

Gendering Peace in Europe, 1914-1945 -- Humanities Research Institute (HRI), University of Sheffield, Friday 20 and Saturday 21 January, 2017

Organised by Dr Julie Gottlieb, together with Dr Caoimhe Nic Dháibhéid, Prof Benjamin Ziemann and the University of Sheffield Centre for Peace Studies.

Confirmed parallel session papers:

Dr. Burcin Cakir (Glasgow Caledonian University), “12th IAW Congress in Istanbul, 1935: The Road to Transnational Feminism and Peace”

“ISTANBUL, April 18 (U.P.)--Women of thirty-five nations met today in the old Yildiz Palace, once the world's greatest harem, to work for emancipation of women.”¹

In April 1935, the residence of former Ottoman Sultan Abdulhamid II served as the site of a widely publicized international feminist conference. Around 300 women from around the world convened in Istanbul for the 12th congress of the International Alliance of Women for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship (IAW), where they affirmed their commitment to equal rights and world peace. Taking place at a moment when “in much of the world, nationalism became a narrative of progress, a distinctly modern claim about how citizenship and political representation might work for the future,” the congress also suggests the different investments of its participants in the project of liberal feminism and peace initiatives.² Convened during the interwar period of geopolitical restructuring, the 1935 congress constituted a crucial moment in the multifaceted formations of liberal feminism, transnationalism and gendering of peace.

The 1935 meeting reveals both the powerful appeal of liberal feminism as a basis for international solidarity among women and possibility of transnational peace at a stage of polarized world politics. The convention made women's emancipation and their participation in the public realm of citizenship a sign of modernity and an essential agency for peace initiatives. Both Western and Middle Eastern speakers characterized women's emancipation as a hallmark of modern civilization, a step to more humane and peaceful world to be guaranteed by the state through the equalization of rights and opportunities for all people.

The 1935 meeting was among the “gendering of initiatives for and debates over peace and to the planning for post-war reconstruction in the face of fascism.” A manifesto issued by the Committee for Peace and the League of Nations, chaired by Josephine Schain still maintaining the traditional roles for women, reads “because the care of the spiritual and bodily health of the race in early childhood is the special duty and privilege of women we have the urgent task of training the next generation in mutual understanding and tolerance, in love of justice and order rather than acquiescence in violence and tyranny.”³

Thus this paper will be based on the primary source material from the archives in Turkey and Britain which will aim to elaborate 12th congress of IAW and the Eastern and Western women's view on conventional or unconventional roles of women and how transnational feminism can be a medium in gendering peace and reconstruction of political order.

¹ *The New York Sun*, 1935, Josephine Schain Papers, Sophia Smith Collection.

² Fletcher, Ian Christopher, Laura E. Nym Mayhall, and Philippa Levine, eds., *Women's Suffrage in the British Empire: Citizenship, Nation, and Race*, London: Routledge, 2000, xvii.

³ “Manifesto Issued by the Committee for Peace and the League of Nations,” 1935, IAW Papers, in *Gender and Citizenship in the Middle East*, ed. Suad Joseph, Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2000.

Jasmine Calver (Northumbria University), **“The Campaigns of the *Comité mondial des femmes contre la guerre et le fascisme* and the International Struggle against Fascism in the 1930s”**

In August 1934, upwards of 1,500 women from various countries around the world gathered at the ‘Salle de la Mutualité’ in Paris, to convene the first international women’s congress in response to Hitler’s rise to power and against the fascist menace threatening Europe. The *Comité mondial des femmes contre la guerre et le fascisme (CMF)*, which was created from this meeting and led by the charismatic French pacifist leader Gabrielle Duchêne, provided women with the means to organise against the major political problems of the period. Many women joined from already established pacifist organisations; in particular many came from the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom, in large part due to Duchêne’s role on the Executive Committee of the League. Many found their absolute pacifism challenged by the militaristic brand of anti-fascism practiced by the CMF.

The CMF above all worked to alleviate the hardships faced by women under fascist regimes; particular attention will be paid to the campaigns they orchestrated for women imprisoned in German concentration camps and women living through the horrors of the Spanish Civil War. In this paper, I will discuss some of the major campaigns organised by the CMF, alongside examining the tensions within the CMF caused by the conflict between absolute pacifist idealism and a more pragmatic anti-fascism, in order to demonstrate that, despite these issues, the CMF was the main women’s anti-fascist organisation working internationally in the 1930s with a level of success. The contributions of pacifist women to the wide-ranging nature and success of the CMF campaigns will be especially emphasised. I will argue that, despite the challenges it confronted regarding the different approaches to achieving peace practiced by its members, the CMF was the most successful women’s anti-fascist organisation of the 1930s, especially due to its international appeal.

Camille Cleret (Angers University), **“In the Name of Peace, Charles Maurras Imprisoned.” Gender and Peace in the Action Française’s Political Rhetoric (1919-1945)”**

This paper, based on a newspaper analysis and on Charles Maurras’s personal correspondence, intends to shed light on the use of gender in the Action française’s peace discourse between the two world wars. The Action française was a very influential far-right league characterized by a rhetoric which combined anti-Semitism, Masculinism and anti-Parliamentarism. This political and literary movement emerged in 1898 during the Dreyfus Affair. However its foundation can also be related to the “masculinity crisis” resulting from the French defeat of 1870, hence a staunch opposition to the very idea of pacifism. This reactionary organisation was indeed at its zenith in the aftermath of World War I due to the violent but popular campaign launched by its prominent leaders against pacifism and defeatism. Gender was ubiquitous in the depiction of what Charles Maurras and Léon Daudet called the “democratic”, “humanitarian” or “sentimental” pacifism. During the 1920’s, the opposition between “weak” or “powerless” pacifism and a male nationalistic blueprint for peace was recurrent and reached its climax with the assault against Aristide Briand who personified the abhorred “Locarno spirit”. The “effeminate” and “smooth” Briand was therefore accused of promoting “men’s lethargy” through the league’s newspapers. Nonetheless, such a rhetoric wasn’t inalterable. On the contrary, it went through significant and tactical changes in the 1930’s when the prospect of war became more and more likely. During the troubled decade preceding the outbreak of World War II, peace turned out to be a crucial element of a renewed propaganda. Placing gender at its core, the Action française’s

defendants tried to re-appropriate some elements of pacifism to their own ends. According to them, Republican governments were guilty of neglecting female concern with war. The focus on peace was supposed to attract primarily women and more especially widows or mothers who had lost relatives during the Great War and who wrote to Charles Maurras to express their fear. When their « master » was sent to jail in 1936, women of the league mobilized themselves to secure his release and joined their forces around the slogan “In the Name of Peace, Charles Maurras Imprisoned”. Thus, feminine activists took an instrumental part in the shift of the Action française’s whole rhetoric dealing with peace.

Rebecca Gill (University of Huddersfield), Kate Law (University of Chichester) & Helen Dampier (Leeds Beckett University), **“South Africa as ‘test case’: Emily Hobhouse, Pacifism and International Peace Networks c.1902-1923”**

Although most well-known for her exposé of the conditions in the concentration camps of the South African war, controversial English Liberal reformer, internationalist and pacifist Emily Hobhouse played an important role in shaping ideas of peace. In 1923 Hobhouse published *War Without Glamour; or Women’s War Experiences Written By Themselves* on the subject of the South African War. By this time, Hobhouse had left South Africa following years of relief and ‘peace-work’ and had joined the Women’s League for International Peace and Freedom, writing the introduction to their report in The Hague during the First World War, and undertaking feeding programmes for famished children in Leipzig, Germany during the British blockade. For Hobhouse these activities existed in continuity and she would frequently make connections between the two wars in discussing her ideas of femininity, pacifism and internationalism. But despite her reputation for being a loose cannon, Hobhouse did not operate alone. As our research is revealing, her extensive correspondence demonstrates she was part of a much wider circle of Quakers, suffragists, liberal and labour politicians, Indian civil rights groups (including Gandhi), humanitarian reformers, who all agitated over the South African War and agonised over the making of the peace and political Union in South Africa before turning their attention to the situation in Europe. In many ways, South Africa became a pivotal ‘test case’ in the development of twentieth-century liberal internationalism and liberal imperialism – and in the *gendering* of these concerns. The aim of this paper is to contribute to the historicisation of the gendering of the peace Europe in 1914 – 1945 by tracing the antecedents of some of these ideas in the work of Hobhouse and the network of activists involved in South African affairs and the First World War and its aftermath.

Ashley Garber (Oxford University), **‘Veterans of War, for Peace: Age, Masculinity and the Meanings of Citizenship in the British Legion, 1938 to 1945’**

The onset of the Second World War coincided with the advancing of age for the average ex-serviceman of the preceding conflict. Drawing from discourses within British Legion periodicals from 1938 onward, this paper examines how these men negotiated traditional concepts of masculine citizenship – which upheld combatant military service as the ideal in wartime – with the realities and limitations imposed by age and life phase. This case study suggests that even in the midst of another war, peace was an important avenue of agency for the middle-aged ex-serviceman in national security. Throughout the Second World War, discussions over national security in British Legion documents emphasised the contributions veterans could make towards peace alongside their potential contributions to civil defence. The British Legion not only sought a role for veterans in stabilising peaceful relations in Europe during the turbulent years of 1938 and 1939, but the group also placed First World

War ex-servicemen at the centre of post-war planning after war was declared. In both cases the veteran's agency remained in his ability to mobilise his experience of war in an advisory role, supporting Britain's wartime efforts both to secure victory and the peace. In exploring conceptualisations of these roles, this paper illuminates how age and conceptions of masculinity affected the gendering of peace in Britain during the Second World War.

Antoine Godet (Angers University), **"The "virile pacifism" of Jacques Doriot's Parti Populaire Français"**

The Parti Populaire Français (PPF, French Popular Party) is considered by historians as the main Fascist-inspired French party before the war. The masculinist and homosocial PPF charismatic community, gathered around its Leader Jacques Doriot, stresses values such as manhood, heroism and fight. Yet, whereas historical Fascism is characterised by its expansionist warmongering which will lead to Second World War, this aspect seems to be lacking in French Fascism, satisfied with its huge empire that it aspires to reorder. On the contrary, an outward war must be avoided. Nevertheless, the pacifism advocated by the PPF is a "heroic", a "virile pacifism" in opposition to the cowardly and "effeminate" pacifism of the traditional French politicians. While the fundamentally totalitarian Doriot's movement defends the idea that France must adjust to the two "young nations" which are Italy and Germany, in order to renew, to fortify and to revitalise itself, it claims that a strong, "invincible" France, with a solid army and a large population would resume its leading place in Europe. Above all, it would prevent every attack against its frontiers. The PPF warns: "our peace is not the pacifists' one" and Doriot is "a pacifist, but with a sword in his hand". In case of an invasion, France would resolve to war without fear, since "our country must be armour-clad". Actually, the PPF's war takes place in France, against the numerous "enemies within": the Communists first, then the Jews and the various "traitors to France". On the home front, "the job we undertake is not a job for sissies". Thus, the PPF's action amounts to a "virile struggle" and the PPF militant is a "Doriot soldier", "a fighter [and] a hero". From their part, the PPF women have to fight for peace in Europe, in favour of which they are supposedly instinctively inclined to. Therefore, if the PPF's nationalism is conservative and defensive outside France, it remains totalitarian and offensive inside. However, with the phoney war against Germany, the PPF now fights on two fronts and the military experience is lived as a test of manhood, that permits to fortify the militants' bodies and souls, while waiting to "rebuild France" after the ultimate victory.

Ida Ograjšek Gorenjak (University of Zagreb), **"What will bring happiness to the word?"⁴ How did women of The Kingdom of Yugoslavia conceptualize the brave new world?"**

The first decade of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia was marked by the boom of women's associations. Most of them joined the roof organization *Yugoslav women's association* which tried to unite heterogeneous interests of their members. Even though fighting for women's political and legal rights was, after rather fierce debate, pointed out as one their goals, it was clearly not their top priority. They aimed primarily to help national integration process of the new state, contribute to solving social, economic and ethic issues, and take part in the international women's organizations and initiatives. *Yugoslav women's association* opened a space where the women of The Kingdom of Yugoslavia could discuss about their position in the new state and the new world that emerged after the Great war and also about the ways they can help to make it better.

⁴ "Šta će doneti sreću svetu? Povodom sastanka slovenskih žena u Pragu" *Ženski svet* 3 (March 1930): 3-4.

The paper will present the national and international concepts that the *Association* promoted and stood for, the ways they operated and the activities they took in order to achieve their goals. It will also analyze the conflicts both within the Association and with their international partners and the efforts they put to overcome them. The focus will be on three major events: the national congresses of the Association, their activities in International Alliance of Women and their part in Little Entente of Women.

Since the archival materials on Yugoslavian interwar women's organizations are scarce, the paper will be based primarily on the articles in the magazines that covered the activities of the *Association* as well as letters and diaries of their members.

Sabine Grimshaw (University of Leeds), **“You are now entering the sanctuary of conscience’: British conscientious objectors and masculinity, 1916-18”**

When military conscription was introduced in Britain in 1916, the legislation included a ‘conscience’ clause enabling men of military to claim exemption from military service on the grounds of conscience. Yet, in a context where duty, sacrifice, and courage on the battlefield were intimately connected to constructions of wartime masculinity, men who became conscientious objectors (COs) were castigated in terms that specifically questioned them as men. Consequently COs and their supporters engaged in an attempt to demonstrate that resisting war and working for peace was an inherently masculine act. Throughout the pages of the anti-press the configuration of conscientious objection as masculine was constructed in a variety of implicit and explicit ways. The wartime ideals of duty, sacrifice, and courage were all central to the masculinisation of resistance along with conceptions of freedom, liberty and Christianity, all of which were key motivations for objectors. This paper will consider how conscientious objectors and those who supported them constructed their resistance as masculine within the pacifist newspapers, the *Labour Leader* and *Daily Herald*, as well as the sympathetic *Manchester Guardian*. By doing so it will explore the complexities and tensions that COs faced when they related their peace activism to their masculinity in a society where the ideal masculine figure was the volunteer soldier.

Dr Dina Gusejnova (University of Sheffield), ***The Third Woman: my grandmother's work for the Allied Control Council in Vienna***

While much recent literature has turned to the presence of women in international diplomacy, the second tier of women working in the civil administration of postwar Europe has remained obscured. My grandmother, Nadezhda Dmitrieva, was one of three women present at the meetings of the Allied Control Council in Vienna in the years 1945 to 1949. Each of the four occupying powers, the Soviet Union, the United States, Britain, and France, had taken one of the great hotels on Vienna's Ringstrasse as their headquarters. The first meetings took place at the Hofburg, the Habsburgs' old residence. Later, the meetings were transferred to the spa town of Baden. In 1949, my grandmother returned to Moscow with her new husband, my future grandfather, Erich Einhorn, whom she had met in Vienna. His native German (he was Jewish and came from Czernowitz; his parents survived the Holocaust) had enabled him to get a job as a translator; as an officer, he had reached Berlin under Marshall Zhukov, and in Vienna, he was stationed as the Soviet officer responsible for theatre and opera censorship and Denazification. My interviews with my grandmother disclose a microhistory of Vienna in which the theme of gender is salient. In the paper, I want to tell her story and then reflect on some key themes arising from working with this case study of family memory. Themes include the erasure of the presence of women from the media coverage of

allied occupation; the importance of occupational identity in wartime and postwar contexts, particularly, stenography; and the comparison between Vienna and Berlin in the cultural memory of post-World War II international collaboration and occupation.

Veronika Helfert (University of Vienna), “**No more weapons!’. Women socialists between Militancy and Pacifism in the First Austrian Republic (1918–1933/34)**”

The cover of the April issue of the social democratic women’s journal *Die Frau* in 1932 is a response on the World Disarmament Conference, which took place simultaneously in Geneva: “*Keine Waffen mehr!*” (“No more weapons.”) The collapse of the Habsburg Empire and the end of the First World War was followed by the extension of citizenship rights on women within the mainly democratic successor states. The hope of many women’s rights activists was that the participation of women could lead to a more peaceful future. Thus, the participation of women in the political arena was a basic condition for a peaceful society. Rosa Mayreder, one of the most prominent Austrian feminists, expanded this consideration in an essay in 1923 („*Geschlecht und Sozialpolitik*“). Pacifism was a specific female activity, because war was the most extreme consequence of an absolute masculinity. Only in a society without war could equality between men and women be achieved. However, Central and Eastern Europe in the post-World War I period was also characterized by revolutionary movements and persistent violent conflicts of wars. This – as a substantially different situation than in Western Europe – also shaped debates on violence as a means of political (and social) transformations. Many female socialists supported (and participated in) violence in the framework of an increasingly polarized and militarized society of the First Austrian Republic. The tension between Pacifism and Militancy, which characterized political activism and writings of women socialists and feminists, will be investigated. The question of political violence and war proves to be an important mean of shaping gendered identities between the figures of the “peaceful woman” and that of the “female revolutionary”.



Keine Waffen mehr!



Russische Arbeiterinnen bereit zur Verteidigung ihrer Fabriken!



**Helmschützerinnen schießen bei Wr.-Neustadt auf Arbeiter!
Oesterreichische Arbeiterin! Lerne von beiden!**

Sarah Hellawell (Northumbria University), **“The ‘Mothers’ International’: the Women’s Co-operative Guild and Peace, 1921–1933”**

In 1933 the Women’s Co-operative Guild (WCG) produced an enduring symbol of peace: the white poppy. As housewives and mothers, the Guild opposed war, promoted internationalism and advocated for women to take up positions in the League of Nations to secure stable international relations. They also organised peace days in schools and celebrations during Armistice week to encourage popular support for peace. Despite collaborating with the anti-war movement and producing such an emotive symbol for peace, the WCG’s gendered pacifist campaign has been overlooked in the history of the British peace movement.

Formed in 1883 as a women’s auxiliary to the co-operative movement, the WCG grew in popularity and by 1921 boasted around 50,000 members. During the interwar period, the Guilds became more radical, and the organisation’s pacifism became a central concern. In 1921 the International Women’s Co-operative Guild (IWCG) was founded at a conference in Basle, mirroring a wider popular interest with internationalism. Furthermore, a number of local WCG branches were affiliated to the Women’s International League (WIL) – a connection that has been neglected in literature on the women’s movement. This paper will focus on the gendered campaigns for peace of the British WCG and the IWCG, or the ‘Mothers’ International’. Although not a self-identifying feminist association, the Guilds also promoted female representation in Geneva, women’s rights and encouraged active citizenship; through the use of women’s basket power and voting power. This paper will consider the WCG’s place in the women’s and peace movements, particularly its involvement with key campaigns such as the 1928 Women’s Peace Crusade, the Disarmament Petition of the early 1930s and its links to the WIL. The paper will demonstrate that a focus on the pacifism of the WCG highlights the diversity in the interwar women’s peace movement.

Daniel Hucker (University of Nottingham), **“Women, Gender, and Transnational Peace Activism, 1914-1920: Challenging the ‘Malestream’.”**

This paper explores the place of women - and gendered conceptions of war and peace - within an international framework during the period 1914-1920. But rather than focus on those fledgling transnational groups comprising chiefly of women (e.g. the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom), the focus instead will be on the existing mainstream (or ‘malestream’) organisations such as the Inter-Parliamentary Union, the International Peace Bureau, and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Although these organisations included women within their ranks, they were all dominated by men and representative of largely male interests. Furthermore, there was a belief within such groups that they constituted the centrepiece of organised pacifism, suggesting that women’s groups (amongst others) were on the margins. But this was a troubled period for the international peace movement. The fervour for internationalism, so evident during the 1899 and 1907 Hague Peace Conferences, had been dashed when the outbreak of war in 1914 suggested a backslide into petty nationalisms. The war itself saw the peace movement fragment, whilst new conceptions of peace - a distinctly gendered or women’s conception included - began to challenge existing frameworks and undermined the legitimacy of existing organisations. This paper will explore how these new conceptions were received across the international peace movement during the period 1914-20, the impact that they had, and the extent to which they made a meaningful contribution to international pacifism during this period of turmoil and transition.

Erika Huckestein (University of North Carolina), **“Our Children Will Be Pacifists: Motherhood, Feminism, and Fascism between the World Wars”**

In the aftermath of the First World War, many British feminists argued that if women had been formally included in politics such a devastating conflict would not have occurred. In an effort to prevent another global war, these women embraced internationalism, focusing much of their political energies on campaigns for disarmament and building a lasting international peace. At the same time feminist activists pushed for the greater inclusion of women in politics as voters, political leaders, and diplomats. The rise of fascist regimes in Italy and Germany was alarming for British feminists because of their bellicose policies and the limited roles they prescribed for women as wives and mothers.

The interwar period has been viewed by scholars as a moment when the women’s movement devolved into “new” or essentialist feminism, with a focus on women’s needs as mothers and wives rather than attaining equality. This paper argues that the maternalist arguments made by some British women in this period should be viewed as a genuine feminist response to the policies of fascist governments in Europe and the British government’s gendered conception of women’s role within society. Feminists combined a discussion of their control over their reproduction and their children’s education with the promotion of their pacifist foreign policy agenda. An analysis of the intersection between motherhood and pacifism can thus shed new light on the nature of British feminism between the two world wars.

Avi Klein (University of Haifa), **“The State of Feminist Pacifism in 1918”**

This representation will try to describe the ideological and political state of the feminist pacifist movement in the year 1918. I will try to understand how the feminist pacifist movement came out from the First World War, and what was the affect that the war had on the movement.

My hypothesis is that the feminist pacifist movement was part of a larger shift in the pacifist movement towards socialism. That not only most of the pacifists were socialists, but the few remaining liberal and Christian pacifists joined the socialist pacifist camp soon after, or even during the war

Before the war started, the feminist pacifist movement was not connected to the socialist movement. The feminist pacifists were mainly suffragettes, and some of them like Emmeline and Christabel Pankhurst were opponents of socialism and the labor movement. When the war erupted they were, at first, opponents of the war because of feminist reasons. However, they soon changed their mind, and became ardent nationalists and militarists. Unlike them, Sylvia Pankhurst remained pacifist during the war from start to finish. According to her, socialism was the ideology that kept her pacifist.

Two women's peace congresses were assembled during the war. The first was a smaller socialist congress, and the second a larger suffragette congress. However, the smaller socialist women's congress had a much bigger effect in the end. The feminist pacifists were being influenced more and more by socialist views and ideas. While at the peace congress of 1915, socialism and social justice never came up in their discussions. At the second suffragette peace congress in 1919, they adopted the demands for a welfare state and workers' rights. They even accepted the socialist explanation for the war, which blamed capitalism as the main cause for it. By 1918, the feminist pacifist movement was fully connected to socialism.

Liam J Liburd (University of Sheffield), **“‘British fascist pacifism’?: The British Union of Fascists and war”**

On 16 July 1939, Oswald Mosley’s British Union of Fascists (BUF) held a peace rally at Earls Court, London. It was attended by about 20,000 people. It was the apotheosis of a populist peace campaign mounted by the movement years before. Their argument was that Britain had no quarrel with Nazi Germany as its expansionism posed no threat to Britain’s imperial interests and, moreover, never would. It was not the first time the movement had railed against war. Throughout the thirties, in response to events such as the Italian invasion of Abyssinia, the BUF had made clear their vociferous opposition to *another* war. Despite this constant refrain of peace, the BUF organised as an ultra-nationalist paramilitary group. It was a militaristic organisation in word, style and deed whose members spent much of the decade street fighting with their opponents. In light of this, Julie Gottlieb has called this marked anti-war strain in the BUF’s ideology ‘the paradoxical position of British fascist pacifism’.⁵ This paper aims to examine this paradox and to set what seems an odd position within the context of the BUF’s violent, masculinist ideology. This will involve an examination of how British fascists mythologised their own experiences of the First World War, their politically charged conception of gender identity, the political culture of British fascism, their nationalistic anti-Semitism and their ideas about the British Empire.

Andrew McIntosh (University of Essex), **“British Women as Militant Symbols in the British Popular Press, 1919-1920”**

The First World War radically altered gendered narratives in the British popular press. During the war, women deemed ‘patriotic’ by right-wing publications such as the *Daily Mail* and the *News of the World* were assigned a degree of militancy. These women were depicted as martial symbols of British femininity. Wearing uniforms was encouraged. Female labour in factories and agriculture was celebrated. In extreme cases, feminine contributions on the battlefield were recognised and lauded by the popular press.

Previous gender historians have stipulated that the image of the militant, patriotic women was quickly discarded during the interwar period. Women who partook in the war effort were almost immediately coerced back into the private sphere. This is not accurate. In this presentation I intend to explore how the *Daily Mail* and the *News of the World* continued to use narratives of militant, patriotic women from 1919-1920. I will be analysing how such narratives are connected to the reportage of a continued state of war in Europe. I will be exploring how the narrative of militant, patriotic British women, originally created during the First World War, was repurposed for newspaper narratives regarding the Russian Civil War, the Irish War of Independence and resistance to left-wing revolutions in continental Europe. I will also explore how the narrative of the militant patriotic British woman was a fundamental aspect of right-wing press’s communication of cultural hegemony following the First World War. Utilising Gramsci’s theory of cultural hegemony from a gendered perspective, I will argue how the right-wing popular press adapted the liberalised image of women to support their nationalist causes. This allowed the right-wing popular press to redefine the ‘new woman’ in Britain. Rather than to celebrate the suffragette and/pacifist, the right-wing press initially attempted to redefine post-war femininity through militant nationalism.

⁵ J. Gottlieb, ‘Body Fascism in Britain: Building the Blackshirt in the Inter-War Period’, *Contemporary European History*, 20 (2011), pp. 135.

Marc-William Palen (University of Exeter), **“The Political Economy of Feminist Peace Internationalism”**

This paper takes a long look at the economic ideas behind feminist peace internationalism from the First World War to the end of the war in Vietnam. It explores how leading feminist peace reformers envisioned free markets as a necessary economic foundation for obtaining world peace, and counted among the most outspoken advocates for economic liberalism during this period. This decades-long feminist struggle for free trade and peace, I argue, would also help lay the groundwork for the international turn to trade liberalisation after the Second World War.

Ugo Pavan Dalla Torre (Non-structured researcher), **“Wanting to Win the Peace: Disabled Ex-Servicemen in the post-war Society in Italy (1918-1923)”**

The aim of this paper is to describe the history of the Italian disabled ex-servicemen and their path from war to peace during and after World War I.

Despite they were former fighters and despite in many cases they supported the war in their Countries during the hostilities, at the end of the war the mutilated soldiers understood the importance of the peace and of the cooperation between Nations.

The most important association of disabled soldiers, the Italian National Association of Disabled Ex-servicemen (ANMIG), born in Milan in 1917, published a “Program for the post-war period”. Here the memberships of ANMIG wrote ideas for peaceful post-war years. After the war, Disabled Ex-Servicemen decided to return to society and to have an important role. In this way they organised the association, but also prepared political proposals.

The history of disabled ex-servicemen is still less studied in Italy, but the documents of this Association could surely help to understand how the disabled soldiers, become living memory of the wars with their maimed bodies, wanted the peace. And it is possible to understand this also looking at the end of World War II when, in 1950, ANMIG became one of the founding members of World Veterans Federation (WVF/FMAC), an association that works for the disarmament and for the the peace and that gathers together veterans for several Countries.

For the paper I will use the documents of the ANMIG, both the numbers of its journal “Il Bolluotina: BoB Bollettino” and the acts of the Central Committees.

I took my Degree in History at University of Padua, working with Achille Olivieri. I obtained my Ph.D. in Modern History, University of Turin (Italy), discussing the thesis “The Origins of the Italian National Association between Disabled Ex-Servicemen (ANMIG) 1917-1923”. I have worked with Fabio Levi and Giorgio Rochat, two of the most important Italian experts in the field of history of disability and of military history. Now I'm a non-structured researcher. I work as a collaborator for the Central Committee of the Italian National Association between Disabled Ex-Servicemen (Rome) and as a teacher in an High School.

My research interests are focused on the history of the medicine of the XXth Century, in particular on the history of the orthopedics and of prosthesis; on the history of Association between disabled people and on the history of the historiography.

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Silvia Pellicer-Ortín (University of Zaragoza, Spain), **“Liminal Female Voices at War: Resistant and Healing Female Bonds in Libby Cone’s War on the Margins (2008)”**

Following the Postmodernist and New Historicist debates on the constructed nature of literary and historical discourses, contemporary British fiction has recently taken “a historical turn” and the historical novel has “undergone energetic feminist and postcolonial revisions”

(Keen, 2006: 167). Moreover, Lyotard's defence of *petit récits* over hegemonic *grands récits* can still be traced in many contemporary novels offering alternative versions of some of the darkest episodes of the twentieth century. This interest in the new (hi)stories of women, ethnic, racial and sexual minorities since the late 60s explains why many WW II novels published by women show that "what matters most in history is often experienced on its margins" (Stewart, 2011: 144). When talking about marginal WW II experiences, the German occupation of the Channel Islands deserves pride of place, as very few writers have represented that "liminal space between Britain and mainland Europe" (Stewart, 2011: 93). Yet Libby Cone published *War on the Margins* in 2008, a historical novel set on Jersey during this occupation and whose main protagonist, the half-Jewish girl Marlene Zimmer, encounters various female characters resisting the occupation and struggling for pacifism from their marginal positions as Jews, members of the resistance, lesbians and artists.

My main claim is based on the idea that marginality and liminality are fruitful strategies to represent the gendering of war and peace in contemporary narratives. Firstly, I will show that liminality works at various levels: the novel focuses on a topic that is almost non-present in British historical novels; due to the ethical questions raised by the British-German relationships during the occupation; with regard to the generic hybridity of this narrative, mixing documented public history, letters, songs, poetry and fiction; and recreating liminal characters according to gender, race, and sexual orientation. Secondly, the female bonds created in this narrative will be examined to prove that *War on the Margins* draws on female bravery and solidarity when it comes to finding resilient attitudes to confront war (Brown and Root, 1996; Baer and Goldenberg, 2003). Finally, I would like to answer whether Cone uses these liminal features to 1) mirror the contradictions implied in the genre of historical fiction; 2) provide local versions of history through which marginal contributions to peace can be represented; 3) create a polyphonic text echoing the singular experiences of resistance Jewish and non-Jewish women endured during WW II. Just as the final words of the novel illustrate: "healing would go on and on; [...]there was some comfort in recovering together" (248), I will conclude that this narrative liminality responds to the need to represent the traumatic history that many women could survive thanks to resistant female communities as those represented by Cone.⁶

Charlotte Riley (University of Southampton), "**Writing Peace: The Pacifist Novels of Mary Agnes Hamilton**"

Mary Agnes Hamilton (1882-1966) was a journalist, activist and politician. After an unsuccessful marriage in her early twenties, she was forced to rely on her writing to support herself. She was also politically active, working particularly in support of women's suffrage and the reform of the poor laws. She was MP for Blackburn between 1929 and 1930; she became known for her professionalism, her speeches, and her red shoes. Later in life she became a broadcaster, a civil servant and wrote two very well received autobiographies.

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Hamilton's position on peace changed over her lifetime; a staunch opponent of the First World War and a member of Lady Ottoline Morell's anti-war group, she later supported sanctions backed by force against Mussolini's Italy and war against Nazi Germany. This paper will use her life and work as a lens to explore gender in the cultural presentations of pacifism and militarism in the early twentieth century. In particular, it will focus on her three novels: *Dead Yesterday*, *Life Sentence*, and *Special Providence: a Tale of 1917*. These novels were not especially critically well-received; although *Dead Yesterday* won some praise, Virginia Woolf wrote that despite 'all her ability to think like a man, & her strong and serviceable mind, & her independent self-respecting life', Hamilton was 'not a writer'. However, the books are excellent examples of a particular style of pacifism; they demonstrate a complex cultural and social attitude to both peace, and the way in which British society was forced to face war. This paper will use the three novels to explore these cultural and social attitudes, as well as the ways that Hamilton's own views changed over her lifetime.

Dr Linsey Robb (Teeside University), **“The only doubt I ever had was whether I hadn't compromised too much': experiences in the Non-Combatant Corps, 1940 – 1945”**

In December 1940 Arthur McMillan, like so many of his generation, reported for military service. Upon arrival at Dingle Vale Camp in Liverpool he was issued with military identification, a new ration card and his khaki army uniform. However, in contrast to millions of men serving across the globe he was not, and never would be, issued with a weapon. Arthur McMillan was one of 15,000 British conscientious objectors serving in the Non-Combatant Corps within the British Army. The Corps was reinstated in 1940 from a First World War unit created for the purpose of militarily employing those who refused to bear arms. For a significant proportion of these men, like Arthur McMillan, any military service was an abhorrent notion. As such McMillan refused to wear army uniform, having to be dressed forcibly by his sergeant major (except for the trousers which he conceded after the “indignities” of the underpants). He refused to march. He even refused to peel potatoes. Indeed, he refused every order given, eventually leading to a court martial and sentences in both military and civilian prison. Yet for some objectors life in the Corps was an acceptable compromise and they accepted undertaking, for example, manual labour or administrative tasks for the army. However, even these men were in a strange wartime hinterland, neither granted the exclusion from service they desired nor truly able to partake in the activities of the military machine in good conscience. For most men conscripted, therefore, it represented a compromise of their ideals. As such, this paper will explore the various ways conscientious objectors and their superiors negotiated this unusual military space.

Dr Siân Roberts (University of Birmingham), **“An ‘intimate sharing of life’: Quaker women, humanitarian relief and the witness for peace in Europe”**

In December 1947 Margaret Backhouse, chair of the Friends Service Council and former lecturer at Westhill College, Birmingham, travelled to Oslo to accept the Nobel Peace Prize on behalf of British and American Friends. In her acceptance address she strove to provide her audience with an understanding of the history and basic principles that underpinned Quaker humanitarian service. Emphasising the importance of developing personal relationships with the recipients of relief as part of a constructive contribution to international understanding, she drew attention to the significance of a tradition of female activism and leadership in Friends' humanitarian endeavours for peace over the previous half a century.

This paper will focus on a group of Quaker women relief workers from Birmingham to interrogate some of the issues raised by Backhouse in her articulation of the role of women in the evolution and delivery of the humanitarian mission of the Society of Friends. Motivated by an opposition to war in all its forms they participated in relief schemes in Russia, Germany, Poland and elsewhere during and after the First World War. They conceived of their relief work as a fundamental part of their witness for peace, a witness that for several of them continued in a similar vein at home and abroad throughout the 1930s and 1940s. Using this group as a case study the paper will firstly explore how experiences, attitudes and skills honed in gendered social activism with working class women and children in Birmingham informed their transnational relief practices and discourses. Secondly it will argue that their shared understanding of a distinctively female Quaker global and humanitarian identity enabled their assumption of leadership and authority within the relief structures of the Society of Friends.

Rebecca Shriver (Florida State University), **“Unifying and ’Turning Earth into a Paradise Worth Living In’: The Role of Women in the New Europe Group’s Plans for a European Federation, 1931-1939”**

After the First World War, many organizations arose in Europe that wanted to restructure political and social systems to prevent another war. Among those reform and peace advocates, one solution they proposed was to create a European federation. The New Europe Group, established in London in 1931, was one such organization that promoted transforming political, social, and economic structures in Europe based on federal principles. The NEG significantly complicates scholars’ traditional depiction of interwar European federalists. Although historians often characterize integration advocates between the wars as a small group of intellectual men, this paper demonstrates the NEG had a large proportion of female members and the majority of the core group, who founded and directed the organization, were women. This paper also considers the ways in which NEG members gendered their visions of an ideal political and social order by outlining the influence and functions they assigned to women, as well as the “feminine” qualities they believed a new system of governance required.

An analysis of weekly and monthly publications produced by NEG members, their personal journals, lecture notes, and correspondence reveals a minority of members foresaw women having a more traditional place in society, while most of the leadership believed they should have an equal if not greater part in creating new political structures. The majority of NEG members thought there should be a balance between masculine and feminine characteristics in all areas of life, which was absent in the contemporary, “*man-made*” State system. The core members argued that to establish a European federation, the female propensity for “unity and peace” was necessary to balance the male tendency to “conquer and destroy.”

Jan Charles Stöckmann (New College, Oxford), **“The Origins of Feminist International Relations, 1915–1939”**

The academic study of International Relations (IR) emerged during the early twentieth century in the context of transnational networks of scholars, diplomats, politicians, philanthropists, and activists. Contrary to conventional historiography, women belonged to these networks in various capacities and, crucially, contributed to the intellectual development of the discipline. Whether as members of pressure groups, such as the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), or as individual authors,

they discussed all major questions of IR, often pioneering new approaches and domains of research. While women's practical peace activism has been well examined in the work of Laura Beers, Leila J. Rupp, Ingrid Sharp and others, relatively little is known about the intellectual substance of these discourses and their contribution to the simultaneous origins of the academic study of IR. In fact, feminist IR scholars today still widely assume that the field was created in the late 1980s —thereby ignoring a rich body of earlier political thought. This paper seeks to trace the origins of feminist IR scholarship by exploring and contextualising the work of a range of international authors, including Kathleen Courtney, Gabrielle Duchêne, Anna B. Eckstein, Lida Gustava Heymann, Aletta Jacobs, Edward Krehbiel, Lucy Mair, Rosika Schwimmer, Helena Swanwick, Louise Weiss, and others. It argues that, besides commenting on well-known issues of IR—disarmament, sanctions, arbitration, etc.—, these authors developed a distinctive 'feminist' approach to IR. They stressed the interests of women and children, demanded female representation in government and diplomacy, and advocated the role of education and international cooperation. Despite widespread male domination, women taught at universities, published in academic journals, spoke at conferences, and organised international summer schools. The goal of this paper is to reintegrate this forgotten body of international political thought into the mainstream history of IR.

Benjamin Thorpe (University of Nottingham), **“Visions of Johanna: gender and Pan-Europeanism”**

Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi's Pan-European movement, the foremost organisation campaigning for a politically united Europe in the interwar period, was rather ambivalent in the status it afforded women. On one hand, very few women achieved positions of influence within the organisation, and its meetings and conferences were almost entirely male-driven affairs, with the exception of Coudenhove-Kalergi's glamorous wife, the actress Ida Roland. On the other hand, however, in his publications and speeches Coudenhove-Kalergi consistently championed the cause of women as political leaders. He used figures like Joan of Arc (*Johanna von Orléans* in his native German) to celebrate female political leadership as inherently pacifistic and idealistic, arguing that the destruction of the First World War had rendered warlike, masculine versions of heroism obsolete, and that a peaceful international politics needed an alternative, feminine version. In an era when male statesmen too often treated politics as sport, he argued, a feminine model of politics as religion was necessary to bridge the divisions of petty nationalism. In short, to quote Coudenhove-Kalergi's favoured maxim, 'the political mission of women is peace' (*die politische Mission der Frau ist der Friede*). Certainly, this notion had currency in the interwar period, with other Pan-Europeans like the Stuttgart-based Vilma Kopp writing in the *Panuropa* journal to expand on these themes, connecting them to Bertha von Suttner's pre-war call to '*Lay Down Your Arms!*', but arguing that the peace movement needed 'anchoring' in the demand for a united Europe. In this paper, I explore the tension between rhetoric and practice in the Pan-European movement's relationship with women, and examine the impact and legacy of its attempts to grapple with the (re-)gendering of chivalry, heroism and politics more generally in the interwar period.

Wendy Ugolini (University of Edinburgh), **“How Peace-Loving Was My Valley? Reconstructing the Narratives of English Welsh Conscientious Objectors in Second World War Britain”**

John S Ellis has highlighted the competing traditions of militarism and pacifism within modern Wales and notes how, although the Welsh have at times been enthusiastic participants in war and Britain's imperial enterprise, there is also an enduring sense that Welsh culture is imbued with the values of pacifism and opposition to war.

My current research project addresses the extensive cross fertilisation between Welsh and English identities in the first half of the twentieth century and, in particular, the mobilisation and performance of Welshness in England during the two world wars. It makes use of individual case studies from the worlds of art, literature, politics and soldiering, examining English-born men and women with a range of connections with Wales: parental, ancestral, elective and so on.

During the Second World War, some second generation members of the Welsh diaspora in England opted to conscientiously object to the conflict, drawing upon their Welsh connections and understandings of Welshness to articulate their decision. This cohort of conscientious objectors accessed what Ellis has defined as 'established national traditions' in defining their pacifism and 'ideas of the Welsh as an essentially peaceful people'. Fundamentally, for these English-Welsh COs, idealised constructions of Wales and ancestral Welshness represented an important part of their self-representations as pacifists. At the same time they were also drawing upon diasporic family traditions of involvement with Liberalism and interwar peace movements in England.

Through an analysis of a small sample of archived oral history narratives, this paper will explore the functioning of diasporic English-Welsh identities during the Second World War and reflect upon why English men and women often made use of their Welsh antecedents when formulating their opposition to war.

Sue Vice (University of Sheffield), **“War and Peace in Kindertransport Narratives”**

In this paper, I consider a variety of Kindertransport representations in relation to the textual construction of a female self in a British context, outside the context of war in Europe. Diaries and memoirs by the former 'Kinder', who came to Britain as children just before the outbreak of war, convey a more diverse picture than is usually acknowledged. Individuals' experience is usually taken to consist of one of rescue followed by assimilation into British, although not always Jewish, life. The material to be considered here suggests that, rather, it is more often a 'triple migration', in which individuals journeyed back to their countries of origin during the immediate post-war years, as had been the plan's intention, although for most of those who did it was a temporary return. While for some Britishness 'by choice' became their self-designation, others emigrated again. Such a pattern is linked to these texts' considerations not only of the war through which they lived, but also ambivalence about British imperial history and the fate of their countries of birth, often represented in a way that is at first hard to detect.

The texts to be analysed include published and unpublished wartime diaries, by Ingrid Jacoby and Ilse Grünwald, respectively. I will contrast these with post-war memoirs, such as those by Vera Gissing, Ruth Barnett and Edith Milton, as well as some recent fiction about the Kindertransport, including novels by Alison Pick and Anne Voorhoeve, which represent a less disruptive and more teleological account. I will consider in each case how genre affects the representation of war and peace.

Mary Vincent (University of Sheffield), **“The Peace of Franco: Gender and hierarchy in an 'ordered' peace”**

General Franco's long-lived regime was imposed through a crushing military victory. Yet, 'peace' became a watchword of the regime, elaborated celebrated in 1964 as 'twenty-five years of the peace of Franco'. This had, supposedly, delivered economic prosperity and social harmony. This understanding of peace as social order will be the subject of this paper, which will also explore the gender hierarchies on which this 'order' depended.

Dagmar Wernitznig (Independent researcher), **"Feminism, Fascism, and Visions of Peace for the Short Twentieth Century: Rosika Schwimmer (1877–1948), her Campaign for World Government, and Gendered Politics"**

'The world is today a china shop and three or four mad bulls are raging through it, destroying life and material with cataclysmic fury. Countries disappear from the map of the world like caved-in geological formations during cosmic catastrophies [sic]. Tens of millions of human beings are sucked into the whirlpool and hundreds of millions of human beings look horrified at the spectacle. They stand motionless, petrified by the fear of meeting a similar fate. Fear is their only sensation. Will one or the other mad bull crash next into their corner of the china shop? Who is doomed next?

But, ladies and gentlemen, the world is not a china shop and mad bulls can and must be over-powered. We are not being destroyed by the fury of the elements, but by the demoniac will of human beings. Against this mad, destructive human will we can and must set constructive human intelligence.⁷

With these words Rosika Schwimmer (1877–1948) introduced her radio talk against fascism in 1939. – The proposed paper aims to contextualize Schwimmer's political, public, and literary activism, particularly pertaining to her outspoken resistance and protest against emerging European fascisms from the 1920s onwards. At that time, Schwimmer – a Hungarian-born feminist, suffragist, and pacifist who attempted to interface gender and mediation politics during the First World War – was stranded as a stateless exile and dissident in the United States, with no prospects of gaining American (or any other) citizenship. Accordingly, her pacifist agenda in post-1918 times also included administrative and parliamentary models of universal disarmament, war prevention, and international citizenship, such as, for instance, expressed by her Campaign for World Government. Her closest ally and collaborator for this project, Lola Maverick Lloyd (1875–1944), a Texas heiress and social activist, even tried to win Gandhi for their plans, for example.⁸

Schwimmer, again, published *Hitler's Deeds and Words* as early as 1933 in order to alert and mobilise the general public on both sides of the Atlantic. Furthermore, in an article about Hitler specifically and fascism generally she also mockingly stated that 'internal German weakness and external ignorance [...] permitted an Austrian house painter to become the dictator of the German empire.'⁹ In fact, Schwimmer already predicted the outbreak of another world war after Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia, and she foresaw a war of races as

⁷ Transcript of Rosika Schwimmer's radio broadcast, entitled 'Constructive World Organization against World Chaos' (one of her few speeches preserved), for the radio station WEVD in New York City, 31 Mar. 1939, at 9 p.m., Rosika Schwimmer Papers (hereafter RSP). Manuscripts and Archives Division. The New York Public Library. Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations, Box 479.

⁸ Keen to lure Gandhi to the United States to deliver lectures against war and violence, Lloyd interviewed him in London in October 1931. Gandhi, however, declined her invitation to travel to North America.

⁹ Schwimmer, 'Exiled Hungarian Feminist Pleads for Refugees, German and All Others', *The Republican* (Springfield, MA), 11 June 1933, p. 234, RSP, Microfilm Reel 100:41.

well.¹⁰ She also wrote to King Victor Emmanuel III about immediate action, stating that Mussolini was insane and should be committed to a mental asylum.¹¹

The talk will also cover Schwimmer's (and Lloyd's) problematic relation to and interaction with the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) – an organisation that Schwimmer effectively helped to conceptualise – on grounds of ideological differences regarding gender and peace politics.¹² For instance, newly emerging women's interwar movements for peace, including the WILPF, were incompatible with Schwimmer's egalitarian vision of pacifism, not least because they were set up in tandem with the male-dominated League of Nations and, to her mind, did not fundamentally question the latter's patriarchal assumptions and practices.

Biographies of Parallel Session Speakers

Dr. Burçin Çakır has a PhD in History from Istanbul University and is now a post-doctoral fellow at Glasgow Caledonian University. She researches war, gender, memory, and nationalism with a recent focus on aspects of World War I in the Middle East. She has had research grants at Trinity College, Dublin, and the Georg Eckert Institute in Germany.

Jasmine Calver is a 1st year PhD candidate in the History department at the University of Northumbria. She is interested in the involvement of women in anti-fascist organisations with communist links in the 1930s. In particular, her research examines the international links of the *Comité mondial des femmes contre la guerre et le fascisme* and its campaigns, in order to determine the extent of its success and influence until 1939.

Camille Cleret is a third-year PhD student in Contemporary History at Angers University, France. Her thesis investigates the relationship between women and far-right organisations and focuses more especially on the feminine members of the Action française from the Dreyfus affair to World War II. This research aims at exploring women's role inside a movement characterized by an « overwhelming masculinity » (M. Durham). However, she also seeks to write a gendered history of this league by paying attention to gender discourses that used to be held within it. In 2013, she published an article entitled "From Charity To Politics: Political Commitment of the Women in the Action française" for *Parlement. Revue d'histoire politique*.

Rebecca Gill (Col) is based at the University of Huddersfield where she works on the history of British humanitarian organisations in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.

Kate Law (Col) works at the University of the Free State in South Africa and has a special interest in gender and imperial history in the twentieth century. **Helen Dampier** (PI) is a lecturer in British imperial history at Leeds Beckett University specialising in women's involvement in South African politics, having recently completed a project with Liz Stanley on Olive Schreiner. They have just launched a new AHRC-funded project exploring

¹⁰ Schwimmer to the Swedish activist of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Elisabeth Wærn-Bugge, 15 Aug. 1935, Lola Maverick Lloyd Papers (hereafter LMLP). Manuscripts and Archives Division. The New York Public Library. Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations, Box 17.

¹¹ Schwimmer to His Majesty, King Victor Emmanuel III, 14 Sept. 1935, LMLP, Box 17.

¹² Although residing as an alien in the United States, Schwimmer embarked on an extended visit to Europe in the late 1920s and encountered few intersections with her and the WILPF's interpretation of world peace, while participating in their European gatherings and visiting their headquarters.

Hobhouse's contribution to international peace, relief and reconstruction in South Africa and Europe through her letters and artefacts.

The Emily Hobhouse Project

@emilyhobhouse

www.emilyhobhouselettersprojet.wordpress.com

The *Emily Hobhouse Letters project* is an international research project centrally concerned with recovering Hobhouse's transnational epistolary network of activists, writers, journalists and politicians, in doing so offering a necessary re-internationalisation of early twentieth-century imperial and South African history and correcting her neglect in Britain. We are keen to highlight the formative experience of Hobhouse and her circle's work for reconciliation in South Africa during an era of war, reconstruction, labour disputes, and arguments over national self-determination and will explore the legacy of this involvement - particularly their attitudes to race - for their approach to the politics of peace, relief and international oversight in Europe and South Africa after the First World War.

Ashley Garber is completing her DPhil in history at Kellogg College, Oxford University. Her thesis examines how the British and American Legions negotiated First World War memory in relation to the Second World War, with a particular focus on the role of generational shift in this process. Through its comparative approach, her work seeks to introduce a more nuanced understanding of the relationship between the two world wars and how these experiences influenced the lives of twentieth-century contemporaries. Holding a MA with distinction in war studies from Kings College London, Ashley is especially interested in transnational and interdisciplinary approaches to the history of war and memory.

Antoine Godet is a fourth-year PhD student in Contemporary History at Angers University, France. His thesis deals with "The political and social symbolism of fascist and fascistic movements in France and Great-Britain in the 1930s through the comparative study of the Parti populaire français and the British Union of Fascists". His work particularly analyses the question of paramilitary, martial symbolism against democracy. He is currently publishing an article about the political uniform in France and Great-Britain for *Contemporanea. Rivista di storia dell'800 e del 900*. You can reach him at antoine.godet@univ-angers.fr.

Ida Ograjšek Gorenjak is an assistant professor (docent) at History Department of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zagreb, where she teaches courses on Modern History and on Gender History for undergraduate and graduate students. Occasionally she also holds lectures and seminars on PhD studies at the same faculty. Her research interests and publications focus on gender history, history of education and cultural history. She published original scientific articles in various history magazines and collections of papers (*Women in Croatia. Women and Cultural History, Unknown heroine - new readings of Zagorka* and *How was it ... Zagorka and women's history, The entangled histories of Vienna, Zagreb and Budapest (18th-20th Century)*). In her book *Dangerous illusions. Gender stereotypes in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia* she analyzes the impact of gender stereotypes on political and modernization process and construction of national identities. In 2013 she was appointed chief editor of history magazine *Povijest u nastavi* (History teaching) and so far she has edited six issues of this magazine. She is a Member of Society for Croatian history and Association for Women's history "Clio".

Sabine Grimshaw is in her third year of a Collaborative Doctoral Award PhD with the University of Leeds and the Imperial War Museum, London. Her thesis is titled 'Representation and Resistance: The Representation of Male and Female War Resisters of the First World War' and aims to investigate the representation of those who resisted the First World War in Britain. This project examines how the representation of anti-war men and women in the press has changed and developed at key junctures during the First World War and in the subsequent commemoration of the conflict, with a specific focus on the role of gender.

Dina Gusejnova is a Lecturer in Modern History at the University of Sheffield. She has a PhD in History from the University of Cambridge, and has taught at the University of Chicago, UCL and Queen Mary University of London. Her work has centred on the intellectual history of German republicanism, the cultural history of interwar Europe, and, most recently, the history and experience of statelessness at the time of the Second World War. Her first book, *European Elites and Ideas of Empire, 1917-57* (Cambridge UP, 2016), explores connections between ideas of Europe and imperial memory in elite intellectual contexts. Other recent include 'Jazz anxiety and the European fear of cultural change. Towards a transnational history of a political emotion', in *Cultural History* (April 2016) and 'Der Prophet als Parfum: Das Spenglersche am europäischen und amerikanischen Modernismus', *Zeitschrift für Weltgeschichte*, Issue 2 (2014).

Veronika Helfert was employed as an Assistant Professor (prae doc) (Univeristätsassistentin prae doc) in Modern History/Women's and Gender History in the Department of History at the University of Vienna, Austria between 2012 to 2016. She currently holds a Fellowship from the Austrian Federal Ministry of Research, Science and Economy (Marietta-Blau-Stipendium) from June 2016 to July 2017 with research visits at McGill University, Montréal (Canada) and University of Bern (Switzerland). She finished her MA studies in History as in German Philology at the Universities of Vienna and Sevilla, Spain, and is currently working on her dissertation with the working title "Towards a Gender- and Women's History of the Soviet Movement in Austria and Hungary, 1916/17–1924". Her research fields include Austrian History and Women's and Gender History of the 19th and 20th Century, with a methodological specialty in ego-documents.

Sarah Hellawell is a PhD candidate in the History Department at Northumbria University. Her doctoral thesis is titled 'Feminism, Pacifism and Internationalism: the Women's International League, 1915–1935'. She submitted her thesis in November 2016. Her article for *Women's History Review* on 'Antimilitarism, Citizenship and Motherhood: the formation and early years of the Women's International League, 1915–1919' will be published in 2017.

Daniel Hucker is an international historian who has worked previously in the 1930s, notably on public opinion during the appeasement era. He is currently working on a British Academy funded project called "'The public opinion of the world": transnational citizen activism and diplomacy, 1890-1920'.

Erika Huckestein is a PhD Candidate in European History at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Her research focuses on how fascism, at home and abroad, impacted the British feminist movement before and during the Second World War.

Avi Klein is a Ph.D student in The Department of General History at Haifa University in Israel. His thesis is about the connection between socialism and pacifism in Great Britain in the years 1890-1924, under the supervision of Professor Haia Shpayer-Makov. He graduated with honors M.A in General History from Tel-Aviv University in Israel, with a thesis about phases in the history of pacifism in modern times, under the supervision of Professor Miriam Eliav-Feldon. Recently, in March 2016 he presented a paper "The Strike against the War" in Leeds.

Liam J Liburd is a PhD student in the Department of History at the University of Sheffield. His thesis is titled "Constructions of Race, Gender and Empire on the British far-right, 1920-1960". He completed his MA in Modern History and his BA in History & Sociology at the University of Sheffield. His research interests are in gender and cultural historical approaches to interwar British political history. Last September he curated a small exhibition on the 80th anniversary of The Battle of Cable Street using material from the University of Sheffield's Special Collections. Last October he was invited to talk at a joint event by the National Association of the Italian Partisans (ANPI) and the Cable Street 80 group on the subject of his MA dissertation, "Britain's Anti-Fascist 'New Man'".

Andrew McIntosh is a PhD student in the Department of History at the University of Essex. His thesis is on Narratives of Women and Bolshevism in the British Popular Press During the Interwar Period. He completed his MA in Social Cultural at the University of Essex and did his BA in History and Education at Lake Forest College in the United States. His research interests are in Modern European History, Gender Studies, History of the British Media and History of Socialism and Communism.

Marc-William Palen is a historian at the University of Exeter. His first book, *The "Conspiracy" of Free Trade: The Anglo-American Struggle over Empire and Economic Globalisation, 1846-1896*, was published in February 2016 by Cambridge University Press. Other publications include articles in *Diplomatic History*, *Historical Journal*, the *Journal of Imperial & Commonwealth History*, and the *Journal of the History of Economic Thought*. He is the founding editor of the *Imperial & Global Forum*, the blog of Exeter's Centre for Imperial & Global History.

Ugo Pavan Dalla Torre took his Degree in History at University of Padua, working with Achille Olivieri. He obtained his Ph.D. in Modern History, University of Turin (Italy), discussing the thesis "The Origins of the Italian National Association between Disabled Ex-Servicemen (ANMIG) 1917-1923". He has worked with Fabio Levi and Giorgio Rochat, two of the most important Italian experts in the field of history of disability and of military history. He is currently a non-structured researcher working in collaborating with the Central Committee of the Italian National Association between Disabled Ex-Servicemen (Rome) and as a teacher in an High School. His research interests are focused on the history of the medicine of the XXth Century, in particular on the history of the orthopedics and of prosthesis; on the history of Association between disabled people and on the history of the historiography. You can view his website here: www.ugopavandallatorre.com.

Dr. Silvia Pellicer-Ortín is a Lecturer at the Department of English and German Philology in the Faculty of Education at the University of Zaragoza. Silvia's main research interests are

related to contemporary British fiction, with a focus on British-Jewish women writers, and Trauma, Memory and Women Studies. Last year she published a monograph entitled *Eva Figes' Writings: A Journey through Trauma* (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015), and she is co-editing now a collection on *Memory Frictions in Contemporary Narratives in English* together with Dr. María Jesús Martínez Alfaro (Palgrave Macmillan, 2017). She is also very much involved in questions concerning innovative teaching methods in high education and the development of bilingual programmes.

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