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The Representation of Women in British First
World War Propaganda and Fiction:
Identities of Women in *Non-Combatants and
Others* by Rose Macaulay and *Testament of Youth*
by Vera Brittain

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Introduction

During the First World War Britain has shown an unexpected enthusiasm to fight. Although many contribute this to the war hysteria and the romance of war and patriotism, it has been acknowledged that the British were the first to develop a successful official propaganda campaign prompting the enlistment of thousands of volunteers by manipulating the public. In this thesis I will provide a socio-historic background of Great Britain during the First World War while concentrating on the representation of women in the various means of propaganda. Introducing the topic of my thesis, first of all I would like to delineate the historical setting of the time. Before the First World War Britain claimed the monopoly of trade worldwide and possessed the majority of the colonies, while the military inventions and the political arrangement of Europe foreshadowed the conflict. The ethnic differences in the Balkan region further set the stage between the opposing powers present in Europe for the last blow which would lead to the outbreak of the First World War. The assassination of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand set the two fields at variance, even if indirectly, engulfing Britain as well in defense of its ally France. The war which was believed to be over by Christmas lasted for four years introducing new tools of warfare such as the trench systems, the tanks and the poison gas. The “war to end all wars” ended with the failure of the Central Powers to gain territory and Britain strengthened by the colonies and the US.

In this thesis I will also examine the social construction of the time. The British had a small professional army and when it was time to enlist men volunteered with surprising vehemence. Not only did the military excel in recruiting, but a strong home front was established. Women took a significant part substituting men in factories, farms or in the police force and symbolized the home to fight for while total war annexed trade, agriculture and economy. Differences between the Irish, Scottish and the British were put aside to fight against a common enemy, the barbaric Hun. Propaganda was used extensively in order to

construct a repellent picture of the common opponent. The Wellington House, set up to issue news and current information to the public and the neutral countries, led an unpredictably successful propaganda campaign throughout the war convincing the USA to join the war on the side of the Allies which helped them to victory. Women played an extremely important role in the First World War joining the Voluntary Aid Detachments as nurses and fighting for their rights. The struggle for the right to vote and the continuous female participation in never before seen professions raised women's standards of living and provided a distinctive voice in post-war society. In the third section of my first chapter I will introduce the literature of the war contributing to the pleasure and relaxation of the soldiers on the front and the families waiting at home. Literature became a tool of propaganda shaping public opinion and mirrored the identities reinforced by society.

In the second chapter I will attempt to define war and the motivation to enter combat. Alexander Moseley in his work on war motivation attributed to the personal psychological aspects of the human character as well as social and economic motives. Referring to determinism he claims that man has the control of his life, therefore war is a conscious decision, while introducing the ideas of Jean Paul Sartre, Plato, Marx he further explores the effect of human nature and the power of society. I will attempt to delineate the meaning and the operation of propaganda, referring to the theories of Walter Lippmann and Harold Lasswell. I will examine the different propaganda techniques and their functions, while mediating upon the gravity of gender identity and feminist consciousness. With reference to Barthes' *Mythologies* I will delineate the relation between myth and meaning in order to investigate the construction of meaning in images and propaganda. In addition, Chomsky and Herman present the argument of meaning and propaganda controlled by the higher social classes, outlining the importance of power in manipulating public opinion. The fight for feminism and women's emancipation was grounded in the 1900s and different approaches were introduced. Simone de Beauvoir indicates the apparent inferiority of women and women writers in particular. She comments on the fact that female identity is

subject to masculine criticism and influence and how it was represented in literature. Gender identity was further expanded by Helene Cixous and Luce Irigaray in their 'écriture feminine' emphasizing the autonomy and the rights of women to proper representation contradicting Sigmund Freud's men-centered psychoanalysis. Studies of the portrayal of women in history have also gone through significant change showcasing the influence of gender identity. Gender inequality was widespread not only in history but also in literature. Literature about women did not mirror reality but expressed the masculine expectations and perspective. Therefore female readers were urged to adapt a different reader approach such as the mimetic theory which concentrates on identifying sexist representations. Furthermore, drawing on Susan Grayzel's work I will attempt to provide a background on the effects of war on female gender identity. Grayzel's study shows that motherhood was the only profession and duty appropriate for women to fulfill. Later during the war women received the opportunity to perform various masculine professions, which led to independence and thus immorality. Women's representation changed during the war from mothers and victims to be protected to seductive monsters to avoid. Furthermore, women were attacked when wearing military uniforms based on the fact that they did not take part in combat. In the last section of the second chapter focusing on Stuart Hall's observations I will investigate the construction of meaning through text and images. Moreover, I will reflect on the works of Harold Lasswell, Edward A. Filene and Clyde R. Miller to illustrate the different techniques of propaganda and the seven devices used during the war.

In the last chapter of this thesis I will begin by elaborating on the biography of Vera Brittain and Rose Macaulay in order to construct a foundation focusing on the ambivalence of gender identity and to display the path of female war novelists. Furthermore, concentrating on the emerging concept of the new woman the aim of this paper is to investigate the effects of the war and propaganda on the representation and the growing independence of women. Drawing upon Rose Macaulay's *Noncombatants and Others* and Vera Brittain's *Testament of Youth* as my major source, I will delineate the various

representations of women in British propaganda and popular fiction concentrating on the different identities portrayed by women during the First World War: the innocent victim, the nurturing caretaker and the androgynous suffragette. When the war broke out women suffered of the emotions of uselessness and inertia. The characters, Vera and Alix fail to define their role in the war struck society. Women succeeding in masculine professions as factory workers and farmers, volunteering to become nurses, ambulance drivers challenged the traditional beliefs about their duty, responsibility and function. Female voting rights were not the only aim of enthusiastic feminists but also pacifism. New beliefs and a new value system were created where women occupied a new position. Nurses had the opportunity to investigate the male anatomy from closer diverting the gaze from the female body as asserted by Laura Mulvey. Moreover, using specific examples from the novels I will examine the spatial dislocation available and determinative for women crossing boundaries between the home front and the fighting front adapting an apparent masculinity. At the same time, this thesis will explore the emasculation of men and defy false beliefs about the romance and holiness of war. Adapting a pacifist approach the novelists illustrate the exposure of trauma and its effect on women.

I will be analyzing articles using the *The World War on Land and Water* and propaganda posters from the period I will examine how the propaganda agencies used the different techniques to manipulate the masses. Based on Roland Barthes' study on interpreting images this thesis will analyze various propaganda posters shedding a light on the different functions women were represented in and the apparent inferiority and objectification of the gender. In the three articles I will also apply the seven propaganda devices to detect the diverse methods adopted to create consent among the people and join into the effort. In conclusion, I will argue that during the First World War the representations of women in propaganda such as newspapers, posters and fiction reflect the various stereotypes that were entrenched by propaganda and which heralded the concept of the new independent woman.

Chapter 1. Socio-Historical Background

1.1. Historical Background

In order to introduce the argument I would like to focus on the historical events as well as the changes in society in Europe and Britain before, during and after the First World War. David Stevenson, professor of International History at the London School of Economics & Political Science, states that before the outbreak of the First World War, Europe was in a stage that nowadays we would call globalization. European countries' trade flourished possessing almost two thirds of the global trade, and even more global investments. In politics, democracy was on its peak, giving the possibility to the majority of the adult male population to vote. Only Austria-Hungary, Germany, and Russia preserved their state monarchy. Freedom of assembly and freedom of speech was the norm. Moreover, Stevenson points out that there were a number of military improvements which foreshadowed the upcoming conflict. The British introduced the battleship HMS Dreadnought, which revolutionized navigation. Germany's well-built numerous railways aided mobilization. High explosives were used in bullets and shells instead of manpower. The Concert of Europe, a temporary organization to resolve differences between countries, was powerless and regularly ignored especially by Germany and Austria-Hungary. He claims that the balance of power was the main element which determined peace in Europe. The German Second Empire with the leadership of Chancellor Otto von Bismarck signed an alliance with Austro-Hungary and Italy forming the Triple Alliance in 1882. Even though Russia first sided with Germany, a Franco-Russian alliance was established after the German and Russian connections faded. Stevenson explains that later the impending war seemed more and more inevitable. Germany tried to make amends with Russia but failed. In the meantime Britain

signed the Entente Cordiale with France in 1904 and with Russia in 1907, resolving the differences of the past. Germany's ally Austria-Hungary was absorbed in its inter-ethnic conflict and felt threatened by its Slavic neighbor Serbia. At the time the imminent threat of war was less obvious but a final spark was what was needed to set the war in motion. This spark was delivered by a young Serbian nationalist, Gavrilo Princip, on June 28 1914, in Sarajevo, Bosnia, when he killed Archduke Franz Ferdinand, the heir to the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Cyril Falls in *The Great War* provides an authentic picture about the sequence of events of the First World War. The Archduke Francis Ferdinand, heir of the Austro-Hungarian throne, visited Sarajevo in June 28, 1914. He dreamed of creating a triad monarchy uniting Austria and Hungary with the southern Slav countries. Although his idea was popular in Bosnian middle-class it was highly rejected by the extremists. When he visited Sarajevo a bomb was launched at the car carrying the Archduke but he was not injured, however a group of spectators were seriously wounded. Later that day when the Archduke and his wife decided to visit the injured in the hospital they were assassinated by Gavrilo Princip, 22, member of the 'Black Hand' extremist group. Russia, a former ally of Serbia, was threatened by the Archduke to unite Austria-Hungary with the Slav countries. Romania was already and ally of Germany therefore another ally so close to the Black Sea would have endangered Russian territory (Falls 24). Bismarck attempted to join Austria, Germany and Russia to form the "League of Three Emperors" but the opposition between Austria and Russia thwarted his plan. Russia signed an agreement with France and Britain was also able to put their differences aside with France and the three formed the Triple Entente.

The Austrian annexation of Bosnia Herzegovina in 1908 enraged Serbia and a war between Germany and Russia seemed very probable until Russia decided to withdraw. The rush to militarize began, Britain issuing the first battleship the 'Dreadnought'. The Germans decided to build their own ships and in order to sail them out to the Baltic widened and

deepened the Kiel Canal. The British realizing the strength of the German navy strengthened their own and focused its power on territories where an immediate attack would be best answered (Falls 27). After the assassination of the Archduke, Count Berchtold, Austria's foreign minister, wanted to send a military offensive straight to Serbia, but the Hungarian prime minister; Count Tisza suggested that they send Serbia an ultimatum. The Austro-Hungarian ambassador presented an ultimatum to Serbia, requesting the elimination of terrorism and an Austro-Hungarian police investigation into the case of the assassination. Finding it too severe Serbia mobilized its army and appealed to Russia for help, which was executed willingly by the Czar in fear of a German invasion of the Balkans. Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia on July, 28. On August, 1 hearing the news about the mobilization of the Russian army Germany declared war and launched an attack on Russia's ally, France, through the neutral Belgium drawing Britain into the war as well. The war was supposed to be the 'war to end all wars' and everybody believed that its end was just a matter of few months.

Count Schlieffen worked out a plan in order to avoid fighting on two fronts. First he was planning on invading France through Belgium and since he was aware that the Russian troops needed a significant amount of time to line up their troops only later would he turn to fight Russia on the Eastern front with full force. Despite the unexpectedly persistent Belgian troops, the Germans successfully took Liege, Namur and Brussels after the Belgians receded to Antwerp (Falls 42). They were met by the British Expeditionary Force at Mons on the 23rd of August. The French tried to attack the German troops from the south through the Lorraine territory but after a devastating defeat they turned to support the British in the north. Based on the Schlieffen plan the Germans prepared to attack from the west and encircle Paris, however in the Battle of the Marne (6. Sept.) they were defeated and pushed back and the plan based on the sudden attack of Paris failed. The Russians were also unpredictably fast in mobilizing in the east. Therefore, Germany was obliged to rearrange its troops which resulted in a more vulnerable army on the west. After the battle of Ypres the 'rush to the sea'

began in October 1914 when both the Allies and the Germans were racing to reach the sea where the northwest boundary of the two front lines was drawn. After the formation of the line the two powers began to dig trenches. The Russians on the east had notable advantage occupying various territories such as Galicia and East Prussia. However, the Russian army proved to be less prepared than expected and suffered a catastrophic defeat at Tannenberg. The Russians appeared to be more triumphant in the south successfully protecting Serbia. The Austrian attacks occupying Belgrade were suppressed by the Serbs.

By the end of 1914 the frontline was stabilized on both fronts. Britain invited its colonies to provide support for the war while Germany was able to win the support of Turkey. The British promised a Dreadnought-type battleship to Turkey but when the war broke out they withdrew their offer. When Germany proposed to fulfill the promise of the British and after establishing a modern Turkish navy attacked Russia on the Black Sea. Russia, followed by Britain and France, declared war on Turkey. Italy on the other hand, hoping to reclaim its lost territories of Trentino and Trieste, and win South Tirol decided to join the Allies. After declaring war on Austria-Hungary a hopeless battle along the Isonzo River became entrenched. Bulgaria decided to side with the Central powers, while Romania, along with Portugal and Greece, supporting the Allies, decided to join the war as well. The German navy carried out a number of attacks on British merchant ships and territories until stopped by a British battle cruiser on 4 December. The German submarine warfare proved to be more effective in isolating Britain from the world than vessels. The neutral US and the British naval nation were highly upset by the unrestricted U-boat attacks of the Germans. After the sinking of the Lusitania carrying thousands of British and American passengers the reputation of Germany in America changed for the worst. War was not only present at sea but also in the air. Fighter aircrafts were being developed by the British after suffering various Zeppelin raids on the south coast. The first unarmed planes were used mainly for surveillance until 1915 when they were finally armed with radios and machine guns. By the end of the war heavy bombers were perfected to be able to accomplish bigger damage.

In the Far East in August 1914 Japan declared war on Germany in order to seize a strategically important territory of the Quindao port. After months of complicated battle between the two powers Japan apart from Quindao claimed the Marianas and Palau Islands. Later they only played a protective part on the side of the Allies. In Africa the colonies of the Allies rushed to seize the German colonies. Cameroon and Togo were occupied by the British but the fights in German East Africa last until 1918. On the eastern front, Russia had a huge manpower but they were poorly equipped and short of ammunitions, therefore they requested help from the British, however the only way the Allies could send supplies to Russia was through the Dardanelles. The Dardanelles represented a turning point in the mindset of the British, since underestimating the strength of the Turkish troops the British suffered a crushing failure at Gallipoli. Controlling the Gallipoli peninsula would have been advantageous for the Brits for they could have sent ammunitions and troops to Poland and Galicia. Winston Churchill the First Lord of the Admiralty believed that the Turks could be defeated by modern weapons. However after an intense battle on sea through forts and underwater mines the landing of the troops was extremely difficult and warfare was grim and futile. Even though the British forces were supported by troops from Australia and New Zealand the troops had to be drawn back. It affected the British morale destroying the good reputation of the country on sea and Churchill was demoted from his position. The Russians were driven back by the German forces on the North and were defeated at Gorlice. Russia was considerably more successful on the Turkish front but their victory initiated the Armenian genocide. The Turks felt threatened by the Armenian community and decided to drive out the Armenian population to the south of Syria. In November 1914, the British attempted another attack on Turkey from the east through Mesopotamia. The small Indian British troops advanced to the North until they easily occupied Basra and Kut striving to claim Baghdad. Nevertheless, on their approach to Baghdad a strong Turkish army ambushed the British army. They decided to withdraw to Kut and in 1916 the British troops surrendered.

In 1916 on the western front the German forces advanced towards Verdun and engaged in a deadly year-long fight with the British. The Allies pushed forward to the Somme which, even if moderately favorable, resulted in one of the biggest number of casualties during the First World War. In the summer of 1916 the British fleet engaged in a battle on sea with the Central Powers. The two naval forces met at the Skagerrak (near the Danish province of Jutland) and even though the German fleet emerged victorious the British flotilla dominated the North Sea. In the meantime, Russia was facing unrest within the country and on March 12, 1917 a revolution broke out led by the Bolsheviks. The Russian Emperor Nicholas stepped down the throne and on December 16 they signed an armistice with Germany at Brest-Litovsk. In another attempt to defeat the Germans, on the 31 July, 1917 an offensive was set in motion from Ypres, at the end claiming the village of Passchendaele. The Germans believed that if the US joined the war a defeat is very probable, and therefore they decided that the only chance to claim further victories was through unrestricted submarine warfare. After the harsh unrestricted warfare of the Central Powers and a German appeal to Mexico promising the annexation of Texas, New Mexico and Arizona, the US joined the war on April 2, 1917. Towards the end of the war in 1918 the Allies engaged in two significant battles, at the Marne on July 18th and at Amiens on August 8 ending in the retreat of the German army. On the 30 October 1918 the Allies signed an armistice with the Ottoman Empire. The final battle of Austria-Hungary was the battle near Isonzo which, apart from the defeat of the Austrian troops, resulted in the fragmentation of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Finally, an armistice was signed in Padua on October 29th. The Germans, attacked by the French and the US army around Verdun and by the British at Cambrai, decided to surrender and sign an armistice with the Allied powers. The Kaiser wished to acquire an armistice with manageable conditions. Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points striving for European peace was taken into consideration when arranging the terms. On November 11 both powers signed the armistice in the Forest of Compiègne.

1.2. British Society before the War

Kenneth O. Morgan in *The Oxford Illustrated History of Britain* providing a summary of the changes in society during the war stated that Lloyd George had growing concerns nationally and internationally. Miners, railway men and transport workers threatened national transportation with strikes and a possible civil war in Ireland. In the Indian and Egyptian colonies nationalist troubles flourished and ethnic unrest took place in the Balkan region. After the declaration of war on August, 4 there was a mood of panic and hysteria among the population. Although Britain was obliged by a treaty to protect Belgium, according to Arthur Marwick the country could also not allow Germany to become a leading power in Europe. Britain presented an ultimatum to Germany to withdraw from Belgium and when the ultimatum expired the declaration of war was welcomed with cheers among the British.

When the war broke out in 1914 people understood that neutral Belgium had to be protected and war had to be declared on Germany in order to protect its independence. Britain sent an ultimatum to Germany requesting the respect of Belgium's neutrality. When Germany refused to accept the ultimatum Britain declared war. Prime Minister Herbert Henry Asquith was reluctant about entering the war since there was no imminent threat to Britain. The British had no obligation to fight on the side of France, and due to the previous positive kinship between Germany and Britain the declaration was unexpected from both fronts. Britain decided to enter the war in order to value their relationship with France, while protecting their dignity as an empire. When Germany invaded Belgium the motives were validated. Previously, in 1839, the Treaty of London was signed stating the neutrality of Belgium, therefore the British had the opportunity to prove their argument towards entering the war. Germany was immediately reprimanded by the rest of the European nations. Propaganda in Great Britain decided to overstate Germany's role as the militant treaty

breaker. The atrocity stories further amplified this idea by demonizing the Germans. Belgium was regarded as the modest little victim to be defended at all cost.

When the German troops invaded Belgium, Prime Minister Asquith declared that Britain was obliged to fight in the war. The most popular ideas were the protection of national dignity and Belgium from an oppressor and fairness. These ideas were spread by the press in forms of pamphlets, books, and newspapers. Elizabeth Oneil's *The War, 1914: A History and an Explanation for Boys and Girls* was an example of literature aimed at the adolescent age group, representing the war as a just war against immorality and violence. The future troops were influenced by the notions of public spirit, good citizenship, commitment, responsibility, benefaction and independence present in various types and forms of propaganda to fight for their country. Many British turned to religion to understand the reasons of war and seek comfort. Since Belgium was Catholic, Catholics were motivated to defend it but the leaders of other denominations stood by the idea of the just war.

However, Britain only possessed a small professional army of less than 100,000 men who were immediately deployed to France. The first professional troops of the British Expeditionary Force were desperately fighting in Flanders, France with very scarce success but bigger number of casualties (Morgan 523). Horatio Herbert Kitchener requested the enlistment of all British men fit for the war. The political oppositions and the Irish issues were set to the side and the government initiated a plan for an extended war period. Morgan describes how the government had to provide an explanation and justify entering the war (524). Lloyd George declared to protect the innocent little countries such as Belgium; therefore the war fought for a "holy cause" met very little resistance (Morgan 524). During the First World War the differentiation between combatants and non-combatants became less evident. The total war incorporated not only the military and the financial resources of the countries but also the home front. An immense number of men were enlisted to satisfy the need of the magnitude of troops for the war. Enlistment was not the only impact on the lives of the people. Municipal areas were harnessed for the need of the military and further

restriction took place in the society. The recruitment system had to be modernized in order to meet the requirements of the growing need for soldiers. In Germany and France conscription was already in motion before the outbreak of the war. In Britain however, military service was not obligatory since the British relied on their invincible navy and Indian troops. Richard Burdon Haldane the secretary of state for war established the Territorial Force and the Officer Training Corps (OTC) to substitute the reserves and built up a professional army with eight percent of the male citizens.

Morgan states that there was unexpected enthusiasm among young and fit men towards conscription, considering that people believed that the war would be over until Christmas. By 1915 Lord Kitchener was able to recruit 2.5 million men from all over Britain as well as from the colonies of the Empire. British men could take part in military training in Britain and the volunteers from the colonies such as Canada and Australia were mostly of British origin. On the other hand, Adrian Gregory in the *Last Great War* claims that although there are several reports of enthusiastic cheering crowds supporting the war most of the gatherings urged neutrality and campaigned against the war (15). Newspapers such as the *Oxford Chronicle* emphasized the country's disinterest in joining the fight. Whereas *The Times* and the *Daily Mail* adopted a militaristic stance and the *Daily News* rooted for peace (Gregory 17). People forecasted a short swift war. The churches demonstrated an unbiased position, but regardless asked for peace. The working class and the trade unions were threatened by the terrible conditions that the war might bring and therefore disapproved of entering the fight and organized a strike. The feminist International Women's Suffrage Association, the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (NUWSS), the Women's Labour League and the Women's Co-operative Guild objected to support militarism by organizing gatherings and speeches (Gregory 23). The viewpoint of the public with regards to entering the war was split up into camps of those who supported and those who rejected the idea and appealed for peace. The division is noticeable among the social classes as well; the middle class rooting for, while the working class rejecting the war. When the war was

finally declared on Germany the public seemed more confused and perplexed than excited (Gregory 27). People alarmed by probable food shortages caused by the war began to accumulate as much supplies as possible. The prices rose and many shops were attacked and raided for their stock. Shopkeepers were reprehended for representing capitalism which was defined by many, especially by *Daily Herald* readers, as being the cause of war. After the outbreak of the war even though there was still a strong opposition, the public agreed to the declaration of war. The belief of enthusiastic young men rushing to enlist was only partially true. University students who were to return in the new academic year chose to volunteer instead and those in badly paid jobs also decided to join the military, while unemployment was also a crucial reason for the race to enlist (Gregory 31). Later on, chivalric news of the troops at the front and the need for more men accelerated recruitment. In 1916 after the huge casualties Britain introduced conscription. At the beginning of the war married men were excluded from military service, but after 1916 all men including British expatriates had to take up arms. British soldiers were recruited from the same region in order to ease the men into the army and to create special bond within the corps. Pal Battalions were formed.

At the outbreak of the war the government feared the massive disinterest of the population and detestation from taking up arms and positions in the war effort (Gregory 71). They tended to believe that the capitalist population would rather be going to football matches and the cinema. However, people dressed in khaki flood the streets and football matches were particularly influential during this time, when half of the spectators wore uniforms and the recruitment based on the loyalty of football clubs in order to show the enemy what they are made of. Gregory states that sportsmen volunteered to demonstrate their patriotism and men who went to horse races instead of the recruitment offices were reprimanded (72). Theaters and music halls became grounds to promote the war effort employing patriotic songs, speeches and plays. Young actors were persecuted by the audience for not volunteering. Many decided to enlist out of an act of good conscience but

social burden, disgrace and threats were common causes of the vast number of volunteers (Gregory 77).

On the other hand in Scotland more able bodied men volunteered than it was ever expected. The clans and well organized local companies provided thousands of volunteers. The reason could have been the patriotic and jingoistic spirit of the Scottish population to fight for their well deserved respect by the British. Military folklore played a significant role in enlistment as well as presumably the ongoing conflict between the two traditional Scottish tribes of the Lowlands and Highlands and their aspirations to dominate over one another (Gregory 85). The romantic notions of the country with a military past and brave soldiers fighting for victory was a huge moving power for the young Scottish. While Britain had previous naval successes it was not the same way of thought than that of the militant Scots. Even though Scottish working-class men showed lack of enthusiasm to enlist they still believed the respect of Scottish war tradition should be maintained and many enlisted eventually (Gregory 86). Men who were unable to join did not only suffer from social humiliation. The reasons to not enlist were either moral in nature, refusing to kill a man, or physical. Since so many enlisted there was a scarcity of skilled workers, therefore those men who were unemployed and thus unable to support their families now had an opportunity to gain some income. According to Gregory the earnings of certain employees in occupations such as shipbuilding or mining were raised, consequently the workers refused to take up arms, but others such as typesetters whose salary did not show significant climb decided to volunteer in big numbers (92). Men also claimed to have the duty to protect their families and households first as opposed to enlisting in military service. Intellectuals such as the members of the 'Bloomsbury circle' (Gregory 108) claimed that mental freedom was of greater importance to fight for and putting their positions and reputations in jeopardy refused to volunteer.

In Ireland there was a similar enthusiasm to pick up arms. The opposition between the British and the Irish had to be suspended during the war yet the unionists refused to put

their claims for autonomy on hold. Although a minority of radicals refused to take part in the war, the Irish nationalist delegate John Redmond firmly maintained the involvement of the Irish state in the defense against the enemy on the shores. When the war broke out the Irish decided to help the cause of the war, hoping to win a positive recognition from the British which could later improve their chances of autonomy. Catholic Ireland had another motivation which was the religious kinship with Belgium. 140,000 Irish men volunteered to fight in the British army and charity organizations were set up in the country, and similarly to Britain in Ireland German immigrants faced hostility. The U-boat, Zeppelin attacks and the bombing raids of the shores further strengthened the aversion towards the enemy. In 1915 the ocean liner Lusitania was sunk by a German U-boat which horrified the population all over the United Kingdom for not respecting the lives of non-combatants. On the other hand, the radicals did not cease to fight for independence. In 1916 the Easter Rising was organized by nationalists who refused to fight for Britain after the country rejected the independence of Ireland.

In November 1914 the battle at Neuve Chapelle, the last defeat of the professional battalion, alerted the British people of the length and the realities of war. The life in the trenches was unbearable and the trauma of war consumed the soldiers physically and mentally (Marwick 57). Huge casualties lowered the self-esteem of the troops and as a result Commander-in-Chief Sir John French was replaced by Sir Douglas Haig. The battle of the Somme and Passchendaele was likewise devastating leading to the death of about 250,000 British men (Marwick 58). The costs of war were increasing and after the initial method of borrowing, new taxes had to be introduced. In 1916 War savings were introduced for the lower-class workers of society. Before the war Britain claiming the title of “the banker of the world”, had numerous international resources and trading partners (Marwick 59). However, due to the growing expenses of the war these resources quickly diminished and undermined Britain’s leading position in the financial arena. Furthermore, Marwick states that the war left its mark on education as well. Grants and scholarships were suspended, teachers and

students recruited and children started to be employed untimely. Housing conditions of workers were horrid and the neglect of children widespread (Marwick 59). Bomb attacks and Zeppelin airship raids were regular scares of the war, consequently the citizens of London took refuge in the underground tubes, but instead of causing despair it led to uplift in the national spirit. There was also a change in the free time activities of society with the introduction of night clubs (Marwick 61).

Commerce and trade tried to keep up with war production. The necessities of war not only moderated the expenses and trade of the country but led to the state control of the railways, telegraph, shipping industry and the discontinuation of the stock exchange for military use (Marwick 64). Moreover, the new technological inventions were harnessed for war purposes but it also prompted the discovery of new scientific advancements. The electric power industry, medicine, psychology, mass production, motor car industry, air transport, and the broadcast industry all benefited from the war inventions. Alcoholism was far-reaching among British working men, therefore liquor restrictions were initiated (Marwick 69). There was an increase in the welfare of workers in order to urge for higher production rates. War pensions, helping the families of those fallen in war, were introduced as a result of voluntary subscription (Marwick 70).

Indifference was present in some cases and many were able to isolate themselves from the war. Gregory states that increasing uneasiness, distress and uncertainty embodied the frame of mind (35). The falsification of war propaganda spread by the government had been a common belief after the war. However it broadcasted the basic ideas such as the responsibility of the country to safeguard innocent Belgium's interests, reinforce unity and solidarity and Catriona Pennel in *Making Sense of the War* states that public opinion was not shaped by the state but was a result of the personal feelings and beliefs of the population. Moreover, with the accumulation of German atrocities such ideas were justified. There were a vast amount of fake atrocity stories spreading around Britain; however a great number of these tales were grounded. The German troops advancing killed a vast number of civilians

who hindered them, or while raiding the houses of the locals. The killing of noncombatants was strictly forbidden by the Hague Convention and what makes the situation more severe is that the civilians were reported to have been unarmed and in many cases did not show resistance (Gregory 45). Britain as a naval nation was astounded by the brutality of the enemy on sea. Hostility against Germans gradually spread especially after the various air raids, the sinking of the Lusitania and the submarine attacks on the shores of Britain. Huge losses in battles further increased the enmity of the British population (Gregory 46). The demonizing of Germans was of course aided by the various propaganda reports and fake atrocity stories but there were also a number of expositions based on true, demonstrable facts. The Daily Mail established by Alfred Harmsworth (later Lord Northcliffe) was the mastermind of atrocity stories. Gregory explains that the Daily Mail used specific editorial techniques to present the cruelty of the enemy in the most repulsive manner, manipulating small seemingly unimportant details which still had a great impact on the mood and spirits of the readers (48). The German troops wrecking and ravaging the homes of the Belgians added to the inhuman treatment of children, women and animals. It was perceived as the mindless destruction of civilized life. The attack of Louvain, the University Library, and the Rheims Cathedral was considered an inhuman attack against educated humanity. The photographs portraying Belgian homes in ruins represented the majority of the graphic content published in the newspapers (Gregory 53). Another proof of the cruelty of the Germans utterly mortifying the British was the bombing of Hartlepool and Scarborough. Pictures of the demolished homes and anecdotes of dead babies circulated in the country which were genuine and confirmed by reports from the morgue. Winston Churchill claimed that the Germans were no other than 'the baby killers of Scarborough' (Gregory 57). The U-boat attacks and the sinking of the Lusitania undoubtedly personified the ultimate German wickedness. Gregory declares that although the submarines were given permission to search merchant ships for ammunitions the unverified attack of passenger liners was forbidden (58). The different mentality and way of thought of the two countries with regards to the

rules of warfare, especially sea warfare, led to the complete detestation of one another feeding the beliefs of contempt and loathing. However, the spread of German atrocities did not only lead to nationalistic spirit but also to hostility towards citizens of German origin. German shops and properties were damaged in riots, and their owners were subject to plundering, and public hate. In addition espionage was a real scare for the British, numerous spies being reported to the War office.

The war on the front was heavy and mostly stagnated in the trenches for nearly four years. The British, used to successful experiences in past wars, were devastated by the high casualties (Morgan 525). In June 1916 one of the heaviest losses of the British offensive took place during the Battle of the Somme with an approximate number of 420,000 dead. At Passchendaele in August–September 1917 more than 300,000 soldiers were wounded or dead and the technical inventions such as tanks and fighter aircrafts proved useless. In the early spring of 1918 the British struggled to hold back the German troops from the Amiens territory. The failure at the Dardanelles in 1915 and later in Salonika affected Britain as a maritime nation extremely heavily (Morgan 526). The Battle of Jutland in 1916 was brought up by anti-war supporters due to the huge casualties at sea. In the First World War 750000 soldiers were killed and 2500000 were wounded. After the commander-in-chief of the western front Sir John French was removed Sir Douglas Haig built up a positive heroic reputation for himself and the leadership. After the United States joined the war and aided the British to defeat the Germans enthusiasm towards the war reached its peak (Morgan 527).

On the other hand there was also significant opposition towards the idea of war. The dislike towards combat could be attributed to the changes in social and living conditions during the total war. Factories, various industries and agriculture were urged to join in the war effort and contribute to fueling the war machine. Housing policies, social welfare and women's roles faced a tremendous transformation (Morgan 527). Coal mines, railways and shipping was now controlled by the state ignoring the previously so well known free trade of

the British. Based on the Treasury Agreement of March 1915 strikes were forbidden but various trade unions were formed. The war had achieved far more social reforms than any campaigns or strikes, in view of the fact that the wages were increased and the working conditions immensely improved. In 1917 the Corn Production Act revived British agriculture while the H.A.L. Fisher's Act of 1918 provided technical education and free elementary education (Morgan 528). The Fisher Education Act was accepted in favor of the decline of education and the poor living conditions of children. The Ministry of Health Act was only accepted in 1919 which was employed to solve Britain's health issues as well as the concerns with regards to housing. Due to the effective hygiene and health preservation initiatives children's, the elderly, mothers' medical conditions improved. The Housing and Town Planning Act reinitiated the building of houses which was discontinued during the war (Morgan 91).

The field of politics was similarly changed by the war. Before the war the Liberals and the Conservatives were responsible for the political decisions in Parliament, but during the war following Asquith's Liberal rule disagreement emerged for example on the question of military conscription. Lloyd George and Winston Churchill supported the idea of conscription but after various political failures a crisis had set in. Asquith was followed by Lloyd George as the prime minister of an all-party coalition of Unionists and Labour (Morgan 91). He built a strong centralized position which undoubtedly helped to win the war but it was a failure for his party which was divided and weakened by the end, and replaced by the Labour party. It was strengthened by the growing influence of the trade unions as well as the motivation of the Russian revolution and germinating anti-war attitude in the country. The impact of the Labour party led to more working-class votes but the real winners were the Conservatives who became a majority party dominating in business and state affairs.

Militarization did not only influence soldiers but also those at home, social mobilization was also a characteristic of the outbreak of the war in Great Britain. The troops

had to be supplied with food, medicine, amunitions, clothing as well as recruited, transported and hospitalized when needed. During the war various positions became futile therefore the number of officers serving as guards, secretaries or telephone operators were either substituted by technology such as the electric fence or women. In Britain about 41,000 women were employed to fill these positions in the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps (WAAC). The troops required more hospitals and accommodation which resulted in the construction of new buildings and the occupation of private houses thus a more intimate connection was called into being between the troops and the civil population. Near the frontlines the soldiers were lodged in camps, municipal buildings and private houses. The huge numbers of injured soldiers caused a huge issue of logistics at the home front. In Britain initially the Herbert Hospital and the Alexandra's Military Hospitals were used, later the Saint-Thomas was erected while many of the wounded was sent to public and humanitarian houses such as schools appointed for war use. Soldiers off duty were also accumulated in the cities behind the front. The contact of military personnel with civilians divided the residents of the sheltering cities since the young soldiers showed little enthusiasm towards following the rules, and stealing and prostitution became widespread. Soldiers behind the frontlines took part in the military preparation, however due to the lack of equipment and guns for training as well as the harsh conditions in the barracks led to the dissatisfaction of the soldiers, and several of them revolted and even left service. Those who worked in jobs away from the trenches were subject to hostility and accused of cowardice. Numerous welfare companies were organized and the entire population gathered to join in the war effort and aid those in need. Around 160,000-265,000 Belgian refugees fled to Britain to seek sanctuary. In August 1914 the War Refugees Committee (WRC) was founded and newsletters called for the benevolence of the nation. The results were unexpected and about 100,000 Belgian emigrants were given shelter. "The Belgium Relief Fund" was also established to aid those Belgians who were stranded in the war zone. Fundraising events such as dances, fairs and sales regularly took place and money was collected by selling pins and postcards.

Gregory states that the loss of thousands of lives during the First World War was felt by all classes and professions. Men of all occupations enlisted in the endeavor for peace from professionals, aristocrats to servants and farmers. Marwick states that the different social classes gained different profits from the war (72). Apart from the various jobs that had to be fulfilled on the front the production had to be supervised in factories, resulting in the employment of more and more women, increasing the earning of the families since more members were employed and offering extra working hours. Bonuses were also offered in order to prevent strikes and food rations presented more beneficial food portions for the poor than ever before (Marwick 73). Therefore, the living conditions of the lower working-class have significantly improved during the war. The introduction of trade unions also led to factory worker's welfare augmentation whilst leading to the formation of the Labour Party to enforce the support of the working-class in parliament, although this level was hard to keep up after the war (Marwick 74). Unskilled workers had the opportunity to work in jobs which were previously unavailable to them. The need for agricultural workers increased as well, representing a notable uplift in the standard of living of British farmers. Furthermore, the emancipation of women can be considered one of the biggest transformations of British society. Women were employed at the front as nurses and ambulance drivers, organized recruitment campaigns and took up masculine professions in munitions or engineering factories, and in 1918 women over thirty gained voting rights (Morgan 530). The question of women's emancipation seems to be a central issue of the First World War and even though women gained the right to vote in 1918 women in the affected areas had to depend on their husband's decision. Ladies experienced a transformation throughout the war as well with the growth in employment opportunities, and playing an important role in the war effort, voting rights and social acceptance but this will be mentioned in the next section. Moreover, the equal wages requirement outlined by the Treaty of Versailles was similarly disregarded (Marwick 89).

Casualties were common even after the armistice. This consisted mostly of Belgian refugees, men who suffered sicknesses associated with the war and voluntary services (Gregory 114). However, those men who took up occupation which were indispensable for the war effort were not obliged to join the military. Based on the work of Gregory it can be deduced that by 1917 a sense of melancholy conquered the mood of the public (213). Food rationing, alcohol bans and the lack of entertainment took its toll on the population. The loss of Russia as an ally and the huge casualties in battles frustrated the already depressed masses and the unexpected sudden Zeppelin raids and fear caused despair. Riots broke out because of queuing and German shopkeepers were attacked on numerous occasions during the war (Gregory 237). Even bigger was the dissatisfaction of the middle class who represented the majority of the volunteer as well as the conscript troops. The classes which suffered to the greatest extent showed the most hostility against the enemy and were the most influenced by the spy scare. The trade unions survived the conscription but demonstrated the utmost super-patriotic values (Gregory 245). The home front was informed of the circumstance of the war by the letters of the soldiers. The intimate connection between the families, friends and the men fighting on the fronts is barely mentioned but it played a significant role in spreading propaganda as well as providing a motive to fight for. The soldiers were highly respected and appreciated, being put on a pedestal for the whole country (Gregory 134).

The First World War was a genuine world war incorporating the British colonies of Australia, New Zealand, Canada, South Africa and India. Not only was the mystique of the imperial more popular than ever, but further territories such as the Middle East and the Persian Gulf were added to the imperial domain of Britain (Morgan 532). However, the sphere of influence was harder and harder to maintain. There were uprisings against the rule of the motherland. In 1916 the Easter Rising was put down but the Sin Fein won over more than twenty-six southern Irish counties and the tensions grew taking Ireland to a state of rebellion (Morgan 533).

When the armistice was announced a mood of excitement and celebration swept over the country but there was also a need to support those who lost a loved one in the war as well as to verify their efforts and casualties in the war. Pembroke Wickes an employee of the War Office suggested writing a letter to the families of the dead. However when he called upon Rudyard Kipling, the well-known poet, he suggested to create a medal. Nevertheless, the idea of the medal was abandoned since it could have led to the isolation of the mourning community (Gregory 250). A week after the end of the war music halls were filled with young men and women celebrating the victory. Street celebrations almost turned into riots, but there were also those who could not be consoled by the arrival of peace (Gregory 251). The money collected by the working class brought the opportunity to spend it on leisure activities such as dancing (Marwick 93). The perception of social attitudes significantly changed. The idea of sexuality was publicly discussed, as well as venereal illnesses and illegitimate children. The old traditions were reconsidered. Travel and transportation did not seem to be so farfetched and the traditional exclusive communities were dissolved (Marwick 94).

Public commemoration took place in the form of war memorials, the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier which were approved by the masses but represented more of a group remembrance than a personal tool of recognition (Gregory 254). It was rarely a source of comfort for those who were personally affected by the losses of war but rather a memorial for the nation. There was a striking need to support the living relatives of the dead who lived in poor condition as well as those soldiers who came back wounded or maimed. Pensions were issued based on the soldier's extent of invalidity. However, those who suffered less serious injuries in the fight were considered less honorable than those who had visible wounds. The Naval and War Pensions Bill was passed in 1916 which offered pensions, cash payments and help in recovery for the wounded men (Gregory 264). The voluntary effort was maintained even after the war by charity associations to provide rehabilitation for the wounded such as blind soldiers. The associations successfully raised money to support the

invalids (Gregory 265). Even if the war ended experienced armed forces were still required to sustain peace and the idea to honor the men who died in the war by engaging in labor was continued. The ruins of the war especially in Belgium and France were rebuilt with the help of British benefactors.

Another positive effect of the war was the increased acceptance of different ethnicities and that the boundaries between classes and gender became blurred (Gregory 270). Arthur Marwick agrees that the war did not only affect the lives of the British economically but also morally and psychologically (79). He categorizes the psychological effects of war in three groups: the reaction to the so called 'in-groups' and 'out-groups' within the society, the emotional response to the horrors of war, and last but not least the reception of the intense stimulations of the war (Marwick 79). The experience of war led to the acceptance of social equality among the different classes and a nationwide solidarity. As a result of the war the world was turned upside down and people were more open towards change. The minorities had the possibility to stand out and be heard, and all hoped that the end of the war would bring an improvement in the social system. However, with the change in politics and social attitudes also came disappointment, frustration and the hostility towards a political system that had sent the men to die (Marwick 82). The poems of Wilfred Owen, Robert Graves, Siegfried Sassoon and Ivor Gurney represent a disillusioned literary recollection of the First World War. There were manifold of portrayals of the remembrance of the war in the post-war period, not only pessimistic as those of the previously mentioned poets. After the war certain classes such as the working class lived in significantly better conditions. Even though there was still unemployment present, the returning soldiers had savings to spend. People were able to purchase goods that they were unable to buy before the war. The infant mortality rate dropped during and after the war while women's mortality rate rose. The causes could have been the increased threat of tuberculosis and the Spanish influenza (Gregory 286). The shift in the class system by the end of the war caused a shortage in the help. Rich households still required servants to maintain their standard of

living but the maids and butlers were able to choose different professions, and even if they decided to stay they knew that they could seek a well paid employment anytime.

The geography of Europe was significantly modified after the First World War. Due to the Treaty of Versailles Germany lost territories to the overrun Belgium (Marwick 86). All administrative duties had to be suspended and transferred to Belgium. German inhabitants living beyond the newly drawn border had the opportunity to decide in the question of their nationality. Moreover, Poland was rebuilt at the cost of the defeated Germany. The referendum taking place in Upper Silesia outlined the ethnic, linguistic and religious oppositions present in the area. As a result, a "Polish Corridor" was created isolating East Prussia from Germany (Marwick 87). Defeated Germany was obliged to pay war reparations, hand over the Saar region to France and reorganize its transportation in order to reach the regions under debate (Marwick 88). The war had further consequences in international trade as well. Foreign countries whose trade was based on European markets were forced to seek other business partners. Consequently, the need for European markets terminated. Miners, the shipbuilding industry and heavy metal factories suffered after the war when the need for such resources declined (Marwick 88). According to Marwick there are two types of historians when it comes to dissecting the effects of the First World War on society. The 'whig' historians who seem to have adopted a pessimistic approach and concentrated on the negative effects of the war, and the connection between modern war and totalitarianism, and the 'tory' historians who appear to be more optimistic, considering the industrial advantages and the favorable changes following the war.

The First World War claimed thousands of lives. Even though there are various opinions whether the war was a just war or a waste of lives and resources the population was united in supporting the idea to the best of their abilities and approved of protecting Belgium and France and standing up for the morals which were jeopardized by the enemy. This idea was not only reflected in press and propaganda but also in music, songs, diaries and art.

1.3. Background of Propaganda

The classic text with regards to the history of propaganda is *Wellington House and British Propaganda During the First World War* by M. L. Sanders published in 1975. He explains that in 1914 after the outbreak of the war the Germans began an intensive propaganda campaign in order to explain their entry into the war, demonize the allies and to influence the United States (Sanders 119). The British government troubled by the vehemence of the German propaganda decided to counteract and disperse the false beliefs of the allies abroad. Propaganda agencies were set up and the government joined in to produce propaganda for the general and the foreign public. C.F.G. Masterman, the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and the Head of the National Insurance Commission became the head of the organization and a propaganda bureau was established in Buckingham gate, previously known as the Wellington House. The organization worked in complete secrecy for the next years. The work was distributed on a linguistic basis: some dealt with Scandinavian countries, some with Holland, another with Italy and Switzerland, while others dealt with Spain, Portugal and South America. The United States was dealt with by a special branch. Later on a branch was established for Muslim countries, pictorial propaganda and cinematography (121).

Sanders claims that two other organizations were set up by the government to deal with propaganda. The Neutral Press Committee focused on providing information to the neutral countries, while the News Department of the Foreign Office, was the source of information for the foreign press for issues concerning British foreign policy. In 1916 the Foreign Office took control of the propaganda, and all other organizations were to supply the News Department of the Foreign Office with suitable facts. Changes regularly took place in the directorate and the distribution of responsibility within the propaganda agencies (Sanders 121).

The first type of propaganda that the Wellington House dealt with was the pamphlet. It was academic in tone and content. Other written types of propaganda spread were books, government white papers, the Bryce Report on German atrocities in Belgium, and books distributed by other countries reporting the details of the war. Later, they concentrated on the press because pamphlets were considered expensive and widely read. British policy regarding the press strictly required the spreading of accurate information to prevent resentment from any of the allies or neutral countries. Furthermore, Bernhard Demms mentions in *Propaganda and Caricature in the First World War* that under the Defence of the Realm Act “no information could be published which might have been useful to the enemy” (165). Unfavorable news were modified or completely denied. British propaganda also tried to influence German soldiers; leaflets were dropped over German lines. This type of campaign was told to have helped the collapse of the Austrian front in Italy.

According to Sanders the telegraph was one of the main sources of information transmitting news from England to the rest of the world, and propagandists not only spread words around the world, but also pictorial reproduction (130). There were illustrated newspapers and a completely new enterprise, the war Pictorial, was introduced featuring the latest pictures of the war. Due to the popularity and success of this new type of propaganda, a special pictorial propaganda branch was established at the Wellington House in May 1916. Other types of pictorial propaganda were distributed all over the world as well, for example lantern slides, postcards, cigarette cards, posters and also maps. However, pictorial propaganda was highly influenced by the new form of entertainment the cinema (Sanders 136). Cinema going became a habit of a large majority of people since the selling of luxury goods decreased and the working class were not so affected by pamphlets and books, as well as being many illiterate people.

Even in the face of censorship British press and propaganda was relatively diverse with a huge variety of different newspapers, magazines and further propaganda material. Contrary to popular belief the purpose of propaganda was not the brainwashing of the

population but spreading the ideals and beliefs of the government. The press is believed to have distorted the picture of the enemy and convinced the public to support the causes of the war. In 1914 the British press circulated various publications such as *The Times*, the *Daily Mail*, the *Daily Express* and the *Daily Mirror* (Sanders 128). The different parties were represented by papers such as the *National Review* which supported the Tories, the *The Nation* sided with the Liberal Party and the *Labour Reader* the Labour Party. When the war broke out the press was asked not to report any news with regards to the issues of the armed forces. The Defence of the Realm Act and the Press Bureau restricted the spreading of reports concerning the movement of the troops and classified facts. However, the restriction of certain information did not intend to stop the flow of news from the front but the press was asked to present the publications for surveillance by the authorities. The publishers were reprimanded or the papers suspended for a period of time when disregarding the ban. As the war proceeded the lack of paper led to the shrinking of the number of the pages. The Press Censorship Office was established in the place of the Press Bureau after the Easter Rising in 1916 to stop the spread of affirmative reports of the revolt. The press was entangled in the political issues sometimes even mediating among the different political parties.

The success of propaganda broadcasted by the state depended on the regions. It did not have such a negative reputation as nowadays, but instead it was considered an unbiased source of information. David Monger in his article *Press/Journalism (Great Britain and Ireland)* published in the *International Encyclopedia of the First World War* refutes the idea of propaganda as the tool to brainwash and manipulate the masses during the war, since he appears to be skeptical that the press offices had such a well-functioning propaganda device at the time. The Parliamentary Recruiting Committee and the Foreign Office's War Propaganda Bureau were two leading professional propaganda agencies. The National War Savings Committee also issued advertisements and persuasive information to encourage citizens to invest in war savings. Recruitment propaganda, such as posters, appealed to the emotions of companionship and bravery while there were also several posters embarrassing

those who did not join the war efforts. However these were less potent. Propaganda giving an account of atrocities were likewise employed during world war one in order to diminish other issues of combat and war time. Experiments in film making were very well-received by the population. Geoffrey Malin's *The Battle of the Somme* portraying the fight in a positive manner also displayed the mortality and the agony of the soldiers on the front. Women's work was presented and the duty to commit to the just causes of the war was boosted. Talks and speeches were organized to attract more young men to enlist, women to work and later such speeches were reported by propagandists in order to make it available to a more extensive public. Voluntary organizations such as the Central Committee for National Patriotic Organizations, and the Victoria League held speeches with regards to the poor conditions of refugees and raising funds for charities.

Robert L. Nelson in his article *Soldier Newspapers* describes the newspapers which were written for men at the front by journalists located near the front as well. They were highly popular and focused on the events associated with the military. They were written for a military readership serving as an encouragement and comfort in the bizarre conditions. The papers were censored just like the letters that reached the frontlines and they mirrored the daily life of men in the trenches with a touch of humor. However, the enemies were rarely mentioned in the soldier newspapers in a way that they were mentioned in the propaganda at home. Soldier newspapers were already printed during the Napoleonic wars in 1796 (Nelson 1). The first attempts in the twentieth century were created by the Germans which were mere collections of stories and poems circulating in the army. Since for the publication of such newspapers special equipment and time was essential, there had to be certain immobility among the opposing troops. At first a mimeograph was used to produce basic newspapers and the publishing happened close behind the lines. In some cases the papers were published back home in London or Paris and later mailed to the troops. The journalists were mostly middle-class men of an older generation with a rather conservative mindset. The papers were created in order to build a connection between the regiments and

unite them. The newspapers avoided disavowing somber stories of war and instead authentic and entertaining anecdotes about military life were distributed (Nelson 5). There was a very thin line between providing a motivation and still abstaining from anti-war articles. The British soldier newspapers were extraordinarily proficient in publishing humorous accounts about the everyday life in the trenches. Contrary to popular belief the soldiers on the front were not motivated by the hate towards the enemy, since there was practically no mentioning of the enemy in these newspapers. When the enemy was pictured, it was usually in a humorous manner. British soldier newspapers printed jokes of women but seldom talked about the women at home to avoid emotional distress caused by the idea of women being unfaithful (Nelson 7). The papers supported the defense of France as ally of Britain, as well as a war to preserve their well-know way of life. Songs played a very important role in the life of the British soldiers who were all familiar with the same songs and attended the same plays in the theaters at home. It created a certain sense of unity among the fighters. These soldier newspapers were not created to give an account of the horrors experienced during the war, but stood as a relief from the harshness of the fight.

1.4. Women during the war

British women played an extremely important role during the First World War. Sheila Rowbotham in *Century of Women-The History of Women in Britain and the United States* gives a detailed account of the situation of women during the war. Women decided to join the Voluntary Aid Detachment (VAD) to become nurses behind the front lines or in British hospitals to take care of the soldiers returning from the front. The work of the VADs was unexpectedly hard and challenging. Women lived in poor conditions, 20 women shared one bathroom, they had to get up very early at 5.45 am and walk to the hospital, which resulted in various health issues such as swollen feet and puffy hands (Rowbotham 64). The feminist Vera Britain considered this help in war effort to be a bridge between her gender and class.

Other women had a very different outlook on life. Alice Wheeldon, a second-hand clothes dealer and her daughter Hettie, decided to join the No-Conscription Fellowship (NCF) made up of pacifist and socialist members who supported men refusing to go to fight. Such men would be sent to camps by military authorities (Rowbotham 66). The members believed that the war was a waste of lives for economic purposes. There was a mood of despair and fear in the country which led to the reinforcement of ammunitions production and fight against movements opposing the war effort. Alice Wheeldon was imprisoned for conspiracy after being prosecuted for planning the assassination of Lloyd George. These radical pacifist women cut their hair short and rebelled against militarism. They were often ostracized by the community for their extremist behavior (Rowbotham 67).

Sylvia Pankhurst a patriotic suffragette also claimed the war to be the “capitalists’ war” (Rowbotham 67). She took part in anti-war meetings while trying to improve working conditions for women. Various other societies were established such as the National Union of Women’s Suffrage Societies (NUWSS) which had both patriotic and pacifist members. Patriotic members claimed that women had a duty to fulfill as citizens and join in the war effort, while pacifist suffragettes stated that women must protest against the war. Sylvia Pankhurst and the NUWSS created the constitutionalist suffrage camp and along with the unionist Margaret Bondfield took part as British delegation in the international women’s peace conference at the Hague in 1915. The conference was organized in order to mobilize women to persuade politicians to end the war, however British women were refused travel permits and only a few of them were able to attend. The Women’s Peace Crusade (WPC) was formed in 1917 which was strongly pro-democracy and anti-war. War resisters experienced various difficulties such as prejudice and the detainment of their passports (Rowbotham 69).

In Ireland another problem was to be dealt with regarding the unionists who wanted to stay connected to Britain and the nationalists aiming to be separated. Therefore the suffragette movement in Ireland was troubled by the opposition of pacifists and patriots. The

patriotic Women's Franchise League banned the feminist paper *The Irish Citizen*. The Cumann na mBan nationalists led by Countess Markievicz refused to support women's suffrage movements, while the socialist Irish Citizen Army led by James Connolly did. James Connolly played a significant role in the Easter Rising in 1916 during which the equal citizenship of women was announced (Rowbotham 69). The Cumann na mBan members joined the rising as well as the Irish Citizen Army, together with Countess Markievicz who seized vehicles for creating barricades and managed the first aid of the wounded. Even though the uprising was futile it raised the awareness of women to a fight for an independent Ireland, and as a consequence, the feminists drew nearer to the nationalists. The question of women's voting rights was under debate until 1917 when it was brought up in Parliament. The First World War considerably changed the outlook of women. They performed masculine professions and had a better insight into how society and politics function (Rowbotham 71).

The mobilization of women during the war was raised to a never before seen level. Even though suffragettes played a huge role in the war effort, militarism and nationalism were more supported by most British women. Upper- and middle-class women became VAD nurses, drove ambulances in the First Aid Nursing Yeomanry (FANY) or cared for the maintenance of cars in the Mechanical Transport Company. FANY was very popular among well-to-do women (Rowbotham 71). However, inexperienced young ladies were rarely appreciated and were in serious danger especially behind the front lines. Edith Cavell was shot by the Germans in 1915 for helping Allied soldiers escape from behind the enemy front lines. Ambitious women involved in the war effort managed to acquire their uniforms, thus overcoming gender discrimination and inequality. The uniforms were expensive; therefore only rich upper- and middle-class women could afford them and were not happily welcome by most male military authorities (Rowbotham 73). Some women such as the Marchioness of Londonderry's Women's Legion offered female help, such as cooking for men, but at the same time set up a hierarchy based on military norms. The Women's Police Patrols were

established by the National Union of Women Workers in order to protect women and girls in military camps. Furthermore, the Women's Land Service Corps was founded by educated women; however they had to face skepticism and hostility from farmers (Rowbotham 74). Various other organizations were established which led to a change in women's situations such as the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps (WAAC) attended by working class women and the Women's Royal Naval Service (WRNS) in 1917 and the Women's Royal Air Force (WRAF) in 1918 for upper-class girls.

Rowbotham declares that after the outbreak of war domestic servants, saleswomen, dressmakers and home-workers were seeking employment in industrial jobs left behind by the soldiers leaving for war such as delivering milk, driving wagons and window-cleaning (75). Women were also employed in ammunitions as a result of the Munitions Act of June 1915 in government regulated positions. Women took over men's jobs in filling shells and cartridges, laboring, cleaning, catering, driving, storeroom-keeping and engineering. Nevertheless, the jobs were divided into various stages so that unskilled women workers could perform the tasks, but as a result the wages were also divided. Consequently working women rebelled for equal wages when in various occasions they were paid less than their male counterparts. Women had to work night shifts which they found useful hence housework could be done in daytime, yet in some occasions they had to work standing for ten to twelve hours and the work was dangerous. The workers had signs of TNT poisoning and explosions were also likely, nevertheless munitions work was popular because of the high wages. More efficient canteens and uniforms were introduced as a product of the scientific management, factories creating their own caps, ribbons and laces (Rowbotham 77). Women workers faced hostility not only in the different social classes mixing but also from men who were afraid that their jobs would be permanently taken. Several reforms in government-controlled workplaces such as protective clothing, nurseries and rest rooms as well as the spread of trade unions can be attributed to the efforts of women for equality (Rowbotham 78).

The daily life of women was also immensely affected by the war. The German blockade hindered the refill of supplies therefore queuing in order to buy basic ingredients such as butter became an everyday task among women. The Food Reform Association and the Women's Labour League started a communal kitchen where they would cook for the ones in need (Rowbotham 79). While the lack of servants and help in upper- and middle-class households led to the rationalization of the housework. *The Win the War Cookery Book* tells housewives that "The British fighting line shifts and extends now *you* are in it. The struggle is not only on land and sea; it is in *your* larder, *your* kitchen and *your* dining room. Every meal you serve is now literally a battle." (Pough 13). Women's war efforts in the home were called for by the government and the kitchen claimed a new status as the "key to victory" (Rowbotham 73). The slogans such as "Eat Less and Save Shipping", "Eat less, Masticate More and Save a Pound of Bread per Person per Week" became extremely popular (Pough 14). A true patriot ate asparagus and boiled bones and meal substitutes were introduced to fight the food shortage. A new department of food was created in 1917 and the issues of servants and recipes became a public concern. Local Food Kitchens and National Kitchens for Communal Cooking were set up and urged citizens to make an effort to preserve resources. Sylvia Pankhurst on the example of American social settlements established a cost-price restaurant and campaigned for the nationalization and the state control of food supplies and prices (Rowbotham 80).

The situation of women and children threatened by the infant mortality rate and tuberculosis among women also became an affair of state. Infant and maternity welfare centers were introduced to provide healthcare for children, milk and advice, and a nursery and Montessori education. President Lloyd George launched Baby week with the slogan "It is more dangerous to be a baby in England than to be a soldier" (Pough 17). In 1918 a Maternity and Child Welfare Act was passed which resulted in committees set up to represent working women, day nurseries, grants and hospital treatment for children (Rowbotham 82).

Concerns of welfare also affected the conservative sexual attitudes of the British. The separation allowance was one of the reforms for women who were not officially married to soldiers and lived with men out of wedlock. The War Babies and Mother League was also based on similar principals fighting for the acceptance of illegitimacy and help for single mothers (Rowbotham 83). The issue of the independence of women was not only addressed by the suffragettes but preserving women's morality and controlling their drinking led to the formation of organizations such as the Women's Patrols, Young Women's Christian Association, the Church Army, the Girl's Friendly Society and the National Union of Women Workers. Leisure activities were provided to prevent drinking and moral decline of young women. However, American films such as *The Eternal Grind* promoted the independence of women (Rowbotham 83). Angela Woollacott in *On Her Their Lives Depend: Munitions Workers in the Great War* states that independent autonomous working-class women who went dancing, to theaters, bicycling were regarded with hostility as the "flaunting flappers" (144). Make-up and silk stockings became a sign of women's uncontrolled sexuality and immorality, who even posed a threat to society bringing about a horde of illegitimate children. Women were also considered to be a danger of contamination for the troops. In Cardiff, for example, based on the Defence of the Realm Act, women were banned from pubs, were not allowed to drink after 6 p.m in bars and restaurants, and a curfew was introduced to keep women under control. The women patrols were also used to discipline women instead of protecting them. The consequences of war had an effect on the consideration of sexuality and morals, birth control and lesbianism was discussed publicly (Rowbotham 87).

When the war ended there was a huge pressure on women to give their jobs back to the men who returned from the war. Even if women returned to their old trades such as dressmakers, milliners or laundry workers they took their experiences with them and joined labour unions and women's organizations (Rowbotham 89). The Lord Chancellor's Women's Advisory committee was formed and when the International Labour Organization was held in Washington two women represented British working women (Rowbotham 89). Working

women realized how society's conditions might change after the war claiming better housing, lighting and heating, pensions for women after each child and better wages for teachers. However, unemployment benefit was withdrawn at the end of 1919 and the unemployment rate of women rapidly increased.

Nevertheless there were a number of political reforms that gained approval, for example based on the Representation of the People Act in 1918 women over thirty had the right to vote and were allowed to stand for Parliament. For some women the war opened up new possibilities of independence and equality, gaining rights and employment while for others it was just a phase of war effort before returning to domesticity (Rowbotham 90).

1.5. Literature during the War

In her article *Literature (Great Britain and Ireland)* in the *International Encyclopedia of the First World War* Jane Potter states that various types of literature were created during the war for soldiers as well as for those serving on the home front. It served as comfort, entertainment and amusement from the horrifying experience of the war. Due to the high level of schooling, most people were able to read and took part in spreading the passion for literature.

Marwick claims that literature and art is the manifestation of the emotional reactions to the war (83). Artists during the First World War found new ways of expression to translate their thoughts and feeling to the masses. However, the notion of war is not responsible for developing new conceptions but the artists are, who had to find a new technique in order to describe this never before experienced phenomenon (Marwick 84). The new representations were also understood differently by the spectators, who believed that the old methods of interpretations could not have illustrated the horror of warfare. The war had penetrated the everyday lives of artists not only at the front but at home urging them to verbalize their feelings and thoughts (Marwick 85).

Several writers such as Arthur Conan Doyle, Mary Augusta Ward, and Rudyard Kipling spread the ideals of the just war under the guidance of the state. However, they were invited to claim that they wrote independently of any control, in order to broadcast the ideals in a more believable manner. Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's *The German War* (1915) and Mrs. Humphry Ward's *England's Effort* (1916) were both written under the supervision of the Wellington House. The books were not only spread in the United Kingdom but also in the neutral countries such as the United States in order to shape public opinion, while several books such as D.H. Lawrence's *The Rainbow* of pacifist and radical nature were forbidden. However, there was still a wide range of different novels such as romances, adventures and spy novels. The novels depicted the suffering of men on the front and women at home. Ruby M. Ayres in *Richard Chatterton V.C.* and Joseph Keating in *Tipperary Tommy* described the lives of the heroic soldiers while Berta Ruck in *Khaki and Kisses* and Bessie Marchant in *A Girl Munition Worker* illustrated the efforts and feelings of young women behind the lines. Spy stories were also extremely popular among the British. Soldier authors expressed their feelings and remorse. The highly popular memoirs written during and after the war portrayed the life of the troops and the VAD nurses authentically based on the personal anecdotes of officers and working women. Certain diaries and records painted a negative picture of the working conditions and the life at the front which could undermine the positive reputation of the military; therefore they were subject to censorship.

In poetry the genre of Modernism genuinely expressed the way of thought of poets such as Ezra Pound, Katherine Mansfield and T.S. Eliot. Wilfred Owen and Edward Thomas were the pioneers of the style. The demand for poetry and fiction in the years of the war was swiftly increasing. Books, newspapers and magazines were widespread among the now almost completely literate population seeking comfort in literature. The horrors of death and war, the struggles in the trenches, mental illnesses, the challenging fight with the enemy, delusion, homicide, nationalism and their repercussions on soldiers and the home front were recurring themes in the poetry and fiction of the war. One of the main themes of literature

after the war was insanity and the mental destruction of combat. World war one literature seems to focus mainly on the destruction, meaninglessness and the disappointment of the population.

The article of Ted Bogacz titled *A Tyranny of Words: Language Poetry and Antimodernism in England in the First World War* delineates the literary artistry of the period. Before the outbreak of the war the language of literature was charged with metaphorical figurative elements and the real meaning of words was preferred to be articulated with high diction. However, those who suffered the horrors of modern warfare felt frustrated and offended by such language, claiming that the population at home was misled by the outmoded verse and prose. Bogacz states that the terror of combat was most realistically represented when expressed with the then current everyday language (644). The quest to find a vocabulary appropriate to mirror the mood of the public included not only poets and civilians but journalists, politicians and clergymen as well. The exalted language used by the upper and middle class to elevate their poetry and prose in order to represent complex and intricate thoughts, was replaced by a more graphic realistic diction. Jingoistic poetry written in elevated verse overflowed the newspapers of the time (Bogacz 647). Nevertheless, those journalists reporting of the suffering and battle at the front experienced hardships when broadcasting about the everyday ordeals of combat. Religious metaphors and uplifted language was used to amplify the endurance employing spiritual principles (Bogacz 649). The high diction saluted the beginning of the war and persisted all through the end, but was subject to judgments and dissatisfaction among the population.

When the mobilization of the army began, a new warfare was defined in the newspapers. The realities of war were well-defined in the reports and the public became aware of the inaccuracy of the romantic ideals of the conflict, although the more realistic verses were still ushered by refined religious principles representing the war as a holy campaign. Verse played an important role in the lives of accomplished British men. Evidently the conservative traditional editors attacked the new form of diction calling it 'futuristic' in a

sense (Bogacz 655). They believed that with the outbreak of the war the traditional morals and beliefs could be revived. However, the editors soon had to realize that the modern war required modern language. Poetry appealed to common people thus the government realized the advantage of using verse to shape public opinion. The Wellington House decided to include the *Poetry Review* in their propaganda. The *Review* proved to be successful giving a hope in recovering the classic English values. The editors wished to renew the honor of religion (Bogacz 659). They believed that the radical ideas and movements of the modern world would be disintegrated and the human would show its superiority and overcome the new technical inventions.

In 1916 with the premier of the film the *Battle of the Somme* a new form of expression was born to inform the public. The facts of the war could not be disguised when the public was presented with the moving scenes about combat on the Western front. This modern representation was often rejected by conservative, traditional thinkers, who believed that the society must not be presented with the cruelties of war faced by British men. This was another manifestation against the technical invention of the cinema (Bogacz 661). The high diction was also employed as a way of protecting the society from the brutality of war. Several poets such as Wilfred Owen and Siegfried Sassoon after experiencing the grimness of war decided to avoid high diction. By the end of the war stories of returning soldiers appeared on the pages of newspapers, conveying a verbal image of reality (Bogacz 666).

Jane Potter in her *Oxford Publishing* video on First World War popular fiction states that books played a significant role at the time. The population turned to popular fiction just as much as to poetry. The publishing of war books has reached its peak with the growing technical innovations, a higher literacy level among the population as well as thanks to the school provision education acts. There was little competition in the publishing arena and also in entertainment; therefore books represented an important source of amusement and free-time occupation during the war. Books were consumed by a wide variety of people, not only on the home front but also in the trenches when stalemate hit, and by wounded soldiers

lying in hospitals. She specifically names the book publisher Herbert Jenkins who claimed to have collected a huge amount of letters expressing the gratitude of those who craved comfort and an escape from the brutalities of war. Books were also regarded useful by the propaganda agencies, although books appeared to be camouflaged as tools of the propaganda. The books which seemed to be an unbiased representation of the public mood were more widely accepted by the neutral countries. The authors of the books soon realized their influence on the frame of mind of the masses. Novels became a source of relief as well as compassion for those sitting at home. Many voluntary organizations, such as the YMCA, collected books to send to the soldiers at the front. Novels were widely read by all the different classes, ages and sexes. The heroes of novels advertised reading among soldiers. The public coveted the news of the war but too harsh and vivid images were avoided. Books read at the time provided a retreat from such brutal depictions. The well known and previously popular detective and spy novels were adapted and transformed by the authors to satisfy the need of the readers. The themes of the books were realistic and answered the questions of real life but provided a break from war time concerns. The novels served as an example of moral behavior for both sexes. They showed the bravery of the men not only in the trenches but also at the home front.

The portrayal of different classes varied; sometimes the lower class ‘tommies’ were shown to demonstrate more bravery than their superiors. Exaggerated images of war enthusiasm depicting the heroic nature of the fight were used as a common element in war time novels. Rowbotham claims that during and after the war the mutilated bodies of the soldiers were regarded differently. The vulnerability of the masculine body was highlighted by many poets such as Siegfried Sassoon in the “Glory of Women” who could not understand the meaning of war and urged men to fight (Rowbotham 88). Men who suffered injuries were illustrated as honorable heroes. The disabilities became accepted and highly respected in society, transforming a man into a model and a hero. The men of visible disability were praised. The people were concerned that the physical sacrifice represented the real purpose

and aim to fight for. Romance novels were both official and unofficial and often read by the public. The VAD nurses of the war behind the lines as well as working in hospitals in Britain were also regular protagonists of war novels. They were frequently represented as angels and saviors of the wounded men. Sheila Rowbotham claims that the popular fiction of the war created a new kind of female hero based on the heroic actions of the VADs, munitions workers and land army and ambulance drivers. Working-class women were urged to work for the war effort instead of getting married fast. The popular themes were romance and adventure which were mixed in novels for middle-class women. The heroines of the popular fiction disproved men's beliefs of weak incapable women.

The titles of songs were used as titles of books. Romance and espionage were blended in novels with a touch of adventure and passion. Some of these novels did not entertain or provide patriotic ideals but also investigated human identity and psyche. While authors did create an impression of a heroic war they offered an overall picture of the morals and values of society at war time. Potter states that thousands of books were printed during the war even during the success of the movie *Battle of the Somme*. The demand for such a huge amount of books speaks of the craving of soldiers as well as those at home for the consolation and the pleasure provided by the books. The books of the time give an important account of the public opinion of the time, the emotions of the combatant as well as the noncombatants.

Chapter 2. Theoretical Background of War and Propaganda

2.1 The Call to Arms: Theory of War Motivation

In the second chapter of my thesis I will describe the theoretical background of the First World War, war propaganda as well as the evolution in female gender identity as the result of war and propaganda. First of all I will attempt to define war and examine the psychological motivation of men to fight.

Alexander Moseley in *A Philosophy of War* defines war as "a series of sociological events that we may describe as a state of organized ended collective conflict"(12). However he states that war does not always include physical fight. The definition of war evolves over time given the new ways of technological combat due to the new inventions. An element which Moseley considers crucial for the definition of war is its organized characteristic which can be generated by basic human instincts as well as social norms and beliefs. He claims that war is a complex phenomenon based on three elements that are: 'biological', 'cultural' and 'rational' features of the human character (Moseley 22). He goes on to define civilized or political war based on the system of the governments formed in various countries. When governments are established the rise of economy and trade leads to higher living standards. The production of excess goods gives a motive for the state to use it for war preparation. Once a war breaks out the population is more willing to consent to, and support the war effort (Moseley 30). A war fought by countries with well-developed economy and agricultures becomes more elaborate. Furthermore Moseley states that in order for the state of war to come to being man has to make a decision and commit to it based on his previous knowledge and judgment of various norms and values. It is an independent and individual choice, like peace. Each individual has the right to decide whether to be involved in combat, however this is not always the case considering conscription (Moseley 40). Nevertheless in the military establishment such sense of group consciousness is crucial to follow orders. The

theories of determinism and indeterminism: determinism stating that man is not the conductor of his own fate, and indeterminism outlining that man has the ability to control his own life, while compatibilists state that although one is subject to certain predetermined principles he has a free will to choose to abide or not. Therefore the choice whether to answer the call to arms is the choice of the man himself.

In addition Moseley drawing on the theories established by Jean Paul Sartre, Plato, Marx and the principles of Christianity and behaviorism reflects on human nature as the instigator to war. According to Jean Paul Sartre predetermined human nature does not exist, man commands himself. Similarly Plato states that man is controlled by desire and spirit but he is able to perform reasoning. Therefore man can logically contemplate on political affairs and the issue of war. Plato claims that the most reasonable individual maintains a perfect equilibrium among desire, spirit and reason (56). Consequently he suggests that the psychological reason for war is the overflowing of these elements in human nature, but it can be restrained. Based on Plato's theory, society is built up of codes and rules, however certain individuals refuse to obey such rules constantly trying to satisfy their desires and the need for change. Christianity sees war as the result of human nature and free will stating that man can reject violence (Moseley 60). On the other hand according to Marx humans are under the control of the dominant power and the economic system which controls their opinion. Marx insists that war is the outcome of the hatred between different social classes. War can only cease once the social system has collapsed and the hierarchy in society persists. Behaviorists claim that human nature is modified by the circumstances and conditions, and war is the result of various human features.

Moseley further explores the philosophy of war investigating human biology. When taking instincts into consideration, war is inevitable since it is generated by innate human intuition (Moseley 72). He examines self-sacrifice declaring that man willingly sacrifices himself for the masses, an ideal or a cause when fighting a war, while also listing other natural human characteristics such as aggression, inhibitions, frustrations and even natural

selection that can urge man to take part in combat. Cultural aspects of human nature can conjointly be identified as instigators. Territorialism, one of the cultural aspects of human nature is the inclination to possess space. War tends to arise from the need to colonize and invade. Similarly competition among nations for economic resources often leads to war. Instincts play a major role in the causes of war since humans are cultural and rational creatures mastering free will (Moseley 114).

The outbreak and the outcome of war can be further traced back to the culture and the customs solving conflicts. In order to discover the motivation of war Moseley investigates the influence of political idealism on human reasoning which enables war based on ideologies. Political principals and ideologies appeal to the human mind and put forward a vision of a better future. Whenever ideals displace reason man is liable to pick up arms to defend the principles. Metaphysical beliefs, applied to understand the universe, create a foundation for the fusion of individual opinion and ideologies. Drawing on Darwin's survival of the fittest theory, Hobbes states that the universe allows new life to prosper through war. Man gains power in a group and collectivism can lead to war controlled by dominant political leaders. Therefore individuals can be convinced to follow the masses (244). Concluding, it is evident that there are various motivations which lead man to fight.

2.2 "The World Outside and the Pictures in our Heads": Understanding the Theory Underlying Propaganda

The daily realities of war offered an ordeal of new, bizarre emotions and exposure for people to understand and digest. Newspapers and propaganda played a huge role in facilitating this procedure and not only reported the news but told the people what they wanted and needed to hear. The purpose of this section is to highlight the theories that are particularly useful to understand how propaganda functions in the mind and the different techniques of propaganda used to appeal to the public mood.

Various theorists, such as Walter Lippmann, attempt to define the concept and effect of propaganda. In his *Public Opinion* he elaborates on his idea of *The World Outside and the Pictures in our Heads* in which he states that the perception of an event may not be the same as the reality (Lippmann 3). The idea is revised in Charles Wright Mills' *Images of Man: The Classic Tradition in Sociological Thinking*. Mills explains that people perceive the environment in which they live in an indirect way, and that no matter what is accepted to be the truth, humans connect it to the environment itself. Roland Barthes, siding with Lippmann, explains the inclination of modern value systems to transform into modern myths in his work called *Mythologies*. He claims that the myth is a message, a system of communication. The myth as a message is not defined by the meaning but how this message is transmitted. He argues that therefore, pictures are more authoritative than writing because they convey meaning as soon as we see them, but they are soon transformed into writing since their meaning requires lexis. Pictures can be used to tell the society what to think and perceive in an indirect way. However, myth is not a language; it is more connected to semiology, the study of meaning. Semiological systems concentrate on three terms: the sign, the signifier and the signified. Myth has two functions: it explains something to us and it forces itself on us. Barthes demonstrates that the purpose of the myth is to manipulate public opinion and states that beliefs, narratives and values established by the public, can be "naturalised". Following Barthes' way of thought, Lippmann goes on to explain that materialization of images that come to one's mind happens instinctively (Barthes' naturalized values). From his point of view, a mental image of an event is generated by an emotion one feels about an event that they did not really attend. As a result, Lippman believes that a pseudo-environment is created between man and his environment, and even though the responses to an emotion are stimulated in the pseudo-environment, if they are acts, they come to being in the real environment. He goes on to argue that "at the level of social life, what is called the adjustment of man to his environment takes place through the medium of fictions" (Lippman 3). He defines these so-called 'fictions' as the representation of

environments created by man. Lippmann's pseudo-environment is an intermingling of "human nature" and "conditions", and he claims that what we do is based on the images we make up in our mind, or more likely, given to us. He also states that, for example, the political world is out of reach for the vast majority of everyday citizens, and that we have to imagine it in order to understand it.

Those features of the world outside which have to do with the behavior of other human beings, in so far as that behavior crosses ours, is dependent upon us, or is interesting to us, we call roughly public affairs. The pictures inside the heads of these human beings, the pictures of themselves, of others, of their needs, purposes, and relationship, are their public opinions. Those pictures which are acted upon by groups of people, or by individuals acting in the name of groups, are Public Opinion with capital letters. (Lippman 7)

However, in the book *Manufacturing Consent* Chomsky and Herman, arguing against Barthes, claim that the mass media acts on behalf of the dominant, controlling group in society. Financial dominance plays an important role in defining who controls the media. Apart from entertaining and reporting relevant information, the mass media has the responsibility to provide society with the necessary beliefs and moral values in order to be able to integrate into society. This requires systematic propaganda. In societies where media is in the hands of the dominant elite it is easier to detect the propaganda system, rather than in small private media systems. The propaganda model of Chomsky and Herman focuses on the imbalance between the financial means and the power and their influence on the media. They state that the financial pressure of a dominant group on the media can prevent the spread of unwanted information and, vice versa, aid the transmission of the message of the government and the elite. The model of the theorists is based on five elements or "filters": 1. "the size, concentrated ownership, owner wealth, and profit orientation of the dominant mass-media firms"; 2. "advertising as a primary income source of the mass-media" 3. "the

reliance of the media on information provided by the government, business, and ‘experts’ funded and approved by these primary sources and agents of power” 4. “flak’ as a means of disciplining the media, 5. “anti-communism’ as a national religion and control mechanism (modernized into the “War of terror”). On the same note, Lippmann states that the pseudo-environment is an intermingling of “human nature” and “conditions”, and he claims that what people do is based on the images we make up in our mind, or more likely, given to us (7). He also states that, for example, the political world is out of reach for the vast majority of everyday citizens, and that we have to imagine it in order to understand it. The world’s features, considering the actions of other individuals, if those individual’s behavior influences and concerns us, is called public affairs. He claims that the “pictures inside the heads” of these individuals of how they image themselves, other individuals and their necessities, goals and relationships is their public opinion. These “pictures” which are followed by a group of people is the Public Opinion (Lippmann 7).

In order to find the reasons why these “pictures inside the heads” of individuals are misleading, Lippmann lists the chief factors which limit the access to facts: “the artificial censorships”, “the limitations of social contact”, “the comparatively meager time available in each day for paying attention to public affairs”, “the distortion arising because events have to be compressed into very short messages”, “the difficulty of making a small vocabulary express a complicated world”, and “the fear of facing those facts which would seem to threaten the established routine of men's lives” (7). However, these factors or “messages from the outside” are also influenced by personal interpretation, prejudices, and images in our heads. The messages are then molded together into a pattern of stereotypes and take shape as “Public Opinion”, “National Will”, “Group Mind”, “Social Purpose”, things we consider to be social reality.

Lippmann concludes that society’s beliefs must be organized for the Press if they want to be rational, not by the Press. Developing Lippmann’s idea to a logical conclusion,

Marx's claim that the mass media is the tool of the elite to manipulate society plays a prominent role in Lippmann's *Public Opinion*, stating that the mass media has control over the information shared with the masses and thus the limitation of this information has an impact on public opinion.

2.3 A Feminist Introduction

The London Women's Suffrage Association was the base of the suffrage movement before the war. It presented a revolutionary ideal and the members came from various political parties, but with time working-class women represented the majority. The suffragettes could be divided into two groups: those who supported the war and those who did not, representing the radical left-wing group. The appeal for women's suffrage started at the beginning of the 1900s. Feminism unfolded during the First World War reaching its peak in 1918 when women obtained voting rights. In this section I will investigate the origins of feminism in order to merge into the gender identity of women and the influence of war.

In *Women's Studies and Culture* Rosemarie Buikema applying the notions of Stimpson 1984, Brüggemann 1990, and Braidotti 1994, states that feminist theory has several interpretations but three are the most widespread among theorists. The three interpretations are based on the ideas of equality, difference and deconstruction representing the viewpoints of ideologists with regards to the importance of the distinction based on gender (Buikema 3). The argument of equality among sexes displaces the cultural and social differences. Women desired better opportunities, higher wages and acknowledgement since they felt discriminated in the above mentioned fields. Therefore Simone de Beauvoir claims that women had a secondary role in society (4). According to Beauvoir's ideals fighting for gender identity can be characterized by two political purposes: the stance women take in society as individuals as well as the misogynistic attitude against women as a community both of which highly influence feminist perception. Feminist theorists focusing on equality

claim that the cultural canon lacks female artists. The discovery of numerous female playwrights, authors, poets and artists demonstrate the fruitfulness and talent of the women at the time even if their achievements were forgotten and never rewarded. Whereas extreme feminists, referring to this hiatus point out the male chauvinist portrayal of cultural values (de Beauvoir 5). De Beauvoir strongly believes that women have the right to live their life like men do, and refuses to consider being a mother as their sole life goal while stating that society is responsible for turning women into who they are and both sexes should have the same possibilities. On the other hand, radical feminists reflect on the “otherness” and objectification of women represented in a patriarchal culture as if their identity was influenced by the surrounding organizations and the environment (de Beauvoir 6). The reality about women’s lives was underrepresented in the cultural field increasing the imaginary nature of femininity, therefore creating an artificial personality that women found impossible to identify with (de Beauvoir 6). Male visions appeared to be personified rather than the real life of women. Feminists claim that the purpose of such illustration is to control the female self-image. Feminist literary critics strive to analyze literature focusing on the portrayal of women by drawing similarities between the real experiences and lives of women at the time. Radical feminist critics suggest that in certain literary works the false illustration of women has a negative impact on the female identity and women’s lives. The concept of gender differences was highlighted by feminist critics supporting equality. The analogy of the “voice” of women conveys fundamental traits of femininity and women’s artistic heritage. Women’s experience and viewpoint diverges from masculine exposure therefore, women create different works and express different thoughts and feelings (de Beauvoir 8). Based on her previous studies Buikema claims that the difference between female and male is established by society. The word “gender” symbolizes the identity and social status taken by the individual. Another interpretation of the word “woman” by Helene Cixous and Luce Irigaray who argue in *écriture féminine* that, based on psychoanalysis and structural linguistics, femininity serves as an obstacle for women to enter culture (9). In

psychoanalysis Sigmund Freud developed the idea of the unconscious which means the lack of control over an individual's actions. Feminist analyses claim that Freud considers women as the divergence from the standard which is represented by men. Cixous and Irigaray on the other hand, refuse to acknowledge men as the standard and claim that women are different from men in anatomy. Therefore, women and men do not face the same experiences, reflections and impressions. Drawing on psychoanalysis further developed by Lacan, *écriture féminine* writers delineate the connection between politics and sexuality. Cixous suggests that men fear castration, symbolizing the fear to feel weak and powerless, thence instigating the urge to collect things, for instance a canon of literary works (10). Women on the contrary are not afraid of losing their power, since they possess a secondary role in society. However, Cixous does not agree with women's inability to express their thoughts, but she suggests that the female voice be heard while female literature is independent of the rules and obligations of genre and form. Furthermore, *écriture féminine* writers claim that women are often represented by binary opposition that eliminate each other, and there is a power arrangement among the two sides in which one is always more attractive. In relation to gender, masculine is the one which is more desirable and thus the feminine will always play a secondary role contradicting the notion of inequality. The female sex is identified as the inferior to the masculine without a proper cultural recognition. In *écriture féminine* the feminine is acknowledged and perceived as equal and positive, with proper cultural representation. Whitford states that *écriture féminine* changed the theoretical outlook on femininity (11). In feminist studies "deconstruction" is the research which can be honed from the analysis of structuralism and psychoanalysis. The focus of deconstruction in feminist studies is on the meaning of words such as "femininity" and "woman" in a particular surrounding text. According to the norms of deconstruction there is no difference between dialogue and reality. Humans think and communicate exclusively through language; as a consequence our reality is grounded in discourse. Language is the embodiment of our reality. Deconstructionists believe that the meaning of a word flourishes

in language depending on the relationship to other words. A founder of the theory of deconstruction, Derrida, claims that every word has a match to which it could be opposed, and every single word has a positive or negative meaning attached to it which is determined by the society's beliefs. Other deconstructionists like Julia Kristeva, Gayatri Spivak, Mieke Bal, Barbara Johnson claim that the word sequence woman-emotional-petulant-capricious-unreliable can often be detected, while a woman as reliable or self-confident is seldom represented (12). The message conveyed by deconstructivist feminism is that femininity fails to be defined only by the social beliefs or biological characteristics (Buikema 13).

In the 1970s a new outlook emerged with regards to history. Historians with a feminist viewpoint criticized standard history for being deficient and biased. As in literature a hiatus could be detected among the historical figures of great importance. Following twenty-five years of research significant women were reinstated into history and women's historical studies flourished. The traditional feminine role of motherhood and housekeeping was challenged even if it meant a higher standard of living for the middle class. Men being the jobholder and supporter of the family and women bearing children were considered the norm, the law of nature (Buikema 15). When feminist ideals were unfolding a number of anomalies were discovered, for example women as priestesses, midwives and revolutionary suffragettes achieved significantly more than just housekeeping and giving birth to children. Furthermore, with the introduction of factories women workers equally participated in the industrial boom. However, wages and working conditions were far from men's and subject to the power structure set by society. Another argument raised by women historians is the importance and attention turned towards the public accomplishments in history and the lack of focus on private life. In order to support their debate feminist historians investigated the influence of historical principles such as "modernization" and "industrialization" on women's lives (Buikema 16). For instance due to the invention of machines used for weaving, producing soap and candles women lost their monopoly over creating such products. As a consequence women's role turned into a role of the consumer, purchasing goods obtained by

men, which is considered by feminist historians to be the reason for the division of public sphere and private life. Therefore the fact that women's role and labor was less appreciated is the result of social beliefs and not the law of nature.

Although industrialization confiscated women's priority in production, it was not the only instigator of inequality between genders. Feminist cultural anthropologists claim that women were symbols of masculine power and therefore meaningless (Rubin, 1980). Emancipation movements have also played an important role in modern women's history and in defining the significant role and participation of women in history. Sojourner Truth, a black female slave, was one of the first who fought for women's emancipation along with several enthusiastic suffragettes. As a result, women were given the right to vote in the beginning of the twentieth century in several democratic countries even if it has not been given much importance in history (Buikema 19). Moreover, the private life of women is discovered not based on the limitations but on the culture that women have created for themselves. Letters, songs, gossip, tales, diaries are demonstrations of the extraordinary talent and tradition of women during the years (Buikema 19). It can be detected in every society that women found a way to have their voice heard and express their thoughts, emotions and beliefs. It is also important to mention that women and men experienced the various historical periods differently. When considering the period of the Renaissance, women lost the power they previously possessed as well as their freedom and authority. According to Berteke Waalidjk many historians claim that women's history is biased and altered to satisfy the ideals of feminism due to the lack of sources. A wide variety of diaries, instruction books for young girls, fairy tales and letters prove that this is false. However, such sources appear to outline how women were supposed to live at the time (Waalidjk 22). Thus women historians realized that history is the exploration of meaning and whether something is considered worthy to become a part of history depends on gender. In addition, Joan Scott states that gender plays a determining role in defining hierarchy. Analyzing the process by which something becomes part of history, it can be pronounced that the fact that women

were forbidden to take part in political issues while having only limited education influenced their writing and perception.

Christine de Pisan in *Le Livre de la Cité des Dames* claims that the literature of the Middle ages shows significant signs of misogyny introduced by clergymen about the wickedness of women. Judith Fetterley on the other hand in her book *The Resisting Reader* appears to blame the male dominated literary canon. According to Fetterley such literature represents women as deficient and subordinate, therefore the female reader is unlikely to identify with the female character (27). Fetterley calls this type of reader the “assenting reader” which she contrasts with being a “resisting reader”, reading with a gender aware feminist outlook (27). She urges women to read from a different perspective, whilst De Pisan suggests the search for different identifications of women. Fetterley’s studies were based on the reader-response theory founded in the 1970s, according to which each reader perceives a different meaning of a certain text. For instance, she introduced the feminist way of reading texts which was previously considered to be incorrect. De Beauvoir and Kate Millet claim that texts are the reflection of misogynist social beliefs and fail to represent the reality with regards to the true life of women, and thus presenting a mimetic literary theory (28). While mimetic theory suggest that texts are the manifestations of reality, around the 1980s it was abandoned and Moi’s theory was adopted stating that a text forms reality rather than mirroring it. Meijer claims her concerns analyzing feminine criticism, highlighting three major aspects: critique of sexism, writing of women and intercession in theory (28). Critique of sexism recreates the illustration of women. De Beauvoir and Millet claim that male authors such as Norman Millett and Henry Miller tend to construct unfavorable, daunting image of female characters. Mieke Bal on the other hand has demonstrated the importance of focalization in feminist criticism, of how identifying misogynist pictures of women and their role in texts leads directly to sexist characterization (29).

Further studies have demonstrated the evolution of feminist issues connected to literary theories and narrative procedures. De Lauretis expands the topic of sexism stating

that men are portrayed as the controlling agents while women are given a secondary victimized role (30). Another theory with regards to critiques of sexism is deconstructive anti-sexism which claims that misogynist texts fail to convey details about the lives of women but in fact are only about men. Toni Morrison draws a comparison among text and dream. Morrison asserts that the subject of a dream is the dreamer itself and rather than analyzing sexist representations the significance to the creators of such illustrations should be understood. She emphasizes that texts are full of oppositions of elements such as rationality, abstract thoughts, language and control struggling to overpower the 'other' (Morrison 31). As a consequence the 'other' in the text can either be liberated or restrained. Female writers of *écriture féminine* such as Helene Cixous, Chantal Chawaf, Annie Leclerc support the post-structuralist feminist criticism of aesthetics, which stresses the notion of aesthetics as being socially and culturally determined, with relation to the objectification women's body (Cixous) and the notion of femininity as a radical force in language (Kristeva). Cixous's highly feminist texts liberated the female 'other' while reversing the contradiction between the position of man and woman. A text does not only mirror but conveys meaning and Meijer states that this meaning captures and forces the readers to reflect on their ingrained beliefs and ideas. Following the analysis of feminist theorists the works of women writers of the past were interpreted from a new perspective. Virginia Woolf, one of the founders of feminist literary criticism, for instance was liberated from the prejudice of being a frigid, weak woman. Presumptions of the Brontes, Jane Austen and various writers of the German Romantic movement were reinterpreted. Women's culture represented in the Bible, by the female songs and songwriters, oral traditions, the American sentimental novels, the female Gothic writers of England, detective authors, female science fiction writers, autobiographical writings were dug up and reinstalled creating a new literary history (Morrison 34). Investigating female literary history reveals the continuous contribution of women to literature as well as its autonomous nature. Women's literary history shows patterns of both male and female literary principles. Different attempts have taken place in

order to submit women's culture to theories which were applied to male literature or were universal.

2.4 Women at war: An Analysis of Gender Identity

During the First World War the concept of motherhood was used to identify women of different nationalities, different ages and religions while the symbol of the soldier became the norm to represent men. It was the first worldwide event which affected both men and women. Therefore Susan Grayzel attempts to analyze the influence of war on gender and conversely. Women were responsible for educating the postwar generation and repopulating the country after the loss of millions of men at war. She endeavors to describe the changes that took place during the time influencing the lives of women and the common beliefs about gender. The experiences and exposure of women to war affected the mindset of society with regards to gender. The front line and the home front were continuously connected by the various new media such as newspaper accounts, letters and pamphlets to spread information and the reality of war; therefore women were involved. The air raids during the war further blurred the boundaries between the two fronts.

With the improvement in education literacy became a general concept concerning men and women. The novels of May Sinclair and Rose Macaulay describe the involvement of women in war on the home front, drawing a genuine picture of the pain and helplessness as well as the isolation from the realities of combat and fighting for the country (Grayzel 11). Dorothea, a character from Sinclair's novel *The Tree of Heaven* (1917), even claims that "war makes it detestable to be a woman" (Sinclair 303). Rose Macaulay's character Alix Sandomir experiences the same emotions in *Noncombatants and Others* (1916). Macaulay illustrates the different female roles in the war highlighting the drive of Alix's mother, the pacifist suffragette. Both protagonists realize the essence of war and the anxiety of not being able to participate leads them to pacifism. Men in uniform were portrayed to be the perfect husband

and women loyally waiting for their loved ones at home symbolized the purpose to fight for and endure the hardships of war. Certain novels such as the French Marguerite Yerta's *Les six femmes et l'invasion* were published and spread not only in France but also in England in an extended version. Different stereotypes are described in the novel giving a detailed account of the reactions to the brutalities of German soldiers. French women are portrayed as strong, patriotic mothers who are willing to endure the threats of the Hun. However in the original version spread in England stories about French women willingly sleeping with Germans in order to be able to provide food for their children were included. It is evident that propaganda played an important role in controlling literature since such chapters were censored in the French version of the book so as not to undermine public morale. British propaganda enforced the symbol of strong, brave women overcoming the menace of the enemy. They regularly used images of civilians in danger and loss to convince men to enlist. The contrasted representations of women demonstrate the complicated situation and roles women fulfilled during the war. Female labor in factories, volunteer groups and agriculture gave women a sense of action and the notion of equal participation became widespread, but the traditional roles of mother, victim and wife were maintained. The brutalities of the Germans were extensively publicized to urge enlistment. The atrocities committed by German soldiers against women and children were used as an emotional threat by the enemy. Women and girls impregnated by the Hun and the debate concerning children conceived as a result of rape was a controversial issue during the war. The concept of motherhood and raising children for ones country was considered the most important and patriotic position for women to fulfill. Jane Misme stated that bearing a child was a sacred condition and the abortion of a child or abandoning it was a crime (qtd. in Docquois 44). Feminists rebelled against this idea; Jeanne Schmahl for instance claimed that as long as mothers are deprived of consent to motherhood, the choice to decide about the future of the child should be provided (qtd. in Docquois 42). The suffering of Belgian women was often used in British propaganda to foreshadow what could happen to Britain and the weak,

innocent women and children of the country if men did not volunteer to protect them. Broadcasted news and stories were targeted to the empathy of the British people (Grayzel 51).

The female body became a public issue during the First World War. It was the key to whether the ethnicity was protected and the birthrate increased or decreased. After women were employed in factories the public was alarmed by the lowering of births. The state compensated by paying allowances to the families of soldiers. British concern about war babies originated from the anxiety caused by children born to women whose father died at war along with the children conceived illegitimately (Grayzel 86). An aid from the state was provided to families of soldiers who were always well taken care of and rewarded, but a scandal followed the measures contributing to the well being of children born to unmarried mothers. When unmarried women were denied state allowances stories of child neglect and disreputable behavior were unwinding. At the time British female sexuality and war duties were questioned and society was distressed by “erotic hysteria” (Grayzel 86). Motherhood became the national duty of women to supply future soldiers for the country meanwhile the moral of the country was at risk. Women found themselves in a duality whether to bare children even if illegitimate or contribute to the war effort by manual work and live a pure virtuous life. Mrs. Louise Creighton the head of the National Union of Women Workers (NUWW) demanded the equality of men and women before the law, since they were both responsible for war children; men who were the cause of women’s shame, and women who suffered a man’s mistreatment. Soon soldiers impregnating women illegitimately were compared to the German brutes raping innocent Belgian women. The novel *The Race: A New Play of Life* by Marie Stopes discusses the patriotic fight of the protagonist Rosemary who decides to give birth to her dead fiancé’s child, conceived outside of marriage, to serve her country as the mother of a war baby and a conscientious jingoistic heroine (48). However, Grayzel claims that the term “war baby” was denied the society stating that by being identified with the term children born out of wedlock even if that of a soldier and immoral

behavior of women became accepted (87). The scandal related to illegitimate babies was far more debated in Britain than abortion or infanticide. Even if child-bearing mothers were the heroines of the country to increase the birth-rate, abortion and birth control were not held at bay. The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (NUWSS) with the help of the Local Government Board established "maternity centers" to aid mothers and their children after birth. While constructive female workers in factories and agriculture were essential for the nation, Austin Harrison claimed that motherhood was the first and foremost obligation of women to Britain. Women were considered heroines of the nation who are able to repopulate the country once the men are fallen at war. Motherhood became a 'trade' a 'job' not only a responsibility of British women to commit to the war effort. Some women discovered the benefits of this idea by lamenting about the amount of their wages, the number of children they had and the importance of their duty as mothers to the country. The Women's Co-operative Guild claimed that the future of the country was strongly connected to the conditions of mothers and their children. At the same time women were urged to make independent decisions about maternity. The concern towards the future of the British race identified all women as inherent mothers and were warned to take care of themselves when fulfilling male roles in order to be able to complete the 'job' that they were obliged to do (Grayzel 89). Problems became evident considering that women working in factories, so as not to lose their wages, decided to hide or even abort their children. Therefore, factory owners were pushed to ameliorate the situation of pregnant women by assigning them to lighter work stations for the time of pregnancy, thus stimulating women to have more children. Moreover, it was stressed that while women could take the place of men in factories, men were unable to take women's place in reproducing, hence they were irreplaceable.

Femininity was strongly related to the traditional role of motherhood, but women's own self-identifications were disregarded and the labor they provided in factories and other professions was nothing else but temporary. During the First World War the government

struggled to counterbalance the dire need for munitions and factory workers; and to preserve and aid potential mothers and caretakers of future soldiers. As the war went on, the decreasing birthrate and the extreme number of deaths added to the threat of a diminishing state. The female body became a symbol and the tool to protect and revive the future population. Catherine Hartley agreed what politicians and clergymen have declared that women's morals have deteriorated during the war. Women's step towards gender equality was closely related to their moral behavior in society (Grayzel121). The unlimited alcohol consumption and open sexuality raised concern after the outbreak of the war. Prostitution and the so called amateur girls flood the streets of London seducing soldiers and sailors. The female body became a symbol of provocation and a conductor of venereal diseases posing a threat to the military and the nation while also representing the universal confusion of society. However the ambiguous portrayal of femininity included the victimization of women. By introducing new occupations for women new opportunities were presented. The boundaries between female and male were blurred and by volunteering as nurses and caretakers women were acquainted with a different viewpoint on sexuality (Grayzel 123). They stepped out of the sphere of being protected and therefore their virtues were subdued to a secondary position adapting a more open perspective on desire and self-fulfillment. The purity of the morals of women was of high importance since soldiers going to war considered them as the hopes to come back to and a reason to fight for. The Defence of the Realm Act (DORA) was established in order to regulate the free time of young women (Grayzel 121). In the next few years of the war several campaigns were initiated in order to limit rash, careless behavior. The Church of England organized the "National Mission of Repentance and Hope" applying religious concepts to call attention to the moral crisis in London. Apart from the religious cleansing of the city the immorality of society became a national interest. Women were called to act as the protectors of morals thus personifying the reason and the remedy for the problem. In *The Vote* London women were labeled as the "Harpies of London", the monstrous seducers supporting the idea of women being the

purpose of the damnation of men folk (Grayzel 123). A number of conferences were dedicated in 1917 to seek a solution to the downturn of social behavior. The question of whether men or young ladies were to blame was also raised. Lieutenant-General Sir Francis Lloyd claimed that men fighting in the trenches deserve to spend their time among attractive women. Mrs. Lousie Creighton on the other hand, protested against such demeanor suggesting the prevention of alcoholism and pleasure-seeking of young boys and girls.

The war changed the relationship and approach of both of the sexes. Society was aware of the changes in courtship and flirtation. Although ladies were considered the protectors of virtue and the newfound independence and fellowship among the sexes, the behavior of young girls tempting and alluring soldiers caused them a bad reputation. Lady Burbidge in *The Sunday Times* asserted that ladies expressed a dilemma for the government, since the support of soldiers' families and wives was necessary in order to stimulate enlistment but the new wave of prostitution and sexuality created an obstacle to be dismantled. Women were presented with a new role of importance in the war. Spreading venereal diseases especially among military men was another new issue during the First World War. As a result the state established the Royal Commission on Venereal Diseases in 1913 and the fight against these diseases began. Those infected could seek assistance and were supported hoping that they would not disguise their disease, thereby protecting the others. Due to the low birthrate and the growing threat on further decline due to such diseases the National Council of Public Morals (NCCVD) and the National Council for Combating Venereal Diseases (NCCVD) took action to educate the population especially women. The British were motivated to fight for the victory of the nation against this internal enemy. Women were employed to control women and the so called reckless "flappers" and once a lady was found guilty of prostitution or behaving in an immoral manner they were punished based on the Criminal Law Amendment Bill against women. Feminists on the other hand suggested more extensive education and the compulsory examination for diseases. The Amendment Bill failed but under DORA several provisions were restored, enabling the police

to control reckless and suspicious behavior. Although, the regulations served a good cause the prosecutions against ladies were employed to create a negative picture of the evil seducing women. The spread of venereal diseases symbolized the social crisis experienced in Britain, and overcoming this health issue signified victory over the enemy.

Women's identities were mainly constructed through motherhood and weakness. At the outbreak of the war feminist pacifism and objection to war overturned the idea of innocent, helpless victims. Broadcasting anti-war propaganda was considered treason; women were nonetheless prosecuted due to their relationship with soldiers, or else considering their importance influencing soldiers to enlist. Feminist pacifist concentrated on highlighting the parallel between masculinity and war and the universal maternal dominance of femininity. Furthermore, it was suggested that women rised above race, class and nationality based on their maternity. Feminist pacifists believed in the difference between masculinity and femininity and therefore the superiority of women because of the special characteristics as mothers. H elene Brion however, did not specify motherhood as the sole responsibility of women but also teaching language to the newborn and educating nationalist identity. Likewise, Olive Schreiner stated that women were represented as mothers who served their country by giving birth to the live weapons, the man (169). She compared the suffering of mothers over the loss of their sons to the agony endured by the men on the battlefield, stating that women pay in blood and bodies that are wasted in combat. Therefore, she demanded the empowerment of the female sex. According to Helena Swanwick the war denied motherhood for a great number of women after they became widows, thus not only did women lose their sons in war but they lost the potential father of their future children (23). She demanded the empowerment of mothers as a reward for the anguish they suffered losing their sons during the war. Furthermore, Swanwick claimed that the outbreak of war originated from the isolation of women in the field of politics. Anti-war feminist Silvia Pankhurst, also stated that women should claim political rights as a reimbursement for their losses. In addition, feminists adopted a pacifist stance as far as

combat was concerned. Other feminist writers argued that the before-mentioned statements aided the exclusion of women from politics. They suggested that women oppose the war not based on their position as mothers but because of the harm they experienced. Defeatism or the acceptance of peace at any cost was a new concept supported by women, which caused a public outrage. Besides, the case of Annie Pimlott was another example of women's anti-war hostility. Pimlott claimed in an extensive use of propaganda that British soldiers also committed various atrocities which were censored by the press. Pimlott's case could have been a turning point regarding that if the characteristics used to describe the beastly enemy could be adapted to the British Tommy the propaganda demonizing the enemy would collapse, while the superiority of race would have been replaced by the superiority of gender. Before the war women's voting rights were denied since they could not offer military service. Consequently feminists used the 'moral force' represented by women against men's 'physical force' as a reason to petition for suffrage, suggesting that it was a virtue not to serve in the military. By contributing to the war effort women had the opportunity to identify themselves more with their nations as citizens and have a bigger influence on society. As a result British women were allowed to vote in 1918. Various female positions such as the instigator of men to go to fight and their patriotism highly contributed to this accomplishment. Moreover, ladies asserted that if men did not enlist they would be willing to take their place in the army. Although this was a far-fetched idea of British nationalism the enthusiasm was acknowledged. Several women's battalions like the Women's Volunteer Reserve (WVR) were formed allowing women to wear a military uniform and aim to protect Britain in case of a sudden attack. However, during the war wearing the King's khaki represented a sacred patriotic duty and women did not deserve to wear the uniform since they did not put their lives on the line. The khaki color when worn by the ladies became a symbol of their moral commitment and sacrifice but the patriarchal notion of men as the ultimate patriots remained. Women in uniform were often attacked for wearing it for political purposes but they successfully justified their intentions stating that the suffragettes,

who, before the outbreak of the war behaved recklessly breaking windows, were now well-mannered devoted citizens. They were gradually more accepted after the scandals caused by prostitutes and sinful flappers. The only further issue caused by the uniforms worn by women was their loss of femininity. Therefore, women emphasized that their main goal was to support the men serving the country. Contrary to some scholars who believe that it was not women's war effort why they were given voting rights it did contribute to acquiring it. Suffragettes were worshipped for their work while their voting rights were denied. Many people objecting to women's suffrage shifted in their opinion experiencing the exemplary female participation on the home front. Therefore when the electoral referendum took place the question of women's parliamentary franchise was reconsidered. As a result, in 1918 female British citizens gained voting rights provided they were over thirty, were local electors or the spouses of someone who was. However, mothers as the symbols of femininity and the creators of future soldiers remained the main national role of women. The debate about women's contribution to the war and their political rights demonstrates that citizens were identified based on their participation in the efforts toward the development of the country. Citizenship remained closely connected to masculinity, military service and patriotism displaying the gender inequalities still present. Although women accomplished to hold an opinion in politics the barriers between genders were maintained.

After the war various events of remembrance were held in tribute to the fallen war heroes. The mothers who lost their sons and husbands became the symbols of mourning Britain. Yet again women were mainly identified with mothers and motherhood instead of citizens who contributed to the war effort. Instead of being considered as citizens motherhood was represented as the wartime role model for women and the noncombatant participators of the war. Women's war work as factory workers and nurses was disregarded with minimal acknowledgement of women wearing uniforms.

The First World War was a modern war in a sense that the governments had the opportunity to influence public opinion through mass media and mass culture. It was widely

publicized in newspapers, pamphlets, literature due to the considerable amount of literate people. Combatants as well as noncombatants were urged to support their country in war. Although women were able to gain voting rights the maternal image was maintained.

2.5 Representation and Creating Meaning

Stuart Hall states that representation is the process of a notion becoming the agent for a certain concept which thus conveys meaning utilizing images, a word or an indication (15). There are two systems of representation, the first stating that the concepts are associated with “mental representations” constructed in our heads, and the second that language is essential in order to express a connotation (Hall 18). Such systems of representations comprise the “meaning-systems” of culture. Meaning is constructed by linking together various concepts to form points of relation between them, hence Hall states that connotations depend on the relationship of the ideas and beliefs in the world. However, based on culture meaning can be interpreted differently by each individual, due to the variations and deviations in the so called ‘conceptual maps’ (Hall 18). These conceptual maps have to be translated into language so that it can be shared and interpreted. Words, sounds and images that convey meaning are called signs which are arranged into language. Visual images or sounds can also be defined as language used to transmit an idea. In order to understand what is being communicated it is necessary to share the language. A code is used to determine and set the meaning of a concept, which enables the speaker to link the code to an object or an abstract idea based on a previous cultural and linguistic knowledge. There are various approaches which help the listener, speaker, viewer to understand the message which is to be interpreted. Hall claims that when applying the reflective approach, the meaning is connected to the object, person, idea or event in reality and language is used to reflect an already fixed meaning. The concept of ‘mimesis’ or imitation can be highlighted as the embodiment of a pre-established connotation. The intentional approach on the other

hand states, that the author or painter sets the meaning based on experience. This approach fails since communication is based on a shared system of codes not a private activity. The third, constructionist approach focuses on the public trait of language declaring that meaning is established by using signs (Hall 25). Material and symbolic are separated the second of which is responsible for carrying meaning through pre-established systems. The constructionist view can be attributed to Saussure. He states that words, images and sounds carry a meaning when they are connected to a system of signs. He analyzed the sign even further, specifying a form, or signifier which is the word or image itself and the idea, the signified formed according to the form (qtd. in Culler 19). He also comments that the significance of a sign is defined by the difference between one sign and another, therefore a system of differences has to be established as well. In addition, meaning and the relationship between signified and signifier changed and changes with time. He divided language into langue, the language system and the parole which is the specific act of producing a text, and a drawing or an utterance based on the rules of the langue (qtd. in Culler 19). He declares language to be a social phenomenon. Later Saussure focused on the function of language in the process of representation.

Although, Saussure studied exclusively the formal aspects of language his approach lead to introducing semiotics, the study of signs in relation to culture as a language. In the semiotic approach objects can also carry a meaning. As previously mentioned, Roland Barthes using the semiotic approach analyzed popular culture using it as language which communicates a message. Barthes established a descriptive level of signs which consists of a denotation and a connotation. A denotation is a simple publicly accepted meaning, and a connotation is the meaning which is connected to a wider, unclear set of interpretations.

Interpretation is a never-ending process since images or texts can be translated differently by every single individual and semiotics connected it to a language system. Later on improvements in the studies of meaning redefined representation as a reference of public knowledge and issue of superiority and power. Michel Foucault commented on the use of

representation, declaring that it contributes to the construction of knowledge through discourse. He investigated the connection between the consciousness of being involved in culture and the social knowledge it constructs. He identified three notions: discourse, power and knowledge, and subject. He denied the ideas of Saussure and Barthes expressing that: "Here I believe one's point of reference should not be to the great model of language (langue) and signs, but to that of war and battle; The history which bears and determines us has the form of a war rather than of a language: relations of power not relations of meaning..." Foucault was interested in the link between discourse and the process of creating and interpreting meaning in the different eras in the past (Foucault 114-5). He announced that discourse was used to determine and reproduce knowledge. At the same time discourse regulates how a topic is discussed and the same discourse can appear in a variety of forms in a society. Foucault investigated how discourse and the enforcement of believing certain meanings influenced behavior.

2.6. Understanding Propaganda Techniques and Devices

Harold D. Lasswell in his book *Propaganda Technique in the World War* defines propaganda as the deliberate shifting of public opinion towards a desired field. According to Lasswell propaganda is one of the three types of aggression: military pressure, economic pressure and propaganda (15). In order to achieve this goal, slogans, stories, images, articles photos and various other forms of communication were used. Successful propaganda is directed at the prejudices of the society and the psychological characteristics of the people. Lasswell specifies four main techniques of propaganda which is necessary for a victorious combat. First of all he claims that identifying an enemy and dressing the enemy in negative traits is essential to spark hatred and awaken a sense of safeguarding of the country and the loved ones (Lasswell 48). It is very important to turn to the various classes and terminate inner conflicts within the country. The next step is mobilizing the troops and the forces of the

nation, recruiting soldiers. In order to encourage enlistment the propagandist must appeal to the emotions of the future volunteers by stimulating unity and national spirit, foreshadowing the terror that war could bring in case the enemy attacked their families, offer respect and glory or else shame and disdain. Furthermore, demonizing the enemy must be adopted. The basic instinct of humans is to find a scapegoat when facing a problem; therefore the enemy must be named as such. According to Lasswell "collective egotism" must be established and the collaboration between the allies must be confirmed as well as connection with neutral countries must be strengthened with the aim of later involving and convincing them to fight side by side with the nation. Demonizing the enemy has to be carried in such a manner that a sense of aversion is aroused but the atrocities committed must not deter soldiers from fighting. Lasswell claims that "Stress can always be laid upon the wounding of women, children, old people, priests and nuns, and upon sexual enormities, mutilated prisoners and mutilated non-combatants. These stories yield a crop of indignation against the fiendish perpetrators of these dark deeds, and satisfying certain powerful, hidden impulses." (Lasswell 78). A group of leaders from the opponent were nominated so that the hatred of people can be directed towards them and appear more realistic. Justifying war is another fundamental duty of the propagandist on religious and abstract grounds. Furthermore, the victorious campaigns, heroic stories from the trenches and anecdotes of bravery have to be reported in order to assure the society and future volunteers of the effectiveness of the troops and to build trust. Consequently when the losses are reported a positive broadcast or a promise of success must accompany it (Lasswell 103). Lasswell expounds demoralizing the enemy as a useful attack on the emotions of the opponent by counter simulation. Moreover, the dispiriting of the enemy was attempted by spreading discouraging news, convincing pamphlets, books and newspapers (Lasswell 163). The success of a propaganda campaign is determined by a number of different reasons and can lead to a total war inspiring the entire nation to take part in the war efforts. The British propaganda during the First World War

has demonstrated the impact and the benefits of a well-organized, professional propaganda campaign.

The seven devices of propaganda were first introduced by the Institute for Propaganda Analysis in 1937. The framework served as a core for examining world war propaganda. The seven devices first appeared in a critical review in November 1937 in the second issue of *Propaganda Analysis* accompanied by the statement that propaganda is determined to manipulate public opinion and it appealed to the awareness of the seven devices used to reach this goal (Lasswell 136). The first device is 'name calling', or the labeling of a person, group, abstract belief, idea with negative traits to induce hatred. The second 'glittering generalities' means that the propagandist adopts positive, ethical terms such as "truth, freedom, honor, liberty, social justice" in order to appeal to the emotions of the reader. 'Transfer', the third propaganda device, states that transmitting the reader's thoughts from a new idea to something that is socially valued and accepted will result in associating the new idea with the already appreciated notion. In the case of the 'testimonial', which is the fourth device, one may say that it is the referencing of a known and respected subject, abstract thought or a person to the new idea. The 'plain folks' device is used to generate understanding and acceptance of a new notion based on the preference of the masses. The sixth device is 'card stacking' which means that the propagandist exaggerates certain negligible facts or personal opinions while minimizing significant information. Last but not least, the seventh device called 'band wagon' urges people to "follow the crowd" and behave, believe, act a certain way. Edward A. Filene and Clyde R. Miller established the Filene-Miller anti-propaganda institute in order to unveil the motives underlying propaganda. The Institute faced several attacks claiming that by identifying certain texts as propagandistic would create universal skepticism (Lasswell 139).

Chapter 3. Analyzing First World War Fiction and Print Media

3.1. The Life of a V.A.D.: Biography of Vera Brittain

The generation involved in World War One embraced writers in active duty who attempted to report the experiences of combat. It was the first war which produced such a wide variety of impulses and literary artwork. Literary attempts were created based in the idea of 'art for art's sake' and instead of imitating the classics, to reform the conventional ideas of British society. While poets who served in the First World War were appreciated during the war, novelists such as Edmund Blunden, Robert Graves and Siegfried Sassoon were acknowledged only in the 1920s. However, Arnold Bennett and H.G. Wells created prose recalling their civilian experience of the fighting. Women writers faced significant hostility and skepticism but one of the novelists excelling among the others was Vera Brittain, who could genuinely recall her experience at home and near the front lines.

The aim of Vera Brittain was to showcase the influence of war on the life of a generation and to prevent false beliefs about the appeal of war. Vera Brittain was born on 29 December 1893 in North Staffordshire. Her parents Thomas Arthur Brittain and Edith Bervon provided a peaceful and loving home for the author and her younger brother Edward born on 30 November 1895. An unbreakable bond developed between the children which remained uninterrupted throughout their lives. Although Brittain appreciated her uneventful family life, her aspiration to become a student at Oxford University was subject to constant disagreement among the family (Bostridge 205). A young lady from a wealthy family was only expected to marry off well. Her brother on the other hand, who was encouraged to pursue a successful career, had a true love for music. When the family moved to Buxton, Brittain was enrolled in the St Monica's School in Surrey, where she was introduced to the revolutionary idea of feminism. After returning to Buxton she merged into the life of young accomplished ladies attending balls, theaters and tennis parties (Bostridge

279). However, she kept longing for a more intellectual life and started to consider university the only possible escape from marriage. After convincing her parents to pay the entrance fee for the exam and studying diligently on her own, she passed the exam and was awarded a scholarship to attend Somerville College. The summer before leaving for Oxford Vera was introduced to her brother's talented and intelligent friend Roland Leighton. Leighton's parents were both writers, his mother being the main breadwinner of the family is said to have influenced Roland to become a feminist. They enjoyed exchanging opinions on poetry, literature and life (Bostridge 351). When the war broke out Vera noted in her diary "That which has been so long anticipated by some and scoffed at by others has come to pass at last- Armageddon in Europe!" showing a strong interest towards the happenings in the world (Bostridge 431). Brittain's brother Edward although below military age convinced his parents to agree on him entering the army. Vera enthusiastically encouraged her brother blinded by the beauty and romance of war which was broadcasted by the propaganda at the time. She considered one of her old suitors a 'shirker' for not taking part in the war. After discovering that her exhibition at Somerville was possible, she prepared for the university years passionately hoping to spend the next year with Leighton and her brother. Roland, on the other hand, had different plans, considering that studying did not appear to be a proper alternative for him to defend his country (Bostridge 478). Vera herself found war glorious, stating that if she was born a boy she would have joined the army since "Women get all the dreariness of war and none of its exhilaration" (Bostridge 478). She took part in war works popular among the ladies such as knitting socks and taking First Aid classes. Eventually Brittain's brother was sent to Oxford to train at the University OTC, while Roland was commissioned to Norwich. Vera and Roland exchanged letters and after a few shy and chaperoned meetings Roland headed to the front. While Vera was pursuing her dream attending classes at Oxford she was increasingly influenced to suspend her studies and to do something more useful. Mark Bostridge states that "government propaganda was beginning to put pressure on women to participate in the war effort, freeing men from their peacetime

occupations and allowing them to enlist" (674). By becoming a VAD nurse Brittain adopted the hard physical work in order to showcase her love for her fiancé and experience his struggles. Bostridge on the other hand states that the self-sacrificing VADs obtained new identity and became a sign of active tribute to the men fighting at the front. When her fiancé returned the engagement of the couple took place although Brittain refused to wear a ring, stating that it is a token belittling women as men's possessions. However the marriage never took place given that Roland Leighton died of wounds on 23 December (Bostridge 828). Vera, although unsure of her aims to continue nursing, applied for Foreign Service. Brittain was posted to Malta on 24 September, 1916 and spent a joyful few months on the island when she learned of the loss of the eyesight and the death of two of her friends Victor and Geoffrey, and decided to return to England to offer her hand in marriage to her wounded friend. However, not only was Victor blinded he died a few weeks after Brittain's return. She reapplied for Foreign Service at the VAD headquarters and on 4 August was sent to France. Near the front lines Vera cared for German patients as well as for mustard gas victims which set her pacifism in motion. Her brother died in Italy on June 15th 1918. After four years of nonattendance Brittain returned to Summerville where she changed from English Literature to History (Bostridge 1243). In 1923 Brittain published her first novel *The Dark Tide* and *Not Without Honour* in 1924, both followed by mild success. Vera married George Catlin an American political scientist a year later. They had two children John Edward and Shirley Vivian. In most of her life she committed to one of the major topics represented in Testament of Youth, the importance of the recognition of women's efforts during the war (Bostridge 1375).

The burst of war themed books started about 10 years after the armistice. It was said to have been the "breaking of an emotional dam" (Bostridge 1489). It started with Edmund Blunden's *Undertones of War* and Siegfried Sassoon's *Memoirs of a Fox-Hunting Man* and the peak of war fiction was reached in 1929 when 29 books were published, along with Erich Maria Remarque's *All Quiet on the Western Front*, *Goodbye to All That* written by

Robert Graves, and *Death of a Hero* by Richard Aldington. Numerous books published during this time were written in a pessimistic disillusioned tone, denouncing the futile deaths of millions. However, books portraying the war in a positive light provided greater comfort to those suffering. The disillusionment was rooted in the failing economic situation after the war. Representing war as a hopeless sacrifice in vain concentrating solely on ghastly details and the terror experienced by the soldiers raised questions of authenticity and concerns towards future enlistment (Bostridge 1511). Brittain in the review of *Death of a Hero* in 1929 claims that women were either not present at all or their suffering and contributions were belittled and disparaged. The efforts of the VADs, WAACs and WRAFs were rarely acknowledged in literature. Brittain claimed that women working during the war had an all-embracing vision. Mary Lee the author of *It's a Great War* agreed stating that noncombatants were able to perceive the war in a more extensive manner.

Brittain's constant fear was that war books would eventually lose their popularity. Therefore, she found it especially important that her book be genuine in terms of fact but also entertaining. Initially *Testament of Youth* was titled *The War Generation* and was to be published in two volumes. The first volume *A Tale that is Told* would have embraced the 4 years of the war finishing with Vera visiting the graves of Edward and Roland and *We Who Were Left* would have covered the period after the war until 1930 (Bostridge 1551). Eventually Brittain decided on one single volume entitled *Chronicle of Youth* which was later changed to *Testament of Youth* due to the influence of Robert Bridge's poem *Testament of Beauty*. Apart from the emotional impact of the book on the author, Vera had to face further challenges with regards to using Edward's, Roland's, Geoffrey's and Victor's letters. Brittain believed that citing from these sources would provide an intimate and personal touch to the book. She resolved the copyright issue by omitting Victor and Geoffrey's surnames and rephrased their letters. Furthermore, Brittain hesitated when quoting Roland's letters since the Leighton family strongly disapproved of her pacifist and feminist views but ultimately Roland's mother, Marie Leighton, gave her consent (Bostridge 1551). Brittain was

convinced that including private memories and the emotions expressed could provide consolation to those grieving. When the book was finished Vera sent a copy to Harold Latham of Macmillan in New York. Latham decided to publish the book in America which instigated the British publisher, Victor Gollancz to publish the book. On 28 August *Testament of Youth. An Autobiographical Study of the Years 1900-1925* was published and was a great success. In the *Daily Telegraph* Rebecca West claimed that the section giving details of Vera's struggle to get away from provincial young lady hood is "an interesting piece of social history, in its picture of the peculiarly unsatisfying position of women in England before the war" (Bostridge 1684). Bostridge claims that the book is not only a representation of men and women's experiences during the war but also the legend of a forgotten generation. An important aspect of caring for German victims helped Britain gravitate towards internationalism and pacifism. "As an uncompromising pacifist, I hold war to be a crime against humanity, whoever fights it, and against whomever it is fought. I believe in liberty, democracy, free thought and free speech. I detest Fascism and all that it stands for, but I do not believe that we shall destroy it by fighting it." claims Vera Brittain in 'Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War' in the *Left Review*, December 1937.

3.2. The Androgynous Heroine. Rose Macaulay

Emilie Rose Macaulay was born in Rugby on August 1, 1881. Her father George Macaulay was an assistant master at school and her mother was Grace Conybeare, daughter of Reverend William Conybeare. Rose was a family name in the Conybeare line but Macaulay used her name either as Emily or Rose or as E. R. Macaulay when writing poetry in the *Saturday Westminster*. Sarah LeFanu claims that therefore, her name had a feminine and masculine side which is often reflected in her novels with androgynous heroines named Cecil, Neville, Rome, Julian and Laurie. She was one of the first women who were able to support themselves by writing and she was very involved in the literary and political life in

Britain (LeFanu 6). She had numerous literary friends such as Elizabeth Bowen, Rosamund Lehmann, Virginia Woolf, Rupert Brooke, E. M. Foster and T.S.Eliot. Her book, published in 1916, entitled *Non-Combatants and Others* was a pioneer among novels against the war and it was undoubtedly intense. She was a zestful critique and journalist, and in the 1940s she became a travel writer. LeFanu states that Macaulay's personality had different sides; therefore changing identities and states of consciousness are frequently dealt with in her novels such as *Dangerous Ages*, *Told by an Idiot*, *Crewe Train*, *Orphan Island* and *Keeping Up Appearances*. Rose Macaulay died in 1958 and after her death a number of eulogies written by her friends were published in the *Encounter* featuring her different personalities. Writing her biography LeFanu was fascinated by her "queer hidden selves" and her secrets (40). The girls and boys in the Macaulay family grew up engaging in the same activities, therefore Rose was involved whether the boys went swimming, riding or playing cricket. Rose did not wish to have been born a boy but the boundaries between femininity and masculinity were blurred in their family. She often revisited the theme of sexually ambiguous characters in her novels *The Furnace* (1907) and *The Valley Captives* (1910) (LeFanu 383). Similarly to Vera Brittain's mother, Grace attempted to keep her daughters home but Uncle Reginald proposed to support Rose's university studies. Therefore, Rose took the Oxford and Cambridge Joint Board Higher Certificate Examination in History, French, German and Elementary Mathematics and in October 1900 she began her studies at Somerville College. Although she enjoyed settling into academic life and made friends out of the family for the first time, she did not find her place in the world of education. She felt irresolute and left Oxford with an unranked degree. She was encouraged to write by her literature loving family, therefore she tried to submit her writings to the *Saturday Westminster* (LeFanu 904). She finished her first novel *Abbots Verney* in the spring of 1906 which was published in December. She spent a significant amount of time abroad broadening her perspective of the world. She wrote a series of non-fictional literature as well which were not very well received. In 1912 her first successful novel *The Lee Shore* was

published. When the war broke out she started to work for the British Propaganda Department and later volunteered to work as a VAD and an agricultural worker. Some of her later works such as the satirical *Told by an Idiot* (1923), *Orphan Island* (1924), *Crewe Train* (1926), and *Keeping up Appearances* (1928) were very well received. Furthermore she entered a more serious sphere of literature by publishing the essays *A Casual Commentary* (1925) and *Catchwords and Claptrap* (1926). During the Second World War she became an ambulance driver but did not publish any novels. Her first attempt to return was her travel writing *They Went to Portugal* (1946), *Evelyn Waugh* (1946), *Fabled Shore: From the Pyrenees to Portugal By Road* (1949). In 1950 she returned to novel writing publishing *The World My Wilderness* recalling her experience and the life after the Second World War. Her last novel was published in 1956 *The Towers of Trebizond* a story of her aunt's endeavor to convert Muslims in Turkey to Anglicanism. She never married but had a secret affair with the Irish novelist, Gerald O'Donovan until his death in 1942. Rose Macaulay died on October 30, 1958 after suffering a heart attack.

Non-Combatants and Others was published in 1916 as one of the first anti-war novels, as a result of Macaulay's experiencing the elements of modernist literature such as ideas of time, identity and consciousness (LeFanu 45). When the First World War broke out Macaulay shared the enthusiasm to fight and was desperate for having been denied to fight. She volunteered as a VAD at Mount Blow, a military convalescent home but she soon realized that instead of the romantic heroism of war it was a constant horror of mutilated bodies and shell shock (LeFanu1596). In *Non-Combatants and Others* Macaulay modeled the character of Alix on her own personality, disgusted of the shock and the bodily horrors of the war. After discovering the suicide of her brother, Alix decides to turn to religion unsuccessfully, although she finds temporary consolation by talking to the clergy-man friend of her brother who verbalizes similar emotions towards the inertness suffered by non-combatants. Ultimately, Alix joins the campaign of her mother at the Society for Promoting Permanent Peace as Rose Macaulay became a member of the League of Nations Union

(LeFanu 1637). The novel was not very well received and was criticized for having discredited those fighting at the fronts. The death of her friend, Rupert Brook influenced the outlook of Macaulay and inspired her to end the novel in a pacifist tone stripping off her romantic ideologies. Macaulay welcomed agricultural work more enthusiastically than that of nursing and after the family moved closer to London she was able to seek a job at the War Office as a junior administrative assistant transforming into an autonomous woman (LeFanu 1709).

3.3 The Birth of the New Woman

The 1820's was the first period when women's rights and independence became an important question of interest, although traces of women's activities and emancipation could be detected much earlier pioneering in redefining the meaning of femininity. Barbara Caine states that the main inspiration concerning the previously mentioned question of feminism was the American example (54). In America the issues of slave-trade and feminism were regarded as a similar problem. Notwithstanding, the voices of women feminists were rarely considered with men's voices dominating in the cause. For instance, William Thompson's *Appeal* was highly popular, although signs of superiority were still present. Thompson compared women's situation to the conditions of black slaves. As a supporter of the Owenites he called for a complete change in the society and the abolishment of capitalism, claiming that women's independence depended on equality in both civil and official offices (Caine 60). Women were presented as victimized and forced to obey men's orders and pleasures. The journalist Anna Wheeler and the novelist Mary Lemane Grimstone argued that despite the battle for women's rights by men, ladies still had fewer possibilities to make their voice heard and publish their opinion and were still considered inferior in intellect. Furthermore, Wheeler complained that women accepted their state of oppression and refused to fight for their independence. The case of Caroline Norton was a perfect example of legal tyranny

(Caine 66). Norton was completely denied custody of her children and earnings. She was never able to see her children who were treated badly and neglected by their father. After her youngest son died of a riding accident she was allowed to visit her children but she was never able to take them in custody. She produced pamphlets to underline her efforts in the issue. Although she faced considerable opposition the Infants Custody Act was passed in 1839, which made it possible for children under the age of 7 to be under the care of their mother in case of divorce, as long as the mother was proved to be of 'good character' and it was approved by the Lord Chancellor (Caine 68). In her book *English Laws for Women* based on her own suffering she attempted to shed light on the injustice endured by women for the next generation of feminists. Harriet Martineau also played a significant role in spreading feminist ideas. However, since she used a male pseudonym when she published her works she faced significant hostility. She also based her programme on her personal experience as an oppressed middle-class woman who was denied proper education and her participation in religion. Similarly to Norton, Martineau blamed her ill health and lack of advancement in her life to the inferior treatment of women. Although, she claimed that female education could aid wives and mothers to perform better in their domestic duties. She strongly rejected the concept of women being legally represented by their husbands and their fathers and having no rights in court (Martineau 73). Martineau herself was fatherless; therefore she had no supporter in the social system. She became a suffragist and her writings on female employment were said to have been trail-breaking by Victorian feminists. She decided to join the cause and take part actively when she met Josephine Butler and the Ladies' National Association and was influenced by the sacrifice of these women committed to fight for the equality of women.

One of the issues that feminists fought for was the belief that women were meant to spend most of their time at home and nurturing the family. A great number of books, pamphlets and sermons were spread in order to advertise and teach women of the importance of domestic life. The introduction of Evangelism first gave women the

opportunity to change the public beliefs about the rights and obligation of women. In this sense, women were portrayed as superiors in charge of the household, children, and the estate in order to protect the family and themselves from the temptation of evil and scandalous behavior (Caine 130).

In the 1890s the concept of the 'new woman' emerged. Aggressive and peaceful suffragettes marched on the streets using banners and poster to create a powerful impact. The notion of the Victorian-woman was confronted by such women. New issues such as the coordination of childcare and work emerged. Furthermore, the war raised questions of nationalism, militarism, pacifism in relation to feminist ideals. Polemics about the 'new woman' in literature and the press argued whether modern women wanted to ignore their domestic duties and marriage. Public knowledge on female sexuality, anatomy and femininity was re-established and gender equality and citizenship prevailed (Caine 134). Caine asserts that the terminology suffragette, feminist, suffragist that the Victorian women adopted to represent their fight for emancipation was substituted by the 'new woman' which symbolized the struggle for rights and equality in marriage, law and society. The first one to define the new term was Sarah Grand renouncing Victorian traditional characteristics such as the importance of creating the family home. She claimed that women had the right to decide which path they intended to take and being subordinate and inferior to men was considered piteous. In literature Mona Caird in *The Daughters of Danaus*, Emma Brooke in *The Superfluous Woman* and Sarah Grand in *The Beth Book* and *The Heavenly Twins* were the pioneers to employ the idea of the modern women. These authors described the 'new woman' as intelligent, aware of her feminist identity who denounces sexual desires and marriage. Caird argued that conventional marriage which was traditionally arranged in Victorian times was the source of women's oppression sexually, physically and mentally. Havelock Ellis emphasized that sexuality is closely related to personal identity. Beforehand, female friendships were unacceptable and womanhood was misunderstood due to the lack of education and knowledge of female sexuality and anatomy.

In press the first appearance of the new term 'new woman' appeared in the *Quarterly Review* claiming that it is a lady "who condemns law and contracts, is in complete accord with the anarchist and demands emancipation from religion, law, custom and authority.", while the first to define feminism was Ellis Ethelmer, which was the pseudonym of Ben and Elizabeth Wolstenholme Elmy. New perspectives, female identities, cultural traditions emerged in this period. Feminism focused not only on the acquisition of the right to vote or legal right but the independence and freedom of identity, sexuality, and financial means.

3.4 The Female Identity Reinvented: the Effects of War and Propaganda on the Characters Vera from *Testament of Youth* and Alix of *Non-Combatants and Others*

Barbara Welter states that being pure was "as essential as piety to a young woman, its absence was unnatural and unfeminine. Without it she was in fact no woman at all, but a member of some lower order. A 'fallen woman' was a 'fallen angel', unworthy of the celestial company of her sex." Rose Macaulay's Alix as well as Vera similarly fail to define themselves in society. Alix continually striving to be able take part in the war but due to her handicap is not able, therefore continuously trying to find a more useful job. She exclaims "It's jealousy that's demoralizing me the most. Jealousy of the people who can be in the beastly thing...Oh, I do so want to go and fight..." (Macaulay 60). Vera similarly contradicts the traditional notion of womanhood becoming a nurse at a very young age and engaging in activities previously considered scandalous by society. Feminists considered women's contribution to the war as an advantage proving the growing female importance and independence.

A mirror of society and the different attitudes to war are vividly represented in Rose Macaulay's *Non-Combatants and Others*. While Alix's cousin takes part in the war efforts as a V.A.D. nurse, at Violette the daily habits of recipes and fashion are mentioned on the same page as the war. Macaulay describes Evie's life affected by combat as: "The war mainly

affected Evie by reducing the demand for hats, and consequently lowering the salary she received at the exclusive and ladylike milliner's where she worked." (Macaulay 22). Her disinterested brother Nicholas who is also hiding a German, is contradicted by Alix's friend Doyle returning from the war injured and longing for "the beautiful and the whole and the healthy..." (Macaulay 30) lively Evie. The viewpoint of society is advocated by West who claims that "Combatants are to be pitied; but non-combatants are of all men and women the most miserable. Older men, crocks, parsons, women-God help them...But really, of course, they've a unique opportunity. They can't be fighting war abroad; but they can be fighting it at home."(Macaulay 61).

With the outbreak of the war women had access to investigate male anatomy from closer. Therefore the male gaze delineated by Laura Mulvey is converted. Mulvey states in *Visual and other Pleasures* that "[i]n a world ordered by sexual imbalance, pleasure in looking has been split between active/male and passive/female." and "[i]n their traditional exhibitionist role women are simultaneously looked at and displayed, with their appearance coded for strong visual and erotic impact so that they can be said to connote to-be-looked-at-ness." (62). Vera Brittain claims to have never had the opportunity to get thorough knowledge of not only the male body but even her own before she became a VAD.

[t]hroughout my two decades of life, I had never looked upon the nude body of an adult male; I had never even seen a naked boy-child since the nursery days when, at the age of four or five, I used to share my evening baths with Edward... Towards the men I came to feel almost adoring gratitude for their simple and natural acceptance of my ministrations. Short of actually going to bed with them, there was hardly an intimate service that I did not perform for one or another in the course of four years, and I still have reason to be thankful for the knowledge of masculine functioning which the care of them gave me, and for my early release from the sex-inhibitions that... beset many of my female contemporaries, both married and single. (Macaulay 143)

Furthermore, in *Non-Combatants and Others* while the character of Alix, is driven to support the war effort two male characters Sidney Vinney and Nicholas Sandomir did not want to take part. Women became the active agents while men became the passive, powerless recipients of the eyes of women. Men were emasculated and reduced in a childlike state by the war. Macaulay describes in *Noncombatants and Others* how Alix as a spectator hears John suffer from shell shock weeping like a little child: "Outside his own window, John, barefooted, in pink pyjamas, stood, gripping with both hands on to the iron balustrade, his face turned up to the moon, crying, sobbing, moaning, like a little child, like a man on the rack. He was saying things from time to time... muttering them...Alix heard. Things quite different from the things he had said at dinner....His eyes were now wide and wet, and full of horror beyond speech." (8).

Women were able to cross boundaries, have access to private spaces which was not possible before. The ambiguity of the saint-like nurse in her white uniform caring for men is contrasted with the dangers of the front empowering women with a sense of indispensability. Vera identifies herself with Florence Nightingale representing the nurse as an angel to sacrifice herself, pure and female but also dominating in a masculine arena. Florence Nightingale (1820-191) was a beloved nurse who was born in an upper-class family and decided to give up her comfortable life to serve in the Crimean war. She was named the "lady with the lamp" because she was seen walking with a candle in hand to check on the wounded soldiers. (see poster among the figures) An article in the *British Medical Journal* recalls the original story of Florence Nightingale in Crimea who opened up the storage to satisfy the need of sick soldiers go against the instructions of the authorities. In *Testament of Youth* Vera writes to her mother once overcoming her naïve self "Do you remember how afraid I used to be of the thunder when I was little? Now I feel quite a "Lady of the Lamp" marching along with the thunder crashing and the lightning- such lightning as you never see in England- flashing around us, to see if other people are afraid." (5571,p. 301) Florence Nightingale in "*Cassandra: [Nothing to do]*" fought against Victorian society

impeding women by not giving way to female education which can be discovered in Britain's own struggle for proper education. Similarly it is stated by Helen Brion that motherhood is not the sole purpose of women in life. Similarly a rather feminist comment is present in Rose Macaulay's by Miss Simon "And, for war work, what price Florence Nightingale? What would the country have done without her, and what did she get out of all she did?" (Macaulay 23). The enthusiastic feminist cousin voicing her opinion about the sacrifice of Florence Nightingale against Austin Harrison's declaration that motherhood was the foremost duty of women to fulfill.

Women were initially represented in a domestic space at home, working for the well-being of the family who stayed home but contributing to the fights at the battle front in protection to be able to give birth to the "live weapons of the war" as previously stated by Olive Schreiner. The notion of 'home front' and 'fighting front' constantly changed, therefore the representation of women was regularly re-defined. Many writers especially the war poets highlight the distinction between the two spaces. Nurses for example could find themselves targets of long range guns, Zeppelin raids and under combat fire even if they were behind the front lines. The home front and the fighting front were divided by the different experience and emotions induced by war. The only opportunity for women to take part was according to Janet Watson "...cutting up bandages and knitting while looking after one's family...(and) volunteer nursing, the only full-time work for women untainted by professionalism, unthreatening, because it was nurturing and healing—inherently women's work." (51). However, in Testament of Youth Roland's mother Marie Leighton represents a transgressing character as being the major breadwinner of the family. As declared by Susan Grayzel women had an opportunity to identify themselves with the nation. On the other hand, her almost mother-in-law states in a letter sent to Vera that

Roland had told her that I hoped after a time to get out to France, and she felt sure I knew as well as she did that if one had an original mind and something of ambition, it was not by poring over books that one grew and developed. One's

intellect, she said, could always take care of itself. It was one's personality that counted, and that could be better nourished sometimes in active life than in halls of learning. (Brittain 141)

Spatial relocation away from the home, the natural habitat of women became popular and necessary by ladies registering as V.A.D.s and W.A.A.Cs. Women used public transportation to move around departing even on long dangerous journeys threatened by submarines to the front. Vera endured the long, uncomfortable journey to Malta on board of Britannica in order to take up duties as a VAD. She describes it as follows "six months later, writing to my mother about the torpedoing of the "Asturias" with two of our most popular Malta V.A.D.s on board, I tried to describe the disintegrating fear which left me with a sick reluctance to undertake long voyages that ignominiously persists to this day" (Brittain 268).

The concept of the traditional woman in a domestic context was violated. According to Catherine Hartley who highlighted that the female body became considered as the source of danger posed by venereal diseases to the nation and the troops, nurses especially were connected to sexuality and desire among the patients due to their freshly acquired independence. Vera gives an account how

[m]any of the V.A.D.s and the younger Sisters, whose work on the blocks no longer exhausted their vitality, began to find scope for superfluous energy in circumventing the Army regulations which, even in the atmosphere of comparative reasonableness that prevailed on the island, forbade the nursing and medical staff to mix except after elaborate permission had been obtained, and chaperonage, which was hopefully supposed to be effective, provided. Whispered conversations and outbursts of giggling all over the Sister' quarters proclaimed the existence of numerous minor intrigues. (Brittain 291)

Furthermore, she describes various occasions when going to the opera in Malta with a Sister and two medical officers, when the Sister disappeared with one of the officers, and another sneaking into the medical officer's quarters to play tennis and socialize (Brittain

301). Numerous marriages and relationships were formed during the war years and Vera and Roland themselves almost became one of the couples who decided to get married during the war.

Uniforms worn by nurses were also a symbol of duty and service. While women are mostly depicted in all white accentuating their purity and innocence, nurses had to adjust their uniforms to the weather, the location and the duties to be performed. Vera Brittain when stationed in Malta claims that “ there was a definite pleasure in the limitation of discipline to essentials, as well as in the relaxed uniform regulations, which allowed the addition of a white drill coat and skirt, white shoes, panama hat and blue crepe-de-Chine mess dress to our ugly outdoor uniform. (Brittain 279) “ and as opposed to when “water ricocheted off the stone walls and floors in a constant splash, and we were obliged to go on duty in black mackintoshes, gum-boots and sou’-westers.(280)”. When she returns from Malta and enters her parent’s home she is contrasted by her mother’s, the conventional Victorian woman’s cleanliness, noting that

[.]..the flat was as spotlessly immaculate as any my parents have inhabited, and my mother, though indubitably relieved that had not been stranded in the Alps or torpedoed in the Channel, was most immediately concerned to dispossess me of the accumulated grime of Malta, Sicily, Italy, and France. (Brittain 321)

her mother representing the clean, traditional lady and herself the unruly, polluted woman like a man. Furthermore, she picked up masculine traits such as smoking after dinner and recalling her dangerous experiences “...settled down luxuriously to smoke—a new habit originally acquired as a means of defence against the insect life in Malta—and to talk to my father about the hazards and adventures of my journey home.” like a boy returning home(Brittain 322). Traces of masculinity emerged in the female identity, Rose Macaulay’s Alix wanted to fight in the war and later on Vera’s ambition and endeavor to live a life she had imagined as an independent woman.

Rebecca West states in *The Cordite Makers* in the Daily Chronicle in 1916 that “surely, never before in modern history can women have lived a life so completely parallel to that of the regular Army. The girls who take up this work sacrifice almost as much as men who enlist.” West goes on to explain that women preparing ammunitions for men were engaged in more dangerous war works than several men on home duty. The “new woman”, who was an important part of the war effort, working as a V.A.D. nurse or a secretary at the war office represented an ambiguous illustration of femininity. Nurses were portrayed as innocent angels of sacrifice, who if fallen behind the lines were considered to have been murdered. Therefore, even if women were able to cross traditions by travelling, being involved in masculine professions they were nevertheless in need of masculine protection.

3.5 The Female Gaze

Carol Acton in *Diverting the Gaze: The Unseen Text in Women’s War Writing* deals with the issue of how women’s experience and perspective of the war contributes to the understanding women’s war literature. She claims that although women war writers have been acknowledged during the last few years, the presence or the hiatus of their participation in combat life is rarely recognized, while it poses a great influence on war literature (Acton 55). I draw on Acton’s work in order to compare the two characters, that of Vera in *Testament of Youth*, having been able to experience life near the front lines, and Alix in *Noncombatants and Others*, unable to contribute to the war effort, and the different but at the same time similar representations of femininity.

Women writers were able to paint an authentic picture of society during the war. Rose Macaulay describing the losses and gains of the different working classes as such: “Many classes have lost heavily by this war, such as publicans, milliners, writers, Belgians, domestic servants, university lecturers, publishers, artists, actors, and newspapers. But some have gained; among these are sheep-growers, house-agents, sugar-merchants, munition-

makers, colliers, coal-owners, and sign-painters. An unequal world.” (Macaulay 15). However, they faced significant skepticism when documenting their struggles and knowledge of the war. Acton echoes the letter written by Roland Leighton to Vera Brittain in *Testament of Youth* recalling his experience of seeing the corpse of a German soldier, claiming to have seen the ‘real war’.

The dug-outs have been nearly all blown in, the wire entanglements are a wreck, and in among this chaos of twisted iron and splintered timber and shapeless earth are the fleshless, blackened bones of simple men who poured out their red, sweet wine of youth unknowing...Let him who thinks that War is a glorious golden thing, who loves to roll forth stirring words of exhortation, invoking Honour and Praise and Valour and Love of Country. ...let him realize how grand and glorious a thing is to have distilled all Youth and Joy and Life into a foetid heap of hideous putrescence! Who is there who has known and seen, who can say that Victory is worth the death of even one of these. (Brittain 174)

Roland clearly states that he has experienced and seen the suffering of the war which could not be understood by someone like Vera who is in the safe motherland. Similarly, Alix in *Noncombatants and Others* bears the burden of being a woman and an invalid continuously struggling to find her role in the war, inquiring whether it is possible to understand without seeing

How did people think they knew? Or didn't they? Did they only guess...How could they know, people like that? How could it be part of their equipment of knowledge, anything so extraordinary, so wild, so unlike their unusual range as that? They knew about recipes, and servants, and dusting, and things like that—but surely not about weird and wonderful things that they couldn't see? (Macaulay 48).

Can a woman know anything apart from her household responsibilities? The concept of unseeing appears as well when Alix discovers the crying sleepwalking John who when he looks at Alix he “looked through her, beyond her, unseeing.”(Macaulay 8) suffering from

shock caused by the horrors of combat while she was “seeing her friends in scattered bit, seeing worse than that, seeing what John had seen and mentioned with tears...” (Macaulay 9). Even if she does not take part in the war she is represented as the one with the ability to “see” and John as the person who does not. Consequently, the professional nurse Dorothy escorts back the childlike, emasculated man. Similarly, when Miss Simon claimed in *Noncombatants and Others* “Who keeps the country at home going while the men are at the war? Who brings up the families? Who nurses the soldiers? What do women get out of a war, ever?” (Macaulay 23) but she is contradicted by Sid Vinney arguing that “the women can’t fight, you know. They can’t fight for their country.” (Macaulay 23). Women and the home front were challenged to completely understand the war because what is unseen can never be explained and interpreted entirely (Acton 64). According to Tim O’Brien in *How to Tell a True War Story* isolating the truth from reality while at war is nearly impossible (78).

Whereas men’s influence by combat is well-documented women’s experience behind the front lines and at home is rarely endorsed. Trauma caused by the horrors experienced by men in war is in the focus of most literary genre, but at the same time women have also taken part in the emotional conflict. Vera foreshadowing the loss of her loved ones and friends and later living it in reality is an illustration of the generation enduring the struggles of war. Her and her fellow V.A.D.’s closeness to the victims and the horrors of war tortured the ‘viewers’, who even if they could not “see” still had to tolerate the struggle. Brittain recalls

After days of continuous heavy duty and scamped, inadequate meals, our nerves were none too reliable, and don’t suppose I was the only member of the staff whose teeth chattered with sheer terror as we groped our way to our individual huts in response to the order to scatter. Hope Milroy and I, thinking that we might as well be killed together, stay glassy-eyed in her small, pitch-black room. Suddenly, intermittent flashes half blinded us, and we listened frantically in the deafening din for the bugle-call which we knew would summon us to join the night-staff in the

wards if bombs began to fall on the hospital. One young Sister, who had previously been shelled at Casualty Clearing Station, lost her nerve and rushed screaming through the Mess...I knew that I was more frightened than I had ever been in my life, yet all the time a tense, triumphant pride that I was not revealing my fear to the others held me to the semblance of self-control. (Brittain 381).

Brittain could fill in the hiatus between seeing and experiencing the war as she was on duty in France but she preferred to not 'see' in order to console herself and process the trauma caused by the war (Brittain 73). She can 'unsee' what she does not want to accept, for example her fiancé Roland's death can be refined into a heroic sacrifice from an unfortunate, ill-fated tragedy. However, it is impossible to completely alter the gaze and modify the horrific pictures of mutilation and suffering of men. Acton reveals the difficulty faced by women writers to genuinely represent and give account of war, facing the polemic of authenticity and maintaining respect towards the victims and their families (75).

The gap between what is told and what is untold can be attributed to various aspects and influences during the war. A traumatic experience fails to be recalled in its wholeness even if endured by the victim. Women war writers have struggled to show a realistic picture of their lives at the home front and behind the lines but the gaze which is focused outside of the narrative indicates a hole which can only be expressed through the untold text (Acton 75). Dorothy Goldman states in *Women and World War I: The Written Response* that the trait which made Vera Brittain's *Testament of Youth* such a bestseller was the fact that previously women writer's war memories rarely verbalized the suffering and depression experienced during the war. Furthermore, she claims that "One of the reasons for the success of *Testament of Youth* was for the first time since the beginning of the War 19 years before; a woman had written 600 pages asking these kinds of questions over and over again." (138). The trauma caused by the war became part of the lives of the British people. Alix in *Non-Combatants and Others* faces the trauma although she does not take part in the war as an active participant "Alix lay awake. Her forehead was hot and her feet were cold. She was

tense, and on the brink of shivering. Staring into the dark she saw things happening across the seas: dreadful things, ugly, jarring, horrifying things. War-war-war. It pressed round her; there was no escape from it." (Macaulay 7). However, the emergence of the 'new woman', ready to fight for her rights, and as Sarah Grain's anti-Victorian woman, who is able to fight against men's cruelty, is also portrayed. Daphne, Alix's mother, who portrays the paradox of a mother figure and the enlightened feminist when she comments that

We shut our eyes to things- poverty, and injustice, and vice, and cruelty, and sweating, and slums, and the tendencies which make war, and we feed ourselves on batter, and so go on from day to day getting fatter- and so the evils too go on from day to day getting fatter, till they get so corpulent and heavy that when we do open our eyes at last, because we have to, they can scarcely be moved at all. (Macaulay 68)

showcasing the changed outlook of women to "open their eyes" to reality.

3.6 Analyzing Propaganda in the Print Media

During the First World War a new heroine was introduced on the propaganda posters: the working woman who was contributing to the war effort. Deborah Thom in *Nice Girls and Rude Girls: Women Workers in World War One* and Claire Culleton in *Working Class Culture, Women and Britain* highlight the difference between the portrayal of working women in propaganda and the real experiences. Culleton and Thom analysed the representation of women and the facts about the working conditions and struggles (253). Although the government urged women to join in on war work the wages did not improve and ladies faced an ambiguous representation and welcome. Filling shells, working along heavy machinery was a dangerous and tiring work. Culleton highlighted that women were given new opportunities to fulfill their ambitions, earn approval and experience. She attributes the empowerment and the rise of women in the working arena to the break out of

the First World War. The literary narratives of women demonstrated how the possibility to work and the absence of men in the family provided a new way of life and a feminist evolution. Women's involvement in literature created a modern genre describing their search for identity (Culleton 255). The changes in the portrayal of femininity and the increasing role of women in literature led to the reconstruction of the notion grounded upon the traditional domestic function of wives and mothers. According to the diaries and stories of working women Culleton presented the affects of war, class and factory work.

Roland Barthes defines photographs as signs waiting to be decoded in *Mythologies*. Therefore, photographs and imagery of women do not portray them in a direct way but attempts to convey a re-imagined connotation. Propaganda posters were very important, popular and very well spread among the population. Revisiting Harold D. Lasswell's group of ideas in his work *Propaganda Technique in the World War* Lasswell asserts that the essential element for a successful war is the high morale of the public (14). He specifies propaganda as one of the devices which can contribute to preserve the spirit. He defines it as "the control of opinion by significant symbols, to speak more concretely and less accurately, by stories, rumors, reports, pictures and other forms of social communication." (Lasswell 14). He claims that for a victorious war three tools have to be present: military pressure, economic pressure and propaganda. The use of propaganda must be regulated by the government in order to promote the war and recruitment, create hostility against the enemy and maintain social consent. The civilian population fails to be restrained by drills but by the news provided by the press. Although, propaganda is considered an unreliable source, loss of trust among the people can cause a fatal blow to the government. Therefore, secrecy and misleading statements were omitted unless posing danger to the people or the troops fighting at the front. Inter-ally propaganda was set up to coordinate the flow of favorable information among the allies. Not only journalists but authors and poets joined the propagandists.

In order for propaganda to be successful the person of the enemy had to be unified. Starting Barthes' idea of a myth which is created in order to shape public opinion so that an

idea can be “naturalised”(Barthes.) Baschwitz claims that during the war the vindication of the good and the willingness to fight is in a clash in public consciousness. To win the war unity and dedication towards the triumph of the nation is essential, and the job of the propagandist is to urge the people to commit to the cause. The first motive to fight for was to bring peace and defend one’s country. Propaganda posters concerning the prompting this idea depicted women in need of protection. On the poster by E. J. Kealey published by the Parliamentary Recruiting Committee in 1915 two women are depicted and a son watching the marching of the British troops to war (figure 1.). The women are embracing each other and their pitiful facial expressions represent their defenseless, innocent condition. They are located in their home which can be evident from the open window, sheltered from the horror of combat. The portrayal of women far away from the front in the safety of their home, previously mentioned is evident on this poster. It symbolizes a label of inferiority and the sole duty of bandage making and domestic responsibilities as highlighted by Janet Watson. Moreover the slogan printed on the upper-left corner of the poster that says “Women of Britain say-‘GO!’” urging ladies to encourage men to fight appears to deprive women of their own opinion of pacifism for instance. However, the slogan can be interpreted according to two different approaches. First of all, by reflecting on the propaganda device ‘plain folks’ when the slogan is directed to men, who are encouraged to enlist since women prefer them to do so. The second interpretation is if the slogan is targeting women with the propaganda device of ‘band wagon’ proposing to women to follow the crowd.

Furthermore, Lasswell announces that “the collective egotism, or ethnocentrism, of a nation, makes it possible to interpret the war as a struggle for the protection and propagation of its own high type of civilization.” (64). Furthermore, another motivation for fighting and taking part in the war effort was the possible gain of territory for the country. Therefore, involving the different classes of the social hierarchy as well as women was necessary. Robert S.S. Bowden-Powell’s poster inquires “Are YOU in this?” appealing to the sense nationalism and unity of the public (figure 2.). Starting from the foreground of the poster a

blacksmith is raising his hammer ready to strike on the anvil and a woman factory worker is making ammunition for the troops. Eventually women were represented on the war posters to encourage the war effort. Behind the workers, a V.A.D. nurse is folding a white sheet, mirroring her purity and innocence. Above the nurse a Scout boy is handing a message to an soldier who is attending a sailor at a cannon, above them the British flag and an idle man passing by watching the zealous group. The positioning of the different war enthusiasts symbolizes the hierarchy of society in the perspective of the war, women situated in the middle already above regular factory workers but still beyond the Scout boy who is still more valuable than women. Drawing on Saussure's thought that the meaning of a certain sign is defined by the difference from another sign the idle man walking by the group of diligent war workers represents the other-ness the outlaw-ness of the man who did not take part in the war effort or enlist. The propaganda device used is the 'band wagon' highlighting how every single level of society is included in the war efforts and influencing the emotions and the feeling of guilt while striving to persuade the community to invest energy and effort.

Another one of the many propaganda posters distributed during the First World War was a black and white poster published by the Essex County Recruiting Committee with the portrait of Edith Cavell with the date October 12th, 1915 pronouncing that the nurse was "Murdered by the Huns" and calling the viewer to "Enlist in the 99th and help stop such atrocities"(figure 3.). Edith Cavell was a VAD nurse on duty in France and was shot by the Germans for rescuing Allied soldiers from a territory occupied by the enemy. Drawing on Stuart Hall's remarks on creating meaning and transmitting a message, the person of Edith Cavell is the 'common sign' shared among the viewer and the recruiting office through a mutual language which is the propaganda poster, pointing at the notion of female weakness and dependence on men. The poster appeals to the emotion of pity of the viewer and recalls the brutality of the Hun using the propaganda device of 'name calling' and as Lasswell has expressed by demonizing the enemy to "yield a crop of indignation against the fiendish perpetrators". At the same time Edith Cavell is victimized and is presented as a martyr of

male violence to be revenged. It is an imposing call to arms for military-age men appealing to their sense of safeguarding women. 'Testimonial' the propaganda device employed to connect an accepted and acknowledged person, idea or subject to a new thought, is also represented on this poster: adopting the person of Edith Cavell who was respected for having sacrificed her life for the country.

The propagandist must rely on the previously established public opinion and prejudices for a favorable campaign. Propaganda and articles for women were used to persuade women to subordinate their own needs to that of the public. Drawing on a set of articles directed to women in the magazine *Land and Water* I would like to reflect on the role, experience, treatment and perspective of women during the war as it was previously demonstrated by the analysis of the novels. In the article *The Future and the Women* (August 10, 1916), Lady Frances Balfour reflects on the situation and responsibilities of women. She introduces the topic by contemplating on the effects of war on women (figure 4.(a. and b.)). She claims that women contributed to the war by renaming regular dances, meetings and teas for charity and for the good of the troops. She adapts a tone which tends to mimic the traditional beliefs of a pure Victorian woman as emphasized by the conventional female identity of Susan Grayzel "the vote-catching indiscriminate parent, the care of the children, and to abandon the old self-supporting integrity of the home, has grown with the increased prosperity of the industrial classes." (20). Balfour complains about the decrease of enthusiasm towards the domestic obligations attributing it to the newly acquired incomes from industrial jobs and war allowances. She asserts that women have not rejected the notion of motherhood supplying the country with their sons. Furthermore, she poses the question whether the country is going to return to the initial state of depression. Although, she believes that the nation will reenter into a state of greed, women will maintain their positions as the guards of morals. According to Claire Culleton who stated that women were given a new opportunity by war to achieve their goal, Balfour expresses that women "have not failed the nation during the war, and they will not fail when the dawn of the age of peace breaks

on the mountains of time. There are and there will remain the “careless daughters” who will not be warned even by the judgments which are upon the earth. Women have done their part in the spheres which have always been their own, and they have responded nobly to the call that has come to them to take up new responsibilities and to enter on new professions. “ (Balfour 21). Based on Lippmann’s idea that public opinion is manipulated by the masses retaining information, the article provides a feeling of praise and strong feminist statements, when Balfour pronounces that women have to lead the way in the post-war era to a universal renaissance. Women proved to be worthy in masculine professions and the past judgments concerning female abilities ceased to be grounded. “Women can never again be treated, nor may they treat themselves as toys and playthings, or the slaves of lust and cupidity. In them lies the hope of the future in the new estate of the Realm into which we are about to enter.” (Balfour 21). By using the pronoun “we” she claims to be part of this group, part of the reader’s world and community and employing the propaganda technique of ‘plain folks’ she communicates how the reader should agree of what has been said since the majority of the people agree. Looking at the seven propaganda devices ‘name calling’ can be detected, when Balfour describes in the article a certain class of society as willing to let someone drown for the entertainment’s sake to shed negative light on aristocracy (20). Moreover, she blames the ‘State’ for not having educated children in a manner that they appreciate the female gender, and present women as the “wealth and security of the race that must inherit the fruits of this war.”(Balfour 20); glittering generalities by using the expression of ‘wealth’ and ‘security’ to engage the reader in a sense of righteousness. Furthermore, Balfour declares that women “By nature, and the grace of God, they are in themselves, “true to the kindred points of heaven and home”(20) enhancing the purity and the virtues of women to entice the reader to appreciate women. Besides, she quotes from a statesman as an example of ‘testimonial’ or referencing to a prestigious person in order to win credibility. Ending the article by restating the idea that women have risen to a new level

and are the “the hope of the future in the new estate of the Realm into which we are about to enter.” (21) she attempts to reinforce the holiness of women by glittering generalities.

The articles written for women used familiar forms of writing such as anecdotes, verse and proverbs. The majority of the articles for women in the *Land and Sea magazine* during the war concentrated on fashion, new trends, easy and cheap recipes adapted to the food shortages and household tricks. For instance, the column called *The West End* expounds the current trend of hats, comfortable and practical beach shoes for children, how to create a dressing gown using silk scarves, scarf slips, special scented ammonia used for baths, and tailored skirts (figure 5.). While the article seems rather practical the struggle and difficulties of war are rarely if not mentioned at all. The last paragraph of the article is separated by a black line symbolizing the demarcation between the subjects written for women and for men. It announces the invention of a body shield created to protect the upper body from bullets. Another article *Beautifying Barbara* is written by a pseudonym Mimosa (figure 6.). Women writers and journalists preferred to conceal their identities since it was not regarded as a traditional and accepted profession among ladies. As previously mentioned, according to Carol Acton women writers faced hostility and refused to recall their experience of the war whether at the home front or behind the lines. Women neither as writers nor as characters were appreciated in their roles. Propaganda successfully reinforced conventional ideas of women and although by the end of the war women’s emancipation was grounded, full acknowledgement was still to be accomplished.

Conclusion

Vera Britain's Vera in *Testament of Youth* and Rose Macaulay's Alix in *Non-Combatants and Others* are the perfect example of the representing the image of a new woman: independent, ambitious with masculine traits carrying the stamp of the horrors of the war. The traditional concept of the woman isolated in the safe, domestic space of her home in need of masculine protection has been defied. Furthermore, the focus on the female body has been deflected to the weak, child-like, emasculated male body struck by war trauma, to be nursed and supported by women. The character of Alix represents the ambitious girl suffering from her inferiority as a woman who is denied the opportunity to fight, struggling to find her place in the total war. Her character's development shows the evolution of pacifism while her relationship with the rest of her family and relatives paints an authentic picture of the different approaches to combat in British society during the First World War. Similarly, Britain's Vera does not only transgress geographic boundaries but also that of conventions. The diligent VAD nurse represents purity and innocence and at the same time self-determination and scandal, announcing the manipulation of the masses.

In this thesis I decided to analyze propaganda posters in addition to the two novels in order to show the change of female identity and its representation. The propaganda posters during the war proved to be rather successful in urging the enlistment and the volunteer effort. The various techniques and devices used to 'manufacture consent' directed to women can be recognized looking at the posters and articles circulating at the time. Posters for women highlighted the need to volunteer as VADs, WAACs, agricultural and factory workers, pressing the population to save and conserve food, while posters directed to soldiers were appealing to their emotions by illustrating women in a helpless situation and in distress. Such visual reflections were employed to show men what is on the line.. Shame and remorse were also generated, but one element which seems to be recurring in most of the

articles and posters about women is the apparent inferiority and subordination of women, when even a young boy is portrayed to be more valuable than a VAD nurse.

For this thesis I have done thorough research on the period of the First World War, specifically on the home front and the experience of women. I have attempted to provide a brief summary of the historical background describing the outbreak and the course of events during the war. After describing the origins of propaganda I have expanded on the consideration of women as a group on the verge of becoming equal members of society. Women's role during the war completely changed their perception and reception. The traditional lady confined to her home to nurture the family and give birth was replaced by the short-haired suffragettes who rebelled on the streets for emancipation and peace, and struggled to have their voice heard. Literature was a very important form of interpretation during the war which provided comfort and became a mean for spreading propaganda. However, female participation was limited in the literary field as well. Women novelists had concerns about sharing their knowledge and exposure of the war. The recognition of women's works gradually increased as new methods of self-expression and new themes were introduced and became widespread to communicate the horror of warfare.

Furthermore, in this thesis I attempted to give a theoretical background of war motivation, propaganda, feminism and identity. Expounding the concepts of war motivation and understanding propaganda I set out on an endeavor to explain the psychological catalyst that led to the First World War induced by cultural and moral rationale in order to delineate the enthusiasm and hysteria which followed the outbreak of the war in England. Along with the various inclinations that instigate man to fight, propaganda was responsible for the extreme number of volunteers and war workers. To explain the method and the process by which propaganda is transmitted and interpreted I drew on the theory of creating meaning. In addition, I decided to expand the topic of feminism and the female identity during the war in order to clarify the motivation, the background and the perspective of Rose Macaulay and

Vera Brittain as well as their fictional characters and the society surrounding them at the time resulting in the birth of the two novels.

In the last section of this thesis I inserted a brief biography of the novelists to demonstrate how their life and experiences influenced their work and journey to create the two ambitious feminist characters present in the novels. Moreover, I have specified the concept of the new woman to introduce the analysis of the two novels and the posters, articles since the persona of the independent lady is the focus of feminist First World War literature. While analyzing the novels *Testament of Youth* by Vera Brittain and *Non-Combatants and Others* by Rose Macaulay I have focused on various elements such as the freedom of special dislocation, opportunity to start a profession and provide for their families, familiarize themselves with male anatomy and overcome the subordination forced upon women to demonstrate the evolution of feminism and the domination of the stereotypes reinforced by propaganda. The ambiguous representation of women on posters as the innocent angels of sacrifice or the mothers of children in need of protection, or the scandalous, self-governing flappers are contrasted. At the same time the use of women as symbols on the visual as well as the written propaganda shows signs of inferiority.

Overall this thesis attempts to comment on the portrayal of the metamorphosis of female identity starting from the conventional idea of motherhood to the accomplishment of women's emancipation drawing on the two novels written at the time by two novelists who themselves represent a pacifist, strongly feminist approach. The manipulation of propaganda through newspapers and posters reached its peak during the war demonstrating the power of the Allies as well as the government's ability to manufacture consent and manipulate the masses. The extensive and successful use of propaganda led not only to the zealous war effort and a flow of volunteers to enlist, but it was effective in demoralizing the enemy and persuade neutral countries to support the Allies. The circulation of propaganda materials reached a never before seen level breaking down geographical boundaries as they were being spread behind the enemy lines of the front.

In *Non-Combatants and Others Miss* Simon claims “Who keeps the country at home going while the men are at the war? Who brings up the families? Who nurses the soldiers? What do women get out of a war, ever?” (Macaulay 23). The consideration of the home front as the safe war-free zone was challenged due to its relevance and the constant support with regards to food, munitions, men and moral reinforcement. In this thesis I tried to demonstrate the strength and the devotion of the community working far from the front lines for the well-being and the aid of the troops.

There are various other approaches which could have been taken in order to analyze the novels and validate the effects of propaganda on the community. I decided to concentrate on the effects of propaganda on women to communicate their transformation and reflect on the socio-historical background of the First World War. Today propaganda plays an equally significant role in shaping public opinion and it appears to possess a negative connotation. However studies on campaigns and the various techniques and devices have provided the key to interpreting propaganda in the proper way in pursuance of correct understanding and evaluation.

Figures



Florence Nightingale the Lady with the Lamp



Figure 1.



Figure 2.

MURDERED
OCTOBER 12TH, 1915
By THE Huns



MISS EDITH CAVELL

ENLIST IN THE 99th
AND HELP STOP SUCH ATROCITIES

PUBLISHED BY THE ESSEX COUNTY RECRUITING COMMITTEE

Figure 3.

over thirty miles. Was it to save this extra amount of railway transport that the German staff gave up what was an assured victory?

*And was it not necessary, adds the author of the legend, to take preventive measures against the Russians? This is just the great point of the German strategy, for at the moment of discovering that the Russians had already started their mobilisation during the previous spring (this being the reason of their successful invasion of East Prussia) the German Staff decided to press no further their advantage in France.**

To this, again, a complete answer is given by the Battle of Flanders, which shows that, far from turning their strength against the Russians in 1914, the Germans sent

* This is another German legend, according to which the Russians had started the war, which is proved by the fact that they had started mobilisation in the spring. This was, however, only discovered at the time of the battle of the Marne, whence the need for the strategic withdrawal!

their first reserves to the Western front; after their defeat on the Marne they were able to constitute their corps of marines and volunteers. To this new and rapidly trained force of 6½ Army Corps was given the task of regaining the victory which had slipped from their grasp on the Marne, and for more than a month these men were sacrificed on the Yser and before Ypres in a vain effort to reach that end.

The legend of 1916 will be no more lasting than that of 1914. It may yet assist in deceiving the German public in whom the long duration of the war begins to awaken doubts, and who are beginning to wonder why their uncrushed surpassably brilliant military leaders have not yet crushed so inferior an enemy. History, however, will not fail to have the last word, and hers will be the true victory, even in Germany, over all official legends, however ingenious.

The Future and the Women

By Lady Frances Balfour

WE often find people wondering what changes will be brought about by the war in our social and domestic life. It is a natural line of speculation, though perhaps a not very productive one. Individuals are not much altered by the events around them. It is notorious how soon we have got accustomed to a state of anxiety and of loss, to the "changes and chances," in everything which we have been accustomed to consider as the fixed stars, in our outlook.

The people who cannot exist without pleasurable excitements have continued to promote and seek after them. They have given new names to the society gatherings. The benefit matinees are for war charities. The dance is for the pleasure of young officers back from the front. Ostentatious display and rivalry in extravagance is only hiding its head till the tax gatherer is less importunate, and the American millionaire returns to the hotels of European capitals. The war has shaken domesticity even more than in the golden age of peace. The heads of the households in all classes are away. The footmen, the chauffeurs, the pillars of household stability have been withdrawn, and it becomes more than ever a necessity to dine at the restaurant and end the evening with a dance. These are the same people who before the war filled the pleasure boat for a midnight excursion on the river, and watched one of their party, for a foolish bet, drown himself before their eyes. And, after the inquest they danced and went to the theatre "lest we remember." If that social group were in the war zone to-day they would dance, and feed amid the scenes of carnage as they do on the everyday battle field of life, for the Ethiopian changes not his skin, nor the leopard his spots, whatever their surroundings. There is nothing in their nature to change or alter. They have lived for the day and its pleasures, and so long as any day will bring them these, they ask no more of its twenty-four hours. Every age has had its revellers. History, sacred and profane, is full of them, and neither war conditions, nor the exhaustion that follows war, will destroy either the social moth, or the sensualist.

One real question is whether humanity after the war will seek more arduously after the luxury of amusement, or whether its ideals will be changed, or its means so limited as to prevent profusion and display. The standard of comfort has risen throughout the whole community. The love of an easy luxurious life is not confined to the leisured and upper classes. The fashion of expenditure is set by the idle rich, but it is eagerly followed by the professional and industrial classes, whenever their circumstances improve. To keep motor cars, and to spend on dress was quite as evident in the one class, as increased drunkenness, attendance at picture palaces, and neglect of all thrift, was in the wage-earners of both sexes.

The desire to put on the State—that vote-catching rich and indiscriminate parent, the care of the children, and to abandon the old self-supporting integrity of the home, has grown with the increased prosperity of the

industrial classes. The fruit of this State interference in the lowered standard of household responsibility has been obvious during the war. Industry has passed through a time of profitable labour. It has been stated "the war has brought the working classes a wave of unexampled prosperity." We know it cannot last, and that preparation should be made for the depression which will follow. So far, the women who are experiencing this "abnormal prosperity," have followed the example set them. The money they have earned in new industrial openings, or in war allowances, has gone in a heightened expenditure on clothes, alcohol and amusement. It is notorious that the homes are more neglected. School inspection reports the children are better fed and clothed, but less cleanly in their persons and less controlled in their manners and morals. The State for good or for evil has taught dependence on its paternal interference, and it has done nothing to raise in the masses the sense of a community of interest, nor the belief that our women are the wealth and security of the race that must inherit the fruits of this war.

Men in the educated and leisured classes have looked on women as the purveyors of their amusement and social elegancies. Incidentally, they have been their partners in creating the homes, but there has been very little consideration as to the atmosphere of the home life. The number of children, has been welcomed or discouraged, according to the views of the social class to which the parents belong. The large household, that "quiverful" which is holding the enemy away from our ports, and is fighting wherever the banner of England flies, has not been found in the centres where life is most luxurious and the difficulty of rearing a large family is least felt. Women have come out of the ordeal of battle better than might have been expected from their social or State education. By nature, and the grace of God, they are in themselves "true to the kindred points of heaven and home," and even the most utterly pleasure seeking have not disowned the cares of motherhood. In these days when the sword has pierced so many hearts, it is with the agony of love, not the bitterness of shame. If the women of our country and its dominions are to be judged by the sons they have borne by fire and sword, they have no need to be ashamed. The bitterest grief to the solitary in the family, is that no son has been reared at her side to give to her country's cause. Many a woman has been made a widow and childless, but if the joy and crowns of her life were restored to her here, she would again send them forth to fulfil their high calling and vocation. The women who have of necessity stayed at home and seen the sons of the nation filling the league long battle lines, must have had many thoughts as to what these men will ask on their return, of their homes and of that society created by the home. Will the same old round of "babble and dance and wine" still satisfy? Will the vision fade, the high endeavour slacken? Will the energies brought into such disciplined power grow weak and

Figure 4.(a)

nerveless? Will the nation sink back into that lethargy from which its higher being was called by "the quick resounding drum"?

That it can so fall back, history holds in its pages. The story of the Commonwealth and the Restoration, of the French Revolution and the American civil war, have each their warning note. A nation at war can only think of the expenditure of blood and treasure, the price which must be paid in lives and gold. A nation at peace thinks of the wealth to be got out of the toil of human lives, and how it can capture its neighbour's markets. The lust after wealth can be more cruel than the desolations of war. We know to our cost how great nations can bring themselves to believe that there is nothing worth upholding, or fighting for, if only their worldly prosperity is assured. If the soul of a nation dies in its lust after gold, it has been destroyed because the people have ceased to have vision, and the women are sunk in frivolous folly. "Show me the women of a country and I will tell you its history," is a saying which with variations has been often repeated. In the downfall of corrupt empires and ages, the women have always been the shameless advertisers of the corruption of the social state.

Judged by this high and sacred test, we may take courage and go forward in the path of reconstruction, and building again the waste places. The women have not failed the nation during the war, and they will not fail when the dawn of the age of peace breaks on the mountains of time. There are and there will remain "the careless daughters" who will not be warned even by the judgments which are upon the earth. Women have done their part in the spheres which have always been their own, and they have responded nobly to the call that has come to them to take up new responsibilities and to enter on new professions. For them as for their comrades and brethren in the armies of the nation has come a new sense of citizenship. The old order is passing away "down the ringing grooves of change." If men have learnt how to die that the eternal verities may live,

women have learnt to live so as to show forth these sacred truths in their walk and conversation. They are being prepared for all that must come after the war. For them will come the testing point when society begins its reconstruction. It will fall to them to relight the fires on many a cold hearth. They must stand in the broken and torn ranks of the citizens. No longer can they be counted, or count themselves, as mere supernumeraries in society, or in industry. If nations have learnt the lessons the war has presented in pictures set in a framework of fire and steel, it is the women who must lead the way in the social revival. The prophets, who concern themselves with the things peace will bring, forget in their forecasting to reckon with the changes in conditions and the disappearance of ancient myths and popular prejudices. Necessity has proved that women can and must fill many spheres aforesaid arrogated to men. The opportunity for this new testing of the capabilities of women has proved that in all classes women have risen to these new occasions. A statesman of the Victorian age observed as a new discovery, "there has been no hysteria among women." That form of feminine sensibility is no longer required of them by the male sex, and as it is not asked for, and not appreciated if produced, it has died out. Women have been allowed to become healthy and normal members of society. Given the inch they have taken the ell, and are found ready when the call of the country has come to their ears.

As they have fallen into line in the time of disorganisation and change, so they will be found ready for the hour of reconstruction.

A new vision has dawned on many as to the sure foundations on which the new order must be constructed, the dignity of work in the service of God and humanity. Home and the homelands stand for more, for they have been bought with a price. Women can never again be treated, nor may they treat themselves as toys and playthings, or the slaves of lust and cupidity. In them lies the hope of the future in the new estate of the Realm into which we are about to enter.

Literature During the War

By W. L. Courtney

SOME months ago, at the very beginning of the war, a distinguished critic writing in the *Edinburgh Review*, gave it as his opinion that the war would kill literature. As we look back over the past eighteen or twenty months, we discover that such a lamentable catastrophe has not occurred, and that the fears of the critic were ill-founded. For a month or so after the outbreak of hostilities the whole literary output was suspended. Nothing more remarkable than that first arrest of all productiveness has occurred in the history of Pasternoster Row. But after a little time old habits reasserted themselves, authors went on writing, books were published—here a little and there a little—as if to prove that literary activity was, it might be, scotched, but not killed. Since those earlier months of the war publishers have been voluble in their complaints, authors' prices have not ruled so high, the paper famine has caused several difficulties, and bookbinders have increased their costs. But in spite of these difficulties the literary output, though not yet normal, does not differ in a very startling degree from corresponding periods in earlier times.

Of course, the first rush was for books about the war. It was assumed that the public would want to read feverishly and continuously anything that bore on the subject which so entirely engrossed their minds. But this did not continue. Perhaps too many books were produced, perhaps readers wanted some change from their daily perusal of newspapers. Whatever may have been the cause there was a slump in the market for war books, and only the best survived. What, in point of fact, are the books in this department to be most remembered? We can count them on the fingers of both hands. There is Mr. F. S. Oliver's *Ordeal by Battle*, and also *The Soul of the War*, by Mr. Philip Gibbs, the newspaper correspondent who has since done yeoman's

service in his battle pictures from the Front. There is Mr. Boyd Cable with his *Between the Lines and Action Front*; Mr. Ian Hay with that notable work originally issued in Blackwood's Magazine, *The First Hundred Thousand*; and there is Lord Ernest Hamilton's *First Seven Divisions*. To these we may add a clever book by "Student in Arms," parts of which saw the light in the *Spectator*; Professor J. H. Morgan's *Leaves from a Field Note-book*; Mr. Fred Coleman's *From Mons to Ypres*, and Mr. Fred Palmer's *My Year of the War*. There may be a few others, as, for instance, Hilaire Belloc's and John Buchan's more formal Histories of the War.

One of the most notable results of the war has been the lavish and prodigal production of poetry. It is not unnatural when feelings are raised to a high pitch that an outlet should be sought in verse, and perhaps it is equally natural that verse produced in such conditions should be lacking in quality. If the critic was right in defining the essence of poetry as "emotion remembered in tranquillity," it becomes obvious that hasty and perfunctory ebullitions of feeling will not represent the higher flights of the muse. Some of the poetry, nevertheless, evoked by the war has been of a distinctly lofty kind, and in this connection we may especially note that Sir Henry Newbolt and Mr. Laurence Binyon have done good work. There was an Ode written by Mr. Binyon at the very commencement of hostilities which remains as one of the finest things. With it can be compared Mrs. Woods' recent poem *The First Battle of Ypres*, both representing a very high level of technical accomplishment and poetic feeling.

But there is more to be said than this. Apart from occasional contributions in verse, there is a young school of poets writing and working in our midst who represent a very interesting department of literature. Those who have read the two volumes of Georgian Poetry which

Figure 4. (b)



The aim of these notes is to bring articles of present-day use and interest to the knowledge of our readers. All articles described have been carefully chosen for mention, and in every instance can be recommended from personal knowledge. Names and addresses of shops, where the articles mentioned can be obtained, will be forwarded on receipt of a postcard addressed to *PASSE-PARTOUT, "Land and Water,"* Empire House, Kingsway, W.C. Any other information will be given on request.

A Harvest Hat

Delightful hats intended primarily for women helping with the harvest but useful for a dozen different purposes as well, have just been introduced. They cost 12s. 6d., are made in flax linen of all colours and wash beautifully, reasonable care being taken. Sometimes a fascinating chintz patterned linen is used or one coloured linen is lined up with linen of a contrasting hue, or again a plain colour is used throughout.



Very becoming is this Harvesting Hat of washable coloured linen with band and long ends of ribbon tying under the chin if wanted

A special point in this hat is the division in the brim at the back. This means it can be pulled down well over the neck at the back, no small addition to comfort when the sun is beating steadily downwards.

Another characteristic is the quaintly pretty band with long ties of ribbon. This hooks on and off, so can easily be removed when the hat is due for washing. For motoring this hat is ideal as the strings can be tied under the chin, fastening it securely on the head. And another motoring hat of corded taffetas with velvet brim, squashing as flat as a pancake but always regaining its shape, also appeals.

Beach Shoes

During the next few weeks every healthy child is holiday making in some way or another. Numbers of tiny people have been taken to the country or seaside, and are spending many hours of unalloyed bliss out-of-doors.

At these times the shoeing of small active feet is more than ever of first rate importance. The ideal thing is for children to go bare foot, but this is not always practical or possible. Children, however, wearing a special kind of holiday shoe approach very nearly to the bare foot standard. These shoes permit full play of the tiny active foot, never cramping or retarding it. They are made of canvas and have waterproofed leather soles quite impervious to water.

They should be worn without socks and will add greatly to the well-being of a child during the summer holidays.

The Perfect Dressing Gown

Yet another idea is the fashioning of a couple of hand-printed silk scarves into a dressing gown. These scarves hail from Merton Abbey and show some exquisite designs and colourings. They are wonderfully light, pack into practically nothing at all, and are the last word in comfort to the traveller accompanied by little luggage.

A dressing gown of this description will wash again and again without losing texture or colour. The price is 31s. 6d., and a selection will be sent on approval by post.

Scarf Slips

An artistic firm noted for their lovely scarves are now very busy turning these to practical account. Quite charming are some beautifully coloured scarf slips scoring well as blouses and costing but a small price. A narrow frill finishes the back of the neck and a becoming cross-over effect is given.

Commended by all who see them are some string net cross-over slips making the most attractive blouses possible to imagine. These are finished with coarse blanketing stitch

in black or in colours and cost a mere 5s. 6d. They can be washed out in a minute in a hand basin and keep their freshness and charm in a most satisfactory way.

A Special Ammonia

Ammonia delicately perfumed with the fragrant essence of Mitcham lavender flowers should find a place on every wash-stand or bathroom. A small quantity added to the bath gives the most refreshingly brisk feeling, and it cleanses also in a remarkable manner. Soldiers doing route marches and in field days specially appreciate its leaving the body in such a fresh condition, and it is as good for nursery purposes as for grown-ups, softening the water in an excellent way.

The many other uses to which this Perfected Ammonia can be put are set forth on the bottle, and as this in a good size can be bought for 8½d. it calls for no extravagant outlay.

Tailor Made Shirts

In these days of collarless loosely made blouses a great many women find it difficult to buy anything satisfactory in

the way of a severely tailored model. One London firm, however, have for years specialised in just this class of thing and have gained a reputation not in England alone but in many other parts of the world. These shirts are on precisely the same principle as a man's shirt, and are indeed made in the men's shirt department by first-rate cutters and fitters. The reason they all fit so supremely well is that for no additional charge, every shirt is cut to special measure. A very simple self-measurement form is sent to each customer, and careful record is kept of it, so that repeat orders are an easy matter.



A severe but beautifully cut shirt made on precisely the same lines as a man's model is always a well received garment

Women working on the land are now taking to this form of shirt, finding it protects their throat from weather exposure. Made in a practical Oxford shirting the price is only 9s. 6d., collars being an extra shilling. Ceylon flannel and striped zephyrs are other attractive mediums amongst a host of suitable fabrics.

A big range of patterns will be sent to all interested, and khaki, dust and earth colours strike a blow at a too-exorbitant washing bill.

One of the best inventions that the war has brought about consists in a shield which will stop spent bullets and shrapnel, and will effect a saving of 25 per cent. of the casualties incurred by men unprotected by this form of shield. The Dayfield Shield, made by the Whitfield Manufacturing Co., Sicilian Avenue, London. The protection is for both front and back of the body, and the weight is such that a man is able to march comfortably and move with perfect freedom, owing to the flexibility of the plates composing the shield, and the ingenious method by means of which the weight is distributed equally over the protected parts of the body. Personal trial of this shield is sufficient to convince that discomfort is reduced to an absolute minimum; in actual engagements with the enemy the efficacy of the shield has been proved beyond dispute—it does what is claimed for it, protects the vital parts of the body in the best possible way. It is a form of protection that should be afforded to every soldier in contact with the enemy—a real life-saver.

Figure 5.

Beautifying Barbara.

By MIMOSA.

How a Plain Girl was Made Pretty.

Barbara had always been considered the ugly duckling of the family, and certainly no one would have voted her attractive the day she called on me, and told me how tired she was of being classed amongst the dull and uninteresting women of her set.

To tell the truth, Barbara had fallen in love, and was anxious, as she had never been before, to appear at her best. She wasn't a flapper; she was twenty-eight, but there were possibilities in her, and I promised her that if she would follow my advice carefully, she wouldn't recognise her own reflection in the mirror in a month's time.

Her Complexion.

With a good complexion the plainest features look attractive, but Barbara's unfortunately left much to be desired. It was muddy, and there were blackheads around the nose and mouth, caused, I think, through using impure toilet soaps. For the dull muddy look I made her rub a little pure mercurised wax gently into the face and neck every night, leaving it on the skin till the next morning. This very gently and imperceptibly peeled off all the dead, dull outer cuticle, leaving the fresh young complexion underneath, and giving her a skin as clear and fresh as a baby's. The blackheads were soon removed. A stymol tablet was dissolved in hot water, and the face bathed and gently dried. After two applications, all signs of the blackheads had disappeared.

Beautifying Her Hair.

Barbara had a fairly good head of hair, but it had been very much neglected. I don't know what she had shampooed it with, but it certainly wasn't the right stuff, for her hair was dull and lifeless without the bright lights it should have possessed; there was no wave in it, and it appeared to be falling out rather more than was natural.

So I made her get some stallax at the chemists, and give it a good shampoo. A stallax shampoo leaves the hair soft, silky, and glossy, and no rinsing is necessary. After one shampoo a most marked improvement could be noticed, and by the time Barbara had used it three times, with an interval of a fortnight between each shampoo, you would not have recognised it as the same head of hair. Then, to stop the fall, I advised her to get two ounces of boranium, and mix it with water and a little bay rum. This she dabbed into the roots every night, and it not only stopped the fall, but gave the hair great vitality.

A Little Colour to the Cheeks.

Barbara is one of those girls who are much improved by a little colour in the cheeks, but unfortunately she has none naturally. So I suggested that she should get some colliandum and apply a very little to the cheeks with a small piece of cotton wool. The most critical observer cannot detect that a colour given by this method is not natural, for this wonderful powder is just the correct tint, and has an advantage which no other artificial colour has—it deepens slightly in a warm atmosphere and thus appears absolutely natural.

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is most marked—the avoidance also
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stantially prolongs the wearing
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Ask for this brand.



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Figure 6.

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