BRITISH LITERATURE OF WORLD WAR I

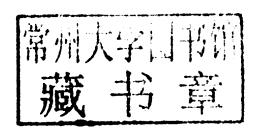
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# BRITISH LITERATURE OF WORLD WAR I

## General Editors Andrew Maunder and Angela K. Smith

Volume 4 Rose Allatini, *Despised and Rejected* (1918)

> Edited by Angela K. Smith





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### INTRODUCTION

Writing in 1999 Rose Allatini's son, Desmond Scott, commented on *Despised* and Rejected and its critical reception

[S]he had written a book under the pseudonym of A. T. Fitzroy called *Despised and Rejected*. It was concerned with pacifists and homosexuals and was banned, not for obscenity but on the grounds that it might deter young men from joining the armed forces! This was during the 1914–1918 war, remember!

Rose Allatini wrote a great many books under a variety of pseudonyms,<sup>2</sup> but this is surely her most important, yet Scott never mentions it again. He implies that the book was banned because its contents were problematic during the war – and so they were. The book was banned under the regulations of DORA, the Defence of the Realm Act, because of its celebration of pacifism. But even without a war *Despised and Rejected* did what was, in 1918, the unthinkable, and Allatini and her publisher, C. W. Daniel, are likely to have met with strong opposition.

Despised and Rejected begins in the harmonious pre-war world of Edwardian Britain, and tells the story of Dennis Blackwood, a promising young composer who, despite his conventional and secure middle-class upbringing, is 'different' from other young men of his generation. This 'difference' is buried beneath the surface, detected only by his mother, who suspects it but cannot identify it, and it only finds release in the 'tortured dissonances and weird scurrying arpeggios' (below, p. 85) of his turbulent music. The 1914 summer holiday that opens the novel presents Dennis with two meetings that force him to confront his own nature more directly. The first, while with his family, is with the beautiful Antoinette de Courcy, a young woman whom, Dennis soon realizes, shares his 'difference', thus making her a safe companion. The second is with a young man, Alan Rutherford, a political radical with whom Dennis falls immediately and irrevocably in love. Dennis runs away and spends the next two years trying to fall in love with Antoinette, until the Great War finally overtakes them.

Allatini's plot appears to follow the conventions of a romance novel, a genre that she embraced in later life as Eunice Buckley. But from the outset she turns

romance on its head by directly addressing issues of homosexuality, not only taboo but also illegal at the time of publication in 1918. No wonder, then, that Dennis finds his condition to be a curse that he tries to hide, even from himself. This is the sentiment at the heart of Radclyffe Hall's infamous 1928 novel, *The Well of Loneliness*, which confronted the isolation of lesbianism head on.<sup>3</sup> But *Despised and Rejected* predates *The Well* by a decade. Dennis Blackwood is every bit as tortured as Stephen Gordon, Hall's protagonist, and Antoinette's own struggle to understand her sexuality gives the earlier novel an added dimension.

Both novels owe much to the work of Edward Carpenter. In The Intermediate Sex (1912) Carpenter discusses the existence of an 'intermediate race'; men and women who do not fit comfortably into the established sex patterns of society, but who 'occupy an intermediate position between the two sexes.4 Carpenter argues that such individuals are much more commonplace than society imagines and that the kind of 'difference' that they exhibit is entirely natural and positive. But while Stephen Gordon seems to be drawn from what Carpenter defines as the more 'extreme specimens' of this sexual inversion,5 those that contemporary society might define as possible transsexuals, Dennis and Antoinette fit much more comfortably into Carpenter's definitions of the 'normal' type. Dennis could be described as 'a man who, while possessing thoroughly masculine powers of the mind and body, combines them with the tenderer and more emotional soul-nature of woman?6 Equally, Antoinette has 'a temperament active, brave and originative, somewhat decisive? The couple are drawn together, Carpenter might argue, because Dennis is of a type who, 'though not naturally inclined to "fall in love" in this direction ... are by their nature drawn rather near to women'.8 It is the feminine in him that causes Dennis to seek out a friendship with Antoinette, not, as his mother and indeed Antoinette herself suspect, an attraction. But there is another reason also. Dennis is aware of his own inclinations, although he determines to repress them. His romance with Antoinette represents an attempt to be normal. It is doomed to failure.

Later in the novel Dennis tells Antoinette that her affection for him is

only another proof of your abnormality, my poor child. No normal woman could care for me, I'm sure. You only do because you are what you are, and I am what I am. It's 'like to like,' as I said. (below, p. 124)

Once Dennis has pointed out her 'abnormality', Antoinette realizes that it is indeed true; she has, since childhood, been attracted to women. But unlike Dennis she feels no discomfort with this. The opening of the novel sees her actively pursuing Hester Cawthorn, a spinster involved with a married man, without any sense that this is not entirely natural. The pain that she experiences in the novel is caused by her love for Dennis, love that he cannot return. Dennis, on the other hand, is deeply troubled by his own feelings. The stories he tells Antoinette veil

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his own childhood infatuations in metaphor as he represses the guilt he feels. In Alan Rutherford, he is forced to confront the truth about his adult sexuality. While his first instinct is to run, his second meeting with Alan refutes the possibility of further denial.

Dennis clearly conforms to the emotion patterns of Carpenter's intermediate sex. But, unlike Carpenter, Allatini places a great deal of emphasis on physical attraction. Carpenter argues:

With regard to this physical element it must also be remembered that since the homogenic love – whether between man and man, or between woman and woman – can from the nature of the case never find expression on the physical side so freely and completely as is the case with ordinary love, it must tend rather more than the latter to run along *emotional* channels, and to find its vent in sympathies of social life and companionship.<sup>9</sup>

This may be in part because of the 'anti-social' or indeed illegal aspects of homosexual love. However, what Dennis experiences with Alan is as much driven by physical desire as by emotional attachment. For Dennis there is no pretending it is only platonic. Thus Allatini forces her readers to confront the full force of homosexual desire. The final consummation of Dennis and Alan's relationship is a significant literary moment, despite being slightly diluted by the trials of conscience that have brought the two back together once the war begins.

It is no accident that Allatini makes Dennis a musician. Carpenter asserts that members of his intermediate sex are commonly of an artistic nature. Indeed, he cites a number of other sex theorists - Havelock Ellis, Richard von Krafft-Ebing, Albert Moll – all of whom support this claim to the prevalence of artistic, musical or cultural sensibility in such individuals. Dennis's music is a key to his identity. He does not just play, he composes, and what he composes is as 'different' as he is. Dennis's music is avant-garde; it is clearly identified with forms of modernist experimentation, causing his twelve-year-old brother to dismiss it: 'Well, it is, mouldy ... there's no tune in it, however hard you listen for one' (below, p. 5). Allatini had herself, studied music, and had a clear understanding of the significance of Dennis's calling. 10 As well as aligning Dennis with marginal creative experimentation, his music also acts as a metaphor for his homosexuality. He tells Antoinette about a relationship he had at school with another boy, Eric, a Jewish musician. Dennis recalls his reluctance to befriend Eric, because of their shared marginality. This is in part represented through the music that connects them, but the music itself is presented as a marginalizing association, one that neither boy should publicly admit to. It is not difficult to read between the lines to see how the music may be interpreted as a physical attraction between the two boys and thus embodying Dennis's early fear of his sexuality.

Throughout the novel, Dennis is working on an opera, 'Karen and the Red Shoes', based on the fairy tale. This tale also parallels his suffering as he struggles with his own inclinations. As the war progresses, this composition becomes inextricably bound up with all the other suffering that surrounds him:

But the horror that was all around and about him, got into his music and became a part of it. The ideas that came to him, found expression in harmonies that had an ominous and sinister beauty. He knew they had beauty, despite the horror with which they were impregnated. (below, p. 85)

The music is integral to both Dennis's fear of what is going on around him and even more significantly with his own repressed homosexuality. Upon first meeting Alan, he is only able to convey his feelings through the music that the boy inspires him to write: 'And all night long his heart throbbed to a new and strange music; and his brain found utterance for that music that was as virile and splendid as the one who had inspired it' (below, p. 57). However, as his feeling for Alan becomes increasingly connected with the war, his music takes on a different tone:

Sometimes he wondered from what strange sub-region of consciousness issued these visions – yes, that was the right word – visions of sound, audible to himself alone, and that he had the power to translate and transmit to others. And sometimes he was afraid of this music of his, that sprang from he knew not whence, and over the going and coming of which, he had no control ...

Music such as might have been heard in a nightmare ... music horrible and unreal, that in itself constituted a nightmare from which there was no escape. (below, p. 85)

Dennis's music brings together the significant themes of the novel in its turbulent cadences. It is 'otherness', it is experimental art, but it is also war and conscience, and conscience binds together opposition to war and acceptance of a renegade sexuality for Dennis. It is his way of articulating all that remains unspeakable. But by the end of the novel he has become reconciled to what he is and what he must do. The result is a 'great symphonic poem: "War". Finally, 'he had succeeded in showing their fundamental unity, converting strife and turmoil and the sorrows of all nations into the transcendent harmony of peace' (below, pp. 179–80). And Alan is his inspiration.

In many ways, *Despised and Rejected* foreshadows what little is known of Allatini's own life, perhaps offering some clues to its genesis. Born in Vienna in 1890 to a Polish mother and an Italian father, Allatini was brought up in England and had established herself as a writer of romance by the time the war broke out, publishing initially with Mills and Boon in 1914. Her later publishing also seems to fit comfortably into this genre, making *Despised and Rejected* feel like a bit of an anomaly. In 1921 Allatini married the composer Cyril Scott, a relationship brought about by their shared interest in the occult. At the time Scott was one of Britain's leading composers. He was also a prolific writer, inter-

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ested in faith, the occult and healing, topics which found their way into many of Allatini's later works. There seem to be echoes of Dennis Blackwood in Scott's radicalism. They separated in 1941, seeming to have simply drifted apart after the beginning of World War II. Their interests set them on different paths, and Allatini spent the rest of her life with a female companion, Melanie Mills, perhaps suggesting that there may have been something of herself in Antoinette de Courcy.

Despised and Rejected is an unconventional romance, with an unlikely hero and heroine. But it is also a story of World War I. Claire Tylee suggests, 'it is part of Allatini's thesis that belligerence had been bound to the very definition of masculinity, and that homosexuality and the refusal to kill were intimately related in their defiance of the established notions of manhood. 12 When war breaks out the importance of conventional masculinity is pushed to the forefront of society. All proper men should demonstrate their manhood by becoming soldiers. In August 1914, Dennis is living in London and his relationship with Antoinette is re-established. He introduces her to his friends, a group of assorted radicals who meet in an underground cafe to discuss art and politics. The group includes a variety of individuals, each representing alternative marginalized groups: the artist, the actor, the Irish nationalist, the Jew. The meetings are presided over by Neil Barnaby, a disabled writer and the editor of their radical, soon to be pacifist newspaper. The members of the group are united first and foremost by their collective marginalization, and their fear that the war presents a significant threat to art itself. Antoinette, with her own 'difference', is an appropriate new member. The passing of the first Conscription Bill in January 1916 gives them an additional bond: Conscientious Objection to military service. It is at this point that Alan Rutherford reappears, a passionate socialist and the most potent anti-war spokesman in the group.

The introduction of the first Military Service Act had been a long time in the planning. Germany had operated a policy of National Service from the outset and there were some conservative voices arguing that Britain should do the same. The voices became louder following the execution of British nurse Edith Cavell in October 1915, accompanied by an upsurge in anti-German propaganda most powerfully articulated in the Northcliffe press. 13 Young men who did not appear in khaki were more and more likely to be targeted as 'slackers' or 'shirkers', and receive white feathers from patriotic matrons. In May 1915, concern over falling numbers of recruits for the army, combined with a growing shortage of munitions, forced Prime Minister Herbert Asquith to form a coalition government. The new cabinet included a number of supporters of conscription, amongst them David Lloyd George, the new Minister of Munitions, who was prepared to make the most unlikely partnerships to ensure success. In July 1915 he joined forces with the Women's Social and Political Union, the Suffragettes, supporting

their 'Right to Serve' march, campaigning to allow women to work in munitions factories. Lloyd George felt the country needed women to be employed in all areas of the workforce. It also needed men in khaki.

There were many other voices raised against conscription. The Trade Unions Congress opposed it as an infringement of personal liberties. There was never any attempt to impose it in Ireland, where opposition was fierce. Others felt that the volunteer system had what Nicoletta Gullace terms a moral superiority; those men who did not show the moral fibre to volunteer for their country were probably not worth having as soldiers. 14 There were also concerns about the prospect of combining volunteer and conscripted soldiers in the same army. Would the two types be compatible? Perhaps the most significant anti-conscription voice came through the No Conscription Fellowship, which was set up in November 1915. Its founders, including pacifists Clifford Allen and Fenner Brockway, were socialists, Quakers and members of the Independent Labour party, and it continued to campaign for fair treatment of Conscientious Objectors throughout the war.<sup>15</sup> In the event, the introduction of the Military Service seems to have been welcomed by servicemen, resulting in a boost in morale for serving soldiers. The prospect of reinforcements must have been appealing. The Act became law on 27 January 1916, came into operation on 10 February and was extended to married men in May. It compelled men between the ages of 18 and 40 to join the military. 16 This Act seals the fate of Dennis Blackwood and his friends.

The Military Service Act did not go so far as to compel all able-bodied men to join the army without exception. It included a clause to allow for 'conscientious objection'. If a man had demonstrable reasons of conscience why he should not fight he could apply for exemption. These could take a number of forms, many of which are explored in *Despised and Rejected*. A man may have religious objections to war. The Society of Friends, the Quakers, opposed the war *en masse*, with many of their members facing Military Service tribunals.<sup>17</sup> A man might be granted exemption for doing work of national importance, or as sole support of relatives, or he might apply because of radical socialist politics as Alan does. When the Act came into force, 16,000 men immediately registered as Conscientious Objectors.<sup>18</sup> Many, like Dennis, sought exemption on grounds of conscience:

It is my firm belief that I should not in any way be benefiting humanity by taking part in any war, as I am convinced that there is no such thing as a 'war to end war', and that victory would only lead to successive wars, each more terrible than the last; also that the solution of international disputes should be sought in arbitration and diplomacy, rather than in bloodshed. (below, p. 176)

Objectors first faced local tribunals, but if these could not resolve the issue, individuals could appeal to the higher court of the House of Commons. It is

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here, in one of Allatini's many set pieces in the novel, that Dennis delivers his own impassioned speech against military service. And here too, that his appeal is finally rejected. Like many other Conscientious Objectors, he is passed for Non-Combatant Service. Like many others, Dennis refuses to take this option, although 3,300 Conscientious Objectors did agree to Non-Combatant Service. This could take a range of forms, always involving some kind of manual work and often involving being posted to France. Duties, which were often linked to the military, included work that no one else wanted to do such as burying the dead from the battlefields and digging trenches, often in the line of fire. Many Conscientious Objectors on Non-Combatant Service received harsh treatment and severe punishments, including the use of straightjackets and solitary confinement.<sup>19</sup>

Dennis, like Alan, rejects Non-Combatant Service, opting instead for court-martial and military prison with hard labour. Despite pleas from the No Conscription Fellowship, the government was resolute that no alternative could be offered. Prime Minister Asquith went on record stating, 'It will not be possible for the Government to take any other course with men who refuse to avail themselves of alternative service which is in no way connected with military operations except to hand them over to the military authorities'. Allatini does not shy away from discussing the harsh treatment of Conscientious Objectors, and at the end of the novel we learn of its destructive effects on all the protagonists. But the message is very clear. Far from being the shirkers and slackers of popular mythology, Conscientious Objectors like Dennis and Alan are just as courageous as the ordinary soldiers, because they have the courage to swim against the tide and face the persecution, hardship and suffering that this inevitably brings.

The homosexual content, so prominent in the first half of the novel, seems to be subsumed into the wider issue of the war and how to oppose it. But it simmers under the surface nonetheless. Dennis never fears for himself, only for Alan. As he takes each step in his fight for exemption he is overwhelmed by the knowledge that Alan has already experienced it and failed. He is tortured by the knowledge of Alan's imprisonment and suffering, with the patient Antoinette stepping forever behind him intent on offering support should it be required. As the novel concludes, however, the twin strands of Conscientious Objection and homosexuality are drawn together by Neil Barnaby, in one final subterranean cafe set piece:

But perhaps these men who stand mid-way between the extremes of the two sexes are the advance-guard of a more enlightened civilisation. They're despised and rejected of their fellow-men today. What they suffer in a world not yet ready to admit their right to existence, their right to love, no normal person can realise; but I believe that

the time is not so far distant when we shall recognise in the best of our intermediate types the leaders and masters of the race. (below, p. 199)

There are inevitable echoes of Carpenter here. But it is their stand against the war and combatant service that helps to give them the kind of status Barnaby suggests. Allatini goes further than Carpenter in suggesting that these men are future leaders, the way forward for society. This championing of the intermediate sex, an almost androgynous middle ground, seems also to pave the way for other ideas in gender politics such as Virginia Woolf's famous theory of androgyny presented in *A Room of One's Own*. Rose Allatini seems to be ahead of her time in her treatment of so many issues in this novel. It is extraordinary that it is not better known. However, perhaps unsurprisingly, its critical reception was such that, in 1918, it was doomed to disappear.

### Critical Reception

Despised and Rejected was published on 22 May 1918, just after the last German offensive of the war. Although the tide was turning in favour of the Allies, significantly enhanced by the recent arrival of American troops in France, victory was not yet a certainty. National morale needed to be maintained. But this was not the kind of patriotic war story that might be encouraged to boost morale. Instead it condemns the war, by presenting it through a close examination of those who oppose it. Its intent can perhaps be compared with Siegfried Sassoon's 'Declaration'. Sassoon argued that the war was being deliberately prolonged by those who saw it principally for profit, without regard for the fighting men who suffered for their country. Allatini's novel argues that the war is futile, offering no prospect of victory for anyone. But its immediate critical reception was mixed. Jonathan Cutbill sites the following *Times Literary Supplement* review:

A well-written novel – evidently the work of a woman – on the subject of pacifism and of abnormality of the affections. The author's sympathy is plainly with the pacifists; and her plea for a more tolerant recognition of the fact that some people are, not of choice but by nature, abnormal in their affections is open and bold enough to rob the book of unpleasant suggestion. As a frank and sympathetic study of certain types of mind and character, it is of interest; but it is not to be recommended for general reading.<sup>23</sup>

This however, seems to be damning with faint praise. Allatini's novel is more strident than this. Dennis Blackwood and his friends speak out not just against this war, but against war in general: 'A lasting peace can never be achieved by war, because war breeds war' (below, p. 109). With the benefit of hindsight we can see the validity of these words, but in 1918 their passion particularly offended *The Times*. Reporting on the subsequent trial of C. W. Daniel (Ltd)

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and company director Charles Daniel, it declared, under the stirring headline 'A Pernicious Book':

The book was of a most pernicious character. It seemed to be written to exploit two ideas – one of them in relation to sexual matters and the other to put at their very highest the views of those who objected to military service of any kind, including non-combatant service. To make the doctrines so put forward more acceptable, the person into whose mouth they were put was the hero, and where they were not personally uttered by him they were uttered by his friends and fellow-thinkers, including a young woman. The hero was a member of a family all of whom were normal; he alone was abnormal.<sup>24</sup>

At the trial, the defence counsel argued that although Dennis and his friends did put the pacifist case in the strongest terms, the book also represented the more patriotic views of the Blackwoods and other families. This is certainly true. The patriotic ladies of his home town argue convincingly both with Dennis and later with Antoinette in support of the war. Dennis's assertion that 'war breeds war' is part of a three-way dialogue that takes place between himself, his father and their family doctor. However, it is always clear that it is Dennis who demands the reader's sympathy and although Allatini allows Dr Clavering the last word, he does not offer condemnation.

You're a Utopian dreamer, Dennis, but I sincerely respect you, just as I respect my own boy, and all the other boys who do their bit in their particular way ... And I doubt if you'll find your way easier than theirs (below, p. 109)

The doctor here represents a balanced voice of reason, pitched between the opposing father and son. But he accords Dennis the same respect and understanding as he does the fighting troops. There is no doubt about Allatini's message.

C. W. Daniel was prosecuted under Regulation 27(c) of the Defence of the Realm Regulations, 'for making statements in a book entitled *Despised and Rejected* likely to prejudice the recruiting, training and discipline of persons in his Majesty's forces and for having 234 copies of the book in their possession.'<sup>25</sup> The trial took place between 25 September and 10 October 1918. The defendants pleaded 'not guilty'. Rose Allatini was named as the author, but was not otherwise involved. Daniel had a history of radical publishing. By 1914 he had earned a reputation for issuing works that other publishers would not touch.<sup>26</sup> Writer, social commentator and pacifist, and a correspondent of both Tolstoy and Mahatma Gandhi, his dislike of state power led him to publish works that destabilized the establishment and explored areas of education, vegetarianism and food, and homeopathy. But, as Imogen Gassert argues, '[N]owhere in his publishing career was Daniel quite as driven as during his opposition to the First World War'.<sup>27</sup> His pacifist outputs were such that by 1917 his offices had been

raided four times. He had been successfully prosecuted under DORA in March 1917, for a pamphlet called 'A Knock-Out Blow' which challenged the censor-ship regulations imposed by the Act.<sup>28</sup> He had on this occasion also pleaded 'not guilty', arguing,

I was under the impression that a modicum of free speech was still left to us. I was satisfied in my own mind that the pamphlet was not calculated to do harm. In holding this opinion I was acting consistently with the views I have held and published for the past 15 years.<sup>29</sup>

Unable or unwilling to pay the fine imposed, Daniel served six weeks in Wormwood Scrubs, no doubt alongside many Conscientious Objectors also imprisoned there.

Following the *Despised and Rejected* trial, Daniel was ordered to pay fines and costs of £460 or face prison again. All remaining unsold copies of the novel were forfeit. 'The *Herald* (which had previously supported Oscar Wilde), with the help of Edward Carpenter, started an appeal to pay the fine.'<sup>30</sup> Daniel remained a fierce advocate of pacifism, the only real issue discussed at the trial. The 'obscene' content was apparently not an issue. Despite this, Daniel did attempt to disassociate himself with this aspect of the novel:

I was assured by the author that the love between the hero and his friend was analogous to that between David and Jonathan. I did not see what has since been pointed out – that certain passages are open to an immoral interpretation. Personally, I would rather that any book were burnt than that I should be party to lending support to depravity of either homosexual or contra-sexual types. And I think that I am entitled to say that the invariable influence of my publications has been considerably above, not below, the conventional moral standards ... I was drawn to publish *Despised and Rejected* because of its pacifist sentiment; but I would not have published it had I believed that there was a risk of prosecution under D.O.R.A.<sup>31</sup>

Although this statement seems unlikely given Daniel's publishing history and previous conviction, it is interesting to note that he was anxious to avoid the stigma of being associated with illegal sexual practices, even though the public focus of the novel was so determinedly on its pacifist content. For the modern reader the two themes are inextricably linked, and it is this connection that makes the novel so important both politically and culturally. Through Dennis Blackwood, Antoinette de Courcy and Alan Rutherford, we are given an alternative reading of conventional World War I histories, and one that remains compelling almost a century later.

#### Notes

 D. Scott, 'Cyril Scott and Rose Allatini (Eunice Buckley): A Remembrance', Theosophical History, 7:6 (April 1999), pp. 218–22, on p. 218. Introduction xvii

- Rose Laure Allatini (1890–1980) also wrote under the names of A. T. Fitzroy, Eunice Buckley, Lucian Wainwright and Mrs Cyril Scott.
- 3. R. Hall, The Well of Loneliness (London: Jonathan Cape, 1928).
- 4. E. Carpenter, The Intermediate Sex: A Study of some Transitional Types of Men and Women (London: George Allen & Co., 1912), p. 9.
- 5. Ibid., p. 30. Stephen Gordon, who considers her inversion to be a curse, could be defined as both 'abnormal' and 'morbid' in Carpenter's terms.
- 6. Ibid., p. 32.
- 7. **Ibid.**, p. 36.
- 8. Ibid., p. 35.
- 9. Ibid., pp. 67–8.
- C. Tylee, The Great War and Women's Consciousness (London: Macmillan Press, 1990), p. 121.
- 11. See C. Scott, Bone of Contention: Life Story and Confessions (London: Aquarian Press, 1969), p. 177.
- 12. Tylee, The Great War and Women's Consciousness, p. 123.
- 13. See N. Gullace, *The Blood of Our Sons* (New York and Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002).
- 14. Ibid., p.103.
- 15. See Tylee, The Great War and Women's Consciousness, p. 120.
- 16. C. Pearce, Comrades in Conscience: The Story of an English Community's Opposition to the Great War (London: Francis Boutle Publishers, 2001), p. 157.
- 17. It is interesting to note that the Quakers were probably the largest single group of Conscientious Objectors, but are not represented at all in *Despised and Rejected*.
- 18. F. Goodall, A Question of Conscience: Conscientious Objection in Two World Wars, (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1997).
- 19. See ibid., pp. 15-19.
- 20. Herbert Asquith, quoted in *The C.O's Hansard*, A weekly report of Parliamentary proceedings published by the No-Conscription Fellowship, 1 (27 July 1916), p. 4.
- 21. Virginia Woolf, A Room of One's Own (London: Hogarth Press, 1929).
- 22. Sassoon's 'Soldier's Declaration' was read out in the House of Commons on 30 July 1917 and published in *The Times* the following day.
- 23. *Times Literary Supplement*, 6 June 1918, p. 266, quoted in J. Cutbill, 'Introduction', *Despised and Rejected* (London: GMP Publishers Ltd, 1988), n.p.
- 24. 'A Pernicious Book: Publishers Charged under the Defence of the Realm Act,' *The Times*, issue 41906, 27 September 1918, p. 3, col. B.
- 25. 'Despised and Rejected: Publisher of Pacifist Novel Fined,' *The Times*, issue 41918, 11 October 1918, p. 5, col. E.
- 26. See I. Gassert, C. W. Daniel: Maverick Pacifist Publisher in the First World War', *Publishing History*, 48 (2000), pp. 5-40, on pp. 6-7. This article contains full details of Daniel's publishing career up to 1918.
- 27. **Ibid.**, p. 7.
- 28. Ibid., p. 19.
- 29. Daniel's defence, Daniel archive, International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, quoted in Gassert, 'C. W. Daniel', p. 27.
- 30. Cutbill, 'Introduction', n.p.
- 31. C. W. Daniel, Daniel Archive, quoted at http://greatwarfiction.wordpress.com/2009/12/05/despised-and-rejected/ [accessed 22 March 2010].

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 $\mathbf{BY}$ 

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