underline Amadeo's forceful originality and the creative anguish that distinguishes his inward, secret searching. Looking at these works, we become aware of the difficulties of painting the subject of war and representing it in abstract terms. Amadeo's abstract language is symbolically strong, conveying the absurd, without showing the horror. His paintings express the depth of the internal sufferings of war.

Amadeo's paintings, especially *Entrada*, can be included amongst the finest works on war, created between 1914 and 1918. In the painting, *Entrada* seems to enter into the heart of destructiveness of war; it conveys a particular vision of war, still relevant today.

A century after the conflict, there is still work to be done to explain and disseminate Amadeo's painting in the context of Portuguese and European modernism and to assimilate and give new impetus to his message on the horror of war. 20 years before Picasso, he brought out war´s destructive effect on life, harmony and light. In the perversity of war, his iconography converts the light bulb, as a symbol of modernity, into an artificial means of non-life.

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Remembering the War, Imagining the Nation: The First World War Memoirs of the "Portuguese Renaissance"

Ernesto Castro Leal

Abstract In this paper several memoirs related with the First World War and published in Porto editions of *Renascença Portuguesa,* dealing with Portuguese participation on the European western front, will be reassessed critically. The representative sample includes books published between 1918 and 1921 by former combatants of the Portuguese Expeditionary Force. Amongst the authors of these war narratives, where one might highlight the *Memórias da Grande Guerra* of doctor, schoolteacher and republican intellectual Jaime Cortesão (a doctor of the militia reserve), are Captain Augusto Casimiro, Lieutenant João Pina de Morais, General Manuel Gomes da Costa, Lieutenant-Colonel Alexandre Malheiro, Lieutenant-Colonel Dr Eduardo Pimenta, and militia reserve doctor Alfredo Barata da Rocha, as well as Captain Carlos Afonso dos Santos (pseudonym Carlos Selvagem), a Mozambique war veteran. Five topics will be developed in connection with these memoir writers: narratives of war (memory, history and legitimacy); patriotism and redemption; *saudade* and duty; life and death; training and leadership.

1 Introduction

This essay aims to provide a critical discussion of a collection of First World War memoirs, published in Oporto by the "Renascença Portuguesa" [Portuguese Renaissance] editions, dealing with the Portuguese participation on the western front, preceded by a political conflict involving interventionists and anti-interventionists. This representative sample of memorialistic texts includes works which were published between 1918 and 1921 by former combatants of the Portuguese Expeditionary Corps who endorsed republican liberal-democratic ideas.

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Amongst these authors, the most renowned is Jaime Cortesão – a commissioned Ensign, doctor, teacher and intellectual who published *Memórias da Grande Guerra* [*Memories of the Great War*]—we come across names such as Captain Augusto Casimiro, Lieutenant João Pina de Morais, General Manuel Gomes da Costa, Lieutenant Colonel (Dr.) Eduardo Pimenta, Ensign (Dr.) Alfredo Barata da Rocha, but also Captain Carlos Afonso dos Santos (who wrote under the pseudonym "Carlos Selvagem"), who fought the German troops in Mozambique (Catálogo, 1997).

The group "Renascença Portuguesa" was founded in Oporto in 1912 as a cultural society, following two preparatory meetings which took place at the end of 1911 in Coimbra and Lisbon, and which subsequently expanded to other cities. Its convening publication was the second series of *A Águia* [*The Eagle*], presented as a "journal of Literature, Art, Science, Philosophy and Social Critique", but the movement was soon confronted with divergent trends concerning the cultural, ethical and political standpoints of its programme: the "spiritualist" trend, illustrated by such intellectuals as Teixeira de Pascoaes and Jaime Cortesão, and the "rationalist" trend, endorsed by Raul Proença and António Sérgio and laid down in manifestoes and numerous other programmatic texts (Leal, 2014, pp. 657–692). This political and cultural movement expected to endow the Portuguese Republic with a deeply ingrained awareness of the need for national regeneration, emphasising the reforming role of intellectuals not strictly identified with the hegemonic republican conceptions of a materialistic and positivistic kind.

2 Interventionists/Anti-interventionists: Political Confrontation

The geopolitical time of the First World War set up, within the context of Portuguese political parties, political groups and civic leagues, a situation of broad ideological diversity which encompassed the cultural programmes of the modernist journals *Orpheu* (1915) [*Orpheus*], *Exílio* (1916) [*Exile*], *Centauro* (1916) [*Centaur*], and *Portugal Futurista* (1917) [*Futurist Portugal*]. It lent visibility to a new generation that wavered between nationalism and cosmopolitism, with some of its members (such as Fernando Pessoa or António Ferro) being seduced in 1918 by the charismatic republican presidentialism of Sidónio Pais—the "President-King", as Fernando Pessoa portrayed him in 1920. The intense debate over military participation on the western European front became pervasive in the political arena up to the moment when the German empire declared war on Portugal (9th March 1916). António Machado Santos's Reformist Centre (1914) appeared, the monarchic field was re-invigorated by the Lusitanian Integralism (1914), the Legitimist Party (restructured in 1915) and the Monarchic Cause (1915), and political Catholicism was organized in the Portuguese Catholic Centre (1917). Two civic leagues were created, conjoining both republicans and monarchists, agnostics and Catholics, under a common conservative alignment—the National League (1915–

1918) and the Dom Nuno Álvares Pereira National Crusade (1918–1938). However ephemeral, the creation of the League of National Action (1918), which published the journal *Pela Grei* [*For the Nation*] (1918–1919), run by António Sérgio, it nevertheless deserves to be mentioned.

Definition of the official Portuguese position was inescapably determined by the historical Anglo-Portuguese Alliance, which had been renewed several times, and was consequently in support of the *Triple Entente*. As to the ways in which the Portuguese stance should be made manifest in the context of the European conflict —either neutrality or belligerence in Europe, considering that belligerence in Africa was never in doubt when it came to the defence of colonies—there was a diversity of opinion inside the republican parties (Leal, 2008, pp. 43–71).

Broadly speaking, it could be said that, up to March 1916 in the Portuguese Republican Party, there was a clear prevalence of the radical interventionist pro-French position defended by its political leader Afonso Costa and José Norton de Matos (allies of João Chagas, Minister of Portugal in Paris), together with the initial moderate interventionist pro-English position of Bernardino Machado, supported by Alfredo Freire de Andrade (an ally of Manuel Teixeira Gomes, Minister of Portugal in London). In the Republican Evolutionist Party, the interventionist majority group of its political leader, António José de Almeida, stood out. The Republican Union followed the position of its political leader, Manuel Brito Camacho (an ally of Sidónio Pais, Minister of Portugal in Berlin), with a view to safeguarding a position of non-belligerence, admitting that interventionism could solely be justified in Africa in the event that colonies were threatened by the Germans and had to be defended or, as a last resort, when England explicitly requested it. The Reformist Centre was in line with the position of the Republican Union, its political leader António Machado Santos having attempted a military coup (13th December 1916) to coerce the government of the "Sacred Union" into curbing interventionist political and military momentum.

In the governmental declaration delivered at the session of the Congress of the Republic on 7th August 1914, the President, Bernardino Machado, had expressed the firm resolve that Portugal would respect the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance, but neither neutrality nor immediate belligerence had been defined (Teixeira, 1996), a clarification that the English government didn't seek at the time. In the approved law that Bernardino Machado brought before the Congress of the Republic (23rd November 1914) on the Portuguese official position, which was supported by the British government, it was stated that the Portuguese government was "authorized to intervene militarily in the ongoing international conflict, if and when necessary to preserve the high interests and duties of our free nation allied to England, taking extraordinary measures to that effect if the circumstances so required" (República Portuguesa, 1917, pp. 13–14). This initial attitude—neither neutrality nor belligerence—strongly displeased the radical interventionist body of opinion which purported to force England to accept an immediate military participation from Portugal. The concern was that Portugal didn't have either a professional army prepared for external confrontation or a militia, within the constitutional principle of an « armed nation », for internal defence in case of territorial threat.

Propaganda to impose interventionism on the European western front, mainly instigated by the strong body of opinion in the Portuguese Republican Party that followed Afonso Costa and Norton de Matos, developed after the aforementioned governmental statement made by Bernardino Machado—the govern being supported by Brito Camacho's Republican Union –, with recourse to several agitation strategies (printed articles, speeches, leaflets or demonstrations) which notwithstanding, failed to bring about appropriate national mobilization. Indeed, it was exclusively confined to Lisbon and, to a lesser extent, to Oporto. In the context of the radical interventionist press, two political party newspapers became prominent: *O Mundo* [*The World*] (the official daily newspaper of the Portuguese Republican Party, whose editor-in-chief was, between 1914 and 1917, António França Borges, later to be replaced by Amadeu de Freitas), in Lisbon, and *O Norte* [*The North*] (daily newspaper of the Portuguese Republican Party run by Jaime Cortesão), in Oporto. As for interventionist street demonstrations, the most impressive took place in Lisbon (7th August 1914, 12th March 1916 and 28th January 1917). Both Pimenta de Castro's government (25th January to 15th May 1915), supported by the Republican Evolutionist Party (after March 1915, its members began to censure governmental anti-parliamentary procedures) and the Reformist Centre, and, following it, the government headed by Sidónio Pais (from 11th December 1917 up to 11th November 1918, Armistice Day), supported by the Republican Union (up to March 1918), the Reformist Centre, the National Republican Party and the Portuguese Catholic Centre, took political and military action to limit the interventionist effort on the western front.

The constitution of the "Sacred Union" government (from 15th March 1916 to 25th April 1917), presided over by António José de Almeida (who was also the Minister of the Colonies)—with a special emphasis on the ministers Afonso Costa (Finance), Augusto Soares (Foreign Affairs), and José Norton de Matos (War)—was based on the political alliance between the Portuguese Republican Party and the Republican Evolutionist Party concerning the preparation of a military intervention on the western front (Meneses, 2000). It was impossible to achieve a wider political consensus involving the Republican Union, the Portuguese Socialist Party, the Reformist Centre, and the Portuguese Catholic Centre.

Criticism directed at the agreement between the two political parties that jointly shared the ministerial positions of the government became persistent in one of the parties involved (the Republican Evolutionist Party), giving rise to the establishment of a parliamentary political faction under the leadership of António Caetano Egas Moniz. This would later be the core of the Centrist Republican Party (October 1917) and would form the political and social basis for the National Republican Party (April 1918), the official party of Sidónio Pais's "New Republic".

Held under the initiative of the "Sacred Union" on 24th August 1916 (in a clear evocation of the 1820 liberal revolution in Oporto), the republican interventionist rally which took place in front of the Monastery of Santa Maria da Vitória in Batalha (a symbol of the Portuguese patriotic glory of 1385 against the Castilians) was of paramount importance. Presided over by António José de Almeida, the president of the government and the leader of the Republican Evolutionist Party,

who was also responsible for closing the patriotic meeting, speakers in the rally included, among others, the leaders of the Portuguese Republican Party Afonso Costa, Alexandre Braga, and José Norton de Matos, and the leaders of the Republican Evolutionist Party Manuel Maria Coelho and Luís Simões Raposo. In a vibrant speech, António José de Almeida reminisced about the times of republican propaganda prior to the republican revolution on 5th October 1910, drawing on a repertoire of popular and democratic warfare messianism, rooted in republican promethean redemptionism, as the article published the next day in the Lisbon newspaper *O Século* [*The Century*] clearly documented. In his speech, António José de Almeida stressed that in that "marvellous temple the bloody tip of the sword carved the first civil record of the independence of Portugal", pointed out that "the Christ who is worshipped in that church is not only the Christ of Catholics, but also the Christ who is Nuno Álvares's partner and brother", and concluded: "Oh! Motherland! Oh! Beloved motherland of Portugal! Forgive me if my strength won't let me sacrifice further for you" (Leal, 1999, p. 43).

The field of republican interventionist propaganda, essentially aligned with the political positions of the Portuguese Republican Party, manifested three remarkable literary occurrences in 1916. The first was the appearance of a special issue of *A Águia,* the Oporto cultural journal published by the "Portuguese Renaissance" group, fully dedicated to the topic "Portugal and the War" and targeted at the intellectual elite. Contributors, who wrote both opinion articles and poems, included Teixeira de Pascoaes, Teófilo Braga, Raul Proença, Jaime Cortesão, João de Barros, Leonardo Coimbra and Augusto Casimiro. The second was the publication of the essay *O Conflito Internacional sob o ponto de vista português* [*The International Conflict from the Portuguese point of view*], by José de Macedo, intended for the political, economic and academic elite. The third was the book by Jaime Cortesão, *Cartilha do Povo* [*The People's Primer*] devoted to the patriotic interventionist incitement of soldiers (of which 100,000 copies were purchased by the Ministry of War headed by General Norton de Matos). At the beginning of the public campaign for Portuguese military participation in 1914, Jaime Cortesão had presented, in his article "A Guerra" ["The War"] which came out on 5th August 1914 in the Oporto newspaper *O Norte* [*The North*] a prophetic vision, based upon a civilizational option for "free and democratic" England and for "great, beautiful and generous" France against "imperialistic and militaristic" Germany and "Catholic and despotic" Austria. He elected two philosophers to embody these two worldviews, respectively Jean-Marie Guyau and Friedrich Nietzsche, as he explained in his article "Teatro de Guerra – Guyau e Nietzsche" ["Theatre of War – Guyau and Nietzsche"] which also came out in the newspaper *O Norte* [*The North*] on 17th November 1914. Captain Augusto Casimiro, following a similar line of interpretation, would speak of a struggle between "two hostile principles: generous freedom and tyrannical strength" (Casimiro, 1918, p. 14).

The 1916 special issue (numbers 52-53-54) of *A Águia* [*The Eagle*] gathered contributions from several intellectuals—including that of future combatants Jaime Cortesão and Augusto Casimiro, who participated with poems—who signed essays in which the same type of ethical and political arguments based on the confrontation

between freedom and despotism were expounded. Evoking the old Anglo-Portuguese Alliance, Teixeira de Pascoaes proclaimed that "the Past watches over the Future", and concluded by reiterating the close connection between the fortune of Portugal and that of England and France. Teófilo Braga stressed the risk of losing westernness, a value he considered to be at the core of European balance. Raul Proença called on the Portuguese to mobilise morally in order to establish a "patriotic nexus" and support our participation in war, which he characterized as an economic conflict, contrasting with Jaime Cortesão who, from the start, considered it to be essentially political in nature, and only secondarily economic. Mayer Garção detected the essential opposition between law and force at stake in the conflict. Lopes de Mendonça warned against the danger of germanism posing a threat to Greek and Latin civilization, the only ones he considered to be "truly expansive and fecund". Leonardo Coimbra saw the meaning of war as marked by the "transcendent effort of the spiritual forces" against "the materialistic frenzy of the modern world".

Within political republican circles, the campaign against the radical interventionists from the Portuguese Republican Party—referred to as "war entrepreneurs" by Manuel de Brito Camacho in an article published in the newspaper *A Lucta* [*The Struggle*] (Camacho, 1935, p. 173)—found in this political leader of the Republican Union its most severe critic. João Chagas would, in turn, be the most vigorous opponent of Camacho's positions. Some of the arguments put forward are worth re-examining. In several articles which appeared in the newspaper *A Lucta* [*The Struggle*], Camacho supported the cautiousness of the governmental declaration made on 7th August 1914 in view of the scarcity of financial means, military resources and training, at a time when war hadn't yet been declared on Portugal. He therefore argued: "As for us, we are staying where we were, allies of England, acting in conformity with it, so that, by providing our unconditional assistance, we impose upon ourselves the least sacrifices. Useless politics? But one needs to be downright foolish to conduct useless politics" (Camacho, 1935, pp. 85–89, 101). Brito Camacho also considered that "Despotism" and "Freedom" were in opposing camps. However, definition of the Portuguese position on taking part in the European war shouldn't be entirely conditioned by political-ideological factors.

Reminding us that Portugal hadn't made a declaration of neutrality in August and November 1914, João Chagas upheld the view that, after the overwhelming defeat of the Portuguese troops during the German attack in Naulila (18th December 1914) in southern Angola, the Portuguese government (presided over by Vítor Hugo de Azevedo Coutinho, a member of the Portuguese Republican Party) *should* break diplomatic relations with the German empire and its ally, the Austro-Hungarian empire, but *would not*, regardless of England's position, thus wishing to put an end to "the shameful equivocation of the situation we find ourselves in". According to Chagas, the "war in Europe" was an "essentially political fact", since, on one side, were the "liberal ideas" of "democratic Europe", and, on the other, the "reactionary ideas" of "feudal and apostolic Europe". He summed up: "Either Germany takes possession of the whole of Europe to crush it, which is highly unlikely (…), or it will end up, as time will prove, in the most

formidable decline that mankind has yet to witness. In the first case, Portugal will have the destiny of Europe, in the second it will be drawn by the destiny of the victorious nations" (Chagas, 1915, pp. 6–11, 31–32).

The Portuguese Socialist Party was split between those who exceptionally admitted that, given the "German danger", intervention on the western front was necessary—gathered around the newspaper *O Combate* [*The Combat*] (the central organ of the Portuguese Socialist Party)—and the anti-interventionists—associated with the newspaper *A Voz do Povo* [*The People's Voice*] (the organ of the Socialist Party in northern Portugal) - a dispute occurring between José Fernandes Alves (who supported the first position) and Manuel José da Silva (who was in favour of the second). The Central Board of the Portuguese Socialist Party would eventually decide to associate itself with the European interventionist cause, taking sides with the *Triple Entente*.

On the fractured libertarian and anarchist political front, there was also a polarization between the pacifists—the Oporto newspaper *A Aurora* [*The Dawn*] which included followers of the Italian Errico Malatesta—and the interventionists who supported the *Triple Entente*—the Lisbon newspaper *Germinal* which adopted the positions of Russian Piotr Kropotkin.

As for the political camp of monarchism, fragmented among constitutionalists, legitimists and integralists, the positions were varied, with three groups standing out, (bearing in mind that the position of D. Manuel II (the king deposed after the republican revolution of 5th October 1910 and who sought exile in London) had always been one of geopolitical fidelity towards England): the anti-interventionists of the Lisbon newspaper *O Dia* [*The Day*], run by Moreira de Almeida, because of the danger of Spain invading Portugal; the cautious pro-English interventionists of the Monarchic Cause, led by Aires de Ornelas, D. Manuel II's lieutenant who followed his political instructions and some germanophile sympathizers expressing their views in the newspaper *A Nação Portuguesa* [*The Portuguese Nation*], the organ of the Lusitanian Integralism. In this respect, it is worth mentioning the opinion of the formerly moderate germanophile Agostinho de Campos regarding the text with which the German empire declared war on Portugal, a document that unsurprisingly marked a turning point in the Portuguese war policy on the western front:

> The Note delivered by Baron von Rosen, the minister of Germany in Lisbon, to the Portuguese chancellery, (…) contains inaccuracies and insults that were worthless (…). The biggest insult (…) was saying that we consider ourselves as the vassals of England (…). With that insult, Germany has boosted both blind and open-eyed patriotism in Portugal. In the first case, it has blinded us against it, by insulting us. In the second, it has opened our eyes wider, falling to pieces. (Campos, 1921, pp. 126–128)

The Portuguese modernists also expressed their views on the First World War and the military participation of Portugal. In a letter sent from Paris on 1st August 1914, Mário de Sá-Carneiro wrote to Fernando Pessoa:

> I write to you at an awful time – my dear Friend. For the world – for Europe – and even, personally, for myself: for us all (…). What will happen? No one knows. But at this moment war seems inevitable. All Europe took up arms – it's all over the headlines (…). As for me, I am anxious and distraught at this moment (…). I am very sad! For the rest, despite the dangers, I would like to live this European war in Paris (…). The atmosphere of Paris during these events is peculiar. Everyone wanders through the streets worried and in a sombre mood: the same awareness of danger seems to haunt everyone. (Silva, 2001, pp. 134–135)

Young António Ferro, who would later move closer ideologically to literary modernists, has initially aligned with the radical interventionist positions of the Portuguese Republican Party, voicing them in the poem *Passo de Marcha* [*March Step*] (1915). José de Almada Negreiros set out to build a radical political and cultural speech with pacifistic overtones in his long futuristic poetic manifesto *A Cena do Ódio,* which came out on 14th May 1915, on the same day of one the bloodiest Portuguese revolutions the main events of which took place in Lisbon. However, in December 1917, in his *Ultimatum futurista às gerações portuguesas do século XX* [*Futuristic Ultimatum to the Portuguese Generations of the* 20th *Century*], he delivered an interventionist political and cultural speech, exhorting young people to be mobilised for war, contradicting what he had written in 1915. We should however bear in mind that in March 1916 the German empire had declared war on Portugal. By contrast, Álvaro de Campos (one of Pessoa's heteronyms) presented in his Ultimatum, which also came out in the same journal in 1917, an anti-interventionist political and cultural speech, since his chief concern was the proposition for a new Portuguese attitude towards civilization according to which culture should outweigh politics.

Though not belonging to the cultural milieu of Modernism, Aquilino Ribeiro nevertheless took part in literary modernity at the beginning of the 20th century. He kept a diary while he was in Paris, between 1st August and 26th September 1914—published twenty years after his book *É a Guerra* [*It's the War*]—at a time when Mário de Sá-Carneiro was also living in the French capital and recording his impressions in the letters he sent to Fernando Pessoa. Aquilino Ribeiro advocated Portugal's absolute neutrality in the European war and on 1st August 1914 he wrote in his diary: "It's a blazing day, yes, but so bright and flooded with light that the spectre of war almost fades out in its whiteness and joy. It's a Pentecost sky, to let a flock of doves with olive branches fly over men", mentioning that, at five in the afternoon, the newspaper *Le Matin* had announced the general mobilization (Ribeiro, 1934, pp. 17, 36). The following day, he noted that the "physiognomy of Paris" had changed, since the "passionate effervescence" of the previous day had been replaced by the "examination of conscience, the deaf and instinctive *rendez-vous* of life with death" (Ribeiro, 1934, p. 45).

3 Narratives of War: Memory, History and Legitimation

The war narratives under consideration here were written is close temporal proximity with the historical time of exaltation they depict (in terms of tragic tension between life and death), affecting all descriptions with a strong emotional drama that in no way preclude immediacy, usually "reconfigured in accordance with the distanced and mature perspective required by memoirs" (Reis & Lopes, 1990, pp. 99–101). In Phillipe Ariès's words, "le témoignage n'est pas le récit détaché d'un observateur qui dénombre ou d'un savant qui démonte, mais une communication, un effort passionné pour transmettre aux autres, qui contribuent à l'Histoire, sa propre émotion de l'Histoire" (Ariès, 1986, p. 86). ["Testimony is not the detached account of an observer who counts or of a learned man who dissects, but rather a communication, a passionate effort to convey to others, who contribute to History, one's own emotion of History"]. If the criterion of narrative distance is considered, we should therefore address the question of whether we are closer to the narrative genre of diary/autobiography or to the genre of memoirs. Additionally, the self-justifying and propagandistic discourse of the citizen-politician as combatant (with strong ideological motivations) often coexists with a sharply critical stance, which makes it possible to reconstruct psychological tensions, physical circumstances or situations of military conflict, thereby pointing to a literary crossroads where apologetic literature and historiography intersect.

One of the risks of apologetic literature is the *use and abuse of History*—a phrase coined by Moses I. Finley –, since it constitutes an instance of legitimation of identity discourses (Finley, 1975, pp. 3–27). Recently, Paula Morão has once again emphasised the "Gordian knot of all memorialistic writings: remembering ensures the endurance of the known world laid down in the text; but, at the same time, it becomes clear that the past, whether happy or not, will not return, and that memory will never be able to redeem losses and damages preserved in the immaterial limbo of the deeper consciousness" (Morão, 2012, p. 103). In the world of these narratives of war, textual places where war is uttered, it's easy to find discourses that convey memories drawn from experience, attaching meaningful value to them within the complex process of collective or individual identity construction (Le Goff, 1984, pp. 46–47), and to transfer on to the present a clear ethical and political intention (Vincent, 1991, pp. 201–213). However, the judicious words of Lieutenant João Pina de Morais on the "silenced war" shouldn't be disregarded: "Those who fight the war only seldom speak about it. At best, they will just tell a story or two" (Morais, 1919, p. 111).

In the life and action of the war combatant, if one refers to the analytical typology formulated by Krzysztof Pomian, quantitative time ("imposed by watches and machines") supersedes qualitative time ("internalized by the body") (Pomian, 1993, pp. 67–68). By oscillating across temporalities with an intervening purpose, the human being fosters an act of communication that demands close interaction. The war experienced (and lived individually), when remembered (and publicly communicated) allows the generalization of attitudes and values that, by helping to "shape a system of interpersonal incitements that has diversified according to the

situations and circumstances" (Febvre, 1977, Vol. 1, p. 166), can create an area of public opinion. The narrator-former combatant who seeks to follow this strategy reinvents the actual time-experience (present), while building the utopia of a time-prospect (future), and he may even evoke a time-memory (past) of the national experience interpreted as an exemplary reference.

Jaime Cortesão uses that strategy throughout his *Memórias da Grande Guerra* [*Memories of the Great War*] where, according to José Esteves Pereira, the "spiritual and material factors are expressed in a dimension of tensions and complementarities (…). Within a recurrent dramatic visualization, man emerges in an expression of his class and activity, causing Cortesão to give priority to the unifying aspects that accompany his voluntary action" (Pereira, 2004, pp. 383, 387). In this work, Cortesão diagnoses Portugal as a "Nation living in a state of numbness" since the end of the 16th century, although, when in harmony with the "genius of the People", it has revealed occasional vitality "in isolated flashes of lightning". Giving examples, he recalls those who stood out during the Napoleonic invasions (1807–1811), the British "*ultimatum*" (1890), the republican revolution and the setting up of the new republican regime (1910–1911), or during the First World War (1914–1918). By using the energies of this last "flash of lightning", Cortesão argues for a new "quake" in Portuguese life conducive to a "progressive and fecund" Republic, granting it access to "the key trends of modern work" (Cortesão, 1919, pp. 13–24, 239–242). Hence, in Portuguese culture and politics, drawing on Benedict Anderson's reflections, the elements of an "imagined community", in which the new patriotic time was intertwined with the old heroic times, were being woven (Anderson, 2005, pp. 249–272).

From inside the republican field to which Cortesão belonged—he even got to be elected a deputy for the Portuguese Republican Party in the Oporto constituency in the elections which took place on 13th June 1915—he announced in such terms the necessary transition from the current Republic, essentially oligarchic in nature, to a future democratic Republic. Such pronounced change didn't occur, given that the ideological, political, military and social atmosphere was as favourable to a "civil war" as it had been before. In Eduardo Lourenço's words, "we lived agonistically between 1910 and 1926" and "our 1st Republic was popular in its purpose, impotent in its democratic embodiment, authoritative and impregnated with a messianic impulse opposed to the 19th century dreams it had sprung from". (Lourenço, 2011, p. 16).

4 Patriotism and Redemption: "War Teaches"

In war memoirs, one is usually offered an apologetic version of the action of the combatant soldier (mostly a peasant in uniform, the celebrated « magala »), but militia officers who take risks on the battle-front are worthy of praise. Civically *pantheonized* in the tombs of the Unknown Soldier (in the Portuguese case, two Unknown Soldiers have been situated in the Monastery in Batalha, since 1921,

honouring the combatants in Europe and Africa, with the Eternal Flame of the Homeland lit up since 1924), or in the several memorials of the casualties of the Great War (Correia, 2015, pp. 355–379, 413–481), his civic cult, against the "banalization of death" and the "refusal of the personality cult" (Vincent, 1991, p. 208), has stimulated discourses of ethical and political legitimation in association with physical courage and moral integrity—"die for the homeland" (and for the Republic).

Cortesão's interventionist narrative is exemplary, and a redemptionist reading of the soldier's action (the people) underlies it, expecting that it would converge politically with the action of an enlightened vanguard (elite):

> In war as a whole, in our war, the soldier alone can be redeemed. Provided he wasn't deceived, he has always been a patient and heroic sufferer (…). In the case of officers, as a rule, the higher the rank, the worse (…) Because war teaches (…), the old virtues of the simple folk which were sleeping in him, are now awake (…) and stand once again as the only great strength of the nation (…). Again, as always, the small minority of the elected and the enlightened (…) has only met with the common people to perform the miracles that redeem. (Cortesão, 1919, pp. 232–238)

Cortesão sought to present war as a school of values (honour, bravery, solidarity) and a character-changing experience, which in the case of the "magala" helped to transform him from a "humble cheerful soldier", a "sleepwalker", a "playful and sly" man into a "new man", a "legion of giants", a group in which soldiers Esgalhado, Baldaia or Rancheiro de Segunda were included, having learnt to "despise death and suffering" and understand the value of life, and thereby laying the moral foundations for the urgent regeneration of the body of the nation. Throughout his discourse of memory against oblivion, Cortesão was concerned with the revelation of man when confronting death and has uncovered what he would call in 1926 "the masks of conventions and lies", behind which man conceals his true face at times. In the First World War's military theatre of operations, "souls have been stripped naked and have kept—many for evermore!—the habit of revealing themselves in their splendid nudity" (Cortesão, 1926, p. 24). The same idea will be formulated by Captain Augusto Casimiro: "Living Portugal, Portugal in Flanders, the soldiers of Africa and France weep for having long been abandoned by the shadows of Portugal (…). The plights of Flanders will turn out to be the redemption of our misery" (Casimiro, 1918, p. 120).

Even though the positive evocation of soldiers' heroism is recurrent in interventionist narratives, some authors nonetheless opt for a negative anthropological reading of their ingrained habits. In this regard, the description provided by Carlos Selvagem is quite instructive: "Our boor from Beiras and Alentejo—which represents the bulk of these troops—is, by nature, ancestral habits and self-neglect, a sloppy slob. The whole ship stinks of rancid fat, a mixture of clotted "rancho" and dirty feet. And, because of the shortage of fresh water for frequent washing, the miserable uniforms made of thick grey cotton turn a grizzly colour which can make the less susceptible feel nauseated" (Selvagem, 1919, pp. 24–25).

5 *Saudade* and Duty: THE "Silent Hiccups Take Flight"

Marked by intense physical and psychological strain, the moment when soldiers boarded the ship in the Alcântara-Mar dock in Lisbon represented to some of the authors of war memoirs an exceptional setting to observe and interpret behaviour respecting realities that were soon to become materially absent. Cortesão depicted the following farewell scene when the contingent of troops left for war, of which his friend and brother-in-law Captain Augusto Casimiro was a part:

> "There are tears, hugs, eyes bound up in ecstasy, and an insane joy on the face of those who depart (…). There isn't a single sad face. Rather, they all show a generous and barbarian joy that arises from the deep awareness of their mission, radiates from their faces and magnifies their rustic figures of ploughmen and shepherds." (Cortesão, 1919, pp. 37–38)

The only soldier that Cortesão would eventually encounter crying amongst the immense and compact mob of combatants about to go aboard, even if contrasting with the collective joyfulness (whose excesses the author attributed to wine), can't be seen as a peculiarity, since that feeling (affection, *saudade*, survival) is certainly one of the dimensions of the human being. This descriptive strategy is designed to promulgate interventionist republican civilism, an indispensable position to defend what he considered as the "holy land of the Motherland". In his *Cartilha do Povo* [*The People's Primer*], Cortesão made it explicit when, using the character *Manuel, Soldado* as a mouthpiece, he proclaimed: "I'd die one hundred times at war before leaving my family and my homeland demeaned and disgraced!" (Cortesão, 1916, p. 28). It is undeniable that many patriotic speeches of civic religiosity, promoted by the Societies of Preparatory Military Instruction, the Societies of Religious Assistance during the Campaign (both Catholic and Protestant), the War Godmothers, the Portuguese Women's Crusade, or the North Patriotic League, raised consciences in relation to the duty to intervene, but it is also true that anti-interventionist consciences hadn't ceased to exist in Portuguese society, which was still greatly polarized regarding participation in the European war.

It's obvious that the grief that accompanied the departure of future combatants was not absent from these triumphalist readings. Since they were often hyperbolised, with recourse to literary and political rhetoric, they should be relativized in the process of historical construction of the past. Lieutenant João Pina de Morais mentioned hiccups and sorrowful cries when the future soldiers left the Portuguese highlands (Morais, 1919, p. 11). Carlos Selvagem referred to the day of departure as one of tears and commotion (Selvagem, 1919, p. 11), Lieutenant-Colonel (Dr.) Eduardo Pimenta described a turbulent departure: "Driven by the romantic madness of a vision of glory, they would depart for the distant country where the clamours of war were cries of raging fury, violent storms of crime" (Pimenta, 1919, p. 97). Captain Augusto Casimiro has kept a vibrant record of his departure, modelling his description on a laic-messianic mentality intertwined with Portuguese historical destiny: "Ships set sail (…) Jerónimos, Torre de Belém, the spectre of the rising dawn (…) And the land stays behind, the silent hiccups take flight (…) the heart dilates (…) Oh!—what sweet lulling! Which ship takes us? (…) It's the sea! (…)

It's the sea once again! The sea (…)" (Casimiro, 1918, pp. 30–31). The systematic campaign of the interventionist republicans, expressed in the patriotic urgency of the slogans "Send them away!" or "Homeland! Homeland! Homeland!" (Casimiro, 1918, pp. 23, 29) was thus carried forward.

Influenced by the philosophical and literary programme of Saudosismo, disseminated by the republican faction of the "Renascença Portuguesa" [Portuguese Renaissance], which partly identified with Teixeira de Pascoaes's views on national identity, Lieutenant João Pina de Morais suggests, in the course of his narrative, several justifications for the nostalgic mood of soldiers never entirely irreconcilable with strong creative stamina: "Why should so much *Saudade* cause any astonishment? He was a Lusiad! (…) The Lusiad *saudade* is the golden fleece of spaces seeking for the ashes of a lost good which everyone's sin has dispersed all over the Milky Way, I wonder where. His *saudade* arises from the hearts, rises from the rocks, cuts oceans, fights battles, flies the skies and sleeps in History" (Morais, 1921, pp. 15–16). The same vitalist perspective can be recognized in Captain's Casimiro's testimony: "The bouts of heroism, the bloody wounds, everything exalts and multiplies souls by ten, and gilds combatants with Punic enthusiasm" (Casimiro, 1920, p. 47).

These representations of civic and political patriotism, often interwoven with ethnic and cultural patriotism, emphasised a course of action based on the quest for glory, before the triumphal homecoming when the seed of a new heroic awakening was to be found – a new "Portuguese renaissance" anticipating the republican reinvention of the Nation. In 1916, Cortesão would stridently announce through *João Portugal*: "Raise your head high. The time has come (…). Go wherever the Homeland calls you" (Cortesão, 1916, p. 5). However, as Carlos Selvagem duly points out, many soldiers couldn't know and couldn't feel what such a homeland was all about, unless it simply referenced the place where they were born, worked and lived: "The word Portugal surely still moves them. The idea of homeland, however, doesn't upset their digestion or disturb the regular functioning of the circulatory system" (Selvagem, 1919, p. 28).

6 Life and Death: "There Comes a Mole!"

In his *Memórias da Grande Guerra* [*Memories of the Great War*], Cortesão interpreted the surrounding space of the war he experienced—French Flanders—through a meticulous observation of the relation between the land and the people, supplying copious information about soils, climate, plantations, rural housing (the *ferme*), the character of towns and of human beings' psychology. He lastly focused on the warfront to hierarchize the danger along a strip of land—forming a large isosceles triangle—in which the daily life of the Portuguese Expeditionary Corps took shape (Marques, 2008).

The whole European western front had been organized according to an intricate trench network. After the war of movement (1914), in the face of military deadlock

between both blocks, a tactical system of war of position was designed (1915–1916), which the entry of the United States of America (sided with the *Entente Cordiale*) helped to globalise (Ferro, 1969; Gerwarth & Manela, 2014; Gilbert, 1994). In the trenches of Neuve-Chapelle—"the deep grave where one learns the craft of death" –, the real image of the Portuguese combatant can be found: "Pale, thin, exhausted, their lungs ruined by gas, their feet shredded by marching, without any hope or moral support". (Cortesão, 1919, p. 165). Further on, Cortesão pointed out other features of the man of the trenches: "I can see them, (…) their torso wrapped in a lambskin coat, their legs covered in chaps, hirsute and fleecy, just like the barbarian Lusitanians of the past. They descend their Calvary, tramping heavily with their rough boots buried in snow or mud, in the harsh footpaths of the trenches. They bend under the weight of guns, knapsack, coat, helmet, mask, and even further, of misery, disease and fatigue (Cortesão, 1919, p. 237).

This contact with the environment surrounding the trenches has allowed Cortesão a dramatically sympathetic understanding of the relationship between life and death in the theatre of war operations, as is made patent by this description: "The living have to live in promiscuity with the dead and, even worse, with the mutilation of corpses. Over there, near a trench, halfway through one of these walls of an explosion pit, two suspended bones from a rotting shredded leg emerge, a boot still on. (…) All the ground exhales carnage, madness, and mists of death. There are spots where one could say that the land is still soaked with black blood. (Cortesão, 1919, pp. 87–88). A strong symbol of identity, the image of the Crucified Christ—the *Christ of the Trenches*—was positioned at a crossroads in the Portuguese sector in Flanders, between Lacouture and Neuve-Chapelle. Currently, it can be found in the Chapter House of the Monastery in Batalha, alongside the two Portuguese Unknown Soldiers of the First World War.

The "misery of the trenches" (Casimiro, 1918, p. 120), where one "lives out of time and out of the world" (Casimiro, 1918, p. 194) in a "brotherhood of blood and souls" (Casimiro, 1918, p. 69), in Captain Casimiro's words, has been given pivotal importance in all war memoirs. Daily life was marked by frequent rain, bringing about inevitable flooding and mud—the "mud-man, mixing his blood and spirit with the earth" (Vila-Moura, 1923, p. 34)—and making slopes crumble, or by thick mist and icy snow which made the military response of those in charge of surveillance a difficult duty. Lieutenant João Pina de Morais, comparing the soldiers in the trenches to "moles", draws a vivid picture of the setting:

> "You are right, my dear comrade in arms, when you say whenever a soldier appears: There comes a mole! We have entered the trenches. Maybe we had better say—we have infiltrated, vanished, because in reality one disappears. The parapet, made of burned clay, torn bags and ground wood is the pedestal for endless living statues, all of which are incomprehensibly heroic. All the heroes could be lined up from the sea to the border with the Alps!" (Morais, 1919, pp. 33, 38)

Life in the labyrinthine trenches was not easy and inside them soldiers had to walk on wooden duckboards, if they existed. If they didn't, in winter, the soldiers'

feet and legs would be buried in mud, and physical survival was threatened when aid couldn't be provided or the enemy carried out another military onslaught. In Captain Casimiro's words, "calvaries" were then erected and they started to populate the "fields of death" where "crucified, bloodless, the Lusiad souls agonize" (Casimiro, 1920, pp. 67, 87–94).

According to the account of General Manuel Gomes da Costa, work in the trenches usually started at around 9 p.m., with different groups carrying out repair tasks, improving combat devices, or taking care of sanitation or maintenance and restocking supplies. A tacit but vigilant truce was then respected by all belligerents, since a machine gun "would easily disperse those hardworking ants". At half past one in the morning, all tasks were suspended and soldiers were allowed to doze. By dawn, everyone should be "On guard!", for this was the most likely period for attacks, reaching its peak at 9 p.m. with the habitual bombardments. Later on, digging to improve and expand the trenches was mandatory. At midday, dinner was served and, between 2 and 5 p.m., it was time for a startled rest again, always fearing yet another "*shrapnel* blow" with wounded men and casualties. Air raids usually occurred from 6 p.m. to dusk (Costa, 1920, pp. 84–112).

General Gomes da Costa has described in his work some of the crucial time slots of a "war schedule", but, as Lieutenant-Colonel (Dr.) Eduardo Pimenta remarks, war always feeds on surprise and "Death rules mysterious and ruthless" (Pimenta, 1919, p. 79). It is a "damned war" in the words of Lieutenant-Colonel Alexandre Malheiro, who was taken prisoner by the Germans in the Battle of La Lys (9th April 1918) and released after the signature of the Armistice (11th November 1918): "Oh, damned war! If, 300 hundred years ago, Father António Vieira qualified you as a monster, what name could we possibly have nowadays in our vocabulary that could cover all brutalities and infamies that mankind has been practising in your shadow? (Malheiro, 1919, p. 85). When compared with Flanders, in Mozambique, according to Carlos Selvagem, "the burning heat of the implacable African sun" combined with the "muddy ground" of the "absurd trenches" of Palma, the least prepared men, and scarcer supplies, to create uneven circumstances for Portuguese soldiers who nonetheless met the same tragic fate: "Both children of the same highlands, an opposite destiny dispersed them, one headed north, with its mists and snows, and the other headed south, with its sands and blazing heat. And the blood they both shed with such sceptical fatalism is equally generous and simple" (Selvagem, 1919, pp. 142, 328, 368).

7 Training and Leadership: "The Poor Troops"

In these selected texts, we find reference to the lack of training and military preparation of soldiers, the weak leadership skills of the higher military ranks, the neglect of troops and the deficient turnover of military contingents. In most cases, companies were commanded by ensigns and platoons by second sergeants. In contrast, Captain Casimiro praises the leadership of the intermediate military

commanders (lieutenants and captains) and the behaviour of militia officers coming from the universities, "with the soul of constables" (Casimiro, 1918, pp. 93–98).

Some critical observations pertaining to sectors of the political and military class or to certain aspects of the strategy of war are fairly revealing: "all of our governing *elites* are more or less incapable of great redeeming acts, whereas the People, though ignorant and misguided, are still and always the greatest hope" (Cortesão, 1919, p. 222); "Nothing has been organised correctly and with method, as planned for the troops in France (…), the poor troops in Africa" (Selvagem, 1919, pp. 20, 373); "From Portugal not even a reinforcement", clearly alluding to the war politics of Sidónio Pais's "New Republic" in 1918 (Casimiro, 1920, p. 78); "They have removed the duckboards, replacing them by logs or earth sacks, thereby granting less protection for those who stood there or were passing through. The situation of our troops before 9th April was dreadful!" (Malheiro, 1919, pp. 327–328).

8 Conclusion

The unyielding support for Portuguese interventionism on the European front in the First World War, conspicuous in the vitalist republican narratives of Jaime Cortesão, Augusto Casimiro and João Pina de Morais, all of them bound together by incontestable unity of thought, conveyed a prophetic promethean vision, hinging on a deeply pariotic double justification: the political justification of being natural allies of the Anglo-French liberal-democratic block against German-Austrian caesarist expansionism and the ethical justification of a republican proposal for moral invigoration and national regeneration which would be fundamentally embodied by the soldier (the people).

Even though the nature of these experiential testimonies is shaped by interventionist republicanism, we come across several critical remarks about political and military leaderships or about government war politics and military tactical procedures. Portuguese participation in the First World War turned out to be an important factor in the reinforcement of the political and symbolic legitimacy of the 1st Portuguese Republic, consecrating by blood the national Portuguese flag which, as the decree that officialised it put it, was "the objective representation of the Motherland". The flag is annually worshipped on 1st December, the public holiday that celebrates the autonomy of the Portuguese homeland and the day of the national flag.

However, in 1924, former Ensign Doctor Alfredo Barata da Rocha, an avowed interventionist, still regretted: "For reasons I will not delve into here, the tragedy of the Great War has yet to be understood and felt in Portugal" (Rocha, 1924, p. 43). Fernand Braudel has rightfully noted that "there has never been a more catastrophic event for the world and for ablaze and miserable Europe" than the period extending over the "years that followed the First World War: a safety valve had been suppressed" (Braudel, 1989, p. 452). Considering indicators produced by economic historians, Rui Ramos has argued that "the post-war period was simultaneously

prosperous and apocalyptic", with an estimated GDP annual growth rate of 3.83% for the 1920s, the highest in the period between 1890 and 1950. In contrast, in the same decade, the State would be affected by the collapse of financial balance, with an estimated public finance deficit of about 6.3% of the GDP, the highest witnessed in Portugal between 1854 and 1974 (Ramos et al., 2009, pp. 612–613).

The First World War, which had some features of a "European civil war", has constituted a key moment in world history, with profound political, military, economic, social, cultural and mental consequences, particularly for Europe. It would open up a long cycle of "permanent war" and demonstrated, through the resilience of the war combatants, three fundamental ethical and political characteristics: some mental "normality" in the relationship with death deriving from "Modern Times"; the inculcation of a hierarchy of civic values grounded in physical courage, moral integrity and human solidarity; the affirmation of an ethics of patriotism that promulgated a "civic religion of the Homeland" (Vincent, 1991, p. 208), disseminated in Portugal's case by the lay republican school since 1911.

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An Original Example of Exploring the Inner Self Through the Archives of a Diary: André Fontaine, *Jean Corentin Carré, The Youngest Hero of the Great War (1900–1915–1918)*

Laurence Olivier-Messonnier

Abstract The archival exploration of the personal connected with the 1914–1918 war has brought to light testimony around the margins of the novels of Dorgelès and Barbusse or of the *Calligrammes* of Apollinaire. In effect, the literature of French youth offers examples of witnessing which are particularly interesting for research "between the center and the margins" of the Great War: thus, these micronarratives are illustrated by the Journal of Jean-Corentin Carré, the youngest war hero, published under the aegis of André Fontaine, an inspector of French schools. The account of Jean Corentin Carré occupies a critical place at the heart of a literature of juvenile witness thanks to aspects combining the child in wartime with the adult in *post-bellum* peace-time. This 1919 work, intended for French primary school and secondary pupils, show the progress of Jean Corentin, illicitly conscripted as an infantryman at fifteen years of age, and dead at eighteen as an aviator. He has known his "hour of moral agony", his geographical exile from home, his goodbye to childhood and his alienation from himself. There is no other authentic 1914–1918 war testimony by a child soldier. Thus, Jean Corentin, better known under the name the "petit Poilu du Faouët", turned himself into a diarist for 22 months. Thirty pages were enough for André Fontaine to recount his short life and death in heroic style. The task here is to identify the parameters which transformed this "corentine adolescence" into a memorable epic saga.

Keywords War diary · Children · School · Propaganda · Heroism
School-book

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1 Introduction

The consubstantiality of history with literature has bred many a literary and iconographical production claiming a memorial objective when it comes to "writing about war" (Milkovitch-Rioux & Pickering, 2000). There have existed expression, style, and gender problematics from the account of the 1870 Franco-Prussian conflict to today's wars. Moreover, when the readership concerned is young, easy readability becomes necessary. How can the difficulty of "expressing what is new through old talk", to quote Alain, be solved? The testimonial purpose displayed by the works intended for French youth between 1914 and 1919 is coupled with a memorial objective. The notion of testimony comes as a nodal point in the books for children published during the First World War. The combatant's tragic experience narrated by Dorgelès or Barbusse is transcended by Blaise Cendrars, who exceeds the episodic evocation preferring aesthetisation. The difficult communications between the front and the rear lines are made even worse by "the duty of truth". How can the unspeakable be revealed to the children who are the Poilus' sweet hope, their reason for fighting?

The archivistic exploration of the self, linked to the 1914–1918 war, brings to light testimonies outside Dorgelès and Barbusse's novels, and- Apollinaire's *Calligrams.* Indeed, French youth literature gives testimonial particularly interesting examples as regards the research "between centre and margin" concerning the Great War: whereas G. Bruno's *Tour of Europe during the War* offers a romantic vision of a heartbroken but vindictive France through the descendants of the heroes of *The tour of France by two children*, the apologue mixed with the memoirs forms an efficient and complementary binomial when illustrated by the respective works of Charles-Maurice Chenu (1918) and Pierre Chaine (1917), *Totoche, a prisoner of war*? *The diary of a dog aboard a tank* and *The memoirs of a rat*. But the micro narrative intended for children is rarer; it is illustrated by *Jean Corentin Carré's Diary* published under the care of André Fontaine (1919). *Jean Corentin Carré the youngest hero of the Great War (1900–1915–1918)* partakes of the testimonial venture undertaken by the French Ministry of Public Education, and offers an example of an original youth testimony. The epideictic presentation of the academic novel may well have an emotional impact, however, the soundest generic link of the testimonial chain remains the war diary, just like that of Jean Corentin Carré, published by School Inspector André Fontaine.

What accounts for its being on the margins of the epistolary diaristic tradition of the Great War? This booklet is remarkable in three respects: first, it examines the modes of expression of a child hero of The Great War whose work—no doubt less bulky than *the War Books of Louis Barthas, a cooper, 1914–1918* (Barthas, 2003) - starts on October 22nd 1915 and finishes on July 13th 1917. The proposed testimony is astonishing in that it rarely allows one to have an inkling of the personal

concerns and state of mind of its author. The style itself must divulge the secret of this young soul. Then, the diary is fraught with literary, historical and psychological revelations, notwithstanding its author's youth. Finally, the young Poilu's testimony becomes an ideological support useful to Inspector André Fontaine, who wishes to underline his model's exemplary behaviour in the eyes of French pupils.

2 From the Gesture of Transgression to the Heroic *Geste*

André Fontaine offers an authentic testimony of youth for youth: *Jean Corentin Carré the youngest hero of the Great War (1900–1915–1918).* This work deserves to be quoted, considering the authenticity of the testimony revealed, its literary and iconographic qualities and the axiology conveyed: the testimony such as Jean Norton Cru conceives it can also work towards formatting juvenile spirits before becoming a support of the memory. That of Jean Corentin Carré belongs to the category of books acknowledged by the American historian:

> The books published by the witnesses of the War provide a wide variety. They only have one common feature which makes them stand out from the literary production: they are supposed to be written from memories and impressions of the Front, preserved in people's memories, or, most often, jotted down. (Norton Cru, 1930, p. 73)

The role of writing in pro-war propaganda is well known. The American Whitney Warren notes: "Just how influential words, both spoken and written, were in that war in which everything was expected from science and muscle, will never be acknowledged to its proper extent" (Norton Cru, 1930, p. 73). Thus, Jean Corentin Carré, better known as "The little Poilu of Faouet" became a diarist for twenty-two months, showing he was undeniably gifted at writing, and above all exceptionally precocious for a fifteen-year-old. His diary was largely unknown to literary authorities. Quite differently from the "war missionaries" such as Pierre Loti, Léon Daudet and Charles Maurras whose part consisted in discrediting Germany and giving a biased interpretation of history, he explains his motivations with simplicity and magnanimity, and relates his life as a soldier on the front. The war book he kept for his parents is full of the realistic details a fresh and already keen insight, accentuated by a patriotic fervor and composure, that leave one speechless. But, above all, one's perplexity increases as one reads on in André Fontaine's book. The latter inserted the young man's diary in the biography he undertook to write. Indeed, he transforms his work into a regular hagiography of the "Petit Poilu".

Jean Corentin Carré, the youngest hero of the 1900–1915–1918 war was issued in 1919 and was published by the Cerf Press in Versailles. Its author André

Fontaine,[1] a professor in Alger High School, later became an Academy Inspector. A spokesman of the official view, he is the link between power and the readership, the go-between for the educational institution and its representatives, masters and pupils. Thirty pages are sufficient for André Fontaine to let us know about Jean Corentin Carré's short life, and to turn it into a heroic *geste* that transforms an existence into a memorable epic: the author wishes to achieve its apotheosis through "pantheonization". Their two voices are superimposed and André Fontaine's often covers that of Jean Corentin Carré. The tribute paid is coupled with praise of the Third Republic School. Reading the young soldier's book enables us to measure how far the outlook of a Poilu in the heat of action is from the point of view of an eminent civil servant at the rear, responsible for perpetuating in the young the patriotic response and recognition due to great men.

Jean Corentin Carré sublimates the notion of duty by embodying a patriotic youth totally devoted to the national cause. His modesty and his hagiographer's bias are assessed in the light of a neutral biography and footnotes at the bottom of the page of the issue. That's why it is essential to remember who Jean Corentin Carré is and to study the unspoken and the information additional to his diary.

Born in 1900, and illegally enlisted in 1915, he quickly climbed the ladder of military hierarchy: commissioned a warrant officer class II, he became a flight pilot, and died in an air fight in March 1918. His dazzling career and his young age at the front turned him into a hero in the eyes of the French people. However, while researching to find out who had shot his plane down, it turns out that no German pilot appears to have claimed this victory. According to the book, *The French Air Service War Chronology* (Bailay & Cony, 2002), he is thought to have been shot down by the Anti-Aircraft Defense. We should remain skeptical of this discovery, however, since we are faced with the problem of the idealization of the hero and so wonder how probable the facts are: is he likely to have been able to get back to the departure sector at least 20 km to the south, after being wounded by the enemy AAD? Has the death of this fighter, already famous in 1918, been deliberately embellished? Such questions remain unresolved. Whatever the answer, "the petit Poilu du Faouet" has become a legend of the Great War, and belongs to the myth of the hero child, an example to contemplate. André Fontaine, le Capitaine Bornecque and Devalforie, Charles le Goffic[2] have all celebrated him in their biography or their newspaper articles: the painter Ch R devoted two of his pictures to him. But Jean Corentin Carré's biography would be incomplete if we didn't look into its main literary source, his diary kept day-to-day during the twenty-two months he spent at the front.

[1]André Fontaine was born in Saint Hilaire du Harcouët in the Manche department in 1869. Doctor of philosophy, he was a high school teacher in Alger and became Academic Inspector in Montauban and finally librarian at the Philosophy Department of the University of Paris.

[2]Gilles, E. (1919), *The Petit Poilu of Faouët*. Emile Gilles published in the *Diary of Pontivy* from April 7th 1918 to June 9th extracts of the « Petit Poilu of Faouët ». Capitaine Le Bornecque and Devalforie (1920), *Planes in the battle*. Paris: Librairie Hachette. Charles Le Goffic published articles about the young hero in the *Liberty* on October 1918.

3 The Revelations of Jean Corentin Carré's Workbook

We're not dealing with a teenager's diary here but a war book evincing an outstanding maturity and an exceptionally sharp sense of observation. JCC isn't quite so ambitious as an autobiographer. He makes up his mind to write a testimony of his time in the trenches but also the conditions of living of the Poilus. But on no account is it a lampoon or a denunciation. His book is not intended to be published. The young man leaves his book to his parents as the cover epigraph testifies: "In case something should happen, I wish those notes I'd taken down while in the army to be passed on to my parents, who will keep this book in memory of their kid fallen in the line of duty." These highlighted words sound like an epitaph. From October 1915 to July 13th, 1917, the proposed testimony hardly ever allows us to have an inkling of personal concerns; the words alone must reveal the secrets of this young soul.

Like a good many of his brothers in suffering, he uses the war military slang words to which he soon adjusted. "Bowels", "trenches", cramped "shacks", "front line call", war profiteering "sharks" hardly hold any secrets for him, but he never falls into vulgarity. The "Boche" is legion. The metonymies of the 75, to refer to the French canon, of the 410th, 112th, 293rd, 64th, which number the regiments, come thick and fast according to the attacks and reliefs, describing the universal condition of the anonymous soldier at the front. The remarks related in the direct style echo the conventional speeches of the detected Germans *"Kamerad, nicht kapout!"* Following the writers involved in the Great War, Jean Corentin means to recreate a realistic image of the front, the assaults, notably thanks to a precise toponymy. However clearly the universality of the places is asserted through the war *no man's land*, the front is clearly described. Unlike Dorgelès, he describes the places he moves through looking more as Barbusse does in his" squad diary", the subtitle of *Fire*.

We follow in his steps from his landing in Sainte Menehould on October 22nd 1915 to Mesnils-lès-Hurlus on December 5th 1915. They laboriously advance through the woods of Les Moulinais, the Charmeresse, whose names ring like strange magic anachronisms in those times of war. On the other hand, Antes, Somme-Tourbe, Saint-Jean-sur-Tourbe are already fraught with the hell of mud and cesspool. From May 1916 on, the town of Verdun takes over: from Fagnères to Verdun, Jean Corentin laconically notes the genuine way of the cross the Poilus were to go through to their slaughter. The "Côte 321", the "Valley of the Shadow of Death", "Douaumont" sound like as many terrifying names, and expiatory altars dedicated to the Mother Country.

A last assessment accompanies the route from Verdun to Vèle, near Bar-le-Duc, through Blercourt in June 1916. The telegraphic style of the nominal adverbial sentences is in keeping with the moment's rush. The year 1917 gives way to the citations and promotions granted Jean Corentin Carré, which become the only sources of information about the areas of battle, like that of Cavalier de Courcy on June 16th 1917. The spatio-temporal precisions give way to a longer narrative of the events, as if the writer became more mature as the combatant toughened.

Despite his young age, Jean Corentin knew how to adapt his prose to circumstances. The pithy style accompanies the departure announcements for the front lines, the mission orders, the quickly experienced sensations. Everything is expressed in the cool tone of a cold observation, in the seriousness that becomes such events: "November 16th- it's snowing, it's terribly cold. During the whole night, I have to exercise not to freeze. Fortunately, the Boches are 500 m away and they leave us alone" (Fontaine, 1919, p. 12).

The advance from Mesnils les Hurlus to Drouilly is related in one sentence that labours on in a last juxtaposition before the deserved rest in quarters:

> December 5th.—What a takeover! We're slowly heading for Le Mesnil in muddy waters; we swim in the trenches; I am stomach-deep in water, icy water that freezes me (…) A few friends have no strength left to walk on: we push them on with the butts of our guns. (…) After six hours' walk and a halt at Saint Jean sur Tourbe, during which I can buy a few biscuits from the profiteers, we reach Somme Tourbe. We get on tractors, drive past Châlon sur Marne, and reach a small village called Drouilly, on the road to Vitry le François; it's our rest stationing. (Fontaine, 1919, p. 12)

There is no room for sentimentality. For him, as for Barbusse, "water is hell". Mud sticks to the boots, soaks clothes through, and sinks them into a filthy cesspool. He accepts and suffers in the name of duty and the sacrosanct defense of liberty. In a few lines, he recounts the ignoble contact of the living with putrefying rat-eaten corpses. He forgets nothing of what is inhuman or immoral, such as the black market of the opportunistic profiteers he describes on November 4th 1915. Jean Corentin Carré could be the archetype of the hero used as a model for the stories of Larousse's "Pink Books of War", written for children. Without ever complaining, he accepts his lot to save the endangered homeland, boldly puts himself in danger, faces death, shows how irritating the lack of will of the man on fatigue duty is, the latter "claiming it was impossible for him to crawl along the trenches" (November 24th, 1915) (Fontaine, 1919, p. 16). Scorn towards the dodgers rises to the surface a little when the modalizer "to claim" is used.

Jean Corentin Carré never leaves out his bouts of doubt and sadness, for they don't undermine in the least his value as a soldier or his patriotic convictions. He confesses to the trying nature of his situation as early as November 5th 1915:" I find the start a little difficult" (Fontaine, 1919, p. 13), he writes. The terrible conditions of the relief on November 5th of the same year cause him to flinch but he quickly makes up for it by his strong wish to complete his mission, not to disown it. "I entertain sad thoughts" (Fontaine, 1919, p. 16), he announces, at a moment when he feels disheartened, after three hours' walk through mud and cold: "For a while, I wished I hadn't enlisted; as a matter of fact, it's the only time during my twenty-two months at the front; It was pride and not courage that supported me" (Fontaine, 1919, p. 17).

This remark is interesting in several respects: first it testifies to such dialectics as are displayed by the combatant fighting against himself, against his secret aspirations to the comforts left in the rear, in order better to overcome what he judges is his own weakness. Besides, he takes the risk of demystifying this notion held so dear by the propagandists at the rear, and the war books for children. The pangs of

dying aren't hidden, even though they contradict war ethics, according to which the Poilus would be fearless and blameless knights. It is important to learn how to spot the typographic blanks that occur before the assaults:

> May 29th.—Leaving Fagnères on tractors. Heading towards Verdun, i.e.: slaughter. Arrive at Bois la Ville at nightfall, it's pouring; set up tents and lie down in the mud.
>
> May 30th.—On our way to Verdun. Reach the town, or rather the ruins of the town. Spend the night in the citadel. (Fontaine, 1919, p. 18)

Jean Corentin Carré finds a way of defusing anxiety through humour, by putting it into words. He doesn't hesitate to use childish onomatopoeia—could it be a whiff of childhood lingering on?—to convey the sound of the gun, " bang, bang" brutally awakening him. He lectures himself and recounts his inner dialogue—"My dear boy, you will have to get used to that music!" (Fontaine, 1919, p. 14)—as if to firmly root in himself that pressing necessity for the second time. In such conditions a man feels it is critical to go on living, when he realizes he is alive after the battle. "I am stupefied and amazed at being alive", Jean Corentin Carré writes on June 1st 1916 in an almost pathological report after a violent assault. "Isn't joy the exultation that pervades him whose death has just been postponed? It is the *hora incerta* that makes such a marvelous victory possible" (Jankelevitch, 1977, p. 161). At that point, Jean Corentin Carré's book already counters quite well the official wish to brainwash the mind through its author's exemplarity. The innate simplicity and dazzling patriotism of the two letters inserted by his biographer confirm how resourceful the mature child was and work in favour of André Fontaine's hagiography.

4 Jean Corentin Carré's Hagiography by André Fontaine, Through Pictorial and Epistolary Testimony

As a biographer, André Fontaine testifies to his good faith by inserting the sources likely to guarantee his impartiality in his work. He mentions the other above-named biographers. Perhaps to give an impression of redundancy, he adds to his book the picture of the room where Jean Corentin was born. To certify that the young man's story isn't pure invention, he inserts a full-length photo of Jean Corentin Carré, dressed in his infantryman's uniform and one of his class in 1908 from the very cover page. The two representations underline two ideas held dear by André Fontaine: defending the school and militarizing children. The infantryman's photo is echoed in the postcard the book closes with, and crowns the epic in a glorious apotheosis: Jean Corentin can be seen in his plane opposite Jean Corentin Carré as an infantryman. The autograph written at the back of the postcard is also reproduced in order to emphasize the intellectual and emotional qualities of the young Poilu, who doesn't forget his brother. Jean Corentin's chiefs' testimonies and the mentions he was awarded serve as documentary support. Lastly, the hero's own epistolary and autobiographical writings seem to be the most reliable sources.

To lay the foundations of his work, André Fontaine uses the cement of Jean Corentin Carré's two letters, which perfectly serve his intentions as an Academic Inspector: to honour school and the army. Indeed, his biography is far from neutral and keeps emphasizing the young Poilu's indisputable qualities of self-sacrifice and bravery. The letter the latter sent his colonel deliberately placed at the beginning of the book confirms the infantryman's integrity and precocity. Thus, when he adopts the pseudonym of Auguste Duthoy, born on April 10th 1897 in Rumigny in the Ardennes, to enlist prematurely, the choice of this birthplace is not innocent but carefully thought out: Rumigny is located in the invaded sector, so it is impossible for the French military authorities to get in touch with its local council to ask them to confirm the young man's civil status. In his letter, Jean Corentin explains his stratagem and expresses his desire to serve France from an early age. The administrative character of this letter doesn't alter its spontaneity or the 16-year–old teenager's fluency. He owes to his primary school teacher his literary talents and civic-mindedness, as his second letter proves. It was written to his former school Principal, Mister Mahébèze.

Jean Corentin Carré pays tribute to his former master and the school of the Third Republic and the Homeland. Not only did school give him the basic knowledge indispensible to culture, but it also knew how to instill in him the morals of honour. So he uses his eloquence to construct a letter in ten paragraphs explaining how attached he is to his Breton roots, which are themselves anchored in the soil of France. He denies any kind of pride in his daring gesture of enlistment, arguing that he was filled with a sense of duty done. In a generous impulse worthy of a speaker's he expounds his creed: all the children of France must be ready to sacrifice their lives for their mother-country. The argument of the defense of liberty gives way to that of the propitiatory offering. Jean Corentin Carré is not hesitant about using the hyperbole inherent to patriotic speech. The enemy army is "formidable" and threatens to "devastate and annihilate" (Fontaine, 1919, p. 21) our beautiful land of France. His exclamations introduce a fictitious dialogue, bringing into conflict the detractors of those young volunteers with their defenders. A rhetorical question claims that France is worth dying for. Self-respect and a sense of honour must encourage a country to refuse to submit under the German yoke.

The thank you letter paying tribute to his school master is coupled with a moral lecture for the young pupils of Faouët as future soldiers and potential readers. Obviously, it is about school's mental training.

The children must understand the "lectures (…) just as" (Fontaine, 1919, p. 9) Jean Corentin Carré understood them. It's all about a form of conditioning which the school institution subscribes to and obeys. School seems to be the vehicle for patriotic transmission. It falls in line with a republican, Jacobin even, tradition, as this letter proves: it was the agent of pupil Jean Corentin Carré's transformation and maturation since it turned the child into an adult, developing in the highest degree his sense of abnegation and self-sacrifice. As an Academic Inspector, André Fontaine cannot but subscribe to this vision and highlight it. Finally, the letter draws to a close on a hyperbolic note by reminding us of a general truth, namely that the meaning of life lies in commitment. His letter is a genuine secular and patriotic

profession of faith. He commits himself to a vocation that school knew how to suggest to him. Indeed, childhood is this patriotic melting-pot, a fertile compost that the school institution means to bear fruit, so that moral energy and a desire for civic exemplarity might germinate. The young Poilu of Faouët has become its allegory.

His biography sets him up amongst mythic figures such as Joan of Arc, Bara or Viala (De La Hire, 1916),[3] frequent juvenile referents during this war. Owing to its publication in 1919, the book loses some of its bellicose strength, but its moral design remains intact thanks to an inductive process: Jean Corentin Carré is proof that all children are potential heroes. The pride of adults for having bred such pupils appears behind the glorification of the Third Republic School. Their improved images look like self-praise. André Fontaine's voice is superimposed over that of Jean Corentin Carré, rises above it, and encloses it. This is what is affirmed by the inaugural lyrical poem (whose author may or may not be André Fontaine, for it is anonymous) in praise of the young Breton, as well as the reference dates of the title, 1900–1915–1918, that echo each other and form a *mise en abyme* of the authorial plan: celebrating the hero-child, bringing back the sufferings he bore that turned him into a martyr - which he didn't long for in the least- recalling his youth and purity, thanks to the metaphor of the "beautiful lily of French Brittany", mentioning his patriotic motivations, introducing him into the Pantheon of the history of great men.

The biographer intervenes on eight occasions, at the timeliest moments, in order to comment on the texts about Jean Corentin Carré and his diary. Each time he expounds more fully, creating a dithyrambic *crescendo* which rises to its climax in the final appeal to "pantheonization". He constructs a myth. With the exception of his two explanations between the initial poem and the young infantryman's two letters, in which he recounts a short biography of the character, he systematically speaks out after an honourable mention accorded the hero, extolling the child's excellence, establishing his point of view by external sources (themselves quite favorable), emphasizing his strength of character which enabled him to overcome "the hours of intimate distress when one doubts one's own ideal" (Fontaine, 1919, p. 18), and to regain confidence. Faced with that child's exceptional maturity, he keeps claiming he has outgrown many an adult by his quality of reasoning and his initiatives in combat, the awareness he has of his commitment and repressed sensitiveness. Here he is, a tragic hero, marked by the stamp of misfortune, for his life seems doomed to be sacrificed on the altar of the Fatherland. Each reward granted the young soldier is an opportunity to recall his modesty; the same dull laconic formula serves as an announcement on January 25th 1916, and June 16th 1916:" I've been promoted corporal" (Fontaine, 1919, p. 18), "I have been promoted sergeant" (Fontaine, 1919, p. 18). He won't boast about it; he only derives personal satisfaction from the duty done.

The author's voice is sometimes substituted for his character's, summing up what corresponds for example to the temporal ellipsis of Winter 1915–1946, or Summer

[3]The story is about two young heroes of the French Revolution. They are juvenile referents of self-sacrifice for their mother country.

and Autumn 1916. He simplifies by reiterating such formula as “same dangers”, “same daily routine”, repeating the recurring theme of the monotony of the hazardous existence in the trenches. He respects the teenager’s discretion and silences and resorts to understatement to underline the tenacious and tough nature of one whose “life is no bed of roses”. Paradoxically the hero’s humility raises him to the highest of pinnacles and his discretion becomes the driving-force of his biographer’s growing enthusiasm. In an oratorical build-up, he reminds the reader of the three great causes that justify commitment, springing from the military argument—”deflating the enemy “- to come to the noblest cause of “Free France”, through good citizenship that calls one to “defend one’s country “. He completes the often cold laconicism of the diary by a solemn echo. There’s a relaying between the discourse of public instruction, the diary and the commendations. André Fontaine is the agent who correlates those texts to which he confers a sacred value. This interaction is supported by the frequent occurrences of the verb “offer”. Used in the active or pronominal voice, he endorses the sacrifice granted by its youngest to the mother county: school “offers” its pupils to France; Jean Corentin Carré “offers” to lead a patrol, the nation offers its defenders honorific rewards. This offertory proves a liturgy of commitment exists, from the *credo* to the *sanctus* of the soldier.

André Fontaine is aware of his overwhelming omnipresence and attempts to stand back through new literary means. The rewards are illustrated by external quotations between quotation marks in order to fake neutrality and yet to show the unanimous reaction to Jean Corentin Carré’s values, summed up in a recurrent adjective, “outstanding”, which combines daring and bravery. The text relating to military honours and that which accompanies the awarding of the War Cross are replicated in full. The preceding typographical space makes them stand out on the page. But André Fontaine can’t hold back a laudatory exegesis: “More than one old grognard could have been proud of” such remarks. The choice of the quotations borrowed from military circles enables him to compensate for the gaps caused by the aviator’s premature death. It isn’t long before a most flattering epideictic speech makes up for this ignorance. His chiefs’ statements and his last commendation in the army order put an end to the *geste* of the knight of the air.

However, reservations should be expressed about the desire to situate the hero sacred in the Pantheon, which is hardly in keeping with the simplicity of the deceased and his refusal of glorification.

5 Conclusion

So, for André Fontaine, the analysis of the mechanisms of disclosure, of the horizon of childish expectations and the iconic function, validates the innate patriotic conviction and the reliability of what a diarist may write. Accepting suffering and death as inevitable corollaries of war transcends André Fontaine the recorder’s propagandist purpose. The testimony delivered to future generations and to 21st century readers is superimposed on the contemporary one about what the Great War meant for 1919 readers.

The realistic style of Jean Corentin Carré's diary informs without any maudlin pathos. That of the biographer, full of praise and sectarian asides, underpins an extraordinary and superhuman dedication. The young Poilu isn't a fictional hero. His process is sheer Christic passion, absolutely devoid of presumptuousness. The precocious teenager has carefully thought his choice out, and hasn't become a hero by accident, unlike Emile Després, whose story and impulsive gesture are narrated by Charles Guyon (1915) in *The heroic children of 1914*. He fits in with the stereotype of the combatant combining infallible courage with the refusal to feel sorry for himself. André Fontaine tackles here an important theme of youth literature, developed at length in the "Pink Books of War" by Larousse: the voluntary service of the child who is dying to enlist, a desire which school has instilled in him for duty's sake.

Because he was able to exorcise the fears and anxiety of defeat, he personifies the intrepidity of patriotic youth. Symbolically, he is supposed to trigger admiration and set in motion a process of identification, bred by the internal point of view of the diary and confirmed by the laudatory commentary of his biographer. [Marching inspires Jean Corentin Carré, the elite of the nation, an example of the development of the brain which has lost its care-freeness and lightheartedness.] Beyond the moral and intellectual mobilization aroused, the literary originality of this booklet presented to juvenile and adult readers must be acknowledged. The genuine diary is enriched by documentary testimonies and gives vent to a sincerity characteristic of autobiography. Obviously, the biased commentaries added by André Fontaine increase the radiant patriotic image of the hero. Official military and academic voices invest the original booklet with a propagandist aura the young soldier hadn't thought about.

The editorial voice amplifies the echo of the narrative instance, as if the testimonial writing was an eternal palimpsest forever in need of being fixed by a future reader's eyes.

However, the generic seriation, brought about in accordance with the level of testimonial authenticity and reliability, offers an indisputable focal point: the patriotic vein lends the works intended for youngsters as well as adults, an undeniably biased tone, given the dedication or status of their authors, but it also incites to complete a memorial duty. Testimony inevitably implies memory, required to avoid forgetting those who died on active duty, a fate so dreaded and disparaged by Dorgelès (1919) "They will be forgotten (…) And all the dead will die for the second time."

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Speeches and Letters From Enlisting Children (France, 1914–1918)

Daniel Aranda

Abstract Between 1914 and 1918 in France, some children or young adolescents left their homes and went to fight German invaders as members of the French army. Propaganda narratives often show language productions provided by these youths seeking to join combat units, especially the letter to the parents of the runaway, and the words addressed to the French soldiers to enlist. Both are part of the process of the transition to adulthood in a context of war.

1 Introduction: Belligerent Youth and the Law in 1914

The first months of World War I sparked a certain enthusiasm (sustained by propaganda) among French youth which led children, or rather young adolescents (Pignot, 2012), to leave their homes and go to fight German invaders as members of the French army. In 1914, however, a youth had to be at least twenty years old to be recruited into the French army, or at least seventeen if he was willing and presented written authorisation from his parents or legal guardians (Bourachot, 2011). The last resort for children unable to gain their parent's consent or for candidates under seventeen was to simply run away and enlist in the army. Documents about such cases exist, and some of these have been analysed by the pedagogue Marie Hollebecque (1916).

Most French newspapers of the time highlighted the stories of children or adolescents, either runaways or found by troops in combat zones, who were willing to be recruited. These stories gave credence to the idea that everyone in France, even the youngest among them, was ready to mobilise against the German enemy and shed his blood for his country. For the same reasons, literary fiction also portrayed this phenomenon. Indeed, between 1914 and 1918, accounts of attempts by young people to join an army at war were present in real-life contexts and could be found both in the back pages of newspapers of the time, and in fictional contexts.

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The analysis presented here postulates that these two categories of narratives form an integrated whole.

These failed or successful attempts to join the army reveal a breach of regulations on two counts. First, the minor fled from the authority of his legal guardians. Second, he sought to enlist in an institution to which the law did not grant him access. Young candidates thus found themselves in disadvantaged positions. As a result, narratives often enabling these children to express themselves emerged, through which they sought to justify this dual offence.

The existence and significance of these discursive sequences are distinctive features of the corpus of child solder narratives disseminated in France between 1914 and 1918, and they drive this analysis. Indeed, the exploits of adult soldiers reported over the same period did not pose regulatory problems, and neither did the tradition of child soldier narratives, notably of the Revolution and the Empire, as legislation then was much more flexible (Tachon, 2005). As a result, narratives centred on action began to feature excerpts where requests, pleas and injunctions temporarily took precedence over adventure. Naturally, novelists and journalists took advantage of these excerpts to assert their own views based on those expressed by the enlisting youths. The arguments used by these youths justified an ideological undertaking. Using many subtleties, authors therefore sided with the youth by tolerating or praising their paradoxical project, which consisted in disobeying French law to serve France, a country in danger.

Among the many occasions that enabled enlisting youths to express themselves in relation to their goal, two of them—whether they are fictional or factual—are regularly cited in the narratives analysed. These are all the more interesting for the fact that they are interrelated. Analysis will therefore be limited to these two occasions.

The first is how the youth justified his decision to join the army to his family. Specifically, the child or adolescent wrote a letter to his guardians, especially to his mother if the father was already in the army or had died in battle. The corpus of letters has a limited number of actors—so far thirty have been counted—but its media coverage was particularly widespread as the same letter from runaways—described as authentic—often appeared repeatedly in different newspapers and magazines.

The second is how the subject expressed his desire to integrate himself into a combat unit of the French army. After following a regiment passing through his village, joining the front lines by himself or being discovered by a squad in a ransacked village, he would ask the soldiers—simple troopers or officers—to accept him within their ranks. Language production here was oral rather than epistolary and was part of a direct exchange of opinions and information. Unlike letters written to parents, this production was inevitable in this category of narratives, even though authors simply reported it without delivering the content, or completely overlooked oral production by presenting it as implicit.

This study will analyse the integrity and variety of language productions provided by youths seeking to join combat units in times of war, even while this was deemed illegal. First, the relational narrative that unites or distinguishes, within the

same type of narratives, the written and oral performances of young speakers will be analysed. Then the persuasive arsenal shared by these productions will be identified. Lastly, I will show that the specificity of the medium chosen and the differences in target audience means that written and oral productions both possess their own specific logic of persuasion.

2 The Relationship Between Written and Oral Productions

2.1 A Process of Initiation Narrated by He Who Triggered It

"In a letter he was to leave on his little bed, he explained to his mother why he was leaving and told her not to be bored while he was away, that he would soon return to kiss her" (Romorant, 1915, p. 2). Reported verbatim or indirectly as above, epistolary texts of enlisting youth were symmetrically identical to the words addressed to soldiers, such as those of Jean-Pierre: "If I stay with you, I'm sure I'll kill Prussians and that's all I want" (Valbert, 1915, p. 5). Explaining the reasons for his departure and then his arrival, the young speaker sought to justify the same process to different audiences.

There was a sense of separation in the letter addressed to parents. Although runaways readily admitted that their absence was temporary, letters were addressed to single or multiple recipients perceived as already belonging to the past. In contrast, the words addressed to soldiers sought integration into a group and looked to the future, albeit an uncertain one: while breaking away from one's group of belonging depended only on oneself. Integrating into another group depended on the goodwill of the new group, goodwill that was all the more difficult to obtain as the request was not legitimate. Hence began endless discussions the outcomes of which depended on candidates' persuasiveness and the mindset of the military:

> Could you give me a gun?
>
> - To kill rabbits?
>
> - No, to kill Krauts.
>
> - But you can't be thinking about that (…) you're just a kid, and didn't the captain tell you the other day that you couldn't join the company? (Galopin, 1917, p. 2)

It is worth mentioning that the letter could be addressed to both parents: "Dear father, dear mother" (Les quatre petits gâs de Châteaubriant, 1915, p. 34); and even to the whole family: "Dear mother and the family" (Coubé, 1918, p. 88). But when it was destined for one person, as was often the case, it was always to a female figure, almost exclusively the mother, or the elder sister when the mother was deceased, as in the novel *Les Aventures d'un petit Provençal* (Colomban, 1915). The letter placed emphasis on the feminine world the youth had to quit, even though the words were directed to an exclusively male audience, i.e., the army he

wanted to join. These two language productions can thus be understood as the creation of narratives and discourses in an initiation process that forms a coherent whole. The letter reflected disintegration and the words were an attempt to trigger integration. Between these two excerpts—the first narrated retrospectively and the second prospectively—there were hardships enabling the applicant to submit evidence that he deserved to obtain adult status, i.e., the status of a soldier. These included the difficulties faced by runaway youths or the misfortunes of children found by troops in combat zones. The remarkable fact, however, is that the subject himself was responsible for this pleading narrative, as well as for the process of initiation it described. The enlisting youth actively participated in and narrated his destiny.

2.2 *Inversion and Asymmetry*

The authors of these child soldier narratives—be they journalists or novelists—exercised a certain amount of flexibility in incorporating the letters and words spoken by their heroes.

First, the order in which events took place and their chronological succession could be disorganised when these events were narrated. Even though candidates ran away before enlisting, the epistolary text justifying this action could be produced after the oral request to enlist. Concretely, runaways only wrote to their parents after they had enlisted. Lucien Marzin's letter attempts to justify this delay: "My dear parents, I'm sorry for not having written to you earlier. I didn't have much time" (Lucien Marzin, 1915, p. 324).

Second, the two excerpts were rarely presented simultaneously in the same narrative. Our analysis shows that the letter and the oral request described verbatim appeared together in only three narratives which, moreover, were all novels: *Du lycée aux tranchées* (Jacquin & Fabre, 1917), *Le Boy-scout de la Revanche* (Chancel, 2012) and *Les Aventures d'un petit Provençal* (Colomban, 1915). Other novels, short stories (which were far more numerous), general news and "stories" published in newspapers only gave one of the two excerpts and sometimes neither as, although they mentioned that there had been a conversation, they did not reproduce it: "He narrated his story which touched the commander. He was allowed to walk with the ammunition convoy" (Bretonneau, 1916, p. 165).

Multiple factors can explain this asymmetry. First, some narratives described failed evasions. The brief narrative "*Le Petit François*" (Romorant, 1915) used an indirect style to narrate the content of the hero's letter but was unable to show the request he made to the soldiers, as he died before reaching the front line. The reverse, which was much more frequent, also applied. The young applicant, like Jean-Pierre mentioned above, was not a runaway but an orphan abused by German troops and rescued by a French detachment. He could not, therefore, have written to his parents. Moreover, many runaways did not necessarily feel the need to write to their parents; in any event, the narratives do not indicate that they wrote. Thus,

logically, all the runaways and abandoned children involved had to explain themselves to the army, even though only a limited number of them could or wanted to write to their families.

We have already mentioned that, in the corpus analysed, only three novels, i.e., three fictitious narratives, presented both the letter and the conversation of the future soldier. This was linked not to the fact that the narratives were fictitious but, rather, to the fact that they were long enough to contain both. One might question how a narrative of a true story can reproduce words that have never been recorded or even reported to a journalist. It is important to mention, however, that at the beginning of the twentieth century, narratives presented on the back pages of newspapers reported what Marie-Ève Thérenty has called the "fictionalisation of news" (Thérenty, 2007, p. 22). Far from being a lie, this fictionalisation provided a means through which news could be understood through fictional narrative codes. Take this excerpt from a fictitious narrative for instance: "Colonel, I enjoy being among your men. It's true, I'm not old enough to be a soldier but I'm not afraid. Ask anyone around me" (Jardin, 1916, p. 2). Compare it with the following informative narrative: "I want to go with you, he simply stated. I'm 16. My name is Talhouët and I'm from Paris. The captain came around. Talhouët was adopted and dressed" (Bretonneau, 1916, p. 149). The two pleas are practically identical and nothing in the second suggests that the words of a genuine child soldier were invented. This similarity justifies the collection and analysis of a corpus composed of factual and fictional narratives alike.

3 Common Methods of Persuasion

3.1 Patriotic Consciousness

The letter to the family and the words spoken to soldiers justified young boys' desire to join a combat unit. A skilful way to present the situation was to make this desire obvious and thus prevent endless debate:

> As the convoy was moving off, he jumped into a compartment whose door was not yet closed.
>
> "Where are you going? exclaimed the astonished soldiers.
>
> With you, to kill the Krauts!", he boldly replied. (Jacquin & Fabre, 1918, p. 63)

The verbal process and the staging which accompanied it are similar in the following excerpt:

> How the soldiers were surprised to suddenly see in their midst a kid no one had noticed until then.
>
> Where was he from? (…) Why was he here? (…)
>
> "To fight, of course", he simply replied. (Fraipont, 1917, p. 9)

Any argumentation developed highlighted an order expressed as a categorical imperative - "A scout must serve his country" (Jacquin & Fabre, 1917, p. 96)—or the desire to replace those more useful than oneself: "Me, I have no parents! Too bad if I disappear! Unseen and unknown! It is better that it should be me rather than a brave father, right?" (Galopin, 1915, p. 2). The candidate's sturdy body, which offered more compelling evidence than an age limit, was also willingly highlighted. The ability of children or young adolescents to give an identical reproduction of the official war discourse—as though it were a personal conviction—was also cited as admirable by the writers who reproduced or invented these arguments. Young Pierre Mercier explained in his letter that, "in this critical moment in which our beautiful France finds itself, people who can repel the barbarian horde which wants to invade it are insufficient" (Gustave-Toudouze, 1915, p. 56). In addition to actual arguments, there was also the moving and persuasive performance of a single individual, uprooted, often shaken, yet still determined, such as the twelve-year-old child who asked infantry soldiers to adopt him: "The soldiers came around to his reasoning, and especially, to the fact that he was drenched in tears" (Coubé, 1918, p. 107).

3.2 The Issue of the Father

Among the oral and written arguments presented by the enlisting youth, three referred to the father. Patriotic commitment was thus combined with a more family-centred motivation which was love for the father and took the form of three wishes among the youth. The first was the desire to fight and thus imitate the soldier father: "I want to imitate my father, the youngster from Lorraine replied; he's fighting at the front" (Guyon, 1915, p. 6); or: "I want to be like my father. He left, he's fighting, and he's putting himself at risk for France" (Lemoine, 1916, p. 95). As boys had always been expected to take the father as a role model, it is logical that this imitation would extend into military action:

> But dad is fighting, so you understand (…)
>
> The officer, *smiling*.
>
> You would like to do like him?
>
> Jean-Louis, *passionately*.
>
> Yes! (…) I too want to fight for France! (…) (Mancey, 1916, p. 52)

The second wish was to rejoin the father who had been away from home for many weeks. Leaving the family home was thus no longer about running away from one's family but, rather, about finding it, or at least finding the male element, painfully absent from homes since the onset of hostilities: "I wanted to go to war to find my father and fight with you" (Guyon, 1915, p. 26). A child's place is next to his father, regardless of where this father may be: "The soldiers of the 7th train crew Squadron he wanted to join gently drove him back. Stubbornly, he followed them.

Come on, we can't prevent the little one from joining his dad!" (Coubé, 1918, p. 107).

The third was the wish to avenge one's father. The daily newspaper *Le Journal* told the story of Jean Schoenlaub whose officer father had been killed at the battlefront:

> When the sad news arrived, little Jean, aged fourteen and a half, was outwardly calm; but on entering his room a few days later, his mother found a note in which was written: "I am too sad, I'm going to avenge daddy!" (La valeur n'attend pas (…), 1915, p. 3)

The boy child felt that the task of reparation was his duty and not that of his mother or any other member of the family: "I want to fight like him and avenge him if he dies!" declared Aimé Agelot (Lemoine, 1916, p. 95). And the young Charlot, the hero of one of Galopin's novels, asked the soldiers who had taken him in for a gun "to avenge [his] poor bosses and [his] father" (Galopin, 1917, p. 2) who had disappeared at the front. Avenging one's family by going away to defend one's country was a way of reconciling these two tenets that the act of running away had a tendency to dissociate. The intrusion of private vengeance within a global conflict can be more clearly understood if we acknowledge that, between 1914 and 1918, avenging a father who had died in battle meant settling a personal score through the great patriotic Revenge that many nationalist authors had called for since the military defeat of 1870 and the humiliating Treaty of Frankfurt.

3.3 Discourse and Action

The phraseology cited above would have appeared false had it not been accompanied by demonstrable commitment from its authors. Both the letters to parents and the words addressed to the *poilus* were inseparable from distinct behaviour that proved that the words spoken by the applicant were true. When the mother read her son's letter, he had actually already left to go and risk his life for his country, even though he was under no obligation to do so. When the soldiers listened to the runaway's or the abandoned child's request, this request also announced—and had often already been demonstrated—material support for the adoptive military unit: "I will help you. I am a good walker, I know how to cook and if necessary, I can shoot. I will take up such little space that my colonel will not even know I'm there" (Randoux, 1917, p. 9). Winning the sympathy of the troops by making oneself useful, proving one's durability by walking alongside the infantry and showing one's strength of character under shellfire were the actions that the young *protégé* continuously performed while arguing his case, like Fritz, the boy from Lorraine who followed a battalion:

> The child is kind, intelligent and so skilful that we'll finally keep him "until further notice", it was said.
>
> But Fritz had other plans. He perfectly understood what he had to do to stay. He took up all tasks, participated in all chores, and soon became the darling of the battalion. (Fraipont, 1917, p. 42)

The child who wanted to become a soldier eventually succeeded by taking advantage of the circumstances of the war and by showing exemplary behaviour at each phase of his ascent. The consistency between discourse and action means that, at an age when youths are often assumed to be selfish and fragile beings, the child took on an adult role with his parents and future brothers-in-arms, an adult responsible for his acts and able to justify them.

4 The Letters

While the letters and conversations exploited common viewpoints and persuasion techniques, they nonetheless differed in more ways than one. Below, these particularities, beginning with epistolary discourse, are examined.

4.1 Private Writings, Public Dissemination

The letters written by runaways to their parents were private correspondence but they were made public. In the field of novels, literary convention allowed readers to gain access to intimate family relationships. In journalistic information, however, the dissemination of the letter was questionable. Indeed, only the recipients of the letters could communicate on the content of the letter and authorise its publication, i.e., those who had opposed the departure of their sons. No journalist has raised this difficulty: how did they obtain the letters? Perhaps they did so through the investigation file to which they had access when parents alerted the police and an investigation began. Most remarkable in this issue, however, is the fact that journalists published these letters as praise, i.e., to approve of what had been disapproved of by the parents who had communicated them in one way or another. This explains why the private letter, when disseminated, was often accompanied by a critical commentary and, in particular, by an axiological marking which pointed out to readers in which camp they should position themselves *vis-à-vis* the private conflict between the runaway and his legal guardians. The runaway camp always won. For instance, Georges Gustave-Toudouze extravagantly praised the letter that the young Pierre Mercier, aged fourteen, had left for his family before fleeing to the front:

> Teachers will read and comment on this letter in five years, ten years, twenty years, fifty years. Little brave Pierre Mercier, hero of the Great War at fourteen, will have become a man, a father, then an old white-haired man; one by one, the years will have gone by. And teachers will base their discourse of the 1914–1915 war only on hearsay. But Pierre Mercier's letter will live in everyone's mind and will be included in all history and literature collections. (Gustave-Toudouze, 1915, p. 56)

The propagandist advantage of this private speech was that readers were guaranteed sincerity that was all the more forceful given that it represented the words of a child or a young adult. In Western culture—and perhaps in others as well—truth comes out of children's mouths. Written without ulterior motives and in a strictly private setting, the letter of the child who had run away to join the war was an important tool in the psychological and emotional conditioning of public opinion through propaganda.

4.2 The Conditions in Which Letters Were Produced

All epistolary exchange is a case of delayed communication, as some time elapses between the moment the letter is written and when it is read. However, although considered a constraint, this time interval often becomes—in the corpus focused on here—a condition that guarantees the success of the communication. It was necessary that, when the recipient read the letter, it was too late, i.e., too late to change the runaway's mind or catch up with him.

Indeed, the letter was sometimes written in the family home before the child took to the road. When it was discovered in the morning, the prospective volunteer was already far away. Stephen Coubé thus spoke of little "R.M" by stating: "And here is the letter he placed on his mother's table as he left" (Coubé, 1918, p. 88). Sometimes, however, the letter was sent when the young runaway had successfully enlisted in the army. This was the case with Gaston Huet in the article that *Le Figaro* devoted to him: "A few days after his arrival [at the battlefront], the young volunteer wrote to his parents to ask for their forgiveness and reassure them" (Un soldat de quinze ans, 1915, p. 3). In this respect, Max Colomban, the author of the serialised novel *Les Aventures d'un enfant de Provence*, had the literary skill to bring this time distortion to life for readers. In number 36 of *L'Étoile noëliste* (Colomban, 1915, n°36, p. 45) he narrated that Jean, the young orphan hero, wrote a letter justifying his actions to his elder sister before running away. However, it was only four weeks later (Colomban, 1915, n°41, p. 125), that he revealed the contents of this letter to readers.

One should also mention that the runaway's letter was particularly careful not to mention his location, thus making it impossible to trace him. This, for instance, was the case with Fernand Fille who "had, through a letter left with the neighbour, confessed his heroic escape to his family without giving any details, so as to thwart all maternal tricks" (O, 1916, p. 235). When these details were imprudently revealed, as with Colomban whom we mentioned previously, youngsters soon

regretted it: “I did not conceal my final destination: Belgium is everywhere in my note. The police could have simply phoned (…)” (Colomban, 1915, n°37, p. 61). This explains why this epistolary communication was not part of a conversation; it had to be the dissemination of a text with no possibility of reply.

The time distortion between the production and reception of the message and the institution of non-reciprocal communication endorsed disagreement between the subject and his family. These letters replaced oral explanation with parents, which would have failed, or which had already been tried without success. This can be seen in Gustave Guilbert’s letter in which the runaway explains to his mother that he wants to join the army: “I didn’t want to ask you because you would not have let me go” (Les enfants héroïques, 1914, p. 60). This epistolary communication is thus paradoxical: on the one hand, it shows a major disagreement between the writer and those for whom the letter is destined. On the other, this disagreement does not destroy the strong ties the child shares with his family, and the runaway takes the trouble to write to them and justify himself. Many stories on runaways, however, did not present the letter sent to the parents, causing readers to believe that none was ever sent.

4.3 Family or Homeland

The letters justified the choice of disobedience to the legal guardians to whom the letters were also addressed. They thus sanctioned the opposition between two central values of the Third Republic: family and homeland. As the novelist Marie de La Hire stated through the words of one her characters, “the homeland is a big family that one must love even more than the other and defend to the death” (La Hire, 1916, p. 8). By deserting his home while still a minor, the youth decided to sacrifice his family for the sake of his homeland. Although the young writer emphasised that he was aware of the suffering he was inflicting on his family, he also underscored his resolution. Georges Hurlu, the hero of a novel, addressed his mother thus:

> It is with a heavy heart that I left you. But what else could I have done? A scout has a duty to his country: I went to those fighting for her to help them to the best of my abilities. (Jacquin & Fabre, 1917, p. 96)

Nevertheless, the divide between the family and homeland was extremely painful and some writers sought to remove or at least mitigate it. They thus made amends by pointing out that the situation was temporary, that it would only last for the duration of the war, i.e., for a very short time. This is what Jean, the orphan aged twelve and a half, said when he wrote to his elder sister: “I will return as soon as the Krauts will have been defeated, and that will be soon as God is on our side. So, see you soon” (Colomban, 1915, n°41, p. 125). Another solution was to justify running away. As previously mentioned, this is when running away is a tactic to find a male family member fighting on the battlefront, rather than an attempt to abandon one’s family.

5 Speeches

5.1 Orphans

It was earlier mentioned that conversations with *poilus* far outnumbered the letters to parents as the youngsters did not always give news of their whereabouts or had no parents to write to. Orphan or abandoned child status was occasionally described in the corpus examined, and it had implications for the introductory dialogue the subject exchanged with the troops. This reveals a new type of enlisting youth. He was no longer a runaway going to the battlefront, but a child in distress, found by a company in a combat zone. As this child had no parents or the war had separated him from them, he asked for help from the soldiers who found him. Young Morin thus declared to the squad he met: "I've come to join the army as I have no parents. I can always help you in one way or another" (Lionnet, 1915, p. 22).

Orphan status and its communication to listening soldiers served three purposes in this scenario. First, it made the candidate available for military adventure. In the absence of parents, there was no need to ask for permission from anyone. Even when the subject had a guardian with the same legal authority as the father, the absence of blood ties made his desire to free himself and join the army much more justifiable in the eyes of the petitioner and narrator. Second, if his parents had been killed by the Germans during the invasion, this misfortune provided excellent belligerent motivation for the subject, as was the case with young Delanoë:

> Mom and dad, said he, have been killed by the Germans. I am now all alone. Please take me along with you as a soldier and let me avenge them. I know how to handle a gun; I will kill them easily. (L'orphelin patriote, 1916, p. 277)

The third purpose was that, left to himself, the young orphan needed material and human support that the military could provide. Hungry, exhausted and distraught, young Justin in Lortac's novel was welcomed and comforted by soldiers in the bivouac. He thus achieved the first stage in a journey that enabled him to enlist legitimately. With neither a father nor a mother and under the tutelage of a grandfather who had been requisitioned to work in Germany, Justin had only to narrate his sad story to arouse the company's desire to keep him. The young hero did not therefore need to make or come up with a petition. This was understood by the soldiers listening to him, who had already given their response in advance:

> Hey! No, you're not alone as you're with us (…) and, for as long as we can keep you, you shall not lack anything, right?
>
> – Of course! Responded the entire squad with one voice. (Lortac, 1917, p. 7)

Thus was accomplished this paradoxical process: even as it was under permanent mortal danger, a company granted the request for help from a subject in distress. It thus prepared itself to subject to this danger the very child it was adopting and seeking to protect.

5.2 *Lies*

While journalists and novelists systematically portrayed the letter to the mother as a paragon of sincerity, there were some narratives where the petitioner was caught out in a lie when speaking to the soldiers:

> Captain P. of the 20th train crew Squadron asked them to call us and questioned us. As he asked for the authorisations from our parents, we were daring and told him that we had left them with the captain commanding the 163rd detachment. (Meffre, 1916, p. 1662)

And while his mother anxiously awaited his news in Senlis, the young hero of the novel *Du lycée aux tranchées*, was making every effort to join the army:

> We are forced to admit that Guy was guilty of a lie and, having pondered over his projects all night, he replied without hesitation:
>
> Colonel, I don't know where to go (…) I don't have any parents except those who are in the army. (Chancel, 2012, p. 46)

Lying about one's age, family situation or nationality was the ultimate way of shaping one's destiny. Indeed, the confidence of the young liar and his capacity to invent misleading details reflected the same qualities of determination as courage in battle. Young François Fille from France, who sought enlistment in the Belgian army, provides a good example:

> I am, said he, a refugee from the region invaded by the German hordes. My name is Peter Vandaële and I was born in Leuven on October 12, 1896. I was recently a sales representative at 11, *rue de la République* in Lille. (O., 1916, p. 236)

These lies were part of a process that consisted in the subject initially agreeing to be kept behind the battlefront, knowing that he would later seize the first opportunity to fight the enemy, arms in hand. "We'll see if I don't get into the fight" (Guyon, 1914, p. 46), young Ferdinand Briquet thought to himself when a captain accepted him on the condition that he remained confined to the cantonments. The cynicism of the method used, however, was to arouse readers' indulgence with respect to the heroism of the project.

6 Conclusion: An Anti-"*Poilu*" Speech?

On examining the corpus, it is clear that there are different enlisting youths and different readers and listeners. Moreover, the media for messages and their truth-functional operators also vary, as do the justifications provided. This diversity, however, does not conceal the language productions studied here. First, they all report and justify the transition to adulthood. This process has the same anthropological characteristics of an initiation rite driven by the initiated individual. Second, almost all these productions receive the narrators' approval and, thus, the approval of the authors or journalists who write them. The letters and words of

enlisting youths follow the more or less aggressive belligerent discourse of those who narrate them. Admittedly, authors regularly provided warnings but these were often very complacent *vis-à-vis* runaway children, like that of the editor of the *La Grande Guerre du XX^e^*:

> This is the true story of Victor Pichon as told by an eyewitness. While disapproving of his flight from his father's house, we must nevertheless mention the nobility of the sense of patriotism that drove the child. (L'histoire de Victor Pichon, 1917, p. 706)

Similarly, journalists also occasionally reported failed runaways or the refusal of military authorities to allow runaways to join the army. However, the comments always showed sympathy for the petitioners and sometimes revealed their narrators' incomprehension of existing regulations:

> Is it really forbidden to recruit heroes of all ages? (…) Public opinion might think otherwise and grant amnesty to the leader of the family of troopers who considers that, when faced with danger, there is room around the homeland, this Mother, for all her sons who have the heart. (Soldat de seize ans, 1914, p. 2)

Our study thus highlights the gap between the dominant discourse on the war between 1914 and 1918 and the discourse that has emerged today around the same conflict. In this regard, we can cite a final letter from a runaway: "I'm going to kill the Krauts! This idea has been on my mind for sometime now, I can no longer resist. Don't fret about me, I have all I need to sleep under the stars!" (Pour aller sur le front, 1915, p. 2). Another type of highly contemporary correspondence known today as "*poilus* letters" emerged at the beginning of the twenty first century. This involved the guided selection and dissemination, a century later, of the vast body of letters exchanged between soldiers and their families. On the eve of the centenary of the Great War, these *ad hoc* compilations met with remarkable success in France. During these years of commemoration, however, no publisher chose to publish a collection of letters from runaways between 1914 and 1918. This was probably because these letters were much fewer in number and also because the authenticity of some of them was questionable. The main reason, however, was undoubtedly the current state of mind of the general public in France. Indeed, what most of the readers of "*poilus* letters" seek in this correspondence does not exist in the corpus of letters we examined.

First, there is no naturalistic description of the conditions of life in the trenches—mud, lice, rotting corpses (…) The young letter writers were not yet aware of this reality, and if they were they did not speak about it, either because they did not want to scare their parents or because it was not crucial in their opinion. Contrary to the critical realism of "*poilus* letters" is the heroic idealism that one might consider naïve, but which reflects the mood of many French fighters at the beginning of the conflict, and especially in cities.

Second, as proclaiming love for one's homeland is rarely dissociated from proclamations of hatred for the "Krauts", this can only create unease among modern readers who have been living in an integrated Europe for decades. While this association also exists in some of the *poilus* letters published today, unyielding

comments against profiteers and officers' arrogance are also evoked; this is absent from the letters we analysed.

In sum, albeit in a somewhat simplistic manner, today's reader of 1914 *poilus* letters seeks to confirm his/her—while not pacifist—but certainly critical beliefs *vis-à-vis* the war in general and even the army. In this respect, there has been an implicit division of roles in France with regard to the First and Second World Wars in contemporary cultural productions. While the Second World War must confirm the heroism and honour of armed conflict for a just cause, the First World War must convince us of the absurdity and horror of war.

The particularity of Jean-Pierre Guéno in his collection *Paroles de poilus* (2012) is that he has selected letters or excerpts from letters that primarily go in the direction we mention above. Our runaways' letters, however, go in the opposite one. It is for this reason that they were regularly disseminated in newspapers and magazines of the time, but not today. Put differently, these texts acted as a medium for propagandist messages during the four years of conflict, which makes them highly unsuitable for consumption today. This is a pity. This private correspondence would receive much more attention were it to be successfully dissociated from its instrumentalisation during the war, and if we understand that it can help us overcome the cultural schizophrenia imposed on us today: that of a "good" Second World War and a "bad" First World War.

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Ambivalence and Opportunism Concerning the Great War in Céline's Novel *Casse-Pipe*

Ilse Zigtema

Abstract Considering his alternating patriotic/bellicist and antimilitaristic/pacifistic speech in military carnets and correspondence between 1912 and 1916, ambivalence already seems to have characterized Louis-Ferdinand Destouches' attitude towards the military during his service years. These uncertainties will be shown to be a catalyst for Céline's ambiguous depictions of the Great War in his successive and opportunistic writings. This article will focus on Louis-Ferdinand Céline's novel *Casse-pipe* [*Cannon Fodder*], examining the rewriting of the period preceding the Great War. It will explore how Céline, in this 1936 novel, reassesses his uncertainties as a soldier in the barracks. Instead of approaching the use of the subject of the Great War as an autobiographical acknowledgement of his past, this will be a study of the opportunistic search for literary recognition, which announces the much more ambiguous rhetoric that would dominate Céline's pamphlets between 1936 and 1941.

1 Introduction: A Difficult Start in the Military

On the 28th of September 1912, Louis- Ferdinand Destouches, not unlike many other young men of his generation, did what was expected of him: he enlisted for three years in the French army with the 12th armoured Cavalry stationed at Rambouillet. Apparently, his initial enthusiasm for the army quickly vanished, even before the actual war started, because, as we can read in his military notebook, Destouches considered desertion one year later.

The *Carnet du Cuirassier Destouches* (Céline, 1975, pp. 121–126) is to be considered an invaluable document, as it presents an autobiographical writing about the First World War by Louis-Ferdinand Destouches before he became the writer *Céline*. It is not yet the product of a writer with a reader in mind. It thus offers a frank unburdening of the heart, expressing the humiliations felt by this individualistic

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young man, seemingly out of place in the military world. Of particular interest in the carnets are his feelings of ambivalence and insecurity concerning his military duties, especially the heavy ones associated with the cavalry he joined and his moral aversion to military codes like the "réveils horribles aux sons si faussement gais du trompette de garde" (ibid., p. 123)[1] and the subsequent sarcasms of his fellow soldiers and superiors. These reflect the difficulties many men confronted in the military, for military service was a plight, in which one showed one's patriotism and which signified the initiation into manhood and virility. These ambivalences reflect themselves once more, as Roynette (2015, p. 14) points out, when confronted with alternating patriotic and sceptical attitudes towards the military in Destouches' correspondence. Moreover, we can read in Vitoux (1990, p. 94), how the *carnets*, as they seemed already to be addressing themselves to a fictive reader, prove to be visionary in regard to informing the philosophy behind Céline's writings: because Destouches seemed already confident that his war experience, notably that of being an outsider in the barracks, would sooner or later serve a purpose. The period of painful "confinement" (Roynette, 2015, p. 47) in the military barracks would prove to be the catalyst for Céline's volatile trajectory, as a writer and ideological actor, in the period 'entre-deux-guerres', for as he put it himself, these difficulties would instigate his future troubles as well as the 'Success', that without doubt would follow (as Destouches put "Réussite" with a capital letter (Carnet, p. 126).

Although it is not my objective to explore these uncertainties in this paper (they have been analysed for example in Roynette, 2015), they are significant nonetheless in acting as a 'breeding ground' for our present subject: the future polemical and ambiguous depiction of the Great War, as experienced by Céline, and his work *Casse-pipe* will be used to exemplify these points. This novel gives a rough account of a soldier's first night in the barracks. The short story depicts a guard on patrol during a downpour, with the narrator 'tagging along', still dressed as a civilian. As the corporal has forgotten the password, the patrol hides in the stables, only to be found by a furious officer. All the while the horses have broken free and are galloping around the barracks in the dark. The fragment ends with the sounding of the reveille on a trumpet, and the barracks coming suddenly to life. Using *Casse-pipe*, I will explore how Céline retrospectively assesses his two years in the barracks. Rather than regarding the novel as the author's attempt to come to terms with his experience of war, I will examine the text as an opportunistic search for recognition by Céline, who would for that purpose subtly let the image he wanted to create of himself merge with a radicalized discourse by his character Ferdinand.

If historians have insisted on the rupture that existed between the way in which the Great War was experienced, and how it came to be 're-invented' in literature (Roynette, 2015 p. 14), Céline might from this perspective be called a 'paragon'. From *Voyage au Bout de la Nuit* (1932), to his final novel *Rigodon*, written in 1961, the portrayal of the War assumes different forms (Martin, 2008, p. 198) that could be considered strategical. Likewise, the horrors of warfare in *Voyage au Bout de la*

[1]"The horrible reveilles with such a falsely gay bugle" (CP, p. 82).

Nuit were conceived and used in a period when the wounds of the War were still fresh, and its pacifism and antimilitarism fell on 'fertile ground'. This presents us with an entirely new context if we compare it to the 'grotesque' image of the Great War in the post-Second World War novels, in which we see the writer keen to find excuses and re-impose himself on the literary scene as a fortuitous "chroniqueur", that had been powerless in the maelstrom of events (Lavenne, 2014). This complicated relation between literature and politics should, as Sanos explains (2012, pp. 165–166) keep us aware that Céline was constantly and deliberately 'enacting contradictions' by blurring interactions between author, narrator and character. But even if different versions of the Great War were ideologically opposed to one another, they were continuously rearranging the discourse on 'Nation' and 'Self'. This was largely dependent on the writer's past experiences, which became intertwined with the political circumstances in their present.

Casse-pipe was at once a 'going back to the roots of the military adventure and a strategic going back to his former pacifist and antimilitarist posture', as Roynette argues (2015, p. 20). It could have been, Roynette suggests, an occasion for Céline to win back his former readers, those who saw him as the pacifist and antimilitaristic writer of *Voyage au Bout de la Nuit*, and for this he chose to go back, not only to the subject of the war, but to its very *roots* by telling the story of a soldier in peacetime. As Roynette continues, *Casse-pipe* inscribed itself in a literary fashion about the daily life of the soldier in peacetime, that was very popular in the period before 1914 (Roynette, 2015, p. 48); they were satirical and antimilitaristic novels about the mostly painful experiences of young recruits. One can look to the writings of Descaves as an example (*Sous-offs*, 1889). Given Céline's concerns with more 'urgent political matters': seen in his anti-communist pamphlet *Mea Culpa*, followed by a series of fierce pamphlets of mostly anti-Semitic content, I would like to explore to what extent *Casse-pipe* was intended as a pacifistic and antimilitaristic novel, considering the fact that Céline began writing *Mea Culpa* in the same year. If antimilitarism and pacifism were still dominant features for Céline in these pamphlets, the content changed radically. Morand (1972) was one of the first to distinguish Céline's pacifism of 1932, as 'an individual revolt against all manifestations of the evils of war' (mostly with regard to the First World War), from his 'second' kind of pacifism that was the pacifism of the 'citoyen' engaging himself publicly to warn his 'concitoyens' (In anticipation of a new war to come, Morand, 1972, p. 22). In Roynette (2015, pp. 195–201) we can read how this political pacifism was to be feared for it conformed to the views of the extreme right. Pacifism and antimilitarism became damagingly entwined in a racist discourse that associated the weakness of the nation with societal degeneration that was in turn weakening the army.

One can deliberate as to why, following a year of volatile socio-political change in 1936, Céline would choose to go back to his former antimilitaristic and pacifist ideologies (Roynette, 2015). Was Céline intent on writing an antimilitaristic and pacifist novel in 1936? This study, contrary to the views presented above, looks to demonstrate how *Casse-pipe* exploits incongruities concerning the Great War and how this signifies his ambiguous position, as we understand from his pamphlets

from 1936 to 1941. Cornille, expert on Céline's 'refined' methods of rewriting 'stories' in different contexts (like in "Plagiat et Créativité", 2008), in fact already hinted at how *Casse-pipe* was not solely looking 'backwards' (1999). On the contrary, this novel seemed to be preparing the way for the future and violent pamphleter's discourse. The apocalyptical atmosphere of the narrative itself, and its 'abrupt' and symbolical transition were, however cryptically, powerful messages. If Céline thus returned to writing on the subject of the Great War, it should not be interpreted solely as a going back to his old pacifistic and antimilitaristic ideologies. Moreover, if he chose to reinscribe himself in an 'anarchistic vein' it should alert us to the way in which he tried to singularize himself by doing this (Meizoz, 2011) and wanted to redirect his message away from the original antimilitaristic and pacifistic meaning. To understand more about these paradoxes, this article will first explore how *Casse-pipe* uses metaphors in order to establish Céline as a writer of the Great War. It will then turn to the strategy by which Céline let his image as a writer merge skilfully with the discourse of his character Ferdinand, which I will analyse through the similitudes it presents with one of the more well-known satiric and antimilitaristic novels about the army, *Biribi*[2] (by writer Darien, 1890), a very ambivalent work about the military itself.

2 Recognition as a War Writer

Literary critic Cornille has been exemplary in showing how in *Casse-pipe,* the military newcomer is 'but an allegory and serves as a pretext for the intrigue-metaphor that wants to illustrate how one makes his *debut* in literature (Cornille, 1999, p. 17). This strange co-presence in *Casse-pipe* leads us to the question why the writer directed his search for acknowledgement towards the subject of the War in the same novel. To be able to answer this question I will first turn to the methods used in *Casse-pipe* by Céline to inscribe and singularize himself on the literary scene. Critics like Roussin (2005) and Meizoz (2007, 2011) have noted how Céline's strategies of self-presentation as the 'traumatised war hero', the posture he assumed as the 'poor man's doctor', writing in his spare time, can be seen as the adoption of popular literary stereotypes. Through identification with his hero Ferdinand, Céline legitimised himself as a writer. In this regard, the Great War has also been recognized as an important subject by which Céline tried to measure himself with others—notably with Barbusse, author of *Le Feu* (1917[3] [*Under Fire*]). One approach to explain the fierceness of the antimilitaristic and pacifistic

[2]A novel drawn from Darien's life picturing his years in the army's disciplinary in Tunisia, through the narrator-hero Froissard. One of the foremost novels on French anti-militarism and an obvious comparison with Lucien Descaves *Sous-offs*. (Fisher. 2002. The Pataphysician's Library: An Exploration of Alfred Jarry's Livres Pairs. Liverpool. University press.)

[3]Novel (1917) depicting the ground soldier as an ignorant participant in the Great War. It was a pacifistic novel while still maintaining a patriotist undertone (Compagnon, 2014).

rhetoric in *Voyage au Bout de la Nuit* written in the twenties, a period when hope of regeneration of Europe after the War was quickly vanishing, might in that respect be to see it as a way to 'surpass' the others, while of course joining in with the 'sign of the times'. In this respect *Casse-pipe* could also be seen as yet another way by which Céline wished to impose himself on the literary field. He achieved this by using the subject of the war and let it fit in with ideological issues of its time (1936 presenting a much more desperate socio-political climate).

Céline looked to reinvent his image as a writer in a literary field where he only existed as the 'once famous author' of *Le Voyage* (Cornille, 1999, p. 17). In order to see how this is achieved, I will look at metaphors which establish him as a particular social type (Pagès, 1994, p. 65) and as a figure in the literary world. Céline aimed at presenting himself as an "individu isolé and solitaire" (Denis, 2000, p. 92), an image which entailed allowing himself space to depict himself as an outsider, with the Great War providing the context, and indeed the opportunity, for recreation. I will therefore illustrate how Céline in *Casse-pipe* uses metaphors pertaining to his status in the literary world and how these metaphors are intertwined with opposing themes of social deviancy, veracity and the 'non-mandated parole'.

The first use of metaphor in *Casse-pipe* that I will address is Céline's various choices of name (Cornille, 1999, p. 17). I will begin by examining the passages in which Ferdinand registers at arrival at the barracks. His identity papers make the others "perplexe" (CP, p. 21[4]). Ferdinand's excentric nature forces the corporal to "calligraphie" (CP, 21) his details: "Malheur! Qu'il s'exclame (…) Fernand? Ferdinand? (…) Fils d'Auguste (…) né Auguste (…) mon canard! Maréchal des logis Rancotte (…) fils de Rancotte (…). enfant de troupe" (CP, p. 22[5]). The new soldier directly alerts the others to the fact that he is an 'irregular': first of all, through the name: "Ferdinand" as a son of "Auguste". Here, his position as an outsider is accentuated in contrast with his peers: Ferdinand's deviancy is considered unfortunate as opposed to Rancottes being "clair" and "net" (CP, p. 22[6]). This is further highlighted with reference to Ferdinand's father's profession—that of an insurance clerk. The bourgeois connotation of this profession, juxtaposed with the "vous êtes prétentieux mon ami" (CP, p. 22[7]) may be a reference to Céline's cold reception and his position as an outsider in the literary scene. It marks Céline as a writer transgressing norms. Yet it could also be construed as a strategic literary device showing to what extent he felt he had been misunderstood. Therefore, *Casse-pipe*'s use of name and identity can be related to Céline's ambiguity and his later transition to pamphlets.

The second use of metaphor that I will address is connected to the first in that it highlights Céline's obsession with his own image—that of Céline's 'signature'

[4]"puzzled" (CP, p. 17).

[5]"Bloody hell! He shouts (…) Fernand? Ferdinand? (…) Son of August (…) Né August (…) August my arse (…) Sergeant Rancotte (…) Son of Rancotte (…) a son of the barracks" (CP, p. 17).

[6]"obvious", "clear" (CP, p. 17).

[7]"You're pretentious! my friend! (CP, p. 17).

(Cornille, 1999, pp. 17–18). Multiple metaphors refer to this in *Casse-pipe*. First the reference to publishers: Ferdinand's entry into the barracks signifies how the newcomer is seen as 'a fresh wind': his appearance so shocking, the others are disturbed in their 'numbness: "Dans le corps des gardes ça n'allait plus, j'avais derangé les sommeils (…) j'avais reveillé tout le troupeau (…)" (CP, p. 14[8]). Céline, from his eccentric position as a newcomer, is disturbing the harmony. An important event that shows this, is the one where the patrol is hiding in the horse stables. These stables can be seen as a metaphor for the "Gallimard" literary 'stables', one of the main publishing houses in France, with *L'Arcille* posing as *Gaston Gallimard*. Ferdinand's presence in this stable is very ambiguous. His 'civil' appearance makes him a risk for the others, who might get caught. Likewise *L'Arcille* complains he has to do penance for the nullity of a "rookie". Ferdinand, by his otherness, becomes the scapegoat who has to be contained. Ferdinand thinks incessantly about the password while the other soldiers try to drown their sorrows in cheap wine. This may also be construed as a reference to Celine's discourse on health in his pamphlets—associating alcoholism, decadence and licentious behaviour with the French people.

The password the patrol officer is looking for to relieve the guard is another example of Céline's use of metaphor. This guard is "*Coster*", a strange sounding name in the otherwise Breton dominated patrol. Within the context of a story altogether centred on the position of the writer, this name can be associated, as Cornille (1999, p. 20) has propounded, to the book printing business, by referring to "Laurens Janszoon Coster". The password being a metaphor for literary success, the search for the word is an important event to demonstrate the writer's pretentions about himself. One can note the remarkable 'blandness of inspiration' during the search for the password to relieve this 'Coster' which develops into a more and more absurd parody of the literary scene. Completely exhausted, all gather around Le Meheu: "On s'est tous rapprochés, moi-même derrière tous les autres, pour entendre le mot. Amalgamés, ratatinés autour du falot, on grelottait dans le creux de la nuit" (CP, p. 36[9]). All the older guys (metaphors for Céline's 'colleagues') come up with the usual stuff, battle names like "Navarre", which is soon dismissed, as it had already been the password of last week: "Et puis c'avait été "Navarre" encore une fois, ils se souvenaient tous, l'avant-veille de la Toussaint" (CP, p. 37[10]); The old 'guard' are being represented as fools: "Je l'avais sur le bord le mot! Vlouff! Je l'ai senti sauter de ma tête" (CP, p. 37[11]); they can't' seem to think outside the routine and clichés: if it wasn't "Navarre", maybe then "Navarin"?

The final scene, after the patrol is discovered and a furious Rancotte wants this 'password on the table', reveals yet another allusion to the literary scene. A 'planton'

[8]"Things weren't looking too hot in the guardroom any more, I had disturbed their slumber (…) I had awoken them (…) The whole herd" (CP, p. 11).

[9]"We all crowded round, to pick up the word, me at the back. We crowded round the lantern, packed in, shining in the cold night" (CP, pp. 27–28).

[10]"And it had been 'Navarre' once before, they all remembered, two days before All Saints' Day", (CP, p. 28).

[11]"I had it on the tip of my tongue, oh fuck it! It's gone!" CP, p. 29).

[messenger] utters the word: "Marguerite" or might we say "Céline"? As Cornille points out this name leads to Céline, being the surname of his mother, "Marguerite-Louise-Céline-Guilloux" (Cornille, 1999, p. 18). This name, reminiscent of the father's name, is again considered hilarious. The brigade's corporal dismisses the word: "C'est pas une bataille (…) Vous déconnez (…) C'est encore un nom de putain!" (CP, pp. 97–98[12]). The 'bourgeois' sounding name of his father made his appearance ridiculous and suspicious. The choice of the maternal sounding pseudonym, this scene reminds us of, is another 'failure'. The open ending of *Casse-pipe* makes this all the clearer: there is no affirmation of the fact that "Marguerite" may indeed be the correct password. Still Rancotte decides to send Le Meheu on his way with it, possibly risking his life if the password turns out wrong, and the guard starts shooting: "Merde! Allez houp! Meheu! En l'air! On liquide! "Marguerite"! "Jonquille"! (…) Je m'en torche! Merde (…) Si il tire ça sera pour votre pot!" (CP, p. 100[13]). Céline's 'deviancy' is used to make him a 'scapegoat' and stigmatize his position in the literary field.[14] Symbolically, Céline makes the literary world 'gasp for breath': the password "Marguerite" is 'thrown up' by an epileptic 'planton'. Furthermore, the password is associated with a very dangerous mission; the redeeming of the sentry, a critical case. Cornille (1999, p. 33) suggests that the password is a 'forbidden' word, which, given Céline's political stance, could be the word 'Jew'. It might well be that the metaphor has a double meaning—that of the literary status of Céline and his believed underestimation, and that of his political beliefs, in order to highlight the threat, he believed France was facing.

Casse-pipe might in that sense be seen as the novel in which Céline uses the subject of the war to make him look like the new phenomenon on the literary scene: 'waking up' sleepy old Barbusse-like writers on the one hand and an effeminate dull clique of "académiciens" (Martin, 2008, p. 207) on the other. However, next to this literary strategy, Céline takes a clear ideological stand by presenting himself as the 'independent outsider' fighting the 'imposture' and revealing hidden truths. This could well be identified as a "discours agonique" by which Céline would present himself as the un-mandated writer and prophet 'preaching in the wilderness' (Denis, 2000, p. 92). This suited the 'anarchistic oriented literary vein into which he inscribed himself, by seeking out comparisons with writers such as Descaves and Darien, for these writers also spoke from an anti-establishment position. However, Cornille, as we pointed out earlier, repeatedly demonstrated how Céline could

[12]"Daisy is not a battle! You're plastered! You're talking out of your arse again! (…) Of course it's the name of a whore", (CP, p. 78).

[13]"Shit! Come on on hup! Meheu! On your feet! I quit! Daisy! Daffodil! I 've heard it all! I don't give a shit! You hear me! (…) If he shoots you, then that's your look out!", p. 74.

[14]The metaphor becomes the more striking if we consider the 'lost chapters' that were added later (Cornille, 1999, p. 16), in which Meheu returns safe and sound in actual wartime. Apparently, he hasn't been shot after all, but the reader wouldn't know what exactly happened with the password (or how 'Marguerite/Céline' would have been a success), for this part of the story presumably got lost in the fire, when Céline's apartment Rue Girardon was raided by the French resistance in 1944 (Cornille).

'revisit' a certain literary theme or style and all the while proceeding in another direction (read for example Cornille, 2008: "Céline et le Polar"). Céline's anarchism, as Pagès argues (1994, p. 61), is considered as a fusion of revolutionary and reactionary ideologies. His portrayal of certain themes and qualities, borrowed from Darien's novel *Biribi*, further demonstrates this point.

3 Ferdinand's Ambivalent Discourse Concerning the Army

If Darien could be seen as a subversive and antimilitarist writer, *Casse-pipe*'s position on the theme of the military is much more ambivalent. Céline's literary choice might reflect a 'vein' of writers like Descaves, writing about military service and life in the barracks in a very critical way. Still, the central theme of the original anarchistic antimilitarist novel—conflict with an older generation, generally from lower social backgrounds, that had a more respectful attitude towards the service (Lecomte, 2001, p. 71)—is interpreted much more ambiguously by Céline. In *Casse-pipe* we will see how this social division is played out, by reference to intertextual relations with *Biribi*. If, at first glance, Froissard and Ferdinand share a comparable trajectory—both heroes share the fact that they were considered outcasts by their families (the role of uncles and fathers however subtly reversed) and the army was for both the last resort to escape the family prison—in the passage from one text to the other, as Cornille (2008, p. 42) also argued, Céline hints at his own 'trick': his hallucinatory version of the other makes us aware that something is 'out of place'. Therefore, I will demonstrate, by pointing out subtle transformations of the original text, how the remodelling of the war object takes place in *Casse-pipe,* which I would like to describe in three instances. First, by demonstrating how the antimilitary motif is used in an ambivalent, even sarcastic way. Second, by stating how the ironic attitude vis-à-vis the army as an antiwar statement is refocussed to become an instrument to mock the effectiveness of the army. Third, I will show that the motif of the military punishment is used in a satirical way, redirecting the criticism towards the army to a denunciation of moral degeneration in the army, and recalling to mind how, following Roynette's analysis of the military in Céline's pamphlets (2015, p. 197), the portrayed image of ridiculed objects sometimes strangely resembles Ferdinand's own.

Sarcasm, as we have seen in *Voyage au Bout de la Nuit*, seemed unconditionally directed at ideologies that considered the War as "une école d'énergie" for the individual as well as for society (for example Rémond, 1984, p. 8) In *Biribi*'s Froissard we might find Ferdinand Bardamu's equal, for Darien depicts a soldier, who joined the military at 19, which meant two years preceding the call of duty for his 'class' (Darien, 1966, p. 11). We can recognize the same "individu intraitable", rebelling against both moral and military codes. Darien's *Biribi* is a pacifistic outcry by a young writer, who like Céline, wrote a fierce antimilitarist diatribe, following

his own experiences in the army.[15] A few examples in *Casse-pipe* of motifs that obviously come from *Biribi* show us that what is to be perceived as an individualistic, antimilitaristic outcry in the original, is more ambivalent, maybe even sarcastically used in *Casse-pipe*. For this we must examine the scene in which Ferdinand is waiting in front of the gate. He carries an "ordre de route" (CP, p. 11). The same as Froissards "feuille de route[16]" (Darien, 1966, p. 39). This is followed by an entry in the closed world of the barracks which for both is perceived as a brutal restriction of personal freedom.

However, *Casse-pipe's* version shows slight differences. This is seen in Céline's depiction of ambivalent reactions to the military, with the shift from patriotism to scepticism. *Casse-pipe*, like the other novels before it offers a new perspective on Ferdinand's decision to join the army. Céline depicts Ferdinand's doubtful outlook, as he stands on the threshold of the military camp, hesitant to enter, and conscious of his ill-fitting civilian clothes which belonged to his uncle: "une grille qui faisait réfléchir" (CP, p. 11[17]), a gate which made him adopt another point of view? His extended silence symbolically refuses an answer. As his comrades are joyfully making 'an ass' of Ferdinand, he keeps quiet, acting like a fool. For instance, we find how Ferdinand is shoved: « Dis donc l'enflure, tu veux mes pompes pour te faire bouger? » (CP, p. 12[18]), insulted: « Mais il pue cet ours ma parole! » (CP, p. 18[19]) but considers that: « il fallait rien répondre » (CP, p. 17[20]), finding himself « cul devant les questions » (CP, p. 19[21]). This passive attitude calls to mind *Biribi's*'silencing' of its hero: « De quoi? (…) tu te plains. Est-ce que tu n'es pas venu tout seul? » (Darien, p. 49[22]) and « Je comprends qu'ils ont le droit de me regarder de haut » (p. 50[23]). We can see *Casse-pipe*'s use of Darien's novel as Ferdinand's comrades questions: « Pourquoi tu t'es engagé? Tu as jamais été cocher? Tailleur des fois de ton état (…) Qu'est-ce que tu viens foutre au 17^{e} cavalerie lourde? Hein tu sais pas toi-même, merveilleux, y a plus rien à manger

[15]Darien writes about his own experiences as a young soldier, who hotheaded by nature, receives for his "manquement nouvelle à la discipline", the ultimate punishment the French state reserved for its soldiers: the Compagnie de Discipline de Gafsa. He returns after 5 years of "slavery" in 1886 and writes *Biribi*, a fierce social-critical denunciation (for social critics related to Biribi, read also Kalifa, Dominique. 2009. "Biribi, Les Bagnes coloniaux de l'armée.").

[16]The word has quit a sinister connotation as it was in fact the soldier's call-up papers, but also a direct order, which meant that whomever refused to comply, would be charged with desertion (http://blog.veronis.fr/2006/06/translation-feuille-de-route.html).

[17]"A gate that made you think" (CP, p. 9).

[18] « Oi, you stuck up little creep, do you want a kick up the arse? » (CP, p. 9).

[19] « Why he stinks that swine, upon my word » (CP, p. 14).

[20] « it was best to keep my mouth shut » (CP, p. 15)

[21] « I was the butt of the joke who didn't have the answers » (CP, p. 15).

[22]Of what? (…) you're complaining. But didn't you arrive here of you're own volition?

[23]I understand that they have the right to look down on me.

chez toi? Le four a 'chu? (CP, p. 19[24]).[25] *Biribi's* own ambiguity resides in its self-reflection with regard to the question: can one critique the military? *Casse-pipe* seems to mockingly play with this notion, as we see in both the sarcastic taunts that Ferdinand endures, and in his ironic and significant silences.

Céline's ambivalent atitude will now be discussed in reference to *Casse-pipe*'s rupture with *Biribi*'s pacifist tone (and with the tone of his own novel « *Voyage* ». If a certain conformism and self-mockery seem to characterize Ferdinand's position towards army codes, his attitude is not without criticism altogether. *Biribi's* hero was critical, because he could not force himself to be enthusiastic about the service. Froissard became bored with the « corvee d'écurie », « en montant la garde », « tenant le sabre » (Darien, p. 51[26]). *Casse-pipe* uses these motifs, not so much to demonstrate the absurdity of it all, but to give an ironic and sarcastic impression that reveals the ineffectiveness of the French cuirassiers regiment.[27] Being from another cultural and social background, Ferdinand is an excellent outside observer of moral codes. Satirically, *Casse-pipe* is effective in showing the extent to which the French army was not only outdated, but also completely incapable. Hence the first impression: "C'était le brigadier Le Meheu qui tenait le fond du corps de garde, les coudes sur la table, contre l'abat-jour. Il ronflait (…) Il relevait encore (…) Il se défendait du roupillon" (CP, p. 11[28]). This lack of vigilance was later to become one of Céline's recurring motifs throughout his work with regard to the French army in the Second World War. Another one for that matter was the discourse on 'effeminacy' characterizing the army, that was a reference to France being taken advantage of by outside forces (Sanos, 2012). The soldiers are presented as ridiculous with their absurdly big weapons. Consider for instance: "Le factionnaire il émergeait à peine, le bout des oreillers de son engonçage de manteaux (…) ébouriffé de pèlerines comme un nuageux artichaut" (CP, p. 12[29]). Ferdinand, flabbergasted in front of this, trips over a few of the men and their equipment: "Comme j'ai buté dans un sabre toute la portée de viande a râlé" (CP, pp. 12–13[30]). Irony is being directed at a specific part of the French Army and its ineffectiveness in wartime, whereas antimilitarism in *Voyage* was directed at its absurdity in general.

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[24] « What on earth made you enlist? Have you ever been a coachman? Or are you a tailor? (…) What the fuck are you doing in the 17th heavy cavalry? Hey? You don't know yourself? Say that's brilliant! Is there no grub left at home? Is the oven busted? » (CP, p. 15).

[25]Follows quit literally Biribi: "Pourquoi tu n'es pas resté chez toi? (…) -La planche à pain était tombée? -Le four était démoli?" (Darien, p. 49).

[26]working in the stables, standing guard, holding the sabre.

[27]Cavalry Destouches joined in 1912 in Rambouillet; still wearing their traditional helmets and 'cuirasses' during the first part of World War One.

[28]"Corporal Le Meheu was sprawled out up the back of the guardroom, his elbows on the desk, slumped against the lampshade. He was snoring his head off" (CP, p. 9).

[29]"All you could see of the guard was the very tips of his ears, poking out of an enormous mound of clothing (…) peeping out of all those layers of baggy capes he looked like some kind of rancid onion in there", (CP, p. 9).

[30]"I stumbled over a sabre and the whole mountain of flesh and rags started to rattle" (CP, p. 10).

Casse-pipe's next reference to *Biribi*—with the motif of 'military punishment'-further highlights the fact that *Casse-pipe* tapped into a certain feeling in society at just the right time. As we have seen in *Biribi,* the hero is presented as rebelling against the values of the army, which is shown through his boredom with military customs. His attitude demonstrated a lack of patriotism. Froissard describes his own failure to show enthusiasm during the recitation of military theory: "Ça paraît me laisser froid. Je n'ai pas l'air de me figurer que l'avenir de la France est là-dedans." (Darien, p. 52[31]). Froissard's entrenched and open antimilitarism leads to his ultimate deportation to Tunisia, where, incapable of following rules, Darien describes the punishments and tortures that he endured with a vengeful realism. The role of the victim and the brutalities Ferdinand receives thus have a familiarity. They could well lead to an antimilitaristic interpretation by which *Casse-pipe*, inscribing itself in a tradition of writing about the hardships of war, uses the brutality as a complaint against the military (Roynette). Still, *Casse-pipe* gives us some clues as to how it may be read differently. This is largely seen through the satirical depiction of military correction which is the main focus of *Casse-pipe*.

First, we can consider the role of the victim. As Meizoz (2007) has argued, Céline's close identification with the fictive Ferdinand is seen through the depiction of the character's physical appearance. We can look to passages from the text to exemplify this. Ferdinand is portrayed as a coward, in contrast to his entourage, who, in spite of their inefficiency, are presented with excessively masculine traits, to the extent that they are almost animal-like: "Ils avaient tous eux des tronches rouges, cramoisies, sauf un qu'était plutôt verdâtre (…) ils montraient tous leurs dents gâtées (…). Des pas belles dentures de vieux chevaux" (CP, p. 13[32]). Ferdinand, with his distinguished neat middle-class appearance, is not so much a rebel as Froissard; his outcast position is integral in showing how he is later portrayed as a coward and deserter of his country. It calls to mind the *carnets* where insecurity about his own virility came to the forefront. *Casse-pipe* might in that respect be called a nod to Destouches' past. While the other soldiers are reproved for their undisciplined behaviour, as they are caught in the stables, the 'rookie' Ferdinand distinguishes himself as the most disgusting character: "Il est extra! Il est fameux! (…) Je l'ai senti tout de suite! Il va se cacher dans l'ordure!" (CP, p. 84[33]). Ferdinand is worse than the others as he is not only an indisciplinarian, but also an 'inviril': a bleu without a "goutte de sang (…) L'ancien qui crève au service! Le bleu qui ronfle! C'est la mode!" (CP, p. 80[34]). This might be a reference to a renewed patriotism in the 'Entre-deux-guerres' when right-wing ideology

[31]I don't seem to care. I can't see the future of France in it.

[32]"They jammed their mushes right into mine, all bright red, except for one who was more sort of greenish. They yawned open their great gobs till all I could see was rows and rows of rotting teeth, crooked and crumbling. Not very picturesque, like old nags"(CP, p. 10).

[33]"He's brilliant! He's terrific! He stinks this skunk! I smelled a rat as soon as he walked in! He goes and hides himself in the shit!" (CP, p. 64).

[34]"It's the old veterans, who have to sweat and slave and make the sacrifices! Whilst the rookie snores! That's how it is nowadays!", (CP, p. 61).

considered war as "une école d'énergie" (Rémond) for the individual as well as for the nation, that had become 'degenerated'.

Casse-pipe also borrows from *Biribi* in its satirical depiction of military discipline. While the military is presented as a hierarchic institution, the corporal menacing the brigadier who menaces the private—in a parodic depiction of the call to order in which each menaces the lower rank, somewhat reminiscent of the domino effect: "Brigadier (…) je vous vois cassant des cailloux dans un grand désert!" (CP, p. 75[35])—Ferdinand suffers the majority of the blame. This is easily explained, as he finds himself not only at the bottom of military hierarchy as a 'rookie', but as a perverted character as well. The motif from *Biribi*, where 'casser des cailloux' [munching pebbles] was synonymous with military repression for Darien, is used as a self-inflicted 'punishment' for Ferdinand. Were France to depend on such 'lousy types', "L'ennemi est vainqueur! (…) C'est notre foutue punition! Vous ferai casser des cailloux jusqu'à la fin de la Saint-Glinglin (…) Ça me soulève le coeur!" (CP, p. 77[36]). Reading military discipline from this perspective, a military correction of Ferdinand's undisciplined behaviour might have a less antimilitaristic meaning than its 'example', *Biribi*. At the very least, we might see here a very ambiguous vision of Ferdinand's own indiscipline. Although the entire barracks is degenerate, Ferdinand is the one who gets 'pissed over the most', even though he is certainly not the most debased of the soldiers: "On a longé au plus près le mur (…) il tombait d'en haut de l'urine (…) Pour que je triche pas à la douche, ils m'ont bousculé plusieurs fois les affreux sous les arrosages" (CP, p. 45[37]).

We must finally examine Céline's position in the literary world. Indeed, he felt sorely undervalued as he was not selected for the prix Goncourt. This was prior to his engagement in collaboration with the Nazis and his outspoken antisemitism. (There should be more research concerning Céline's period of literary activity surrounding *Casse-pipe*, namely examining correspondences and his reception in order to examine the extent of his resentment.) We can now examine Céline's depiction of Ferdinand's situation in the final chapter of *Casse-pipe*, where we find the officer Rancotte, who furiously reprimands Ferdinand on hearing that the sentry was not relieved: "Toi la bleusaille, tu comprends ça? Tu la saisis la musique? (…) T'en sais rien? T'es pur (…) L'oiseau bleu? (…) Garde à vous faux jeton! (…) Je vous recauserai tout à l'heure! (…) Il est parti menacer ailleurs (CP, p. 89[38]).

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[35]"Corporal he answers, I can see you munching pebbles in a vast dessert" (CP, p. 58).

[36]"The ennemi wins hands down! That will be our bloody punishment (…) look at those cunts! They make me wanna puke!" (CP, p. 59).

[37]"We sneaked along, keeping close to the wall, a downpour off streaming from the floors above (…) the other bastards jostled me underneath the shower several times (…) just to make sure that I got a faceful" (CP, p. 34).

[38]"Oi, you, rookie, can you understand that? Do you get the gist? You burk? Isn't this skilful horseriding? Hey, tell me what you think of that, I ask you? You know nothing? You're innocent? So now he is as corrupt as the devil (…) Attention, you little creep! Attention! I'll talk to you later (…) He wandered of still raging" (CP, p. 68).

Rancotte could be seen as the embodiment of Ferdinand's patriotic conscience, as he is making Ferdinand respond to patriotic sentiment. First urging his trumpeter to make his fanfare count for something: "Je veux que ça crève les nuages, tu m'entends (…) Je veux qu'on t'entende au polygone! Je veux que ça réveille le président!" (CP, p. 100[39]).

Ferdinand's previously ambiguous stand begins to take a more nationalistic turn. The "nature du vice" has become disciplined: Rancotte seemed to announce this from the beginning: "Connais pas Biribi? Parfaitement bleu dressé! Connaîtras?" (CP, p. 25[40]). Céline, seeing himself in this enlightened character, adopts a more aggressive tone of writing.

4 The First World War in Regard to Céline's Postural Search for Notoriety in 1936

Casse-pipe can be construed as a transitional novel: as a politically aware writer Céline felt the need to reformulate. How then in *Casse-pipe* (literally 'a target at a funfair') does the role of the outsider and the scapegoat come together in the person of the writer, the soldier, and, by extension, the bleak future of France as a nation? With the disappointing reception of his second novel, *Mort à Credit*, Céline was only known now as the anti-war writer of *Voyage au Bout de la Nuit*. Feeling the need to reinsert himself into the literary scene, the choice for another novel about the war was logical. The role of the war for Céline as a writer could thus be summarized, as Roynette (2015, p. 48) argues, as a "stratégie de reconquête de lectorat" [a strategy to win back former readers]. In going back to the 'roots' of his military adventure, Céline's choice to inscribe himself in a literary genre that could be described as a "literature de caserne" and about the young people who had been confronted with the vexations of that service, that had been popular in the years preceding the war, could in that respect be seen as his strategy to gain popularity.

However, let us return to Meizoz's (2011) claim that Céline's strategies to inscribe and impose himself on the literary scene coexisted with his wish to singularize himself as well, the choice of this 'literature of the barracks' also seems to have other consequences. For that matter, references in *Casse-pipe* to the "étymon de la literature française" on the War [original War literature], *Roncevaux*, have been shown by Cornille (1999, p. 27) to prove that Céline wanted to be the ultimate 'incarnator' of French War literature. Moreover, we have seen that Céline wanted to present himself as a 'dangerous outsider'. This explains in a way why his choice of who to 'copy' fell on the anarchistic genre. On the other hand, Céline made sure that a new ideological outcome was added to the original. Whereas Céline thought

[39]"I want you to tear these clouds asunder, you hear, piper! (…) I want them to be able to hear you over the rifle-range! I want it to wake the president!" (CP, p. 76).

[40]"Never heard of Biribi? It's perfect training! You'll get acquainted with it!" (CP, p. 19).

of himself (or posed as) a social outcast, too vulgar for the French intelligentsia while too intellectual to be taken seriously on the popular scene (Pagès, 1994), he found a socio-political 'niche' from which he could use his position as a 'martyr' to oppose his image of a disengaged individual that he so often depicted in his works. His own 'tragical' existence, as Lavenne (2014) has put it, demanded to be written. Recalling what Compagnon (2014, p. 19) put as Céline's fear that he could not surpass Barbusse's exemplary work (*Le Feu*) on the Great War, there is also some reason to believe his postural strategies were intended to do just that.

Disassociating himself from the main political tendencies, Céline felt himself to be in an excellent position to comment on more recent developments that he saw with the eye of a 'Cassandra'. Cornille (1999) has already alerted us to the fact that *Casse-pipe* is a very 'apocalyptical' short novel in itself. From 'the horses running loose', with their possible reference to the 'Book of Apocalypse of John' to 'the trumpets blasting at daybreak', to the general feeling of the End of Time, *Casse-pipe* seems to fit perfectly with the crepuscular politics of 1936. Note for that matter the allusion to '*Roncevaux',* which was also a book about France's resistance against foreign occupation and its coping with a 5th column of internal betrayers. Could this not very well be a reference to Céline's fears for a coming war with the Germans and, quite unsettlingly, a preview of his anti-Semitic writings to come? Céline's denunciation of moral "degeneration" in *Casse-pipe* could clearly be related to this discourse in his work, that saw that regarded degeneration as a sign of weakness to foreign invasion in general (Sanos, 2012, p. 162). The military metaphor makes this all the more probable and concrete. In Ferdinand's 'perversity', as in the allusions to 'effeminacy', we could probably be confronted with what Sanos (2012) has called Céline's idiom of 'decadence', 'corruption' and 'sexuality', an idiom he used in a discourse that held the horrors of modernity accountable for the ultimate "disappearance of France and the Frenchmen" (p. 191). The pamphlets used pacifism and antimilitarism in a new perspective, where communists, degenerates and Jews were held responsible for the low morale in the army, and eventually for the decline of France as a whole. *Casse-pipe's* transformations thus seem to conform to the overall 'apocalyptical' tone Céline developed from 1936 onwards.

From this perspective, *Casse-pipe* might be seen as a 'mea culpa' and a staunch message that the left-wing writer of "*Le Voyage*" no longer existed. In Cornille we read that it could not be a coincidence that "*Casse-pipe* en tant que roman inachevé, soit relayé justement par les écrits les plus haineux de Céline: *Mea culpa* d'abord (…) Comment comprendre autrement cette proximité entre le dernier roman et les pamphlets qui lui feront suite?" [that *Casse-pipe* as an unfinished novel should be continued by the most heinous of writings, first *Mea Culpa*. How else should we understand the proximity between the last novel and the pamphlets?]. This would explain *Casse-pipe*'s sudden provisional ending, especially fitting with the word 'pardon' inserted (Céline, 1975, p. 120; Cornille, 1999, pp. 31–32). Could this point to a relation between Ferdinand's ambivalence and Céline's choice to proceed in another direction, thus symbolically suspending a literary form that he felt no longer sufficient?

5 Conclusion: *Casse-Pipe* as a Transition in the Political Posture of Céline?

Recalling what Martin (2008) said about Céline's portrayal of the war: "Céline le modèle, l'étire, l'aére, le rend de plus en plus leger (…) Ce qui consistait en quelques gravités dans l 'épisode de la Guerre dans *Voyage*, va devenir une vaste farce dans *Féerie*, un ballet merveilleux" (p. 198) [Céline remodels, reconfigures (…) What consists of serious matter in Voyage, becomes a farce, a marvellous ballet in *Féerie*.] *Casse-pipe* came at a specific opportunistic moment: Céline wanting to hook on to actuality and impose himself on the literary scene. Likewise Lavenne, basing himself on *Entretiens avec le Professeur Y*, explores Céline's method of using his 'biography' while bypassing "'anecdote personnelle', pour toucher à une sorte de 'je' collectif ou de 'moi experimental" (Lavenne, p. 519). Probably, this was especially true at the very moment Céline wrote *Casse-pipe,* as he felt the revolt of the individual writer no longer sufficed and had to make way for a more direct engagement as a "citoyen". In addition to what Morand has called Céline's individual revolt against war as an essential evil, we find in *Casse-pipe* a second form of refusal: that of the public intellectual and writer conscious of his responsibilities to alert his "concitoyens" (Morand, 1972, p. 22). It means a lamination of *Biribi's* individual revolt and the disintegration of the 'old' Ferdinand, the "Bardamu (…) Pacifiste forcené (…) impermeable à l'idée patriotique" (Rieuneau, 1974, p. 299 [a desperate pacifist without any patriotism whatsoever]), for the events in the present demand a more active role of the intellectual in society.

These new circumstances could also explain the "profonde ambivalence à l'égard de la Guerre" in his pamphlets, which consists in Céline alternating between pacifism and praising the "soldat héroïque"; at the same time "(Fontaine, 2008, p. 158). As this ambivalence is present in the character of Ferdinand, Céline's paradoxical attitude towards the subject of war could be explained by his coping with his own past and fears. This ambivalence might just have conditioned Céline, wanting to adopt a more pronounced political colour and to reconstruct his image. Where the young soldier, just like Bardamu in the *Voyage*, fights an individual fight, the same cynicism in *Mea culpa* is much more aggressive with regard to the literary scene: "Ce qui séduit dans le Communisme, l'immense avantage à vrai dire, c'est qu'il va nous démasquer l'Homme, enfin! Le débarrasser des "excuses". Voici des siècles qu'il nous berne, lui, ses instincts (…) » (Céline, 2012, p. 3[41]). This situates Céline's frustration in a wider literary context (for example his anger in *Bagatelles pour un massacre* following his labelling by a critic as a « rénégat du communisme »). His anger can be viewed as a reaction to literary pairs such as Dabit and Gide, who travelled to the Soviet Union in order to experience Communism, and were considered naïve by Céline.

[41] « What is so seductive about communism, in fact it's major advantage, is that it'll unmask Man! Strip him bare of his « excuses ». For centuries he's been leading us down the garden path, going on about his instincts », Céline, *Mea Culpa*, 2008.

To conclude on a hypothetical note, associated with *Casse-pipe's* actual moment of publication, I would like to consider Céline's real reasons for the re-publication of this old manuscript, *Casse-pipe*, in 1948. Cornille (1999, p. 16) writes how the editor, while Céline was still in Denmark, contacted the writer in 1947 with the request to publish *Casse-pipe*, a text that for a long time was thought to have disappeared, and was at that time partly retrieved. Céline promptly responded with a "Tout à fait d'accord pour *Casse-pipe* dans vos Cahiers" resuming with a: "Il n'y aura jamais suite ni fin à *Casse-pipe*, hélas! Il était bon. Mes "occupants" Rue Girardon en ont foutu 15 ou 20 chapitres aux ordures" (Cornille citing from *Cahiers Céline1*: "Céline et l'actualité littéraire", 1932–1957[42]).

If writing *Casse-pipe* was considered a "stratégie de reconquête du marché" [strategy to win back readers] in 1936, it did so while adjusting itself strategically to ideological issues at the time of writing. After the war, however, Céline, while never actually excusing himself for anything, took a completely different position. His strategies for returning to the public's favour consisted in a posture by which he presented himself as a "Dandy de la catastrophe" (Lavenne, 2014, p. 557); either by posing as a pure stylist or alternatively by picturing himself as a "victime passive prise dans le tourbillon de l'histoire" (ibid., p. 580) [passive victim powerless in the maelstrom of events]. The publication of *Casse-pipe* in 1948 could thus be presented as such. Ferdinand, and by extension Céline himself, could hide behind the excuse of the innocent victim. As its ambivalent ideological position would probably remain unnoticed, *Casse-pipe* could easily have been used as a means by which the public would recognize the old "Bardamu" of *Voyage au Bout de la Nuit*, and in such a way Céline could make disappear traces of his past persona. *Casse-pipe's* ambiguous character, as I hope to have demonstrated here, has served Céline particularly well in two periods of his literary career.

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[42]I am hundred percent behind the publishing of CP in your Cahiers/This great work will unfortunately never be complete or finished/My occupiers in the Rue Girardon put 15 or 20 chapters of it in the trashcan.

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Louis-Ferdinand Destouches' Medical Writing: An *Apologia* for Industrial and Social Modernization

Ana Maria Alves

> Medicine was my calling (…) Since I was a child I have dreamed of becoming a doctor, I dreamed of healing people (…) (Céline, 1961, p. 207)

Abstract This article proposes an analysis of the medical writings of Louis-Ferdinand Destouches. These writings reveal a critical reflection, in no way a whitewash, on hygiene and public health problems imposed by the war of 14–18. These medical writings, immediate post-war products, show thinking which is in line with the social and ideological ideas we find in *Semmelweis*, the first of the texts collected in Celine Book 3 (*The Basedowine closes* collection). Contemporary with the debates of the 20s, he questioned medical theses dedicated to the glorification of industrial and social modernization. Here is presented and clarified some data on their acceptance by the medical profession, the development of Destouches' career, and his vision of his profession, concluding that these medical writings can be considered embryonic of the views of the man who would become Louis-Ferdinand Céline. Written, mostly, on behalf of the League of Nations during the period 1924–1932, these medical writings, like his medical history, provide the main leitmotifs that will illustrate the Celinian universe: miserable conditions, poverty, alcoholism and human degradation, all the things that made it difficult to exercise the profession of doctor in the urban-industrial society of the early twentieth century.

This article presents an approach to some of Louis-Ferdinand Destouches's medical writings. Destouches (1894–1961) is better known for his pen name, Louis Ferdinand Céline, a pseudonym that only came to light in 1932 when his first novel, *Voyage au bout de la nuit* (Journey to the End of the Night) was published.

Most of these medical articles were written between 1924 and 1932, on behalf of the *Société des Nations* (the League of Nations), when Destouches was aiming for a career as a hygienist. After 1977, those articles were compiled in the third volume of

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the *Cahiers Céline*, published in *La Nouvelle Revue Française* as *Semmelweis et autres écrits médicaux* (*Semmelweiss and other medical writings*), and they reveal an increasingly developed reflection on hygiene and public health problems brought about by his 1st WW experience. Being immediate post-war productions, these articles present not only a focus on medicine, but also on related social and ideological issues. Contemporaneous with the 1920s discussions, Destouches enquires into the condition of medicine as an *apologia* for industrial and social modernization.

In order to focus on his approach, it is necessary to choose the most representative writings in this *apologia* for modernization, found in the corpus presented in *Cahiers Céline 3*. We will not dwell on his medical and pharmaceutical writings of the late 1930s, which are not devoid of interest for an understanding of his medical work, but they have less of a bearing on his war experiences.

Therefore, before focusing on the ideas of a public health specialist, influenced by Taylorism, a brief introduction to his medical career is necessary. This will lead us to the discovery of a number of medical writings about social order that illustrate the concerns of a French doctor in the urban-industrial society of the early twentieth century.

1 The Discovery of the Medical Profession

Louis-Ferdinand Destouches was born on May 27, 1894, in Courbevoie, in Paris, into a bourgeois family. His father worked in the insurance sector and his mother was a lace maker. He enlisted as a cuirassier in 1912, but after the war broke out, shrapnel fractured not only his right arm but also his fighting spirit. He was subsequently taken to the emergency unit of Hazebrouck military hospital and so, on October 25, 1914, Louis-Ferdinand Destouches made his first contacts with the medical world. He soon after retired from the military and was assigned to a post at the French consulate in London.

Having returned to Paris, young Destouches went to Africa in 1916, in order to work as a plantation supervisor for a logging company. In fact, it was in Africa that he first confronted the need to heal people, when he realized the extent of epidemics and discovered the reality of colonial life. He wrote to his friend Suzanne Saintu, saying: "I treat black patients as much as I possibly can, I'm not even sure if I'm useful to them"[1] (Destouches, 1916, p. 207). From that moment on, his concerns about hygiene stirred and those concerns can be found in a letter written in 1917 and addressed to Simone Saintu: "Do not forget to burn this letter; it must contain trillions of microbes"[2] (Destouches, 1917, p. 170). In order to help local people, he

[1]Author's translation of: "je soigne le plus de nègres possibles, quoique que je ne sois pas bien persuadé de leur être utile".

[2]Author's translation of: "N'omettez point de brûler cette lettre, elle doit contenir des billions de microbes".

asked his parents to send him medicines and medical devices, so that he could heal based on real samples or on the reading of medical articles. It was within this context, and after feeling the need to relieve human suffering, that he had his first medical experience. He contracted malaria and had to return to France in April 1917. In Paris, as Michel Deveaux emphasized, he was:

> hired by *La Sirène* Editions and worked for a small magazine, *Eurêka*, that published scientific textbooks. (…) One day, Louis came upon a small ad from the Rockefeller Foundation. This Foundation was looking for agents to disseminate information on the fight against tuberculosis, a scourge in France.[3] (Deveaux, 2015, p. 50)

One year later, with the American Commission for Preservation against Tuberculosis, also known as *Mission Rockefeller*, renowned for advocating medical research and improving public health, he discovered the real meaning of social medicine. Recruited by one of the teams that worked for this mission, he took up a challenge which was of the utmost importance. While informing the population about basic hygiene, he also had to apprise them of the devastating ravages of disease that caused thousands of deaths in WW1, thus acknowledging the fact that existing structures did not work.

He also gave lectures to raise public awareness. His first lecture took place in Rennes on March 10, 1918, at the request of Dr. Anastasius Follet, Dean of the Faculty of Medicine of Rennes, who sought urgent publicity for a Brittany dramatically affected by tuberculosis. The testimony of a journalist that attended the lecture gives us an account of Destouches' speech, emphasizing his wisdom as a future physician: "He spoke about the issue with absolute mastery, and also with the experienced art of the finest experts"[4] (Huon de Kermadec, 1976, p. 35).

After this experience, Destouches decided to study Medicine in 1919. He concluded his studies very quickly, because of the special conditions available to veterans. In March 1920, in Rennes, he obtained his completion of studies certificate in physical, chemical and natural sciences. Thereafter, he applied for Medical School and, after passing his exams, sought hospital internships and was acknowledged as a student with "a rare quality for establishing smooth communication with the patients"[5] (Guenot, 1973, p. 37).

In 1922, Destouches continued his studies in Paris, and, in 1924, he defended his thesis on the topic: *La vie et l'œuvre de Ignace Philippe Semmelweis* (The Life and Work of Ignace Philippe Semmelweis), which earned him a gold medal awarded by the Faculty of Medicine of Paris. According to Michel Devaux, "a summary of this

[3]Author's translation of: "embaucher par les Éditions *La Sirène* et travaille à une petite revue Eurêka qui publie des manuels scientifiques. (…) Louis tomba un jour sur une petite annonce émanant de la Fondation américaine Rockefeller. Cette Fondation recherchait des agents afin de diffuser des informations concernant la lutte contre le fléau que constituait la tuberculose en France".

[4]Author's translation of: "Il a parlé avec une grande science de la question et avec un art goûté des plus fins connaisseurs".

[5]Author's translation of: "une qualité rare [ayant] la facilité d'entrer en contact avec les malades".

thesis was published on 25th June 1924 in *La Presse Médicale*, under the heading *Les derniers jours de Semmelweis* (The Last Days of Semmelweis)"[6] (Deveaux, 2015, p. 58). Destouches's thesis deals with the biography of a Hungarian physician, Master of Surgery, PhD in Obstetrics, inventor of prophylaxis and asepsis, long before Lister and Pasteur. Semmelweis discovered that the maternal mortality rate (MMS) after childbirth was due to hygiene problems resulting from the fact that nurses and doctors lacked the habit of disinfecting before surgery, thus contaminating their patients. MMS decreased when he imposed these hygiene rules. However, the importance of his discoveries in asepsis inspired jealousy, hostility and hatred among his peers. Dr. Semmelweis was rejected, despised, dismissed and banned. The intransigence, independent-mindedness and love for mankind which despite everything drove this scientist enable us to fathom how Céline would shape himself as a novelist.

2 The Hygiene Crusade of Dr. Destouches

Influenced by the death of the Hungarian physician who was not acknowledged by his peers and convinced that human beings are responsible for their own suffering and diseases, Destouches decided to get involved in a hygiene crusade. Following the example of *Semmelweis* whose "medical thinking [he said], so beautiful, so generous, perhaps the only truly human thinking in the world, is so clearly shown on each page of his existence"[7] (Destouches, 1924, p. 123). That year, thanks to his acquaintances within the Rockefeller Foundation, he was reappointed and made himself available to work as a physician-epidemiologist at the Hygiene section of the League of Nations in Geneva. He began this quest under the direction of Dr. Ludwik Rajchman, a Polish Jewish physician, for whom he would hold deep respect as he demonstrated a few years later, stating that one "must be fair to him, he was much less stupid amongst great scholars, much less stingy, less of a scoundrel, less pretentious"[8] (Céline, 1941, p. 64). Thereafter, he went back to Cameroon as a physician-epidemiologist of the League of Nations and from 1924 to 1927 his social and occupational medicine campaign expanded to another continent. In 1925, Rajchman invited him to attend the International Exchange of Physicians and Hygienists, who were working on public health and hygiene issues.

On February 14, 1925, Destouches left for North America and Europe, or more precisely the Netherlands and Italy, with a group of Latin American physicians, to

[6]Author's translation of: "un résumé de cette thèse parut en juin 1924 dans La Presse médicale sous le titre *Les derniers jours de Semmelweis*".

[7]Author's translation of: "la pensée médicale, [dit-il] si belle, si généreuse, la seule pensée vraiment humaine qu'il soit peut-être au monde, s'est illustrée très lisiblement dans chaque page de son existence".

[8]Author's translation of: "il faut lui rendre justice, il était beaucoup moins con que les autres, dans le genre des grands savants, bien moins mesquin, moins abruti, moins prétentieux".

make them aware of several hygiene facilities already developed. He documented all these journeys and also had to prepare reports, which reflected the lectures and papers presented during his travels, to be sent to Rajchman, his director. Guided by Dr. Destouches, the group traveled through different regions and arrived in Pittsburgh to study the manner in which the Westinghouse Electric Company provided its health services, but not before going through Detroit, where they visited the health installations at the Ford factory.

As far as the Ford factories are concerned, the extreme mechanization there reminds us of the scene in Charlie Chaplin's *Modern Times*1(936), which perfectly captured the image of workers acting mechanically, "a few gestures, always the same",[9] according to Destouches (1941, p. 173). In this regard, recalling his experience, Destouches maintained that "the machinery quickly takes on much more importance than a man in the manufacturing process"[10] The worker described by Céline is undignified, his thoughts are erased, and the author also displays the violence and brutality exerted on contemporary man alienated by new types of labor organization and by technological improvements, as shown in the excerpt from the text. Here we find the hero of *Voyage au bout de la nuit* during a medical checkup at Ford plants:

> 'For what you will do here, it's not important how bad you are!', the general practitioner reassured me, right away. 'So much the better.' I answered, 'but you know sir, I'm educated and even started doing medical studies. 'It does you no good here, your studies, boy! You didn't come here to think, but to perform the actions we will order you to do. We do not need creative individuals in our factory. It is chimpanzees that we need. Follow this word of advice: don't you ever tell us how smart you are! We'll think for you, my friend!'[11] (Céline, 1932, p. 223)

It is worth mentioning that, through his texts on social medicine and hygiene, which are representative texts of the health concerns at the core of this new state of industrial spirit, Dr. Destouches was the only one, in the late 1920s, to endorse "the medicine of the proletariat"[12] (Destouches, 1928a, p. 146), "medicine of expectancy and a special practice which is suited to a large population always at work"[13] (Destouches, 1928b, p. 163), and not "the standard medicine" or even "the hospital

[9]Author's translation of: "à quelques gestes, toujours les mêmes".

[10]Author's translation of: "la machine prend ainsi rapidement beaucoup plus d'importance que l'homme dans la fabrication".

[11]Author's translation of: "Pour ce que vous ferez ici, ça n'a pas d'importance comment que vous êtes foutu! m'a rassuré le médecin examinateur, tout de suite. - Tant mieux que j'ai répondu moi, mais vous savez, monsieur, j'ai de l'instruction et même j'ai entrepris autrefois des études médicales. - Ca ne vous servira à rien ici vos études, mon garçon! Vous n'êtes pas venu ici pour penser, mais pour faire les gestes qu'on vous commandera d'exécuter. Nous n'avons pas besoin d'imaginatifs dans notre usine. C'est de chimpanzés dont nous avons besoin. Un conseil encore. Ne nous parlez plus jamais de votre intelligence! On pensera pour vous mon ami!".

[12]Author's translation of: "la médecine du prolétariat".

[13]Author's translation of: "médecine d'expectative et de pratique spéciale qui est adaptée à une population nombreuse et toujours au travail".

medicine". It was in the post-war recovery period that he realized the existence of social injustices and discovered his own social awareness. Moreover, he acknowledges this revelation during an interview with Jean Guenot and Jacques Darribehaude: "(…) I was in the League of Nations, (…) There, then, relentlessly. It mostly came to me later, the social awareness. I hadn't had it (…)"[14] (Guenot & Darribehaude, 1963, p. 187).

3 Céline's Watermark

As emphasized by Philippe Roussin, "it is from this social identity (…), after being a social hygienist attached to the office of the LN between 1924 and 1927, that Céline had to build his literary identity"[15] (Roussin, 2011, p. 56). The modernization that Dr. Destouches previously upheld is rejected and condemned by the writer Céline, someone who abominated industrial society and described human misery, people's condition, their alienation and the oppression of modern production-driven systems of the twentieth century in the most negative terms.

These topics would be the subject of his first novel *Journey to the End of the Night*, which depicts his hero who is hired at Ford and suffers from the dehumanizing assembly line. This hero also represents the modern manual worker, made to work faster and faster by repeating the same tasks indefinitely.

Journey to the End of the Night depicts a common character, Ferdinand Bardamu, faced with the greatest challenge of his time, the war of 1914–1918, in which he is enlisted and from which he discovers the horrors and the colonialism, but also its modernism and its progress. At the beginning of the novel, Bardamu volunteers to fight in the war in 1914. Sent to the front, he mixes into the narrative of what he observes some acerbic remarks on his own incomprehension about the horror and absurdity of war and the behavior of his colonel.

> That colonel, I could see, was a monster. Now I knew it for sure, he was worse than a dog, he couldn't conceive of his own death. At the same time I realized that there must be plenty of brave men like him in our army, and just as many no doubt in the army facing us. How many, I wondered. One or two million, say several millions in all? The thought turned my fear to panic. With such people this infernal lunacy could go on for ever (…). Why would they stop? Never had the world seemed so implacably doomed.
>
> Could I, I thought, be the last coward on earth? How terrifying! (…) All alone with two million stark raving heroic madmen, armed to the eyeballs? With and without helmets, without horses, on motorcycles, bellowing, in cars, screeching, shooting, plotting, flying, kneeling, digging, taking cover, bounding over trails, root-toot-tooting, shut up on earth as

[14]Author's translation of: "(…) j'étais à la Société des Nations, (…) Là alors implacablement. C'est surtout ça m'est venu tard, moi, la conscience sociale. Je l'avais pas (…)".

[15]Author's translation of: Philippe Roussin. "c'est à partir de cette identité sociale (…), après avoir été un hygiéniste social rattaché au bureau de la SDN entre 1924–27- que Céline devait construire son identité littéraire".

> if it were a loony bin, ready to demolish everything on it, Germany, France, whole continents, everything that breathes, destroy destroy, madder than mad dogs, worshiping their madness (which dogs don't), a hundred, a thousand times madder than a thousand dogs, and a lot more vicious! A pretty mess we were in! No doubt about it, this crusade I'd let myself in for was the apocalypse! (Céline, 2006, p. 9)

Celine gives an apocalyptic vision of an increasingly violent war, emphasizing its monstrous and wholly human-generated character, imposing a kind of collective punishment. The critical tone of this evocation of war comes from the choice of words with depreciative connotation. From the "monster" term that defines the colonel echoes back all the comparisons with dogs. The word comes up repeatedly: "worse than a dog", "more rabid than a thousand dogs", "more vicious". The presentation of men as inferior beings to dogs gives them a rabid character and a perverse and inhumane cruelty. In addition, terms such as "infernal imbecility", "heroic madmen" and "apocalyptic crusade", by their hyperbolic tone, accentuate the horrifying character of his images of war. The phenomenon of amplification of the long central sentence of the second paragraph, with his messy enumeration, leads to a sort of paroxysm of horror, underlined by the succession of the three terms "Germany", "France", and "Continents". The narrator evokes the gigantic scale of fighting across the world.

The narrator does relate an act or a series of acts of war. His comment is about the war in general. Therefore, it is on the phenomenon as a whole that he provides testimony: men turned into screaming hordes or moving, deadly masses, leaders wedded to false bravery capable of all kinds of killings, unleashing widespread violence. He stressed at the same time the extreme loneliness of the isolated man who thinks, and when not being carried away by the ambient madness, feels profoundly different.

By giving voice to his hero, by presenting the reflections of a man, witness and actor, Céline situates him so the reader can understand that in the middle of "heroic madmen", some, with lucidity, could analyze the situation and bring back accurate and humane testimony. Caught in the middle of the horror of the war, he retained a critical lucidity, to bear witness not only to the war but also to his own situation: Bardamu says what he thinks, loud and clear and with some violence of expression.

In WWI, Louis Destouches undoubtedly met with absolute horror, the nightmare of the fighting, the suffering, the numberless dead, the bloody insanity of men, the absurdity without appeal to the outside world and an ordeal from which he would never entirely recover. A world in which the madness manifests itself vividly in war: the drama of intelligence confronted with absolute nonsense and universal malice: "This war, in fact, made no sense at all." (Celine, 2006, p. 4). Thus in Celine's world, there is no possible salvation for man thrown into a world dedicated to universal malice, there is no possibility for him to rise above it: "The truth is death. You have to choose: death or lies. I've never been able to kill myself" (Céline, 2006, p. 97).

In front of this dark and pessimistic painting, Céline describes and denounces the absurdity of society, taking sides with the weak and the poor, without hiding his latent despair.

How therefore can we square this despairing writer/artist with the tireless pursuer of medical improvement, the man who gave his early career to causes of public health and the international organizations and initiatives which grew out of the war? Perhaps the experience of the war set up a real schizophrenia in Destouches. The public man keen to make his mark on the world, committed to improving the lot of suffering humanity. And his *nom de plume*, Céline, the artist who could not overcome his earlier perception of madness and cruelty, and came in the 1920s to find it again in the de-humanity of modern industrial mechanization. In this, he discovered that there was more than one way to wage war on the human spirit.

It appears that the construction of Celine's identity will come from there, from his experience in massacres of horror which inspires him, his dislike of men, and his deep pessimism: "without the Marshal Destouches there would never have been Céline"[16] (Combessy-Savy, 1993, p. 105).

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Sharing Grief: Local and Peripheral Dimensions of the Great War in Contemporary French, British and Canadian Literature

Anna Branach-Kallas and Piotr Sadkowski

Abstract Critics often wonder how much our perception of the war which was to be the last of wars has been determined by literary representations following memoirs and historical accounts. Our article is devoted to the study of contemporary representations of the Great War in France (*Le Monument* by Claude Duneton), in Great Britain (*Zennor in Darkness* by Helen Dunmore) and in English Canada (*Deafening* by Frances Itani), in which the vision of the apocalypse is filtered through the home fronts. The fictionalisation of the social tensions caused by the war far from its central stage helps the reader discover the total dimension of the conflict, affecting both the individual and the community, destroying the established order, on the social and cultural levels, as well as on the mental and ethical ones. If, at the turn of the twenty-first century, military history is still a source of inspiration for contemporary fiction writers, the home front is often fictionalised as well. This is a proof of an ethical shift that resituates the impact of the war far from the battlefield. The contemporary writers under consideration explore the family trauma experienced by those who remain without news of their sons, fathers, husbands or beloved, and who conceptualise the war through official reports or censored letters sent from the front.

The return of the theme of the Great War in contemporary literature since the 1980s suggests that the 1914–1918 conflict is still perceived today, in spite of the death of the last veterans, as a cultural trauma in France, Great Britain and Canada.[1] Joëlle Prungnaud notes that the process of *rewriting* of the First World War, initiated in the 1980s, continues today and is open to transformation and constant renewal (Prungnaud, 2014, p. 10). The horrors of the first industrialised conflict of the

[1]As defined by Jeffrey C. Alexander, "Cultural trauma occurs when members of a collectivity feel they have been subjected to a horrendous event that leaves indelible marks upon their group consciousness, marking their memories forever and changing their future identity in fundamental and irrevocable ways" (Alexander 2004, p. 1). Events mediated as cultural trauma cause epistemological tensions and constant efforts at reinterpretation.

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twentieth century and the unprecedented number of casualties of this global catastrophe, which decimated the societies of the above-mentioned countries, are not, however, the only explanation for the haunting return of the theme in fiction at the turn of the twenty-first century. If the First World War draws the attention of many contemporary writers, it is because the ethical dimension of trauma seems to have a trans-generational impact: grief still permeates memory, both on the collective and familial levels. Consequently, while for some the 1914–1918 conflict is a long-forgotten historical event, for others it creates a cultural community of memories, shaped by genealogical, local and military factors (Offenstadt, 2010, p. 100).

Cultural historians of the First Wold War have focused over the past twenty-five years on "the local and the particular—the individual, the couple and the small group" (Horne, 2014b, p. 638), a peripheral concern in traditional militarily oriented historical discourse. Exploring how communities responded to loss and grief, they have also redirected our attention to the reverberation of war on the home front, showing how the Great War transformed human lives in a political, economic, social and intimate sense. While in the accounts of eye witnesses, such as the war poets and novelists, a gap emerges between the genuine war experience of soldiers in the trenches and the civilians at the rear, women in particular,[2] today we tend to consider the military front and the home front in a continuum, paying attention to how war affected intimate relationships within separated families. As Jay Winter contends:

> The story of family life in wartime is the most powerful vector of *transnational* history. War tore families apart and reconfigured them in myriad ways. In all societies at war, the pressures on families to adjust to new circumstances differed not in kind, only in degree. And as in every other facet of the war, the longer the war went on, the more it became clear that differences in degree were transformed into differences in kind; the war of 1914 turned into Total war; this was the moment when family history and the history of violence became braided together in new and terrifying ways. (Winter, 2014, p. 46; our emphasis)

In this article, we focus on three contemporary First World War novels: *Le Monument* (2004) by French writer Claude Duneton, *Zennor in Darkness* (1993) by British writer Helen Dunmore and *Deafening* (2004) by Canadian author Frances Itani. Although these texts differ in terms of historical background, setting, and, most importantly, convention and literary style, they share the common goal of rethinking the memory of the Great War, by illustrating the peripheral and local aspects of the conflict.

Claude Duneton (1935–2012), a linguist and fiction writer, explains his desire to write *Le Monument* as a "roman-vrai", a true novel about the First World War, referring to the impact of war trauma on his own existence. Although born seventeen years after the Armistice, the future writer listened to the war stories of his

[2]The gap between soldiers and civilians is discussed by Fussell (1975, pp. 82–90) and Schoentjes (2009, pp. 179–196). The omissions and silences of a trench-focused approach to war are analysed by Audoin-Rouzeau and Becker (2000) and Todman (2005).

father, an "ancien poilu de 14" [a former soldier of 1914] (Duneton, 2004, p. 11), who became increasingly critical of the patriotic discourse and official history of the Great War. In his memories, the conflict was an unnecessary carnage, "quatre années de massacre et d'horreur comme jamais on n'en avait vu sur la Terre" [four years of massacre and horror never seen on Earth] (Duneton, 2004, p. 11), "quatre ans de peur intense, d'une terreur sourde ponctuées d'accès terribles qui lui comprimaient l'estomac" [four years of intense fear, of terror, the outbursts of which clenched his stomach] (Duneton, 2004, p. 12). The novel opens with the official celebrations in front of the war memorial in the writer's native village, Lagleygeolle, in the Corrèze, on 11 November 1964, based on the author's personal memories. His eighty-year-old father experiences then a nervous breakdown and verbalises, during the minute of silence, all the anger and pain which he has never managed to externalise. The literary strategy of Claude Duneton, the inheritor of the mental wounds of the war, is thus to give voice to the victims, both the survivors of the war, such as his father, and the disappeared, whose names have been engraved on the village memorial.

Duneton's process of writing can also be compared to a micro-history: inspired by rigorous historical research and the personal memories of witnesses, the writer retraces the individual war destinies of some thirty inhabitants of the rural district where he grew up, and reconstructs in detail the circumstance of their disappearance. In his novel, Duneton combines therefore two perspectives: that of the grand political and military History and that of the personal family his/herstories. In this way, he recreates a complete image of social and moral devastation of a local community which, in spite of geographical distance, cannot evade the disastrous consequences of the war.

The narrative of *Le Monument* alternates between two spaces: that of the military front and that of the home front, the latter including various locations, close to or distant from the main theatre of war. The fictional universe of peripheries of the Great War encompasses, on the one hand, the countryside situated close to the front, in the Ardennes and Flanders, where the soldiers take a rest in between battles, French villages completely destroyed by bombardments, as well as military hospitals, and, on the other hand, the rural district of the Corrèze which all the protagonists resuscitated by Duneton originate from. The former type of peripheries, as well as the battlefields in the novel, can be classified, according to anthropological criteria established by Marc Augé, as "non-lieux", "non-places", transient spaces of desolation, depersonalisation and anonymity, whereas the latter, comprising the distant home front, are places *par excellence*, defined by such dimensions as identity, relations and history (see Augé, 1992, p. 100).

The split between the front and the home front, "places" and "non-places", is reinforced by linguistic heterogeneity in Duneton's fiction. When giving voice to the Corrèze characters, the writer makes them speak in the Limousin dialect; many dialogues between his protagonists are transcribed using Provençal French spelling. Apart from the reality effect, this strategy puts into relief the absurd and deceitful character of the war in a France the patriotic discourses of which are

incomprehensible to the peasants sent to the front, for they begin to discover the official national language only through the military orders of their superiors.

Another relation between the "places" and "non-places" is established in the novel, when the nightmarish reality of the war erupts in the peripheral location. The spectre of the trenches appears in the letters from the front, but mostly when the soldiers return home on leave or are discharged on health grounds. An interesting example is that of Michel Manimont, a *poilu*, whose week at home does not provide him with the respite he hoped for; on the contrary, it proves a new traumatising experience. The veteran realises that his body and mind have been changed in an irreversible way and cannot readjust to the realities of life away from the front; he also finds himself incapable of communicating with his family (Duneton, 2004, pp. 224–227). Similarly, another of Duenton's characters, Pierre Rouchon, a soldier discharged on health grounds, understands, once he returns to his village, that his physical condition makes him unrecognizable to his neighbours. He suffered from gas poisoning (yet was refused the status of disabled by the competent authorities) and has aged and deteriorated beyond recognition. Moreover, he discovers that, during his absence, his homeland has also undergone irrevocable transformations. Instead of a peaceful rural space, he enters a community in mourning, "un pays sans rire" [a country without laughter] (Duneton, 2004, p. 366), where it is extremely difficult for the peasants to maintain the habitual rhythm of agricultural routine. Using free indirect speech, the narrator expresses his sympathy with the traumatised community, when he thus comments: "La guerre, la sale guerre atroce résonnait jusqu'à ici, envahissait avec son poison ces collines vertes ou l'été faisait bourdonner les mouches (…)" [The war, the horrible dirty war, reverberated as far as this place, it invaded the green hills where the flies were buzzing in the summer] (Duneton, 2004, p. 366).

In this community in mourning, empty of men, the women live in constant anxiety because of the lack of news from the front and suffer agony when they are informed about the death of their beloved ones on the so-called fields of honour. In *Le Monument,* the author retraces for example the story of an engaged young woman who, after the disappearance of her fiancé, commits suicide by setting her body on fire. The suffering of the characters remaining at the rear, the wives, fiancées, sisters, and mothers, is therefore perceived as an "extension" of the soldiers' death. The narrator invokes the image of Hecuba lamenting over Hector's death in Homer's *Iliad* to emphasise the contrast with his female characters, whose pain is devoid of pathos: "Mais ces mères de 14, privées de tout, frustrées d'une dernière toilette à l'enfant bien-aimé, leur douleur battait creux, butait sur le néant, comme les mâchoires de la chienne blessée qui mord le vide" [As for these mothers of 1914, deprived of everything, of the last rites over their beloved child's body, their pain rang hollow, they stumbled against nothingness, like a wounded bitch that snaps her teeth and howls into emptiness] (Duneton, 2004, p. 437). Duneton's portrayal of grieving mothers, supported by the other women of the community, who hurry to the bereaved mother's side once they learn about her loss to provide sympathy and care, is particularly moving for the reader. The living have to absorb

the enduring legacy of sorrow and grief; Duneton subtly questions in his novel whether the goals and results of the Great War justified such suffering.

Significantly, in *Le Monument*, mourning makes "a temporary community of those who had known the dead in order to share grief and offer consolation" (Horne, 2014a, p. 594). The novel illustrates the concept of "circles of mourning" that do not only include the dead soldier's comrades and his closest family, but also more distant relatives and friends (Audoin-Rouzeau & Becker, 2000, pp. 232–235). According to Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau and Annette Becker, the circles of mourning in the aftermath of the First World War comprised almost the entire French society, as only a small minority of French people had been spared the pain of loss. As a result, a whole society was in mourning, thus forming a "community of grief" (Audoin-Rouzeau & Becker, 2000, p. 241). In his novel, Duneton imagines an intimate history of the war, which foregrounds the suffering of the bereaved civilians. The official war memorial, which plays a central role in the novel, becomes an anthropological "place" *par excellence*, endowed with a human and personal dimension. Most importantly, the novel itself becomes a tribute to the dead, commemorating the dead of the Corrèze, marginalised in official memory, as well as the civilians, whose lives were forever transformed by loss.

In her 1993 novel, *Zennor in Darkness*, awarded the 1994 McKitterick Prize, British author Helen Dunmore (born in 1952) depicts the impact of the First World War on a small rural community in Cornwall. Referring to real historical events, the author resuscitates in her book David Herbert Lawrence, the famous English modernist, who, persecuted with his wife Frieda in London because of her German nationality, rented a cottage in Zennor in Cornwall during the war. Dunmore illustrates the emotional torment suffered by the Lawrences as well as the atmosphere of hostility and obsessive accusation they are gradually surrounded with in Cornwall. The novelist also focuses on a fictional figure, Clare Coyne, a young woman, whose father, Francis Coyne, having married beneath his station, has become estranged from his upper-class family and has settled in St Ives in Cornwall next to his wife's simple relatives, the Treveals. Depicting the Treveals' problems and anxieties in May 1917, Dunmore also explores the theme of suffering and grief in its local and peripheral dimensions. Both narrative strata in the novel show that, as Frances Coyne puts it: "Even down here in St Ives we are blown by the desperate breath of those men struggling with their feet lodged in mud and foul water up to their lips" (Dunmore, 1993, p. 258).

Although only one of the Treveals, John William, has left for the front, all the family are concerned about him as well as the other boys, who will soon reach conscription age. In spite of his modest background, the talented John William has distinguished himself at the front, and has been sent to a training camp for officers. The family are proud of his promotion, yet at the same time they do realise that it might only be evidence of the bloodthirsty appetite of war. Older men attempt to bribe the authorities to exempt their younger relatives from the army by classifying them as patrollers, food-producers and coast-watchers, however, the head of the Treveal family, Grandad, soon realises that their schemes will prove useless as the front constantly requires new cargoes of bodies (Dunmore, 1993, p. 76). He is also

distressed considering what will happen to the land when all the young farm workers will leave for the front. The old man tells his grandchildren about the cholera epidemic that decimated the district in the remote past, but he comes to the conclusion that it was much less horrible than the war: "What was cholera compared to the emptiness of the sea, the quiet streets, and the clumsy-booted young men, first time away from home, entraining and vanishing through the foggy curtain of war. We don't know what's happening behind the curtain" (Dunmore, 1993, p. 74).

One of the most critical characters in the novel is Francis Coyne who has lost his belief in the war propaganda, as soon as he realised, with confusion, that war casualties are mostly children (Dunmore, 1993, p. 154). As John Horne points out,

> Mortality on the scale of the Great War disturbed the ways in which the living absorbed both death and the dead into the normal cycle of demographic and family renewal. By the early twentieth century, Western societies had gained sufficient control over public health and social conditions that death rates (including those of mothers in childbirth and infants in the first year of life) had declined to the point where most children survived to adulthood and then outlived their parents. (Horne, 2014a, p. 594)

In *Zennor in Darkness* the responsibility of the older generations for the mass death of young men fills Francis with horror; as a result, he experiences terrifying visions of bloodshed. Moreover, he despises the patriotic sentimentalities and the nation-wide glorification of death (Dunmore, 1993, p. 155). Consequently, in *Zennor in Darkness*, Dunmore undermines the conflict between young and old men that has becomes a cliché in British literature (see Hynes, 1990, p. 239). In her novel, the older male civilians are not enthusiastic about the war; on the contrary, they are overwhelmed with guilt and wish to save the young volunteers and, later, conscripts.

The news of John William's death in the training camp far from the front is a shock for his relatives. The portrait of the family overwhelmed with grief is particularly moving in Dunmore's novel. The relatives who are stronger emotionally try, in spite of their own suffering, to protect the weaker ones. Hannah, John William's sister, cannot cry at home, not to disturb her neurotic mother, who has succumbed to despair. The concurrent accident suffered by Harry, John William's younger brother, which seriously damages his arm, paralyses the family with terror, yet at the same time it is the source of deeply hidden relief, as it is "good enough" (Dunmore, 1993, p. 231) to exempt him from the army. The necessity to attend to the recovering son and brother draws the mother and sister's attention away from the tragedy of John William's death. Grandma Treveal attempts to contain chaos and despair by occupying herself dyeing the family's clothes. She is the only one, together with Francis Coyne, to question the circumstances of John William's death. However, they conceal their anxiety from the rest of the family, and, in tacit agreement with the grandmother, Clare's father decides to travel to the training camp, aware of the fact that his upper-class manners will facilitate his communication with the army staff. To his dismay, he learns that John William committed suicide for he was tortured by flashbacks and nightmares, and felt guilty about

having left his men in the trenches. Nevertheless, to protect his family, the only person Francis Coyne reveals the truth to is his daughter, being unaware of the fact that she was romantically involved with John William and, during his last leave, became his lover.

Clare's perspective in *Zennor in Darkness* is most interesting. Although a woman, she provides, together with her father, a critical point of view on the war in the novel. Like Francis Coyne, she learns to distrust the dispatches from the front, for she discerns that they are carefully censored and selected. Before John William's death, she is profoundly disturbed by news from the front: "FALLEN OFFICERS. ROLL OF HONOUR: LOSSES IN THE RANK. *Missing Believed Killed, Seriously Wounded, Missing, Missing Believed Wounded, Prisoner in Enemy Hands, Died of Wounds* (…) Every shade of loss has its own category" (Dunmore, 1993, p. 48). Yet she realises that these are only words that cannot really convey the personal tragedies hidden behind them. Official letters informing her neighbours about the death of their sons appear comforting to her until she is deeply confused by a statement of Sam, Hannah's lover, who reveals inadvertently that sometimes to make a decent burial the soldiers have to look for scraps of their dead comrades' bodies (Dunmore, 1993, p. 72). When John William comes back home on leave, Clare wants him to tell her the truth about his experience at the front; the young soldier does not respond and, as she learns later, only confides in other men. She therefore feels deeply frustrated. Dunmore thus emphasises the separateness of the sexes during the Great War, the incommunicability of male experiences, which, according to Claire M. Tylee, has become a popular legacy of the First World War (Tylee, 1990, p. 257). Men's experience at the front remains therefore for the female protagonists of *Zennor in Darkness* "a forbidden zone" (Tylee, 1990, p. 251).

Nonetheless, in her novel, Dunmore gives voice to women's emotional suffering during the war. Having learned about her lover's death, Clare is overwhelmed by grief and anger. She cannot accept the fact that John William committed suicide after their becoming lovers. She is convinced that if John had loved her, he would not have killed himself. The female protagonist feels betrayed and abandoned: she doubts that John William's affection for her was genuine and that his intentions were honourable. When she realises she is pregnant, she becomes even more depressed. By exploring her heroine's intimate feelings on the home front, Dunmore therefore redefines the concept of wartime, which is usually limited to the events at the front. In *Zennor in Darkness*, the intimate, psychological and social consequences of war will mark the rest of Clare's life.

What is striking in Dunmore's novel, however, is the solidarity of the family and the whole community when Clare's pregnancy is discovered. The female protagonist does not behave like a dishonoured woman, and her family accept the illegitimate child as a gift that prolongs the life of their lost son, never questioning whether Clare and John William really got engaged before his death. The inhabitants of Zennor and St Ives do not condemn Clare as a fallen woman, but treat her as a war widow. Dunmore also depicts in a fascinating way the reaction of the female protagonist's father who, although he suspects that D. H. Lawrence, whom

Clare befriended during his stay in Cornwall, is the child's father, decides to protect his daughter at any price. He draws a significant analogy between the young woman and the soldiers at the front, for in a world of war fathers have cruelly abandoned their children: "I left her unprotected. We have left all our children unprotected, to scramble their way out of shell holes, or crawl across no-man's-land with blood in their mouths" (Dunmore, 1993, p. 290). Francis Coyne feels partly responsible for the death of John William, for whom life became unbearable because of his experience at the front, and therefore he cannot allow his daughter's life to be equally ruined by war.

Illustrating the pain and despair of civilians in *Zennor in Darkness*, Dunmore also emphasises the desire for reconstruction of the conservative social order after the chaos caused by the Great War. Although during the conflict the governments of Great Britain, France and Canada supported the relative emancipation of women, encouraging them to work in jobs traditionally reserved for men, after the cessation of hostilities women were emphatically expected to go back to their traditional roles of wives and mothers, thus providing jobs for the men returning from the front (Sangster, 2005, p. 182; Scott, 1987, p. 27; Thébaud, 1986, p. 282). In the words of Françoise Thébaud, "Faire la paix après le traumatisme de la guerre, c'est aussi faire la paix entre les sexes et reconstruire les lois du genre" [To make peace after the trauma of war was to make peace between the sexes and to reconstruct the laws of gender] (2004, p. 197). If Dunmore seems to emphasise traditional gender roles at the closure of her novel, she also undermines the *status quo*, thus showing the social and emotional devastation of the war as Clare, although she becomes a mother, will have to assume the responsibilities of motherhood beyond the structures of the family, becoming a widow, although she has never been a wife.

In *Deafening* (2003), a novel by Canadian author Frances Itani (born in 1942), awarded the 2004 Commonwealth Writers' Prize for Best Book, Caribbean and Canada region, the Great War is depicted from the point of view of a stretcher-bearer, Jim, and his wife, Grania, who lost her hearing as a child. These two narrative perspectives complete each other, creating an image of war as a "total" conflict (Coates, 1996, p. 75). In the parts of the novel set during the war in Deseronto, a small town in Ontario, Itani draws a moving portrait of civilians tormented by constant anxiety about their beloved sons, grandsons, brothers, husbands and friends. She also illustrates the repercussions of the war on the wartime economy: her protagonists endure the privations of war as an economic crisis has reached Canada located thousands of kilometres from the European front. The civilians lack the basic necessities: "the shortage of paper; the gasless Sunday; the meatless weekday; war flour; war bread; sugarless candy; more fish; at times, no coal" (Itani, 2004, p. 284). Grania's family are the owners of a hotel, and their work becomes increasingly difficult because of staff shortages and the lack of basic necessities, which makes the menu offered at the hotel restaurant more and more limited. To prepare meals requires much effort and invention: "Everything is war, even the cookbooks" (Itani, 2004, p. 284). Even though initially the war caused an economic boom in Canada, as illustrated in *Deafening* by the camps training flyers at the outskirts of Deseronto, with time, due to population migrations, local

industries were affected and, eventually, closed down. As a result, many moved out of Deseronto to bigger cities. Itani also mentions the effects of the Temperance Act; due to the new regulations, customers, eager to consume alcohol at the hotel, are now turned away. Unemployment, the shrinking population, as well as the strict war laws, all affect business at the family hotel and make their financial situation more precarious (Itani, 2004, pp. 262–267). The novel shows that for the war and its economy "the dominant image must be disruption, not transformation" (McCalla, 2005, p. 150). While Grania receives fifty dollars a month as a separation allowance,[3] which provides her with a certain degree of autonomy, Itani illustrates the heart-rending situation of war widows, such as Kay, who is not only struck by grief, but has to work in a glass factory to support herself, her infant son, and a dependant grandmother.

Itani focuses on several male characters who, for different reasons, cannot take part in the war and, as a result, are stigmatised by the community. For the authorities propagate an image of war as a sacred crusade, a civic duty, and a ritual of manhood (see Branach-Kallas, 2014, pp. 33–41; Shaw, 2008, pp. 8–9). This representation of war in the collective imagination is highlighted by excerpts from The Ontario School for the Deaf newspaper, *The Canadian*, published in the war years, letters from the front, and propaganda leaflets, aptly placed at the beginning of each chapter. Grania's friend, Colin, is rejected by the medical board because of his hearing impediment. The young man tries several times, in vain, to conceal his disability in order to be accepted into the army. Colin's opportunities were already limited in peacetime, yet during the war his feeling of social marginalisation and exclusion becomes more profound. Hence, when some women he has never met accost him in the street and pin a white feather on his overcoat, speaking so quickly that he is unable to lip read their words, this act of public shaming, often practised during the war (see Berton, 2001, pp. 158–159; Vance, 1997, p. 112), in Colin's case acquires a particularly stigmatising significance. Grania's elder brother Bernard, who cannot join the army because of a serious lung disease, is humiliated in a similar way. Grania condemns the actions of these "women who had no sons, or whose husbands were too old to serve—[who] were marching up and down the streets as if they'd been appointed by God, calling out to young men suspected of being indoors and safe behind the walls of their parents' homes: Come out young coward! Come out and sign up!" (Itani, 2004, p. 183). As to her younger brother, Patrick, who is under age, he attempts several time to volunteer, hiding his age, and is very unhappy when he is deprived of what he sees as an exciting adventure. All of these male characters suffer therefore from a kind of masculinity crisis, their manhood being questioned, by themselves or others, because of their inability to participate in the war effort.

However, it is certainly Grania's perspective that is most fascinating in Itani's novel. In her case, the concept of periphery acquires not only a geographical meaning (a small town in Canada), but a social one (a female perspective), and an

[3]On the support of soldiers' families during the First World War in Canada, see Morton (2004).

ontological one (the point view of a disabled person). Being separated from her husband Jim for three years is very difficult for Grania. In contrast to her sister Tress, hostile to any news from the front, Grania wishes to learn as much as possible about the war and therefore she reads all the announcements and newspapers. She becomes, however, increasingly irritated by war propaganda that has made thousands of Canadian men and women believe in pathetic imperial fallacies. Itani demonstrates in this way that men and women were exposed during the war to the same ideologies and inhibitions (Tylee, 1990, p. 187). The female protagonist hates "the rows and rows of names of silenced young men", whose obituaries are placed in the newspaper next to headlines of victory (Itani, 2004, pp. 267–268). In her perspective, military successes do not only cause elation, but "bittersweet rejoicing" (Itani, 2004, p. 285), since there are always thousands who lost their beloved in a victory of the Allies. Most importantly, Grania observes that, in spite of geographical distance from the front, a suffocating atmosphere overwhelms Canada: "War was a nightmare they were trapped inside" (Itani, 2004, p. 284). However, she regularly works for the Red Cross, sewing or knitting socks for the soldiers, and packing "facecloth, toothpaste, toothbrush, writing pad, pencil, shaving soap, razor, small comb, chocolate, tinned fruit, chewing gum, cocoa, curry powder, matches, tinder lighter, pen nibs, toilet paper and, finally, a mouth organ" (Itani, 2004, p. 245). She desperately hopes that at least some of these items, prepared with tenderness and care, will reach her husband Jim.

Because of her disability Grania is particularly vulnerable during the war. Whereas her marriage to Jim made it possible for her to fulfil herself as a woman, after he leaves for the front her family force her, like a child, to come back home. The moments when her family react emotionally to news from the front and speak too quickly for her to lip read their words are particularly agonising for the deaf protagonist. Her aunt Cora, who cannot believe that Grania married a hearing man, treats her with disgust and disapproval. Itani seems thus to offer a premonition of the difficult reintegration of the disabled veterans of the Great War. Grania's efforts to be accepted by her family as a normal and mature person acquire therefore in the novel a metaphorical significance. Itani gives her heroine a unique power that proves an advantage over the able-bodied citizens when Canadian soldiers start coming back from the front. The trauma that she suffered as a little girl at the moment she lost her hearing and was sent to a boarding school for the deaf far away from home makes Grania more capable of understanding the physically and mentally damaged soldiers. This becomes particularly striking when Kenan, her sister's husband, returns from Europe: he is seriously mutilated and, as result of traumatic experience, is unable to speak. His wife becomes depressed; together with their family, she is unable to deal with the problem. The only person Kenan can communicate with is Grania who perfectly understands the difficulties he experiences fighting to regain his speech and to readjust to home life. Furthermore, Grania's belated processing of information as a result of her loss of hearing is compared in the novel with Jim's traumatic experience at the front, in reaction to the deafening noise of exploding shells and the omnipresence of death (see Branach-Kallas, 2014, pp. 185–191). In the sentimental ending of *Deafening* Itani

allows Jim to come back to Canada and to be reunited with Grania, thus highlighting social regeneration and reconstruction (Gordon, 2014, pp. 73–82). Nevertheless, the analogies she draws between her female protagonist and the damaged men returning from the front points to profound transformations of a society which will have to confront the various disabilities of the homecoming veterans.

Although military history is still a source of inspiration for fiction writers today, it is the rear, the home front, that seems to be at the centre of attention. In *14–18, retrouver la Guerre*, Audoin-Rouzeau and Becker emphasise that the suffering experienced by civilians during and after the 1914–1918 conflict has not been fully conceptualised (Audoin-Rouzeau & Becker, 2000, p. 200). Contemporary fiction analysed in this article thus fills in these gaps, providing imaginary visions of *how* people and societies responded to mass death and bereavement, and illustrating the psychological and ethical dimensions of the traumatic impact of the Great War. *Le Monument*, *Zennor in Darkness*, and *Deafening* thus contest the dominant trench-focused memory of the Great War, giving voice to agents that have been silenced and marginalised because of such factors as geographical location, gender or disability.

In their fiction, Claude Duneton, Helen Dunmore and Francis Itani problematise the local dimensions of the Great War by reconceptualising the notion of "periphery" on the geographic, anthropological, linguistic, temporal, sociological and ontological levels. Duneton in *Le Monument* represents an entire society in grief, highlighting linguistic and cultural differences from the mainstream in his representation of the home front in the Corrèze. The author's impersonal, though moving, narrative style highlights the proximity of war fiction to documentary non-fiction (see Prungnaud, 2014, p. 9). Inspired by historical sources, Dunmore in *Zennor in Darkness* and Itani in *Deafening* also contest the official memory of war, giving the voice to the "absents du deuil de 1914–1918" [the individuals absent from the discourse of mourning of 1914–1918] (Audoin-Rouzeau & Becker, 2000, p. 201), such as the men and particularly women, of Cornwall and Canada. To explore the sorrowful legacy of the Great War, the three writers enlarge the notion of *total war*. "La der des ders", which was to be the last of wars, is total in their fiction not only because of its mass destruction on the military, political, economic and social levels. Its totality is also manifest at the level of micro-history, in locations situated far away from the trenches, behind the battle lines, in the devastations of intimate lives in small communities damaged physically, mentally, morally and spiritually.

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William, an Englishman (1919) and the Collapse of Cicely Hamilton's Pre-war Meliorism

Luísa Flora

> No war, I suppose, save this, has seen what you then might see nightly: the regular desertion and emptying of a city, its abandonment as dusk came down. In the old wars men fled into walled towns for refuge from their enemy; in our wars, the wall, when the night comes down, is a trap that you fly from to the open
> (Hamilton, 1918, p. 577)

Abstract *William, an Englishman* is a novel written in a tent near the French front by a 'non-combatant': the wartime volunteer nurse, postal overseer and theatrical performer Cicely Hamilton. A well-known playwright, actress, suffrage militant, polemical essayist before the conflict, Hamilton, nowadays largely overlooked, performed here a post-mortem exploration of some influential attitudes which were transformed by the experience of war. Coming from someone who had been particularly active on the British radical scene, the text's denunciation of social progress, pacifism, internationalism, and even votes for women as naive ideals may appear unexpected. She drew from long personal knowledge as well as contemporary documentation to write a novel that, while not untouched by sympathy for her characters, is often brutal. The collapse of Hamilton's previous political optimism, her (self-ironical) criticism of any belief in the perfectibility of human beings may come as a shock even today. But those familiar with *Senlis* (1917) might have anticipated Hamilton's sombre 1919 text. 'Modern warfare is so monstrous, all-engrossing and complex, that there is a sense, and a very real sense, in which hardly a civilian stands outside it; where the strife is to the death with an equal opponent the non-combatant ceases to exist.' The abuse and strategic bombing of civilian populations, the collapse of former distinctions between combatants and non-combatants, the mobilization of almost entire nations were early on denounced by the writer. 'No modern nation could fight for its life with its men in uniform only; it must mobilize, nominally or not, every class of its population for a struggle, too great and too deadly for the combatant to carry alone.' (*Senlis* 34) Her

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discerning eye read the Great War for what it was: a conflict which was leaving no domain of social, economic and political life unsullied, a total war.

The catastrophic menace Cicely Hamilton (1872–1952) identifies in 'Bombarded', an essay published in October 1918 in *The North American Review*, the new experience of being exposed to air raids, will have a significant dimension at the end of *William, an Englishman*, her then soon to be published novel. German nightly raids that targeted civilians as much as military goals, one until recently inconceivable reality, were as she later wrote in *Life Errant*, her autobiography, 'a promise of terror to come'.

> I remembered thinking, as I passed the blank houses, that here was a phenomenon unknown to the wars whereof history tells us. In the old wars men sheltered behind walls and found safety in numbers (…) and in walls. But in our wars, the wars of the air and the laboratory, the wall, like enough, is a trap that you fly from to the open, and there is danger, not safety, in numbers – the crowd is a target to the terror that strikes from above. All the country, nightly, was alive with men and women who, in obedience to the principles of the new warfare, had fled from the neighbourhood of the target – the town – and scattered in small groups that they might be ignored and invisible. (…) And this, one realised, was only the beginning of air-power and the need for invisibility that air-power imposes; what we saw was but a promise of terror to come, a foreshadowing of full-grown achievement. Lying on the hillside one glimpsed something, at least, of the chaos of full-grown achievement. The chaos of a people (…) driven out of its towns and kept out of them; (…) kept on the run; driven hither and thither, reduced to starvation and savagery. (Hamilton, 1935, pp. 148–149)

In *Senlis*, her 1917 homage to a French 'mutilated' city 'ravaged by the German' (Hamilton, 1917a, b, p. 1), Hamilton had already deplored the strategic bombardment of civilian populations, the collapse of former distinctions between combatants and non-combatants, the mobilisation of almost entire nations.

> Modern warfare is so monstrous, all-engrossing and complex, that there is a sense, and a very real sense, in which hardly a civilian stands outside it; where the strife is to the death with an equal opponent the non-combatant ceases to exist. No modern nation could fight for its life with its men in uniform only; it must mobilize, nominally or not, every class of its population for a struggle too great and too deadly for the combatant to carry on alone. (Hamilton, 1917a, b, p. 34)

Cicely Hamilton was reading the Great War for what it was: a conflict which was leaving no domain of social, economic and political life unsullied, a total war. *William, an Englishman* marks a major transition in her work. Before the war the writer had been essentially devoted to feminist and suffrage issues. During and after the war, in light of the impact and widespread devastation brought by the conflict, she was particularly aware of the real threat the use of the new military technologies, especially chemical weapons and aerial bombardment, presented to each and everyone.

The war as traumatic event, and the crisis of public and private experience it enormously intensified, encouraged Hamilton to share her own considerable knowledge of the conflict and respond through writing to the physical and

emotional horror she witnessed. Her personal engagement with the conflict produced contemporary reconstructions of that horror in *Senlis* as well as 'Bombarded' and in *William, an Englishman,* her war novel.

Looking back on her long experience of the war in France, Hamilton wrote in 1935:

> When you have once accepted the more than possibility that your civilisation is heading for destruction, it is almost inevitable that you will slip into indifference towards many ideas and interests and activities that would otherwise have seemed to you important. That at least has been the case with me; I find it impossible to take any real interest in long-distance political 'planning' of any sort or kind, (…). Unless we can master the air-menace, the city, as we know it, is bound to go; on the day the first aeroplane rose from the ground the foundations of every city in the world were shaken. (Hamilton, 1935, pp. 151–152)

While it did not destroy some of her deepest convictions, namely her stand on women's civil, political, sexual and reproductive rights, her first-hand knowledge of the realities of war, beyond anything she could have imagined, did change her priorities. '[D]uring the interwar years, Hamilton's creative writing no longer took its inspiration from women's rights because the war had redirected her imagination to the menace of human aggressiveness' (Blodgett, 1990, p. 104). The writer would then devote particular attention to the threat of the new technologies as her 1922 pessimistic novel, *Theodore Savage*, makes clear (Hamilton, 1922).[1]

Hamilton did not actually 'slip into indifference'. She was as active as she had been before the conflict, but her writing reflects a transformed perspective. Contrasting the experience of the violence endured by soldiers and non-combatants with her previously untested beliefs and the struggle for the vote in the years leading up to war, Hamilton soon criticized her own long-cherished illusions on the possibilities for human progress and improvement. As both *Senlis* and 'Bombarded' expose, during the war the writer was intent on showing how the conflict was affecting everyone. In 'Non-Combatant' (1917) she denounced the anguish imposed on all those who were coerced to remain passive.

> Before one drop of angry blood was shed
>
> I was sore hurt and beaten to my knee;
>
> Before one fighting man reeled back and died
>
> The War-Lords struck at me.
>
> They struck me down an idle, useless mouth,
>
> As cumbrous, nay, more cumbrous than the dead,

[1]Cicely Hamilton, *Theodore Savage: A Story of the Past or the Future*, London: Leonard Parsons, 1922, reissued with minor changes by Jonathan Cape in 1928 in Britain and the United States under the title *Lest Ye Die*.

See Martin Hermann, *A History of Fear: British Apocalyptic Fiction, 1895-2011*, foreword by Adam Roberts, Berlin, epubli, 2015.

See also Paul K. Saint-Amour, *Tense Future: Modernism, Total War, Encyclopaedic Form,* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015. Kindle edition.

With life and heart afire to give and give
I take a dole instead.
With life and heart afire to give and give
I take and eat the bread of charity.
In all the length of all eager land,
No man has need of me.
That is my hurt my burning, beating wound;
That is the spear-thrust driven through my pride!
With aimless hands, and mouth that must be fed,
I wait and stand aside.
Let me endure it, then, with stiffened lip:
I, even I, have suffered in the strife!
Let me endure it then I give my pride
Where others give a life.[2]

Deploring the abyss driven by those in power between people on the frontline and those who were left at home, Hamilton does not distinguish between women and men. Though the sense of not being able to fully contribute to the war effort was, due to government and military restrictions on female intervention, perhaps more common in women, limiting most of them to allegedly feminine war work, such frustration will be shared by her 1919 male protagonist.[3]

When the most exalted form of hegemonic wartime masculinity is military masculinity (…) and femininity is defined by domestic vulnerability, when the war dead are construed as male and the mourners of the war dead as female, representations of both genders are distorted: how to accommodate the civilian male, the military male excluded from combat or women serving in uniform? (Peniston-Bird & Ugolini, 2015, p. 3).

Following his traumatic experience as a civilian in Belgium, William, a former pacifist, feels useless until his diminutive contribution to the war effort is accepted, and even after that.

Before the war, dealing with a hostile reality, Hamilton had been deeply invested in the belief that through effort and struggle the world would become a better place.

[2]www.inspirationalstories.com/poems/non-combatant/cicely-hamilton-poems Accessed 26.09. 2015.

For other contemporary perspectives see Rose Macaulay's *Non-Combatants and Others*. Alix Sandomir, the protagonist, muses: 'Fighting war. I suppose really it's the only thing non-combatants can do with war, to make it hurt them less (…) as they can't go (…)' London: Methuen, 1986 (1916), 173.

See also May Sinclair, *A Journal of Impressions in Belgium* (1915, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1915. https://www.gutenberg.org/files/31332/31332-h/31332-h.htm Accessed 07.03. 2016.

[3]See Claire Buck, 'British Women's Writing of the Great War', 2005.

Her late-Victorian and early twentieth-century meliorism was brutally challenged by the shock and trauma of war, her former confidence on uninterrupted civilizational ascent forced to confront its brittle foundations.[4] The war powerfully disrupted the former optimistic narrative of human liberation.

> Looking through the chaos before her as if it were a scrim, Hamilton sees beyond it a future in which the terror of a mature air power would, she imagined, turn town-dwelling citizens into starving, barbarous nomads. (…) [Her] loss of the Enlightenment narrative appears to happen, in part, because the terror of air power annihilates the continuity of past, present, and future on which such a narrative depends. (Saint-Amour, 2015, Loc. 3607–3614)

Reflecting upon her own prolonged experience near the front, she realized that human progress was not inevitable, re-evaluated some of her most authentic ideals, and reappraised the human potential for self-destruction.

William, an Englishman, published in 1919, was an immediate enormous success and received in 1920 the first *Femina* award.[5] Long neglected and out of print, the novel was in 1999 chosen to launch Persephone's reading list.[6] This chapter is a modest contribution to reading the novel and helping redress what has been characterized as 'Hamilton's erasure from history.'[7]

Often referred to as a suffrage novel, *William, an Englishman* should perhaps be considered as a novel whose main characters, inexperienced young people engaged before the war in the struggle for the vote, come to realize too late that the world is more complex than their pre-war militancy had prepared them for. In 1935, the author recalled the genesis of the book:

> (…) my novel, (…), was taken by its public and critics for a war novel, but as a matter of fact it was only accidentally that it dealt with the catastrophe of 1914. It was really a 'suffrage' novel; its outline had taken shape in my thoughts before there was any suspicion of the war to come, and its beginnings I date from a gathering where I heard certain

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[4]'Meliorism, The doctrine, intermediate between optimism and pessimism, which affirms that the world may be made better by rightly-directed human effort. James Sully (*Pessimism*, 1877) attributed the term to George Eliot, "the faith which affirms not merely our power of lessening evil - this nobody questions - but also our ability to increase the amount of positive good." OED.

See also James Sully, *Pessimism: A History and A Criticism,* Henry S. King & Co., 1877, Chapter XIV, 399–401. https://archive.org/details/pessimismahisto01sullgoog. Accessed 26.01. 2016.

[5]And first English prize-winner of the then most prominent prize to be awarded to any woman writer. See *Prix Femina*. http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/rd/a77f8754-6b14-448c-a06f-a491a43387f5. Accessed 27.09.2015.

[6]Cicely Hamilton, *William, an Englishman*, London: Persephone Books, 1999 (1919). All references to the novel will be to this edition (first published in London by Skeffington & Son).

See also Urmilla Seshagiri, 'Making It New: Persephone Books and the Modernist Project', *Modern Fiction Studies* Volume 59, Number 2, Summer 2013, pp. 241–287, particularly 260–261.

[7]Margaret D. Stetz, Review of *The Life And Rebellious Times Of Cicely Hamilton: Actress, Writer, Suffragist*, by Lis Whitelaw, *Tulsa Women's Studies in Women's Literature*, Vol. 10, No. 2, (Autumn, 1991), 307.

Several of her works, including *Life Errant* and the 1940 *Lament for Democracy*, have long been out-of-print.

> members of the militant section hold forth on the subject of their 'war'. (…) I had no more understanding than the average civilian of what warfare under modern conditions would mean; but I did understand that it meant something more dangerous (…) than rough-and-tumbles round the Houses of Parliament; (…) here was material for a story; a young man and woman, enthusiastic, ignorant, who had thought of their little political scuffle as war and who stumbled accidentally into the other kind of war – of bullets and blood and high explosives. (Hamilton, 1935, pp. 84–85)

The project was interrupted by the war and nearly forgotten until Hamilton returned to it in 'the form of a war novel' (Hamilton, 1935, p. 85).

Interpreting the book within the context of the struggle between suffragists and suffragettes, Claire Tylee goes a long way to persuade her readers that it is in fact anti-suffrage.[8] It is not. There is a wide difference between denouncing some militants' fanatical zeal and writing against the expansion of suffrage. However, the author's main concern throughout her life was the struggle for women's rights not suffrage per se.[9]

> (…) if I worked for women's enfranchisement (and I did work quite hard) it wasn't because I hoped great things from counting female noses at general elections, but because the agitation for women's enfranchisement must inevitably shake and weaken the tradition of the 'normal woman'. The 'normal woman' with her 'destiny' of marriage and motherhood and housekeeping, and no interest outside her home – and especially no interest in the man's preserve of politics! My personal revolt was feminist rather than suffragist; (…). (Hamilton, 1935, p. 65)

Cicely Hamilton lived to be eighty. She never renounced her feminist principles. She most certainly did not value the right to vote as the ultimate panacea to all problems and the 1st World War undeniably transformed some earlier illusions.

> What use was the vote as a weapon against German guns, submarines and Gothas? The problem of the moment was to keep ourselves alive, and when a people is engaged in a life-and-death struggle, it is apt to lose interest in matters which yesterday were of sufficient importance to raise it to a fury of dispute (…). I remember – how well I remember – receiving official intimation that my name had been placed on the register of the Chelsea electorate! I was in Abbeville at the time, and, as the post arrived, a battery of Archies, somewhere on the hill, began to thud; an enemy aeroplane was over, taking photographs. I remember thinking, as I read the notice, of all that the suffrage had meant for us, a year or two before! How we had marched for the suffrage and held meetings and been shouted at; and how friends of mine, filled with the spirit of the martyr, had hurled themselves at policemen – and broken windows – and starved themselves in prison: and that now, at this moment of achieved enfranchisement, what really interested me was not the thought of voting at the next election, but the puffs of smoke that the Archies sent after the escaping plane. Truth to tell, at that moment I didn't care a button for my vote; and rightly or wrongly, I have always imagined that the Government gave it me in much the same mood as I received it (Hamilton, 1935, pp. 67–68).[10]

[8]See Tylee (1990, pp. 133–141).

[9]See *Life Errant*, 'Women on the Warpath' *et passim*. See Whitelaw (1990). See also Noveck (2015).

[10]See also Whitelaw, particularly Chapter Ten, 'Equality First', pp. 179–204.

William, an Englishman is also a war novel, though not exactly in the sense of being written from the perspective of a soldier, or even a nurse or someone suffering on the home front.[11] A truth-telling narrative of the war, it reveals the distance between pre-war illusions and post-war disappointment. Such frustration is indisputably shared by both author and characters.

Prior to the conflict, Hamilton had been a well-known playwright, actress, stage director, suffrage militant, polemical essayist and committed internationalist.[12] Her by then published production included four full-length plays, two one acts, two novels, *Marriage as a Trade* (1909), numerous articles, pamphlets, speeches. For some time a member of the Women's Social and Political Union,[13] she left dissatisfied with Mrs. Pankhurst's autocratic leadership and became a founder of the Actresses' Franchise League and of the Women Writers Suffrage League.

Extremely active on the British radical scene, Hamilton's plays *Diana of Dobsons* (1908), *How the Vote Was Won* (1909) or *A Pageant of Great Women* (1910) obtained enormous success and helped, as they were meant to, attract audiences to the suffragist cause.[14]

Her important feminist treatise, *Marriage as a Trade*, an immediately influential book and a classic nowadays still in print, examines the condition of women, arguing for education and training that would release them from having to rely on the marriage market for self-respect and financial support. One brief example of the essay's arguments reveals some of the issues later emphasized in Hamilton's autobiography.

> If it be granted that marriage is (…) essentially a trade on the part of woman – the exchange of her person for the means of subsistence – it is legitimate to inquire into the manner in which that trade is carried on, and to compare the position of the worker in the matrimonial with the position of the worker in any other market. (…) the regulations governing compulsory service – the institution of slavery and the like – are always framed, not in the interests of the worker, but in the interests of those who impose his work upon him. The regulations governing exchange and barter in the marriage market, therefore, are necessarily framed in the interests of the employer – the male. (Hamilton, 1909, Loc. 330, p. 28)[15]

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[11]'If we ignore the devastation wreaked by war on women, children, civilians, animals, the land, buildings, bridges, communications, the entire fabric of family, social and civilized life, we can perhaps construe the makers of war to be its victims, but this requires that we imagine the world of war to be inhabited only by soldiers (…).' Hanley, 1991, 31.

Hanley was one of the first scholars to challenge Paul Fussell's selective myth of war literature in *The Great War and Modern Memory*, 1975.

[12]See *Life Errant* and Whitelaw's biography.

[13]She wrote the lyrics of Ethel Smyth's 1910 "The March of the Women" for the Women's Social and Political Union.

[14]*How the Vote Was Won: A Play in One Act* initially a story by Hamilton later dramatized with Christopher St John (alias Christabel Marshall).

[15]*Marriage as A Trade*'s denunciation of marriage as the first degrading means of women earning a living preceded another reputed critique of patriarchy, Olive Schreiner's *Woman and Labour* (1911).

In August 1914 Hamilton promptly decided to contribute to the war effort.[16] She volunteered for one of the Scottish Women's Hospitals being prepared by Elsie Inglis. When the British War office turned down the offer of a hospital unit of one hundred beds entirely staffed by women, Dr Inglis offered her services to the French and the Serbian authorities; both readily accepted. From the end of November 1914 until May 1917, Hamilton was working for the Allies, in the Scottish Women's Hospital at the Abbey of Royaumont.[17] Twenty five miles behind the trenches, she closely witnessed the suffering of both troops and civilians. She was involved in translation, letter writing, book-keeping, administration, nursing the wounded from the Battle of the Somme, organising concerts and plays for the soldiers. In the spring of 1917 she moved to Abbeville[18] to produce "Concerts at the Front" until near the end of the war, returning in early 1919 to entertain the remaining troops.

In Abbeville Hamilton suffered a decisive shock:

> (…) that night, as plane after plane came over from the east (…) above and beyond my personal fear was fear and horror of the future. For on that night there was born an idea which (…) I have never been able to get rid of; the idea (…) that if Science destroy our civilization, it will not be for the first time. (…) it was on the hill above Abbeville that the thought, in a flash, made havoc of my old beliefs in progress, and the onward march of humanity; I never knew till then how strong was my belief in progress, how completely I had taken the onward march for granted. (Hamilton, 1935, pp. 149–151)[19]

Probably written in a tent near the French front in early 1918 and finished while on leave in England later that summer, *William, an Englishman* is a remarkably understated narrative of a young English couple, William Tully and Griselda Watkins, surprised in the Belgian countryside by the German invasion.[20]

The novel, told by a first-person omniscient narrator who sometimes goes into the protagonist's mind, relates the couple's appalling apprenticeship of moral and physical humiliation. While moved by genuine sympathy for her characters, Hamilton's text builds up on the narrator's (and the reader's) initial feeling of gentle

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[16]Hamilton's reaction to the news of war was widely shared by most suffrage activists. Sylvia Pankhurst was of course the most famous exception to such widespread support.

[17]'The progress and achievements of the hospital were followed with great interest by many of the leading women doctors (…) the reputation of women in the medical profession depended in part on their performance in difficult wartime conditions.' Crofton, 2013, Loc. 1177.

Hamilton has been considered a key figure in the whole enterprise.

[18]A major railway junction and important army base camp on the river Somme. See also Bowen (2010).

[19]The 'flash' originated her dystopian *Theodore Savage*. See note 1. See also Whitelaw, 173–178.

Saint-Amour characterizes *Theodore Savage* as: 'a speculative fiction whose description of a future air war followed by societal collapse realizes Hamilton's premonitions and epiphanies under the German bombs at Abbeville.' Loc. 3651.

The trauma of the bombardment touched 'her faith in a habitable future, her political agency, her investment in her life'. Ibidem, Loc. 3627.

[20]'In February 1919, when *William—an Englishman* was first published, its forty-seven year old author was still in France, where she had been since the outbreak of the war (…).' Beauman, *Preface* to *William, an Englishman*, v.

superiority towards them. On 21 June 1919, the anonymous reviewer for *The Spectator* wrote, 'the author at intervals relentlessly reminding the reader of the dates - May, June, and July, 1914. With the passing of every month the reader feels the tragedy of the World War drawing nearer and nearer.'[21]

The novel's depiction of the fight for feminine suffrage draws on Hamilton's familiarity with the movement up to 1914.

> [William and Griselda] had lived for so long less as individuals than as members of organisations (…). They believed that Society could be straightened and set right by the well-meaning efforts of well-meaning souls like themselves – aided by the Ballot, the Voice of the People, and Woman. They believed, in defiance of the teachings of history, that Democracy is another word for peace and goodwill towards men. They believed (quite rightly) in the purity of their own intentions; and concluded (quite wrongly) that the intentions of all persons who did not agree with them must therefore be evil and impure (…). They were, in short, very honest and devout sectarians (…). (Hamilton, 1919, pp. 19–20)

In the portrayal of two emotionally and politically immature characters, the writer deplores the dogmatism of some of her militant companions, their unawareness of the international situation, their smug certainties. 'Neither [in 1919] nor later could Hamilton abide the cruelty of herd mentality and the holier-than-thou dogmatism of organizational members – whatever the organization' (Blodgett, 1990, p. 101).

However authentic in the devotion to their causes they may be, in the first two chapters everything about William and Griselda is diminutive.

> Griselda Watkins, then a little under twenty-five, was [William's] exact counterpart in petticoats; a piece of blank-minded, suburban young-womanhood caught in the militant suffrage movement and enjoying herself therein. (…) Like William, she had no quarrel with continental nations; (…) her combatant instincts were concentrated on antagonists nearer home; (…) their little vision was as narrow as it was pure (…). (Hamilton, 1919, p. 16, 21, 22)

Their self-righteousness as the war draws near, 'the profound ignorance of the unread and unimaginative' (Hamilton, 1919, p. 29), contrasts with the reader's awareness that such bliss cannot possibly last.

> Neither William nor Griselda had ever entertained the idea of a European War; it was not entertained by any of their friends or their pamphlets. Rumours of war they had always regarded as foolish and malicious inventions set afloat in the interests of Capitalism and Conservatism with the object of diverting attention from Social Reform or the settlement of the Woman Question; (…) their historical ignorance was so profound, they had talked so long and so often in terms of war, that they had come to look on the strife of nations as a glorified scuffle on the lines of a Pankhurst demonstration. (Hamilton, 1919, p. 74)

The reader's apprehension strengthens with the couple's choice for their three weeks' honeymoon at the end of July 1914 of an isolated idyllic 'cottage in the heart of the Belgian Ardennes' (Hamilton, 1919, p. 31). In that secluded location no

[21]Spectator Archive, William—an Englishman. By Cicely Hamilton. 21 June 1919, Page 20. http://archive.spectator.co.uk/article/21st-june-1919/20/williaman-englishman-by-cicely-hamilton-skeffington. Accessed 08.03.2016.

news from the outside world is obtainable. Neither of them is able to read, speak or understand French. Had they been more aware or better informed instead of deliberately 'shutting out sight and sound of the country peace, the oppressive peace in which they had no part' (Hamilton, 1919, p. 45); they might have understood the ominous meaning of what they imagine is the sound of thunder. The narrator begins to favour a gentler tone.

> If they had but known it, they were the last tourists of their race who for many and many a day to come were to look on the scene before them. Had they but known it, they would certainly have scanned it more keenly; as it was, they surveyed the wide landscape contentedly but with no particular enthusiasm. (Hamilton, 1919, p. 48)

They then misconstrue the sound of guns in the distance as military manoeuvres. Bored by 'the oppressive peace' of the countryside, lacking everyday militancy, they decide to leave for England. By then it is of course too late. The war they were too ignorant to expect is harshly upon them. Beaten, assaulted and taken prisoners by the Germans, William and Griselda obey the soldiers, 'in the clutch of brute force (…) they trotted down the valley, humiliated, dishevelled, indignant, but still incredulous - while their world crumbled about them and Europe thundered and bled' (Hamilton, 1919, pp. 75, 77).

The narrator now closely follows William's memories of his 'first acquaintance with the war as the soldier understands it' (Hamilton, 1919, p. 78), accompanying the couple's apprenticeship of suffering. Initial incredulity and shock soon give way to the revelation of hitherto inconceivable dimensions of brutality. The whole mood of the text is transformed to convey the pity and horror of war. And the reader's appalled awareness of this new reality follows William's transformation. Behind lies the 'gentle satire' first used to introduce the couple and acknowledged in Beauman's *Preface* (Beauman, 1999, p. ix).

With this novel Hamilton was taking leave of her own pre-war illusions.

> (…) in depicting William's struggle to come to terms with the inadequacy of pacifism as a response to tyranny and his reluctant acceptance that there are campaigns more compelling than the fight for women's suffrage [Hamilton] offers some insights into the concerns which preoccupied her at this time (…). (Whitelaw, 1990, p. 164)

The reader shares William's distress as increasingly bleaker incidents follow one another.

> For the first time mortal fear had seized him by the throat and shaken him. He knew now that he stood before death itself, and the power to inflict death (…). [t]he spasm of terror in those first moments of comprehension had been stronger than the spasm of pity (…). Long beating seconds (three or four of them at most) while two men stood upright with bandaged eyes and rifles pointed at their hearts; (…) The man with the grizzled hair threw out an arm and toppled with his face in the dust; the mayor slid sideways against the wall with the blood dribbling from his mouth. (Hamilton, 1919, pp. 86–88)

Leaving behind well-meaning fantasies of internationalism, the ruthless execution of the village mayor constitutes William's initiatory rite of passage, his first epiphany of war and suffering, demoralizing any innocent pacifist ideals,

> to his pity and physical nausea was added the impotent, gasping confusion of the man whose faith has been uprooted, who is face to face with the incredible (…). War was: men were shot against walls. (Hamilton, 1919, pp. 89–90)

The episode was based on Hamilton's knowledge of the barbarous treatment of Senlis, pitilessly occupied for a week, methodically burned, one street after another, and of the Germans' summary execution of its mayor.[22] Summing up Hamilton's 1917 account, Whitelaw relates the fate of the town:

> When the Germans marched into [Senlis], believing they had driven out the French soldiers, they were surprised to encounter pockets of resistance. (…) Wherever they encountered enemy fire they sent groups of French civilians taken at random from among the population ahead of them as they advanced towards the French guns. In some cases the French soldiers realised in time what was happening and held their fire but in others the civilians were shot by their fellow countrymen. (Whitelaw, 1990, p. 149)

The biographer emphasizes how such behaviour showed the author 'the totality of modern warfare; warfare in which soldiers could cold-bloodedly use civilians, including women and children, as stalking-horses; warfare in which there were no longer any rules' (Whitelaw, 1990, p. 149).

The novel's pace is now intimately woven with the young man's responsiveness to what is happening around him. In the chaos of war the only order available is the chronology of event after event.

> [T]he collision between William and Griselda's pastoral honeymoon and the brutalizing forces of the German army precipitates modernity's signature crisis: a rupturing of smooth historical time that defamiliarizes the present and reorders the past. (Seshagiri, 2013, p. 264)

The text's writing style now replicates William's suffering. Intense powerful images replace the understated prose of the first six chapters. Exhausted by forced labour, 'stupefied by pain and weariness' (Hamilton, 1919, p. 104), he witnesses a battle, is nearly caught by shellfire, helps a dying German boy-soldier.

> It was twisted now into a grin of agony, but all the same he recognized the face of the German boy-soldier who had dealt kindly with him that afternoon (…) lying on his back and covered from the middle downwards with a litter of broken beam and ironwork (…). The effect of recognition on William was curiously and instantly sobering; he was no longer alone in the hell where the ground reeled and men ran from him; he was no longer an animal wild and unreasoning, but a man with a definite human relationship to the boy lying broken at his feet. (Hamilton, 1919, pp. 105–106)

The strange meeting and the horror of the whole situation are instrumental to William's transformation. Learning what real suffering may be, the impact of physical and psychological distress will change a little somewhat foolish (every)-man into someone determined to fight the barbarity he experiences, 'the guns for the moment were a private persecution of himself, and he was conscious only of being foully and brutally bullied by monstrous forces with whom he argued and at whom he cursed and spat' (Hamilton, 1919, p. 107).

[22]See *Senlis*, 38–39, 41, 45–46.

The temporary disorder of his captors enables William to look for his wife in the deserted village. He finds her. In an empty little house Griselda is alone, '(…) crouched in a corner with her head on her knees, she neither saw nor heard him. (…) her face (…) white and tear-marked, with swollen lips and red eyes' (Hamilton, 1919, pp. 113–114).

This is William's second and crucial epiphany. Griselda has been assaulted and abused.

> For a moment he fought with the certainty, and then it came down on him like a storm: for once in his life his imagination was vivid, (…). All the details, the animal details, her cries and her pitiful wrestlings; the phrase 'licentious soldiering' personified in the face of the man who had been Griselda's gaoler. (Hamilton, 1919, p. 115)

In the debris of these two common diminutive lives the reader discovers a metonymy for the predicament of millions of ordinary persons trapped in war. 'Cicely's abhorrence of what she had seen during her time in France is channelled into her compassionate account of human suffering' (Whitelaw, 1990, p. 162). The devastation she witnessed reverberates on the whole optimistic ethos.

> The effect of the rape on Griselda's mind signifies the larger effect of the war on the discourse of suffrage and social reform; what had been whole and meaningful now shatters into a [sic] Eliotic heap of broken images. (Seshagiri, 2013, p. 265)

The protagonist understands that his own private agony is yet another materialization of the public catastrophe. The texture of people's lives in the everyday reality of war forces him to face up to the calamitous scale of the tragedy. Fleeing south with some Belgian refugees, his broken Griselda soon dies and is buried 'wrapped in a sheet' (Hamilton, 1919, 145). William, compassionately helped, escapes to Paris and, 'seeing himself rather as an avenger of Griselda than as a soldier of the British Empire' (Hamilton, 1919, p. 162), learns to recognize his need for revenge. The former pacifist has become pro-war.

> What he lacked in patriotism he made up in personal suffering; he hated the German because he had been robbed of his wife, (…). It was his persistent poring over English newspapers that brought him in the end the salvation of a definite purpose. (Hamilton, 1919, p. 160)[23]

William's earlier militant certainties collapse, 'his new creed had at least this merit—it was supported by his own experience' (Hamilton, 1919, pp. 162–163).

Back in London, he tries to enlist but is rejected because of his frail physique. Hamilton's 1917 poem comes to mind.[24]

[23]See also 'It was because of the horror inspired by [German sins] that they counted in a military sense. They stirred the loathing even of the unimaginative; they disposed once for all of the pacifist argument, "What if the Germans did come; we should not be any worse off". They made it impossible to suffer the victory of a nation that countenanced such sins.' (*Senlis*, 1917, p. 37).

[24]See this chapter pages 137–138.

Humiliated by enforced passivity, estranged from former acquaintances, he confronts them with his traumatic experience. The companions of a more innocent time are forced to hear a plain-spoken testimony.

> 'You stand there and dare to make jokes about the hell that other men have burned in. The flames and the blood and the guns and people dying in the road. (…). Not one of you here has seen what I have – you're just guessing. When a shell bursts (…) I've seen a man with his legs like red jelly and a horse (…)' (…) Of course it shouldn't happen – we all know that – of course it shouldn't happen, but it does. And you can't stop it with sneers about soldiers and Kitchener (…). It's hell and the mouth of hell – I've seen it.' (Hamilton, 1919, pp. 182–183)

Hamilton voices through William Tully her strong critical attitude towards those who insisted on ignoring the reality of war. Defending participation in the war effort as politically judicious and morally imperative, she wants to contribute to the collapse of distinctions between combatants and non-combatants.

William's 'sense of the impossibility of his previous classification of mankind into the well-intentioned and the evil' (Hamilton, 1919, pp. 190–191) expresses Hamilton's own distance from her pre-war militancy. 'The war led Hamilton to believe firmly in the aggression of human nature' (Frayn, 2014, p. 87). Her critique of social reformers, internationalist, pacifist and suffragist societies is an indictment of their and some of her own earlier convictions. First and foremost it is a wakeup call to those on the Home front. The Great War made a mockery of former certainties. Its viciousness forbade sentimentality and utopian delusions.

After having tried to enlist yet a third time, William Tully had surprisingly passed a medical inspection. Accepted in the army he collapsed after some weeks of drill. When 'out of the hospital (…) he was put on clerical duties. (…) handled a typewriter instead of a bayonet, and handled it steadily as the months lengthened into years' (Hamilton, 1919, p. 198). This protagonist was never meant to be a hero. In her main character Hamilton put to good use her extensive knowledge of the administrative aspects of war. She was familiarized with the drudgery of wartime bureaucracy, its octopus-like paper trail, the allegedly feminine qualities needed to endure it. Such activities further reinforce William's frustration.

> His conception of soldiering, derived as it was from his own brief and fiery experience in Belgium, from the descriptive articles of war correspondents and his reading of bygone campaigns, had never included the soldier who was merely a clerk. (Hamilton, 1919, p. 198)

In August 1916 William is sent to France on clerical duties, 'a life of bleak order and meticulous, safe regularity, poles apart from his civilian forecast of the doings of a man of war' (Hamilton, 1919, p. 204). The character suffers from his irrelevance.

> William's pre-war beliefs and experience of the war mean that he is fuelled by bitterness. Even when the physical requirements have been lowered far enough for the diminutive William to enlist, he finds himself unsuited to commit violence and forced to revert to administration. (…) He still seeks individual action and agency, and refuses the notion of contributing to the war effort as significant. (…) Hamilton's novel demonstrates clearly the difficulties of reconciling pre-war enchantments with the realities of post-war Britain. (Frayn, 2014, pp. 88–89)

As common and insignificant as ever, an air-raid will release him.

> Once it had seemed to him an easy thing to follow Griselda and die; now all the moral strength he possessed went into the effort not to shrink, to be master of his body, to behave decently and endure. That was all that seemed to matter – to be steady and behave decently – so that, for all his fear of instant death, he never turned his thoughts to God (…). (Hamilton, 1919, pp. 221–222)

One of the victims of the bombardment, he dies a quiet dignified death. His life had long lost all meaning and purpose. *William, an Englishman*, had felt a nobody not everyman. He could not imagine a future and revenge was not the answer.

William, an Englishman charts the young man's progress from initial naïve pacifism to trauma, recognition of bellicose patriotism and shattered final disappointment. In his all but anonymous life and death, William Tully represents millions of men (and women) whose lives were destroyed by the Great War.

> Hamilton's title character emerges as an overlooked exemplar of the damaged, ineffectual English masculinity that constitutes the subject of so much War-era modernism. Ford Madox Ford's Edward Ashburnham in *The Good Soldier*, D. H. Lawrence's Egbert in 'England, my England', Woolf's Jacob Flanders in *Jacob's Room*: William Tully shares with these *frères et semblables* a diminishing capacity for self-actualization, an unspectacular death, and a bleak legacy (…). (Seshagiri, 2013, p. 266)

In *A Very Great Profession: The Woman's Novel 1914–39*, Beauman emphasizes in Hamilton's text 'the grandeur of the ordinary' (Beauman, 1983, p. 31) that will become identifiable in later novels about the war.

> (…) everyone matters in his own way, (…) integrity is the important quality and (…) the little (…) clerk has his grandeur as much as the swashbuckling soldier. [It] shows the effect of the enormous, uncontrollable might of war upon the lives of the petty, the unimportant and the ordinary. (Beauman, 1983, p. 31)

The main character and the whole novel signal the rupture between the pre-war meliorism that Cicely Hamilton had firmly professed and a new disenchanted awareness. Torn between the unequivocal need for social and political change and her experience of the physical and moral devastation of war, the scepticism that any radical transformation may indeed be achieved compels Hamilton to alert the reader. The text's denunciation of social progress, pacifism, internationalism as naive ideals may appear unexpected. '*William - An Englishman* demonstrates how the vast scale of modern international warfare devastates even the most morally unquestionable revolutionary discourse' (Seshagiri, 2013, p. 267).

Hamilton drew from personal knowledge and contemporary documents to write a novel that, while unquestionably touched by sympathy for her characters, is highly critical of their pre-war beliefs and activities. The text condemns the brutal futility of war and the vulnerability of civilian populations exposed to its ravages. William's words could be her own.

> He hated the war as it affected himself, was weary of the war in general; all he longed for was its ending, (…) but neither hatred nor weariness had blinded his eyes to the folly of that other blindness which had denied that war could be (Hamilton, 1919, p. 216)

The collapse of Hamilton's previous political optimism, her (self-ironical) criticism of any belief in the perfectibility of human beings may come as a shock even today.

But, as was apparent at the beginning of this chapter, those familiar with her 1917 homage to Senlis might have anticipated Hamilton's sombre 1919 novel and the death she chose for William. The unprecedented power of aerial warfare, its ominous capacity to magnify the worst of once dreaded war experiences, the likelihood of further indiscriminate air strikes against both combatants and civilian populations, were 'in a flash' recognized by Hamilton as introducing a new (near)apocalyptic era. The bombardment of English coastal towns very early in the conflict had been a dismal warning.

Not only did Cicely Hamilton survive air-raids in France, she understood early on the brutal impact of the war from the air, the helplessness of cities, the persistent menace to both civilians and the military of this then recent weapon.

> The 'unfit' who step into the shoes of the fit, the old men who fill the gaps left by their sons, the women who press into fields and workshops — all these keep the fighting line going, and without them the fighting line must fail; and hence, under modern conditions of war, an increasing difficulty in drawing the line that protects the civilian from open attack by the soldier. A munition factory staffed by women, a laboratory where some weakling discovers a chemical compound, may be deadlier instruments of death and destruction than thousands of horses and men. Further, where each party to the strife enlists the services of his entire population (…) the question of national exhaustion looms far larger than it did in the day of the professional soldier and the army running to thousands. (Hamilton, 1917a, b, pp. 35–36)

This was total war. The distinction between non-combatants and soldiers had lost its former meaning. Everybody became involved. Everybody became a target. Hamilton observed the dislocation of former hopes and heralded the fracture of long-cherished beliefs.

> The work and resources of a civilian population have always been an indirect factor in every military situation; but to-day they are a factor direct and declared, to-day the exempt and the women are openly mobilized and enlisted. One sees that this direct intervention of the civilian in warfare must entail a certain loss of his immunity from direct attack and punishment, and that a leader hard pressed or unscrupulous may deem himself entitled to interpret the fundamental maxim enjoining him to cut his enemy's communications in a fashion undreamed by those who framed rules for a conflict confined to the soldier. (…) The German leaders decided at the outset that their war was a war on non-combatants. (Hamilton, 1917a, pp. 35–36)

However, Cicely Hamilton never gave up on her fight for a better world. In *Tense Future: Modernism, Total War, Encyclopaedic Form*, Saint-Amour reminds us, that 'like [Virginia] Woolf, Hamilton saw the future's apparent foreclosure as reason not for quietism but for intensified dissent' (Saint-Amour, 2015, Loc. 3119). After the war she was involved in encouraging international women's suffrage, beginning the decade as press secretary for the Geneva Conference (1920) of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance. Throughout the 1920s she was lobbying for free birth control and abortion law reform. She continued to write and contributed regularly to *Time and Tide*, the first declaredly feminist newspaper, 'owned, managed and written entirely by women' (Whitelaw, 1990, p. 184). Hamilton never renounced her conviction that women's independence and equality

of the sexes would ultimately ensure a better world for both women and men.[25] In the early 1930s she endorsed the organisation of the *Dignity in Dying*. In 1940 *Lament for Democracy* denounced Nazism, Fascism and Bolshevism. A member of the Chelsea Fire Service during the Second World War, Hamilton in the 1930s and 1940s also published ten travelogues of her journeys to divers European countries. In her final years, from 1945 to 1952, she was editor of the press bulletin of the British League for European Freedom. 'Hamilton did remain, movingly, awake and at work' (Saint-Amour, 2015, Loc. 3645).

Cicely Hamilton's first-hand experience of the war, expressed in *William, an Englishman*, helped bridge the gap between civilians at home and those who had been in or near the front. Lessening the distance between them, the novel addresses and challenges what was too often and for too long a divided culture.

A sad, somewhat nostalgic adieu to the illusions she had cherished before the Great War, this novel is also a sad powerful warning of times to come. But the resilience she had witnessed in France might well have been the motto of her life, 'a joy and an encouragement, a reminder that life was lived peaceably once and may be lived peaceably again' (Hamilton, 1918, p. 579).

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Of Body and Mind, of Matter and Spirit: War and Melancholia in Dalton Trumbo's *Johnny Got His Gun* (1938 and 1971)

Elsa Machado and Anthony Barker

> *What kind of doctor would cut a man down to what I am and let him live?*
> Joe Bonham in *Johnny Got his Gun* (1971) by Dalton Trumbo

Abstract Directed in 1971 by Dalton Trumbo, the film based on his own First World War novel *Johnny got his Gun* (1938), has had its originality largely neglected by the public in general. This paper explores how the film, while appropriating some of the clichés present in most WW1 films, departs from a realistic, conventional narrative approach and centers on individual subjectivity as the main way to reflect upon the traumatic effects of war and the sense of loss it entails. Drawing upon a conceptual framework derived from the study of melancholia, our aim is to show how the film articulates in an extreme form a melancholia that resides in morbid self-scrutiny, the persistence of memory and a fractured relationship between body and mind. From the earliest accounts of melancholia, mostly following the Graeco-Roman tradition of Hippocratic-Galenic reasoning and its humoral theorization, the body has constituted the stage for the manifestation of melancholia. In the existential nadir it projects, *Johnny* posits a self-conscious, unimpaired mind trapped within a mutilated body, tallying with the idea that melancholia has always hinged on the Western espousal of, and infatuation with, self-focused attention, inwardness and the idea of the self. Whilst most films in the wake of the conflict were characterized by an emphasis on the group facing danger on the battlefield, more revisionist renditions of the war in the 1960s and 1970s have tended to dwell on individual protagonists and the effects of combat. Trumbo's film enlarges on this topic by probing a situation in which the individual is *absolutely* helpless in the face of inhuman, desensitized structures-whether scientific or military-, doomed to loneliness and cut adrift from any form of spiritual/religious comfort. In this rather nihilistic vision, the film produces the ultimate anti-war statement, apt and used for other twentieth-century contexts.

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Dalton Trumbo wrote the novel *Johnny Got his Gun* in 1938 when Europe was careering towards World War II. According to its author, it was published ten days after the Nazi-Soviet Pact was signed and two days after the war broke out. The title is a play upon a popular phrase—Johnny get your gun- that was included in the lyrics of a song "Over There" written by George M. Cohan. The song was used as a rallying cry to encourage young American men to fight for their country and became a well-known propaganda ploy during the mid years of the First World War. The most resonant verses went like this:

> Johnny get your gun, get your gun
> Take it on the run, on the run, on the run
> Hear them calling you and me
> Every son of liberty
>
> From the song "Over There" in Trumbo's *Johnny Got his Gun* (2009, p. vii)

The underlying irony lies the fact that Johnny—a character called Joe Bonham in the fiction-"really got his gun" but as a result came home a "human devastation". The novel was a meteoric success, received an American Booksellers' Award in 1940 and was dramatized on the radio—with James Cagney (the actor who played "Over There" composer George M Cohen in the movie *Yankee Doodle Dandy* (1942) dir. Michael Curtiz)) giving voice to the character of Joe. Los Angeles native Trumbo, a sometime novelist, principally made his living from writing screenplays for Hollywood. With his political convictions openly and loudly articulated, he subsequently got caught in the entanglements of the House of Un-American Activities hearings and was subpoenaed to testify before the Congressional Committee. Refusing to cooperate, Trumbo was eventually backlisted and was given a nine-month prison sentence in Kentucky in June 1950. Trumbo's defense of his allegedly leftist ideals was construed as un-American and his many contributions to cultural journals, where he often chastised Hollywood's studio executives and profit-minded policies, were cited as evidence of his communist leanings. As Tim Palmer argues:

> The principal targets of Trumbo's polemics were Hollywood studio financiers and movie producers. In a 1933 piece titled "New shirts on Showmen" for example, Trumbo condemned what he labelled Hollywood's profiteering. Nothing less than an outright conspiracy was in place, he declared, set up by motion picture executives to raise ticket prices unfairly while assuring the income of only the economic elite. (Palmer, 2005, p. 60)

Clearly, Trumbo was ideologically closer to a studio like Warner Brothers with its low-cost production efficiency and its hardboiled, social-problem related themes. His rebuking of the Hollywood studio brass led him often to articulate his praise and appreciation for the anonymous work of the lower echelons, the underlings that were often pushed aside or consigned to irrelevant roles within the economic structures supporting the film industry. Trumbo's blacklisting was even more

surprising when set against his previous successes and his hitherto being hailed as a remarkable script writer. As Palmer also states:

> Indeed for the writers who have detailed this period in Hollywood history, Trumbo often serves as the *locus classicus* of the HUAC martyr. He is typically depicted as an uncompromising crusader, a figure attacked for his ferocious intellectual convictions. (Palmer, 2005, p. 58)

As Palmer makes clear, Trumbo had always been very open in his critical view of Hollywood's money-driven goals and often claimed, in his many contributions to the trade press,[1] that "the lust for dollars" and "financial rapacity endemic to US big business" (Palmer, 2005, p. 60) was preventing the industry from elevating cinema to an art form. The many conspicuous instances of his ideological positions, construed as subversive and radical, made him an easy target for HUAC persecution.

This ostracism by the film industry was the beginning of a difficult period in his life when Trumbo had to write under pseudonyms to survive. As his son Christopher Trumbo points out, the blacklist gave rise to a black market, with many of the blacklisted scriptwriters having to write for the so-called "front", hiding their real identities. Under these circumstances Trumbo wrote the script for *Roman Holliday* (1953) and *The Brave One* (1956). The latter actually won an Oscar that year but only in 1975 could Trumbo claim authorship and receive recognition.

Suffice it to say, the bleak years of his blacklisting fostered a jaundiced view of American institutions and values and fuelled Trumbo's hostility to existing power structures. His feisty, belligerent style was construed as Un-American in the conformist fifties, but in the late sixties and seventies it fitted much better with the widespread anti-establishment mores of this turbulent period. Trumbo's blacklisted past and his confrontational persona were seen as creditable examples of resilience and political resistance, as trenchant opposition to American counterinsurgency policies abroad. Such indeed is the indignant tone of the addendum to the 1970 reissue of *Johnny*. When Trumbo decided to direct a film version of his 1st World War novel, America was mired in the Vietnam conflict and, as an artist, Trumbo considered that it was once again his duty to speak out against war. He felt that the First World War was the archetype for all senseless wars, past and future. Indeed, although *Johnny* is historically rooted in the First World War, it can be read in a more metaphorical, a-historical way, inasmuch as it purports to offer a timeless denunciation of corrupt systems which sends their young men off to fight for perceived national interests and then are ashamed to acknowledge the physical consequences of their sacrifice.

Johnny (the reissued book and the film) therefore offer an anti-war template; they portray the ravaging effects of war by foregrounding the *ne plus ultra* of mutilation. They would have had a renewed impact at a historical time when so many young Americans were returning home crippled, maimed and/or psychologically debilitated. The film anticipating by many years such Vietnam-War films as *Coming Home* (Hal Ashby, 1978), *The Deer Hunter* (Michael Cimino, 1978) or *Born on the*

[1]Trumbo was a high profile contributor to *The Hollywood Spectator* (formerly the *Film Spectator* edited by Welford Beaton) and to *The Screen Writer*, the publication of the Screen Writers' Guild.

Fourth of July (Oliver Stone, 1989), the predicament of *Johnny*'s male character Joe Bonham would have chimed in with the painful experiences of many returning vets, as well as the agonies of their loved one. William Wyler's *The Best Years of our Lives* (1946) had early played a significant role in probing the damaging effects of war on the male psyche and the difficulties war veterans had in adjusting to civilian life. The film also explores the theme of physical mutilation by bringing into focus a real life amputee through the character of Homer whose amputated hands and the hooks he wears as prostheses are an unsettling visual reminder of an impaired masculine body. Interestingly, Kaja Silverman argues that this film dramatizes one of the most striking representations of post-war male disempowerment by foregrounding war veterans, who are so physically and psychologically damaged that they undermine the myth of male self-sufficiency and individualism, questioning the patriarchal structures that bolster militarism. In fact, Silverman, observes that "male lack is so fully displayed in the film that even four decades later after its original release it remains profoundly disturbing and at times almost unwatchable" (1992, p. 89). Notwithstanding Silverman's view, Wyler's film appears to offer a more consoling resolution to its male characters' predicaments. Through the primacy of male bonding—the experience of "having been there" is reinforced as a collective male trauma, as Susan Jeffords later argues about Vietnam (Jeffords, 1989, p. 25)—and through the reinforcement of heterosexual ties, a therapeutic healing is held out to men eager to be resocialised. This contrasts strikingly with the world portrayed in Trumbo's film, where the individual is held in forced isolation, without contact with the outside world.

Interestingly, offering a completely different view, a film like John Ford's *The Wings of Eagles* (1957)—despite depicting the image of a crippled male body- does not dwell on its wounds or mourn its fading but seems to reinforce its stoicism and endurance as marks of masculinity. Although wearing leg braces and walking with crutches, Frank Spig Wead (John Wayne)'s manhood is never imperilled by his disability but vindicated once again through male bonding and the support of military institutions. No wonder then that medical technologies serve in this film as "aiding the remasculinization of US veterans" (Meeuf, 2009, p. 106). As Meeuf writes:

> Moreover, the medical technologies themselves play an important role in the articulation of this tough manhood. The interplay of the spectacle of medical technologies in *The Wings of Eagles* opens up the possibilities of a "hard", disabled masculinity such as Spig's (Meeuf, 2009, pp. 106–107).

Johnny, on the other hand, is a film laden with a profound sense of melancholia in the way it dwells on the devastating physical and psychological losses inflicted by war. More than *Oh What a Lovely War* (Richard Attenborough, 1969) which, with its farcical tone and carnivalesque song and dance, creates a Brechtian sense of critical detachment in the spectator, *Johnny* drags us into the character's subjective predicament where his despair renders any intended Brechtian public utterance impossible to achieve. *Johnny,* in its nihilistic tone, is thus closer to Joseph Losey's *King and the Country* (1964) since this film, made on the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of the First World War by another blacklistee Joseph Losey, also exposes

the way young men are used as battlefield fodder, victims of an unfathomable contest of will. In both films, the young men's naiveté is emphasized as they get caught up in events.

Johnny is also an important text in forging the connection between war injury, medical ethics, the treatment of trauma and melancholia. It is important because it treats the issue from within the inflamed sensibility of the war victim. From the earliest accounts of melancholia, mostly following the Graeco-Roman tradition of Hippocratic-Galenic reasoning and its humoral theorization, the body has constituted the stage for melancholia-suffused manifestations. Melancholia was thus perceived as springing from a body imbalance with attendant mental implications, creating an overwhelming feeling of despondency and grief. In the late nineteenth century with Emil Kraepelin's scientific work, one witnesses the medicalization of melancholia and its gradual replacement by the related term, depression. A state of mind which had been perceived from its inception as "fear and sadness without a cause" (Radden, 2009, p. 155) was classified into nosological categories and safely described by a medical discourse which sought to rely more on a cluster of visible symptoms and behavioral patterns, attempting to evade the more nebulous, elusive descriptions of earlier accounts. With the advent of modern psychiatry, as Michael Bell argues, "pre-scientific melancholia gave way to the more prosaic, but scientifically verifiable, disease of depression" (Bell, 2014, p. ix) Freud's seminal essay "Mourning and Melancholia" introduced the object-love relation which would be pivotal in subsequent analyses of the melancholy mood, such as those expounded by Melanie Klein and Julia Kristeva. If, as Freud suggested, melancholia derives from an unaccomplished work of mourning, since the subject is incapable of disinvesting him/herself from a loved lost object, in *Johnny* melancholia seeps through the narrative inasmuch as it delves so forcefully into the gradual consciousness of loss effected through the character's self-focused attention, the mechanisms of memory and pervasively subjective states of mind. Freud argues that through the work of mourning the subject is capable of severing his bonds from the lost loved object and "is left free and uninhibited" (Freud, 2005, p. 205) to invest his energy in a new object-choice. Melancholia, in contrast, prevents this disengagement from the sense of loss insofar as, as Freud observes, "it is difficult to see what has been lost" (Freud, 2005, p. 205). The subject's libido remains attached to a loved object which can take many shapes and forms not necessarily anthropomorphized. As Freud observes, both mourning and melancholia can result from "a reaction to the loss of a beloved person or an abstraction taking the place of the person, such as fatherland, freedom an ideal and so on" (Freud, 2005, p. 203). I argue thus that in the book and film *Johnny Got His Gun* the sense of loss permeates the narrative, rendering the subject incapable of effecting the work of mourning since his own mutilated condition prevents him from freeing his own ego which could pave the way for a renewed investment in a new object-choice. The idea of loss is inflected through the irreparable maiming of the body and through the painful consciousness of the subject regarding the indignity of his existence. Joe Bonham is trapped in a body which becomes the "shadow of a loved object"—to use Freud's words- which obsessively reappears in the character's dream-like recollection of his forsaken past and his own recognition that all future

possibilities are foreclosed. If Freud described melancholia as "an open wound" (Freud, 2005, p. 212) which precludes any liberation from dejection and despondency, it can be argued that Joe's body is in itself a metonym for this open wound, one that cannot heal and can only be brooded over and partially rationalized by Joe's mentally intact thinking capabilities. By making the character's thoughts and inner-directed world all there is, the film foregrounds melancholia with its obsessive ruminative nature, pointing to the pivotal role of introspection as a quintessential modern trope. Significantly, Freud argues that the melancholy disposition entails a "keener eye for the truth" (Freud, 2005, p. 206) which accords with Kristeva's theorization and her claim that lucidity underlies melancholy states. Her words about her own depression seem to shed some light into *Johnny* and the pervasive mood of self-awareness that the protagonist displays:

> The wound I have just suffered, some setback or other in my love life or my profession, some sorrow or bereavement affecting my relationship with close relatives-such are often the easily spotted triggers of my despair. A betrayal, a fatal witness, some accident or handicap that abruptly wrests me away from what seemed to me the normal category of normal people or else falls on a loved one with the same radical effect, or yet (…) what more could I mention? An infinite number of misfortunes weigh us down every day (…) All this suddenly gives me another life. A life that is unlivable, heavy with daily sorrows, tears held back or shed, a total despair, scorching at times, then wan and empty. In short, a devitalized existence that, although occasionally fired by the effort I make to prolong it, is ready at any moment from a plunge into death. An avenging death or a liberating death, it is henceforth the inner threshold of my despondency, the impossible meaning of a life whose burden constantly seems unbearable. Save for those moments when I pull myself together and face up to the disaster. *I live a living death, my flesh is wounded, bleeding, cadaverized, my rhythm slowed down or interrupted, time has been erased or bloated, absorbed into sorrow (...)* Absent from other people's meaning, alien, accidental with respect to naïve happiness, I owe a supreme metaphysical lucidity to my depression. (Kristeva, 1989, p. 4) (our italics)

Kristeva's description brings to mind Joe's "wounded, bleeding, cadaverized" condition but it also posits self-consciousness and lucidity as the most prominent features to emerge from such an existential nadir. Despair begets awareness. In the same vein, Bell observes that the modern mind is characterized by self-focused attention on inner states. He writes:

> One distinctive features of Western culture is the high status that it has accorded to self-consciousness. Melancholia, or at least the psychological symptoms of melancholia as reported from Hippocrates right down through Western history, depends upon the West's peculiarly introspective culture. The psychological symptoms of melancholia are, to put it crudely, a disorder of malignant self-consciousness. (Kristeva, 1989, p. xi)

He also adds:

> We experience the florid psychological symptoms of melancholia because our culture encourages us to attend to the state of our inner life. Self-conscious attention exacerbates the cognitive symptoms of the malaise and turns it into full-blown psychological melancholia. It gives fear and sadness a cognitive dimension, turning them into paranoia, self-loathing and pessimism. (Kristeva, 1989, p. 184)

Johnny got his gun not only dramatizes the idea of dislocated lives, disaffected from the larger political strategies that ignite war conflicts, but points to the emergence of the modern era by bringing into sharp relief the ideas of introspection, inwardness and loss. As Ester Sánchez Pardo states:

> Melancholia is an epochal sign of modernism. After the golden age of melancholy, the Renaissance, modernism appears with *the revival of the melancholic affliction in a specific conjuncture after World War I* and under the scrutiny of psychoanalysis. Melancholia as pathological grief may also be read as a mourner's response to loss that is not socially acceptable or socially understood, and it is therefore hard to tolerate or explain. (Pardo, 2003, p. 2015) (my italics)

Whilst the film of *Johnny* accommodates some of the staples of World War I movies, by foregrounding the harshness of the trenches, the barbed wire or the shell-shock induced by explosions (this can be also seen in *King and the Country*), it departs from a more conventional narrative frame since it veers away from focusing on the male group to center around the inner life and mental state of an individual male character. The first images of *Johnny* set out to foster its unsettling atmosphere. Listening to breathing sounds coming from a still dark screen, one soon sees the three masked faces of the military doctors who peruse with scientific curiosity an unseen mutilated body, inspecting and scrutinizing the freakish condition of a human being beyond repair. Their faces are captured in a low angle shot which emphasizes their *quasi*-threatening countenances, their language is reduced to scientific terms, stating that it is worth a year in any doctor's life "to observe a case like this". Moreover, one of the doctors remarks that chest and belly are practically intact as victims of shell explosions always hunch down in a fetal position to protect their genitals, suggesting how manhood in war scenarios is always in danger of some form of castration, whether physical or metaphorical. *The Best Years in our Lives* springs to mind again in its earlier articulation of imperiled masculinity.

The military medical staff reflecting on Joe's mutilation. This is a still from a First World War film that might have come from a science fiction movie.

As the surgeon Colonel Tyler (Eduard Franz) from the military corps concludes, the cerebrum has suffered irreparable damage and the only justification for the patient's continued life is what it can offer to science as an interesting subject for investigation: "what we can learn from him to help the others". Thus Joe's condition is posited from the outset as lost and irrecoverable and he becomes an embarrassing reminder of the inequities of a military system which has lost both its humanity and its own political legitimacy. Moreover, he is thereafter reduced to a powerless lab rat who can be manipulated and used for scientific research. This is a strong indictment of a dehumanized medical discourse and its emphasis on nosological categories, recalling the tortuous route by which melancholia was replaced by the more science-laden term depression. In this way, Joe must be secretively shunted off from the world of the living. He is secluded in a sanitized hospital room, a safe distance from the window, and positioned on upper floors of the building to discourage people from peeping in and catching a glimpse of him. The *chiaroscuro*

which pervades all hospital scenes and the sterilized, clinical space in which the bed takes a central place bring into focus the loneliness of Joe's ordeal.

This evident human indifference enables Trumbo to criticize a medical practice which forbids emotional involvement with patients and which relies on over-confident diagnoses. Joe is deemed vegetative, "unthinking and unfeeling as the dead", unable to feel pain, pleasure, memory, or thoughts of any kind. This is reinforced by his designation "unidentified casualty number 4-7", pointing to his anonymous (literally) faceless existence. Trumbo himself appears in one of Joe's hallucinations, stating that war can have many meanings but for the scientist it can set him free "to accomplish the most brilliant and most imaginative of all enterprises", the opportunity to learn radically new techniques. Couched as one of Joe's many sedation-induced dreams, it nonetheless articulates Trumbo's indignation at the predatory use of victims of war as cat's-paws for scientific research-the events of the Holocaust might have informed the film-makers in 1970 in this regard. American audiences might also have recalled Eisenhower's extraordinary denunciation of the military-industrial complex in his famous 1958 speech to the nation.

Trumbo's novel anticipates Becket's more famous and highly regarded novels, *Malone Dies* (1951) or *Watt* (1953), where the characters' lives- like Joe's "buried alive" feeling- are pared down to the sole activity of their minds since their bodies are deeply damaged by their geriatric condition and bodily decay. Like Becket's protagonists, whose bodies are impaired by advanced age, Joe's mutilation is a reminder of how representations of masculinity and its relation with an intact, physically wholesome body is impossible to sustain in the film. Masculinity is thus not shaped by an image of an unimpaired physicality—as happens so often in American film narratives- but is nullified here by a pervasive asexual state. The context is particularly important here because it deals with the world of the military. Jacob Farnsworth states that militarism forges an idea of heroic action which anxiously attempts to efface any traces of feminisation. He states: "Due to the confluence of the masculinised hero-myth and male dominated military institutions, the militarized hero figure has come to be synonymous with idealized masculinity in US culture" (Farnsworth, 2014, p. 16). Farnsworth also argues that this notion hints at a soothing idea of invincibility since "military institutions, with their arsenals of powerful weapons, patriotic ideologies and hierarchical command structures, provide a natural fit for serving the hero's mythical function of providing its believers with a sense of safety and protection" (Farnsworth, 2014, p. 16). As Susan Faludi affirms, many rituals still in use in military organisations rely on obsessive homophobic practices that allegedly attempt to suppress traces of emasculation in these all-male environments (Faludi, 1999). *Johnny* offers a scathing criticism of this military world, exposing its fallacious nature and casting light on its dubious ideology. In a similar vein, Stanley Kubrick's *Paths of Glory* (1957), in its exposure of injustice through the convoluted processes of war trials (another staple of World War I films) or even his Vietnam-grounded *Full Metal Jacket* (1987), in its portrayal of the brutal nature of military training, also associate the effects of military mentalities with persistent depressive states.

So *Johnny*'s narrative is structured around Joe's thoughts, feelings and memories, sometimes etched in the clear past, at other times infused with a surreal quality induced by sedation. The film intersperses bleak black and white images, associated with his hospital-bound entrapment, with the colored images of his past recollections wherein he reconstructs, through fragments of memories, his short-lived youth. When he first gives signs of regaining consciousness, his first call is to Kareen (Kathy Field), his erstwhile girlfriend, who reappears in many of his distorted levels of consciousness. The first scene he evokes is that of their sexual encounter, a tender sequence where Kareen's father condones their tryst as if realizing that Joe's going into war was trauma enough even without having any experience of sexual love. Kareen appears later, garbed like a Greek goddess, a surreal touch which in Joe's mind is triggered by one of her bedroom paintings, a gift from her mother. The painting, as Joe notes, is crooked as if presaging the appalling events to follow. Whether framed by recollection of real events or veiled by the Fellini-like distortions instilled by fantasy, Kareen's reappearance in ever more eroticized images keeps reminding us of the possibilities which the future might have held for him had he not been sent to war.

Joe's progressive awareness of his "chopped off" body and "scooped out" face is one of the most painful features that the film addresses. This is set off by his perception of all the medical procedures enacted upon him, the removal of stitches, the insertion of tubes, the movement of bodies that circle him. As Jules Brenner, the cinematographer who worked with Trumbo in this project, stated in an interview included in the DVD extras, the film sets out to disclose three layered states of perception: one related with Joe's memories of his past, another is suffused with fantasy and surreal images induced by sedatives and the last from the grim reality attendant on his bedbound existence. The three levels of perception required different approaches in terms of film technique, so while Brenner de-saturated color to imbue Joe's hallucinating moments with a surreal quality, he used no filters at all to capture the grim utility of his hospital room. This dark, secluded space is chosen cruelly to sever him from any connections with the outside. He "can't tell the difference", as the doctor boldly states, persisting with his erroneous diagnosis.

As Joe reminisces about his past and recalls moments of his childhood, his relationship with his father, played by Jason Robards, acquires a special significance. One of these telling moments is when his father dwells on his fondness for his fishing pole, the only thing of consequence in his shallow, unremarkable existence that distinguishes him from other men. When asked by his son what in turn will make him unusual and unique, his father answers that he will contribute by making the world safe for democracy. As the conversation develops in the form of child/adult repartee, the meaning of democracy is said to be related "with something about young men killing each other" while the older men need to stay at home to keep the home fires burning. This idea will reappear again in another of Joe's surreal remembrances, where his father is seen feeding a half-naked Kareen with honey, explaining that there are so many young girls hunting for a place in old men's arms, wondering where all the young men went. The idea that an older generation has forsaken a younger one and forced it to fight and die for ideals which

cannot be really explained or understood- his father is lost for words while attempting to explain the concept of democracy- articulates the film's criticism of the moral collapse of patriarchal structures, whether they appear vested in military rhetoric or in the desensitized speech of medical science. Another thing that the First World War could be said to have initiated is a permanent generational divide —evident in the mid-century but taken as a datum by the Counterculture.

Through Joe's reminiscences of the past, one sees how his mutilation was caused by a shell explosion since he was in the wrong place at the wrong time, carrying out the job of giving a proper burial to a hapless Bavarian who had been rotting away entangled in barbed wire. Ironically, these orders were given by a smug "limey" general who claimed that even death has a dignity of its own, echoing Colonel Dax (Kirk Douglas)'s superior in *Paths of Glory,* who also affirms that "your men died wonderfully". Joe's realization that he shouldn't have been there nor should that poor Bavarian since "for all he knew they could have been friends" suggests the loose and shifting boundaries between supposedly inimical sides and the haphazardness of war's territoriality and political interests. Likewise, in Kubrick's film, young men are used both as battle-field pawns to serve the self-aggrandizing purposes of conceited generals and as scapegoats to cover up misguided decisions that have led to flawed missions. As in *Johnny,* much lip-service is paid to the troops' morale. Whilst Kolker (2000) cogently argues that *Paths of Glory* evokes the military stiffness and glory-seeking purposes of Ford's Colonel Thursday (Henry Fonda) in *Ford Apache* (1948), one might also concur that through Joe's agonizing survival, Trumbo proposes the most mordant criticism of the brutality and senselessness of military codes and power structures. Colonel Thursday-like characters appear in many guises in war films, emblematic figures of vanity and irresponsible self-aggrandizement.

Through Joe's radical nullification the film questions whether spirit can be divested of matter, whether one can be a piece of "meat" and still be a man. When Joe surreally sees Christ in his dream-like recollections, the latter is incapable of giving him any answers. Christ plays cards with a group of soldiers who foresee their future deaths, suggesting that in war survival is more a question of luck than judgment. When Joe asks Christ to help him distinguish reality from dream, he is given no help at all since everything Christ recommends he do is precluded by Joe's physical impairment. "Yelling", "forcing his eyes open" or evading "the nightmarish image of a rat" in order to prove its unreality are actions impossible to achieve as Joe explains since he is nothing more than a "piece of meat that keeps on living". Finally, even Christ, ominously busy in carving out the wooden crosses for the graves of all the dead young men, tells him "since your real life is a greater nightmare than your dreams, it would be cruel to pretend that anyone can help you. What you need is a miracle", urging him to go as he is a "very unlucky man and sometimes it rubs off". The irony is that Christ neither offers solutions to Joe's angst-ridden questions nor provides solace or emotional comfort: he is seen labouring in his workshop, making use of his carpentry skills to build coffins or riding astride a locomotive which carries dead bodies. "I've got lots of trains to handle, lots of dead men", he says. The surrealist dimension of this striking

set-piece, with Christ as bureaucrat and logistician, is explained by Buñuel's authorship of its design. Trumbo had met Buñuel in Mexico when they were both exiled from their homelands (Buñuel running from Franco's dictatorship) and though Buñuel never got to direct *Johnny*, as Trumbo had initially planned, his contribution can be seen in these strange sequences. Moreover, the casting of Donald Sutherland as Christ was not arbitrary as Sutherland was a politically committed activist alongside Jane Fonda at the time, often stating publically his disgust at American's intervention in Vietnam.

In *Johnny*, Christ falls dramatically short of fulfilling his role as protector, comforter or explainer. He fails to live up to the model of faith and spirituality he stood for in Joe's childhood experiences. The film ruminates on Joe's childhood teaching: "Matter is the unreal and the temporal, man is not material, he is spiritual" but ends by affirming the idea that matter is as important as the spiritual, an intrinsic part of human realization. Joe's obsession with tracking time, his need to distinguish day from night, the passing of days, months, years, bears out the necessity to find some existence grounded in the real, some ontological mooring. This can be borne out by a compelling scene where Joe's bed is moved to the sunlight by the sympathetic nurse who gets emotionally involved in his case, flouting the initial caveat that no emotional involvement be allowed between medical staff and patients. The rapture he feels when the sunlight reaches him reaffirms the underlying idea that matter is not secondary but in fact the basis for most forms of human transcendence and fulfillment. The same idea is underscored by the moment the nurse touches Joe, caressing his chest, the only unblemished part of his body, and indirectly sexually gratifies him. Joe's pleasure is registered in his chest and head movements disavowing the misguided view that he is de-cerebrated, "unfeeling and unthinking as the dead". This denies Joe's religious, childhood-instilled teachings, which had fed him the notion that matter, and the material, are secondary to human existence. More than in any other scene, these points to the centrality of the body-to matter- and its sexualized nature in human existence, throwing into relief the bankruptcy of religious teaching based upon self-denial and specious notions of the spirit. Like the other power institutions represented in the film, the military and the medical-scientific ones, the church appears devoid of meaning, insubstantial in its hollow speeches and impotent before so much destruction and misery. *Johnny* thus reinforces long-held understandings suggested in the first accounts of melancholia. Johnny's maimed body is a visual representation of imbalance: a fragmented, chopped off human being whose only connection to existence is his own capacity to muse over his condition, indulging in bouts of justified melancholy and attempting to fathom his possibilities for escape.

Many a time Joe realizes that he has become a freak and that his condition is irredeemable. He imagines himself billed as a carnival show attraction where his father and mother advertise him in his freakishness, emulating the sideshow "barkers" he once saw in one of these displays. As Harold Michelson (production designer) states, in the DVD extras, that scene constitutes also a conflation of Fellini and Bunuel: the grotesquery of the situation reinforced by the midgets (favourites in Bunuel's world), who evoke the carnival-like creatures with whom Joe feels

equated, reinforcing his estrangement from the world. However, when Joe is told by his father in one of his dreams to use his head as a form of communication with the world that surrounds him, he relies on Morse code through head movements as the only possible form of language to allow contact with the outside. This becomes Joe's sole conduit of expression as he articulates through head movements his "SOS- help me" over and over again.

Surrounded by military high-ups and by the doctor who wrongly assumed his de-cerebration, Joe pleads for the individual's right to choose his own death under extreme circumstances of pain and physical diminishment. The film addresses the controversial issue of euthanasia, which becomes an even more pressing concern when medical structures are construed as wholly unfeeling. This is perhaps not a bold move in a film which is so fraught with hopelessness and in which the spectator is drawn into Joe's painful subjectivity. His wish could only be legitimate. If this be denied, he asks with bitterness to be taken outside, to be put on display in a fancy coffin, advertised as the armless, legless wonder of the twentieth century, "the last man in the world who joined the army, because the army makes men and the flag needs soldiers". The denial of this wish, and the aborted attempt of the kindly nurse mercifully to kill him, usher him deeper into oblivion and concealment, as suggested by the general's final decision to close the shutters, leaving him alone in the darkness and symbolically cutting off his last fragile ties with humanity. In life, Joe is an inconvenient reminder of everything that goes wrong in war-time. Also indicted is the attempt at medical containment of his condition, which understands human despair as "involuntary spasms" that must be ignored or quelled by sedation. He remains in a Catch 22 quandary but despite this his inner voice still reaffirms: "I've got to do something. ´Cause I can't go on living like this". The bleak end posits again his capacity to rationalize his case and his self-consciousness as the affirmation of individual will, albeit precluded by the brutalization of his enforced seclusion.

Some previous and many subsequent war films, like the ones we have made reference to, foreground the powerlessness of soldiers pitted against brutal and violent situations which they fail to understand and which threaten to engulf them. However, no other film seems to depict with such uncompromising strength and unremitting focus (and with so little hope of commercial success) the utter hopelessness, the inescapable sense of loss and spiritual defeat that *Johnny* projects. For this, it, and the book upon which it was faithfully based, remain remarkable and unique works about a remarkable and unique war.

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Part II
Peripheral Theatres of War

The Pogrom of Jews During and After World War I: The Destruction of the Jewish Idea of Galicia

Jagoda Wierzejska

Abstract The idea of Galicia was a transnational political concept which represented a multinational coexistence in a situation of irrevocable national divisions and growing nationalist tendencies in the Austrian province called the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria. The Jewish variant of this idea was connected with the emergence of a specific Jewish-Galician identity which enabled the Galician Jews to identify with the province, in all its national and religious diversity, and with the Habsburg empire as a whole. The destruction of the Jewish idea of Galicia was connected with the outpouring of anti-Semitism expressed in the form of violence and pogroms after 1914. That tragic phenomenon was described, among others, by Ansky (Shloyme Zanvl Rappoport), Abraham Insler, Icchak Grünbaum, and Emil Tenenbaum. The most catastrophic event for the Galician Jews was the pogrom in Lviv in November 1918, which followed the outbreak of the Polish-Ukrainian War, and which was long falsified by Poles, the winners in the said war. The pogrom began an immense growth of anti-Semitism in the Second Polish Republic which signalled the end of the Jewish idea of Galicia.

1 Introduction

The great area of East-Central Europe that extends north from the Carpathian Mountains, between 1772 and 1918, under Austrian rule was officially known as the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria, and commonly referred to as Galicia. Since its creation in 1772, as a result of the first partition of Poland, Galicia seemed to be an artificial solution, unable to find legitimacy for its geopolitical existence, either in pre-Austrian history or geography. The only warrant for the incorporation of the region into the Habsburg Empire was the need to maintain the balance of power in Europe as it was understood at that time. Austria had never lodged any claims to the

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Polish territory but had to take part in the partitions masterminded by Russia and Prussia. In the wake of that move, the Habsburgs acquired a territory that was not only separated from the Hungarian part of the later monarchy by the Carpathian Mountains, but first and foremost differed from the rest of the country in terms of politics, social and economic relations, as well as ethnic and religious structure.

The latter phenomenon is related to the fact that Galicia throughout its history was inhabited by a multiplicity of people of disparate cultural backgrounds. The three main groups in the province were Poles, Ruthenians (who considered themselves Ukrainians from the second half of the nineteenth century onwards), and Jews. Although the Habsburg authorities manipulated census data to suit their own political purposes (Magocsi, 2005, p. 7), we can conclude, according to a survey by Paul Robert Magocsi, that in 1910 Galicia had 7.9 million inhabitants: 45.4% were Poles, 42.9% Ukrainians, and 10.9% Jews. In Eastern Galicia, however, Ukrainians formed a majority as 62% of the population, with 25.5% Polish, and 8.2% Jewish (Magocsi, 1983, p. 225; Magocsi, 1996, pp. 423–424; Magocsi, 2005, pp. 7–8). Other groups present in Galicia were Germans encouraged by the Habsburg regime to settle in the countryside colonies in the east part of the region, Armenians, Lemko-Rusyns, and Russians.

In the eyes of the Austrian authorities, such an immensely heterogenous province, whose position within the Habsburg Empire was uncertain until 1815, a clearly discernible fact during the Napoleonic interlude, needed a strong connection with the rest of the country to be maintainable in its boundaries. What served the purpose of bringing about the dependence of Galicia on the Austrian imperial state was a specific Habsburg political culture comprising elements of both history and fantasy. This political culture, which Larry Wolff (2010) describes using the notion of the idea of Galicia, aimed at presenting the province as a common and coherent territory, which all the inhabitants regardless of nationality could identify with. Wolff (2010) explains this goal as follows: "A Galician identity might (…) serve to reconcile Polish and German with Ruthenian and Jewish elements within the province. The invention of Galicia in the eighteenth century called for the invention of Galicians in the nineteenth century" (p. 80). Indeed, during the course of the nineteenth century a peculiar Galician identity emerged among the dwellers of the province. It was expressed in at least four languages, Polish, Ukrainian, Yiddish, and German: Galicia's Poles regarded themselves as *Galicyjanie*, Galicia's Ukrainians as *Halychany*, Galicia's Jews as *Galitzianer*, and Galicia's Germans as *Galiziendeutsche*. Nevertheless, in the case of each group Galician identity suggested a sense of being from the particular crown land of Galicia. Until national tensions were unleashed in the late nineteenth century, this sense could exist not only beside Austrian affiliation obliquely connected with it, but also apart from a national association seemingly opposite to it.

According to Wolff's (2010) explanation, "Galicia was to be ultimately vindicated by an ideology of reconciliation: imperial totality and national rights, the national past and the provincial present" (Wolff, 2010, p. 261). The ideology in

question or, in short, the idea of Galicia should be conceived as a concept in which a concrete geopolitical reality—a province of the Habsburg monarchy existing between 1772 and 1918—has been identified with certain ideological and cultural meanings. In the first half of the nineteenth century, this idea functioned as a transcendent political concept, opening the possibility of transnational convergence within the Habsburg heterogeneity. In the second half of the century, it represented a multinational coexistence in a situation of irrevocable national divisions and in the face of growing nationalist tendencies. In this paper I am going to present the Jewish variant of the idea of Galicia and two stages of its destruction: first, World War I, second, the Poles' struggle for a Southeastern frontier of reborn Poland. Reconstructing the cultural and socio-political background of the idea under study, I intend to point out what impact its collapse had on the Jewish population of the province. My objective is to show that after military and political turmoil in the period 1914–1919, the Galician Jews found themselves not only in a new country—the Second Polish Republic instead of Habsburg monarchy—but also in new circumstances, much more complex and unfavorable than prewar ones.

2 The Jewish Idea of Galicia

The Jews, having dwelt within the territory incorporated by Austria in 1772, became the Galician Jews. Their position, problematic at the outset of the history of the province, gradually improved. The reforms of Emperor Joseph II, however controversial and regarded as oppressive by many Orthodox and Hassidic Jews because of the extension of obligatory conscription to male Jews, aimed among others at guaranteeing this group the privileges and rights of other subjects (Grodziski, 1999). The vanguard of modern enlightened Jews were brought up not only on the tenets of Haskalah, but also on Josephinian tolerance. This ambiguous fact lay at the core of the myth of love the Galician Jews were supposed to surround the Emperor with. Although it was one of the founding myths of Galicia, in the first period of the province's existence, from the annexation to Austria to the "Spring of Nations" in 1848, this myth was rather a kind of wishful thinking of the adherents of Joseph II. They believed that Josephinian reforms would bring about a total transformation of the Galician Jewish population, but as a matter of fact, the latter experienced constant pressure from the Austrian bureaucracy. In the second period, however, which began during the "Spring of Nations" and lasted until the outbreak of World War I, the relations between the Austrian authorities and the Jews improved greatly. According to the constitution enacted in 1867, on the occasion of the Austro-Hungarian settlement and conversion of the state into the dual monarchy, the Jews received full political rights (Buszko, 1999). The final emancipation was accompanied by the legalization of Jewish landowning, a benefit inconceivable in Russia, the other empire where the Jewish minority was comparably large (Gąsowski, 1999). All these reforms, together with the fact that the Jews could not

officially figure as one of Habsburg nations,[1] entailed a very specific attitude of Galician Jews towards Emperor Franz Joseph I, who claimed the throne in 1848. This attitude evolved from the alleged admiration presumed by the supporters of the Josephinian Enlightenment to the wholly reverential form of true loyalty marked by mythological features. The Galician Jews cultivated Franz Joseph with great zeal as a supranational protector of the rights of all his people, including Jews, and shared legendary stories about him, e.g., the one about a meeting of the emperor with the Old Testament prophet Elijah who provided the former with supernatural protection (Wolff, 2010, pp. 319–324).

That was the political, social, and cultural ground the Jewish variant of the idea of Galicia emerged from. The variant in question comprised a particular vision of the province shared by many Galician Jews, as well as the strong Jewish willingness to identify with the region. Galicia was a land of thousands (if not tens of thousands) of poor Jews, yet the political, cultural, and spiritual life of this community was regarded by them as rich and varied. David Horovitz who spent his childhood and youth in Drohobych and Lviv described the Galician atmosphere as follows: "It produced spiritual movements which were all-encompassing, as if they sought to compensate for material poverty with richness of sprit and thought, knowledge, and learning" (Horovitz, as cited by Bartal & Polonsky, 1999, p. 11). In fact by the eve of World War I there was a network of Jewish parties, clubs, and organizations, with branches all over Galicia, where all kinds of activities took place. "Zionists, socialists, German- and Polish-speaking intellectuals, pious Jews and Hebrew scholars were to be found in the towns and cities," list Israel Bartal and Anthony Polonsky (1999, p. 19). What is more, Galicia of the second half of the nineteenth century was perceived by the Jewish inhabitants, who revealed a tendency to idealize it, as a crown land taken, amid other or even more than other crown lands, into the Austrian regime's care and protection which guaranteed a relatively peaceful coexistence of people regardless of their national background. A Jewish writer who wrote in Polish, Emil Tenenbaum, captured this viewpoint wonderfully in his novel *Tła (…)* [*Backgrounds (…)*] from 1935, describing the fate of a Galician Jew between the outbreak of World War I and the early twenties. After the subsequent victories of the Russian army in Galicia the protagonist of the novel, Hersz Torten, despairs:

> Without Austria (…) the world is not going to calm down (…) Austria was perfectly built (…) It is a pity that the Austrians themselves did not understand this. Show me the same

[1]Together with the protection of national rights, enacted in the article 19th of the constitution form 1867, appeared a question whether the Jews constituted a separate nation. In the census run in the Habsburg monarchy once a decade, from the second half of the nineteenth century onwards, nationality was defined in terms of the language. Although within the confessions in the census, there was a "mosaisch" one, Yiddish was not included in the list of tongues a respondent could indicated, as it was not consider a separate language. That was the reason why Jews in the Habsburg monarchy were considered a religion minority but could not be officially acknowledged as a nation. In the census they often chose Polish language, what fostered a fictional vision of Polish majority in the whole Galicia.

> perfect solution in the world? A conglomeration of a dozens of countries and regions which entirely complement each other (…). (Tenenbaum, 1935, p. 61)

Such fealty to the Habsburg Empire, and already mentioned attitude towards the Emperor, constituted largely the identity of the Galician Jews. Although both phenomena had semi-mythological characteristics, they were also rooted in and enhanced by the legal regulations in Austria-Hungary where, unlike in Russia, the Jews were officially protected from anti-Semitism manifested through violence and pogroms.

This way of conceiving Galicia resulted in the emergence of a Jewish-Galician identity, which enabled the Galician Jews to identify with the province, in all its national and religious diversity, and more or less (rather more than less) directly with the Habsburg Empire as a whole. In the nineteenth century, a vast majority of the Galician Jews started to consider themselves *Galitzianer*. This type of self-understanding lacked nationalistic pathos and a sense of strife with other national groups. Instead, it was predicated upon the moderately balanced circumstances of existence in the province. Such an affiliation reflects in the way Torten explains what patriotism for the Galician Jews is: "We want the government to prosper. Why? Because then the citizens prosper too" (Tenenbaum, 1935, p. 55). Despite its apparent simplicity, Jewish-Galician identity was strong enough to let *Galitzianer* distinguish themselves from *Litvaks*, the Jews coming to the Congress Poland from the Russian pale of settlement, foremost from the western governorates, nowadays Lithuania and Byelorussia. That same identification survived amid over 3,00,000 immigrants who had come to the United States from Galicia for economic reasons between 1881 and 1914 (Soyer, 1997, pp. 23–27). For those immigrants, as well as for the Jews who decided to stay in the province, the Galician-Jewish identity remained the core of the idea of Galicia.

3 The Disintegration of the Jewish Idea of Galicia During World War I

Riots against the Jewish population did happen in Austrian Galicia. Perhaps the most acute was the one in 1898. The election campaign of the Christian populists, headed by the priest Stanisław Stojałowski in Western Galicia, in the Nowy Sącz district, led to anti-Semitic violence. As a consequence, pogroms broke out in many villages in six Carpathian districts. As was mentioned above, however, the law in the Habsburg imperial state set the limits of this kind of anti-Semitism. Riots in 1898 caused civilian casualties and significant damage to property, but entailed a pronounced counter-action by the authorities. 3,000 people were arrested and the governor of the province declared a state of emergency (Stauter-Halstead, 2005, pp. 39–59). The protective nature of the law in the Habsburg empire, as well as the opinion prevalent among Jews that Franz Joseph was an impartial arbiter of his subjects, was confirmed in a sense after 1914 when Galicia, the battleground of the

Russian and Austrian armies, was flooded by waves of violence aimed at civilians, but particularly at the Jews.

During World War I many Galician Jews abandoned their houses, and fled to other more secure parts of the Habsburg monarchy. Those who did not leave suffered from Polish and Ukrainian malevolence much more rigid and exposed in the war circumstances than before 1914, and from the hostility of Russian troops who raped and murdered them, plundered and destroyed their houses. The fate of Galician Jews in that time was recorded by a few inhabitants of the province, among others Hermnann Sternbach (1917) and Sigmunt Bromberg-Witkowski (1917). The most comprehensive, however, was an extensive account delivered by a newcomer, Shai Ansky, a writer and a member of one of committees established in Russia to help the victims of war. He depicted wartime Jewish Galicia, as well as rescue efforts, in his book *Der Judiszer hurbn fun Pojlen, Galicje un Bukowina* first issued in 1920 and translated into English in 2003 as *The Enemy at his Pleasure: A Journey Through the Jewish Pale of Settlement During World War I.*

Ansky, born to a Jewish family as Shloyme Zanvl Rappoport, later famous as the author of the Yiddish drama *Der dibek oder cwiszn cwej weltn* [*The Dybbuk*, *or Between Two Worlds*], was a Russian subject ideologically close to socialism and very fond of Jewish ethnography and folklore. During World War I he made several trips to Galicia, as he was entrusted with a task of organizing aid for the local Jewish population mainly financed by the St. Petersburg Committee for Aid to Jews. The reportage describing these trips is a collection of observations made during his stay in different places of Galicia, as well as information that reached him from various cities and towns from representatives of different milieus.

The writer begins his narrative with a characterisation of Russian propaganda and points out the anti-Semitic stereotypes strongly present in it from at least the second half of the nineteenth century. As a result of such trends, from the Russian perspective, the Galician Jews were presented as a group supporting the Germans and Austrians since the very outbreak of the war. The Russian mania for espionage was fostered by the image of a Jew-traitor watching every step of tsarist troops, signalling to the Austrian army, indicating which places to bomb, and cutting Russian telegraph wires. On the other hand, Ansky notes that such propaganda found a fertile ground in the moods of the Poles and Ukrainians having lived in the Galician areas occupied by the Russian army. Polish-Ukrainian-Jewish conflicts, present in Galicia before 1914, but to a considerable extent palliated by the abovementioned political culture of the Habsburg Empire in general, and the province in particular, broke out during the war with a boldness unseen before. The Galician Jews tried to maintain their balance between Poles and Ukrainians, and shifted their sympathy from one of these nationalities to the other. “Because of these shifts, the various ethnic groups resented the Jews all the more and viewed their behaviour as treacherous,” admits Ansky (2003, p. 64; see also von Hagen, 2007, pp. 30–37; Borodziej & Górny, 2014, pp. 286–290).

What the future author of *The Dybbuk* (2003) observes and understands in Galicia is the identity of the local Jews based on non-national loyalty to the Habsburg monarchy.

> (…) the generally favourable political situation gave Galician Jews a feeling of self-worth and security, a conscious sense of being full-fledged citizens. Their Austrian patriotism was strong, and their dedication to the old Kaiser, Franz Joseph, was cultlike. They loved him deeply and respected him as their protector and helper. At the start of the war, Austria's Poles were in an ambiguous position, while the Ruthenians stood apart from everyone. The Galician Jews, however, stuck to their pro-Austrian orientation, flaunting it in the most delicate of circumstances, with no concerns for horrible consequences. Their self-scarifying allegiance was extraordinary. I saw Jews shedding bitter tears when they heard about the fall of Przemyśl to the Russians. (Ansky, 2003, p. 64)

The writer is aware that the Galician identity of the local Jews was so distinct that they felt alien to their Russian compatriots and even despised them. "The Galician Jews looked down on the Russians as disenfranchised Jews and were unable to grasp how anyone could live and breathe under arbitrary rule, deadly pogroms, and random persecution" (Ansky, 2003, pp. 64–65). He also sees, however, that self-confident Galician Jews deprived of the security of Habsburg Galicia found themselves extremely vulnerable, threatened, and distraught. Noting an observation of "bitter tears" of the Jews who heard about the fall of Przemyśl, he shows that he has at least a vague sense of what Galicia could be for the local Jewish community. *Galitzianer* despaired because they anticipated that the end of the province and the collapse of the idea of Galicia would entail disastrous consequences for them.

Indeed, the passing of Galicia during World War I was punctuated by anti-Semitic repressions and pogroms, first during the Russian occupation in 1914, then when the region changed hands several times. The dismantling of civic rights and brutal violence directed against the Galician Jews were not incidental but fundamental to the Russian attack on the province. Ansky (2003) reports that, "(…) the persecution didn't stop because the Russians wanted to annex Galicia and create a political system there without a complication of the Jewish question. They wanted to reduce the Galician Jews to the level of Russian Jews as far as rights were concerned" (p. 106; see also Prusin, 2005, pp. 13–62). Due to unleashing of national hatred, religious persecution, and savage pogroms the Russians' encroachment on the region turned out to be not only a military invasion but also an assault on the Habsburg identity of Galicia, ensuing from the crown land's ties with Austria-Hungary. Nevertheless, at least while Franz Joseph still reigned in Vienna, the Galician Jews maintained the sense of their Galician identity that they had developed in the cocoon of the Habsburg province. After his meeting with the Lviv Jewish leaders, Ansky seemingly found himself irritated by that phenomenon. They refused aid proposed to them by the writer. A prominent lawyer, Yankev Diamant, explained their decision to Ansky (2003):

> We are and remain Austrian citizens. We are loyal to our fatherland and to our gracious monarch, to whom we Jews especially have a lot to be thankful for. If we went along with the proposal to establish a Russian-Jewish committee, we'd be entering into an official relationship with the Russian authorities, and that would constitute profound ingratitude toward our government, if not a treason. (Ansky, 2003, p. 75)

Thus, even in the most harmful wartime circumstances *Galitzianer* reckoned that not only Austrian imperial interest, but also their own provincial/national interest required that Galicia was united with other parts of the monarchy and ruled from Vienna. They still affirmed Habsburg loyalty and remain conscientiously Galician.

During the course of the war, however, Galicia became increasingly severed from Habsburg reality, i.e., from the constitutional government and a sense of multinational coexistence in the nationally and religiously diverse monarchy. That process sparked off the atrocities against Jews—slaughters, rapes, and pillaging—which went beyond human, and certainly Ansky's, comprehension. When the writer made a subsequent trip to Galicia at the turn of 1916 and 1917, he found on his way two artefacts that constituted evidence of the unique drama of the local Jewish population. The first was an old manuscript of Israel Baal Shem Tov, one of the founders of Hasidism on Polish land, where in addition to the date of 5513 (i.e., 1753.) there was only the signature of the great Rabbi; apart from that, the paper was blank. Ansky (2010[2]) quotes the words of a Hasid who showed him the precious manuscript: "They say that the letters disappeared because of the humidity and they can be restored with chemicals (…) But we, Hasids, think differently (…)" (Ansky, 2010, p. 384). The other artefact was broken stone tablets with the Ten Commandments found in the ruined synagogue in Dębica; the only two words visible on the stony excerpt were "kill" and "fornicate". The disappearing letters and the broken tablets for the writer come together as a kind of symbol of the total destruction of Jewish life in the region.

Wartime Galicia, without the political presence of the Habsburg monarchy, witnessed a material and cultural disaster for the Jews. What is more, it would observe the social collapse that resulted from the cancellation of the concept of transnational convergence within the heterogeneous Austria-Hungary, and national and religious malevolence ensued aimed at every political, economic, or even private enemy, but foremost at the Jews. According to Ansky's (2010) observation:

> (…) here, on the bloody battlefields, where the national hatred burns fiery, a tremendous common knowledge emerged, that these are Jews who have brought about this situation. A local Pole with a false smile, a credulous Ukrainian refugee, an Austrian or Hungarian captive and a Russian soldier – they are all united in their hatred of the Jews. They all cast the same deceitful prosecutions and vulgar aspersions on them. (Ansky, 2010, p. 197)

While Galicia's constituting relation with the Habsburg monarchy became increasingly tenuous and uncertain, the idealized Jewish vision of the crown land of flourishing culture and spiritual life, which could serve as a homeland for all the

[2]The English translation of *Der Judiszer hurbn fun Pojlen, Galicje un Bukowina* by Ansky is not a full text of the original. The translator omitted many fragments or even full chapters without marking it. If the quotation is absent in the English version I use Polish version of the book—*Tragedia Żydów galicyjskich w czasie I wojny światowej*—which is the closest to the Yiddish original.

Emperor's people, was no longer relevant. Finally, even the Jews' belief in the protection of the Austrian regime and their devotion to the Emperor, who since 1916 had been Charles I, deteriorated sharply. A significant testimony to that process is a revised state of mind of Hersz Torten, the protagonist of Tenenbaum's *Tła (...)* (1935), who has survived the war in Zbarazh, in Eastern Galicia:

> He was an Austrian patriot. Only when the Austrians recaptured this part of the land, he understood the words of Austrian captives passing through Zbarazh: "Go to hell all of you, together with the Emperor Charles (…) and the Germans." – Then he couldn't forgive them verbal abuse aimed at the Emperor and commanders. (…) "You are all traitors (…) Russophiles" [he repeated]. "Try to stay there (…) with us (…) you'll have enough of Austria (…)" [they responded] – And ultimately, he had enough of it. (Tenenbaum, 1935, p. 49)

The Jewish idea of Galicia, apparently shared by Hersz Torten with many Jews of the Habsburg province, at the end of the war, sank in the turmoil of strife, pogroms, and plunder, together with Galicia itself.

4 The Final Collapse of the Jewish Idea of Galicia During the Poles' Struggle for the Southeastern Polish Frontier

In autumn 1918, with the conclusion of the war, the Poles intended to cancel Galicia's political relation with the dilapidated Habsburg monarchy using the Polish Liquidation Commission [Polska Komisja Likwidacyjna], an organization created in Cracow in the last week of October, for the purpose of taking control of Galician military, administration, and jurisdiction institutions, and joining the province to an independent Poland. According to the 13th Point of Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points issued in January 1918, an independent Polish state was to be erected and encompass a territory inhabited by indisputably Polish dwellers. However, for Galicia, especially the Eastern one, this postulate turned out to be pernicious, as the region did not possess an indisputably Polish population, and for previous decades had been a bone of contention between Poles and Ukrainians. At the time of the collapse of the Habsburg Empire, both nationalities had clear but opposing visions of a post-war Galicia behind the San river. While the Polish patriots designed it as Eastern Little Poland, the Ukrainian patriots perceived it as a forthcoming western Ukraine or even a part of future united Ukraine.

Polish authorities started taking charge of Galicia in the western part of the region, a much more legitimate move in accordance with the Wilsonian principle of national self-determination, as the population of Western Galicia comprised a significant Polish majority. The Poles took control in incontrovertible Cracow and managed to extend it more or less forcibly to Przemyśl. Together with their successes taking place in an atmosphere of general lawlessness, at the very beginning of November the violence against Jews exploded in small towns and across the countryside. Based on the report prepared by the press office of the Zionist Organization to inform the Polish state authorities of anti-Jewish riots in Galicia in 1918–1919 (Grünbaum, 1919), the wave of pogroms flooded the following

municipalities and villages: Błażowa, Dobra near Limanowa, Grodzisko, Jeonicz,[3] Jaworzno, Mielec, Morawica, Mszana Polna,[4] Rozwadów, Szczakowa, Trzebinia, Wadowice, and Zator. Among the perpetrators were deserters and demobilized soldiers but also Polish civilians: "armed peasants", "local women", "burghers" (in Dobra), "a jumble from the surrounding villages", "hooligan groups", "workers and railroad employees" (in Trzebinia), and "an organized gang of both sexes" (Grünbaum, 1919, pp. 19–20, 23, 24–25). The report emphasises the passivity of the Polish security forces, or sometimes their connivance in riots. In other instances, the ambiguous character of rare opposition to the anti-Jewish violence is revealed. For example, the only defender of Jews in Trzebinia, a director of a folk school, tried to stop the aggression with a cry: "My God, it's a disgrace, to organize pogroms at the time of Poland's rebirth" (Grünbaum, 1919, p. 25), as if it was proper at less sublime historical moments.

In literature of the interwar period, the atmosphere of anti-Semitism accompanying the first stage of struggle for the Southeastern Polish frontier was marked in the novel *Tła (...)* Tenenbaum (1935) enigmatically, most likely due to the censorship existing in the Second Polish Republic, comments on the moment of Poland's rebirth: "And the news, it's clearly anti-Jewish pogroms, as nothing happens that wouldn't connect with pogroms and murders" (Tenenbaum, 1935, p. 57). The sarcastic comment on the riots, which were glaring and deeply despairing to the Jews, suggests that the protagonist, a Galician Jew, once having lived under the protection of Habsburg Galicia, then harrassed by the Russian invaders, in 1918, witnessed the rise of a Polish phoenix out of the flames of the recent pogroms.

Apart from anti-Jewish riots in Przemyśl on 11th and 12th November, the most atrocious was the pogrom in Lviv which lasted from 22nd to 24th November, 1918. The background of that slaughter constituted the Polish-Ukrainian War for the control over Eastern Galicia which broke out immediately after the dissolution of the Habsburg Empire and was decided to a large degree in Lviv during three weeks of street battles. Lviv of that time should be regarded as a Polish-Jewish island in the rural Ukrainian sea of Eastern Galicia: according to data pertaining to the denominational composition, in 1910 Poles formed 51%, Jews 27.8%, Ukrainians 19% of the Lviv population (Wnęk, Zyblikiewicz, & Callahan, 2006, p. 75). On 1st November, the Ukrainian fighters, surprising the narrow Polish majority, seized control over much of the city with the objective of making Lviv the capital of a post-Habsburg West Ukrainian People's Republic. While the Ukrainians largely depended on support from outside the city, the Polish side could count on locally recruited entities of the army and widespread civil participation in what came to be known as *Obrona Lwowa* [the Defense of Lviv]. Ultimately, the support of the regular army which arrived from Cracow secured a Polish victory on Friday, 22nd November, in the early morning (Kozłowski, 1990). At the same moment, a pogrom in the Jewish quarter began.

[3]Such a town does not exist. It is probably Iwonicz.

[4]Most likely, the authors made a typographical error, meaning Mszana Dolna.

The Lviv's Jews promulgated their neutrality in the impending Polish-Ukrainian conflict already on 28th October, but the Poles were indignant at the lack of support of the Jews and questioned their impartiality. As in the case of prior Russian pogroms in Galicia, the accusations of Jewish armed self-defense or even aggression were as acute as they were unfounded. The Poles wildly believed that Jewish militiamen collaborated with Ukrainians, Jewish civilians furtively fired and threw axes at Polish soldiers, or poured boiling water from their windows. As a historian, William W. Hagen (2005), proves, at the moment of victory over the Ukrainians, the Poles felt entitled to punish the Jews for having deserted them during the crisis. In a carnivalesque mode, they turned the Jewish district upside down, looting property, destroying houses, raping, and murdering people, profaning Torahs, and burning synagogues with Jews inside them.

> (…) the pogromists, as they engaged in plunder and violence, moved within a self-chosen framework of symbolic action which, in carnivalesque form, gave expression to a collective sense of celebration, triumph, and cruel playfulness, and joy at the dispossession, humiliation, and even murder of the Jews. (Hagen, 2005, p. 136)

The pogromists, thus, were convinced that Polish suffering warranted the pogrom of Jews; they tried to prove their charges of alleged Jewish perfidy, and after gaining an advantage, took the goods and even the lives the Jews were supposed to owe them in exchange for their "treachery" (Golczewski, 1993; Mick, 2015, pp. 158–174).

In the shadow of the Paris Peace Conference, with the problem of Polish boundaries at stake, such a manifestation of anti-Semitism was not convenient for Polish authorities, as it presented the Polish side in a bad light. That is why the Lviv pogrom in general did not arouse Polish reactions that would have expressed satisfaction at it. Nevertheless, the regime and propaganda of the Second Polish Republic sought to reduce the scale of the incident, denied its pogromist character, and blamed Jews themselves for provoking the Poles' anger. The prevalent ways of justifying the pogrom and excusing the Poles were the contentions that there were thugs and criminals released from prison by Ukrainians who perpetrated the riot, that the Jews called for Polish people's vengeance for their misdeeds and disloyalty, and finally, that the Jews organized armed resistance to the Polish army, covering the retreat of the Ukrainians, and thereby elicited Polish reprisal. Assertions of these kinds were sustained even in such serious and opinion-forming papers as the daily *Czas* [*Time*] issued in Cracow. For example, the article "O 'pogromach' we Lwowie" ["On the 'pogroms' in Lviv"] (1918) maintained that the turmoil in the Jewish district had been caused by the collaboration of Zionists with "Ruthenians"[5] and carried out by "a big city rag-tag." Additionally, an anonymous author of that article suggested not to take the number of fatalities of the disastrous November

[5]In the interwar period Polish authors' insistence on calling the Ukrainians "Ruthenians" was a political manifestation and often meant the denial of the Ukrainian national identity, especially that representatives of this group used the term "Ukrainians" to emphasize their growing national aspirations.

days too seriously: "As far as the scale of the catastrophe is concerned, all information should be taken with the greatest caution." In the article "Pogromy żydowskie" ["Jewish pogroms"] (1918) from the same newspaper, a warning addressed to Jews was added: "We [the Poles] expect that they [Jewish leaders and journalists] will affect the masses and Jewish public opinion and stop all actions which could be perceived as hostile towards the Polish nation. Who excites indignation of Polish people is co-responsible for pogroms". Thus, Jews were not only blamed for provoking "legitimate" aggression, but were also alerted to the possible consequences of subsequent explosions of "righteous" Polish anger. Such a faked vision of the slaughter in Lviv was confirmed by memories of some participates of the battle of the city, especially the memoirs written by the Commander of Polish Defense, Capt. Czesław Mączyński (1921).

The Jews sought to reveal the truth about the Lviv pogrom. In the report of the press office of the Zionist Organization in Poland, the memorial handed to *Naczelnik Państwa* [Chief of State], Józef Piłsudski, by Ozjasz Thon, Maks Leser, and Icchak Grünbaum is quoted. It is an extensive piece "(…) on the pogrom in Lviv and the position of the Jews in Galicia" dated to 29th November, 1918 (Grünbaum, 1919, pp. 37–39). The Jewish leaders pointed out the false information about alleged Jewish provocation and demanded an official condemnation of the pogrom by the Polish authorities; however, their demand was to no avail. Abraham Insler, an attorney, made a lot of effort to correct anti-Jewish defamations. He published two books consisting of articles first issued in Jewish Warsaw weeklies *Opinia* [*Opinion*] and *Nasza opinia* [*Our opinion*]: *Dokumenty fałszu* [*The documents of falsehood*] (1933) and *Legendy i fakty* [*Legends and facts*] (1937). The aim of the publications was "to clean the air of Polish-Jewish relations from common, often biased intentional falsehoods and insinuations that have become fertile ground for all sorts of charges of 'specific' guilt where there is no Jewish guilt at all" (Insler, 1937, p. 6). Despite such a lawful objection, the first book was suppressed for censorship reasons, and the second one was issued in a less emphatic form than the first.

During the Poles' struggle for the Southeastern Polish frontier the Galician Jews witnessed instigation and toleration of pogroms by the Polish regime. The legal protection that they had enjoyed in the Habsburg monarchy and which had constituted one of the fundamentals of their idea of Galicia was therefore put to flight. And it is interesting to note that these pogroms involved the settling of some deeply Galician accounts. After the Lviv pogrom the populist Polish organization Red Guard [Czerwona Gwardia] sent two letters to the Jewish Rescue Committee [Żydowski Komitet Ratunkowy] who were surveying the incident. According to Josef Bendow, the author of the publication *Der Lemberger Judenpogrom* (1919), one of them warned that,

> the Red Guard Committee demands you leave Lwów free of Jews by New Year's. And all your grant gentlemen can travel with you to Palestine. Leave! All your assets will be devoted to rebuilding Galicia, for without your millions, without your Kaiser with his Jewish mistress, no such misfortune as now prevails would have come into the world. (Bendow, 1919, p. 122)

The second letter added: "By New Year's Lviv must be free of Jews. Your baggage may consist of only a small package. In all of East and West Galicia blood boils for revenge for the long years of the Christian population's exploitation" (Bendow, 1919, p. 123). A vision which emerges from these letters is a vision of Galicia which after its severing from Austria would be "rebuilt". The new Galicia, however, would be deprived of the Emperor, the Ukrainians already defeated, and the Jews exiled to Palestine, i.e., its essential features which had made it a Habsburg crown land. Such a solution would be rather a mournful after-image of what constituted Galicia before World War I, and clearly could no longer serve as a basis for any idea of multinational coexistence.

This vision was not realized, but the Polish-Ukrainian War (1918–1919) changed the region so much that the Jews could scarcely recognize their homeland in it. During the spring offensive of the Polish army, in 1919, there were further pogroms with fatalities organized by the Polish population of Galicia with the participation of soldiers. The Lviv Jewish newspaper *Chwila* [*Moment*], widely informed about them, called vainly for "opposing the bloodthirsty wave, which brings Jews anguish and humiliation, and imperils a good name of Poland" ("Znowuż monolog?", 1919; see also Prusin, 2005, pp. 92–113).[6] All those pogroms meant that Galicia, and the Polish state as a whole, became an inhospitable place. Even worse, it was dangerous for Jews, unfavourable to them, with no intention of accepting Jewish fellow citizens and defending them against the attacks (Landau-Czajka, 2011). For this reason, some *Galitzianer* decided not to stay in a Galicia that so little resembled the former Austrian province. Many of them left for post-war Austria because, they said, "our old homeland would become foreign" (Rozenblit, 2001, pp. 135–136). The new Galicia was no longer true Galicia for them.

5 Conclusions

Simultaneously with the Polish-Ukrainian war which seamlessly converted into the Polish-Soviet War (1919–1921), the Paris Peace Conference considered the future of Eastern Galicia. In such documents as the memorandum *Mémoire sur la Galicie* and the pamphlet *Statistics of Galicia*, written principally by a distinguished Polish geographer, Eugeniusz Romer, and issued in Paris, in May 1919, the author—unsigned—argued against the Ukrainians' claims and that "with Austria's disappearance Galicia must revert completely to the Polish fatherland" (*Mémoire sur la Galicie*, 1919). However, a subsequent document published in June, 1919, *Memorandum on the North and South Eastern Frontiers of Restored Poland*, sought to obliterate the name of Galicia. Instead, it emphasized a strong need "to go

[6]There were also some pogroms perpetrated by Ukrainians in the part of Easter Galicia controlled by the West Ukrainian People's Republic until the mid-July 1919. According to Prusin, however, that they were less acute than pogroms organized by Poles; what is more, the Ukrainian authorities, unlike the Polish authorities, officially condemned such riots (Prusin, 2005, pp. 92–113).

back to the state of things before the partitions" and outlined the Southeastern Polish frontier that was to include the "Red Ruthenia", a land having belonged to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth until the first partition in 1772 (*Memorandum on the North and South Eastern Frontiers of Restored Poland*, 1919). Later, since the early twenties, and foremost since 1923, when the Conference of Ambassadors confirmed Polish sovereignty over the territory of Eastern Galicia, the name "Galicia" in official Polish nomenclature was superseded by the term "Eastern Little Poland". Such a term was introduced to legitimate a new administrative division and underline the exclusively Polish character of the territory in question (Hibel, 2014, pp. 254–256).

After World War I, the Polish-Ukrainian War, and the Polish-Soviet War, the Galician Jews who had not taken refuge in Austria or other countries found themselves in the Second Polish Republic, a nation-state with particularly severe minority problems. These problems were especially acute in former Eastern Galicia. The Jewish minority lived there alongside a larger Polish minority and Ukrainian majority, no longer enjoying equal rights and official tolerance of a multinational empire but, on the contrary, experiencing a discriminatory Polish policy. For a decade after the mentioned wars, the anti-Jewish laws initiated by the partitioning powers, especially the Tsarist regime, existed in the Second Polish Republic. They were abolished in 1931, but in the mid-1930s a new norm and regulations discriminating against Jews were enacted by the Polish authorities (Rudnicki, 2005). For example, in 1936 the Prime Minister, Felicjan Sławoj-Składkowski, promulgated "an economic war" against Jews; as a result a boycott of Jewish businesses grew intensively. A year later the Minister of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment, Wojciech Świętosławski, granted permission to rectors to issue regulations establishing separate places for Polish and Jewish students in high schools and universities. In autumn 1938, after the occupation of Austria by the German army, the Polish government deprived more than twenty thousand Polish Jews living in Austria of citizenship, mostly former *Galitzianer*. In the wake of such a move, they had no possibility of returning to Poland, and their property passed into the possession of the Polish state.

When Galicia ceased to exist not only geographically but also politically, culturally, and even nominally, the Jewish idea of Galicia could find its place only in a myth-creating literature; that literature, however, delivered many outstanding artistic iterations of the studied concept, already in the interwar period. Such writers as Joseph Roth (1894–1939) or Julian Stryjkowski (1905–1996), the first having written in German, the second in Polish, but both Jews born in Habsburg Galicia, rendered nostalgic visions of the province rich in spiritual and cultural offerings, and embraced by the benevolence of the Emperor Franz Joseph. The testimony to this phenomenon are, among others, the novel *Radetzkymarsch* [*Radetzky March*] (1932) by Roth, and the novel *Austeria* (1966) by Stryjkowski. Galician-Jewish identity, the foundations of the Jewish idea of Galicia, also seemed to survive long after the collapse of Galicia during the period 1914–1919, although in the form of a phantom. Such an identity no longer referred to any geopolitical entity, but it maintained its significance for both: the Jewish immigrants who escaped Galician

poverty before World War I, and the Jews who stayed and in the early 1920s found themselves in Eastern Little Poland. Representatives of the first group especially, living in the United States, organized associations of people who had come from the same Galician town and after some time established the Federation of Galician and Bucovinean Jews of America (Soyer, 1997, p. 117). The Jews who had arrived from the territory of the former Austrian province in the British Mandate for Palestine, subsequently independent Israel, identified themselves in a similar way. Although Galicia was erased from the maps of Europe years ago, some of them still used the word "*Galitzianer*" to cultivate their self-understanding.

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Franz Rosenzweig's *Mitteleuropa* as a *New Levante*

Jörg Kreienbrock

Abstract In 1916, the German-Jewish philosopher and theologian Franz Rosenzweig arrives on the so-called *Balkanfront*. While stationed there, he drafts—in addition to his opus magnum *The Star of Redemption*—a series of articles (among them one entitled "Die neue Levante") dealing with strategic and (geo)-political problems directly arising from the concrete situation of the trench warfare in southeastern Europe. Rosenzweig envisions a political model of a *United States of Europe* that would provide the blueprint for a peaceful world order after the end of WWI. This "neue Denken" [new thinking] of a united Europe manifests itself not on the Western front but in the border regions of the Balkans. The periphery of the old Habsburg Empire becomes that place in which a new vision of "Mitteleuropa" emerges out of the specific formations of the war in the trenches. Against Friedrich Naumann's influential 1915 book *Mitteleuropa*, Rosenzweig calls for a re-orientation of Germany's political and military aspirations towards the Near- and Middle East, creating a "New Levante". Only a political federation uniting Germany, Austria, the Balkans, Turkey, and Egypt, according to Rosenzweig, is able to end the war, overcome the negative influences of nationalism, and guarantee a permanent peace.

1 Orientation *Despite Copernicus*

In early 1917, while stationed as an artillery observer on the so-called *Balkanfront* the German-Jewish theologian, philosopher, and historian Franz Rosenzweig begins to write down his reflections on the complex of military doctrine, political ideology, and theological speculation and prepares several essays for publication. The most significant ones, all written in 1917, are "Monarchie, Republik und Entwicklung"; "Neuorientierung"; "Realpolitik"; "Vox Dei?"; "Cannä und Gorlice: Eine Erörterung des strategischen Raumbegriffs"; "Das Kriegsziel"; "Nordwest und

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Südost"; "Die neue Levante"; and "Globus: Studien zur weltgeschichtlichen Raumlehre" In the following essay I will investigate Rosenzweig's geopolitical speculations not only in the context of his theological and philosophical writings but also in relation to his physical location on the periphery of World War I in Macedonia. As the subtitle of "Cannä und Gorlice" "A Discussion of the Strategic Notion of Space" indicates, Rosenzweig attempts to derive a new geopolitical theory of space from military strategy. For Rosenzweig, the space in which war takes place, i.e., the theater of war, is of crucial significance for his re-conceptualization of geopolitics. Battles and wars are fought in direct reaction to geographical, i.e., spatial premises. War does not take place on a neutral ground on which armies face each other as in a duel; instead strategy must react to the concrete situation rather than abstract political ideals. This opposition between the concrete situation, the "Lage" (in itself a military term and only inadequately translated as situation) and abstract concepts (like democracy, justice etc.) is a defining characteristic of almost all geopolitical theories from Friedrich Ratzel, to Franz Rosenzweig, and to Carl Schmitt. Politics in this tradition is based on a simple imperative, expressed most clearly by the German poet Gottfried Benn: "Recognize the situation!" [Erkenne die Lage!] (Benn, 1971, p. 74). Geopolitics claims to provide an objective assessment of the geographical foundations of politics, devoid of ideological misrepresentations.

For Rosenzweig, in the concrete situation of World War I, the aim of war is the establishment of a new empire. For him, the notion of empire represents not a purely political or historical category but is instead grounded in a specific relation to spatial, i.e., territorial conditions:

> The concretization [Vergegenständlichung], the giving content to [Verinhaltung] and enlivening [Verlebendigung] of a dead zone: that is empire. And because the struggle is about the empire, it has therefore become a contest for the ground, for the fortified ground, that is no longer an empty geometrical surface, upon which armies only exercise against one another, but an altogether full, inherently living something, that step for step, man by man, division by division, army by army, wants to be conquered. (Rosenzweig, 1984a, p. 295)

The struggle for ground distinguishes the wars of the 20th century from those of the 18th and the 19th centuries. While the latter attempt to liberate people or found nations, the former decide "questions concerning the unity of territory" producing "unified territories" (Rosenzweig, 1984e, p. 124). Wars are fought according to a strategy of conquering territories, countering the "abstraction from territory" (Rosenzweig, 1984e, p. 124) of the armies of the ancien régime. This idea of a concrete war for territory against a war for abstract ideas of nation and/or other political ideals can also be found in Carl Schmitt, who, as early as 1923, speaks of *concrete orders of right* and which must be read as predecessors to his later theory of the *Nomos of the Earth* (Schmitt, 1934). The aim of war is the occupation of ground, which leads to a unification of territory. The concrete law of the earth, the *nomos of the earth*, as Carl Schmitt (Schmitt, 2006) would call it thirty years later, overcomes abstract political ideals. War does not take place in a purely geometrical space but in a concrete territory, a *landscape of war* as Kurt Lewin (2009) would

have it. This lethal landscape is a "living something" [lebendiges Etwas] (Rosenzweig, 1984a, p. 295), where survival depends on the correct recognition of the situation. Therefore, one of the most crucial cultural techniques of war is reconnaissance, the ability to find a safe position from whence to observe the battlefield.[1] But these *techniques of the observer*, in the sense of Jonathan Crary, (Crary, 1992) always have to negotiate with the impossibility of having a complete overview of the battlefield from the perspective of the individual soldier. There is no absolute point of view in which a complete overview would be possible.

In the famous opening lines of Rosenzweig's philosophical opus magnum *The Star of Redemption*, written in 1917/18 and published in 1919, the question of man's location on the battlefield is of central importance. While most readings stress Rosenzweig's existentialist pathos of man fearing death, for which the idealist philosopher cannot account, I would like to highlight the specific location of the soldier: "That man may crawl like a worm into the folds of the naked earth before the whizzing projectiles of blind, pitiless death, or that there he may feel as violently inevitable that which he never feels otherwise" (Rosenzweig, 2004, p. 9). Hiding from the bullets in the folds of the earth makes man blind to death. He cannot see it, he can only sense it. Therefore, man is unable to take a position, to have oversight, to produce an objective image of his situation.

In this existential, potentially lethal disorientation in the folds of the earth, Rosenzweig conceives of another law of the earth, which he relates to the notion of revelation and which orients the individual human being in the world. In the so-called "Urzelle," written in 1917, Rosenzweig recalls his discussions with his friend, the Christian theologian Eugen Rosenstock, on the relation of revelation to orientation:

> Last year I asked Rosenstock in an exchange of letters about what he understood by revelation. He answered: revelation is orientation. After the revelation there is a real, no longer relativizable, above and below in nature – "heaven" and "earth" – (…) and a real, determinate earlier and later in time. Thus in "natural" space and in natural time, the middle is always the point at which I am. (Man is the measure of all things [in Greek]); in the revealed space-time-world, the middle is an immovable, fixed point that I do not shift. The middle of the world and of world history lies before and after Christ (God and his word are the measure of all things [in Greek]. (Rosenzweig, 1984b, p. 125)

For Rosenzweig, following Stéphane Mosès, revelation,

> does not designate a mystical experience but rather the fact of the person located at the center of the world whose coordinates are those of Judeo-Christianity. (…) Revelation means precisely the vision of an *oriented* universe, where time is defined in relation to an origin (the birth of Christ, in the case of Christianity) and space in relation to a center (the Holy Land). For each individual, belief in the Revelation means situating himself within this absolute history and geography. (Mosès, 1992, p. 34)

As a believer in revelation, Rosenzweig reaches an objective position [*Standpunkt*], which gives him an overview, an all-encompassing central perspective. Revelation establishes a position [*Stellung*], which orients the individual

[1]On Rosenzweig's military career in a reconnaissance unit see Munz (1998).

human being. Rosenzweig "argues that truth for the human being is always situated truth" (Batnitzky, 2000, p. 28). To Rosenzweig, the emplacement [*Stellungnahme*] of the individual, his positioning in the world via revelation, which establishes an unmovable center, a *Mittelpunkt*, is in direct opposition to what Hans Blumenberg (Blumenberg, 1987) has called the *Genesis of the Copernican World*. "This is it", Rosenzweig writes in a letter to his cousin Gertrud Oppenheimer, "above and below, despite Copernicus, north, south, east, and west, instead of my having only to turn around to make right of left" (Rosenzweig, 1979, p. 413). In "Das neue Denken" Rosenzweig again uses the metaphor of the Copernican turn in order to describe the revolutionary impetus of his philosophy. It is Rosenzweig's explicit aim to develop a system of philosophy that is more than a turn or revolution, more than a mere reversal of positions. Instead it is a philosophy "that does not seek to bring about a mere 'Copernican turn' in thought, according to which, whoever has accomplished it indeed sees everything to be inverted but are still the same things that he saw before. Rather it is a complete renewal of thought" (Rosenzweig, 1984c, p. 140). The complete renewal of philosophy requires a re-orientation, which Rosenzweig, taking up Rosenstock's theology, identifies with revelation: *revelation is orientation*.

In the aforementioned letter from the end of May 1917 to his cousin Gertrud Oppenheim discussing the theological notion of revelation, Rosenzweig locates his theology of revelation within an explicitly geopolitical framework: "For revelation, on the one hand, founds an above and a below, a Europe and an Asia, etc. and, on the other, an earlier and a later, a past and a future. The boundless ('Absolute'!) descends to the earth and, from the site of its descent, draws out limits for us in the sea of space and the current of time" (Rosenzweig, 1979, p. 413). Orientation through revelation not only determines the individual human being's relation to the world but also structures the political realm. Revelation not only locates the individual human being in a divinely organized universe, between the earth and the sky, left and right, but also within a historico-political order. The absolute, as that which is radically unbound, descends and introduces, in the sense of Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari (Deleuze & Guattari, 2004), striation into the smooth surface of the earth, imposing itself, generating forms, structures, boundaries. Rosenzweig inscribes the individual human being into this absolutely demarcated geo-theological world. The differentiation of the world into Europe and Asia, occident and orient is not the result of concrete historical or political developments, nor as in the case of Hegel, on whose idea of the state Rosenzweig wrote his dissertation, the manifestation of the world spirit in time and space. Instead it is founded on an act of revelation ordering the chaotic multiplicity of pagan thought through divine intervention. Orientation qua revelation provides a system of spatial and temporal coordinates that is irreducible to a rational elaboration. Man's orientation on earth cannot be displaced by thought, *despite Copernicus*. It is possible for modern natural science to astronomically and mathematically determine that the earth is circling around the sun—against the immediate human intuition seeing the sun rise and fall—but it fails to disrupt the revealed orientation of the individual human being. The revealed cosmos, according to Rosenzweig, is not a

homogeneous grid of empty places but a structured world, where directions and locations are determined. It is neither helio- nor anthropo- but theocentric. Copernicus, and any scientific or philosophical revolution that refers to him, remain, in contrast, within a model of mere reversals in which man only has to turn around in order *to make left into right*.

2 *Mitteleuropa*

Rosenzweig's geopolitical re-orientation becomes explicit in the essay "Nordwest und Südost" (Rosenzweig, 1984d). The internal and external political constellation of any nation state is geometrically related, and in extension determines the state's concrete geopolitical situation: "Between the inner axes and outer borderlines of a political system, there seems to be a relation that applies in an almost geometrical manner. If one turns, so does the other, they appear, so to speak, to be fixed rigidly together" (Rosenzweig, 1984d, p. 302). The orientation of states rotates around an axis, which can shift over time. While 19th century Germany was oriented along the opposition between the South-West and the North-East, World War I requires a redirection, a pivot to a North-West versus South-East axis:

> The borderline through current war-torn Europe that is truly meaningful and significant with regard to the future runs approximately from Antwerp via Straßburg to Triest, Thessalonika, Cyprus and the Suez. Thus a pronounced shift in the great orientation northwest-southeast. And actually this line, which was not at first recognizable and was in truth born in the war along the military front, now also corresponds to present day German domestic party politics in a way no one had foreseen: it too is dividing into northwestern and southeastern poles. (Rosenzweig, 1984d, p. 302)

The future of Germany, its military as well as its political survival lies, therefore, in the Southeast.[2] Following Friedrich Naumann's highly influential 1915 book *Mitteleuropa* (Naumann, 1915) written as the author states "in the middle of the war" [mitten im Kriege] (p. 1),[3] this reorientation of Germany along a North-West/South-East axis can only be achieved by realigning the German and Austro-Hungarian empires. In the introduction to *Mitteleuropa*, Naumann writes:

> What I want speak about is the growing together of those states that neither belong to the French-English western alliance nor to the Russian empire, it is above all, however, about the union of the German empire with the Austro-Hungarian double-monarchy. For all future plans regarding the alliances of peoples in middle Europe depend first of all upon whether the two central states manage to combine. (Naumann, 1915, p. 1)[4]

[2]Rosenzweig's cousin Hans Ehrenberg will take up Rosenzweig's *Südostorientierung* in a series of articles for the *Vossische Zeitung* in August of 1918.

[3]Analogously, Rosenzweig's strategic and geopolitical reflections come to an inconclusive ending with the breakdown of the so-called 'Balkanfront' and the ensuing peace. His thoughts on war can only take place in the middle of war not during peace. See Bojanic (2011a, p. 36).

[4]On the influence of Naumann on Rosenzweig see Kohr (2008).

But while Naumann focuses almost exclusively on Central Europe, Rosenzweig's phantasmatic geopolitical vision goes beyond the European borders, including Turkey and Egypt: "Now Austria-Hungary suddenly seemed only to be a first station on a route that would go via the West Slavs and Magyars to the South Slavs, Turks and on from there" (Rosenzweig, 1984d, p. 304). Rosenzweig perceives the inclusion of these Non-Germanic people as something positive not only from a military-strategic and political but also from a cultural point of view: "the German will learn to sense totally new and really foreign tones and rhythms and in so doing receive what is perhaps only feasible for him, the expansiveness of the soul of a global people" (Rosenzweig, 1984d, p. 305). Naumann, in contradistinction, rejects the idea of Turkey becoming a focal point of *Mitteleuropa*. There can be no natural "growing together" [Zusammenwachsen] of Germany and Turkey, of Occident and Orient but only an artificial "thrusting together" [Zusammenschieben]:

> History, in its wondrous playfulness, has thrust us together with the Turks, for their enemies have become our enemies. There was no other way for Turkey to preserve itself than to go with us and therefore also with the Austrians and Hungarians. We greet them and hope also, going forward, to experience a shared history with them, but Turkey does not belong first of all in the organization of the core of *Mitteleuropa* for geographically it does not lie immediately alongside us and is, in terms of the people and the economy, a zone of a different sort—more southern, more oriental, more ancient, and underpopulated. (Naumann, 1915, p. 2)

For Naumann, Turkey remains alien to Central Europe. It is a foreign power because it is not located in the immediate proximity of Germany, lacking organic continuity with the West. What Rosenzweig calls for is to turn the artificial association, which is not intrinsically motivated, into a more essential bond. What has been contingent so far needs to become necessary. Rosenzweig writes that until this integration has been achieved, Turkey's allegiance to the *Mittelmächte* would only be the result of the war (this is exactly Naumann's point). Instead he calls for a deeper, i.e., loving bond: "The difficult challenge for the future of our politics: to preserve and secure with loving understanding that which the sword has brought about. For indeed 'war is the father of all things,' but the *same* wisdom also spoke profound words regarding the 'harmony of the bow and the lyre'" (Rosenzweig, 1979, p. 362). In this call for an accommodation of the other *Mittelmacht* Turkey the ambivalence of Rosenzweig's theological and political discourse becomes apparent. The coming empire is one of bow and lyre, war and culture, violence and harmony.

By appropriating the cultures and languages of the Balkans and the Near and Middle East—Palestine is never mentioned explicitly[5], the German people expands, becoming a "people of the world" [Weltvolk] by establishing a unifying bond

[5]On Rosenzweig's notion of Zionism at this time see Rosenzweig (1979, pp. 398-399): "Willst Du meine genaue Stellung wissen? Die Judenheit spaltet sich seit der Emanzipation in zwei Ströme: die Assimilierten und die Zionisten. Das sind beides *Wege*, insofern untadelig. Aber beide sind in der Gefahr, aus Wegen durch den Weltraum zu Straßen nach dem Haus Nr. soundsoviel zu werden. Das heißt, beide stehen in der Gefahr, ein erreichbares Ziel zu erreichen. (…) Die

between the East and the West. For Rosenzweig, history focuses, to quote Stéphane Mosès, on "the other side of the West" (Mosès, 2009, p. 15). Re-orienting German politics along the lines Antwerp—Konstantinople effects the globalization of Germany. *Mitteleuropa* in this sense is an essential element of a truly globalizing thought, producing geopolitical as well as spiritual "spatiality" [Weiträumigkeit]. This becomes evident in the title of another of Rosenzweig's war essays entitled: "Globus: Studien zur weltgeschichtlichen Raumlehre" (Rosenzweig, 1984f). Again, the concrete situation of the war marks an essential transformation of geopolitical space. Discussing whether World War I deserves to be called a World War, Rosenzweig writes: "So it seems as if it [the war, J.K.] were a world historical transition from the past European to a coming planetary epoch (…). What we call world history is nothing other than the earth becoming a closed historical space, one 'world'" (Rosenzweig, 1984f, p. 314). The year 1917 is the "instant in which the first states with a planetary tendency come to the fore" (Rosenzweig, 1984e, p. 118). World history equals globalization. History fulfills itself in *one world* with *Mitteleuropa* as its focal point. Europe "is essentially the idea and the political-cultural blueprint for a planetary universalization" (Ciglia, 2008, p. 135). The *nomos of the earth*, to quote Carl Schmitt, is the result of Europe establishing its order globally. Rosenzweig perceives the world as a "Globus," a planetary *Oikumene*, the whole populated earth understood as an *oikos*, a house, an ordered and oriented, coherent structure. In Rosenzweig's vision, the world as a planetary order becomes a space where all neutral territories are not considered to be dead, according to purely geometrical notions of space, but must instead be understood as living terrain. In this sense, Rosenzweig's notion of *Mitteleuropa* is cosmopolitan in the strict sense of the word. In the essay "Globus" (Rosenzweig, 1984f) he writes, "*Mitteleuropa* is seen from the point of view of a cosmopolitan sensibility, for which, not the individual powers, but rather the context that, in peace and above all in war, they compose ('Europa') is the proper theme" (pp. 334–335). Europe is an association, which tends to extend beyond its borders, conquering, occupying and spiritualizing the whole earth.

Rosenzweig's idea of a globalized *Mitteleuropa* understood as an interconnected, coherent whole derives directly from his work on Hegel before the war. In the introduction to his dissertation *Hegel und der Staat*, which he added to the finished text in 1919 (the main text was completed in 1913), Rosenzweig summarizes his aim of deconstructing Hegel's philosophy of the state in order to produce a "more capacious" [geräumigere] future of the German empire: "The hard and limited Hegelian notion of the state, that increasingly came to dominate the past century and shot out on January 18, '71 'like a lightning bolt from the clouds' as a world-historical deed—should here, as it unfolds in the life of the thinker as much as before the eyes of the reader, decompose itself, and so open a perspective onto an inwardly and outwardly more capacious German future" (Rosenzweig, 1984g,

Zionisten, wenn sie ihr Serbien oder Bulgarien oder Montenegro in Palästina wirklich zustande kriegen."

p. 51). Rosenzweig conceptualizes time in an explicitly spatial category: Hegel's notion of the state, as it was realized in Bismarck's German Empire, is limited, therefore it needs to be replaced with a notion that can properly render its expanded spatial dimensions. By breaking down Hegel's narrow notion of the state, Rosenzweig hopes to open a perspective on a future free from the confines of a national, i.e., territorially bounded state. In "Vox Dei?" (Rosenzweig, 1984h) Rosenzweig expands his theory on the relation between nation, state, and territory, introducing the notion of the "United States of Europe" [Vereinigte Staaten Europas] (p. 278).

Rosenzweig's criticism of Hegel's philosophy of the state also motivates his rejection of the political reflections of his academic teacher, the famous German historian Friedrich Meinecke. Meinecke's main error consists in the fact, according to Rosenzweig, "that he, malgré tout, still thinks in terms of *states* rather than federations of states" (Rosenzweig, 1979, p. 459). For Rosenzweig, the agent of world history is not the state, as postulated by Hegel and applied by Meinecke in *World Citizenship and the National State* (Meinecke, 1970) but a "federation of states" [Staatenverband] (Rosenzweig, 1979, p. 459). Neither Hegel—the thinker of world history—nor Meinecke's cosmopolitism can account for the spatial orientation of political constructions. Their world histories cannot render the world as a globe and thereby need to be replaced by a geopolitical, planetary perspective or augmented with a "world historical doctrine of space" (Rosenzweig, 1984f, p. 334). The world of *Weltgeschichte*—during the World War—can only be thought in spatial terms. In this sense, Rosenzweig imagines a global, i.e., planetary *Mitteleuropa*, as Gérard Bensussan observes: "He [Rosenzweig, J.K.] claims that the *Welt-geschichte* of traditional ontologies can only be understood as a Global-*geschichte*, as a world historical dynamic—made worldwide (*mondialisée*), and globalized (*globalisée*)" (Bensussan, 2013, p. 119). Rosenzweig's global thought should not be misunderstood as the creation of a "global totality" as Eric Santner (Santner, 2001, p. 124) has pointed out, but as a universalization, which provides the space for the appearance of the singular event of revelation. This globalization of world history as a "transnational world organization" will be the result of World War I and its aftermath, according to Rosenzweig's analysis:

> Only the attempt at a transnational world organization will emerge from the current worldwide conflagration and, as it is only an attempt, it will emerge in many forms. The greatest struggles, the struggle for the real idea of the world still stands before us. It will be intertwined with the struggles and alliances of currently prevailing ideals of empire (…) In this struggle the spatial integration [Einspannung] of the whole earth will be grounded in the idea of the ecumenical. One has spoken of eternally separate circles of culture. I don't believe in such things. For God, about whom it is written that he is a warrior created only one heaven and earth. (Rosenzweig, 1984f, p. 348)

Rosenzweig does not believe in a clash of civilizations, instead he calls for a real and unifying "idea of the world" [wirkliche Weltidee] (Rosenzweig, 1984f, p. 348), which will be the result of future fights. God created heaven and earth, both

characterized by the "unity of the territory" (Rosenzweig, 1984a, p. 293).[6] It is the task of world history to bring about this unity of territory. Its means: war. It is for this reason that Rosenzweig is not only skeptical of pacifism but deeply interested in military strategy, for example the so-called *breakthrough strategy*, which he discusses in the essay "Cannä und Gorlice". A future global order, i.e., a unification of territories can only be achieved by war.[7] But God, who originally created the unity of heaven and earth and who also guarantees its future re-unification, is not only a "man of war" [Kriegsmann] but also a *prince of peace*. In this sense, war is the father of all things combining acts of violence with love. Petar Bojanic describes Rosenzweig's theory of war and peace as follows: "War summons peace and continues in peace; peace awakens from war. A completely new community inherits war, one in which adversaries cooperate and coexist in an entirely new manner" (Bojanic, 2011b, p. 76). It is the aforementioned harmony of bow and lyre, sword and understanding love, which collapses war into peace and vice versa, representing the "difficult future task of our politics" (Rosenzweig, 1979, p. 362).

3 Goethe's *Auseinandersetzung*

Another source for Rosenzweig's deconstruction of Hegel's idea of the state can be found in his reading of Goethe's *West-Östlicher Diwan*. While on vacation from the frontline, Rosenzweig spends his time in the town of Üsküp [Skopje], which he describes as follows: "Skopje is a very strange city in which three nationalities (Turks, Greeks, Jews) live both completely side by side and apart [Neben- und Außereinander] from one another" (Rosenzweig, 1979, p. 382). It is in this city, where nationalities and religions are in close proximity but still set apart, that Rosenzweig encounters an Islamic teacher, with whom he has extensive conversations about theology, literature, and philosophy: "I wanted to show the teacher something and asked him to point out the places in the text: Allah's is the East, Allah's is the West, etc. He immediately showed me two places upon which I told him, that the 'greatest German poet, Goethe,' had translated these passages as follows: God's is the Orient, God's is the Occident, northern and southern lands rest peacefully in his hands" (Rosenzweig, 1979, p. 389). Rosenzweig quotes the poem "Talisman" from the *West-östlicher Diwan*, which itself refers to the Quran in order to illustrate his orientalist imagination. Goethe's poem reads: "God's is the East; God's is the West. Northern and southern lands rest in the peace of His hands" (Goethe, 1964, p. 233). It is a translation and variation of sura II, verse 115 of the Quran: "To God belong the East and the West. Wheresoever you turn, there is the

[6]See Kohr (2008, p. 58): "Mit seiner Theorie widerspricht Rosenzweig der Idee ewig getrennter Kulturkreise. Er begründet seine Theorie theologisch mit dem Gedanken, dass Gott schließlich nur einen Himmel und eine Erde geschaffen habe, daher treibe die Weltgeschichte einer weltweiten Ökumene, eben einem politischen Lebewesen aus verschiedenen Völkern und Staaten zu."

[7]See Thoma (2004).

Face of God. God is All-Encompassing, Knowing" (Denny, 1994, p. 222). In Goethe's translation of the Quran, which can be read as the origin of the notion of world literature in the modern sense,[8] the opposition between East and West, as well as between North and South is sublated through the divine presence. God is everywhere, all-present, all-encompassing, all-knowing. Wherever man turns, he or she will find God. His universal presence transcends any geographical determination. In Goethe's rewriting of the Quran, man, who is in God's hands, needs no geographical orientation, no cardinal directions. The faithful is always already oriented. Goethe's dialogue between Germany and Persia from 1819 repeats itself in the "confrontation" [*Auseinandersetzung*], between the German Jew Rosenzweig and the Turkish Muslim in 1917, between Goethe and the Quaran, in a contested territory behind the frontline.

In the closing lines of the essay "Die neue Levante" (Rosenzweig, 1984i) Rosenzweig introduces the figure of Goethe, the "secret emperor" (p. 312) of the Christian world as a crucial figure for the inauguration of a new era of a German-Turkish association, establishing a *loving bond* between the Orient and the Occident, the Christian and the Islamic worlds. Especially Goethe's translation and rewriting of Persian poetry and the Quran in the *West-östlicher Diwan* represents a model to deconstruct Hegel's too narrow idea of world history. More precisely, Goethe's highly idiosyncratic interpretation of Islam provides a model to think the coming unification of the East and the West. Rosenzweig predicts that there

> will be a confrontation [Auseinandersetzung], no so much with the Christianity of the Christian Church and missionaries as with the "Christian" world, the world, whose secret king is Goethe, the Goethe who had proclaimed to us the proximity of Islam's 'submission to the divine' to our own intuition of life, and who intoned, from the Koran, 'God's is the Orient, God's is the Occident.' In speaking for and speaking against [Spruch und Widerspruch] these words the new Orient will enter into its new era. (Rosenzweig, 1984i, p. 312)

The new age of the orient develops out of a "confrontation" with Goethe's appropriation of Islam. The East will only find itself through the eyes of a Westerner, i.e., through the eyes of the secret emperor of the Christian world. Goethe is the sovereign of the occident because he expressed the proximity of Western thought to Islamic faith. Rosenzweig calls for this Goethean *orientation* of the West to be repeated "in speaking for and speaking against" the East. The orient will only be able to return to itself by turning to the West. The *new Levante* must *occidentalize* itself, orienting itself to the West. Until this turn or conversion, which will undo all merely geopolitical orientations insofar as it will establish a "fixed orientation" (Rosenzweig, 1979, p. 317) takes place, Islam will lack a proper orientation. In a letter to Rosenstock, Rosenzweig claims that the stability of this orientation only exists for Christians and Jews but not for Muslims. Rosenzweig's phrase "speaking for and speaking against" characterizing this future confrontation

[8]For discussions of Goethe's notion of world literature see Pizer (2000), Lamping (2010), Jérome (2001).

understood as orientation, combines in a peculiar fashion repetition and difference, a turning towards and a turning away. "Spruch" and "Widerspruch", thesis and anti-thesis in Hegel's idiom, merge in Goethe's poetry. It brings East and West into conversation by setting them apart, as the German word *Auseinandersetzung* implies. East and West will not merge into a higher unity, nor will they remain unaffected by this confrontation, which reorients their situation. The universalism of the *New Levante* is one that combines positing and depositing, turning and returning. It establishes a new and different community, which Eric Santner describes as follows: "the possibility of a 'We,' of communality, is granted on the basis of the fact that every familiar is ultimately strange and that, indeed, I am even in a crucial sense a stranger to myself" (Santner, 2001, p. 6). The (re-)turn of "Spruch" and "Widerspruch" introduces into East and West an alien, de-familiarizing element. Rosenzweig discovers this peculiar dialectic in the architecture of the town of Skopje, which unites pointed sharpness and roundedness: "Dome and Minaret, the most rounded and the most pointed *together*, is what is actually unforgettable about the view over the city" (Rosenzweig, 1979, p. 382). For Rosenzweig, Skopje represents a space of conjunction and disjunction, which cannot be reconciled in terms of a Hegelian dialectics. It is Goethe's imagination in the *West-östlicher Diwan* instead, which provides Rosenzweig with a model that is able to negotiate the most round and the most sharp, Christianity and Islam, the West and the East. While Hegelian dialectics mediates two extremes in a synthesis, Goethe's poetry "grows out of the middle" [wächst aus der Mitte]. It is a medium of *Auseinandersetzung* within a middleground.

The growth of the coming empire, according to Rosenzweig, takes place in the deserted but potentially fertile middle ground of the Balkans. The middle between Turkey and Europe becomes a mere means for the generation of a future *Mitteleuropa*. It is a means/middle emptied of concrete positions, settlements, or designations. It resembles a desert, a *terra nullius*, a no-man's land. The center is empty of determinations. But it is here where a new order, an orientation qua revelation, can take place: "Thus the concept of the order of this world is not the general, neither the arche nor the telos, neither the natural nor the historical unity, but rather the singular, the event, not the beginning or the end, but the middle of the world" (Rosenzweig, 1984b, p. 133). Rosenzweig's *Mitteleuropa* is not only geographically located in the center of Europe, but represents the spiritual middle of the whole world. *Mitteleuropa* posits itself in a singular event, disrupting natural and historical structures in the empty space of the *middle*. This positioning does not institute political institutions or geographical borders—it appears as the pure *Mitte*, as medium. This first demarcation founds a different space, a future home for Europe: "In the infinite world, a finite home [Zuhause] emerges only out of the middle, a piece of ground [Boden] between four tent pegs that can be staked further and further out" (Rosenzweig, 1984b, p. 133). The *middle* as a *means* and *medium* provides the ground for a true *oikumene*, the unification of the whole populated world. Europe is the medium of a continuous expansion. This home is a different *oikos* than that of traditional settlements. Its borders are marked by tent pegs,

characterized by their mobility. The language of rootedness, borders, and demarcations is affected by a nomadic element, rendering the borders of the European house tentative and provisional. There are no fortified walls, just tents in a fluid, ever expanding territory. That which is supposed to ground a stable orientation, a new thinking, and a new empire is without proper ground, unbound, wild.

4 A *New Levante*

The *Auseinandersetzung* mediated by the emperor Goethe will take place between a Central-European confederation and Turkey. The Balkans, located between these two imperial powers, is that ground on which the contest between East and West takes place. Traditionally, according to Rosenzweig, the Balkans is a region "without history" (Rosenzweig, 1984i, p. 310), therefore Turkey's intervention into the European political constellation comes from the periphery: "The intervention of the Turks into European commerce took place on an eccentric basis; between them and 'Europa' lay a desert, not a geographical but a political desert" (Rosenzweig, 1984i, p. 310). Here, Rosenzweig quotes a commonplace of the German geopolitical discourse. According to Friedrich Ratzel and other geographers of the late 19th and early 20th century Eastern Europe represents a desert-like border zone, where political sovereignty is not yet fully established. Hence it can justifiably become an object of Germany's Eastern expansion. The Balkans is a zone of statelessness, reminiscent of a desert, lacking permanent national borders. According to Rosenzweig, the Turkish reign over these areas always remained unstable, never generating stable structures and institutions: "The Turkish empire has never formed a national state even in European areas that it has ruled continuously for hundreds of years, not to speak of those places that it held intermittently. It has always—in modern Europe a singular phenomenon—always remained a state of pure dominion over stateless subject peoples" (Rosenzweig, 1984i, p. 310). According to Rosenzweig's account it took until the 19th century for the people of the Balkans to develop the concept of a nation state. It was only then that their national awakening produced "settlements in the desert of national-political life" (Rosenzweig, 1984i, p. 310). Rosenzweig analyzes the rising nationalism of the 18th and 19th century in the Balkans as well as their struggle for liberation from Turkish rule—which had already fascinated European thinkers and artists in the beginning of the 19th century—in terms of settling and cultivation. The empty, deserted space of the Balkans becomes the ground, where a new life, bridging the East and the West, Islam and Christianity can emerge. This history of the relations between the Osman Empire and Europe (especially the Austro-Hungarian Empire) provides Rosenzweig with a model for the contemporary situation in 1917: "What we are experiencing today, our own alliance with the Turks, is not something fundamentally new to either our allies or to us as a European power. But something else is new" (Rosenzweig, 1984i, p. 310).

Mitteleuropa as center becomes a *New Levante*, the place where the sun rises. It becomes the new East, the land of a new sunrise, the new orient. By using the Italian word *levante*, which translates as rising sun, Rosenzweig suggests an act of orientation where the ascertainment of one's position on the globe is concretely determined through visual intuition. Political, geographical, and theological orientation coincide. Rosenzweig's vision of a *New Levante* requires the existence of a *terra nullius*,[9] a deserted space belonging to no-one, produced by the confrontation between Turkey and Europe. Here is the time and space for the emergence of a genuinely European political order, which transcends the classical Hegelian notion of the nation state. It produces an oriented space, where every nation and every human being has a proper place in an assembly of equals. It prepares the last moment of history in which all borders and limits will be overcome, providing a new orient(ation). Here, the sun of revelation as orientation can rise over a territory that lacks any sovereign powers and can therefore serve as the ideal connection between the East and the West. It is the political future of the Balkans to become a bridge: "They [the nation states of the Balkans, J.K.] were deserts between East and West; they are destined to become bridges" (Rosenzweig, 1984i, p. 311). The political task of the future is the cultivation of the desert between the East and the West, i.e., the building of a bridge. The Balkans, as a bridge between *Mitteleuropa* and Turkey, become a medium, a seemingly neutral space, a mere means toward the higher end of a renewed empire. For Rosenzweig the development of nation states in the Balkans during the course of the 19th century is based on external, contingent reasons not on internal, necessary ones. Only the continuing struggle between Europe and the Osman Empire provided the possibility for the creation of independent states in the Balkans: "These states have emerged in the European confrontation [Auseinandersetzung] with Turkey from Prince Eugen to Alexander II. It was not their own national past that had become enlivened in them and freely drawing on the European constellation constituted them again as a state (…) From this, and not from their national ground, came also the law of their existence as a state, their world-historical task" (Rosenzweig, 1984i, p. 311). The foundation of the national sovereignty of states like Bulgaria, Serbia, etc. does not rest in an awakening of their own traditions and histories but is completely dependent on the tensions between the imperial powers of Russia, Austria-Hungary, and the Osman Empire. It is precisely this (imagined) lack of internal foundation, of a proper grounding, which Rosenzweig utilizes for his vision of a confederation between Central Europe and Turkey. The "world-historical task" of the Balkans to serve as the bridge, which brings Europe and Turkey into a complete and consistent coherence, must be understood in Heidegger's sense as the institution of a gathering. In "Building Dwelling Thinking" he writes: "It [the bridge, J.K.] does not just connect banks that are already there. The banks emerge as banks only as the bridge crosses the stream. (…) With the banks, the bridge brings to the stream the one and the other expanse of the landscape lying behind them. It brings stream and bank and

[9]On the notion of *terra nullius* see Vismann (1995).

land into each other's neighborhood" (Heidegger, 2008, p. 354). Only in relation, as part of an assembly, do Europe and Turkey have a future. The empire to come is this "more capacious" neighborhood of Turkey and Europe, a coherent structure, an assembly, generated by the bridge. The bridge is the medium which lets both Europa and Turkey emerge, therefore it is more than a contingent political alliance but is instead the institution of the essential foundation of a new world order in an act of *Auseinandersetzung*, simultaneously gathering and setting its members apart, bringing them into "each other's neighborhood" within a neutral space. The positing of *Mitteleuropa* as a *New Levante* on the Balkans rests on a medium, a middle where all positions and demarcations are fluid and negotiable. The future of the Balkans as well as that of Europe depends on its integration into *Mitteleuropa* by embracing the idea of its status as a bridge: "By making itself into a bridge, the Balkans fulfill the historical laws of its development. As a small, splintered nation like Austria, it can find its place only within a transnational political unit: *Mitteleuropa*" (Rosenzweig, 1984i, pp. 311–312) Only by making themselves into a sheer medium between the East and the West can the small and shattered nations of the Balkans survive. They establish a "virtual place" (Rosenzweig, 2004, p. 34) as Rosenzweig points out in *The Star of Redemption* where a politics of pure means can emerge. It is this strict neutrality—close to being nothing—being nothing but bridge—which will connect *Mitteleuropa* with Turkey and institute a *New Levante* as part of a new empire: The *United States of Middle Europe*.

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Indian Nationalists' Cooperation with Soviet Russia in Central Asia: The Case of M.P.T. Acharya

Lina Bernstein

> Acharya…is the most salient figure among the Indian libertarians.
> —Victor Garcia.

Abstract While the major European powers were engaged in world war, a group of Indian nationalists were attempting to use the conflict to work toward the liberation of India from British rule. One of the main players was M.P.T. Acharya. Having left India in 1909, he joined a group of Indian nationalists. In 1915, the Germans established an office in Kabul, where Acharya was sent by the Berlin Indian Committee. After Germany's defeat in the war, the Indians abandoned the Germans to try their luck with the Soviets, who were vying for supremacy over the British Empire in Central Asia. The first Soviet legation to Afghanistan, which Acharya later joined, arrived in Kabul in August 1919. The Soviets were hoping to export revolution to the Indian subcontinent, and the road to India lay through Afghanistan. Acharya spent two years in Central Asia working with a variety of Indian nationalists and with (and ultimately against) the Communist International; he was a founding member of the Indian Communist Party abroad and eventually its severest critic. Under the influence of his European experience, Acharya's political views developed from proto-Bolshevik and narrowly nationalistic to international anarchism and libertarianism.

Before the Great War, the lands in Central Asia that used to be called Russian Turkestan and the Russian Protectorates (Bukhara and Khiva) lay on the crossroads of territorial claims of Great Britain, Germany, Turkey, and Russia. Control of them meant domination over Central Asia and India as well as access to China. The borders that were drawn there after the war following extensive jockeying among many interested parties contributed significantly to the region's bloody history.

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Among the militant groups active in the region at the close of the Great War were Indian nationalists, who at different times had allied themselves with Germany and with Soviet Russia in their struggle against the British. One of the most important figures among them was Mandayam Parthasarathi Tirumal Acharya, known as M.P.T. Acharya.

Acharya was born in Madras in 1887 into a Brahmin family with nationalistic leanings. His father was a civil servant, a supervisor in the Public Works Department. According to V.S. Naipaul,

> South Indians, Brahmins especially, had a better grasp of English because they were more exposed to it, and they would get jobs as secretaries, stenographers, or even typists. These were probably the most widely followed professions for the South Indian or Tamil Brahmins in British times. Otherwise, as a class South Indian Brahmins worked as teachers or as priests or as petty clerks. Or, if they were lucky enough, they would take up a job in one of the government departments (…) They were dominant in Indian social life, the professions, and in the beginnings of the national movement. (Naipaul, 1991, pp. 121, 123)

With such a background, it is unsurprising that Acharya became politically engaged at a young age, running the weekly *India* and the journal *Bala Bharat* (New Party), the organ of the nationalists. A fiery revolutionary from the start, he had been exposed to a variety of opinions about how to achieve national liberation. He learned about controversies among Indian nationalists of different persuasions in his youth at the side of his teacher, the nationalist and social reformer Lokmanya Tilak (Bal Gangadhar Tilak, 1856–1920), with whom he studied in Poona (1906–1907). Acharya would later live for considerable periods of time in Germany, France, and Turkey, and he became fluent in the languages of those countries.

Finding himself under threat of punishment by the Indian colonial authorities for his nationalist agitation, Acharya left Madras for Pondicherry, a French enclave in British India. But Pondicherry proved no safe haven, and in 1908, he sailed to Marseille. The following year, Acharya briefly joined the informal Indian nationalist organization India House, in London, quickly becoming one of the key members. With the closing of India House after the July 1909 assassination of Sir William Hutt Curzon Wylie, political aide-de-camp to the secretary of state for India, perpetrated by an India House inmate, Acharya moved to Paris, where he became a close associate of the famous Indian nationalist Madame Bhikaji Cama (1861–1936). He assisted her in publication and dissemination, especially in India, of her nationalist newspaper *Bande Mataram*. During a trip to Berlin to meet Indian nationalists, he persuaded them to print another of Madame Cama's newspapers, the *Talvar*. Acharya disseminated seditious publications among the British Indian troops and managed to smuggle those publications into India. The result of that broad dissemination was the Indian Press Act of 1910, which restricted the importation of such literature into India. Nevertheless, Acharya found a way to continue his work, sending literature from different addresses in different countries to make tracking it difficult (see Yadav, 1991, pp. 36–38). Acharya shifted from Paris to Morocco to Portugal to Germany to Turkey, to Egypt and Jerusalem, and

even to the United States, where he worked for the liberation of British India.[1] Conflict in Europe had provided Indian nationalists the possibility of obtaining assistance from enemies of the British. In Germany, Acharya became a member of the Berlin Indian Committee, which had obtained assistance from Germany, the archenemy of Great Britain, and was a part of the so called Hindu–German Conspiracy—established at the outset of the Great War. Members of that organization, among them Acharya, travelled to Afghanistan, where Indians conducted propaganda among the Pashtun-speaking tribes on the border between India and Afghanistan and endeavored to smuggle arms in anticipation of an uprising against the British.

Making use of the enemy of one's enemy is, of course, nothing new in political struggles. Indeed, in 1915, the Irish nationalist Roger Casement traveled to Berlin to persuade the German Reich to supply arms to the Irish nationalists and to assist Irish prisoners of war in Germany in forming an anti-British brigade. As Acharya would later mention in one of his political surveys written for the *Herald of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs*, Ireland and India—both under British rule—had common goals and common methods of attaining them. Like their Irish counterparts, some Indian nationalists, Acharya among them, hoped to influence British Indian troops to turn against their masters. Both the Indians and the Irish failed in those attempts.

For their part, the Germans had begun courting Indian nationalists even before the start of hostilities with Great Britain. The Germans, who were interested in weakening the British in every way possible, had been trying since as early as 1910 to unite Turkish and Persian forces, with Afghanistan as their base, to threaten British India. In the process, Germany began attracting Indian nationalists as well, who continued working with the Germans throughout the war. However, after Germany's defeat and the establishment of the anti-British Bolshevik government in Russia, the Indians abandoned the Germans to try their luck with the Soviets.

The interest was mutual. The British had many rivals for their Indian possessions, but the main one had been the Russian Empire, which, in the second half of the nineteenth century, had conquered vast territories in Central Asia and for years maintained a presence in the border regions between Russian Turkestan and Afghanistan with an eye to India. For years, both governments had been vying for supremacy in Central Asia, and since the second half of the nineteenth century, a fixture of the two empires' national policies had been the so-called Great Game—the Russian–British rivalry in the region, with both empires conducting intelligence and counterintelligence activities and courting the leaders of Afghanistan and various Central Asian peoples.[2] But Russia's devastating 1905 defeat at the hands of the Japanese in the Russo-Japanese War led within two years to the

[1]For more detail see Subhramanian (1995), Ramnath (2011, pp. 125–133), Yadav (1991). According to Yadav (1991, p. 30), Acharya traveled to Turkey in 1911 to seek Turkish help for the Indian cause. Reportedly, he learned Turkish and became fluent in it.

[2]The term "Great Game" that is used to describe the struggle between the British and the Russian empires for domination in Central Asia was coined by Arthur Conolly (1807–1842), a British

Anglo-Russian Convention, a treaty that brought the Great Game almost to an end. And when Russia and Great Britain became allies against the Central Powers during the Great War, Russian aims for dominance in Asia and the acquisition of Indian territories were put aside.

After the war, however, the Bolsheviks abrogated all Czarist treaties. Fired with revolutionary zeal and geopolitical ambition, they took up the moribund Great Game with renewed energy, hoping to export the revolution to the Indian subcontinent and thus weaken the British. According to Lenin (1965, pp. 144–151), the loss of colonies and resultant economic downturn would create a favorable revolutionary climate in the colonizing metropolises. And so in summer 1920, at the Second World Congress of the Comintern, one of the main items on the agenda was the anticolonial national liberation struggle, on whose success (according to the Bolsheviks) hinged the fate of the world revolution. As early as 1919, Trotsky had suggested the opening of a "second front" of the world revolution in Asia. He held that "the road to Paris and London lay through the cities of Afghanistan, Punjab, and Bengal" (Tikhonov, 2008, p. 40).[3] The Bolsheviks revived the espionage infrastructure from czarist times and more-recent channels installed by the Germans. The Comintern and the Red Army were seen as the political and military arms at the eastern gates to world revolution. The road to India lay through Afghanistan, and the Soviets' base of operations was Russian Turkestan.

The first Soviet legation to Afghanistan, headed by the former czarist diplomat N.Z. Bravin,[4] arrived in Kabul on August 21, 1919. On their way to the Afghan capital, they met the last of the Germans leaving the country, having failed to achieve anything of significance in their goal of fighting Great Britain on Asian territory. The Germans had established a Provisional Government of India in Exile, with whom the Soviets continued to work.

Despite the difficulties and dangers facing any traveler in the region, Acharya managed to crisscross half of Asia several times. On his arrival in Moscow from Berlin in 1919 (Yunel, 1979), he and his fellow nationalists met with Lenin. At that meeting, it was decided that some of them, including Acharya, would accompany the new Soviet minister plenipotentiary and envoy of the Comintern in Central Asia, Yakov Surits (1882–1952), who was to replace the earlier legation to Kabul. Surits's letter of credence, composed by Lenin himself, authorized him to conduct

intelligence officer, although the meaning of the term evolved over time. On the history of the term, see (Becker 2012, pp. 61–80).

[3]The idea of engaging Great Britain in Asia was not new for Russia. In 1855, in response to growing commercial privileges for British traders in Persia and Afghanistan, Colonel N. P. Ignatiev, a Russian military attaché in London, proposed to extend Russian political control to the Amur River. As Becker (2004, p. 16) wrote, Ignatiev believed that "only in Asia could Russia fight England with any hope of success, and only in Asia could Russian commerce and industry compete successfully with those of the other European states." That idea eventually led to a Russia presence in Turkestan (1863) and opened the "Great Game" between the two empires.

[4]N.Z. Bravin, after being dismissed from the post of the Soviet envoy, defected from Soviet Russia and was assassinated in Afghanistan in 1921 on the eve of his departure for India.

negotiations not only with the Afghan government but with many other indigenous peoples of Central Asia who were living under the yoke of British imperialism. In fact, Surits had been appointed to act on behalf of the Third Communist International (the Comintern) more than on behalf of the Soviet state.[5]

He was instructed to make contact with representatives of the oppressed nationalities, either personally or through agents approved by him. The Indians who accompanied the new minister were such agents.

Following the end of the Great War and the October Revolution in Russia, Acharya and his comrades set great store by the Bolsheviks, in particular by what they saw as their dedication to liberation of oppressed peoples and their success in conducting a decisive action against the injustices of imperialism. And so after meeting with Lenin, Acharya was on his way to Kabul.

The mission left Moscow in December 1919 with the plan that the Indians would carry out agitation and propaganda along the Indian border, mainly with Pashtun-speaking tribes; deliver arms to tribal fighters; and continue to assemble an Indian revolutionary army. Acharya was going to Kabul to continue the work in which he had been engaged since 1915 under German auspices.

Following the safe arrival of the Soviet Afghan mission, Acharya and another Indian nationalist, Abdur Rabb Barq, formed the Indian Revolutionary Association (IRA), combining different factions of nationalists already present in Kabul with whom Acharya had earlier been working successfully.[6] This was accomplished with the assistance of Yakov Surits and Soviet funding.

In spite of the IRA's having been accepted by the Soviets, Surits insisted that there be no ideological rigidity. Cooperation of all factions—who would not lose their autonomy as members of the IRA—was guaranteed by their shared hatred of Great Britain. The IRA's membership grew rapidly, which enabled it to commence its propagandistic activities among the border Indian tribes in early spring 1920.

The Bolsheviks wanted the Afghans to allow the IRA to use Afghanistan as a staging point for bringing arms and other materiel into India to further the goal of liberation from British rule. But Amānullāh Khan, who in February 1919 had succeeded his assassinated father, Habibullah, as the emir, had to navigate between two shoals. He wanted what the Soviets were offering: gold and arms. But he did not want to spoil relations with the British. After the three-month-long Third Afghan War, initiated by Amānullāh, ended in a standoff, the British had signed a generous peace treaty in which they recognized Afghanistan as an independent kingdom. The British generosity and concessions were occasioned by their fear that Afghanistan would throw in its lot with the Bolsheviks. Emir Amānullāh had to walk a thin line if he wanted to gain from both sides.

[5]Such double appointments of Soviet envoys to Afghanistan continued into the 1940s (Tikhonov 2008).

[6]The only group that refused to take part in the IRA was the Provisional Government of India formed under the Germans. It was seeking a position of superiority over the other factions.

Amānullāh continued playing his game with Surits for quite some time (with some success for both sides: a treaty of friendship was signed in 1921), but ultimately, under pressure from the British, he forbade the Indians to continue their propaganda among the border tribes, and in May 1920, he expelled them from his country altogether. The Indian Revolutionary Association, with its rank and file of over a hundred members, moved its headquarters to Tashkent.[7]

During the time Acharya lived and worked in Tashkent and the surrounding area, the region was a seething cauldron. Before the war, Tashkent had been a prosperous city with a larger native part and a smaller Russian area, with tree-lined streets and canals. The repercussions of the Great War and the Bolshevik takeover were experienced in Tashkent particularly keenly. The Bolsheviks had established their hegemony over the city within a few weeks of the October Revolution. The Turkestan government in Tashkent, headed by Fedor Kolesov, was dominated by the Bolsheviks and Left Social Revolutionaries from Russia, to the exclusion of the natives, and was laying down the new law. The government felt the need to disseminate information about themselves and what they had to offer to all Asian border nations that were not yet free from their bourgeois oppressors. To this end, they established the Soviet International Propaganda Bureau (Sovinterprop), which was responsible for such work. The Cheka acted with particular severity, independently of the government, so that even government officials had something to fear. For three months after mid-October 1917 and again for five months after mid-April 1919, Central Asia was cut off from European Russia by the White Army, which occupied the southern Urals (Orenburg). All communication lines with the center were severed, and the Cheka acted with unchecked cruelty. The city also hosted the Turkestan Bureau of the Comintern, which was actively seeking to export revolution to India and China. In the mountains around the city, the Basmachi, the Muslim anti-imperial[8] and now anti-Bolshevik guerrillas, having understood that the Soviets had recognized national self-determination only in theory but were not going to set the area free from Russian hegemony or even invite Muslim representatives into the government, responded to the new infidel colonizers with firm determination, their ranks swelling with each new atrocity perpetrated by the Cheka and the Red Army, whose detachments were quartered in the city, from which they conducted punitive raids into the mountains and waged a guerilla-type war against the Basmachi. The 1920 “revolutions” in Bukhara and Khiva were staged mainly by the Red Army, with headquarters in Tashkent. All the trees that had made Tashkent so beautiful were gone by now, having been cut down for fuel. Expropriation of private property was going at full throttle. The Cheka

[7]Emir Amānullāh continued working secretly with the Soviets against the British through Djemal Pasha, one of the three Turkish generals who led Turkey into World War I and now had been sentenced to death (in absentia) in Turkey. Djemal Pasha first escaped to Germany and from there was helped by the Germans to move to Soviet Russia. For a time, Soviet and pan-Turkic interests coincided. Cf. Tikhonov (2008, pp. 63–75).

[8]In 1916, the Imperial government announced a draft among the local populations into the regular army. The Basmachi movement arose as a protest against that measure.

considered all private commerce to be illegal speculation, and food had become scarce.

To add to the complexity of the situation, around 28,000 German and Austro-Hungarian prisoners of war had been settled in camps in the city (and many more in the surrounding region). The abominable camp conditions and hunger among the inmates, who after Russia's withdrawal from the war and its peace agreement with the Central Powers in spring of 1918 were free to return home but had no means to do so, pushed many prisoners to join the Red Army. The German officers among the prisoners of war were conducting their own espionage activities, attempting to organize military groups to fight the British, with whom Germany was still at war till November 1918.

Concerned about their Indian possessions and fearful of thousands of former prisoners of war in Central Asia returning to active duty and reinforcing the Central Powers' front lines, the British sought to negotiate an agreement with the new Russian government in Tashkent that would preclude that possibility. To that end, they sent a mission to Tashkent to request that the authorities exercise firm control over the movement of former prisoners; the envoys were also instructed to report on the character of the new Bolshevik power and on its anti-British activities. The British had ample indication that the Bolsheviks were pouring anti-British propaganda into India. The viceroy in New Delhi, responding to anxious telegrams from the India Office in London as to what measures had been taken to prevent such literature entering India, wrote,

> with our vast frontier we must rely in the main on the evil being tapped at its source by means of [an] intelligence system at all chief centers of Bolshevik activities. We ourselves are attempting to set up one such intelligence agency at Tashkent, now apparently [the] most active center where India is concerned.[9]

Years later, in Berlin, when Acharya was trying to obtain a British passport, the Foreign Office and emigration authorities asked him to explain his conduct during and immediately after the war. Acharya's report was evasive. However, it is clear from interoffice correspondence housed in the British Library archives (n.d.) that information on Acharya had been collected during the years in question and especially during his stay in Tashkent, where, on his arrival from Kabul, he at once began participating in the work of the Comintern and became one of its most active propagandists. The British watched closely the Comintern's activities and everyone who participated in them. They knew that Acharya had facilitated the transmission of propaganda and arms across the border through Afghanistan to Pashtun-speaking border tribes. When in March 1921, the president of the Board of Trade, Robert Horne, signed the Anglo-Soviet trade agreement, he presented a letter to the people's commissar for foreign trade, Leonid Krasin, with a description of anti-British activities perpetrated by the Soviet representatives, many of whom, like Surits, doubled as members of the Comintern, and Indian nationalists in Turkestan and Afghanistan. Acharya's name, along with Rabb's, was among them. The British

[9]Quoted in Hopkirk (1984, p. 119).

knew that the Indians hoped to establish a military center in the Pamir region in Chitral, south of the Hindu Kush, and expected and received Soviet help in that endeavor.

What Acharya did not write in his report to the British Foreign Service is that after the war, in Tashkent and in the town of Andijan, southeast of Tashkent, he continued organizing a militarily trained revolutionary group, assembling it out of heterogeneous elements—mainly Indian, Afghan, Iranian, and tribal traders, smugglers, and seasonal workers, as well as Indian Sunni Muslims who crossed the border on their way to join forces with Turkish Muslims fighting for an Islamic caliphate, all stranded in Afghanistan during the Russian Civil war. The latter group was outraged by what they perceived as the unpardonable treatment of Turkey by the British after the defeat of the Central Powers. They were fearful for the future of the caliphate, whose spiritual head was in danger of losing both his titles: sultan of the Ottoman Empire and caliph of Islam. Many of them had been stranded in Afghanistan without any means of support, plagued by hunger and disease. The Turkestan Bureau of the Comintern, and Acharya among them, helped these fighters cross into Russian Turkestan, at which point an attempt was made to reeducate them and recruit them to the Bolshevik cause.

Around October 1, 1920, a new member of the Turkestan Bureau of the Comintern arrived in Tashkent from Moscow and became head of the Indian section. His name was Manabendra Nath Roy (1887–1954). He had been appointed by the Comintern ostensibly to aid Acharya and Rabb in their work with the Indian Revolutionary Association, though in fact, to take control over their work. Roy had been taken up by a Bolshevik agent, Mikhail Borodin, in Mexico City, whither he had arrived from Bengal via Japan and the United States, and where he had been a founding member of the Mexican Communist Party.[10] Roy assumed a leading position among the Indian revolutionaries at the time of the American government's crackdown on Indian nationalists in America in 1917, which resulted in a vacuum of leadership. While his comrades-in-arms were under surveillance, arrested and indicted, or awaiting trial, he escaped to Mexico and persuaded the German legation there that he was the main contact with his American comrades and thus should manage the German funds that had been steadily supporting Indian nationalists since the beginning of World War I. That tall, handsome self-promoter with fiery eyes was installed by the Germans to oversee the Indian revolutionary work in Mexico and given fifty thousand dollars to distribute as he saw fit. Roy established himself in a luxurious house in an affluent part of Mexico City and "was passing himself off as an Indian prince and mingling in the upper echelons of the local society" (Price, 2005, p. 64). As Roy wrote later, in his autobiography, when the

[10]The party, founded as the Socialist Workers' Party, changed its name in 1919 to the Mexican Communist Party. Roy proclaimed himself a communist after Borodin had taught him rudimentary Marxism. The party, as Price (2005, p. 64) remarks, "had six members and a calico cat," but with Borodin's support it had won affiliation with the Communist International. With Borodin's backing, Roy was chosen as adviser to the Comintern on India and began receiving its coveted funds.

two men met in 1919, the Bolshevik Borodin was leading a similar life, supporting himself by party funds and giving himself out as an American merchant. The mutual appeal was cemented by the personal cynicism of each man. In 1920, Borodin brought Roy to Russia and introduced him to the highest echelons of power (Roy, 1984).

Before traveling to Tashkent, Roy attended the Second World Congress of the Comintern in Moscow, at which he was elected to the Comintern's executive committee. During that time, he twice met with Lenin, who approved and supported him as a leading Indian representative in the Comintern and a member of its Turkestan bureau responsible for ideological education and revolutionary agitation among the Indians.

Roy and Acharya met at the congress. Together, they wrote a letter addressed to the congress delegates in which they exposed a system of indentured labor that had been widespread in colonial countries and was little known in the west, which they called a "modern form of slave-labor." They charged the Comintern "to investigate and expose the appalling conditions prevailing under these systems of contract coolie and indentured labor" and to support those laborers in their action against their state of servitude (Acharya & Roy, 1920). Roy and Acharya's meeting promised a fruitful collaboration. However, the events took a different turn once Roy left Moscow and arrived in Tashkent (Acharya had returned to Turkestan a bit earlier and had been working in Andijan by the time of Roy's arrival).

Acharya left Andijan to welcome his new boss. Shaukat Usmani, who had hoped to fight for the restoration of caliphate and instead had been recruited by the IRA as a "soldier of revolution," wrote to Roy from Andijan, where he was recruiting together with Acharya:

> As for my Hindu brethren here, I have found them no better than the Caliphate agitators there [in Tashkent]; these are nothing but idlers, drunkards, and debauchers. By writing all this I do not mean to disgrace the fellows but want to bring the truth to light; otherwise I love them very much because they are Indians. After C[omrade] Acharya's departure I have been relating them the English atrocities played by them during these 6 years (…) and I, on my part, try to add some Indian heroism in these stories. (Usmani 1920–1921)

The Turkestan Bureau of the Comintern was attempting to work with a motley crew indeed. Nevertheless, the Soviet government spent large sums of money on recruiting fighters against the British, sending arms and ammunition, even airplanes, organizing military and ideological training, and providing shelter and financial support for the future revolutionaries.[11] Usmani (1977, p. 46) reported in

[11]In the fall of 1920, a conference of the oppressed peoples of Asia took place in Baku. Here is a description of the heterogeneity of the attendees that is typical for the "revolutionary" forces of the East:

> There were two thousand delegates present at the First Congress of the Peoples of the East organized in Baku by the Communist International. These delegates belonged to many various and highly heterogeneous ethnic entities. They were classified into Communists and non-Party members, according to somewhat doubtful criteria. We can point out five groups: the "profiteers;" Muslims of Russia and Central Asia, fiery champions of the positions of national Communism;

his autobiography, "I can say this with confidence that the Comintern had granted tremendous aid for the Indian cause and the keys of such a treasury were in the hands of M.N. Roy." (A point of explanation: Although all the activities of the Comintern were planned and controlled by Moscow, formally it presented itself as an independent international body. So the Bolsheviks could keep an innocent face in their relationship with Great Britain, whose recognition they sought and with whom they signed a trade agreement in March 1921, and at the same time conduct their aggressive policies through the Comintern.)

Acharya had a strong record in working among soldiers and civilians, and especially among Muslims, in organizing them into revolutionary groups prior to that time.[12] However, with the arrival of Roy, the situation in Tashkent with regard to recruiting among the Muslims deteriorated dramatically because of the rigid class ideology and antireligious rhetoric of Roy and his Comintern backers.

In Tashkent, Acharya worked hard, trekking with leaflets to Andijan, looking for passages to India through the Pamirs and for knowledgeable guides, organizing other centers for work among the Indians in Skobelev (Ferghana) and Osh, and trying to send people to Kashgar (China) to establish a secret center there, too, agitating, and recruiting for his cause.

Before his final departure from Tashkent in 1921, he traversed the road from Tashkent to Moscow and back several times. He managed to get to Moscow and Petrograd in July–August 1920 to attend the Second World Congress of the Third International as a nonvoting member and a member of the propaganda section.[13] While in Moscow, he sent a letter to Lenin (Acharya, 1920) answering Lenin's call for "opinions, suggestions, and criticisms regarding [Lenin's] thesis on Colonial and National problems," taking up the issue of "the fight against pan-Islamism." Acharya cited his vast experience in working among pan-Islamists and anti-Islamists in such countries as "Morocco, Turkey, Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia, Turkistan, Bokhara, and Afghanistan." In addition, he wrote, "I have also taken great interest in the national political and religious movements of Tunisians, Egyptians, Persians, and Tartars." He suggested that at the moment, the idea of pan-Islamism was impotent and utopian. Just as the European countries before the Great War had every reason to unite "for further conquest and plunder of all non-European peoples of the world, they could only organize a war against each other." In the same way, "all Islamic

delegations of Transcaucasia consisting mainly of representatives of small ethnic groups protected by Bolsheviks; foreign Eastern delegates—in this group, the only ones to raise their voices were the Turkish nationalists; and the representatives of the Comintern and of the Western Communist parties, who got all the credits (Chabrier, 1985, pp. 21–42).

[12]In 1909, 1911, and then again in 1915, Acharya traveled to Istanbul, where his efforts were directed at forming the Indian National Volunteer Corps, with recruitment among Muslim Indians who in large numbers would pass through Turkey every year on their way to the haj and among Indian prisoners of war. See Yadav (1991, pp. 36–38). Acharya even took a Muslim-sounding alias, Mahomed Akbar (not later than 1915).

[13]The Second Congress took place in July 19–August 7, 1920; the opening ceremonies were held in Petrograd, and then the proceedings shifted to Moscow.

governments have all opposite interests" and would never be able to come to an agreement and unite for the victory of pan-Islamism.[14] (As history showed, he was right. The resistance by the Turkestan native Muslim populations against the Bolsheviks was broken largely due to disagreements among different groups and internal struggles for power.)

In October 1920, back in Tashkent after the world congress, Acharya joined forces with Roy in forming the Indian Communist Party (ICP), which consisted of seven members, two of whom were European.[15] The first organizational meeting was a solemn occasion; its minutes state that "the meeting was adjourned with singing 'International.'" However, disagreements on who should be eligible to join the ICP arose already at the second meeting, in December 1920. It was decided by a majority of votes that one could not be a member of the party if one belonged to another political organization that was not under party control. At the time, Acharya was still a member of the Indian Revolutionary Association, headed by Abdur Rabb. Both men had been careful not to disenfranchise their Muslim constituencies and were exceedingly tolerant in religious matters. After all, the majority of the people they worked with were Muslims. Acharya's actions and writing show him to have been essentially an antiauthoritarian nationalist willing to work with any party or ideology that supported his goal of the liberation of British India. "We are not against Communism," he had stated (presumably on behalf of the Indian Revolutionary Association) on December 5, 1920, "and we do not make a distinction between a Communist revolutionary or just a revolutionary. All we object to is forcible conversion to Communism; at least in the form dictated by Roy and the Comintern" (quoted in Ramath, 2011).[16]

Roy and his Comintern backing insisted on a one-party system and manipulated recruits by financially rewarding the faithful and leaving others without any support. Roy's actions led to the complete destruction of Acharya and Rabb's Indian Revolutionary Association, which had functioned successfully before Roy's arrival. A petty tyrant and unscrupulous manipulator with a predilection for the "good life," Roy believed that all dissent should be crushed. His tyrannical treatment of his "inferiors" fit in well with the methods employed by the Soviets, who chose to support him as the leading Indian revolutionary.

Roy used that support to live in a grand style and to acquire acolytes. Even after his Indian affair in Central Asia failed, mainly because of his miscalculations and ideological rigidity in handling the largely Muslim cadres, he was installed in

[14]In their interest in pan-Islamism, the Soviets had a hidden agenda. They wished to use pan-Islamic forces in their own fight against the British in Central Asia. At the same time, they did not want to have Islamic fighters, like Basmachi, on their own territory.

[15]Comrades Ellen Roy and Roza Mukharjee were the wives of two Indian members.

[16]Ramath (2011, p. 131) maintains that "Acharya's differences with Roy had developed into differences with the Communist International and with the Communist regime in Russia itself." Acharya's letters to the Comintern committees and his subsequent writings in German and in the Indian press support this assertion.

Moscow as a functionary of the Comintern; later, he was sent to China as its representative, returned to Moscow after the failure of the Chinese operation, and remained there till 1929, when things became too hot even for him.[17]

Acharya attempted to salvage the deteriorating situation in Turkestan. In January 1921, Acharya was back in Moscow, where he took part in negotiations between the Indian nationalists and representatives of the Soviet government on transporting arms and ammunition through Afghanistan to India. The negotiations were proceeding well until they were brought to an end by the theft from Acharya of a notebook containing the code names of his Indian contacts. This theft was perpetrated by an agent of the British Intelligence Service, which was conducting espionage in Moscow (Tikhonov, 2008, p. 127).

Still basically trusting the Bolsheviks, he wrote letters to state, party, and Comintern officials in Moscow, pointing out that the actions of the Turkestan Bureau of the Comintern were contrary to professed Bolshevik ideals. He even believed that Roy and those with him had been planted by the British—so detrimental to the goals of Indian national liberation had their actions been. It was difficult to explain their behavior otherwise.[18] In one of his letters (Acharya, 1921), he explained that he "was one of the original members of the so-called Indian Communist Party and was thrown out for criticizing Roy's and his lieutenants' methods" Here is the full text of that letter and Acharya's clear statement of what was at stake:

> Hotel Dresden, Room 07
>
> August 3, 1921
>
> To the Secretariat of the Communist International
>
> Moscow
>
> Dear Comrades,
>
> With reference to the discussions now going on with regard to Indian question, from which I purposely absented myself as I am least sanguine about the results intended to be achieved by these methods and persons, I am sending you herewith a paper giving my experience with Roy and *his Indian communist party* [italics added] during a whole year and showing how they sabotaged it in the past. It must be also pointed out that I was one of the original members of *the so called Indian Communist party* [italics added] and was thrown out for criticizing Roy's and his lieutenants' methods.
>
> Besides this, I must point out that the papers (reports and suggestions) given to Comrade Kobetsky seem to have mysteriously disappeared from the archives of the Comintern. Similar papers in the Narkomindel seem to have also disappeared. It is necessary to make a thorough investigation, if they have really disappeared as no work can be safe or done so long as the men are not found out who are at the bottom of such works. If those papers are really to be found, it is equally necessary to consult them before deciding to do anything with regard to India.

[17]With the help of Nikolai Bukharin, he managed to leave Russia first for Berlin and from there to India, where he faced imprisonment but still preferred that to the murderous Soviet reality.

[18]Acharya kept up his accusations against Roy for quite some time. In 1932, he wrote a letter to Trotsky (Acharya, 1932) denouncing Roy and his staunch supporter Borodin.

> I wish also to point out that the recognition of the Indian Communist Party by the Congress [of the Third International] and the admission of "Com[rad]" Roy into the Executive committee was successfully maneuvered after cleverly suppressing all other voices by underhand manipulations as are being now staged by Roy and those outside the Comintern who are interested in supporting and those inside the Comintern in protecting him and his party.

Acharya soon understood that "Roy's and his lieutenants' methods" were also the Bolsheviks' methods. He witnessed the staging of "revolutions" in the khanates of Bukhara and Khiva, former Russian protectorates, by the Comintern and the Red Army, resulting in their eventual incorporation into the Soviet Union. He saw that the new colonizers were more dangerous than the old ones: their ideological rigidity allowed no compromise. Moreover, the new Soviet authority treated the Central Asian peoples like backward children possessing no culture of their own, as barbarous and violent, fanatically religious, and therefore in need of the civilizing guidance of the Russian revolutionaries. Few natives were allowed to take part in the governance of their own territory. The Bolsheviks' colonizing aims were only thinly veiled. In 1920, the head of the Comintern, Grigory Zinoviev, stated that "we cannot do without the petroleum of Azerbaijan or without the cotton of Turkistan. We take these products not as former exploiters, but as older brothers bearing the torch of civilization" (quoted in Blank, 1994, p. 41).

Acharya's work with Roy and the Comintern and his experience of the Soviet methods of conquest and subjugation of the colonized peoples led to his thoroughgoing disenchantment with Soviet Russia. His initial enthusiasm for the Bolsheviks was replaced by revulsion, and he reverted more firmly than before to anarchism, describing himself thereafter as an anarcho-syndicalist. From a militant fighter, he had come very close to being a pacifist. In his correspondence from Berlin with the British passport authorities, he sincerely denounced the Bolsheviks' methods and insisted that he was no friend of theirs, and in his writing he turned to economics and away from politics.

Acharya's fears of "forcible conversion to Communism" were well founded. Within a few years, the Bolsheviks conquered and pacified, in fact beat into submission, the mostly nomadic peoples in this part of Central Asia and defined the borders of the five Central Asian Soviet republics that today, after the fall of the Soviet Union, are independent states.

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The Population Exchange Between Turkey and Greece After the First World War and the Subsequent Problems

Selahattin Önder and Abdullatif Acarlioğlu

The pain is now called in books "population exchange".
Selahattin YOLGİDER/*VapurDumani.*

Abstract As is well known, the Ottoman Empire, which ruled on three continents during its history, lost the First World War along with Germany. Although the war ended in 1918, the war of Greek liberation from the Turks, ordered by Mustafa Kemal and the resistant forces in 1919, continued until 1922. When the Greek adventure failed on Turkish territory, Venizelos united all Greeks, and several Greeks from Anatolia, after their army had fled to Greece. Mustafa Kemal, in turn, wanted to draw in contemporary Turks living outside national boundaries to populate his country. Thanks to the treaty agreed on 30 January 1923 between Atatürk and Venizelos in Lausanne, the Greeks of Anatolia, of Turkish nationality but looking to the Orthodox Church, were exchanged for Muslim Turks of Greek nationality and so minorities living in both countries became refugees. This forced migration dating from 1923, called the "Great Exchange", required a census of the population: it found that more than a million people were homeless. This period, which imposed a "national reconstruction" in the history of the two countries, is remembered as a complex and multidimensional historical process. The pain and disorder that affected hundreds of thousands of people of both nationalities caused by this exchange persisted for many years. Turkey, as one of the countries that underwent a population exchange with Greece, serves as an example to the world. That's why this subject remains relevant for agendas of today.

1 Introduction

Forced displacing of people is called "internal migration" if it takes place within a country or "external migration" if it occurs from one country to another. This physical movement causes not only spatial change but also change in people. Of

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course, the indigenous population is also affected by this exodus. In this case, the interaction between these peoples becomes essential on a social, cultural and economic level (Danış, n.d.: 7). Immigration and settlement are processes that disrupt the lives of immigrants, those of the local inhabitants and of future generations.

Throughout its history, Turkey was a transit country for migrants heading to other countries and a country that welcomed migrants temporarily. But it is also a country of emigration that sent migrants outside its borders. There are two words in Turkish for "refugee": "muhacir" that specifically defines refugees or "returnees" as Turkish Muslims who since 1683 had migrated back towards the lands of the Ottoman Empire or Turkey and "mülteci" that fits the classic definition of refugees fleeing for political reasons (political opponents, people fleeing the war). In the early twentieth century, "muhacir" from the territories lost by the Ottoman Empire experienced a number of sociological, historical and geographical problems after settling in Turkey (Erdal, 2006, p. 17). Indeed, 435,000 immigrants arrived in Anatolia as of 1920, from Bulgaria, the Caucasus, Romania and Russia and 900,000 Greek and Armenian refugees left Anatolia during the so-called "catastrophe of Asia Minor."

From an historical perspective, the population exchange was suggested for the first time by Raffet Pasha during the Ottoman-Russian peace negotiations in February 1878 but the idea was rejected by the Russians. Later on, the "Young Turks" spread propaganda to convince Turks from the Balkans to settle in Anatolia in order to rid the Ottoman state of its nationalist minorities. This could be considered as the first step towards the exchange of populations.

The dismantling of the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian Empires after World War I caused radical political and demographic changes in the Balkans and the Middle East. The rising Serbian, Bulgarian and Greek nationalist movements endangered the lives of Muslims living in these countries, prompting Muslims to emigrate and seek refuge in Anatolia. In addition, the Ottomans increasingly lost confidence vis-à-vis minorities during the Great War and the idea of expelling non-Muslims to form a homogenous country strengthened within the leadership (Hirschon, 2007, p. 113).

The subject of our article, "mübadele" in Turkish and "andalayi" in Greek, is the forced exchange of populations. The latter is the historical and legal term for the transfer of Greeks from Turkey to Greece and the former, the Turks from Greece to Turkey. The population exchange treaty was concluded on January 30, 1923 by the Turkish and Greek States at the Peace Conference in Lausanne. As of the 1st of May 1923, all the Orthodox Christian Greeks of Anatolia of Turkish nationality living outside Istanbul were forced to move to Greece, while Muslims of Greek nationality, except for those living in Western Thrace, were forced to leave Greece and settle in Turkey. In Turkish, we call this very special exchange process "mübadele" (the exchange) and "mübadil" (those exchanged).

2 The Situation Before the Population Exchange

The Turkish leaders, Enver Pasha, Talat Pasha and Kemal Pasha, had undertaken to create "an ethnically homogeneous state," a Turkish empire for the Turks called "the Great Ideal". At first, they wanted to exchange the Turkish population of Greece for the Greek population of Anatolia on a voluntary basis, as they had already done with the Bulgarians in 1913. Similarly, the Greek Government of Venizelos intended to unite the Greeks into one nation to form "The Greater Greece". The fate of the minorities living in areas that the Ottomans still held and those that the Greeks had just conquered, were discussed in an ultra-nationalist atmosphere dominated by the politics of the neo-Hellenics from Greece and the Young Turks in Turkey.

From this historical perspective starting from 1913, the massive arrival of Rumelia Muslims in Anatolia and the repression of the "Union and Progress" party founded by the Young Turks, forced the Greeks living on the Asia Minor coast to emigrate towards the Aegean islands. Similarly, the Ottoman Greeks already in Greece, importuned Muslims in North Thrace. Galip Kemali [Söylemezoğlu], Deputy Ambassador of the Ottoman State in Athens, protested against this situation and Grand Vizier Sait confirmed to Halim Pasha that he had suggested on his personal initiative to the Greek government a voluntary exchange of Macedonian Muslims for Orthodox Christians from the province of Aydin. His proposal was accepted but the beginning of the Great War put an end to this matter although the oral agreement and the first measures had already been taken (Aktar (2005) in Toynbee, 2005, pp. 120–121).

Moreover, the expansion of Greece and its people during the first decade of the twentieth century was synonymous with the decline of the Ottoman Empire. The defeat of the Ottomans against the Russians in 1877–1878 and that in the Balkans in 1911–1912 increased emigration from Northern Thrace and from Macedonia to Anatolia: 640,000 people are thought to have left. Hamit Bey, director of Department of Tribes and Refugees, wrote in his report of May 12th, 1917 that about 700,000 immigrants had arrived on Ottoman territory since the beginning of the First World. In 1920, approximately 900,000 Muslim immigrants were in constant movement in Anatolia, as in Istanbul, and 243,744 other Muslims arrived in the area of Kars from Armenia, Georgia and Azerbaijan. In addition, 130,000 White Russians who fled Soviet Russia passed through Turkey and were constantly on the move. Arnold Toynbee (1899–1975), who worked at the propaganda office of the British Ministry of War, said he met an immigrant family from Thrace who was moved more than six times since the 1st Balkan war and that it was not unusual for migrants to be forcibly moved three or four times (Aktar in Toynbee, 2005, pp. 120–121).

At that time, the main concerns of the Allies were to decide the division of territories and to largely satisfy Greece. However, nobody could agree on the way to proceed. The realization of the "Megali Idea" ideology for the expansion of Hellenism, the resuscitation of the Byzantine Empire entailing the reconquering of ancient Constantinople were among the dreams of Greece. In accordance with the

Treaty of Sevres signed and accepted by the Ottomans on August 10th, 1920, extensive coastal regions of Asia Minor were left to Greece and the capital Istanbul as well as the south of the country were occupied by the British, French and Italians. Nonetheless, this situation was not recognized or agreed to by the new Turkish political authorities under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal. The latter, who later on founded the Turkish Republic, was opposed to the division of his country and reorganized his troops in the heart of Anatolia, ready to fight back. Indeed, the Greek army was defeated after a well prepared attack by the militia of the Turkish military leader. Greece, defeated, withdrew from Anatolia. This defeat begat a movement of violence by nationalist forces and the Turkish army against the Christian population of Anatolia, in response to the atrocities committed by the Greek army against the local population during their retreat. This caused the Christian inhabitants of Izmir to leave the city. Other Greeks fled to small towns and villages. International organizations such as the Middle East Foundation, the Red Cross, Save the Children and other US organizations began receiving donations to help Christians fleeing their homelands (Hirschon, 2007, p. 7).

3 The Process of Lausanne and the Population Exchange

The government of the Turkish Grand Assembly founded in Ankara on April 23rd, 1923 after the abolition of the sultanate on November 1, 1922, participated in the conference of Lausanne opposite the allies who, this time around, were well united. As the conflict between Istanbul, the Ottoman capital and Ankara, the capital of the new Turkish Republic, continued, the Greek side was going through a similar conflict between the royalists and the supporters of Venizelos.

The Turkish side tried to conduct the population exchange between Greece and Turkey without involving the cases of other minorities. Moreover, the Turkish delegation had to overcome the obstacles of the League of Nations, the Americans and the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Istanbul (Yildirim, 2006, pp. 81–139).

The head of the Turkish delegation Ismet Pasha, third speaker of the conference, insisted on territorial unity and the abolition of the capitulations which were the main areas of the National Pact, presented as the basis of the foreign policy of the new Republic. He claimed on behalf of the Turkish state all the Thracian territories owned by the Ottoman Empire before the war and proposed a plebiscite for Western Thrace. Of course, among the fourteen points debated by the Turkish delegation, the most important was that of the population exchange. Having triumphed in the Turkish War of Independence that followed the First World War, Ismet Pasha began a political duel with the British Foreign Secretary Lord Curzon. As for Venizelos, he officially announced that he was abandoning the Megali Idea that had directed the domestic and foreign policy of Greece for the past decade.

Finally, the 19 articles of the Agreement and the Protocol on the Turkish and Greek Populations Exchange were finalized on January 30th, 1923 (Official Gazette, 1923, p. 205), bearing the signatures of Ismet Pasha, Dr. Rıza Nur Hasan

[Saka], E. Venizelos, D. Caclamanos, concerning physical and legal entities. Moreover, they also contain agreements concerning properties and communal goods such as mosques, churches, madrasahs, schools, hospitals, associations. On the other hand, it allowed people the right to take their transportable belongings. The exchange of populations that began on May 1st 1923, as planned by the protocol, gave a legal framework that simply formalized a displacement of populations that was already underway anyway.

The two diplomatic stages of the question of migration are classified by Onur Yıldırım as follows:

1. During the first three years which began in Lausanne, continued with the Treaty of Ankara June 21st, 1925 and ended on December 1st, 1926, the population exchange was applied by governments to meet the first three Articles of Agreement. Quickly, the economic and social problems, the transformation of ruling regimes into republics, the integration and assimilation of massive arrivals and people finding themselves without work in countries undergoing reconstruction began to preoccupy governments. The work of the joint committees meant to manage the exchange, the choice of those to be exchanged or not, travel, relocation, housing, liquidation of assets and the calculation of compensation were blocked by the absence of intergovernmental cooperation. Therefore, the problems that arose following the Protocol were settled via the preparation of additional diplomatic documents.

2. The committee, which had not been efficient or effective from the Treaty of Athens in 1926 until the Treaty of Ankara in 1930, was replaced by the bilateral Treaty of December 28th, 1933. From that date on, the Turkish and Greek Governments carried out their tasks independently within their own institutions (Yildirim, 2006, pp. 171–172).

The exchange was also carried out in two stages. In the first, after the defeat of the Greek army, Anatolian Greeks living on the coast immediately fled to Greece, forcing Muslims from Greece to take refuge in Anatolia. In the second, the Greeks that had remained in Anatolia were exchanged for the Muslims of Greece between 1923 and 1926 under international supervision.

Just after the signing of the agreement, the Ankara government strove to settle the refugees and to render them productive, giving one month for the minorities to leave. This is why many Greeks and Armenians piled up on the coast of Asia Minor, pending the organization of crossing by boat.

The Greco-Turkish War of 1919–1922, the last armed conflict between the two countries, had put an end to major border changes and the large-scale population movements. Thus, the Greeks lost all the territories they had acquired during World War I, and 900,000 Greeks left Anatolia and eastern Thrace from August 27th 1922 until the end of that year. 70,000 of them died on the way from epidemics and malnutrition and 50,000 emigrated from Greece to Egypt, to France and to the United States.

Turkey, meanwhile, had reached a population of 12,339,023 people by 1923, including 388,146 exchanged refugees and 130,000 migrants that had arrived irregularly and without surveillance. This corresponds to a total population increase

of 5% (Yildirim, 2006, pp. 144–153). 268,188 refugees settled in the Marmara region, 62,580 in western Anatolia and 46,398 in the region of the Black Sea (Erdal, 2006, pp. 355–365).

4 The Subsequent Problems

The agreement of Lausanne created two categories of exchanged populations: the Turks of Rumelia and the Greeks of Anatolia. Indeed, 1.2 million Anatolian Greeks and 400,000 Muslims were torn from their countries of residence and become immigrants. More than a million and a half people of the two countries became immigrants because of the Balkan wars and the Greco-Turkish War of 1919–1922 and found themselves without a homeland and without neighbors. As for the abandoned property, the situation was reversed: "The rate of those who were engaged in agriculture among the Muslims reached 90% while only 30% of Greeks who left practiced agriculture in their region of origin" (Ari, 1995, pp. 130).

In order to host, install, house and feed so many people, Greece and Turkey had to face a series of economic, cultural and political problems. The ten consecutive years from 1923 to 1933 became a multidimensional and complex historical process of "national reconstruction" for both countries because of the tens of thousands of new inhabitants, hungry, homeless and unemployed (Yildirim, 2006, p. 7).

Normally, the signatories should have respected the following rules:

> An exchanged person is a physical or moral entity who emigrated after October 18, 1912.
>
> Both parties must respect the rights to property of their people.
>
> Suspects and offenders would be returned to their country of origin.
>
> Movable property can be transported.
>
> A public inventory of properties was to be made and the report drawn up in four copies of which the first would be delivered to the local authority, the second to the Joint Committee, the third country of destination and the fourth to the emigrant.
>
> The emigrant must receive goods in the host country whose value is equivalent to the property he owned in his country of origin.

Unfortunately, most of these rules were not respected. Otherwise, no one would have written as much about the dramatic scenes of suffering that were endured. From Turkish official documents, we can describe certain hardships that exchanged people had to undergo. Properties abandoned by Greeks were damaged while the Turkish Grand National Assembly was trying to impose its authority. After the departure of the Greeks, 73, 070 homes were damaged by war, burned or destroyed. Several homes and workplaces were looted. The result was a loss of 305,214 Turkish liras. According to Mustafa Necati, Minister of Development and Construction for the population exchange of the National Assembly, the government took possession of only a quarter of the homes abandoned although there had been more than 100 000. Rafet [Canitez], the Minister of Development and

Construction in Ismet Pasha's second government, mentioned the figure of 10,600 homes in Izmir for the population exchange (Ari, 1995, p. 12). 2.7 million square decameters (or 270,000 hectares) of fields were damaged by local Muslim populations. As a result, nothing could be grown in these areas.

The exchange process happened quite dramatically. The drama was not one-sided, as we have just emphasized above. The two sides experienced the same problems but with different names. The problems were mainly in health, education, infrastructure, adaptation to new respective homelands, division of families, discrimination, nostalgia, improper installations, differences in documents or invalid documents, equivalence of goods, rejection of products, etc. Moreover, as the first article of the exchange forbade returning, immigrants had no other option but to endure these difficulties, since those who wanted to return to their homeland had to have the approval of both governments.

For "the migrant not knowing any language but his silence," the fact that the exchange was compulsory was a much heavier burden than the abuse and unfair practices in its application (Çolak, 2005, p. 32). All these prohibitions and obligations were causing problems for the inhabitants of both countries. Even if all was well, neither the Turks, wherever they ended up, could say that the Greeks had behaved well, nor could the Greeks say as much about the Turks, for the risk of quickly being branded a "traitor."

According to Ömer Tesal Dürer, President of the Commission and Member for Exchange minorities of the Gunaris Royalist People's Party in Greece, criticism of decisions and applications by the Commission addressed several issues and put forward "an imbalance that does not offer equality to the parties involved ". In practice, there had been frequent injustices and neglect. The Greeks fled to Greece after the war against the Turkish army, collaborating with the army of occupation. These early migrants seized the properties of the Turks from Greece even though these Turks were "innocent" and were not asked for "their views on the current situation". Articles 9, 10, 12, 13, 14 of the Agreement of Lausanne were "implicit" and "ambiguous", so inevitably the decisions and applications of the Commission were severely criticized. The fixing of the value of the goods had been delayed, the documents completed unilaterally; the exchange of populations that should have been conducted under legal guarantee had been reduced to something simple and ordinary (Tesal, 1988, pp. 42–44).

The year 1923 was a year of terrible uncertainty for all persons that the agreement affected. The Central Committee of the Istanbul Greeks wrote to the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs that Hellenism had caused great pain to everyone (Greeks, other Christians and Turks). Personal and public requests were sent to the competent authorities to avoid forced emigration. Applications based on specific reasons such as the desire to "to serve the Turks," "marriage," "conversion to Islam", "disease" (Erdal, 2006, pp. 64–76) were refused, and the two governments left no door open for those who wanted escape from the exchange (Yildirim, 2006, pp. 178–184).

As noted above, the criterion for the exchange of populations was not race but religion: Greek Christian Orthodoxy and Islam. Thus, cultural, ethnic and linguistic differences were not taken into account. Religious identity was brought to the

forefront as can be seen in the content of the protocol. Yet, there were for example Christians whose mother tongue was Turkish, and Muslims whose first language was Greek. The purpose of the absolute requirement was therefore to form homogeneous nations in terms of religion, according to the requirements and desires of both Turkey and Greece (Bayındır Goularas, 2012, pp. 130–131).

5 Conclusion

We have tried to offer a portrait of the population exchange between Turkey and Greece, a process that was particularly difficult for both states and traumatized the populations from 1912 to 1923 and from 1923 to 1930, a period of eighteen years which caused great pain, suffering and loss of life. However, the exact motives of the parties who wished for and demanded the exchange are still to be determined. We must also say that the two countries mutually accused each other during the discussions, in declarations by Ismet Pasha and Venizelos. Later on, Dr. Fridtjof Nansen, in charge of the League of Nations and known as a pro-British scientist and desirous of a fair exchange, was suggested as the overseer of this operation. But he also refused the role. Discussions will undoubtedly persist about this; ultimately, we think this is a historical outcome which was the result of a common wish of the allies, the Turks and the Greeks. How else could it have come about?

We can claim that this exchange has a significant place in history because it was the first of its kind, an approach that was in its own terms successful and that allowed both countries to standardize religiously and ethnically by moving their religious minorities in an organized manner and in a way that attempted to respect the principles of international law. Some diplomats have even seen the exchange as "a model ready for use for the creation of a pure national homeland" (Yildirim, 2006, p. 101). Indeed, the Greco-Turkish exchange was suggested as a "model" to solve the Arab-Israeli conflict by the Royal Commission Columbia (The Peel Commission) in 1937.

Let us now turn to the question whether the exchange of populations was a good or bad thing. This issue has been raised several times and it seems that it will continue to be raised for a long time to come. When one studies the arguments put forward so far, even when the exchange was considered advantageous, as has been suggested above, most speak about the damage caused and some experts have not hesitated to criticize it severely. For example, Lord Curzon in 1922, called it a "path paralyzed from head to toe." True, it influenced the lives of 1.6 million people. On the other hand, the exchange, used as a way to "get rid" of minorities, created a bad image on the international scene since it reminds us of the idea of "ethnic cleansing" which we must all condemn.

Taking a closer look at the exchange, especially for Turkey, we should point out that "the minorities of the past, the non-Muslims of the Ottoman Empire, especially the Greeks, occupied very important positions both in trade, industry and services" (Ari, 1995, pp. 1–2). It took a long time to fill this gap. Although Turkey did not

suffer as much as Greece, it is true that the exchange upset the balance of the Turkish economy. One might even argue that Turkey had achieved national success with little damage to itself, thanks to the arrival of exchanged peoples, since emigrants from Greece brought their skills to Turkey but at the same time, the Greeks from Turkey transferred their competences to Greece, perhaps thus enriching both countries.

Many different problems were observed and experienced on both sides during this difficult time. Governments were quick to address them insofar as it was possible. The general and specific problems and concerns experienced by migrants have been the subject of multiple studies, publications, stories, poems, songs, novels and films. This period is a rich source for writing the concrete history of human beings, not just of abstract nations. Gradually, as the number of testimonials increases, it will be possible to better establish empathy with those people who lived through this trauma 92 years ago. We end our paper with a saying of Ilber Ortaylı, a history professor and former director of Topkapi Palace: "(…) the main activity of men is migration. We have migrated from the beginning of time, and will continue to migrate until the end of time. If migration ends, it means the end of society. (…) A geographical space without migration means the end of history books" (Tevfik, 2014, p. 32).

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African Queens and Ice-Cream Wars: Fictional and Filmic Versions of the East African Conflict of 1914–18

Anthony Barker

Abstract It was widely believed that the climate in sub-Saharan Africa was too severe to permit the outbreak of hostilities between the European colonies of the east and west coasts there. How wrong this belief was! However, the conflict in East Africa has rarely been taken seriously, seeming to lack the scale of the confrontations in Europe. Indeed, accounts of the campaign in German and British East Africa have tended to take on a boy's own patina of derring-do and adventure which belies the ravaging of a significant proportion of the continent. Two well-known work of fiction, C.S. Forester's *The African Queen* (1937) and Wilbur Smith's *Shout at the Devil* (1968) have perpetuated this impression, but William Boyd's novel *The Ice Cream War* (1982) and the recent work of historians have challenged this view, suggesting that although the carnage was not on the scale of European military engagements, the damage was considerable. It was only not registered for 70 years because it mostly affected Africans, who were recognized as valuable but expendable assets. The guerilla war fought by the German *Schutztruppe*n from 1914 to 1918 (still regarded as military heroism of the highest order) was only possible by "tip and run" tactics which despoiled a region for decades, and the British were scarcely less profligate with their imperial manpower. Post-colonial thinking must now fully re-analyse this conflict, study fictional projections of this campaign and weigh up its contribution to the making of the 20th century and the processes of decolonisation.

Naïve young army officer F.H. Burgess wrote to his sister in England from Nairobi on the 10th October 1914 that "Lt Col Stordy says the war here will last only two months. It is far too hot for sustained fighting, he says, we will all melt like ice cream in the sun!" (quoted in Boyd, 1983, p. 10). This prediction was very wide off the mark but the term "ice-cream war" serves to describe the prevailing sense of this being a trivial sideshow to the real confrontation in Europe. The conflict in East Africa has been taken up by historians and writers as a late playground of empire,

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where perhaps little of real importance could take place. Indeed, the warring parties can be seen to be positioning themselves for postwar colonial advantage in Africa (naturally dependent on the outcome of the conflict in Europe), a strategy consistent with continuation of the great game of imperial expansion. Sometimes this manifested itself as a common fear of native uprisings, which led to a disinclination to engage in all-out war with European rivals, sometimes as a tactical endgame which had the poaching of native allegiances as its objective.

The African campaign threw up some startling anomalies. Bitter colonial rivals and combatants Britain and Germany had on more than one occasion got together to consider dispossessing and carving up amongst themselves the Portuguese colonies in Southern Africa. Portugal was officially neutral until her entry into the war in 1916. But her interests in both Angola and Mozambique meant that that she was de facto in the war in Africa from much earlier. Indeed, anticipating German incursions (according to Freire, 2014, pp. 97–99), the first Portuguese expeditionary force was sent to Mozambique in September 1914. By 1915, Belgium was an occupied country; her government was operating in exile from Le Havre. Yet Belgium continued to administer in central African a landmass 80 times her own size. It had to conduct offensive and defensive operations, however, with resources supplied by its colonial competitor, Great Britain. The Germans in East Africa were for the most part similarly unsupplied from Europe but very much made the best of what they had. Even nearby South Africa had ambitions to dispossess Portugal of Mozambique ports, by swapping them for conquered lands in West African Namibia. And, as Hew Strachan (2004, pp. 111–112) argues, the allies consistently rejected offers of help from the French in Madagascar for fear that France would get a toe-hold in east Africa after the war.

Strategically, the British view was that east Africa should remain passive, leaving sea-lanes open round the cape from India. The Germans, once they lost all capacity to harass the British in the Indian Ocean and the Arabian straits in 1915, were committed to tying up as much military manpower and equipment as they could to prevent its being deployed in more important European theatres of war. Thus, there was a shared belief that this was something of a diversion. Indeed, historians Gilbert and Large (2002, p. 114) describe the conflict in East Africa as "a wild-goose chase for four years". In this article, I shall be arguing that it was a sideshow only to the extent that the military campaign in Europe was of unprecedented carnage; although the military losses in open conflict in Africa were on a modest scale in comparison, their effect was not modest for Africans and that east Africa took decades to recover from the depredations of a pan-European war. Secondly, I will show that the general impression of sideshow was reinforced by literary treatments of the conflict which depict it as a giddy adventure for Europeans. The tone is perhaps best captured by Karen Blixen (using the pen-name Isak Dinesen) in her memoir *Out of Africa* (1937), where the 1st World War gets the most glancing of treatments. Blixen was called upon to help resupply British irregular soldiers during the campaign and so escorted herds of cattle and other goods across African scrubland: This is how she describes these times:

> The roads everywhere were unbelievably bad, deep with dust, and barred with blocks of stone taller than the wagons; later we travelled mostly across the plains. The air of the African highlands went to my head like wine: I was all the time slightly drunk with it, and the joy of these months was indescribable. I had been out on a shooting safari before, but I had not till now been out alone with Africans. (Blixen, 1954, pp. 229–230)

It is a commonplace of the fiction of this time that these feelings are rarely shared with Africans, whose opinions are not consulted. And, naturally, we do not hear who had the task of getting those wagons past those monumental blocks of stone.

The scale of the involvement of African subject peoples in this conflict is given inadvertently by Paul Emil von Lettow-Vorbeck, commander of the German *schutztruppe* in East Africa. Apropos of the hardship endured by his men, he writes:

> It is generally impossible to buy European food; but few Europeans had learnt to live on the vegetable products supplied by the natives or by Nature. Shelter is rarely to be had. Against mosquitos it is, however, imperative to protect oneself. So the white official or soldier seldom travelled with less than eleven carriers, who, besides his tent, camp bed and clothing, also carried a considerable quantity of food. Such large numbers of carriers were, however impossible for a force which was to be mobile. Another difficulty was that nearly every Askari had a boy (…).” (Lettow-Vorbeck, 2012, p. 24)

As the concerns of the African fighting man hardly loom large with von Vorbeck-Lettow compared with those of the European, imagine the anonymity of this additional army of support staff outnumbering Europeans by a factor of over 10 to 1.

Indeed, a few straightforward facts can clear up the extent to which this theatre of war would be considered inconsequential in any other context than that of the 1st World War. The East African campaign took place across a land-mass roughly equivalent to that of Europe. The death toll on the British side is estimated to be around 45,000 men in the field, which rises to around 100,000 if support services were included. Generally speaking, casualty rates were higher amongst askaris, while losses through disease were significantly higher for Europeans (Abbott, 2002, p. 33). The cost of the war to the British Exchequer was roughly the same as the entire British defence budget for 1913, a year when Britain was heavily engaged in rearmament. The Germans, perhaps wisely for the preservation of myths, kept no accurate records but Paice (2007, p. 398) estimates that the death toll in German East Africa was approximately 350,000 lives, 300,000 of which were lost essentially to the *Schutztruppe*n’s practices of raiding and commandeering food and resources from the surrounding community. Most of these casualties died from starvation. Both von Lettow-Vorbeck and the Governor of the colony Heinrich Schnee publically expressed their pride, after the war, at the loyalty and sacrifice of some two million Africans, while neglecting to mention two factors of great importance in this regard. German East Africa was essentially a slave state; consent was neither given on the part of the indigenous population nor was it sought. Secondly, disloyalty was at a low level because an insurrection in 1907 had been put down with such ferocity that nearly 100,000 disaffected African had already been executed by their colonial masters. Britain’s exploitation of African manpower can hardly be regarded as much better. A Colonial Office official is reported as

saying that Britain's conduct of the war "only stopped short of a scandal because the people who suffered mostly were the carriers—and after all who cares about native carriers?" (Paice, 2007, p. 393). British medical officers were court-martialed over their failure to take care of military support personnel, but in the end they were let off with reprimands. All in all, disease and malnutrition accounted for 12 times more casualties than the fighting. A lack of rain in 1917 and 1918 caused crops to fail and this was further compounded in "Black October" 1918, when Spanish Flu arrived in sub-Saharan African. In all, around 2 million people died, 200,000 in British East African (around 10% of the population) and around 300,000 died in war-torn and depleted German East African, significantly more than 10% of the people there). Expressed as a percentage of total population, casualty rates for both the war and the flu epidemic were significantly higher than those in Europe. But of course, at the time no one was counting. It has been left to modern historians to try to recover these figures.

The positions of Britain and South Africa were strengthened after the war. Germany was dispossessed of her colonies in both east and west Africa. South Africa exercised sway to the west and Britain administered German Tanganyika but only as mandated territories, at the insistence of the USA—who would support no further colonial opportunism. But the practical differences for subject populations were negligible. Both Belgium and Portugal found their respective positions weakened by the war's outcome, especially in respect of a newly assertive South Africa and a remonstrating League of Nations (see Alexandre, 2013, p. 33). Having had their country over-run in Europe, Belgium had only been able to muster very modest offensive operations. The Portuguese military had been routinely humiliated by incursions at will into Mozambique by the *Schutztruppen*. Indigenous African populations remained even more disempowered. No African peoples were represented at Versailles. It is possible to argue however that the seeds of African nationalism lay in the events of the First World War. A gathering of 50 African chiefs in 1935 in Machakos (as reported by Paice, 2007, p. 401) made it known that they would not engage in any future conflicts on behalf of European powers which entailed Africans fighting other Africans. And that, essentially, was what the campaign in 1914–18 had been; military engagements between conscripted peoples originating in issues in far-away places they had never nor would ever see. In the case of Britain, it was also large numbers of troops imported from India, for many of whom the African continent was an inhospitable graveyard. Africans were correct to doubt European intentions; western European powers were content to placate Mussolini with conquest in Abyssinia in the year of the Machakos meeting, and there was even a plan to cede Tanganyika back to Germany in 1938 as a dumping ground for Hitler's despised European Jewry. In view of what happened, it is hard to know whether it was fortunate or unfortunate that this plan was abandoned. In any event, Africans were not taken into consideration. By the end of the Second World War many if not most African colonies had emergent liberation movements, often drawing ideological and material support from the Soviet Union —which increased as the Iron Curtain fell and the Cold War began.

Meanwhile back in Europe the full flood of imaginative representations of war experience was beginning to appear. Confrontations formerly represented mainly in poetry and photography were now being recreated in prose fiction and in feature films. Abel Gance's anti-war film *J'accuse* (1919) was shot during the last months of the war using French troops as extras who were still on active service, many of whom were subsequently sent back to the front and died there. It would be fair to say that the African theatre of war did not feature very prominently in these outpourings. Circumstantially, the war in Africa figures in Edgar Rice Burroughs's *Tarzan the Untamed* (1920) and *Tarzan the Terrible* (1921), but neither Boy's Own tale has much to offer on the nature of the conflict beyond some contemporary anti-German sentiment. Imperialist and racist views inevitably underpin these stories. Typically, the American-born Burroughs had never been to Africa and never seen active military service.

It remains therefore to review exactly how works of fiction made by three writers from different generations engaged with it, indeed whether the war has shifted significantly in the public imaginary in the 70 years since hostilities finished in 1918. The three works which will be central to the argument are C.S. Forester's *The African Queen* (1935), Wilbur Smith's *Shout at the Devil* (1968) and William Boyd's *An Ice Cream War* (1982). Although these fictions will be analysed from literary and generic perspectives, in a sense, that which separates the first from the other two is extra-literary. Between *The African Queen* and the other two fell the Second World War, and yet another long-drawn-out campaign in Africa. Because Germany had been stripped of her sub-Saharan colonies, the combat mostly took place in North Africa. The end of the Second World War then saw decolonization processes across the globe gather pace. For this reason, it would seem to be impossible to recollect or recreate the 1914–18 war without some admixture of these new political forces, this new awareness, entering the picture. And there is a curiosity. Although all three writers are white and write in English and in the western tradition, all three are also Africans. As children of the age of empire, all three were born in late-colonial Africa. Forester was born in Cairo, Egypt on the 27th August 1899. Wilbur Smith was born in Broken Hill, Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia) on the 9th January 1933. William Boyd was born in Accra, Gold Coast (now Ghana) on the 7th March 1952. In the case of the latter two, and to some extent that of Forester too (since he cannot have been wholly ignorant of both the rising opposition to British rule around the world or the worsening situation in Europe in the mid-1930s), one might ask to what extent their identification with Africa factors into the way they depict the war for Africans of all colours? At the very least, the war might have been less of a side-show for those with some personal investment in Africa.

The African Queen (1935) is a romantic adventure, but unlike the *Tarzan* stories, it is undertaken with a developed awareness of the historical background. C.S. Forester is one the most popular and accomplished producers of historical novels of the mid-century. His greatest success was his long-running series of Napoleonic-era naval stories based around the character *Hornblower*. Forester felt an affiliation with the British navy and his tale of war-time retribution in German East Africa is

deeply influenced by a curious episode of the war which involved the navy. But in keeping with the form of historical fiction of his time, Forester is careful to fictionalize his sources. All people and place names in *The African Queen* are altered to make it difficult to pin them down, and even when the story climaxes at the point where the story seems to re-enter history, Forester cannot bring himself to name names. So, both in terms of conventions and in terms of narrative, *The African Queen* is the story operating at the greatest distance from the war itself. Even the lakes and rivers which are so central to this tale are disguised.

The story begins with the aftermath of a German raid on a British-run missionary encampment in East Africa. The raiding party have appropriated all the resources of the mission for their war effort and conscripted into active or ancillary war service all the able-bodied people of the settlement. This is the lead missionary's sermon to his empty chapel:

> As he began his customary petition for the blessing of God upon the mission, his voice faltered more and more. The mission, to which they had given their lives, could hardly be said to exist, now that von Hanneken and his troops had descended upon the place and had swept off the entire village, converts and heathens alike, to be soldiers or bearers in the Army of German Central Africa, which he was assembling. Livestock and poultry, pots and pans and foodstuffs, all had been taken, even the portable chapel, leaving only the mission building standing (…) So the weakness vanished from Samuel's voice as he went on to pray that the awful calamity of war which had descended upon the world would soon pass away, that the slaughter and destruction would cease, and that when they had regained their sanity men would turn from war to universal peace. And with the utterance of the last of his petition Samuel's voice grew stronger yet, as he prayed that the Almighty would bless the arms of England and carry her safely through this the severest of all her trials, and would crown her efforts with victory over the godless militarists who had brought about this disaster. (Forester, 1977, p. 6)

This petition begins by addressing the destruction of the mission but finishes with something closer to a commentary on the war back in Europe. It is a feature of nearly all the treatments, and in particular of the treatment of most Germans, that they are seen as in many ways blameless puppets dancing to strings pulled back in Europe. The petition is tinged by personal bitterness; indeed, the missionary Samuel Sayer dies during the next night, but there is over this story an ecumenical spirit- that all Europeans in Africa were caught up in this tragedy but they had only limited responsibility for it. What begins as a mission of revenge miscarries and becomes subverted into something less political. Like Karen Blixen, the conflict in Africa becomes a good war for the missionary's sister, Rose Sayer, as it lifts her out of a life of suspension into one of adventure and purpose. In Africa, where European casualties were much lighter in a bush war of greater mobility, it was still possible to believe in the nobility of force of arms. Rose's final confrontation with the German navy on Lake Tanganyika ends in respect, forgiveness and personal fulfillment.

For a war over the immense land-mass of Africa, the navy plays a critical role in fictional accounts of the war. Rose's objective in *The African Queen* is to overthrow German naval domination of Lake Tanganyika, which constituted the long border with Belgian central Africa and which was the most effective way of moving troops and supplies about. The Germans had a single but considerable gunboat on the Lake

which together with several other lighter vessels gave them control of it. The British sought to challenge this by hauling overland two motor launches carrying 3 lb guns which would be able to sink the heavier, slower steamer. This highly arduous plan was executed with immense labour and loss of life and resulted in the eventual conquest of the lake. The trials of Rose and her companion Charlie Allnutt to get the steamer *African Queen* upriver through rapids, reedy marshland, past dangerous animals and hostile military fortifications, are a displacement of this quest, which occurs in the novel, as it were, off-screen. Having got to the lake and having primed the *Queen* as a floating torpedo, they fail to take account of the wind's effects on the vast lake and so waves simply sink the *Queen* before she can get near her target. The saboteurs are picked up by the German navy and in a magnanimous gesture returned to a British encampment under a white flag. The very next day, the motor launches, reassembled and fitted undetected, attack the gunboat and sink it. What appeared to be an impossible mission for a private citizen is shown to be just that—it remains a job best left to the professionals. Many of the sailors on the gunboat are Africans and they are shown valiantly returning fire before the boat is exploded. The concluding nobility of German forces (of all colours) cancels out the violent feelings of the story's opening; the combatants are all shown to be decent people dealing with a situation imposed on them from the outside. Characteristically for adventure stories, there is no wider picture of military strategy. The military in general are celebrated and the story's two protagonists marry to provide a satisfactory personal conclusion. In the end, boats are sunk in sorrow, not in anger.

The revenge motif is much stronger in Wilbur Smith's *Shout at the Devil*. This is the only one of the three stories to be provided with a stock villain, the German assistant commissioner Herman Fleischer. Indeed, all characterization in the story is at best two-dimensional, but Smith has a much better sense of how dominant white populations related to and exploited their African subordinates. It also has in the depiction of the southern district of German East Africa, a sense of how the German colonial and military effort ravaged the country. Tax gathering, forced labour and the commandeering of resources go on apace in the story. The centre-piece of an action-filled story concerns the sinking of the German battleship *Blücher* blockaded up the Rufiji River but at all times threatening to break out and despoil the shipping routes around east and southern Africa. There is no doubt that the fiction is based on the well-documented (Farwell, 1986, pp. 1927–1960) attempts of the British navy to locate and sink the battleship *Königsberg* that was moored in Dar-es-Salaam when the war broke out and which sank several British cruisers before it was chased into the Rufiji delta. The fiction begins like *TAQ* with a personal feud between Fleischer and Flynn o'Flynn, an Irish-American poacher who resides in Mozambique just over the border but has schemes to poach ivory from the untouched herds of German East Africa (whatever the military-strategic orientation of the story, it has the most horrendous attitude to ecological-conservationist issues). Flynn and his British son-in-law Sebastian Oldsmith are drawn into the war, as Fleischer goes to ever greater extremes to eliminate their activities. These include hangings and random executions of African populations. Noticing the increasing efforts of the Germans to repurpose and move steel across the bush, the protagonists

come to realize that the concealed but damaged *Blücher* is being refurbished for further active service. They are thereafter convinced to spy on and infiltrate this effort in order to make feasible an assault on the *Blücher*. Fleischer is responsible for the death of Oldsmth's baby, Flynn's grandchild, and so his involvement with the recovery of the *Blücher* brings their motive of personal revenge into line with the navy's desire to destroy the ship.

The second half of the novel is more or less dedicated to the operations necessary to locate and destroy the *Blücher*. To this end we have many scenes on board the ship in which we see the war from the perspective of the German navy. These presentations are wholly sympathetic, not least because the patrician German naval officers are deeply offended by the gross behavior of their compatriot Fleischer. Smith's book is clearly researched to the extent that it incorporates documented elements from the war, notably the early use of flying machines to detect the *Königsberg*. Oldsmith becomes the spotter for a Portuguese aviator who flies over the Rufiji and sights the battleship just before they are shot down by its guns.

The Foreword to *Shout at the Devil* cites both a collaborator assisting with the research, Lieutenant Commander Mathers (RN retired), and an antecedent for the actions of the story's lead characters (Colonel 'Jungle Man' Pretorius)—but is at pains to distance the latter from the glamorized heroics of his story. It is clear however that Smith has split the real Pretorius (whom fiction could hardly embellish) into his two lead characters and personalized their motives rather than giving them a strictly military rationale. The approach is thus similar to Forester's but it has the effect of folding the fiction into the history, whereas Forester subordinates his story, aborting it and letting it slink away into private life, as it were in awe of the greater authority of military history.

Smith's is a safari novel which is to some extent taken over by the dictates of the war. The near comedic plot to kill the Kaiser's elephants and steal his ivory from the relative safety of across the Rovuma in Portuguese East Africa, together with an underpowered attempt to equate Flynn with Captain Ahab in his obsessive pursuit of a particular bull elephant, eventually gives way to the novel's serious central mission of blowing up the *Blücher*. In reality, the *Königsberg* was sunk by two British navy shallow-draught monitors, the *Severn* and the *Mersey*, which crept up the Rufiji and, with the aid of airplane spotters, were able to bombard the ship from approximately 10,000 meters away. By this stage its position was well-known, working parties on it having been infiltrated by the allies, including Pretorius. The novel takes these elements and reworks them. Oldsmith is part of the aerial team that at first locates the *Blücher*, and then is "blacked up" to be one of the bearers who resupply the ship. In this capacity, he is able to plant an explosive in its magazine which finally destroys the ship. In its epic destruction, it is possible to read some of the scale of annihilation that we usually associate with the war in Europe. This is the passage in question:

> [The blast] blew sideways through Blucher's watertight bulkheads, crumpling and tearing them like silver paper.
>
> It caught Rosa Oldsmith as she lay (…) She did not even hear it come.

> It caught Herman Fleischer just as he reached the deck, and shredded him to nothingness.
>
> It swept through the engine room and burst the great boilers, releasing millions of cubic feet of scalding steam to race through the ship.
>
> It blew upwards through the deck, lifting the forward gun-turret off its seating, tossing the hundreds of tons of steel high in a cloud of smoke and steam and debris.
>
> It killed every single human being aboard. It did more than merely kill them, it reduced them to gas and minute particles of flesh and bone. Then still unsatisfied, its fury unabated, it blew outwards from *Blücher*'s shattered hulk, a mighty wind that tore the branches from the mangrove forest and stripped it of leaves.
>
> It lifted a column of smoke and flame writhing and twisting into the bright morning sky above the Rufiji delta, and the waves swept out across the river as though from the eye of a hurricane. (Smith, 2012, p. 389)

Although the navy disabled the *Königsberg* permanently, it was in fact scuttled by the Germans but not before most of its cargo was removed or recovered, including its ten 105 mm guns and ammunition, which were transported away to help Von Lettow-Vobeck's land campaign. This fictional image of total cataclysm is in my view Smith's attempt to marry the African to the European conflict, to elevate the war in his home continent to what was happening farther north. It is indicative of his mixed success in this effort that the review of *Shout at the Devil* from the *Evening Standard* quoted approvingly in my 2012 reprint writes of "A violent saga set in Boer War South Africa". Smith's strength is not his historical sense but his locating the story within a specifically African context. His tale begins with an Arab trader in Zanzibar and finishes with Flynn's" chief gun-boy" Mohammed, who as the only survivor, abides and bears witness.

William Boyd's novel *An Ice-Cream War* is the only one to present a fairly full account of the war in east Africa. It begins with the distant but cordial farming arrangement on the Tanganyika-Kenya border that subsisted before the outbreak of war and it concludes with intimations of the Flu epidemic to sweep this part of Africa after the war. Boyd acknowledges the assistance of four named individuals in his research for the novel, but also two institutions—Rhodes House Library, Oxford and the Imperial War Museum, London. This is appropriate because he is careful not to adulterate any matters of historical record but just to work his narrative around them and to insinuate his characters into them. In this respect, he has produced an accomplished portrait of a war—but one as strange and as misdirected as his title suggests.

As its panoramic intentions suggest, it has to be a multi-perspective account. Therefore, the novel has a number of protagonists but essentially it rests on the perceptions of two Britons, the career soldier Gabriel Cobb and his volunteer brother Felix, an American settler, sisal farmer Temple Smith, and his German neighbours, Eric and Liesl von Bishop. The other feature that connects it with more recent treatments of the First World War is its concern for the home front as much as for the war zone. It is keen to register psychological war damage in those who do not fight, or those who wait to hear about the fate of loved ones. Nevertheless, the east African campaign threw up such instances of bizarre conflict that this work like the others could not fail to have a military centre-piece. In this case, it is the battle of Tanga.

The Battle of Tanga was for all practical purposes the beginning of warfare in east Africa. The British had amassed a significant expeditionary force and proposed a sea-borne landing to seize an important German-held port. Duplicating the civilities with which European conflict had begun, the British navy felt duty bound to inform the German authorities of their intention to abrogate the neutrality agreement they had, thus telegraphing their imminent attack. This enabled Lettow-Vorbeck to marshal his forces in just the right place to inflict a heavy defeat on his adversaries. The assault was characterized by incompetence at every level; having brought troops at great cost and labour from India, and having marooned them aboard ship for many months, they were brought ashore without acclimatization and thrown straight into battle. The terrain was inadequately reconnoitered, which left the invading force at a disadvantage. As if walking into prepared hail of fire was not bad enough, the joint British and Indian force was also attacked and driven back by massive swarms of bees—a battlefield event with few precedents. Lettow-Vorbeck (2012, p. 44) estimates that an Anglo-Indian Expeditionary Force of about 8,000 men was routed by a defensive force of 1,000 men, and that the casualties on the English side were around 2,000 men. Boyd duly records all these experiences from close up, in the figure of junior officer Gabriel Cobb. Disorientated and beating a retreat, Cobb unwittingly approaches the enemy and is forced to run:

> Instinctively, he turned on his heels and started to run, a ghastly leaping fear in his heart. He heard shouts from behind. He started to run like a sprinter, as he'd been taught at school, arms pounding and pulling at the air, lifting the knees high. He thumped heavily across the uneven ground, throwing his sun helmet off his head. Faster, he told himself, *faster*, get to the forest, just get back to the forest. He shut his ears to the pursuit, the drumming of feet behind him. 'Don't want to get caught by those jerry niggers,' the North Lancs soldier had said. So: faster, faster.
>
> They caught up with him about twenty yards from the shelter of the trees. They even ran alongside him for a pace or two, far speedier than him in their bare feet, even when encumbered by their rifles and bayonets.
>
> Gabriel ran on regardless. It was all he could do. Then he felt the first bayonet slice into his leg, a slashing, tearing stroke that severed his big rectus femoris muscle in the middle of his thing. He crashed to the ground, squirming and rolling (…). (Boyd, 2012, p. 172–3)

Gabriel does not die, but spends most of the war in a German field hospital, first as a patient and then as an orderly helping war casualties and where he falls in love with Liesl von Bishop, a nurse there. He only dies when he attempts to escape; tracked down and dispatched as effortlessly by the Askaris who had humbled him in his original and only military engagement. Boyd's colonials, Smith and von Bishop, are hardened by their African lives and know how to cope with the country; the new arrivals on the continent are naïve and weak and fall prey to a variety of humiliating deaths. Boyd writes in the tradition of Evelyn Waugh, for whom foreign adventures were awkward miscarriages of purpose and for whom military experience was one of boredom, pointless orders and serio-comic mishaps. The British are unable to defeat Lettow-Vorbeck, because he will not stand and fight

(what Edward Paice accurately describes as a campaign of 'hit and run'), so the war in Africa runs its course without resolution.

Gabriel's brother Felix becomes the detached Waughian observer—without any kind of calling, he has come to Africa to find his lost brother. The search has some urgency because he has had an affair with his brother's wife and she has killed herself out of remorse. In Africa, he meets the gallery of eccentrics who made up the British war effort: psychotics like Bilderbeck, who likes nothing more than to execute his own men when they show signs of cowardice, canny survivor-bureaucrats like Wheech-Browning, the unintelligible Glaswegian sergeant Gilzean and breezy fellow-officer Loveday, spouting schoolboy French. Even allies are drawn into this pattern; Felix works as a liaison officer with the Portuguese forces in east Africa and manages to blow up their genial but idle Capitão Aristedes Pinto, while on a mortar training exercise. American Temple Smith is bent on revenge because the Germans, under the command of his neighbor von Bishop, have spirited away his decorticator, the machine that shreds his sisal plants and makes his subsistence as a farmer possible. But even this campaign of revenge is chimerical—von Bishop dies of Spanish flu before anyone can catch up with him and the decorticator is never seen again.

In the 20th century, film culture has made a rival claim to our attention. *The African Queen*, a modestly successful novella, was made into "a major motion picture" in both the clichéd and the literal sense of the phrase. In the transformation from text to screen, in the difference between telling and showing, the First World War gets somewhat lost. *The African Queen* (1951) is best known as an example of Hollywood going to Africa, in that it is remembered for director-writer John Huston's desire to take his production company Romulus Films and his big stars Humphrey Bogart and Katharine Hepburn into the jungle. There, Huston would abscond from the set to shoot elephant. His screenwriter Peter Viertel memorialized the making of the film in his thinly fictionalized book *White Hunter Black Heart* (1953), which itself became the motion picture *White Hunter Black Heart* (1990) when Clint Eastwood directed and starred as the obsessive John Wilson (Huston). But in a sense the original film was also about its making; like *Apocalypse Now* (1979), it says more about American presumption and *chutzpah* than it does about the war it purports to explain. Allnutt is changed from a cockney to a Canadian to accommodate Bogart's screen persona. Somehow putting normally studio-bound luminaries through the indignities of the African bush is what comes out in the film. And for this they are rewarded with a changed ending. Bogart and Hepburn cannot simply fail; no more can they be rescued by the German or British navies. So although the *Queen* duly sinks, the German gunboat accidentally steers over it and is torpedoed. This happens just in time to prevent the Germans from hanging the couple. Following the Second World War, there was no ecumenical feeling that we had all suffered equally (which to some extent informs Forester's tale), so the German gunboat crew are disagreeable and receive their comeuppance. The necessity to show these realities did not entail being in German East Africa however. The production was set up to the north in British-administered Uganda, near Lake Albert, but on a last-minute whim, Huston shifted it across the border into the

Belgian Congo for the better hunting. Anti-colonial resistance movements were gathering in Tanganyika, Uganda and the Belgian Congo in the 1950s. Within 10 years of the making of *The African Queen*, all these countries would be independent republics. Many would swing violently to the political left; others would descend into recurrent civil wars. The making of *The African Queen*, along with that of Henry King's *The Snows of Kilimanjaro* (1952) and John Ford's *Mogambo* (1953), looks like a last holiday of empire and western entitlement on the continent, barely more than 30 years after the end of the First World War.

The film version of *Shout at the Devil* (1976) speaks to another reality altogether. The white South African Wilbur Smith had his second novel about mercenaries operating in post-independence Congo, *The Dark of the Sun* (1965), made as the film *The Mercenaries* (1968), directed by *The African Queen's* celebrated cameraman Jack Cardiff. For political reasons, the film was shot in Jamaica. He then had his fifth novel *Gold Mine* (1970) made as the film *Gold* (1974) with the cooperation of the South African government. *Gold* was produced by Michael Klinger, who had bought the film rights to both Smith's fourth (*Shout at the Devil*) and fifth novels. It was directed by Peter R. Hunt and starred Roger Moore. Hunt was associated in various capacities with the James Bond franchise and Moore had just recently taken over the role of Bond from Sean Connery. *Gold* had aroused controversy when British film unions refused to work on a film so openly collusive with apartheid. *Shout at the Devil* was the follow-up film made by Klinger, Hunt and Moore and shot largely in the Transkei. This was a Bantustan set up by the apartheid regime to give itself legitimacy by claiming to have created an autonomous nation for the Xhosa-speaking peoples within South Africa. The Bantustan was created in 1976, although its status was not recognised internationally or by the majority black population of South Africa. The cooperation of the people of Transkei is fulsomely celebrated in the film's credits, suggesting the film's support for this political initiative. This is not hard to imagine with such an openly colonialist text. Flynn's plan is to declare the districts of German East Africa which are rich in ivory part of the British Empire. The British are marked as "good" colonialists and the Germans as "bad." Africans respond favourably to benevolent paternalism and unfavourably towards repression. They never fail to take orders from the white man however. One of the marks of late-colonial cinema is "blackface". Whenever a native character is of any importance or the repository of wisdom, they are played by white actors in make-up. British classical actor Ian Holm plays Mohamed in dark make-up, as Alec Guinness was controversially to play Dr Godbole in David Lean's *A Passage to India* (1984), the absolute swan-song of this practice. The details of the war do not fare much more favourably. In order to use a Portuguese plane to reconnoiter the *Blücher*, the film has to introduce Portugal into the war much earlier than its real entry date in 1916.

To date, the novel *An Ice-Cream War* has not been made into a film. It is possible to hazard a guess why. The novel treats the whole campaign with some detail. It has four sections: Before the War (six chapters, with each chapter having both a date and a location), The War (eighteen chapters), The Ice-Cream War (ten chapters) and After the War (five chapters). No film versions of the war in East Africa have dwelt upon

more than an incident from the war. Even *Out of Africa* (1985) has the solitary episode of Karen Blixen accompanying the supply ox-train (the one cited at the beginning of this article) and then passes rapidly on to the post war period. Boyd's careful location of his action in real places and in real time adumbrates a campaign arguably both spread out and perplexing for viewers. In contrast, a contemporary review by Roger Eberts of the film *Shout at the Devil* suggested that it was an old-fashioned film designed for 12-year-olds. Boyd has however remained faithful to the continent of his birth and to his interest in the First World War.

Boyd wrote his first novel, *A Good Man in Africa* (1981) and *Brazzaville Beach* (1990), set in western and central Africa respectively. He has also written the panoramic novels *New Confessions* (1987) and *Any Human Heart* (2002), significant portions of which are either set in Africa or deal with the First World War. In addition, he has adapted Evelyn Waugh's Abyssinia satire *Scoop* (1938) for television (1987), Waugh's Second World War trilogy *Sword of Honour* (1952–61) for the same medium (2001) and Joyce Cary's Nigeria novel *Mister Johnson* (1938) for the big screen (1990). More notable as a challenging undertaking was his film *The Trench* (1999), where the novelist and screenwriter turned director to make his own film about the harsh realities of the First World War. An extremely worthy film, it nevertheless fails to escape the overwhelmingly 'established' nature of trench war in Europe. As Pierre Sorlin writes,

> however arguable they are, the clichés of the Great War are part of the accepted knowledge about the conflict. In pictures, the War has turned into a myth. It is like a Greek tragedy: we can tell the story again and again; we can create new characters and new circumstances; but we can change neither the plot nor the symbols which define the period. Complex gripping films camouflage their background but, once one begins to look for it, simply repeat old images which cannot move us deeply since we have long been accustomed to them. (Sorlin, 2000, p. 22)

The 1914–18 war in East Africa by no means suffers from this level of over-exposure. But it does ask us to understand realities other than our own and to sympathise with peoples not ourselves. This we have signally failed to do, on both page and screen. The books, even with their avowed commitment to the historical record, have tended to hide Africans from view in this conflict and have offered no reckoning as to its cost in human life. The films have not genuflected to history quite so much but have allowed Africa to become an exotic space where white couples come together in romantic adventures, or white exiles can atone for their personal failings. Some kind of history of the period nevertheless does come into view in these texts, but it is still one dominated by Euro-centricity and a sense that the real drama was happening somewhere else.

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"An Impossible Thing": Danish Neutrality in the First World War, Its Causes and Consequences

David Schauffler

Abstract During the First World War, the Danish government carried out a foreign policy which had been first in debate, and later in preparation, since the country's defeat by Prussia and Austria in the War of 1864. This policy was one which the author calls "soft" neutrality; namely, a policy of neutrality whose success depended upon a degree of accommodation with the respective belligerents, rather than the threat of fierce resistance in the event of its violation. The left-wing governments of Denmark deemed it impossible to defend the country in the event of an invasion; they resolved, therefore, to avert hostilities by convincing both the Central Powers and the western Allies that their own interests lay in respecting Denmark's peaceful neutrality. The policy proved eminently successful in the First World War, but this experience left the same politicians ill equipped to judge the quite different conditions they would face during the Second World War.

1 Introduction

It is easily seen that minor historical events, and even, as with the present subject, what might be called historical non-events, when examined closely, reveal a high degree of complexity and yield a large number of ramifications. Such is the case with the policy of neutrality pursued by Denmark before and during the First World War. This policy and its successful outcome, which gets little attention even from Danish historians (far less, certainly, than the fraught issues of the invasion and

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occupation during the Second World War), and is virtually ignored by international historians,[1] is not only complex in itself, connecting many themes of modern Danish history, but has both theoretical and practical import, providing an illustration of the outlines of neutrality theory. In a paper of this length it is impossible to cover the story in detail, and my purpose is simply to sketch in summary fashion those features of it that might interest an international readership at the present day. The paper is divided into four parts, corresponding to four distinct aspects of the issue seen as a whole, namely: (1) features of neutrality; (2) the situation of Denmark in the years 1864–1914; (3) the experience of the war, and (4) some consequences. My aim is to provide a brief overview of why Denmark decided on a policy of neutrality, the nature of that policy, and what came of it.

2 Neutrality

Neutrality is not pacifism. This may be an obvious point, but it warrants emphasis because I will draw a distinction between two kinds of political/military neutrality that may seem almost indistinguishable in practice, but that are clearly opposed in principle, one pointing away from pacifism and depending, in effect, upon a recourse to armed struggle; the other pointing towards doctrines of non-resistance or pacifism and in some cases perhaps merging into them.

The first of these policies I will call "hard" neutrality; it is the maintenance of a neutral stance that depends upon military strength (or some other capacity for self-defense), and is premised upon the calculation that a violation of neutrality by a belligerent power will result in losses to that power that will outweigh any advantage it may gain by the violation.[2] This is, in fact, the usual deterrent defense employed as a matter of course by major military powers, for which reason its role in the policy of political neutrality declared by a minor power needs to be further clarified. A policy of "hard" neutrality, if adopted by a small power depends, in order to be efficacious, on supplementary conditions. Among these may be geographic, climatic, and other physical factors that aid military resistance, offsetting the force advantages of the aggressor, and perhaps making it impossible fully to occupy or pacify the invaded neutral. "Hard" neutrality may also be bolstered by a

[1]The neutrality of the then three sovereign Scandinavian countries attracts little interest from English language historians of the First World War. Christopher Clark's recent study of the lead-up to the war, *The Sleepwalkers*, devotes just two paragraphs to the diplomatic stance of Sweden, and Denmark and Norway are hardly mentioned (Clark, 2012, pp. 499–500). On the other hand, the diplomacy conducted by all three Scandinavian countries relative to Russia, Britain and Germany is discussed at length by Salmon (1997).

[2]The meaning of the term I use here, "hard" neutrality, overlaps with the often-employed and seemingly more specific term "armed" neutrality. I avoid the latter, however, because in fact it is less specific; it fails to distinguish between a neutrality which is based in principle upon armed defense and the losses this will cause a violator, and a neutrality which, while perhaps also anticipating armed resistance, is based upon other principles.

strategic or economic position that is of little, or uncertain, value to potential aggressors; the lower the benefit of violating a country's neutrality, the lower the acceptable cost of the venture, and the higher, therefore, the value of the deterrent. Likewise, a diplomatic regime in which violation of a country's neutrality by one belligerent would lead another belligerent, or any third party, to send military aid to the former neutral, would bolster the credibility of the "hard" deterrent. On the other hand, if neutrality is proclaimed by a country that harbors irredentist tendencies, or that has any bone of contention with a neighboring power, the military preparedness implicit in the policy could be taken by that power as a provocation or threat, which should be met with a preemptive attack. A minor power, if adopting a policy of "hard" neutrality, therefore, can best do so when, for the reasons given, the costs (military and other) to a belligerent of violating the neutrality are likely to be high, and the motives for doing so are weak.

In contrast to "hard" neutrality we may name another approach, or spectrum of approaches, "soft": in this the threat of military resistance plays a less overt role in the catalogue of tools meant to secure the country's neutrality. Here the calculation of the neutral power's policymakers might include the following factors: (1) the country is geographically vulnerable; (2) it cannot maintain a military establishment that could repulse (or even contest) an invasion; (3) a degree of control over the neutral country might be of decisive strategic significance to one of the belligerents, but the neutral is willing to make accommodation to that degree; and (4) there are reasons to believe that a "hard" neutral stance may be seen by a neighbor as a hostile measure or as the prelude to an opportunistic abandonment of neutrality.

Before turning to the case of Denmark in the First World War, we may identify three general attitudes of neutrality, apart from military/strategic considerations, that can play a part in the formulation of policy. First, there is more or less frank isolationism, that is, a conviction that the neutral country is not involved in the quarrels that separate the (potential) belligerents and does not want to be involved in them; second, what I will call accommodationism, a sense that no involvement in a potential or incipient conflict can result in benefits to the country or its population, that would outweigh the likely costs, and therefore should be avoided by all practical means; and third—to return to the theme broached at the head of this section—pacifism, which, itself a sufficiently complex notion, can here be identified both with a popular feeling that the suffering incurred in this or that anticipated conflict will be an unjustifiable waste, and the more principled theory that warfare is always and inherently barbaric and should be neither engaged in nor encouraged. It is clear that all three of these attitudes, and variants of them, might be found distributed among both the general populations and the governments of neutral states.

3 Denmark After 1864

The historical consciousness of small countries not infrequently harbours the memory of events or circumstances that have played a decisive role in the history of those countries, but which go unremarked or even unknown in the world at large. For Denmark, the keystone of its modern history is unquestionably the War of 1864 (also known as the Second Schleswig War) between Denmark and the combined forces of Prussia and Austria, which was fought to resolve the status of the three quasi-autonomous duchies of the lower Jutland peninsula, Schleswig, Holstein, and Lauenburg. This war ended in a complete Danish defeat and can be seen as the final step in the country's protracted, three-century-long decline from dominant Baltic power to small and rather insignificant statelet.

The war from a Europe-wide standpoint was a minor affair: Prussian and Austrian forces began their invasion at the beginning of February, 1864, and hostilities had ceased by the middle of July. The Danes were quickly winkled out of their archaic defensive barrier, the "Dannevirke," south of the town of Schleswig, but then the bulk of their modest forces dug into defensive lines at Dybbøl, opposite Sønderborg on the island of Als (just north of today's German/Danish frontier), and it was not until April 18th that a Prussian assault managed to carry this position, after which desultory action continued across Als and central Jutland for several weeks. Total casualties in the fighting (the Danes lost 3,078 killed and 3,151 wounded; the Prussians and Austrians somewhat fewer) were low, and certainly dwarfed by the carnage of the Crimea and the Italian wars of the 1850s, and the even more immense losses incurred in the concurrent American Civil War (Sauntved & Eberhardt, 2007, p. 214).[3] The small Danish army had fought stoically and there was no military collapse, yet the peace that was signed at Vienna in October of the year reflected the overwhelming superiority of force that the German allies could bring to bear and their total strategic victory. The terms were literally dictated by Prussia, which threatened military occupation of the country should the Danes prove recalcitrant. Denmark was forced to cede 40 percent of her pre-war territory and a similar proportion of her population. (The treaty settled the frontier along the Konge River and thence east to Kolding on the Little Belt, 65 km north of the current border.) While the southern duchies of Holstein and Lauenburg were ethnically German and their loss, in an epoch of nationalism, could be accepted and even justified, the northern half of the province of Slesvig (Schleswig) contained some 250,000 Danish speakers, and their exile under Prussian (later Imperial German) sovereignty became for many Danes a political and emotional fixation over the following decades. To emphasize its integrity with the rest of Denmark, the lost region came to be known as Sønderjylland (South Jutland), and Henrik

[3]Other sources give slightly differing figures. Sauntved & Eberhardt (2007, p. 213) also supply the figure of 250,000 Danish speakers (see below) in occupied South Jutland though elsewhere they cite the number 200,000 (p. 13).

Pontoppidan was later famously to call it "a stolen daughter deeply mourned" (Sauntved & Eberhardt, 2007, p. 12).[4]

The word "trauma" is often applied to the defeat of 1864, and if psychology can be imputed to a collectivity, the application is apt. The psychological character of the trauma is that of a deeply impressive experience which, for various reasons, cannot be successfully integrated into the narrative of the self; that is, it is an experience whose importance can only be utilized through a fundamental change in the psyche, and which, therefore, leads at first not to an integrated response but to a range of conflicting aims. This describes the Danish social and strategic reaction to the war. Ole Kreiberg, in an essay on the origins of Denmark's modern foreign policy, puts the country's 19th-century experience in near-psychological terms:

> (…) [The] circumstances that forced Denmark out of neutrality and into confrontation with the great powers brought catastrophic defeats in their wake. The burning of Copenhagen and the surrender of the Danish fleet in 1807 both was a humiliation and also brought to an end a period of flourishing trade, and heralded the start of grim economic times. The next time that Denmark was dragged into confrontation with great powers was with Prussia and Austria in 1864, and this too ended with a catastrophic and humiliating defeat, which came to put a decisive mark upon the Danish national consciousness in the years to come. It is in this light that one should look at Denmark's behavior during the two World Wars. She wanted at all costs to avoid a military confrontation with the warring powers, while at the same time, as a neutral country she had nothing against gaining something from the conflicts. (Kreiberg, n.d.)[5]

The immediate response of both the military and political establishment was to seek a chance to recover some, if not all, of the lost territory, anticipating French military aid; these plans, which from the outset were widely criticized as foolish (Frandsen, 2011), were abandoned after the French defeat in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–1871 (Sauntved & Eberhardt, 2007, pp. 220–224).[6] While the lost provinces continued to exercise a kind of fascination over politicians and population alike, it was increasingly apparent, especially after German unification, that Denmark's very existence as an independent nation was, in a real sense, maintained at the sufferance of Germany. Prussia in 1864 had not only despoiled the country; it had seemingly demonstrated that Denmark was incapable of securing, by military means, her own borders or indeed her independence. This situation is described by Uffe Østergård:

> The Danes learned from 1864 that a small country cannot alone defend itself against a great power. After the Prussian military machine had smashed the French in 1870, Denmark was helplessly isolated. The ongoing advances in military technology made the attempt to defend the land even more hopeless; even if this weren't acknowledged, and at great

[4]The poem was actually composed in 1918, on the eve of South Jutland's return to Denmark, and the first two lines run in full: "Det lyder som et eventyr, et sagn fra gamle dage:/ En røvet datter dybt begraedt er kommet frelst tilbage!" ("It sounds as from a fairy-tale, a legend from of old:/ A stolen daughter, deeply mourned, has joyfully come home!").

[5]The "something" to be gained that the writer refers to was, of course, South Jutland.

[6]It need hardly be added that Danish irredentism *vis-à-vis* South Jutland came eerily to resemble, even to the details of its iconography, the French *revanchisme* directed towards Alsace and Lorraine.

> political and economic expense fortifications were to be built around Copenhagen, they would become obsolete even before they were completed, due to the ever-increasing range of ordnance. From the 1880s on, the question became whether Denmark could and should defend herself at all – one of the most powerful controversies in Danish politics. (Østergård, 2011, p. 39)

This controversy played itself out against the background of Danish domestic politics, with which it was enmeshed. It should be remembered that foreign and military policy occupied the periphery of the main field of political dispute in the country, which was centered on constitutional reform and expansion of the franchise (see Lidegaard, 2003, pp. 12–16). Nils Arne Sørensen points out that while the principle of neutrality was accepted across the political spectrum, the defense question ran down its centre, adding to the differences that divided right from left:

> The political consensus on neutralism did not include defense policy. Whereas conservatives argued in favor of a strong defense centered on Copenhagen, liberals were highly skeptical. Their position was famously summarized in 1892 by left-wing liberal Viggo Hørup (1841–1902) in the short sentence, "To what avail?"[7] pointing to the improbability of Denmark being able to wage a successful defensive war against Germany. This deep disagreement on defense was a key issue in the long political struggle between conservatives and liberals from 1870 to the early 20th century. (Sørensen, n.d.)

But the fulcrum of Danish politics moved, during this period, decisively to the left, and consequently the arguments for a position of "softer" neutrality grew more insistent and found wider appeal. The above-mentioned Viggo Hørup, considered to be the godfather of the modern Danish left, vigorously opposed, as Sørensen notes, the conservative plans for "hard" neutrality, and he was joined in the later 1890s by such figures as Fredrik Bajer (1837–1922), Niels Petersen (1858–1933) and, above all, P. Munch.[8]

Peter Munch (1870–1948)[9] is considered, along with Erik Scavenius, the chief architect of Denmark's foreign policy in the first half of the 20th century and, while Scavenius was a diplomat, Munch was a historian and theoretician, and Denmark's defense policy in the decade preceding the First World War can be extrapolated from his writings.[10] Having completed a Ph.D. in history in 1900, he became a co-founder of the Radical Left Party (Det radikale Venstre) in 1905, and churned out a stream of articles, based on his historical studies, that argued an extreme

[7]Danish: "Hvad skald det nytte?"—more colloquially, "What's the use?".

[8]For information on Hørup and his political career, see *Dansk biografisk leksikon* (1981); the neutrality and defense policy views of Fredrik Bajer and Niels Petersen are explored in depth in Gram-Skjoldager, K. (2012), pp. 39–67. See also discussion below.

[9]Peter Munch is referred to by seeming consensus among Danish historians as "P. Munch"—allegedly in tribute to his forbidding personal reserve. Whatever the reason for this custom, it will also be followed here.

[10]Many of these are cited in Staur (1981–1982), e.g.: "Tyskland og dets Kejser. Det ny Aarhundrede" (p. 103), "Det nye Tyskland. Tilskueren" (p. 103), Hvad Valgene gaelder" (p. 104), Danmark under en stormagtskrig" (p. 107), "Småstat mellem stormagter" p. 108), "Danmarks Selvstaendighed" (p. 110), "Hvad laerer Historien Danmark?" (p. 111), "Danmarks neutralitetspligter" (p. 113).

progressive position in both domestic and foreign affairs. "He understood history as a struggle between two political principles. The one was a ruthless self-assertion, on the part both of nations and of classes, which was based upon military might and authority. The other—which he took himself to be speaking for—was fellow-feeling among individuals, classes, and likewise among nations. He saw his task as a historian to put this teaching to the use of the present and of the future" (Aarhus Universitet, n.d.). Munch's philosophy put him squarely at the left end of the spectrum of opinion on neutrality and defense; he became the standard-bearer of the view not only that Denmark could maintain her neutrality by forswearing military action, but that she could maintain it *only* by doing so.

To apply to the difference in Danish political thinking the distinction I drew earlier, the conservative, "hard" neutrality plan (though it was not, perhaps, in military terms very hard at all) was as follows: except for delaying action, Jutland and the central islands were to be abandoned to the invader—Imperial Germany was the only great power considered for this role in military planning—and a defensive perimeter established around Copenhagen and north Sjaelland, where, it was hoped, the Danish army could hold out, and the government survive intact, until aid arrived from the invader's opponents.[11]

It was in opposition to this neutrality strategy, voiced both by the conservative Højre (Right) Party and by left-moderates such as Bajer, that P. Munch formulated his own view in a series of pre-war articles, the import of which could be summed up in the well-known remark that has been borrowed for the title of this paper: "A secure defense is an impossible thing; it cannot be attained in Denmark" (quoted in Lidegaard, 2003, p. 20).[12] It was Munch's conviction that any entry into hostilities would be a disaster for the country; as he put it elsewhere, in an oracular vein, "Keep ye out of war and what it brings; war will go ill with you" (quoted in Staur (1981–1982)).[13] Munch and his ideological allies (perhaps under the influence of the nascent pan-Scandinavian peace movement[14]) had applied a different analysis to Denmark's strategic situation, and consequently had arrived at a different

[11]The alliances that existed at the outbreak of World War I were not finally established until 1907, and Danish defensive thinking had thus to remain somewhat vague on who Germany's opponents would, precisely, be, and therefore on whence help might actually come (except France, which was unlikely to be able to provide any). For the shifting great power alliances see, e.g., Clark (2012), pp. 121–167. The "hard" defense plan is adumbrated by Bo Lidegaard: "The idea was to have a place where, in the case of an attack, it would be possible to hold out until help should come, which in practice would mean to hold out against Germany, until one or more of the other great powers, in their own interest, joined the combat and came to Denmark's rescue" (Lidegaard, 2003, pp. 16–17).

[12]"Et forsvarligt Forsvar er en Umulighed, det kan ikke fremskaffes i Danmark". The same declaration appears in a slightly different form in Staur (1981–1982), p. 112: "Et forsvarlight forsvar er en umulighed, det kan ikke fremtrylles i Danmark" ("A secure defense is an impossible thing; it cannot be conjured up in Denmark").

[13]"Hold Jer fra krigen og hvad dens er; I krig går det Jer ilde".

[14]For an account of this movement and its influence upon Scandinavian pre-war politics, see Ringsby (2012).

conclusion, than those in the conservative and moderate camps. Where the latter saw the stance of neutrality tactically, and so concentrated their thinking on a military response to its eventual violation, Munch and the radicals, deeming no successful military action possible, concentrated upon the strategic aspect of neutrality, believing that to maintain it was the only way Denmark could "win" a conflict between the great powers.

This position entailed two postulates. First, that Germany was malevolently disposed towards Denmark or—which would come to the same thing—believed Denmark to be so disposed towards her, and was thus, in either case, ready as well as able to violate Denmark's neutrality at any time in order to secure her own interests. Those interests included (1) closing the Baltic Sea against incursion by the Royal Navy and preventing combined British/Russian cooperation in Scandinavian waters, (2) forestalling the opening of a northern land front, and (3) ensuring the flow of Danish foodstuffs to the German market. On the assumption that failure to guarantee to Germany these interests would provoke a German attack, and that, in turn, a German attack would be both irresistible and disastrous, Munch formulated a policy of preventive accommodation to preserve neutrality and with it, national sovereignty. This meant above all that neutrality could not be used (or perceived) as a mere opportunistic stance: "The chief question—that which would determine whether Denmark would yet be dragged into an English-German conflict—was the great powers', and especially Germany's, confidence in the credibility of Denmark's declared neutrality" (Staur, 1981–1982, p. 107). If military preparation for defense of the country, or the capital, were undertaken in too energetic a fashion, this would conceivably suggest that an attack was expected. And if an attack was expected, a suspicious foreign government could conclude it was because the Danes were doing or planning something that they knew would justify such an attack: "The stronger the Danish military, the stronger too would be the German impulse to attack Denmark at an early stage of a European conflict" (Kreiberg, n.d.). Precisely strength, therefore, was in Munch's view what Danish defense must forswear: "Munch stressed, again and again, that it came to just *one* thing: to cause Germany to refrain from launching an attack on Denmark as soon as a war between the great powers should break out" (Staur, 1981–1982, p. 108).

The second postulate that underlay Munch's conception of neutrality was the idea about how to respond to an attack, should it come. For if the effort to maintain neutrality entailed reducing the armed forces and decreasing preparations for defense, then, if those efforts failed, the military response to an attack would be still less effective than otherwise, and its outcome still more disastrous. Here Munch's thinking dovetailed with the doctrines of passive resistance that were beginning to be formulated in pacifist circles. That such doctrines might have been taken at the time for insipid defeatism is acknowledged by Bo Lidegaard, who refutes the insinuation:

> Against the background of P. Munch's and the other Radical leaders' boundless skepticism regarding the possibility of a military defense, there is the tendency to make them out to be defense nihilists, including in this sense, that they did not believe that Denmark either could or should be defended against foreign invasion or occupation. Nothing could be more

> mistaken. P. Munch was, on the contrary, a keen spokesman for strengthening civil defense exactly there, where in his view it could be of real use. Around the turn of the century he had begun to work on the idea that defense, which in a military sense could never be anything but a dangerous illusion, could have a real, indeed, a decisive significance in the national and cultural realm. The alternative to militarism was "the confidence in Danish Culture's ability to give our nationhood that safety, which never can be assured by the Danish State." (Lidegaard, 2003, p. 21)

What Munch seems to have had in mind was a conception of an overrun and occupied Denmark in which the national community could survive, and even flourish, while deprived of sovereignty and political autonomy. Cultivation of national customs and habits, artistic productivity, maintenance of local educational norms, preservation of national pride and feeling, the upkeep of social bonds and loyalties—all these things, carried out (clandestinely, if need be) by the civil population and complemented by an austere contempt for the occupier and his organs, could guarantee the nation's survival in a way that, for a country in Denmark's position, the state and its military arm could never do.

This conception ought, certainly, to be viewed in light of Denmark's prospects at the turn of the 20th century, when the gruesome histories of Nazi and Soviet occupations of their small neighbors were still unknown and perhaps unimaginable; the only prospective occupier of Denmark was Wilhelmine Germany, under whom the rule of law, to some extent, and the norms of an advanced society, would be assumed to obtain. An obvious, and maybe inspiring, model for Munch and other advocates of this civil defense policy can have been that of Poland, which, though wiped off the political map by Prussia, Russia and Austria in the 18th century, survived as a nation, and flourished as a culture, in the 19th century, despite political repression and social persecution. At the time that Munch was formulating his ideas, in the first decade of the 20th century, there was re-emerging in the Polish lands a vigorous sense of autonomy which came to full fruit in 1918, when the country regained independence with its national and cultural identity intact, or indeed enhanced. Whether or not Munch had this example in mind, his plan for national survival in case of occupation has much in common with the one propagated by Polish positivists of the late 19th century, who created a program of "organic work"—cautious, patient tending of the national spirit and cultural tradition, and diligent individual self-betterment—rather than armed rebellion against the political/military occupier. Munch put his case in these terms:

> Mockery often greets the proposition that it is with culture, and not with arms, that we shall defend ourselves. But that mockery comes from those who lack the ability to understand the proposition's meaning. The meaning clearly is not that their weapons shall fall from the enemies' hands out of respect for our culture. It is obvious that no culture, be it ever so high, can secure a state's existence as such. But at the same time a free and inquisitive culture, which brings together all the elements of a people, can assure the survival of that people's national life even should the misfortune come upon us, that our state must bend to the aggressor's will in the brutal system of war and conquest. (Quoted in Lidegaard, 2003, pp. 21–22)

The defense theory developed by Munch and his colleagues was proferred from the political opposition, but in May, 1913 a parliamentary election was held in which, confirming a leftward drift in the Danish electorate, the Radical Left and their allies the Social Democrats won a combined 63 seats in the Folketing, and in June a coalition government was formed, led by Justice Minister Carl Theodor Zahle, with non-aligned diplomat Erik Scavenius as Foreign Minister, and P. Munch himself as Minister of Defense.[15] Munch's version of "soft" neutrality and accommodation with Germany was put into practice just a year before the outbreak of the war.

4 The Experience of the War

The outbreak of World War I was met in Denmark with the same combination of surprise and foreboding as elsewhere. Thomas Dinesen, younger brother of the writer Karen Blixen, begins his memoir with the almost obligatory description of an idyllic summer over which the storm, hardly seen approaching, suddenly breaks:

> We had sailed in my yacht around Sjaelland in the warm days and mild, light nights in that summer of 1914, in and out of the fjords; we had lain through the night on the deck in shirts and linen trousers, watching the red northern sky turn in the east, and now on the 24th of July we came home to the anchorage at Rungsted, in the evening. "Nothing new has happened in the world – oh, it's true, there is some kind of mess down in the Balkans – Austria has sent Serbia an ultimatum; no one can tell what it may come to." (…) A week later, Europe went up in flames. (Dinesen, 2014 (1929), p. 1)

Dinesen was convinced that the war was a struggle for the future of civilization, which lay with the western allies; he shipped out to Canada and joined the Canadian Army (and later won the Victoria Cross). His vigorous Manichean view of the conflict was not widely shared, though scores of other Danes volunteered, like him, for service in the allied armies.[16] Most people, while sympathy was broadly with the allies, were more worried about the preservation of neutrality and the prospect of being drawn into the war.

This was also, obviously, the foremost concern of the government. Britain and Germany were vitally interested in Denmark's position, both political and geographic; the situation seemed to highlight P. Munch's emphasis on the idea that neutrality could not be seen as a cover for clandestine (or anticipatory) support for

[15]The 1913 election results for the Folketing were: Højre (Right)—7, Venstre (Left)—44, Radikale Venstre (Radical Left)—31, Socialdemokratiet (Social Democracy)—32. (In 1915 Højre became the Konservative Folkeparti (Conservative People's Party). The Radikale Venstre, which exists to this day, is now termed in English the Social Liberal Party, but is referred to as the Radical Left in this paper.) Figures are from Skou (1999) (no page numbers).

[16]Dansk Center for Byhistorie, on its website devoted to the war, claims that "around 85 Danes served in the French army, mostly in the French Foreign Legion" (Dansk Center for Byhistorie (n. d.)). It is probable that a similar number joined British and Dominion forces.

one of the combatants, but must be shown to be earnest and principled. On August 1, King Christian X issued a proclamation of intent: "Our country has friendly relations with all nations. We are confident that the strict and unbiased neutrality that has always been the foreign policy of our country and that will still be followed without hesitation will be appreciated by everyone" (quoted in Sørensen (n.d.). But of course the country's neutrality *was* biased, and it was the peculiar configuration of that bias that lends added interest to the story of the policy.

While, as has been said, sympathy was largely with the allies, and the army had been preparing, or debating preparation, for a German invasion for decades, Munch's neutrality formula called for accommodating Germany in light of her strategic imperatives, as far as circumstances permitted. The first occasion came in early August, when the German Navy—determined to prevent British access to the Baltic—began to mine the Langelands Belt along Denmark's southern coast. On August 5th the German ambassador, Count Ulrich Brockdorff-Rantzau, delivered an oral inquiry, whether "Denmark intended immediately to effectively close the Great Belt [by laying mines] against both of the contending powers"—Germany and Britain. Frantic consultation followed, and the cabinet concluded that if the Danes did not mine their own waters, the Germans would go ahead and do it themselves, and might also occupy Danish territory. Consequently, late on the 5th the decision was taken to mine Danish waters and thus shut off surface traffic in and out of the Baltic through the Belts and the Sund (the German Navy could, of course, use the Kiel Canal, completed in 1895). Scavenius, the foreign minister, reported to the British and German ambassadors, "To insist upon neutrality and to keep military operations at a distance from Danish waters and coasts, and to protect the connections between disparate parts of the country, the Danish government has decided to close the Danish territorial waters in the Sund and the Great and Little Belts" (quoted in Balsved (n.d.)).[17] Because this action was taken at the behest, or indeed insistence, of Germany and was strategically meant to frustrate British operations, it in effect violated "unbiased" neutrality but, according to Munch's theory, it would prevent German occupation of the country and thus in the long run serve the allied interest, as well as Denmark's own. Nonetheless, King Christian X dispatched a personal message of reassurance to his cousin, King George V (another characteristic, or stereotypical, example of the diplomacy of the epoch):

> Dear George,
>
> In these extraordinary and unfortunate Circumstances have I and my Government, in order to preserve Denmark's Neutrality and so far as is possible to keep War operations at a distance from Danish Territory, determined to close the Great Belt, also the Danish part of the Sund and likewise the Little Belt. This happens as a consequence of Circumstances, that You, knowing my Devotion for you, will be able to understand.
>
> Christian
>
> (quoted in Balsved (n.d.)).

[17]Information on the laying of the mines is taken from the same source and from Lidegaard (2003), pp. 44–47. The episode is treated in great detail by Branner (2010).

It might be argued that it was in fact the British attitude towards Danish neutrality (and subtle Danish cultivation of that attitude, expressed in the subtext of Christian's note) that was the key to the success of the policy. Patrick Salmon writes: "That British and German anxiety over the position of Denmark at the entrance to the Baltic did not result in a violation of Danish neutrality by either power during the First World War may have been due in part to skillful Danish diplomacy" (Salmon, 1997, p. 4). This diplomacy was entrusted to Scavenius, "a supple, energetic foreign minister, ready to seize opportunities, who by his diplomacy achieved the goal that in all quarters there was complete unity on: to keep Denmark out of the war" (Aarhus Universitet (n.d.)). The voluminous literature on Scavenius focuses today on his controversial role as head of government during World War II, but his actions during World War I do not breed much controversy.[18] He was to convince the Germans that Denmark would neither herself present a threat to Germany, nor allow such a threat to be presented from Danish waters or Danish soil, and at the same time, as suggested above, to reassure the British that Denmark's accommodation with Germany was a matter of necessity, and that a neutral, unoccupied Denmark better served allied operations and war interests, than would a Denmark occupied by Germany and, in such circumstances, forced into collaboration. To bolster this view at the largely sympathetic British Foreign Office Scavenius in September, 1914 secretly dispatched H.N. Andersen to London where he met with Sir Edward Grey and other members of the Asquith cabinet, explaining the delicate line that Denmark was forced to walk.[19]

The war remained beyond Denmark's borders—"southern thunder" as Nils Arne Sørensen refers to it, taking the phrase from a postwar novel by Jacob Paludan (Sørensen (n.d.)—but the effect on national life was marked. Foodstuffs were exported in large quantities to Germany, which came to be in ever more desperate need of them, and unscrupulous Danish traders who profited from packing jars of prepared meat with undiscoverable ingredients were termed "Goulasch Barons." In 1916, the Danish West Indies were sold to the United States (becoming the U.S. Virgin islands). Iceland and the Faroes were granted greater autonomy and hosted, and in effect were occupied by, the Royal Navy. Denmark's own little navy tended the minefields in the Belts, under the watchful gaze of German units. A serious infringement of neutrality that the government could not protest with force was the sinking of merchant ships by German U-boats with grievous loss of life; 722 Danish civilian sailors were lost at sea during the course of the war.[20]

The Danish army (Sikringsstyrken—the Security Force) was called up in stages beginning in August 1914; about 58,000 men were eventually mobilized (Sørensen (n.d.)). This was partly a reflex action by the Danish high command, since the government was far from decided on what to do in the event of a real German

[18]But see, for example, Mikkelsen (2014).

[19]For the details of this mission see: Lidegaard (2003), pp. 49–52.

[20]The figure comes from Dansk Center for Byhistorie. Similar, but greater, numbers of seamen were lost in the same fashion by Denmark's fellow neutrals Norway and Sweden.

incursion. All but 10,000 were sent to encampments outside Copenhagen, where they listlessly dug entrenchments in a desultory execution of the "hard" neutrality plan espoused by the conservatives, which the military staff had never given up.

> As time passed (…) a power struggle between military leadership and the Secretary of Defence [P. Munch] followed. Officers wanted to maintain the mobilized force, while the government found it both useless and too expensive to continue the level of mobilization reached in the early phases of the war. Furthermore, discipline in the army units was a growing problem as many of the conscripts found the task of defending the capital against a seemingly non-existent enemy pointless. The number of complaints to the Ministry of Defence grew. So did the number of reported venereal diseases in Copenhagen, a fact that health authorities explicitly linked to the large number of soldiers stationed in and around the capital. (Sørensen (n.d.)

The force was disbanded in stages, and curiously, the greatest reduction occurred during, and in response to, the most serious threat of violation of Denmark's neutrality. The battle of Jutland on May 31, 1916 had among other effects the result of convincing the Germans that the North Sea was finally under British control, and this caused them to look anew at the vulnerability of the Danish coast to allied landings, a real eventuality when both the allied and central powers were seeking ways to break, or circumvent, the ghastly stalemate on the Western Front. Documents discovered after the war have shown that Ludendorff seriously considered a preventive occupation of Denmark in the spring of 1917, and Ambassador Brockdorff-Rantzau engaged in intense negotiations with Scavenius. As a response to the secret crisis, Munch proposed—successfully, over conservative opposition—a further reduction in the Security Force, as a measure, condign with his neutrality theory, to persuade the Germans that under no circumstance would Denmark enter into hostilities. The combination of diplomacy and accommodation worked, and the contemplated invasion did not take place.[21] Danish conscripts outside Copenhagen were ignorant of these feverish maneuverings, and their "war" remained a dull farce of ditch-digging and enforced idleness, documented in many memoirs and collections of letters.[22]

One set of letters reflects an entirely different wartime experience for Danes. The population of North Schleswig—called, as has been said, Sønderjylland by Danes after it was lost to Prussia in 1864—had by 1914 lived for 50 years under German rule but had not lost their language or identity. About 30,000 Danish-speaking German citizens were drafted into the German army, and 3,900 of them lost their lives in the war.[23] In 1998 there was published a collection of letters held by the family of Marine Jensen, a woman who in 1914 lived with eleven sons just south of the then-border, at Hviding in west-central Jutland. Ten of her boys were called up during the war and served in the German armies. One was killed in action in 1914,

[21]For the diplomatic contours of this episode see Lidegaard (2003), pp. 88–100.

[22]See, for example, Knudsen (n.d.)—a compilation of memoirs and photographs from the author's relatives' wartime experiences.

[23]These two figures, for the total number of South Jutland conscripts and for the total fatalities among them, are repeated in all the sources I have found. See e.g., Dansk Center for Byhistorie (n.d.).

two more in 1915, and a fourth in 1918. Four others were wounded, two so badly that they died soon after the war ended. The collected letters, arranged chronologically, are from the boys home to their mother and to each other at various postings along the western front. Letters from one of the brothers cease to appear, then one reads condolence notes written by his commanding officer to the mother, and among the surviving brothers to each other, and then the letters from another of them cease, in turn (Jensen, 1998).

The experience of the Jensen family was common, of course, in the populations of the all belligerents during the war; such experiences are a vivid testimony to the efforts of the Danish government and other neutrals to keep out of the conflict at almost all cost. Whether there is a special poignancy in the fact that these young Danes, caught on the wrong side of the border, were cut down one after another in a conflict that they had no part of, is plaintively questioned by Steffen Herberg in his introduction to the volume:

> It is often supposed that the Danish South-Jutlanders' situation was different than that of others, because they were not fighting for their fatherland, but for a country that was not their own. But I wonder if there was such a great difference. What interests had the workers from the Ruhr and from Sheffield, the peasants from Pomerania, Brittany, Yorkshire and the Tyrol, that they should lay down their lives for abstract goals calculated by the governments in Berlin, Vienna, Paris and London? (Herberg, 1998)

5 Consequences

It is hard to associate the losses incurred in the First World War, and the grim events of the following decades, with a concept of success. But like the new (or reborn) states of Central Europe—and unlike them, without enormous loss of life—Denmark after the war's end seemed to be, though not a combatant, a winner. Zahle's government, carrying out the strategy of "soft" neutrality developed and advocated by P. Munch, had averted invasion and occupation; the economy, through strained, had not shrunk, and the government had enacted wide-ranging and enduring reforms, including a new constitution (approved in 1915), which expanded the franchise. Most directly as a result of the war, and in the prevailing twin spirits of self-determination and chastisement of Germany, a plebiscite was held in Schleswig, as a result of which, in 1920, the northern part of the province was returned to Denmark. On July 10 King Christian X rode across the former border on a white horse, and was greeted with much jubilation.[24] The German-Danish border was redrawn along a line between Sylt and the Flensborg Fjord, where it remains today.

[24]The King's white horse so perfectly satisfied the national appetite for kitsch, that certain iconoclasts hinted the animal had been painted white for the occasion.

It was to be violated, however, in 1940. It is her experience of the Second World War, of course, which casts into deep shadow the success of Denmark's policy in the First. Again like the countries of Central Europe, Denmark took from the First World War lessons that left her ill equipped to face Hitler and his henchmen, and history compounded ill fortune with irony, in her case, by putting at the head of the government in 1939 many of the same men who had been there in 1914. Christian X, who combined military demeanor with support for neutrality, was still king. Erik Scavenius, the skilled diplomat who as Foreign Minister had steered Denmark through the First World War, was to return to the same post in Thorvald Stauning's government in 1940, after the German invasion that this time the policy of soft neutrality could not avert. And he replaced in the post that policy's chief architect, P. Munch, who had been Minister of Defence in 1914, and at the time of the invasion was himself the Foreign Minister. The policy had remained the same, but the conditions, the military equation and military technology, and above all the nature of the aggressor, were all different. The invasion of April 9th, 1940 and the occupation which lasted until May 1945, were actually to test the other component of Munch's theory, namely, whether a country which has been overrun by force can survive by other means. In 1914, so Munch had held, the military defense of Denmark had been an impossible thing, but in 1940 to maintain neutrality would also prove to be an impossible thing.

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[all translations of sources into English have been made by the author]

A Bestiary of War: *Humanimalities* in the Trenches

Márcia Seabra Neves

Abstract Collectively perceived as the vastest and bloodiest human carnage of the contemporary age, World War I was also stage to the mobilization and termination of hundreds of thousands of animals, brutally dragged into a conflict. Always present in the daily lives of soldiers and on all combat fronts, animals were direct actors in this war zone, performing various roles, from communication agents to informants, from transport, scouting, surveillance and first aid missions to simple companionship and affection. However, and despite the abundant literary corpus that pays testimony to the post-war period, celebrating the scale of animal belligerence, the contribution of the non-human soldier seems to have been forgotten or relegated to the background of this apocalyptic scenario, where man holds centre-stage. Thus, the main goal of this study is to remember the actions of these silent and outcast heroes who shared with their human companions the agonies of war and the horrors of catastrophe. We will focus our attention on the relationships (be they companionship, friendship, mutual support or repulsion) established between human and non-human combatants throughout the four years of shared existence in the hell of the trenches, where the limits between humanity and animality quickly dissolved. These reflections will rest, as far as possible, upon testimonies of war from soldiers of the CEP (Portuguese Expeditionary Corps), thus revisiting memories of the Portuguese presence in World War I.

World War I brought about not only the death of millions of soldiers, but also the mobilization and termination of hundreds of thousands of animals. It is estimated that, in the course of the four years of the conflict, 11 million equines (mules and horses), 100,000 dogs, and 200 to 250,000 carrier-pigeons, among many other animals, had been brutally dragged into the European war.[1] From Portugal alone,

[1]Éric Baratay, *Bêtes des tranchées: des vécus oubliés* (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2013), 8–9.

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together with the PEC—the Portuguese Expeditionary Corps—11,721 equines left for France, not to mention the carrier-pigeons that joined the ranks of the Engineering and Communications Corps.[2]

Anachronistic and dissonant as it may seem, in the context of a conflict that has been imprinted upon the collective memory due to the annihilating effectiveness of its sophisticated war technology (machine guns, chemical weapons, planes, tanks, etc.), the truth is that animals have been key actors in the spectacle of war. If cavalry charges were quickly replaced by the advances of tanks and heavy artillery, images of long lines of motor vehicles together with carts pulled by mules and horses were pervasive until the end of the war, and the same can be said of messages carried by dogs and pigeons whenever the telegraph or the telephone was not operational. In reality, the Great War could never really have forgone the presence of animals.

However, even though, in the aftermath of the tragedy, the extent of animal belligerent intervention has been repeatedly acknowledged by combatants in their memoirs, it remains that, especially from the 30s onwards, the contribution of non-human soldiers seems to have been overlooked, fading into the background of this apocalyptic picture. Man has been claiming the chief role in the spectacle of war up to the last decades of the 20th century, when a revolution in Western thinking pertaining to animals and their relationship with humans was set in motion. In this context, the growing interest—both philosophical and critical—in animal conditions and in their ethical and scientific reassessment, together with the publication of novels such as *War Horse*, a children's book by Michael Morpurgo which appeared in 1982 and was adapted for cinema by Steven Spielberg in 2011, have opened up new perspectives, challenging the dominant species-based or anthropocentric view of the military importance of these recessive heroes and their relationship with the human actors, with whom they shared the harsh reality of the war-front.

1 Bestiary of War: The Animal as Soldier

In August 1914, at the onset of war in central Europe, general mobilization was enforced in the countries involved in the conflict, affecting both men and animals. During the recruiting process, enlisted animals were incorporated into a regiment and given military licence plates and registration papers, as if they were actual soldiers. Horses, dogs and carrier-pigeons were by far the most valued animals in the conflict, owing to the types of mission they could carry out in assisting human soldiers.

Ubiquitous throughout the conflict, the horse unquestionably played the leading role in war, as far as animal intervention is concerned. In 1914, the war horse was

[2]Afonso Aniceto and Carlos de Matos Gomes, *Portugal e a Grande guerra. 1914-1918* (Lisboa: Quid Novi, 2010), 274.

an indispensable presence in any military strategy or operation, and cavalry represented an essential part of every army constituting one of its chief offensive elements. However, the modernization of artillery and heavy weaponry, as well as the stagnation of the war in the trenches, made cavalry attacks obsolete and many squads, such as the PEC, were eventually dissolved and turned into companies of bicycle infantry.

The cavalry section being progressively phased out brought about changes in the military functions of the horse, but which would never imply its redundancy. In fact, horses would become increasingly indispensable throughout the conflict and would be required to perform several strenuous tasks. In spite of the development of motor vehicles and the railway network, the horse, and equines in general, were the army's real power source. The capacity they had to move on ground inaccessible to motor vehicles made the movement of troops more efficient and made catering in the trenches feasible.

The machine thus complemented, but never fully replaced, the animal. In 1918, according to Éric Baratay, on the whole of the Western front, 80% of campaign artillery and 70% of heavy artillery were still animal-driven.[3] Horses were widely used for the transportation of heavy goods. Either alone or pulling vehicles, horses were mainly *used* to transport all kinds of food supplies, weapons and ammunition, heavy artillery and even the wounded and the dead (both human and non-human), helping to connect up the rear and the front lines. More resilient and smaller than horses, donkeys and mules were increasingly common along transport lines and particularly in the trenches, where they could move more easily, and were less open to the enemy's line of sight, allowing for food supplies successfully to reach the soldiers.

Having been exploited to the limit of their strength, war was particularly dreadful for equines. The ordeal started right from the moment of transportation to the warzone, especially for animals coming from the Americas. To meet the growing demand for horses and donkeys, the allied countries had to import animals from the United States and Argentina, subjecting them to an exhausting crossing of the Atlantic. Penned in a confined space, forced to remain immobile during the 15 to 20 days which the journey lasted, anxious and undernourished, exposed to all sorts of contagious diseases and deprived of all health and hygiene care, many horses succumbed before they could even reach Europe. For those who survived, suffering would increase significantly in the conflict zone where living and working conditions were even more appalling.

The war of movement (August–November 1914) was undeniably the deadliest for horses, exhausted by endless displacements, hunger and thirst, the intense heat, the bad condition of horseshoes and the wounds caused by the unrelenting use of saddle and harness. The following words uttered by a French soldier on the death of

[3]Éric Baratay, *Le point de vue animal: une autre version de l'histoire* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2012), 37.

his mare, which didn't survive exhaustion on the last day of the battle of Marne, are particularly eloquent:

> If the word martyr could fittingly apply to animals, it would be the one we should employ. Our mounts have given us all their endurance, right until the last step, right until the last breath. Not having the force of thought to keep them going, they endured passively, with no complaints, the most horrible wounds, on their backs in particular, the exhaustion caused by ridings that were at times over one hundred kilometres, the compression of rider and saddle, the latter resting for almost forty hours on their shoulders, the hunger, the thirst when the needs of combat would not let us stop.[4]

The animals that were in no condition to continue the journey were left behind to a lonely and agonizing death. Many didn't reach the battlefield, but most who did fell under the hail of fire from machine-guns.

With the stabilizing of the Western Front, in December 1914, men and animals burrowed into the trenches and the slaughter of horses decreased. Though the War of Position appears to have been less deadly than the War of Movement, it was not any less cruel. In the trenches, just like men and other animals, horses fell victim to two lethal weapons: mortars, which opened craters that 'dug up the dead and buried the living',[5] and asphyxiating gas, responsible for the horrific death of human and non-human soldiers. When they weren't slaughtered by the enemy, horses were shot down by their own human companions, in an attempt to release them from the agony of war wounds, as German soldier Erich Maria Remarque states in his famous novel *All Quiet On The Western Front* (1929):

> I had never heard horses screaming and I can hardly believe it. It's utter agony. It's the martyred creature, it's a savage and terrible pain that cries thus. We become pale. Detering stands up: "In the name of God! Finish them off." (…) The cries of animals become more and more distinct. (…) they propagate immensely everywhere, between heaven and earth. (…) We notice a dark group of nurses with many big dark masses that are stirring. They are the wounded horses. (…) Some keep galloping, they fall and return to running. One of them has his belly open, from where his gut is coming out. He gets tangled on it and falls onto the ground, but manages to stand up, still. (…) We sit and cover our ears, but despite this, these complaints, these screams of anguish, these horrible cries, they penetrate our ears, they penetrate everything.[6]

Horses infected with diseases, such as scabies or the glanders disease (the most frequent) were also put down in order to avoid propagating them. The Veterinary Service of the French army listed over 60,000 cases of horses with glanders during the four years of the war, some of which were assignable to natural or endemic causes while others were of malicious origin.

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[4]Apud Jean-Michel Derex, *Héros oubliés*: *les animaux dans la grande guerre* (Paris: Éditions Pierre de Taillac et Ministère de la Défense, 2014), 38. My translation.

[5]Bento esteves Roma, *Os portugueses nas trincheiras da Grande Guerra* (Lisboa: Cruzada das Mulheres Portuguesas, 1921), 18. My translation.

[6]Erich Maria Remarque, *A oeste nada de novo*, trad. Mário C. Pires (Lisboa: Publicações Europa-América, 1971), 49–50. My translation.

Recent research has demonstrated that a significant part of these epidemics could have been triggered by biological or bacteriological warfare secretly carried out by the Germans against their enemies. This was done by inoculating infectious diseases in the equines and bovines of the allied troops, with the intent to undermine their strength, their ability to attack and their resistance. In the book *La France espione le monde [France spies on the world]*, French journalist and historian Jean-Claude Delhez analyses German messages, which were intercepted and decoded by French Intelligence at the time, and sheds some light on the intricacies of this *biological world war*, of which Portugal may also have been a victim, as a form of retaliation for joining the war on the side of the allies. On February 1st 1917, Major Kalle, a German military attaché in Madrid, sent the German Secret Services the following message:

> The glanders epidemic in Portugal has become so extensive among the horses of the troops and the mules that sending new troops may be unnecessary. We have apparently succeeded at disembarking 1800 animals and 30 men, to be followed by death or disease.[7]

In short, more than one million horses died during the war and those who survived were later shot due to old age or disease, sold to butchers or simply forgotten.

Another leading actor in the tragic theatre of the Great War, albeit less important than the horse, was the war dog. Dogs had to be 1 to 8 years old, their shoulder width had to measure between 45 and 60 centimetres, and they should preferably have a dark coat. After they were selected, they were taken to training camps and submitted to a rigorous drill, after which they were assigned different tasks and missions according to their skills.[8]

Search and rescue dogs, identified with a red cross on their backs, left for the battlefield in search of wounded soldiers, warning stretcher-bearers of their presence and pointing out their location. During search and rescue missions, dogs were also used to transport stretchers with the wounded. Even if the efficiency of search and rescue dogs was not acknowledged by all armies (the French army terminated this service in September 1915), the same cannot be said of supplier-dogs, which were more and more sought after throughout the war. Exposed to enemy fire and equipped with special saddles or riding small sleigh-like vehicles with load capacities of 15 to 18 kg, supplier-dogs shuttled the trenches inconspicuously, providing soldiers on the frontline with food and ammunition.

So-called messenger-dogs carried messages and maintained communication between soldiers, replacing the telephone and the telegraph. This service comprised delivery dogs, which ensured unilateral transmission between any advanced post and a fixed command centre, and liaison dogs that made return trips between two contact points.

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[7] *Apud* Jean-Claude Delhez, *La France espione le monde—1914–1919* (Paris: Ed. Economica, 2014), 313. My translation.

[8] Saint-Bastien, Jean-François, *Les animaux dans la grande guerre* (Tours: Éditions Sutton, 2014), 47–48.

Patrol dogs or watch dogs remained on the frontline. They had particularly sharp noses, enabling them to detect enemy presences at a distance and to recognize different war noises. These dogs could remain focused and immobile for hours, observing the enemy and give warning in case they got too close. The success of this type of mission depended directly on the complicity and efficiency of communication between the dog and its human partner.

It was also in the front-line trenches that the gas-detecting dogs could be found. With their sharp noses, they could give warning of the proximity of danger in time to allow soldiers to slip gas masks on themselves and their animals (dogs and horses), thus preventing many deaths by asphyxiation.

Finally, in the rear lines, there were the carrier-dogs, which, because they were smaller and faster than horses, went around pulling small vehicles of canine traction, assisting and sometimes replacing equines in carrying weaponry, ammunition and food, especially in higher areas.

Horses and dogs coexisted in the warzone with military pigeons. These were part of the Engineer Corps, more precisely of the telegraphic services, and they played an essential role during the war. Discreet, but extremely fast and able to reach any destination, however far, under the harshest of conditions, the carrier-pigeon soon became the most efficient means of communication in times of war and was frequently used by intelligence services. All the countries involved on the Western front used them intensively, including the PEC, whose telegraphic service had a section of military pigeons from February 1917.[9]

When phone lines were destroyed, messenger-dogs killed and light signals were concealed by fog, dust and smoke from bombardments, only carrier-pigeons could help tackle the breakdown of modern communications technology and ensure that messages between the front lines, the artillery and the command posts were delivered. The method was simple: pigeons were strategically undernourished, kept in poor conditions, whether permanent or mobile,[10] and apart from the opposite sex, that is, in a situation of deprivation that made them want to fly home. On the front line, for instance, a soldier would take the pigeon out of its basket, tie a message to its leg and release it so it would go back to base.[11]

It was also standard procedure for pilots to scout enemy territory and send information via carrier-pigeons, without having to land.[12] The same occurred with war boats and ships. In fact, carrier-pigeons were a common resource in all branches of the military, be it on land, sea or air. Another mission entrusted to carrier-pigeons was espionage. The French used them to communicate with German-occupied territory, despatching them to those areas to the care of reliable agents who then sent them back to France with vital information. As for German

[9]Afonso Aniceto and Carlos de Matos Gomes, *Portugal e a Grande guerra. 1914–1918*, 290.

[10]Jean-Michel Derex, *Héros oubliés*: *les animaux dans la grande guerre*, 84.

[11]Jean-François Saint-Bastien, *Les animaux dans la grande guerre*, 80.

[12]Ibid., 82.

pigeons, it has been claimed they flew over enemy territory with miniature photographic devices taking fairly clear images of the lines.

Horses, dogs and pigeons were not, however, the only animals included in the Great War bestiary. If these provided valuable military assistance, others were unanimously regarded as enemies to be reckoned with by both conflicting parties. Trenches were ravaged by plagues of mice, rats, flies, lice, fleas, and other parasites. PEC soldiers used to call them *the trenches cleaning crew*: 'Rats of every size and I believe of all races and there was also a great variety of parasites.'[13] Mice and lice were the worst enemies of combatants, who had no choice but to stoically co-habit with them.

In his memoirs of the Great War, Portuguese railroad sapper Pedro Freitas describes the battlefield as an immense and scary necropolis, where 'bodies of soldiers, mules, horses and more macabre fragments are abundant and truly rotting.'[14] Rats are obviously the first beneficiaries of this squalid scenario of death and filth, voraciously feasting on rotten remnants. Erich Maria Remarque describes them in vivid words: 'Rats here are particularly repugnant because of their chunkiness. They are of the species called rats of the dead. They have abominable heads, evil and furless, and we feel disgusted just looking at their long bare tails.'[15]

Rats came from *No Man's Land* and plagued the trenches and shelters, devouring all they could find and making the daily routine of soldiers indescribably unbearable. Captain Menezes Ferreira alludes, in a tone of comedy, to the exodus of rodents to the trenches of the PEC:

> Not wanting to defend the Right and Freedom of the Peoples or to exalt the supremacy of a tyrant or a caste, rats take advantage, as certain neutrals do, of everything combatants from both sides leave behind in the trenches, and they do it in such a fashion that, to *John Doe*'s misfortune, predicting the scarcity of enemy lines, they desert in a true exodus to the three defensive lines of the PEC.[16]

In order to eradicate this plague, several measures were taken. The most effective included the use of toxic products or the assistance of dogs trained to kill mice and protect military rations (dogs are, once again, inseparable allies of men). There were mice-hunting contests where the best hunter was awarded a prize. If toxic products exterminated an average of 370 rats a day, dogs could kill around 80.

Other measures were taken individually by soldiers. The French invented the cage-bed (*lit-cage*), covered with netting which protected soldiers from mice and allowed them a better sleep. Several strategies destined to avoid the nocturnal offensives of these rodent enemies were designed by the PEC soldiers, as evoked by Lieutenant João Pina de Morais:

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[13]Bento esteves Roma, *Os portugueses nas trincheiras da Grande Guerra*, 14. My translation.

[14]Pedro de Freitas, *As minhas recordações da grande guerra*, 51. My translation.

[15]Erich Maria Remarque, *A oeste nada de novo*, 76. My translation.

[16]Ferreira, Menezes, *João Ninguém*: *soldado da grande Guerra* (Lisboa: Livraria Portugal-Brasil, 1921), 46. My translation.

> A huge rat of cylindrical body and greyish colour, passed by the shelter several times, starving. It's looking for food. When there is nothing else, they chew on the greasy cloth used to clean the weapons or the stains on our clothes. If one needs to keep a snack that stains in our pocket, one gets an hour's sleep. A rat will eat without disturbing us the bit of greasy fabric.[17]

Humour and poetry were, nevertheless, the weapons that most effectively tempered the ravaging action of rodents. Given the impossibility of defeating them, combatants trapped mice in jesting poems and songs, such as the "Fado of the bullets and the mice", written by Américo Mendes de Vasconcelos, "O Palhaes", from which the following refrain was taken:

> Above our trenches
>
> bullets fly by, singing
>
> inside our shelters
>
> rats walk by, squeaking.[18]

It is also with considerable bonhomie that soldiers face the daily struggle against another parasite archenemy, even more devastating than the mouse: the louse. Cohabitation with these small but obstinate invaders is frequently evoked in war memoirs, such as the ones written by combatants of the PEC:

> The blokes in the group lie down to sleep; and at some point, accompanying our stomach's comfort, our mate the louse, also in search of greener pastures, starts its aggravating activity —and then, even in the soul-lifting state we are in, depending on the stings of the many-legged mate, so our interventions will be quick but merely destined to scare it off, because (…) killing it? That would not be worth it (…)[19]

In fact, the lack of individual and collective hygiene in the trenches, where combatants did not wash, shave or undress, rarely took their shoes off and slept on straw, was an inevitable aid to the proliferation of lice, resisting any human counter-attack. From insecticides to clothing disinfecting and mandatory bathing, all extermination measures proved ineffective. Picking out head lice and killing them by hand was, then, a daily and compulsory ritual and a hobby for soldiers of the PEC, who metaphorically referred to this activity as *the reading of the newspaper*. Pedro Freitas described it as follows:

> 'Reading the newspaper' was said of any soldier who, every night, sitting on his bunk bed or hut, took off his shirt, leggings or torn socks and searched the several layers of hair on his body to kill the lice that infested his body and clothing by the thousands, thus entertaining himself for hours. This hobby and cleaning act was conducted with a certain degree of fuss.[20]

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[17]João Pina de Morais, *O soldado-saudade na grande guerra* (Porto: Renascença Portuguesa, 1919), 56. My translation.

[18]Rogério Marques de Almeida Russo, *Arquivo Poético da Grande Guerra* (Porto: Companhia Portuguesa Editora, 1924), 141. My translation.

[19]Pedro de Freitas, *As minhas recordações da grande guerra* (Lisboa: L.C.G.G., 1935), 88. My translation.

[20]Ibid., 279. My translation.

As with mice, soldiers incapable of defeating lice preferred to surrender to them through humour and irony. The French called them, tenderly, "les totos" and liked a good joke, poem or funny image inspired by them.

At the PEC, the louse was the main character in many poems and songs, such as "The soldier's louse", a burlesque panegyric where the presence and war performance of this friendly companion was celebrated and its cohabitation *with*, or better *on* the soldiers, was wittily narrated.

The louse is a friend
Which in peace or in danger
Sticks together with the soldier
When it bites, we feel
That he happily bites
To be fed

Out there in the battlefield
Between the fury of battle
The louse is a discovery
Within the seams of the shirt
In a line going
From neck to bottom.[21]

This already vast bestiary of war should be further expanded to include other animals used to feed the troops: farm animals lost between combat lines, stray dogs and cats, roaming through No Man's Land or taken in by soldiers, animals adopted as mascots for the regiments, among many others which, from the front to the rear lines of battle, shared with the soldiers the pains of war and the horrors of the apocalypse to which they were involuntary witnesses.

2 *Humanimalities*—The Relationship Between Man and Animal in the Trenches

Due to its tactical specificity, the First World War forced upon man and animal an almost permanent cohabitation. The first consequence of this proximity and togetherness between human and non-human combatants was the inevitable companionship that emerged between them. To the military animals and the *cleaning crew* of the trenches, one should add the pets and mascots. The former were generally lost or abandoned animals, mainly cats and dogs that sought shelter in the trenches, thereby bonding with the soldiers. The latter made up a true *Noah's Ark* of

[21]Rogério Marques de Almeida Russo, *Arquivo Poético da Grande Guerra*, 243. My translation.

the trenches,[22] including animals from many species, ranging from the most ordinary to the most exotic (dogs, goats, wild boars, monkeys, bears, lions, elephants), adopted as iconic symbols of a regiment and whose job was essentially to raise the troops' moral.[23]

While sharing the same physical discomfort and psychological horror, as well as the same existential fate as their human partners, animals became true companions to the soldiers, filling the affective void which naturally increased as more time was passed away from civilian life.

Testimonies of war depict recurrent demonstrations of affection from soldiers towards their pets. In a poignant letter written in the trenches and addressed to his young son, Captain Augusto Casimiro from the PEC describes with candid realism the conditions of animals in the war zone and their relationship with humans. Soldiers willingly provided comfort and protection in exchange for a presence which gave them hope and consolation, establishing a mutual bond based on cooperation, friendship and emotional communication.

> Before the war, here, there were many houses, many waterfronts, with gardens and beautiful trees, with grandparents, daddies, mommies, children, Assunções, crazy Carloses, rabbits, chickens, dogs, cats and even the grandparents of these rats of today (…) But the war came, the German came, the cannons and the bullets (…) Everything vanished. The houses fell down, the trees were terrified, the chickens and rabbits let themselves be eaten (…) Only a female cat stayed (…) From the house where she lived, the only remains are a corner where the stove used to be (…) On combat days, angry and meowing, she walked through the trees, the ditches, she escaped from all manner of deaths (…) Then came the trenches, the shelters that looked like houses and she moved into one of them (…) —she lives in my shelter on the Reserve, where I have been for a few days (…) And she's been showing a bigger belly now (…) This afternoon, she cuddled up under my cape. I was writing these lines (…) And when I finished I went to see her and found a cat and three skinny kittens under my cape, (…) Born at 5 pm today, in the shelter of Reserve Coy, Belfast Street (…) Beautiful (…) Kittens and mommy are doing well. They are in the Maternity of the 1st Sergeant's lair (…) And one of them will be called Gurka, another Balutchi and the third will be named as you wish and I will keep (…)[24]

In this unyielding search for fellowship at the edge of extinction, even animals normally considered *repugnant* become partners in misery. In a conference that took place in May 1920, at the Military School, on a theme of the 'Portuguese Village' in Flanders, Major Bento Esteves Roma, Company Commander at the PEC, describes his comradeship with the rats in the trenches, an odd experience of togetherness with this singular animal:

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[22]Jean-Michel Derex, *Héros oubliés*: *les animaux dans la grande guerre*, 118.

[23]Jean-François Saint-Bastien, *Les animaux dans la grande guerre*, 95–104.

[24]Augusto Casimiro, *Nas trincheiras da Flandres* (Porto: Edição da Renascença Portuguesa), 126–127. My translation.

> When, after the change of sentinel in the morning, I wrapped myself in my blanket and let my body fall down, exhausted by a night of constant alertness, it was interesting to see what happened. With the lights out, I started to hear a noise coming closer and closer. Then, somebody came close to me, softly, with friendly steps not to wake me. And this visitor would soon gain unlimited confidence, allowing itself to walk over me, even rubbing my face with its velvety skin. It would retire and not long afterwards, having passed on the results of the exploration, more came, many more, and then they talked, chatted, with a squeaking that only rats can make.[25]

In *L'animal que donc je suis* [The animal that therefore I am], Jacques Derrida argues that the true encounter with animal otherness is possible only when man and animal exchange glances—not the animal perceived from an anthropocentric point of view, but the real animal, that other which exists in front of us and that looks back at us.[26] It is precisely this reciprocity of an interrogating gaze exchanged between this soldier and his companions that is surprising, given that, although they *chatted* and *talked* like people, they do not appear deprived of an ontology of their own, squeaking like only those belonging to their species can. In addition, even though the transgression of the boundaries separating the human from the animals was triggered by the rats, the approximation between them and the soldier only became effective when both actually looked at each other. In other words, it is only when the soldier felt observed by the rats—in an interesting parallel with a situation that Derrida recalls involving his own cat—that he was able truly to penetrate their eyes.

> At first I turned on the light and they went away, fled; but not long after, they appeared in the distance, between two sacks of earth, with very shiny tiny eyes, gazing upon me with an expression of one who asks permission to resume the interrupted party. And, because I was so tired, I fell asleep. I would wake up with the light still on and, when I opened my eyes, I would see my *partners* and *friends* were having as much fun as if the lights were off, fleeing only when I moved. Within a few days, we lived in honest good harmony and I never again turned on the light.[27]

In sum, soldiers and animals become brothers inhabiting a common space of emotional sharing. If, on the one hand, we can recognize a kind of humanization of the animal, which becomes a friend, a partner, a family member, or a substitute for a human being, it nevertheless keeps its own ontology.

This is precisely what Éric Baratay, who has studied the relationships between animals and humans, argues in his latest book called *Bêtes des tranchées: des vécus oubliés* [*Beasts of the trenches: the forgotten living*]. Drawing on historical and ethological data, he examines the presence and function of animals in the Great War, relegating man to the background and ascribing to the animal the leading *point of view*. Baratay suggests that the bond established between soldiers and animals in

[25]Bento Esteves Roma, *Os portugueses nas trincheiras da Grande Guerra*, 15. My translation.

[26]Jacques Derrida, 'L'animal que donc je suis (à suivre)'. In *L'animal autobiographique*, edited by Marie-Louise Mallet, 251–301 (Paris: Galilée, 1999), 253–265.

[27]Bento Esteves Roma, *Os portugueses nas trincheiras da Grande Guerra*, 15–16. My translation.

the trenches is not solely founded on a simple anthropological projection of man over animal, but on a phenomenon of reciprocal union between two active subjects.[28] He therefore deconstructs the species-based and anthropocentric assumptions of Judaic-Christian tradition and of Western philosophy that imposed a radical severance and a hierarchical division between man and animal, claiming that animals are not mere objects or passive agents or secondary poles of a one-way relationship (man—animal), but actors who act and react and create with men true interactions and true communities.[29]

It is therefore indispensable to abandon that *juvenile anthropomorphism,* responsible for the reductive binary system which opposes human species and animal species and relegates non-human living creatures to the base of the pyramid, and also to overcome the *conclusion anthropomorphism*, which, inversely, projects onto animals our human qualities, leading to a blurring of the species.

Baratay proposes a questioning anthropomorphism instead, i.e., one implying an attitude of questioning if such a faculty present in man could not be similarly present, albeit differently, in other species.[30] In other words, assuming that man is not radically different from the animal, sharing with it obvious similarities, Baratay argues for an anthropomorphism that draws on the possibility that a given human faculty may also exist in animals. What Baratay suggests, in short, is an *animal relationship with the animal*. To achieve this, man should put himself in the animal's position, incorporating its vision of the world. During the long waiting hours in the trenches, soldiers had plenty of time to observe their animals and, prompted by their behaviour and attitudes, reflect upon their own essence. In the words of Baratay,

> Most of the time, these animals draw the eye, spark the interest, fill the time of the soldiers, make them talk and write a lot (…). Because this evolving fauna inside their daily hell incites men to think of life, of their condition as soldiers, of their destiny, of death. This meditation is not simple sensitive projections of animals as pretexts, hardly observed or heard (…) but the result of observations of these animals, of considerations, of comparisons and crossings between situations and attitudes of animals and men.[31]

An animal presence in the war therefore confronts combatants with the limits of their own humanity and the unutterable absurdity of man transformed into a dog of war. Thus, the assistance that animals provide to soldiers was not strictly military or tactical, but rather ontological, since they helped them to know themselves and to reassess their place in the world. In a place and time in which exploitation of all the dimensions of man was taken to unimaginable extremes, soldiers eventually lost their human identity, in a sometimes irreversible process of bestialization.

Indeed, incarcerated in muddy ditches, crawling over the remains of shattered bodies, confronted with the horrific spectacle of exposed entrails and the piercing

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[28]Éric Baratay, *Bêtes des tranchées: des vécus oubliés*, 111–112.

[29]Ibid., 11.

[30]Ibid., 16.

[31]Ibid., 129. My translation.

cries of the wounded who lay in No Man's Land, the soldiers of the front lived as if they were animals, in a scenario where human dignity had been radically debased. Major Bento Esteves Roma provides a vivid description of this macabre landscape:

> In spite of there being cemeteries, many, many bodies were buried in the trenches. A mortar falling and blowing up would open a crater, leaving those rotten remains in plain sight; at the same time, it hid the hapless that were near the spot where it fell under earth thrown up by the explosion. Very often, just as occurred with my battalion, days passed by with nothing noticeable happening and, on the dawn of the surrender, there would come a mortar which made five or more casualties. Afterwards, we searched and collected dispersed and bloodied limbs which not long before were still alive. And even then, so many times the bodies of these hapless were buried incomplete![32]

In these deadly labyrinths called trenches, man is gradually dispossessed of his humanity, reverting to a zero-sum of his own nature. In the words of the modernist Almada Negreiros, after a visit to the battlefields in northern France, 'The trench is the reminiscence of the troglodyte'—'Humanity was outraged.'[33]

It is not uncommon for soldiers to provide a first-hand account of this feeling of living like animals, consciously turning them more and more animal. In his celebrated novel, *All Quiet On The Western Front,* Erich Maria Remarque reveals the barbarity that led to this outrage of the human condition:

> We have become dangerous animals; we do not fight, we defend ourselves against destruction. (…) The madness that inflames us is unwise. We are not coiled, powerless on the scaffold, but instead we can destroy and kill to save ourselves (…). Bending like cats, we run flooded by this wave that drags us, that makes us cruel, that turns us into bandits, murderers and, if you wish, demons – this wave that multiplies our strength amidst distress, the anger and the will to live, that seeks to rescue us and really achieves it. If your father would present himself there as your enemy, you would not hesitate in throwing a grenade at him, right at his chest.[34]

Thus, living only for the moment, driven by fear and, above all, by their animal survival instinct, soldiers eventually adopt a behaviour that is even more animal-like than that of animals themselves. From the PEC, Quirino Monteiro and Melo Vieira testify to this dramatic obliteration of human values:

> There is no time to think or help the comrades that fall. Combat fever makes men selfish and indifferent. All sensibility is annulled. A life is worth nothing; a torn-up body is just an incident; cries are just sounds that join the hellish noise made up of all the other cries. All the trenches are ablaze.[35]

Human bestiality is made manifest not only in the confrontation between soldiers on both sides, but also, and more expressively, in animals that, having been dragged into a war that was not even theirs, often fell victims to the most cruel torture. Among many episodes of gratuitous violence of man on beast, Baratay

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[32]Bento Esteves Roma, *Os portugueses nas trincheiras da Grande Guerra*, 18–19. My translation.

[33]Apud Pedro de Freitas, *As minhas recordações da grande guerra*, 52. My translation.

[34]Erich Maria Remarque, *A oeste nada de novo*, 85. My translation.

[35]Quirino Monteiro and Melo Vieira, *Gambúsios—Soldados da Grande Guerra* (Lisboa: Portugália Editora, 1919), 37–38. My translation.

points out the bloodthirsty violence of soldiers who, in the distress of their waiting moments, would deliberately shoot any animal that was in their rifle sights.[36]

Saint-Bastien narrates another revealing episode of the bestialization of man and his indifference towards animal suffering: the rigged dog. German soldiers were known to capture French rescue dogs and, under the flag of the Red Cross, would hide sacks full of grenades, releasing them afterwards, so that they would return and blow up in their own trenches.[37]

The retreat from human to animal is indeed so radical that some soldiers eventually acquired physical features that gave away that change or fusion into the non-human and were sometimes given nicknames based on this similarity with animal morphology or behaviour. Such is the case of the Portuguese Expeditionary Corps, metaphorically referred to as the "Portuguese Export Sheep" or "Portuguese Lambs exported for slaughter", nicknames that alluded to the ludicrous lambskin overcoats which kept PEC soldiers warm,[38] and also showed how unprepared Portuguese troops were for their hazardous intervention on the Western Front. This we can deduce from what João Chagas wrote in his war journal:

> Maybe a doctor, maybe a wise man will be fighting, and I think of the hardships, the pains, the horrors that these elite men will know, torn one day from their spiritual professions, their delicate habits, their comfortable homes, and pushed like cattle into 3rd class wagons that will unload them in a few hours at the slaughter house.[39]

This grim depiction of troops as flocks of sheep or herds of cattle sent forcibly to the slaughter became recurrent in all armies and metaphors describing the animal-like condition of soldiers proliferated. Collecting several animal metaphors designating man, drawn from different authors, Baratay revealingly sketches a physical and psychological portrait of the First World War soldier:

> Men taken to the front are flocks of sheep, fattened piglets, scared calves, fresh meat replacing the rotten meat of the wounded and the dead, skinned oxen themselves, beheaded beasts, trapped animals, game frightened by hierarchies, those butchers.[40]

As either communication agents or informants, carrying out missions of transport, scouting, first aid, simple companionship or affective exchange, the presence and the importance of animals on all combat fronts are undeniable. Paradoxically oscillating between defensive aggression and empathetic affection, relationships between man and animal in the trenches need to be understood within a framework of ontological exchange and transformation that ultimately made identity borders problematic, particularly if one considers the correlational phenomenon of the humanization of animals and the bestialization of men.

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[36]Éric Baratay, *Bêtes des tranchées: des vécus oubliés*, 119–120.

[37]Jean-François Saint-Bastien, *Les animaux dans la grande guerre*, 75.

[38]Isabel Pestana Marques, *Das trincheiras, com saudade: a vida quotidiana dos militares portugueses na primeira guerra mundial* (Lisboa: A Esfera dos Livros, 2008), 150–151.

[39]João Chagas, *Diário I—1914* (Lisboa: Livraria Editora, 1929), 126–127. My translation.

[40]Éric Baratay, *Bêtes des tranchées: des vécus oubliés*, 162. My translation.

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Part III
Coda

The Phrase "The Great War" in British Discourse During World War One

Paul Melia

Abstract The association of the term 'The Great War' with World War One, if it began 100 years ago, could be seen as telling, not only about attitudes at the time (and whether it meant 'jolly big' or 'jolly good'), but about our retrospective attitudes to those who were involved. Through an examination of propaganda, periodicals, political statements and specific pre-war literature, an assumption that as a phrase it is indicative of jingoistic and bellicose hysteria generated by influential politicians for the gullible citizens of whichever participant nation, can be shown as a misleading simplification. Instead, with a concentration on Britain, a study of its use by statesmen such as Asquith and Lloyd George, the very particular circumstances under which it appeared in *Punch* magazine, and the overt zeal some advocates of war with Germany displayed from several years before 1914, is revealing of very different public standpoints among supporters of the war.

The First World War retains a profound hold over the contemporary consciousness. In Britain those who fought for the country in all wars are still remembered on the anniversary of Armistice Day in 1918, while one web-site lists over 200 books in English published in the past five years about the conflict which include "the Great War" in the title (Amazon, 2015).

The fact that the phrase "the Great War" still has currency in reference to a century-old experience, and after all of the wars that have happened since, implies the degree to which its impact is still felt, and also the possibility that if its "greatness" ever meant it was a glorious enterprise, it no longer applies. However, the notion that British political leaders used the phrase liberally in the hope of winning a propaganda and recruiting victory 100 years ago would not be accurate, and instead a brief survey of its use (and non-use) at that time provides a revealing image in which some of the most powerful political and media figures often acted with public trepidation, while those who overtly promoted war against Germany were relatively marginal. I include a relatively full examination of opinions

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expressed in *Punch* magazine because I believe its attempts to appeal to a conservative, well-healed, distinctly non-intellectual readership, a constant pursuit of current conformity, offer a good guide to "respectable" views of the time.[1]

The Oxford English Dictionary records the first use of the phrase about the 1914–1918 war as being in a Canadian publication, *Maclean's Magazine*, in October 1914,[2] in an article about the nascent conflict: "Some wars name themselves (…) This is the great war" (Simpson, 1991, p. 703). Other accounts, such as Patricia Treble's (2014), accept this as the earliest known use about the First World War. Earlier campaigns had been given the description, so that the Napoleonic Wars, for example in the 1911 book *British Statesmen of the Great War: 1793–1814* (Fortescue) and *Narratives in Some Passages from the Great War with France, from 1799 to 1810* (Bunbury), from 1854, were thought to have been "great", plausibly both to signify how momentous it was and that "we" (Napoleon's opponents) won.

Judging by the later of the two above-mentioned publications, for a hundred years right until the start of World War One, in Britain "the Great War" had meant the series of battles against Napoleon Bonaparte's army and navy. With the outbreak of a new multinational conflict, and with Britain as one of the first nations to be declared as a combatant, the manner in which some politicians who had led their population to war and would be responsible for its conduct, used the phrase in public communication revealed a definite lack of confidence in the public's enthusiasm and support. Instead of the "greatness" being symbolic of the glorious enterprise and *post-bellum* future to which their voters might aspire, it was an *apologia* for the more or less terrible sacrifice the situation demanded.

Herbert Henry Asquith[3] was the British prime-minister from 1908–1916 and the Secretary of State for War from March-August 1914 (Taylor, 1992, p. 3). His task

[1]Esther MacCallum-Stewart has written an interesting analysis of the magazine, including that the editor, Owen Seaman, frequently had to guess whether or not his readers' opinions had changed:

> For this reason, Punch is a dominant text in our understanding of the war, exemplifying and misinterpreting public sentiment from a civilian viewpoint. When the war began, Punch was violently pro-war, articles and cartoons often recounting little more than propaganda with very little comedic undertones. However, this attitude discreetly wanes as the war dragged on and the civilian population became increasingly discontented and disillusioned. It was impossible to ignore the effects the fighting was starting to have, and as Punch moves into the latter stages of 1917–18, this awareness becomes gradually visible. (MacCallum-Stewart, 2009)

I have chosen to refer to the month and year a quotation appeared in Punch rather than the volume number because I think it is often relevant at which point in the war it was published.

[2]However, as seen below, there were earlier examples.

[3]Herbert Henry Asquith, first earl of Oxford and Asquith (1852–1928), was awarded first class honours in *literae humaniores* at Balliol College Oxford, he married Helen Melland in 1877, became the Liberal M.P. for East Fife in 1886, his wife died of typhoid in 1891, he was home secretary from 1892–1895, married Margot Tennant in 1894, was chancellor of the exchequer from 1905–1908, prime-minister from 1908–1916 (initially, at least, seen as a progressive, with

was to persuade his fellow parliamentarians and the British public that the only viable option in the summer of 1914 was to go to war with Germany. Publicly he was at pains to show that, while he considered his decision unavoidable, he did so with a sense of anguish: "with the utmost reluctance and with infinite regret, His Majesty's Government have been compelled to put this country in a state of war" (*Speeches* 1914–1916, August 6th 1914, 3). In the same speech he announced that he could not continue to hold two positions, and Lord Kitchener had agreed to oversee the War ministry, as it would not be right for Asquith to only give "perfunctory attention to the affairs of our Army in a great war" (August 6th 1914, 10). He was eager to blame Germany, for which the evidence was "patent, manifold and overwhelming", through hyperbole instead of evidence, and accepting German culpability meant that it was very different to "the great wars of history [which] have been almost accidentally brought on" (September 25th 1914, 37).

It is conspicuous how Asquith generally chose to describe the First World War as "the Great War" at an implicit level, as though he dared not appear to be enjoying the experience. When justifying the money needed for the campaign, he made comparison to "our expenditure upon the great wars of the past" starting with "the Great War" of 1793–1815 (March 1st 1915, 63). He went from naming the war by syllogism—he was explaining the monetary demands of that war by citing other "great" wars as precedents, therefore the war then being fought was "great"—to being, eight months later, more direct: "This War, like all the great wars of history, has been fruitful in surprises and disappointments" (November 2nd 1915, 73). Asquith's suggestive use of "great war" served a few purposes. By referring to previous examples he was able to claim that the contemporaneous ordeals were not unique and that, with the prime example a century before, a war lasting over twenty years had ultimately been successful for Britain and her allies; while framing the present war in terms of the costs (human and financial) of earlier confrontations meant he avoided the ambiguity of the word "great", stating that it would be of pervasive consequence without calling it wonderful.

The rhetorical use of the phrase when pleading to the country—"we cannot sustain the burden which this great War has laid upon us unless (…) [we] are prepared to make, far greater sacrifices than we have hitherto done" (November 2nd 1915, 92)—may well have had, at best, only short term success. According to a record of his war speeches, in the five he made in 1916 (his last year as prime-minister), he never once said "the great war" (November 2nd 1915, 104–140). It is possible he feared it could be seen as metonymy for a political con-trick, and even a clue to his own duplicity, which he revealed in private correspondence. Amongst other young women of personal interest, Asquith became particularly attached to Venetia Stanley and wrote hundreds of letters to her while he was prime-minister. The notion of him detailing government secrets during cabinet meetings (Taylor, 1992, p. 3) was then profoundly worrying to Winston

Lloyd George as chancellor, though the war prevented, for example, reform of the House of Lords), and he accepted an earldom from the king in 1925 (Matthew, 2004).

Churchill—the letters were "England's greatest security risk" (Manchester, 1983, p. 557)—and now are invaluable for the insight they provide. In contrast to his public regret at the unfortunate need for sacrifices on a grand scale, Asquith wrote to the young lady that "'the sudden outburst of the Great War"' had been the luckiest break of his career (Brock, 1992, p. 111). He was less assiduous with other correspondents. Three of his sons volunteered for the front line and wrote to their father about their experiences, but it is believed that he never replied (Mosley, 2002).

Asquith's successor had a markedly different attitude as prime-minister, both to his predecessor and to himself in the first half of the war. At the outbreak of war Lloyd George[4] was unequivocal about Britain's obligation to fight: "The stern hand of fate has scourged us to an elevation where we can see the great everlasting things which matter for a nation—the great peaks we had forgotten, of Honour, Duty, Patriotism, and clad in glittering white, the great pinnacle of Sacrifice pointing like a rugged finger to Heaven" (*Speeches* September 19th 1914, 225). In three, admittedly lengthy, speeches, two from 1914 and one from the end of 1916 when he had become prime-minister, the phrase "great war" was spoken nine times, to name the moral imperative of crushing a pernicious enemy, and in terms of what he saw as the inevitable costs of this scale of conflict. It was "a great War for the emancipation of Europe from the thraldom of a military caste (…) now plunging the world into a welter of bloodshed and death" (September 19th 1914, 224), and though "this great War had been forced by the Prussian military leaders" on Europe, to fail to stand up to "this swashbuckling through the streets of Europe to the disturbance of all harmless and peaceful citizens" would be foolish (*Speeches* December 19th 1916, 252).

When speaking before 1917 of the necessary commitments and sacrifices Lloyd George adopted a pragmatic approach. In December 1916 he proposed the nationalization of shipbuilding because of the maritime losses, "inevitable in any great war, especially when you are dealing with such piratical methods" as the Germans use (December 19th 1916, 262). In the same speech when he referred to people it was as if they were material resources. To ensure "the success of this country in this great War" required "the mobilization of the labour reserves of the country" (December 19th 1916, 267). By 1917 Lloyd George appears to have undergone a painful transformation, such that the phrase "the great war" would no longer be congruent.

In September 1914 he had said that nobody anticipated "engaging in a great war with greater reluctance (…) than I have done (…) There is no man (…) more convinced we could not have avoided it without national dishonour" (*Speeches* 211). As

[4]David Lloyd George, first Earl Lloyd-George of Dwyfor (1863–1945), was brought up under a strong Liberal influence, he qualified with honours for the Law Society in 1884, by 1886 he had a reputation as a brilliant speaker and had wavered over Irish Home rule (whether or not to support Gladstone). He became M. P. for Caernafon Boroughs in 1890, fiercely opposed the Boer War at considerable personal risk, became chancellor in 1908, introduced the Welfare State (National Insurance Act) in 1911, was minister of munitions from 1915–1916 then secretary of state for war for a few months, and prime-minister from 1916–1922 when he publicly clashed with his generals. In his seventies he took to fruit farming in Surrey, but remained an M. P. until 1945, when he received an earldom (Morgan, 2004).

far as we can now ascertain, this statement was a sincere representation of his views. At the start of August 1914 he had argued in the cabinet for peace, but once he judged '"events too strong for him"' he became wholly committed to war (Wilson 10). However, it is also true that as an astute politician Lloyd George was eager to know of the popular will and in this cause he maintained close contacts with at least five newspaper editors (Taylor 28). After a few months as prime-minister his remorse became evident, though he is thought to have been concerned about ill-conceived military planning and the resulting pointless and enormous casualty figures from early 1915 (Morgan, 2004). In the House of Commons (June 11th 1917), speaking in tribute to a Major Redmond, he lamented "the sacrifices imposed upon these islands by this terrible War" (*Hansard*). Following a dinner in December 1917 with a war correspondent, Philip Gibbs, Lloyd George spoke to C. P. Scott, editor of the *Manchester Guardian*, about the terrible truth of the war and what the people "don't know, and can't know." In combination, the censors and newspapers give "a pretty picture of the war with everybody doing gallant deeds. The thing is horrible and beyond human nature to bear and I feel I can't go on with this bloody business" (Wilson, 1970, p. 274) There are several possible reasons for his despondency—that he was hearing more details from the front, that he felt more personally responsible, simply that it had continued for so long without the prospect of victory, that he had no faith in the military commanders,[5] or that he was worried about popular disaffection—but most likely it was the combination.

Lloyd George's criticism of the contemporary portrayal of the war as "a pretty picture (…) with everybody doing gallant deeds" could equally have been levelled against much of the recruiting propaganda, which at the time was mainly in the form of posters and music hall songs. As an example, a British poster asked "Who can beat this plucky four?" above a painting of four soldiers who, according to their uniforms and the flags in their bayonets, represented England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland who looked valiant and in no danger of becoming bloody or muddy From a review of the over 200 English language posters—from the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada, India, Australia and Caribbean islands—available online, the desperation to recruit is evident, as is the message that subtlety was not a concern. One poster, from the South Midland Divisional Cyclist Company, asked "Are you fond of cycling? If not why not cycle for the King?" and at the bottom was the encouragagement "Bad teeth no bar" (*IWM*, 1914–1916).

Likewise, music hall songs were often used as means for enhancing the war effort, for example "Men of England, You Have Got to Go!" and "Be a Soldier, Be a Man!" (Mullen, 2015, p. 154), though, of course, it was not a homogenous culture and to remain popular the venues primarily had to provide entertainment. However, of several hundred song titles I have seen from this period only one mentions "the Great War", and that was actually from 1919, "What did you do in the Great War, Daddy?"

[5]Lloyd George: "Haig does not care how many men he loses. He just squanders the lives of these boys. I mean to save some of them in the future. He seems to think they are his property", January 15th 1917 (Taylor, 1971, p. 139).

(Mullen, 2015, pp. 172–173). The only poster I could find with the phrase is captioned "Daddy, what did YOU do in the Great War?" (*IWM*, 1915), which was presumably the source of the later song, and shows a suited man gazing pensively while his daughter asks the very question and his son plays with soldiers at his feet (*IWM*, 1915).

The song reads as satirical, though the target is not clear from the lyrics. The characters include a woman who "sang to wounded Tommies" who lacked anaesthetic, and a 'special' who guarded a reservoir during the day to stop people drinking from it (Mullen, 2015, p. 173). The post-war mockery of the slogan and underlying sentiment was likely written to appeal to resentment about this specific poster. According to its history at the Imperial War Museum, the poster publisher's director, Arthur Gunn, produced it out of contrition for not enlisting, it was mocked by soldiers and its designer, Savile Lumley, an illustrator of children's books, is thought later to have disowned it (*Imperial*, 1915). It may well be symptomatic of, if not contributory to, incredulity that the war was in any positive sense great.

Another feature of the poster's use of "the Great War" is that it depicts a retrospective view from an imagined future, in English grammatical terms the way future perfect functions, looking back from a time to come. The way the phrase is couched is an indication of official inhibitions: despite other efforts which were more or less blackmail, they only felt secure calling the war "great" in terms of an unknown post-war era. It is notable that the periodical *Punch* frequently used this meme in a similar way. There were four references to "the great war" in 1914, the first in November; ten in 1915; five in 1916; fifteen in 1917; and fourteen in 1918, with five in December 1918, the most for any month, a semantic sigh of relief. Of these there were nineteen examples of the phrase used in connection with some form of hindsight from an indistinct time after the war, and two in December 1918 when that time had arrived, and so they were simply retrospective.

The nature of the publication meant that mostly the purpose was humorous, or what passed for humour in *Punch* at the time. Whether or not in allusion to the previously mentioned poster, often the theme was a play on asking someone what they had done in the Great War, seven times it was a father or grandfather who was asked, and five of those were in 1918. Indeed, the enquiry as a comedic device in the last year of the war shows a marked increase in cynicism and loss of faith in what the war stood for. In a poem, "Head-cover" a soldier anticipates what he will do if his son asks him "what mighty deeds/I've done in the Great War, I'll simply yank him over my knee/ And soundly spank him" (*Punch* February 1918, 91, ll. 34–36). In a series of short paragraphs apparently commenting on genuine news items is the presumably fictitious story of a baby named Grierson Plumer Haig French Smith-Dorrien, after six generals, so the father who served under them does not need to answer, '"What did you do in the Great War, Daddy?"' (September 1918, 193)

If the two instances in the issues published after the Armistice show less of an acerbic attitude, at this distance the Christmas cracker style of levity reads as remarkably inappropriate for what the returning soldiers had just experienced. In one story about what ex-servicemen are proposing to do with their uniforms, Major Bounceby thinks it would be a good idea to put his on a mannequin which will be

"in the corner of the drawing-room, as a constant reminder to Mrs. B. and the irreverent young B.'s of what papa did in the great war" (December 1918, 378). Another story is of Dixenham, who volunteers in order to have an answer if he is asked, "Daddy, what did you do in the Great War?" As he is 52 years old it is thought unlikely he will gain any military experience, but still he joins and only lasts for a week, until he is invalided out with lameness. However, his gardener is fit and so goes off to fight while Dixenham takes over gardening duties, which he believes is contributing to the war effort (December 1918, 410). The specific theme of men being answerable to their children for their war-time behaviour had only appeared twice before 1918, from which it could be inferred that when the situation was uncertain (which included an allied victory) the writers at *Punch* felt wary about being seen to undermine those who volunteered to fight, uncertain as to whether the British would consider the war great.

A recurring topic and basis for jokes was the shameful nature of men who did not do their bit, that their manhood was unquestionably lacking. A poem titled "V.M.B."[6] is, from the subtitle, said to be a result of the previously mentioned propaganda: "'*What did you do, Daddy, in the Great War?' – Recruiting Poster"*. The narrator is worried about how he will be able to tell his children "The tale of how *I* helped my motherland" (July 1915, 58, l. 6). It is a very hypothetical concern because he is not a father or a husband (l. 3), but he nonetheless expresses his determination to stop his "stupid writing" (l. 9) and instead be "Devoted to the high-explosive kind" (l. 12). In the final stanza he considers the physical effects of writing to his person, as if they were war wounds, and thinks most will disappear (l. 13–18). If this is parody with a target, presumably it is not soldiers at the front, and bearing in mind the nature of First World War literature in English, it would be ironic if poets as a whole were effectively being portrayed as incapable of military action and courage.

The attempt to find humour, however anaemic, through a narrator who compares his unexceptional activities to a soldier's was repeated two years later in a poem called "The General". In a dream a child asks what his grandfather, father and uncle did "'In the Great War long ago'" (April 1917, 258, ll. 10–12). While the father was a soldier and the uncle a sailor, the (future) grandfather did household chores, including cooking, for various women who went out to work. The dénouement is that the child is so proud of his grandfather, the *soi-disant* general, that he "Stood at attention, stiff and mute/And gave his very best salute" (ll. 59–60).

For the duration of the war the magazine used the phrase "the Great War" as a convenient method for really demeaning what must have been considered risible types, such as lower-paid office workers, the Irish and villagers. Fighting British soldiers never featured in this specific form of derision, though there are attempts throughout the four years at finding comedy in their experiences. One example is a cartoon of two wounded soldiers in which one says to the other, '"I tell yer, chum,

[6]One definition of "vmb" is "Virgin Mary boy", to mean a boy or young man lacking in sexual experience, and although this may sound an unlikely explanation it is congruent with the implicitly self-deprecating depiction in the poem. (*Urban*).

there ain't never been a war like this one – not even in history"' (October 1918, 209). Therefore, jokes at the expense of soldiers in combat were not out of bounds, but in conjunction with "the Great War" it appears they would have been thought excessive or in bad taste, as if the phrase had a special elevated tenor, at least to the writers at *Punch*. This interpretation is not based solely on what could be argued to be a coincidental absence; it is wholly congruent with how "the Great War" was employed as a means to further diminish those seen as innately trivial.

The most predictable object of this form of irony was the German military, though they were only lampooned in this specific way twice. In a poem called 'Truthful Willie' about a German prince whose "'constant aim was peace'" (*Punch* December 1914, 490, l. 18), he is asked about Bernhardi who "'who preached the Great War game'" (ll.41–42), but the German denies knowledge of him and leaves, while his interlocutor is pleased "to have communed (…) /With one so innocent" (ll. 50–51). Frederich Adolf Julius von Bernhardi (1849–1930) was a Prussian general who was devoutly bellicose. As well as serving in the army, he wrote a series of books to promote the intrinsic worth of nations going to war, including *Unsere Zukunft. Ein Mahnwort an das deutsche Volk* [*Our Future. A Word of Warning to the German People*] just before the First World War. In it he asserted the need "to reclaim for war its moral justification", that it was "the highest expression of true culture, and as a political necessity in the interest of biological, social, and moral progress", and to avoid "inferior and degenerate races" conquering healthier ones "it becomes a biological necessity" (Bernhardi, 1912). Therefore, having "the Great War" in an ironic text about peaceful Germans, and Bernhardi in particular, a few months after the outbreak of the war gives the phrase an unwelcome and aggressive tone, almost as though from a pacifist viewpoint: the desire for war characterises the Central Powers and is iniquitous and alien. In those circumstances, to consider it "Great" is indicative of their reprehensible natures.

Nearing the end of the war there is a story about the dangers British soldiers face when taking over old German positions, when the latter are in retreat, with the constant possibility of booby traps, "another reminder of the Great War" (October 1918, 227–228). At this point and in this context the phrase reads as virtually oxymoronic, that after the enormous toll the fighting has taken and when, according to an Allied perspective, the Germans should have accepted defeat, there is still surreptitious danger, which, from the same standpoint, proves the enemy to be ungallant and treacherous. Whatever the validity of the opinion, it is not surprising. However, the opprobrium heaped on Britons portrayed as lacking manly virtue because of not choosing to serve at the front, is more significant. In a meandering letter a soldier regrets having to remain in his staff offices while colleagues have gone to fight: "They were full of kindly commiseration about my future". While they will return "covered with glory and medals", all he can anticipate are "indelible ink-stains on my fingers and three vaccination marks on my left arm as my only mementoes of the Great War" (February 1915, 135). Despite the clear reluctance of his fellow soldiers to return to combat, its avoidance is the abnegation of a moral duty and the marks his secretarial experiences will leave expose the triviality of his contribution to the great undertaking.

In this Manichean paradigm, the antithesis to paper-shufflers were the Tommies, and as a bureaucrat held his manhood cheap so a combatant automatically merited deferential treatment. Other types also suffered in such comparisons. In a letter from an imagined immediate post-war future of 1925, soldiers are informed that they are to receive lessons in etiquette which includes lectures on deportment "given by civilians and actors who have been unable (through varicose veins or the necessity of amusing the soldier on leave) to take any part in the Great War" (July 1917, 70). In this dichotomy it is accepted that it is important to respect the experiences and persons of the men from the front and, whenever they run counter, to dismiss the attitudes of those who stayed behind, whether or not they had any choice. When a soldier is on leave and goes out in civilian clothes, he is first admonished by a woman whose husband is away fighting, and then "one urchin addressed him as 'Daddy' and asked him what he was doing in the Great War" (October 1917, 283).

The insularity that was mocked, that the woman cannot see beyond how much she is affected, and the boy asks the loaded question despite implicitly making no contribution himself, is accentuated by the grandiloquent use of "the Great War". Parochialism was similarly scorned by being placed in conjunction with the phrase, simultaneously diminishing those whose world ended a mile or two from where they stood, while enhancing the status of the war. A reporter from an East Anglian village after a Zeppelin attack noted that he had spoken "with the inhabitants [about] the Great War of which some of them had heard" (October 1915, 347). If fellow Britons who have just experienced an air-raid were thought appropriate subjects for ridicule, then it is no surprise that the Irish were not spared, if necessary through a piece of fiction. The story of "the Great War between Ballybun and Kilterash", "by the pellucid waters of that noble stream, the Bun, which hurls itself over a barrier of old tin-cans", relates that the reason and time it started are not known, but that it may have been because of the theft of a pig centuries before (February 1917, 112).

An irony at these efforts to make humour in this manner, depicting these villagers as too close-minded to see what was the one issue of genuine importance, is that the humourists are displaying their own narrow-mindedness. For them at the time, and to an obsessive degree, the First World War was the overriding and the only unquestionable concern. As a consequence, the further their contemporaries' interests were from the war the more they deserved ridicule. In a brief conversation in which a mother is teaching her children, she explains that "the leaders of the Celtic Revival were famous for their literary achievement". When her son asks what they did in the Great War, their contribution to literature is made irrelevant, and the mother's reply confirms their superficial worth: "they wrote beautiful poetry, and went out of doors only in the twilight" (October 1918, 232). For this humour to have been effective, poetry, and that written by Irish poets in particular, needed to be seen as frivolous, and one had to accept that a contribution to the war effort was a connate obligation, especially if "the Great War", as opposed to "the war", was taken to be the correct description.

Others were said to be to blame for their failure to do their duty and for the same unforgiveable reason of writing. The writers at *Punch* could be free from censure

doubtless because their ubiquitous topic, directly or obliquely, was the only one that counted. A review of a novel set in an English garrison town, mostly since 1914, notes the regret that it is "not greatly affected by the Great War" and should therefore "have been written, read and forgotten" (May 1918, 320). An invented book, in a list of anticipated superfluous publications, is called "'British Birds' by One Who Got Them", and he was "a slacker in the prime of life in the Great War" (January 1915, 65). "The Great War" looms large over their ornithology and town-life, and over the wilful failure to concentrate on it at the expense of everything else. However, even authors who wrote about and supported the war effort were not spared. A fictitious meeting is attended by H. G. Wells, the war is discussed and Wells leaves enigmatically before the end (December 1914, 515). The purpose of this story is hard to ascertain, beyond hoping that writers were thought to be inherently funny people, because many in Britain at the time, including those featured, had signed the "Authors' Declaration" a few months before in support of the British government's decision to go to war (Milne, 2015).[7] Indeed, one of those said to be in attendance was far more zealous about fighting Germany, and his warnings began a long time before 1914.

William Le Queux[8] was Anglo-French, initially a journalist, then a novelist, he also claimed to have been an amateur spy. Through his fairly extensive travelling he acquired the combination of ideas that Britain was wonderful and that neighbouring countries were envious of her successes and achievements. He was especially troubled by the Germans, who he thought had vindictive designs on his beloved country and its empire (Woods). For this cause, and despite the chance he would be seen as risible, Le Queux was relentless. His campaign began in 1893 with *The Great War in England in 1897*, the novel referred to in the *Punch* story mentioned above, and even if the magazine was hoping to ridicule the writer, by late 1914 he must have felt thoroughly vindicated (Panek, 1981, p. 8). The story is of a Russian invasion which is helped by British ingenuousness, and includes a bomb attack on Edinburgh from a hot-air balloon (strikingly similar to H. G. Wells' *The War in the Air* from 1907, in which bombs are dropped from airships on New York ([1908] 2005). Ultimately Le Queux's invaders are defeated by a "pneumatic dynamite gun" (Panek, 1981, p. 8).

Le Queux's industry and, almost certainly, creativity extended to warning those in power about German plots he had helped to uncover, including discussions in

[7]Among the 53 signatories alongside H. G. Wells were J. M. Barrie, G. K. Chesterton, Thomas Hardy, John Masefield and Sir Arthur Conan Doyle (Milne).

[8]William Tuffnel Le Queux (1864–1927) was born in London to an English mother and French father. He made unreliable claims about his education in Europe. From the 1890s he wrote fiction, short stories and novels (which averaged over five a year) and articles. Much of his fiction was set overseas, and involved the wealthy in crime (usually as the victims) or espionage. By 1898 he was being paid at the same rate as Thomas Hardy and H. G. Wells, but when his second wife sued him after their separation in 1910 he was declared bankrupt, probably due to a profligate lifestyle and failed business ventures. During World War One he wrote anti-German fiction as fact. In an obituary he was described as "a modern variant of Baron Münchausen" (Stearn, 2004).

1905 between the Kaiser and his military leaders about how they could conquer Britain, and Le Queux claimed to have seen images of the new weapons and maps. On another occasion he reported the existence of a list of members of the British government and some writers who, he was shocked to discover, were working as German spies. In both instances he regretted to tell the authorities that the documents had gone missing. The prime-minister, Henry Campbell-Bannerman, labelled him "a pernicious scare-monger" (Woods), but he was not dissuaded.

His most ambitious work was the novel *The Invasion of 1910* (1906), which was not only a costly project, but an example of art by committee. Le Queux successfully appealed to Field Marshall Earl Roberts (1832–1914) for support in alerting the British authorities about German ambitions, and Roberts suggested that Le Queux should write a novel to warn the British people about the danger from Europe (Gannon, 2005, pp. 34–35). Naturally, the idea was attractive to Le Queux, but he wanted help. He asked Roberts for advice on military aspects of the novel, and the two went to East Anglia with the mind-set that they were Germans looking for the best way to invade London (Woods). Le Queux also had an influential advocate in the media who encouraged, financed and promoted the book.

In the first decade of the twentieth century Alfred Harmsworth, later known as Lord Northcliffe,[9] owned the *Daily Mail*, the *Daily Mirror*, the *Sunday Observer* and (from 1908) *The Times* (Simkin, 1997). Northcliffe told Le Queux not to worry about money and eagerly agreed to serialize the finished work. However, when he was shown the suggested invasion route, Northcliffe told them to change it so that the *Daily Mail* readership would have particular cause for alarm, and so for buying his newspaper.[10] When the story appeared the newspaper sellers walked the streets dressed as German soldiers ("spiked helmets and Prussian uniforms") and it was a commercial success: the *Daily Mail* multiplied its readers and the novel sold a million copies in 27 languages (Woods).

[9]Alfred Charles William Harmsworth, Viscount Northcliffe (1865–1922), became a reporter at 15 and founded his own newspaper firm in 1888 which became Amalgamated Press Company. He wanted his newspapers to be more accessible, so they had less text, more pictures and striking headlines. He founded the *Daily Mail* in 1896 and the *Daily Mirror*, with an all-female staff, in 1903. He expressed unabashedly patriotic views and the value of a strong military through his newspapers, and he had significant political influence. Having warned of the German threat before 1914, he exposed British tactical and armament shortcomings, and funded a postal service so that soldiers could send letters home. He believed that in peace Germany should be punished financially (Boyce, 2004).

[10]Maps were included with the serialization so that readers could have a more accurate idea of their proximity to the threat (Panek 8).

There was another contributor to *The Invasion of 1910*. A chapter is about naval incidents and it was written by H. W. Wilson, considered an expert in the field. Herbert Wrigley Wilson[11] worked, until the start of the First World War, as a leader writer and deputy editor at the *Daily Mail* (Clarke 436–437), then in August 1914 Northcliffe made him editor of a new magazine:[12] *The Great War: The Standard History of the World-Wide Conflict* (Wilson, 1914–1918). Northcliffe's hope was that a publication with photographs, maps and quite detailed information of the conduct of the war by both sides would engage the public and goad young men into volunteering. He had already used his Amalgamated Press to campaign for a stronger military and against what he saw as an aged and incapable cabinet during the Boer War. From 1914 to 1916 his newspapers published criticisms, for example, of the failures of munitions and of Field Marshall Kitchener's tactics (Boyce, 2004). In the First World War the *Daily Mail* had articles intended for soldiers, occasionally written by soldiers, and 10,000 copies were delivered to the front every day (Thompson, 1999, p. 147). Northcliffe had warned and lobbied politicians to prepare for war to the extent that some claimed he came second only to the Kaiser as the principle cause (Boyce, 2004). However, he clearly wanted the enemy to be blamed. On August 3rd 1914 the *Daily Mail's* front page read, "The Great War Begun by Germany", a headline he must have relished (Thompson, 1999, p. 24).

The phrase "the Great War" clearly benefitted the proponents of war like Northcliffe and Le Queux. In anticipation of and during the conflict they could use it in the hope of emphasizing the magnitude of their fears, whether sincere or exaggerated, and the momentous nature of the war they protested Britain was bound to fight. In its early stages Lloyd George echoed this certainty of the justice and moral imperative of the call to arms, but his overt change in attitude around the time he became prime-minister, coincidentally or not, suggests a definite growing antipathy among the British public. For his predecessor, Asquith, his public misgivings suggest he was never entirely confident of the electorate's approval despite his private celebration that he had been in charge when war was declared. The attempts the writers at *Punch* made to extract humour from their various uses of "the Great War" certainly show vacillations, as some have noted (as, for example, MacCallum-Stewart), as if, like Asquith, their constant concern was not to offend public sensibilities, and they could never be sure of the people's current mood. This reticence is evident in the nature of most of the humour that included the phrase, a squeamish manner of deriding types and behaviour without having the backbone to extol a war they favoured.

[11]Herbert Wrigley Wilson (1866–1940) was considered an authority on the navy and wrote on the subject so that the British people would want the Royal Navy to remain dominant. He worked as a journalist, wrote several books on the military and became attached to Northcliffe and his media empire, employed in various positions. Before World War One he warned of the German increase in armaments (Morris, 2004).

[12]From images of the covers Wilson was often credited as sole editor, but had been assisted by John Alexander Hammerton, acknowledged later.

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