INFORMATION HISTORY
OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR

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L'Harmattan
László Z. Karvalics: 
Crosspoints of Information History
James Slaughter: 
Military Communication on the Visible
Similar Experiences, Different Outcomes
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Jewish First World War propaganda
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in British Colonial Hong Kong 
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An information “black hole”: War

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Emancipation and social engagement facilitated the Central European Jewry's identification with the modern notion of national identity. During the Great War this often came into conflict with Jewish universalism. Those of Jewish denomination supporting the various national identity notions identified with the war aims and propaganda of the given nation while they tried to find the antetype of the new circumstances in the Jewish past and Judaism.

The study analyses the structure of the war propaganda published by the Hungarian Neolog and Zionist press. It aims to examine the biblical antetypes, the topos of the modern Jewry and Central European discourse in the enemy-image, war aims and Jewish self-definition of the press. In terms of the manifestations of the Jewish population's loyalty towards the Austro-Hungarian state there were differences between the Jewry in Habsburg-Austria and in Hungary. While the former were expected to display a dynastic loyalty, the latter were expected to identify with the modern notion of the Hungarian nation. However, numerous social and cultural phenomena, as well as internal Jewish discourse can only be interpreted within a general Central European framework. In their communication German language publications and the institutional elite who made passage possible played a significant role. Looking at German language Jewish papers as well, the essay studies the expectations of the power elite (civil religion, cults, cultural mission), the political reports of the civil society (Russian and Rumanian Jewish refugees, the fate of the Eastern European Jews, conflicts within the hinterland) and the religious interpretations of Judaism adapted for the present.

The Hungarian language Jewish press analysed in the present study (Egyenlőség, Zsidó Szemle) create a modern forum that served both as a medium for the flow of information and a tool of cultural change. The publications reflect

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1 Norbert Glässer is a grant-supported member of the MTA-SZTE Research Group on Religious Culture (03 217). András Zima is a member of Department of History Jewish Theological Seminary – University of Jewish Studies.
wider social processes within the information ecosystem, whereas the ‘facts’ found in them can give an insight solely into the ambitions of the editorial circle and the institutional elite behind the certain paper. The news items published earlier by the press reappeared in the framework of the war propaganda with transformed messages. The study touches on these transformations connected to the internalization of war aims and the apologetic application of hero worship.

**Jewish press as a modern forum**

The press is both an instrument and a mechanism of the changes of modernity. According to Sara Abrevaya Stein the press became the forum for issues related to the changed social and cultural circumstances, and often itself became an assistant of change. In the investigation of the Budapest Hungarian-language Jewish press, we regard modernity as a process. Modernity brought unprecedented new challenges and the communities were constantly forced to respond. However, the opinions and strategies appearing in the press should not be confused with the everyday practice of the actual communities. Only the opinion-shaping intention of the journalism elite can be detected behind the press. We know relatively little about the readers. Even the letters from readers are the results of a process of editing. Nevertheless, the opinion of the journalism and publishing elite is not independent of the real community life. It was not only the press but also the institutional system above the communities that created the new phenomenon of modernity. The papers had differing functions, they adapted to the given social circumstances and were influenced by the political and economic changes. One thing they all had in common was that they represented group interests aspiring to traditionalism in face of the new trends of modernity.

Budapest Neology and Orthodoxy appeared in the last third of the 19th century and was in continuous contact with Jews in other parts of the country. This reading public was not monolingual: in addition to the increased adoption of the Hungarian language from the Compromise of 1867 there were also users of Hebrew, Jüdisch-Deutsch and German. This was reflected to varying degrees in the different papers.

The press appearing as the new forum and tool of modernity had been used by the advocates of Jewish enlightenment long before the Neolog-Orthodox split (taglung) as a means of spreading their views. By virtue of its debates and attitude-shaping role it also offered ready-made cultural models for the Orthodox-Neolog separation. The younger generations of the modernizing Jewry in the western provinces of the Habsburg Empire soon joined in the German, later other language journalism. Following the argumentation of the C became a “propagator of ide modernizing Jewish wings inter-strategic and group-stu was formulated by the Hung both toward the integrating weekly social paper (1882-193 Szabolcs, 1857-1915), then by Pest Israelite Community al often opposed the position of Neology. It was the Zionist approach of modernity in nonplag – social and literary 1914 as the starting point. T official newspaper from Bát, Benjámin Beresi, Oszk and József Schönfeld from 19 weekly, then again under the 1938. From the viewpoint of T Jövő – literary, art, social arc of young Neologs who broke József Patai also becomes im. Hungarian adaptation of the reconvert the Jewish intell time Hungarian-language in could constitute a parallel w Allgemeine Jüdische Zeitung be The Orthodox Jewish newsp.

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of the changes of modernity. The forum for issues related to the assimilation of the Jewry and often itself became an object of its debates and attitude-forming models for the Orthodox-Neolog assimilating Jewry in the western German, later other language journalism. Following the years of neo-absolutism – during the elaboration of the argumentation of the Compromise – the formerly merely reporting press became a "propagator of ideas". The denominational media of the consciously modernizing Jewish wings were created in this socio-cultural medium. The inter-strategic and group-strategic discours of the time of institutionalization was formulated by the Hungarian-language, Budapest-based Israelite weeklies, both toward the integrating Jewry and the Hungarian society. Egyenlősség, the weekly social paper (1882-1938), edited by Mór Bogdányi, (1854-1923), later Miksa Szabolcsi (1857-1915), then by his son Lajos Szabolcsi(1890-1943) was close to the Pest Israelite Community although they had no institutional ties. The weekly often opposed the position of the Community and represented the opinion of the Neology. It was the Zionist press – thrust into the background by both Neolog and Orthodox communities – that advocated the secularizing, Jewish national approach of modernity in Hungary. We can regard the Budapest-based Zsidó Néplap – social and literary weekly (1904-1905), edited by Lajos Dömény (1880-1914) as the starting point. The Hungarian Zionist Organization originate their official newspaper from 1910, titled Zsidó Szemle, which was edited by Lajos Bató, Benjámin Beregi, Oszkár Hammerschlag, Leo Lukács, Mózes Richtmann and József Schönfeld from 1911. In 1919 it was published as Jövőnk – Jewish social weekly, then again under the name of Zsidó Szemle – Jewish weekly, between 1920-1938. From the viewpoint of the topic examined here the cultural-Zionist Múlt és Jövő – literary, art, social and critical journal (1911-1944), connected to the circle of young Neologs who broke away from the Egyenlősség and were represented by József Patai also becomes important. Múlt és Jövő, which can be considered as the Hungarian adaptation of the Berlin-based cultural Zionist Ost und West wished to reconvert the Jewish intelligence alienated from tradition to Judaism. No wartime Hungarian-language institutional orthodox source was published – which could constitute a parallel with the earlier ones. However, the Jüdisch-Deutsch Allgemeine Jüdische Zeitung became an Orthodox daily outside the Central Office. The Orthodox Jewish newspaper was banned during the 1919 Republic of Soviets

6 Between 1910-1914 the paper was published as Zionist Organization of Hungary
and its relaunch was prevented by the loss of its reading public following the Trianon peace dictate.8

**Central European Jewish discourse and trends**

The war propaganda and hero worship that mobilised the Jewry shows similarities within the Central European Ashkenazi population. In the Central European states the Jews who were granted civil rights identified with the modern notions of national identity - within varying frameworks. Habsburg-Austria was organized based on political and dynastic principles thus in the Austrian part of the monarchy there was no state-level nationalism displayed either in the ethnic or in the language or cultural sense. Austria's Jewish citizens managed to remain loyal to the state in a way that they did not have to identify with any national identity. In contrast to Habsburg-Austria the Hungarian political elite defined Hungary as a nation-state and expected its Jewish inhabitants to adapt the prevalent Hungarian, language and culture based concept of the nation. In Hungary all this - a double loyalty: within the framework of commitment to the dynasty and the nation - intertwined with the cultural mission to be carried out among the Jews in Russia and the Balkans within the ideology of turning towards the East. In the Hungarian part of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy (1867-1918) great emphasis was placed in the Neolog press on the idea of belonging to the nation.9 In this context the mission of Neolog Jews was twofold: on the one hand in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy protection of the interests of the Hungarians through Hungarian culture that could be acquired, and in areas inhabited by minorities through the representation and spread of Hungarian culture, and on the other hand an internal mission within the Jewry to spread enlightened European culture. The criticism expressed by representatives of the internal cultural mission was directed mainly at education and the new generation. This pointed beyond the question of the immigration of Eastern European Jews through Galicia and can be regarded rather as a general criticism of the strategies aimed at traditionalism. In the cultural mission writings that appeared in *Egyenlőség* the figure of the Eastern European Jew became the vehicle of features showing an inability to assimilate.10 The cultural mission discourse was also intertwined with the universalist moral mission of Neolog Jewry that reinterpreted the eschatological features of Judaism. In the new historical mission of the Jews the ideal Jew became the vehicle for the whole of mankind. The Jews of Galicia became the most important.

Within the premodern-modern transition, thoughts written on the social and religious authority and institutional interpretations and the rationalisation of the religious community-forming rituals. In the framework of wide-spread religious knowledge - or ‘national religion’ by social-religious practice. In the case of the Hungarian notion of national political elite presents a particular thematic of the Hungarian symbolic policy of power – was Lajos Kossuth's world of symbols by question followed by followers in his independence movement within the framework of the Hungarian national community.

The new Israelite institutionalisation of the modern civil state in Galicia antitypes defined their modern institutional network was the symbolic policy was formed by the institutionalisation of the determined the adaptation of the requests of the Orthodox Neolog camp who urged more active involvement in the 1868-69 Israeliite congress.

10 E.g. Szabolcsi, Miksa. "Külföldi és Magyarországi orthodox vezetek [Orthodox leaders abroad and in Hungary]" *Egyenlőség*, 16 June 1912. pp. 1-4

of the Jews the ideal Jew became a champion of modernity, setting an example for the whole of mankind. The cultural mission aspirations targeting the Jews of Galicia became the most intense during the First World War. Within the premodern-modern change – following Meredith B. McGuire’s thoughts written on the social role of religion – we can recognise the decline of religious authority and institutional legitimacy, the privatization of religious interpretations and the rationalization and selection of religious tradition. Meanwhile, with the expansion of modern nation-states a demand occurs for the sacralisation of mundane national history and the creation of new, community-forming rituals. In their language and set of symbols these turned to wide-spread religious knowledge. The symbolic policy, called ‘civil religion’ or ‘national religion’ by sociology of religion was constructed on the base of religious practice. In the case of the Orthodoxy adhering to the framework of former life worlds (Lebenswelt in the Habermasian sense) and to the internal models of the group and the Neologs (congressional wing) who submitted their denominational traditions to moderate reforms and identified with the modern Hungarian notion of national identity the civil religion formed by an outsider political elite presents a particularly suitable field of examination. The person who thematized the Hungarian symbolic policy as opposed to the dualist Monarchy’s policy of power – was Lajos Kossuth, then an émigré. Kossuth created his own world of symbols by questioning the legitimacy of the status quo of power, his followers in his independence claims on the other hand, made their endeavours within the framework of the dualist state.14

The new Israelite institutional network was established along with the formation of the modern civil state. It would be a mistake to claim that only religious antetypes defined their models of interpretation. The establishment of the institutional network was the result of secular, historical events. As the Hungarian symbolic policy was formed by the events of the 1848 revolution, the stages in the institutionalisation of the Neolog, Orthodox and status quo ante movements determined the adaptation of the symbolic policy. The monarch complied with the requests of the Orthodox delegates just like with the requests of the opposing Neolog camp who urged moderate religious reforms. The conflict was linked to the 1868-69 Israelite congress organized by Eötvös whose purpose was to create


a national representative body of the Jews. In this way the Catholic monarch became a patron of religiousness and the religious Jews, a symbolic figure among the Jews. Franz Joseph I, being apostolic Hungarian king was also the prince of Jerusalem. The religious interpretations kept alive throughout generations further strengthened the bond. Among the religious models the Talmudic and Mishnaic antetypes of exile were determinant. Thus the debate on constitutional law, one of the most important social discourses of the dualist era obtained its Neolog and Orthodox communal interpretation in the light of these factors.

Respect for the crowned head stems from the religious traditions of Judaism. Leo S. Singer, Orthodox Chief Rabbi of Rimaszombat published a Hovat haLevavot adaptation titled The doctrine of duty in 1907 which is a Hungarian-language collection of religious ethics discussions. It contains a section titled K'vod haMalachut (The respect of the kingdom) which focuses on the respect shown for the crown and power. He deduces esteem for the king from the Ethics of the Fathers (Pirkei Avot 3:2): «Pray for the peace, welfare and bliss of the king and rule; for were it not for the fear of it, a man would swallow his neighbour alive.» The Mishnah attributes the saying to Rabbi Chanina, the Deputy High Priest. In his doctrine of duty, Chief Rabbi Singer provided the religious reading of the text: "Our holy religion commands us to show grateful respect to the king and the authorities as these guard the us all by administering equal justice so that we will not be disturbed in our fruitful working by evil men." Besides the blessing to be said upon seeing the crowned head he also mentioned loyalty to the king, deducing it from the Proverbs. «Fear the Lord and the king; do not mingle with insurgents and unpatriotic people.» Chief Rabbi Singer grasped the esteem for the king as respect for the order of the country: "He who does not respect the laws of his country or evades them, who avoids his obligations toward his country in any way or instigates inequality among his fellow citizens instead of promoting and strengthening peaceful solidarity does not only infringe the evident law of our religion but is also a dishonest man who deserves the Lord’s punishment as well as the just contempt of the citizens.« Chief Rabbi Singer drew the pre-modern image of the monarch legitimised by God — a monarch outside of society still representing its order. At the same time, respect for the monarch, represented by Ferenc Deák, who was in the modern notion of national demands from the peoples of the First World War for Jews edited by Immanuel Lévy contains two Hungarian-language texts portraying the connotations of praying "congregation", asking for the nation, the city and the country. Both texts convey the longing for realising concepts. It gained the power of the Great War was founded.

Hugarian Jews

The Budapest-based Neolog Jews, existing between the existence of peace between the Jews and the Dynasties. It made the difficulties and religions which alone were peculiar to the judaic and antetypes of this topos can be said for the welfare of the monarch, also being loyal to the interests of the rulers and referring certain characters of the religious mourning border editorial was interpreted within this concept. Israel where mourning prayers of the Jewish crown prince of the empire. His every word was taken into account and was felt by evil, murder, just and free, suited for reign and peace. The Jewry's identification

18 Singer 1907. 211.
19 Singer 1907. 211.
time, respect for the monarch was part of those endeavours of the Compromise represented by Ferenc Deák, which aimed to harmonize feudal traditions with the modern notion of national identity, and of the loyalty toward the state demanded from the peoples of Habsburg-Austria. The prayer book titled Prayers for Jews edited by Immanuel Löw, published by B Taub and Co. in Szeged in 1903 contains two Hungarian-language versions of the prayer to be said for the king. Both texts portray the contemporary structure of society from the king to the praying “congregation”, asking for God’s blessing on the representatives of power, the nation, the city and the community. As a motto, Immanuel Löw indicated the section of the Mishnah and the Holy Scripture. Both in 1848 veteran Chief Rabbi Lipót Löw and his son’s prayer text king, nation and country appeared as interwoven concepts. This gains significance due to the fact that the propaganda of the Great War was founded on dynastic grievances and national goals alike.

Hugarian Jewish mission in the Great War

The Budapest-based Neolog Israelite weekly, Egyenlőség ascribed the continuing existence of peace between the peoples and denominations of the Monarchy to the Dynasy. It made the Dynasty appear to be an institution above nations and religions which alone was destined to preserve the unity of the Empire. The antetypes of this topos can be found in the royal jubilee publications published under the aegis of the ruling house on the other hand, and in the texts of prayers said for the welfare of the monarch and the state, as well as in the religious discussions on loyalty toward the ruling power on the other.24 The Neolog Egyenlőség fitted certain characters of the royal family into Hungarian symbolic policy. The mourning border editorial written after the Sarajevo assassination can also be interpreted within this conceptual framework. There is no temple of the Hungarian Israel where mourning prayers cannot be heard for the sudden loss of the proud hope, the crown prince of the empire. He was an enormous cedar on the top of Lebanon, seen from afar and was felled by evil, murderous hands. That Abner had to die this death! He was just and free, suited for reign and he was killed by the weapon of sinners.25

The Jewry’s identification with the aims of the empire and the nation-state

can partly be regarded as the social expectation of emancipation and partly as the reciprocation of the gesture of acceptance. It was in these circumstances and in the First World War participation that Viktor Karády saw the identification tendency he labelled as "borrowed nationalisms". Karády's raising of the issue should be examined in the given life world defined by notions of national identity, economic endeavours and conflicts of power.

According to Marsha Rozenblit, every Jewish faction in Habsburg-Austria identified with the Monarchy's world war aims, just like in Hungary. They felt it was a Jewish holy war at the same time whose one important task was to rescue the Jewish population of Austrian Galicia from Russian tyranny. Rozenblit believes that this way they were able to demonstrate their solidarity with the state and the Jewry simultaneously. The events of the last two years of the war (the tension caused by food shortage resulting in anti-Semitic agitation) further strengthened their belief that only this state above nations (Austria) can guarantee the safety of the Jews. The above mentioned parallel loyalties became more predominant during the war; fidelity to the sovereign and the nation fused in the common war aims. The traditional Jewish prayer or blessing for the crowned head and its reinterpretation to fit the national rhetoric constituted an adaptation of the Monarchy's war propaganda. "We prayed to you on the threshold of war, Everlasting God, Master of Armies, you who give strength to the people. Our ancestors had faith in you and you were our recourse. Be with us in our just cause. Bless our king who you ordered as Moses to show the way, let the light of your triumph shine on him in your grace so he can halt his enemies. Oh, be the protector of our Hungary, extend a protective arm when she battles her foes, show your marvellous helping power." The victory prayer by Rabbi Simon Hevesi of Pest on the front page of Égyménősg brought the news of the Gorlice victory in May 1915.

The idea of belonging to the nation, unity with the nation and common sacrifice pervaded the paper in the days immediately after the declaration of war. This also harmonized with the official state propaganda. "We have fused and blended heart and soul with our nation. We are of one body, so much united that it would be an offence to speak about it separately. And if we do it is only as a reminder and to reassure ourselves: that we who challenged our neighbours in things good and noble during the decades of peace will take the challenge now and we offer even our lives keenly for this holy land, for this great and noble nation. We saw you, my Hungarian Jewish brothers among the marching troops, in the war din of railway stations, you were marching where you were supposed to, to fight for the king whose laws made us free, to fight for the nation that accepted us, embraced us and gave us a home, land and air." 

Besides loyalty to the nation, and if it were fought for the Jews, to avenge the wrongs done to the culture embodied by the Monarchy to Russia. Szembe állították kulturált az Oroszországnak to Kishinev, Homel, Białystok's nights and horrific days, reverberating has slowly been ripened by glory, battles of this war were indeed the end of 1914.09

Before this time the Neolithic regions as communities spoke Jewry of the Balkans was of interest which at the same Jewish lifestyle and created improved easy to use as a basis for and future tasks.

The independent Central- and a parallel interpretational from the Hungarian nation, Zsidó loyalty to the nation, the en Zionistic territorial aspiration no conflict with Hungarian the Jewish national movement in Hungary. The Zionist party emphasizing loyalty toward that one of the painful issues of the many centrifugal aspirations; enormous centripetal force. If earth has shaken and we heard that every nationality gravitates. Bias or hatred might doubt it to Jews is tied together in this land dare claim, with the intent to in nationality does not agree with. The Zionists were accused.

Besides loyalty to the nation Egyenlőség identified with the war and its aims as if it were fought for the Jewish cause as well and as if the Central Powers meant to avenge the wrongs done to the Jews in Russia. They contrasted the freedom and culture embodied by the Monarchy with oppression and barbarism attributed to Russia. "Revenge for Kishinev, Homel, Bialystok, revenge for the trials and raids in Kiev, for the deadly nights and horrific days, revenge which does not stem from political theory but which has slowly been ripened by glorious life, revenge for the centuries of servitude. Thus many battles of this war were indeed fought in the name of revenge." - wrote Egyenlőség at the end of 1914.30

Before this time the Neolog press regarded the Neologs living in the ethnic regions as communities spreading the Hungarian language and culture. The Jewry of the Balkans was often placed in the scope of historical and ethnographical interest which at the same time distanced them from the Central-European Jewish lifestyle and created a romantic image of the oriental Jew. These clichés proved easy to use as a basis for the imagery of the Eastern-European war aims and future tasks.

The independent Central-European Jewish notion of national identity formed a parallel interpretational framework.31 Instead of identifying and merging with the Hungarian nation, Zsidó Szemle, a Zionist weekly propagated unconditional loyalty to the nation, the empire and the Dynasty. In their point of view since Zionist territorial aspirations did not concern Central Europe they presented no conflict with Hungarian national interests. For them, this differentiated the Jewish national movement from the national pursuits of other minorities in Hungary. The Zionist paper reacted to the news of the assassination with emphasising loyalty toward the Monarchy. "In this serious moment we are aware that one of the painful issues of the Monarchy is the problem of nationalities. Among the many centrifugal aspirations in this monarchy, the ruling family represents the enormous centripetal force. If such a huge binding force comes apart we feel as if the earth has shaken and we heard a rumble from underground. If we look around we can see that every nationality gravitates outwards. Except for the Hungarians. And the Jewry. Bias or hatred might doubt it but it is a fact that the future of the Hungarians and the Jews is tied together in this land of four rivers and three peaks. It is an assault on truth to dare claim, with the intent to incriminate that consciousness of Jewish ethnicity or even nationality does not agree with the most intransigent patriotism."32

The Zionist were accused of being unpatriotic by the Neology multiple times.

According to the Zionists, the idea of a Jewish nation does not mean disloyalty to the nation or the state. Their commitment to the Hungarian nation and the Monarchy was declared in the Zsidó Szemle immediately after the declaration of war. "Zionism and patriotism have always been closely linked and formed a harmonic union. We always felt what we owed to the country that we are citizens of, to the homeland that acknowledges us as sons. These serious times only reinforce our sense of duty and steels our will directed toward the service of our country."34

Also as a means of defence against Neolog accusations of unpatriotic conduct and to prove their loyalty to the country they called the Zionist youth to arms drawing on Jewish tradition. "Maccabees! We believe and hope that our words won't find you in the peaceful shelter of your parental home, we believe and hope that following the impulse of your hearts you are showing it on the battlefield that the heroic spirit of the Maccabees lives on is us! Our enemies have made terrible and false accusations against us to make our pursuits more difficult (...) We all have a duty to protect our home country. Volunteer for military service!"35

The Zionist paper also published an appeal to subscribe to a war loan, portrayed Zionist heroes killed in the war, such as Lajos Dömény, one of the leading characters of the movement who died in 1914 at the Russian front.35 The Zionists also attacked Russia and supported the war aims. "The Hungarian government called the country to subscribe to national war loans. It is the holiest duty of every Hungarian citizen to give their own excess capital to the state in the form of this war loan. With these lines I wish to raise the idea that our national organization, along with each of our societies should subscribe to the loan to the extent of their excess sums."36 József Schönfeld called the Zionist societies to subscribe to war loans with these lines on the pages of Zsidó Szemle in November 1914.

Interpretations of a shaping heroic cult

The shaping of the Hungarian Jewish hero-type already started at the war front: self-sacrificing fight and persistence to the very end became distinct. The phenomenon did not only appear in Hungary. The lyrics to Reiterlied, one of the best known cavalry songs in Habsburg-Austria - which interprets the same heroic image - were written by Hugo Zuckermann, the son of a Czech Jewish tradesman, its popular melody was composed by Franz Lehar who dedicated it to crown prince Charles. The Neolog and Zionist papers dedicated a permanent section to the Jewish heroes who sacrificed their lives for their country. Opposing the stereotypes that questioned Jewish participation and commitment in the war the

33 Háború küszöbén [On the eve of War], Zsidó Szemle, 2 August 1914. p. 2.
37 Egyenlőség. 1915, november 28.
40 Pabó, Bertalan. "A lengyel zsidó közösség fénytlen elutasítása a zsidó közösségi jogok körében."
publications were not only meant as a remembrance but to represent heroism and far-reaching commitment to the nation. This was the starting point of the heroic cult that was fulfilled during the next decades remembering the Great War.

Even before the 1916 Jewish census in Germany the Jews had often been accused of being incapable of heroic, self-sacrificing deeds. To disprove that claim the example of the Maccabee war of independence was used and reinterpreted at the same time. In this sense the heroes of the Maccabee revolt were not humble Jews acting on the Lord's instructions but self-sacrificing fighters whose descendants are capable of the same in the present for the country and the nation. The Hungarian symbolic policy appearing in the propaganda intertwined with the universalist moral mission ideology of reformed Judaism. At the same time the Neolog Maccabee simile appearing in the propaganda was dissociated from the Zionist Maccabee parallel which also carried an ethnic meaning. "The tradition of active heroism, the ancient maccabee example needed to be resurrected more and more (...) We celebrate the maccabee-memory more than ever, because it's not the glory of the ethnic community that we value, we do not regard him as a type only belonging to the Jewry but the eternal antetype of moral heroism who can be a guide to every member of the middle-class. (...) That is why the Hungarian Jews bear witness at their Chanukah feast that they will light the flames of remembrance at the collective altar of patriotism and they will seal the tradition of heroism as Hungarians, together with Hungarians of other religions with shedding their blood together. It is a common ideal and common heroism: this is the Maccabee inheritance of us, Hungarian Jews!"37

In Central Europe the Jews were also often accused of evading military service38 that's why Égyenlőség published an announcement at the beginning of the war in which they asked for their readers' cooperation in collecting data about soldiers, the war dead, casualties, decorated soldiers and about the activities of corporations and institutions in the field of war-time charity. The parallels of the apologetic reply appeared among the columns of the Zionist weekly.39 40

During the war the appearance of Jewish refugees from Galicia in Hungary split the Jewish public opinion. The Hungarian anti-Semitic groups used the situation to influence public opinion against the Jews. First the Neolog elite would have rather escaped the problem they were afraid that the appearance of masses of refugees could start a new wave of anti-Semitism. "Luckily, their appearance here in Hungary is quite new and no one wishes it to be large-scale. In all respects we are a newly developing country, we have to increase our productivity, we have enough middlemen without them"36 The author is referring to the retail trade activity of

the refugees which became linked with raising prices and concealment of goods in outside accusations.

Similarly to the situation in Hungary, David A. Brenner reported that the middle-class maskil German Jews were averse to the Eastern (Polish) Jews. The Ashkenazi Jews from the western part of Germany were terrified of an invasion of "hordes" of Eastern Jews, even though, according to Brenner, up to 1918 the number of Eastern Jewish immigrants was not more than a few hundred per year. Brenner labelled this behaviour as "Jewish anti-Semitism". The Zionists in Germany who professed a nation-concept different from that of the maskil Jews protested against the phenomenon the same way as in Hungary.41

The issue of the Galicia refugees raised the question of Jewish solidarity again and again. The attitude of Habsburg-Austria's Jewish elite was that the refugees were Austrian citizens in Austria's war and Jewish brothers in need at the same time. That is why their reaction was particularly sensitive to the "insensitivity" of Hungary's Neolog elite in the case of the "polisch" Jewish refugees.42 The Neolog newspaper rebuffed the accusations and - reinterpreting it within the social debate following the 1867 Compromise - deemed the Austrian Jewish newspapers' reprimands to be an anti-Hungarian attack. "Should that anti-Semitic coryphaeus step forward who could phrase this attack better, and I think that those of our Christian brothers who leech on the Jewish question will be enraged at the Jüdische Zeitung for having meddled in their business. None of the facts of this brutal attack which is of the same mould as the other anti-Hungarian Austrian newspapers' tone these days is true."43 - disclaimed the anti-Zionist columnist of the Neolog paper.

The Neolog concept of nation can be best shown through the handling of the Galicia Jews problem. In the congressional wing's understanding a Jew living outside the Hungarian border is to be regarded as a foreigner, i.e. an Austrian citizen (Austrian Jew) as s/he is the inhabitant of the other side of the empire. This way Jewish solidarity can't reach beyond human solidarity. Nevertheless, Egyenlőség and other Neolog organizations held fundraisers to help the refugees. "It's not our fault. In terms of Jewish solidarity we cannot go beyond human solidarity, and we never regarded helping and aiding our suffering Jewish brothers, wherever they may be as an act of Jewish national solidarity.44" - wrote the above mentioned Neolog columnist lawyer.

The Neolog cultural-mission strategy - which formed part of the war propaganda discussed earlier - came to the fore again in connection with the Eastern Jews. During the war its point was that after the hopeful victory it will fall on the Neology of Hungary to assist the cultural advancement of the Eastern Jews along with making them see that in this whole desert-wandering and uncertain life they must gain controlling influence above all, our assured legal status in Jewish life that hasn't appeared. Ernő Mezei, Neolog columnist, Hungary in his earlier articles brought the topoi transformed into war propaganda.

Identifying with the wars, the conflicts between Jews can be more accentuated than the Neolog Jewish elite thought that Egypt's position the most. They feared that war could prove arguments of movement's increasing influence in cultural, political and economic circles the most effective tool against the best solution who would not be integrated into a large nation (German, Polish, Jews could not have served a nation, they would have mainly of German origin. Their for centuries are close to those of a translated into jargon. The fact to attend German universities out of the Jews, or give use the inner strength of the Jewry's nation? This is the detailed form of policy-setting article put it.

With an apologetic aim ag works of Zionist writers follow. In works of Zionist artists but always within context.45 At the end of the war interpretation within the W

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formed part of the war propaganda with the Eastern hopeful victory it will fall on upancement of the Eastern Jews

along with making them suitable to the modern times. “The task is set in front of our eyes that in this whole territory to the north and south of us, in the region of the desert-wandering and uncertain drifting of huge Jewish masses the Hungarian Jewry must gain controlling influence. Our more developed culture, firmer traditions and above all, our assured legal status obliges us to do so. There is no issue or type of modern Jewish life that hasn’t appeared within the confines of the Hungarian Jewry.”47 – wrote Ernő Mezei, Neolog columnist who often attacked the Eastern Jews appearing in Hungary in his earlier articles. In these debates the maskil Jewish culture-mission topoi transformed into war propaganda messages.

Identifying with the war propaganda and the outside attacks intensified the conflicts between Jewish strategies, the Neolog-Zionist conflict became more accentuated than the Neolog-Orthodox conflict. The Neolog middle-class Jewish elite thought that Egyenlőség’s Zionist propaganda could endanger their position the most. They feared that Jewish nationalism, especially in the time of war could provide arguments for the anti-Semites. That’s why the Zionist movement’s increasing influence among the Eastern Jews worried them. The cultural, political and economic advancement of the Eastern Jews seemed like the most effective tool against Zionism. After all, according to the Egyenlőség the best solution would have been if the mostly Hasidic, Eastern Jewish masses who were not integrated into the Polish or Russian nation had integrated into a large nation (German, Polish). The thus modernized and integrated Eastern Jews could not have served as a basis for the Zionist, and because of being part of a nation they wouldn’t have immigrated into Hungary. “The Eastern Jews are mainly of German origin. Their language, customs and culture that they have preserved for centuries are close to those of the Germans. Most great works of German authors are translated into jargon. The fact that the harshness of the Russian laws compelled many to attend German universities promoted German-style educatedness. Shall we make Germans out of the Jews, or give free rein to the already begun Polishization or could we use the inner strength of the Jewry in some way in the interest of their progress and liberation? This is the detailed form of the question of the Eastern Jews.”48 – as Egyenlőség’s policy-setting article put it.

With an apologetic aim against anti-Semitic attacks Egyenlőség often used the works of Zionist writers following various strategies, more rarely the works of Zionist artists but always with the omission of the original, Zionist ideological context.49 At the end of the war, along with the Jewish ethnographic Hasidism interpretation within the Wissenschaft des Judentums which evoked a mixed
response, the neo-Orthodox response to the Wissenschaft was published in the paper in the form of translations of Lipót Grünwald's Hebrew and Yiddish pieces on Hungarian Hasidism edited by Lajos Szabolcsi.48

In contrast to the Neolog strategy the Zionists didn't consider national Jewries but a universal Jewry so within this conceptual framework they regarded the Galicia Jews as part of the universal Jewish nation. They qualified the Neology's course of action concerning the Galicia Jews as a betrayal. "It pains us to see during the whole course of the war that these great times found the official institutions of the Hungarian Jewry to be rather petty. (...) The Jewry abroad already regards the Hungarian Jewry as deniers of Jewish solidarity. The official leaders can get over these foreign opinions with a distinguished or less distinguished gesture, but the time will have to come when even the now indifferent part of the Hungarian Jewry will shamefacedly admit that there has been an unforgivable neglect." The Zionist paper supporting the notion of an independent Jewish nation called the Neolog universal philanthropic solidarity to account for particular Jewish solidarity and inner Jewish universalism.

At the peak of the refugee question illustrations depicting Eastern Jews were often published in Múlt és Jövő, a cultural Zionist literary magazine. The task of these representations was to strengthen the solidarity of modern, middle-class Budapest Jews toward the Galicia fugitives. The visual messages appeared even when the article itself was written on a completely different subject.50

The discrepant collective consciousness and nation-concept of the two modernizing Jewish trends can be constructed through their World War I strategies and their treatment of the problem of the Galicia refugees. According to the Neolog approach the Jewish refugee from Galicia is the citizen of a foreign country, solidarity with them cannot be more than "the feeling of human solidarity". For the congressional trend the first and foremost community was the Hungarian nation. In the collective consciousness of the Zionists, however, – besides their ardent loyalty to the state – the primary consideration was belonging to the people of the Jews, thus a refugee from Galicia was one of the Jews. Due to the fact that they formed their ideas within two different conceptual frameworks, in essence they had no common ground for discussion in their polemic.

49 "Óvás" [Objection], Zsidó Szemle, 31 March 1916. p. 1

The period of the Central Powers

During this era we regard Central Europe as the region consisting of the territories between Western Europe and the various nationalistic movements of the German nationalism (such as Pan-Germanism before World War I) the world wars and the formation of nation-states built on the destruction of the German and Soviet-Russia. At the very end of the 19th century the idea of a universal Jewish-Spanish community before the declaration of their nationalities and separated from one another by every kind of middle-class, the Jews' enthroned in the environment. On the other hand, the Jewish elite tried to prove this.

Apart from the press, written works also considered as propaganda for the opinion, beliefs or actions of the Jews after Robert H. Kallen, Hungary drew its antitypes from the widely-known liturgical texts to the general Central Europe. The Powers' German-language journalist of the state or the modern cultural elite could contribute to the dialogue with the sacrifice of the temple. That's why...

The place of Israelite discourse in the Central European information eco-system

During this era we regard Central Europe as an existing homogeneous cultural region consisting of the territories defined by the German language and culture between Western Europe and the eastern Slavic region. As a consequence, the nationalistic movements emerging in the region bore the characteristics of German nationalism (such as language and culture-based national identity). Before World War I the whole area was filled by Germany and Austria-Hungary. Between the two world wars by Central Europe we mean Germany and the entirety of nation-states built on the ruins of former dynastic powers situated between Germany and Soviet-Russia. Zionism which appeared in Central Europe at the very end of the 19th century could only gain real popularity in Eastern Europe. The groups of European Jews supporting Zionism became members of a national community before the declaration of the State of Israel by laying a claim for a state for their ethnic community. Other Jewish trends, however, continued to regard themselves exclusively as religious communities and an integrated part of the majority nation and did not wish to partake in creating a Jewish nation. This was particularly characteristic of the Central European, urban, middle-class Jewish masses. According to David J Fine, world war enthusiasm counted as middle-class behaviour. As significant masses of Central European Jews belonged to the urban middle-class, the Jews' enthusiasm corresponded with the norms of their social environment. On the other hand, the war presented an excellent opportunity for the Jewish elite to prove their commitment to the majority nation.

Apart from the press, written, printed, spoken, visual or musical symbols can also be regarded as propaganda tools. Every set of symbols that influences the opinion, beliefs or actions of the audience concerning a disputed issue is treated as propaganda after Robert K Merton. The World War I Jewish propaganda in Hungary drew its antetypes from various sources. On the one hand they updated the widely-known liturgical and religious texts, and on the other they adapted to the general Central European war discourse and used the topoi of the Central Powers' German-language Jewish press. The Sabbath and holiday prayer for the welfare of the state or the monarch inserted the prayer for the non-Jewish, secular power into the dialogue with the Lord, into the occasions of worship substituting sacrifice in the temple. That is why it is an important expression of the relation-
ship of the Jewry and the rule they are regarded as the Jewish. From the 17th century the various relationship of the community of the prayer for the monarch in the World War I propaganda postcards show the Jewish soldiers' war aims. The illustrated prayer in the toolbox of the Judaeo-battled field prayer book "St. John" also contained the prayer for the monarch for both Christians and Jews. Their roots can be traced back to stratum-specific prayer books from the texts of the Scripture, which was interpreted as the main in these books contained prayer the form of updated texts of the gospels present in liturgical events.

Among the reformists attached a significant purpose in acquiring the national lads endeavours. The communal dignifying, admonitory Yid the “language of the people” the symbols of Jewish enligtned birthday of the monarch in 19 to the Neolog first world war king became one during the

55 Badmohorak 2010. 12-15, 17–
56 See MILEV No. Hu HAJ KJB
57 Pajzs és Vért. Imadósegük israel soldiersj, III. bővített kiadás, Az Ort Budapest, é.n. [1916]
60 Glaßner Norbert. 2014b. „Az Lóv Imvánul beméltében” [Polit: speeches of Immanuel Löw] in Žid mégyei Múzeumok Igazgatósága, 92
61 Löv Imvánul. 1933. Szád szerz.
ship of the Jewry and the ruling power. Its antetypes can be found in antiquity, they are regarded as the Judaisation of Egyptian and Roman non-Jewish practices. From the 17th century the variations of the Ha-noten Teshu’ah texts display the relationship of the community and the broader socio-cultural system. The text of the prayer for the monarch, Franz Joseph and/or Emperor William appeared on the World War I propaganda prayer-postcards supplied with their portraits. These postcards show the Jewish middle-class’ identification with Central European war aims. The illustrated prayers for king and victory could also be discovered in the toolbox of the Judaised Hungarian Jewish World War I propaganda. The battlefield prayer book “Shield and armour” published for Neolog Jewish soldiers also contained the prayer for the king. Battlefield prayer-books were quite common for both Christians and for the Israelite soldiers of the belligerent parties. Their roots can be traced back to the 19th century appearance of the status- and stratum-specific prayer books of the denominationalised modern society. Apart from the texts of the Scriptures applied to the welfare of the ruling power who was interpreted as the maintainer of order and social structure, all over Europe these books contained prayers for victory and the defeat of the enemy forces, in the form of updated texts of the founding memory of Judaism. The war propaganda present at liturgical events also manifested itself in the form of homiletics.

Among the reformist attempts of Judaism, national language homilies served a significant purpose in adjusting to the framework of the modern nation-state, in acquiring the national languages and culture and in spreading the reformist endeavours. The communal speeches (drashot) in the synagogues were mainly dignifying, admonitory Yiddish language orations. The homilies delivered in the “language of the people” – first in German, later in Hungarian – thus became the symbols of Jewish enlightenment. With his speech held at worship on the birthday of the monarch in 1914, Chief Rabbi Immanuel Löw of Szeged adjusted to the Neolog first world war discourse according to which the nation and the king became one during the war and some conflicts ceased to exist. The homily

56 See Milev No. Hu HJA K361; Hu HJA K393; Hu HJA K622; Hu HJA K709 theorem
57 Páij és Vért. Ímádságok izraelita vallással katona számára [Shield and armour. Prayers for Israelite soldiers], III. bővített kiadás, Az Országos Izraelita Iroda költségén kiadja az Országos Rabbiegyesület, Budapest, é.n. [1916]
Löw gave on the king’s birthday in 1916 was built around the welding war aims and victories. He compared the words of Isaiah (50:8) with Franz Joseph’s Viribus unitis! motto. “Let us stand together! The words of the king became the word of the prophet this week, when armed fight was made unavoidable due to the devious violence attacking us. (...) The Monarchy and Germany are standing armoured, standing together! Central Europe will no longer be the highway of roving adventurers (...) Our united arms will reap glory (...) The Monarchy shall thrive again under the sceptre of our aged king.”

The speeches in the synagogue followed the Jewish attitude to time, they drew essential parallels between the past preserved in the religious founding memory and the events of the day. Searching for these essential parallels wartime Neolog and Zionist editorials both used comparisons from the Scriptures. The topos of the Italian perjury, for instance which was referred to as ‘Judas-state’ in Christian anti-Semitic propaganda was replaced with Amalek, the enemy image of Judaism.

“And the most evil among evils, the most nefarious among the nefarious is the traitor Italian, degenerate descendant of the noble Latins who like Amalek, stab us in the back and thus condemn himself in the eyes of the entire world.” – they wrote when hearing that Italy had declared war on the Monarchy. The eschatological vision of Neolog articles projected the punishment of the traitor. “The hand of the avenging God will show our triumphant way, the finger of the punishing God will lead our enemy’s ships to whirlpools and their armies into devastation. Hungarian Jews, hardened in this terrible period, steed in these colossal days, with our heads held high and our arms of iron, carry on, onward with our nation to our final victory!”

The First World War self-interpretations of the various Jewish group strategies - similar to the Hungarian Zionist and Neolog Maccabee parallel - were accompanied by antetypes from the Scripture. In France the sermons of the rabbis identified the German Army with Amalek. The idea of the “ancient Maccabee mentality” also appeared among the English Jews. In the case of the French Jews Yiddish-speaking Jewish refugees represented this thought.

Loyalty to the Dynasty was replaced with new attachments in Central Europe after the war. Between the two world wars loyalty to the common state and empire was replaced with the faith the peoples of the successor states placed in their own uniqueness. The post-war internal advances of Zionism should be regarded as part of this new self-definition.

Jewish particularism, the confrontation of Jewish universalism and the question of an own national identity with the Jewish identification with different notions of national identity is a recurring issue in today’s Jewish historiography. This is reflected in the situation of Jews residing in various countries and in the Jewish nationalism and the feelings of solidarity and patriotism. The above quoted passage of the modern, 19th century Jewish Middle-Class. In his study of the Jews of Germany as an ethno-linguistic group the Jews of Germany, as opposed to the German Jews, were aware of the fact that the JewsGerman. Zionist glasses, aware of the fact that Jewish nationalism and the collecting of Jewish identity in the idea of a Jewish nation.

The world war Jewish metaphors of the non-Jewish war propagandists of the Empire, the Habsburgs about the war. Even non-Jewish parties blamed the Russians for the war and Serbia, naturally within the context of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. "Russian tsarism destroying world peace and international law, the same tsarism is not a part of the free world. The same tsarism is the enemy of the world, the same tsarism is the enemy of the Jews. The Jews thus became the liturgical texts and the Jewish memory transform the tsarist propaganda articles.

After the war these messianic symbols of the Jews of Hungary that the Jews of the fallen members of the Empire. This tendency is discernible even in the financial situation of the Jews.
around the welding war aims) with Franz Joseph's Viribus utriusque rei & the king became the word of the Bible due to the devious violence of armoured, standing together! Our united arms for the sceptre of our aged king.66 This is reflected in the current topos that claims, in retrospect that the Jews residing in various countries prayed for the downfall of one another – as enemies.68 According to Derek J. Penslar, Jewish solidarity that existed above nations remained visceral for the Jews at the war front and in the hinterland and the feelings of solidarity often competed with similarly honest emotions of patriotism. The above quoted David J Fine points at this question from the aspect of the modern, 19th century notions of national identity and the life world of the middle classes. In his study on World War I German army officers Fine presents the Jewry of Germany as an ethnic community, however, he does not regard Jews and Germans as opposite poles. What’s more, he claims it is German-consciousness that made the Jews German.69 That is why we cannot look back through ethnicist, Zionist glasses, aware of the facts of the Holocaust and the birth of the State of Israel and judge the collective consciousness of the Jewry of a region in an era when the idea of a Jewish nation was not yet mainstream.

The world war Jewish media propaganda of Hungary adapted its tools into the non-Jewish war propaganda. They mourned the crown prince and praised the Dynasty, the Empire, the Hungarian nation, they condemned the Russians and raved about the war.70 Even Népszava, the newspaper of the Socialist Democratic party blamed the Russians for the escalation of the conflict between the Monarchy and Serbia, naturally within a leftist, Marxist framework, condemning tsarist imperialism. "Russian tsarism which has enough of its own problems at home is disrupting world peace and interferes with Serbian issues. If it weren't so tragic it would be amusing that the bloody tsar wants to protect the independence of a state whereas the very same tsarist regime constantly endangers the independence of the northern states with its insatiable greed."71 – wrote Népszava which at the time of the assassination blamed the Monarchy’s imperialism for the situation. Among the Jews the liturgical texts and the various layers of the texts of the religious founding memory transformed into wartime mobilization messages in the press’ propaganda articles.

After the war these messages went through another transformation. In the synagogues of Hungary that had suffered significant territorial losses the names of the fallen members of the community were immortalized in memorial plaques. This tendency is discernible in both Orthodox and Neolog communities. Depending on the financial situation of the community the Israelite memorial plaques

68 Penslar 2013, 152.
69 Fine 2012, 6-7.
71 A válság tetőpontján [At the peak of the crisis] Népszava, 2 August 1914 p.1
were often the first in the line of local memorial plaques erected. The intent of the sponsors can be interpreted within the framework of the Monarchy’s Neolog and Orthodox self-image: retaining their turn-of-the-century self-definition they regarded themselves as Hungarians and their denomination as Israelite. The purpose of the memorial plaques was to demonstrate their community’s belonging to the Hungarian nation and to carry an apologetic response to the accusations gaining force with the collapse after the world war. They commemorated the bravery and unselfishness of the Israelite heroes, their performance in the First World War while providing a physical manifestation to the deeper collective layers of meaning pertaining to the present defined by the segregation law (numerus clausus).72

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I argue that Chinese bourgeoisie, for example, and Japanese riots collectively, resulted in the South China Morning Post (SCMP) a newspaper that catered to a dual audience. The SCMP was one of the few newspapers in the world which took a policy of combating Japanese and Chinese audiences. Along with the Great War news during WWI, it brought some positive impact upon the audience. In other words, the SCMP increased its audience. After the WWI, a movement led by the Beijing students and the British Crown Colony, was the centre of the South China Movement. Although the Great War ended in 1918, I claim that the impact of it continued even after the end of WWI.

Chinese readers liked reading the reports of Western powers, and they expected changes after the Great War. These changes were expected to mould Chinese audience to a positive impression. The SCMP moulded Chinese audiences. In the early 20th century, there were a number of human factors, such as prosperity, which contributed to the course of the construction of a national identity. In India, Russia and China, Japan was looked upon with scepticism. The Chinese nationhood will be constructed in the same manner. Benedict Anderson believed that the nation would be con...