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FORD MADOX FORD'S ANGLO-GERMAN AMBIVALENCE:
AUTHORING PROPAGANDA AND NEGOTIATING
NATIONALISM AS A LITERARY COSMOPOLITAN

Lucinda Carys Borkett-Jones

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ABSTRACT

This thesis aims to analyse and reintegrate Ford Madox Ford's Anglo-German identity into the biographical and critical narrative of his work. I concentrate on Ford's writing during the First World War, the period when, critics suggest, his views on Germany changed because of his involvement with the British propaganda campaign and his subsequent decision to enlist in the British Army. Throughout the first year of the war, Ford wrote for the *Outlook*, a weekly review of politics and the arts. This is the first detailed study of these articles and, as such, it contributes to our understanding of Ford's experience of the war before enlisting, as well as his wider journalism. Analysing Ford's *Outlook* articles alongside his propaganda books provides an important corrective to a singular focus on the propaganda as Ford's literary response to life on the home front. Combining archival research and literary analysis of his unpublished manuscripts, correspondence, and some lesser-known works, I argue that Ford neither loved Germany before the war as much as has sometimes been portrayed, nor hated it afterwards as much as is often assumed. Ford's mixed cultural heritage constitutes an important part of his personal and literary identity and contributes to his ambivalent aesthetic. Through comparison with his contemporaries, and exploration of the complexities of broader Anglo-German relations, I suggest that Ford gave expression to feelings that were more widespread among propagandists than is usually acknowledged. I see Ford's ambivalence as an asset rather than a mark of indecision, a distinctive feature resulting from his dual cultural heritage, which fuelled his revived cosmopolitanism in the post-war period, and which had both a social and artistic function.

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My mother did not live to see me begin my research but was always my biggest champion and my most enthusiastic reader. This work is dedicated to her memory.

Part of Chapter 1 was published as 'Anglo-German Entanglements, the Fear of Invasion and an Unpublished Ford Manuscript' in *Last Post: A Literary Journal from the Ford Madox Ford Society*, 1 (2018), 37-49. My forthcoming chapter on "'My Friend the Enemy': Ford's Construction of the German Other in Wartime' in Isabelle Brasme (ed.), *Homo Duplex: Ford Madox Ford's Experience and Aesthetics of Alterity* (Montpellier: PULM, 2020), is also based on the work in this thesis.

I am grateful to the Ford Madox Ford Estate for permission to include excerpts from Ford's unpublished manuscripts and correspondence.

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ABBREVIATED TITLES

<i>Ancient Lights and Certain New Reflections, Being the Memories of a Young Man</i>	<i>Ancient Lights</i>
<i>Between St Dennis and St George: A Sketch of Three Civilisations</i>	<i>Between St Dennis</i>
<i>The Desirable Alien at Home in Germany</i>	<i>The Desirable Alien</i>
<i>When Blood is Their Argument: An Analysis of Prussian Culture</i>	<i>When Blood</i>

INTRODUCTION

Just days after the outbreak of the First World War, the British author and critic Ford Madox Ford wrote in the *Outlook* magazine that '[w]hichever side wins in the end—my own heart is certain to be mangled in either case'.¹ At the time, he published under the name Ford Madox Hueffer, but he had been born Ford Hermann Hueffer, to a German father and English mother. Like many cosmopolitan writers, Ford had travelled extensively in Europe in the decades before the war and confronted the severing of relational and cultural ties at the declaration of war. Not long after writing the lines quoted above, Ford was commissioned to write anti-German propaganda for the British government. He was not alone – many eminent British authors were invited to join the campaign, although with his German connections Ford may well have found this a more difficult decision than others did. Ford's reasons for participating were several, but his decision presents a quandary for readers, critics, and literary historians today as they analyse how and why so many cosmopolitans participated in the creation of the nationalistic rhetoric of wartime propaganda.

Ford was commissioned by his friend, cabinet minister C.F.G. Masterman to write for the British War Propaganda Bureau at Wellington House. The principal result was Ford's two propaganda books, both published in 1915: *When Blood is Their Argument: An Analysis of Prussian Culture*, followed by *Between St Dennis and St George: A Sketch of Three Civilisations*. In July 1915 Ford enlisted in the British Army and served in France, Belgium, and Britain for the remainder of the war. Ford's combat experience is well known and is frequently considered in studies of his post-war tetralogy *Parade's End* (1924-28). This project instead seeks to fill a gap in the existing literature on Ford's experience of the war before he enlisted, using extensive archival research and centred around a contextualised literary analysis of a series of weekly articles he wrote in the *Outlook* from 1913 to 1915. It is grounded in a study of Ford's relationship with Germany throughout his life and is therefore also articulated within the context of wider Anglo-German relations.

This thesis engages with numerous intersecting fields of research: literary and biographical studies of Ford, Anglo-German relations, the cultural history of the First World War, and propaganda studies. Ford serves as an example to consider more generally how cultural cosmopolitans responded to the heightened nationalism of wartime and to raise questions about the ideological commitment of the literary propagandists. I begin the introduction with a brief biography of Ford, before reviewing relevant author-focused critical literature, as well as works on the British propaganda campaign and the Anglo-German relationship in the decades prior to

¹ Ford Madox Ford, 'Literary Portraits—XLVIII: M. Charles-Louise Philippe and *Le Père Perdrix*', *Outlook*, 34, 8 August 1914, pp.174-75 (p.174).

war. In the third part, I introduce three of the central concepts of the thesis: the idea of ambivalence, the apparent conflict between cosmopolitanism and nationalism, and propaganda itself, especially within the context of Ford's involvement. In the fourth section I outline my methodology, and the final section offers an overview of the structure of the thesis.

I: Ford's Biography in Brief

Ford's father, Franz Hüffer, emigrated to Britain in 1869, and married Catherine Madox Brown, the daughter of the artist Ford Madox Brown. Ford Hermann Hueffer was born in 1873, the eldest of their three children. He changed his name multiple times over the course of his life, as well as publishing under several pseudonyms. I consider the impetus behind these decisions in subsequent chapters. He primarily published as Ford Madox Hueffer until he changed his name by deed poll to Ford Madox Ford in 1919.² For clarity, and in keeping with his current critical reputation, in this thesis I refer to his work as written by Ford Madox Ford.

Throughout his life, Ford moved among some of the most influential authors and artists of the day. He grew up among the Pre-Raphaelites and 'Great Figures' of the Victorian period and Ford felt considerable pressure to pursue an artistic career of some kind to satisfy the expectations of his grandfather, Ford Madox Brown.³ Early in his writing career he formed a friendship and ten-year writing collaboration with Joseph Conrad, while they were both living in Romney Marsh, Kent, in the early 1900s. Among their other neighbours were Henry James and Stephen Crane. During this period Ford began to suffer from agoraphobia and depression which troubled him for many years and resulted in multiple breakdowns.⁴ In 1903, Ford moved to London and established himself among the literary scene. As the founding editor of the *English Review* from 1908 to 1910, he published writers from the Edwardian establishment and modernist innovators alongside one another. In the early 1920s, Ford was among the many expatriate writers, including Ezra Pound, Ernest Hemingway, and Gertrude Stein, who found a home in Paris. Ford often sought to encourage young writers, and helped to launch the careers of several major modernist authors, including Pound, Hemingway, and D.H. Lawrence.

Always an innovative and style-conscious writer, Ford is known in the main for his contribution to modernism, within which it is Ford's theorisation and practice of literary impressionism which

² He had been using Ford Madox Hueffer in his personal life since his twenties and confirmed this change of name, also by deed poll, in July 1915. Max Saunders, *Ford Madox Ford: A Dual Life*, 2nd edn, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), I, p.486.

³ Ford, *Ancient Lights and Certain New Reflections, Being the Memories of a Young Man* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1911), pp.156-57.

⁴ Saunders, *Dual Life*, I, p.132.

has most bearing on this thesis.⁵ Of the many authors associated with impressionism, including James, Crane, and Conrad among others, Ford is the only one who identified himself as an impressionist and wrote extensively about it. His most well-known essays on impressionism were written in 1914, and his 1915 novel *The Good Soldier* is considered by critics to be an impressionist masterpiece.⁶ Ford describes impressionism as ‘a frank expression of personality’.⁷ He adds that:

Impressionism exists to render those queer effects of real life that are like so many views seen through bright glass—through glass so bright that whilst you perceive through it a landscape or a backyard, you are aware that, on its surface, it reflects a face of a person behind you. For the whole of life is really like that; we are almost always in one place with our minds somewhere quite other.⁸

Jesse Matz comments that ‘an accurate definition [of impressionism] will make the impression’s variety itself definitive’.⁹ The layers of vision suggested by Ford’s analogy perfectly reflect this multiplicity. This plural vision raises important issues for Ford’s wartime writing and propaganda, as I explore throughout this thesis. His commitment to rendering ‘real life’ has meant that criticism has often addressed the relationship between impressionism and realism – traditionally seen as a vestige of nineteenth-century literature, and in opposition to modernism. As Andrzej Gasiorek highlights, however, Ford’s example demonstrates the limitations of the traditional boundaries of literary history.¹⁰

Ford’s reputation was adversely affected during his life by several scandals. In 1894, he married Elsie Martindale against her parents’ wishes, after they had run away together.¹¹ A series of scandals developed from Ford’s attempt to divorce Elsie between 1909 and 1911, in order to marry his mistress, the author Violet Hunt. In the process, he was accused of failing to pay financial support for his two daughters with Elsie, for which he was sentenced to ten days’

⁵ Ford’s contribution to modernism has been discussed by several critics, including Michael H. Levenson, *A Genealogy of Modernism: A Study of English Literary Doctrine 1908-1922* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986). Isabelle Brasme outlines the various ways in which Ford has been associated with modernist communities and practice in ‘Ford, Modernism and Post-Modernism’, in Sara Haslam, Laura Colombino and Seamus O’Malley (eds), *The Routledge Research Companion to Ford Madox Ford* (London: Routledge, 2018), pp.161-78.

⁶ Ford, ‘On Impressionism – I & II’, *Poetry and Drama*, 2, June and December 1914, pp.167-75, 323-34.

⁷ Ford, ‘On Impressionism – I’, p.169.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p.174.

⁹ Jesse Matz, *Literary Impressionism and Modernist Aesthetics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p.17.

¹⁰ Andrzej Gasiorek, ‘Ford Madox Ford’s Modernism and the Question of Tradition’, *English Literature in Transition, 1880-1920*, 44.1 (2001), 3-27. See also Max Saunders, ‘Ford and Impressionism’, in Andrzej Gasiorek and Daniel Moore (eds), *Ford Madox Ford: Literary Networks and Cultural Transformations*, *International Ford Madox Ford Studies* 7 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2008) pp.151-66 (p.157).

¹¹ Saunders, *Dual Life*, I, p.82; Alan Judd, *Ford Madox Ford* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991), p.40.

imprisonment in July 1910.¹² Elsie refused to divorce Ford, but in late 1911 Ford told a journalist from the *Daily Mirror* that he and Hunt had been married abroad.¹³ A picture of Violet Hunt was also published in the *Throne* magazine, describing her as ‘Mrs Hueffer’. Elsie sued the magazine, and another court case followed.¹⁴ Ford’s relationship with Hunt began to deteriorate shortly afterwards, though they remained together until he left for the war in 1915. He had several other significant relationships with women over the course of his life. He met the Australian artist Stella Bowen towards the end of the war and set up home with her in Sussex after he left the army. She was the mother of his youngest daughter, Julia. His partner for the last decade of his life was American artist Janice Biala. Ford died in Deauville, France, in 1939.

II: Literature Review

Ford studies

Ford’s place in literary history has suffered as a result of the scandals in his personal life, as well as the fact that he wrote in several genres, which confounded some critics and had implications for scholarship.¹⁵ His reputation was also tarnished by his notorious disregard for facts, although later critics have recognised this as a critical part of Ford’s impressionism.¹⁶ The last twenty years have seen a rejuvenation of Ford scholarship, led by Max Saunders’s two-volume biography *Ford Madox Ford: A Dual Life*, first published in 1996. The fifteen volumes of *International Ford Madox Ford Studies* since 2002 have established a diverse critical conversation in Ford studies, covering Ford’s work, his influences, and his connections with other artists and authors. Most recently, the publication of the *Routledge Research Companion to Ford Madox Ford* (2018) has provided a rich resource for the next phase of Ford research. As a consequence of this collective scholarship, Ford’s place in literary history is more secure than ever.

German music and literature were among the formative cultural experiences of Ford’s youth, and he travelled extensively in Europe in the decades before the war. In wartime, Ford appeared to reject his father’s homeland and dismiss his friends and relatives in Germany in order to write, and later fight, against them. The name by which he is now known obscures the German influences which were prevalent for much of Ford’s life, including the first half of his writing career, and this aspect of his life has been somewhat overlooked in scholarship. Ford’s biographers all mention his German contacts to varying degrees, but one reason for my focus is

¹² Saunders, *Dual Life*, I, p.305.

¹³ Ibid., p.354; Judd, *Ford*, p.203.

¹⁴ Saunders, *Dual Life*, I, p.366; Judd, *Ford*, p.205.

¹⁵ Sara Haslam, ‘Introduction’, in Haslam, Colombino and O’Malley (eds), *Routledge Research Companion*, pp.1-22 (pp.8-9); Karolyn Steffens and Joseph Wiesenfarth, ‘Ford’s Reception History’, in Haslam, Colombino and O’Malley (eds), *Routledge Research Companion*, pp.39-60 (p.40); Rob Hawkes, *Ford Madox Ford and the Misfit Moderns: Edwardian Fiction and the First World War* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), p.3.

¹⁶ Steffens and Wiesenfarth, ‘Ford’s Reception History’, pp.40, 51.

that there has been little critical work on Ford's literary output which specifically addresses his German connections and his writing on Germany.¹⁷

Jörg Rademacher was, until recently, a relatively isolated voice in revivifying Ford's Huefferian past.¹⁸ Julian Preece has considered Ford's depiction of Anglo-German relations with regard to *The Good Soldier* (1915), as has Petra Rau, in the broader context of Britain's relationship with Germany.¹⁹ Gene Moore's chapter in Rademacher's edited volume addresses Ford's German connections but his article ends with a brief mention of Ford's propaganda, in which, he argues, Ford's opinion of Germany 'finds its final, negative expression'.²⁰ Zineb Berrahou-Anzuini's forthcoming chapter investigates Ford's attempts to acquire German citizenship from 1910 to 1911, though she broadly agrees with Moore's assessment of Ford's wartime attitudes.²¹ Wolfgang Kemp does not consider Ford's wartime writing in his work on British authors' experiences of Germany, although Ford wrote more about Germany during the first year of the war than at any other point in his career.²² Ford is sometimes included in cultural histories of twentieth-century Anglo-German relations.²³ In a notable example, Peter Firchow characterises Ford as one who made a 'reversal from lyrical pro-Germanism to virulent anti-Germanism [...] so sudden and absolute that it takes one's breath away'.²⁴ This prevalent view is an image I seek to revise, by engaging in detail with Ford's relationship with Germany throughout his life using a range of published and unpublished sources. One aim of this thesis is to analyse and reintegrate Ford's German identity into the biographical and critical narrative of his work. I concentrate on

¹⁷ Biographies include: Douglas Goldring, *The Last Pre-Raphaelite: A Record of the Life and Writings of Ford Madox Ford* (London: Macdonald, 1948); Frank MacShane, *The Life and Work of Ford Madox Ford* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1965); Arthur Mizener, *The Saddest Story: A Biography of Ford Madox Ford* (1971; New York: Carroll & Graf, 1985); Thomas C. Moser, *The Life in the Fiction of Ford Madox Ford* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980); Judd, *Ford*; Saunders, *Dual Life*.

¹⁸ Rademacher edited a book of essays which includes a few articles relating to Ford's association with Germany and German culture. Jörg W. Rademacher (ed.), *Modernism and the Individual Talent: Re-Canonizing Ford Madox Ford (Hueffer)* (Münster: LIT, 2002). He also compiled an anthology of German translations from a number of extracts and short texts by Ford and his father, music critic Francis Hueffer, Jörg Rademacher, *Vater und Sohn: Franz Hüffer and Ford Madox Ford (Hüffer), Eine Anthologie* (Münster: LIT, 2003).

¹⁹ Julian Preece, 'Anglo-German Dilemmas in *The Good Soldier*, or: Europe on the brink in 1913', in Sara Haslam and Max Saunders (eds), *The Good Soldier: Centenary Essays*, International Ford Madox Ford Studies, 14 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), pp.223-39; Petra Rau, *English Modernism, National Identity and the Germans, 1890-1950* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009).

²⁰ Gene Moore, 'Ford and Germany', in Rademacher (ed.), *Modernism and the Individual Talent*, pp.148-55.

²¹ Zineb Berrahou-Anzuini, 'The Hüfferian Years: Ford's Germany between Greatness and Illusion', in Isabelle Brasme (ed.), *Homo Duplex: Alterity in Ford Madox Ford's Life and Writing* (Montpellier: PULM, 2020).

²² Wolfgang Kemp, *Foreign Affairs: Die Abenteuer einiger Engländer in Deutschland 1900-1947* (Munich: Hanser, 2010).

²³ For example: Miranda Seymour, *Noble Endeavours: The Life of Two Countries, England and Germany, in Many Stories* (London: Simon and Schuster, 2013); Gisela Argyle, *Germany as Model and Monster: Allusions in English Fiction 1830s-1930s* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002); Kemp, *Foreign Affairs*.

²⁴ Peter Edgerly Firchow, *The Death of the German Cousin: Variations on a Literary Stereotype, 1890-1920* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1986), p.94.

his wartime writing as this is the period when his views of Germany are generally perceived to have changed.

Unsurprisingly, the war is a prominent theme within Ford scholarship, particularly in criticism of *Parade's End*. However, his experience of the war before he joined the army is rarely explored in detail, and it is another gap that this thesis seeks to address.²⁵ There is a small but growing body of criticism that engages with Ford's propaganda. The most substantial treatment is Mark Wollaeger's *Modernism, Media and Propaganda*, which traces the relationship between propaganda and modernist narratives from Joseph Conrad to Alfred Hitchcock, and argues that the First World War propaganda campaign contributed to the 'epistemological decline of the fact'.²⁶ In a central chapter on Ford and impressionist propaganda, Wollaeger argues that there is an essential confluence between the style of Ford's 1915 novel *The Good Soldier* and his two propaganda books published the same year.²⁷ L.L. Farrar's 1981 essay on the 'The Artist as Propagandist' remains a valuable introduction to Ford's propaganda works. In this contextually informed piece, Farrar appraises Ford's treatment of German history in both texts.²⁸ Emily Hayman's more recent article on translation in the propaganda, *The Good Soldier and Parade's End* also highlights pertinent issues around Ford's national heritage and the primacy of language in his wartime arguments.²⁹ I explore these issues of cultural context further by examining Ford's choice of argument in the wartime journalism.

Anurag Jain's unpublished PhD thesis focuses on four authors' involvement in the campaign, including Ford, Arthur Conan Doyle, H.G. Wells, and Rudyard Kipling, concentrating on their relationship with state-organised propaganda.³⁰ His published chapter based on this work situates Ford's propaganda within the Wellington House context, insisting on the 'institutional

²⁵ Examples include: Ambrose Gordon, *The Invisible Tent: The War Novels of Ford Madox Ford* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1964); Sara Haslam, *Fragmenting Modernism: Ford Madox Ford, the Novel and the Great War* (2002; Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009); Ashley Chantler and Rob Hawkes (eds), *Ford Madox Ford's Parade's End: The First World War, Culture and Modernity* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2014); Ashley Chantler and Rob Hawkes (eds), *War and the Mind: Parade's End, Modernism and Psychology* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015).

²⁶ Mark Wollaeger, *Modernism, Media, and Propaganda: British Narrative from 1900 to 1945* (2006; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), p.21.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.128-63.

²⁸ L.L. Farrar, 'The Artist as Propagandist', in Sondra Stang (ed.), *The Presence of Ford Madox Ford* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981), pp.143-60. Sara Haslam considers some of the publishing context in 'Making a Text the Fordian Way: *Between St Dennis and St George*, Propaganda and the First World War', in Mary Hammond and Shafquat Towheed (eds), *Publishing in the First World War: Essays in Book History* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), pp.202-14.

²⁹ Emily Hayman, "'Under Four Eyes" (Unter Vier Augen): Ford Madox Ford, Propaganda and the Politics of Translation', *Modern Fiction Studies*, 62.1 (2016), 25-52.

³⁰ Anurag Jain, 'Ford, Kipling, Conan Doyle, Wells and British Propaganda of the First World War' (PhD Thesis, Queen Mary, University of London, 2009).

parameters' of the texts which, he feels, have too often been overlooked by Ford scholars.³¹ I share Jain's concern for engagement with the historical context and literary analysis of the propaganda texts, but by considering Ford's wartime writing as a whole, and concentrating on the Anglo-German context, I take a different approach. Additionally, by consulting archival sources which have not previously been used in work on Ford's propaganda, I seek to add new detail to the picture of Ford's involvement with Wellington House and the other contexts in which his propagandist material was read. Except brief references, none of the work on Ford's propaganda gives much attention to his wartime journalism.

The *Outlook* was a weekly review of politics, literature, and the arts for which Ford wrote 107 articles between 1913 and 1915. A short article by Nora Tomlinson and Robert Green published in 1989 on Ford's wartime journalism highlights key points in the year from 1914 to 1915, but it is a preliminary survey of the material and lacks contextual information.³² Stephen Rogers's recent introduction to Ford's journalism gives a helpful overview of Ford's journalistic career, and raises important issues of genre and form, but does not consider any of his articles in detail.³³ Saunders has also surveyed Ford's journalism and critical essays, and includes more detailed discussion of the *Outlook* articles in his biography than others, but again these are brief treatments of the material.³⁴ There has been considerable research into Ford's work as editor of the *English Review* before the war, and the *transatlantic review* in the 1920s, but his writing for other publications is much less prominent in criticism.³⁵ Ford's articles in the *Outlook* present one of his most significant literary outputs during the months before and after the outbreak of war, and are especially significant in charting his views given the absence of a diary or many surviving letters from this period of his life. Some of Ford's journalism has been reprinted in collected editions, but the *Outlook* articles have not been reprinted in their entirety since the war.³⁶ My research into Ford's work for the magazine contributes to the understanding of his experience of war on the

³¹ Anurag Jain 'When Propaganda is Your Argument: Ford and First World War Propaganda', in Dennis Brown and Jenny Plastow, *Ford Madox Ford and Englishness*, International Ford Madox Ford Studies, 5 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2006), pp.163-75 (p.170).

³² Nora Tomlinson and Robert Green, 'Ford's Wartime Journalism', *Agenda*, 27.4/28.1 (1989/90), 139-47.

³³ Stephen Rogers, 'Ford's Journalism', in Haslam, Colombino and O'Malley (eds), *Routledge Research Companion*, pp.302-15.

³⁴ Max Saunders, 'Critical Biography: Rhetoric, Tone and Autobiography in Ford's Critical Essays', in Joseph Wiesenfarth (ed.), *History and Representation in Ford Madox Ford's Writings*, International Ford Madox Ford Studies, 3 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2004), pp.173-88; Saunders, *Dual Life*, I, pp.466-69.

³⁵ For example: Jason Harding (ed.), *Ford Madox Ford, Modernist Magazines and Editing*, International Ford Madox Ford Studies, 9 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2010); Bernard J. Poli, *Ford Madox Ford and the Transatlantic Review* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1967); Mark Morrisson, *The Public Face of Modernism: Little Magazines, Audiences, and Reception, 1905-1920* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2001).

³⁶ Some of the early issues of the *Outlook* have been digitised, but not the war years. Some of Ford's *Outlook* articles are included in Ford, *Critical Essays*, ed. Max Saunders and Richard Stang (Manchester: Carcanet, 2002), and Sondra Stang (ed.), *The Ford Madox Ford Reader* (Manchester: Carcanet, 1986). There are also excerpts in Ford, *War Prose*, ed. Max Saunders (1999; New York: New York University Press, 2004) and in David Dow Harvey, *Ford Madox Ford 1873-1939: A Bibliography of Works and Criticism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962).

home front. It also examines journalistic practice during this period, and the relationship between Ford's work for the magazine and the propaganda commissioned by the government.

Literature on British propaganda during the First World War

The British propaganda campaign based at Wellington House has always been considered a covert operation during the war which remained virtually unknown in the 1920s. In subsequent chapters I question the degree of silence surrounding the campaign, but, even so, it was not widely discussed in scholarship before the 1930s.³⁷ The first monographs which dealt particularly with the British campaign in America – the part of the campaign with which Ford was involved – were published later in the decade by James Duane Squires and H.C. Peterson.³⁸ Squires seeks to demonstrate that the propaganda pamphlets produced by various authors were part of an official government campaign. He argues that British propaganda was one of several underlying factors influencing America's involvement in the war.³⁹ Peterson is convinced of the overriding influence of British propaganda. He admits that the British use of propaganda in the United States was inevitable, but blames America, and especially its political leaders, for the uncritical acceptance of propaganda which influenced American neutrality.⁴⁰ At the end of the century, Stewart Halsey Ross returned to the question of the impact of European propaganda on American involvement in the war in *Propaganda for War*, and again accuses America of being a 'gullible nation' susceptible to the ideological interpretation of the war as a 'holy crusade against evil'.⁴¹

Peter Buitenhuis's influential book *The Great War of Words* remains the most thorough account of the work of authors in the propaganda campaign,⁴² although M.L. Sanders and D.G. Wright also published articles on the subject in the 1970s.⁴³ Buitenhuis considers the work of a range of authors from either side of the Atlantic, building a valuable picture of this concerted literary war effort. He argues that the writers 'sacrificed the traditional and all-important detachment and

³⁷ A master's thesis on the British propaganda at Wellington House was written in 1921 at Stanford University, but I have not been able to access it. Mary Esther Sprott, 'A Survey of British War Time Propaganda Issued from Wellington House' (unpublished master's thesis, Stanford University, 1921). Ivor Nicholson, who was responsible for the picture department at the Propaganda Bureau, published an account of his work in *Cornhill Magazine* in 1931 which discussed Charles Masterman's role as head of the department. Ivor Nicholson, 'An Aspect of British Official Wartime Propaganda', *Cornhill Magazine*, 70, May 1931, pp.593-606.

³⁸ James Duane Squires, *British Propaganda at Home and in the United States from 1914 to 1917* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1935); H.C. Peterson, *Propaganda for War: The Campaign against American Neutrality, 1914-1917* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939).

³⁹ Squires, *British Propaganda*, p.66.

⁴⁰ Peterson, *Propaganda for War*, p.327.

⁴¹ Stewart Halsey Ross, *Propaganda for War: How the United States was Conditioned to Fight the Great War of 1914-1918* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1996), p.1.

⁴² Peter Buitenhuis, *The Great War of Words: Literature as Propaganda 1914-18 and After* (London: Batsford, 1989).

⁴³ M.L. Sanders, 'Wellington House and British Propaganda during the First World War', *The Historical Journal*, 18 (1975), 119-46; D.G. Wright, 'The Great War, Government Propaganda and English "Men of Letters" 1914-16', *Literature and History*, 7 (1978), 70-100.

integrity of the writer', a decision which, he suggests, had a considerable impact on literary style as well as the social position of the author after the war.⁴⁴ I use Ford's example, alongside several of his contemporaries, to explore the nuance of the authors' involvement in the propaganda campaign, challenging the idea that they wrote from a position of uncritical obedience to the state.

The work of Wellington House is just one aspect of the British propaganda effort. M.L. Sanders and Philip Taylor provide an authoritative account of the structure and organisation of the wider campaign, and Gary Messinger adds detail in his biographical study of key figures involved.⁴⁵ More recently, David Monger has considered the work of the National War Aims Committee in developing propaganda for British audiences from 1917.⁴⁶ Troy Paddock's edited volume on First World War propaganda is decidedly international in scope, covering aspects of imperial identity, as well as propaganda targeting neutral nations.⁴⁷ Over time, the involvement of authors in the British campaign has gone from being a scandalous revelation in the 1930s, somewhat renewed with Buitenhuis's book in the 1980s, to becoming a well-known moment in propaganda history.

Much of the work on propaganda necessarily focuses on the years of the campaign. Centred on a single author, this project encompasses a broader period, considering Ford's life and work from the early 1890s to the 1930s. I assess the contextual factors, both biographical and historical, that contributed to his propaganda writing and his post-war response, tracing the ambivalences throughout. Ford occupies an unusual position as a cosmopolitan with Anglo-German heritage, with ties to the establishment figures in literature and politics. His experiences illuminate the contested processes of writing propaganda and campaigning for war against Britain's European neighbours.

Literature on Anglo-German relations before and during the war

As my research focuses on a British author's depiction of Germany, I concentrate in this section on research about British views of Germany, rather than German perceptions of the British.⁴⁸ The critical literature included here covers the period between c.1870 to 1918. I refer to Britain, although in the literature of the period England frequently stands as a synecdoche for Britain and the British Empire. However, I refer to Anglo-German relations rather than British-German relations in keeping with the field of scholarly literature. I begin this section by considering the

⁴⁴ Buitenhuis, *Great War of Words*, p.xviii.

⁴⁵ M.L. Sanders and Philip Taylor, *British Propaganda during the First World War* (London: Macmillan, 1982); Gary Messinger, *British Propaganda and the State in the First World War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992).

⁴⁶ David Monger, *Patriotism and Propaganda: The National War Aims Committee and Civilian Morale* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2012).

⁴⁷ Troy Paddock (ed.), *World War I and Propaganda* (Leiden: Brill, 2014).

⁴⁸ Despite his dual cultural heritage, Ford's nationality was British, and he only published in English and French.

literature on political and diplomatic relations, before progressing to literature on the British press, culture and the arts.

Paul Kennedy's *The Rise of the Anglo-German Antagonism* remains a defining piece of scholarship in Anglo-German relations.⁴⁹ Partly as a result of Kennedy's influence, the relationship between Britain and Germany before the war was for many years characterised as one of gradually increasing antagonism leading seemingly inevitably to the outbreak of war. Kennedy argues that the cause of this growing antagonism was primarily economic – the threat posed by Germany to the balance of power as a result of its rapid economic growth. Germany's shift from a small group of states to world power status, its colonial expansion, Kaiser Wilhelm II's *Weltpolitik* and the naval rivalry with Britain all contribute to this argument. The wartime struggle between London and Berlin was, Kennedy concludes, 'but a continuation of what had been going on for at least fifteen or twenty years before the July Crisis itself'.⁵⁰

Robert Massie's *Dreadnought* uses the lens of Anglo-German naval rivalry to consider the broader connections between the two countries before the war.⁵¹ Structured around moments of crisis, such as the Krueger Telegram, the Kaiser's interview in the *Daily Telegraph*, and the two Moroccan crises, it inevitably foregrounds tensions in the relationship. Zara Steiner and Keith Neilson argue that the naval rivalry had an emotional and cultural significance that no other aspect of the relationship could achieve.⁵² But while the threat to British trade was often mentioned by politicians and the press, it did not have a wholly negative impact on Britain. Anglo-German trade increased in the decade before the outbreak of war, with Britain becoming 'Germany's best customer'.⁵³ Steiner and Neilson conclude that in the years immediately preceding the war, 'despite the occasional year of crisis [...] the mood was more relaxed than in the 1890s'.⁵⁴

Some historians highlight the view of those in the Foreign Office who felt that the threat from Russia outweighed that of Germany. Keith Wilson argues, for example, that in the decade before the war 'maintenance of good relations with Russia as an end in itself was the main object of British policy'.⁵⁵ It was hoped that improved Anglo-Russian relations would secure the Indian

⁴⁹ Paul M. Kennedy, *The Rise of the Anglo-German Antagonism 1860-1914* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1980).

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p.470.

⁵¹ Robert Massie, *Dreadnought: Britain, Germany and the Coming of the Great War* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1992).

⁵² Zara S. Steiner and Keith Neilson, *Britain and the Origins of the First World War* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p.66.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p.72.

⁵⁵ Keith M. Wilson, *The Policy of the Entente: Essays on the Determinants of British Foreign Policy, 1904-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p.3.

border from Russian activity in Persia, and Russia would also help to keep Germany in check.⁵⁶ Wilson argues that Foreign Secretary Sir Edward Grey shared the Foreign Office commitment to the Anglo-Russian entente, but that the decision was made not out of concern for the balance of power ‘but for the sake of Britain’s own Imperial interest’.⁵⁷ Similarly, he suggests that the ‘threat of Germany was a convenient way to distract attention from Imperial concerns: “the German menace” served to conceal British weakness. It served to divert attention from the British Empire’s vulnerability and to rivet it upon Germany.’⁵⁸

The dynastic connections between the monarchies were an important feature of European relations in the decades before the war. Queen Victoria’s grandchildren ruled in Britain, Germany and Russia before and during the Great War, and Miranda Seymour’s *Noble Endeavours* creates a narrative web crossing Britain and Germany which at times makes the looming war seem like a great family tragedy.⁵⁹ The British and German monarchies were very different; the constitutional role of Edward VII and George V involved much less political influence than Wilhelm II enjoyed.⁶⁰ Although Wilhelm often over-stated his influence in foreign policy, he did have a significant impact on German naval expansion and Germany’s involvement in the naval arms race with Britain.⁶¹ Both the British and German monarchs were symbols of national identity at home and abroad. Personal relations between them were often difficult. In 1905, Edward wrote of his nephew: ‘I have tried to get on with him & shall nominally do my best till the end – but trust him – never. He is utterly false and the bitterest foe that England possesses!’⁶² John Röhl argues that Wilhelm was decidedly anti-British by the 1880s, and yet concedes that there were many inconsistencies and contradictions in Wilhelm’s attitude to Britain.⁶³

Other key individuals warrant attention for their cross-cultural significance as well as their role in politics and diplomacy. The most prominent Germanophile in H.H. Asquith’s government was Lord Haldane, who had studied at Göttingen, actively sought to improve Anglo-German relations, and regularly praised German culture. In 1911 he commented that ‘I can think of few things more desirable for the world than that England and Germany should come to understand each other’.⁶⁴ Haldane was pilloried by the press before and during the war for his failed Berlin mission in 1912 and his alleged pro-German sympathies. He became, in Stephen Koss’s terms, the ‘scapegoat’ for

⁵⁶ Ibid., p.82.

⁵⁷ Ibid., pp.74-75.

⁵⁸ Ibid., p.115.

⁵⁹ Seymour, *Noble Endeavours*.

⁶⁰ Kennedy, *Rise of the Anglo-German Antagonism*, p.400.

⁶¹ Christopher Clark, *Kaiser Wilhelm II: A Life in Power*, 2nd edn (London: Penguin, 2009), p.177.

⁶² Edward VII, cited in John C.G. Röhl, ‘The Kaiser and England’, in Magnus Brechtken, Adolf M. Birke, and Alaric Searle (eds), *An Anglo-German Dialogue: The Munich Lectures on the History of International Relations* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2000), pp.97-113 (p.97).

⁶³ Ibid., pp.99, 102.

⁶⁴ R.B. Haldane, *Universities and National Life: Four Addresses to Students* (London: Murray, 1911), p.154.

the ailing Liberal Government.⁶⁵ Lord Bryce had also studied in Germany, and with Lord Loreburn, the three were described by Leo Maxse's *National Review* as the 'Potsdam Party' in the cabinet.⁶⁶ Sir Eyre Crowe, who grew up in Germany and had a German mother and wife, was 'the leading German expert in the pre-war Foreign Office'.⁶⁷ Although he is famed for his anti-German stance and his 1907 memorandum, it did not prevent him from also facing anti-German suspicion from the right-wing press.⁶⁸

There were similarly mixed attitudes towards Britain among the German leadership. Chancellor Theobald von Bethmann Hollweg, who had worked to improve diplomatic relations with London before the war, was accused by Pan-Germanists of being pro-British, particularly after his moderate stance on submarine warfare in 1916.⁶⁹ General Admiral Alfred von Tirpitz admired English culture, often spoke English at home, and sent his daughter to Cheltenham Ladies' College, but as Kennedy highlights, 'none of this was a guide to his political views'.⁷⁰ Indeed, Crowe's example also demonstrates that having intimate knowledge of a country need not lead to political harmony. It does, however, indicate some of the relational and cultural entanglements that had to be unravelled or simplified at the outbreak of war: this became the propagandist's responsibility. As I hope to demonstrate in this thesis, Ford answered this call while also manifesting some of the contradictions set out in this overview of the relevant literature.

Over the past twenty years there has been a concerted effort to revise the narrative of mounting antagonism between Britain and Germany in the years preceding the war. These revisionist histories do not necessarily seek to question the account of increasing tension in the political and diplomatic sphere, but they emphasise that antagonism was not constant, nor was it universal.⁷¹ In their introduction to *Wilhelmine Germany and Edwardian Britain*, Dominik Geppert and Robert Gerwarth suggest that the antagonism paradigm is no longer adequate to describe the complex interactions between these two countries.⁷² They characterise the Anglo-German relationship as one of 'simultaneous rivalry and partnership'.⁷³ The essays in this volume focus on the various cultural factors which Kennedy largely discounts in his work.

⁶⁵ Stephen E. Koss, *Lord Haldane: Scapegoat for Liberalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969).

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p.69.

⁶⁷ Steiner and Neilson, *Britain and the Origins of the First World War*, p.195.

⁶⁸ Paul M. Kennedy, 'Idealists and Realists: British Views of Germany, 1864-1939', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 25 (1975), 137-56 (p.148).

⁶⁹ Matthew Stibbe, *German Anglophobia and the Great War, 1914-1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp.117-18.

⁷⁰ Kennedy, *Rise of the Anglo-German Antagonism*, p.393.

⁷¹ Kennedy does not suggest that antagonism was universal, but argues that pro-German voices were relatively insignificant, particularly with regard to policy making.

⁷² Dominik Geppert and Robert Gerwarth, 'Introduction', in Dominik Geppert and Robert Gerwarth (eds), *Wilhelmine Germany and Edwardian Britain: Essays on Cultural Affinity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp.1-14.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p.4.

Jan Rüger and Andreas Rose are among those who incorporate cultural history into an account of the military and diplomatic context of the decades before the First World War. Rüger paints a compelling portrait of the navy as a theatre of power and national identity for both Britain and Germany; it was a 'stage between the nations'.⁷⁴ In *Between Empire and Continent* Rose argues that Britain was not primarily responding to the German threat, but that British foreign policy decisions were heavily influenced by domestic politics, the press, and public opinion.⁷⁵ Notably, Rose suggests that the British press campaign against Germany developed from the beliefs of influential editors, such as J.L. Garvin, and Leo Maxse, who '[s]hared a belief in an approaching, existential, Social Darwinist struggle between the global powers. Their projections were based [...] not on an assumption of German strength, but on Germany's geopolitical weakness'.⁷⁶ They assumed that Germany would be forced into an alliance with Russia, and so form a bloc against Britain.

The press is often accused of having contributed to the increasing rivalry between the two nations and stirring up Germanophobia. In her study of wartime propaganda, Cate Haste comments that '[f]rom its inception, the *Daily Mail* bubbled away at establishing the image of Germany as Britain's inevitable enemy'.⁷⁷ In part this perception of the *Daily Mail* was self-constructed; in 1915, Lord Northcliffe's paper reprinted a collection of its articles from 1896 to 1914 under the title *Scaremongering from the Daily Mail: The Paper that Foretold the War*. The Liberal press was quick to suggest that Northcliffe had not predicted the war so much as campaigned for it. The *Star* declared that 'next to the Kaiser, Lord Northcliffe has done more than any other living man to bring about the war'.⁷⁸

In revising this image of the press, Geppert characterises the portrait of Germany in the right-wing press as a combination of admiration, condemnation and rivalry.⁷⁹ Wilhelm II became a focal subject for anti-German press both before and during the war, but Luther Reinermann observes that reports about the Kaiser before the war broadly correlate with the fluctuations in British opinion of Germany.⁸⁰ Martin Schramm suggests that there was in fact a marked improvement in

⁷⁴ Jan Rüger, *The Great Naval Game: Britain and Germany in the Age of Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p.199.

⁷⁵ Andreas Rose, *Between Empire and Continent: British Foreign Policy before the First World War*, trans. Rona Johnston (New York and Oxford: Berghahn, 2017).

⁷⁶ Rose, *Between Empire and Continent*, p.464.

⁷⁷ Cate Haste, *Keep the Home Fires Burning: Propaganda in the First World War* (London: Allen Lane, 1977), p.8.

⁷⁸ Lee J. Thompson, *Politicians, the Press, and Propaganda: Lord Northcliffe and the Great War 1914-1919* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1999), p.39.

⁷⁹ Dominik Geppert, *Pressekriege: Öffentlichkeit und Diplomatie in den deutsch-britischen Beziehungen (1896-1912)* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2007), p.181.

⁸⁰ Luther Reinermann, 'Fleet Street and the Kaiser: British Public Opinion and Wilhelm II', *German History*, 26 (2008), 469-85.

the depiction of Anglo-German relations in the press in the year before the war.⁸¹ The consensus now appears to be that descriptions of Germans and Germany only became wholly negative after the war started. The date of this shift depends on the sources under consideration, but Adrian Gregory finds examples of positive narratives about Germans published in the *Daily Mail* as late as March 1915.⁸² With hindsight, the ultimate break-down of Anglo-German relations appears to have been inevitable, but such post-war views have often coloured how the pre-war years have been interpreted.⁸³ Ford's literary career can be used to illustrate this long-standing ambivalence, as I demonstrate throughout the thesis.

Some accounts of the press indicate that detailed analysis of particular individuals and newspapers reveals a more nuanced portrait of pre-war Anglo-German relations.⁸⁴ But this trend to particularise is part of what Rüger has identified as the fragmentation of scholarship in Anglo-German relations.⁸⁵ While revisionist histories add to the full picture, it is important not to lose sight of the intensity of anti-German rhetoric that was manifest before, and especially after the outbreak of war. Although it now seems difficult to argue that the right-wing press was vying for war, there was certainly increased interest in some of the more xenophobic publications – *John Bull's* circulation increased by 300,000 in early 1915.⁸⁶ Perhaps more importantly, anti-German rhetoric during the war was accompanied by government policy that severely limited the freedoms of Germans in Britain.⁸⁷ Panikos Panayi argues that the widespread discrimination against the German community in Britain during the war was the worst manifestation of hatred towards any minority group in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Britain.⁸⁸ They were intimidated through official and unofficial means. As the war continued, the Home Office was granted extended powers to revoke naturalisation certificates.⁸⁹ There was a significant increase in the internment of 'enemy aliens' around two peaks of anti-German feeling, in October 1914, following stories of German atrocities in Belgium, and in May 1915, after the sinking of the

⁸¹ Martin Schramm, *Das Deutschlandbild in der britischen Presse, 1912-1919* (Berlin: Akademie, 2007), pp.182-85.

⁸² Adrian Gregory, 'A Clash of Cultures: The British Press and the Opening of the Great War', in Troy Paddock (ed.), *A Call to Arms: Propaganda, Public Opinion and Newspapers in the Great War* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2004), pp.15-49 (p.36).

⁸³ Reinermann, 'Fleet Street and the Kaiser', p.470.

⁸⁴ For example, Dominik Geppert's study of Lord Northcliffe in "'The Foul-Visaged Anti-Christ of Journalism'"? The Popular Press between Warmongering and International Cooperation', in Geppert and Gerwarth (eds), *Wilhelmine Germany and Edwardian Britain*, pp.369-89.

⁸⁵ Jan Rüger, 'Revisiting the Anglo-German Antagonism', *Journal of Modern History*, 83 (2011), 579-617 (p.581).

⁸⁶ Thompson, *Politicians, the Press, and Propaganda*, p.38.

⁸⁷ Richard van Emden, *Meeting the Enemy: The Human Face of the Great War* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013).

⁸⁸ Panikos Panayi, 'The Destruction of German Communities in Britain during the First World War', in Panikos Panayi (ed.), *Germans in Britain since 1500* (London: Hambledon Press, 1996), pp.113-30 (pp.113-14).

⁸⁹ Panikos Panayi, *The Enemy in our Midst: Germans in Britain during the First World War* (Oxford: Berg, 1991), pp.62-66.

Lusitania.⁹⁰ Although some were repatriated, there were still 24,255 Germans in British internment camps at the end of the war.⁹¹

The outbreak of war inevitably led to antipathies on both sides. Anti-German sentiment in Britain was mirrored by widespread anti-British sentiment in Germany, notably more so than against other Allied nations. Matthew Stibbe documents the violent upsurge in Anglophobia in Germany after the declaration of war; ‘England’ was depicted as the ‘betrayal of its own race’, and within six weeks of the start of the war the press portrayed England as the instigator of the war, not Russia, as had been claimed when war broke out.⁹² The fundamental message was that England had betrayed Germany, exemplified by German clergy likening England to Judas Iscariot.⁹³ Stibbe suggests that using England as the *Hauptfeind* best suited the German official narrative of the war’s origins.⁹⁴ In the weeks leading up to war, the German leadership continued to hope that the British might remain neutral, partly owing to confusion on both sides about their stance if Austria were to invade Serbia.⁹⁵ In a marginal note in August 1914 Wilhelm wrote that ‘Herr Grey is a false dog’.⁹⁶ This narrative of betrayal, particularly focused on Grey, remained part of the German historiography of the war until the 1960s.⁹⁷

It is a paradox of the late Victorian era that although there were several periods of heightened diplomatic tension between Britain and Germany, some aspects of German culture were very popular in Britain. As John Davis observes, in Victorian Britain ‘[g]ood classical music was German’.⁹⁸ Mendelssohn enjoyed Prince Albert’s patronage and swiftly became a ‘national favourite’.⁹⁹ Despite negative first impressions, by the time of Richard Wagner’s concerts at the Royal Albert Hall in 1877, his music had also ‘assumed a central position in the vanguard of Victorian culture’.¹⁰⁰ Ford’s father, Francis Hueffer, was a leading proponent of Wagner’s music during this period. In art, German line illustrations were particularly popular, especially among key members of the Pre-Raphaelite movement in Britain, including among Ford’s relatives.¹⁰¹

⁹⁰ Ibid., pp.72, 76-81.

⁹¹ Ibid., p.95.

⁹² Stibbe, *German Anglophobia*, pp.14, 16.

⁹³ Ibid., p.18.

⁹⁴ Ibid., p.4.

⁹⁵ Keith M. Wilson, ‘Britain’, in Keith M. Wilson (ed.), *Decisions for War, 1914* (London: University College London Press, 1995), pp.175-208 (pp.183-84); Annika Mombauer, ‘Sir Edward Grey, Germany, and the Outbreak of the First World War: A Re-Evaluation’, *The International History Review*, 38 (2016), 301-25 (p.305).

⁹⁶ Wilhelm II, quoted in *ibid.*, p.303.

⁹⁷ Ibid., p.303.

⁹⁸ John R. Davis, *The Victorians and Germany* (Bern: Lang, 2007), p.193.

⁹⁹ Ibid., p.244.

¹⁰⁰ Rupert Christiansen, *The Visitors: Culture Shock in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (London: Chatto and Windus, 2000), p.78.

¹⁰¹ Ford Madox Brown, Ford’s maternal grandfather, travelled to Rome to study Nazarene art, and Dante Gabriel Rossetti, the brother of Ford’s uncle (by marriage), developed a particular interest in Dürer. Davis, *Victorians and Germany*, pp.225-26.

Prince Albert's Great Exhibition of 1851 had promoted German design and innovation. German scientific research was world-leading, and many British scientists studied in Germany before the development of laboratories at British institutions in the 1870s.¹⁰² This period also saw significant reform of the British education system, and the Royal Commissions consulted the German system in their research.¹⁰³ German music and education were at the heart of British culture and cultural debates, and thus became crucial issues for British propaganda during the war.

Among the most significant English literary influences on the cultural transfer from Germany to Britain were Carlyle's *Life of Schiller* (1825), George Lewes's *Life of Goethe* (1855), and George Eliot's enthusiasm for German culture in general and Heinrich Heine's poetry in particular.¹⁰⁴ An association between the very popular *Grimms' Fairy Tales*, and the German landscape was fuelled by travel writing which conjured images of magical woodlands in the Rhineland and the Black Forest.¹⁰⁵ The British idea of German literature in the late nineteenth century was therefore primarily associated with German Romanticism and Idealism, with little interest in contemporary German writing. Ford was an exception to this rule, and on multiple occasions reviewed contemporary German-language literature in the British press, although he observed the general lack of interest in this literature in Britain.¹⁰⁶

This relationship, characterised by admiration and antagonism, fear and inspiration, manifested itself in the development of the idea of 'two Germanys' – a description that appears frequently in literature about Germany from the early twentieth century, but which had much earlier roots. The Hanoverian succession in 1714 prompted one strand of anti-German comment in the British press.¹⁰⁷ Among more positive depictions of Germany there was an Anglo-Saxon racial ideology which was widespread in Britain by the eighteenth century, stressing the shared ethnic roots of the British and the Germans and their superiority over other races.¹⁰⁸ Panayi identifies two recurring stereotypes of the German people, divided between 'Faustianism', comprising mysticism and Teutonic philosophy, and 'Gobianisch', characterised as barbarism, dullness and drunkenness.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰² Stuart Wallace, *War and the Image of Germany: British Academics 1914-1918* (Edinburgh: Donald, 1988), p.4. On the relationships between German and British academics, see also Ulrike Kirchberger and Heather Ellis (eds), *Anglo-German Scholarly Networks in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill-Nijhoff, 2014).

¹⁰³ David Phillips, *The German Example: English Interest in German Educational Provision since 1800* (London: Continuum, 2011).

¹⁰⁴ John Mander, *Our German Cousins: Anglo-German Relations in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (London: Murray, 1974), pp.69-70; Kennedy, *Rise of the Anglo-German Antagonism*, p.111.

¹⁰⁵ There were six anthologies of *Grimms' Fairy Tales* published in 1827 alone. John Ramsden, *Don't Mention the War: The British and the Germans since 1890* (London: Little Brown, 2006), p.33; Richard Scully, *British Images of Germany: Admiration, Antagonism and Ambivalence, 1860-1914* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), p.65.

¹⁰⁶ Ford, 'Five German Novels', *Daily News*, 12 July 1911, p.3.

¹⁰⁷ Panikos Panayi, *German Immigrants in Britain during the Nineteenth Century, 1815-1914* (Oxford: Berg, 1995), pp.29-30.

¹⁰⁸ Panayi also suggests this ideology can be found in the writings of Bede in the eighth century. *Ibid.*, p.29.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

He suggests that these stereotypes date from at least the sixteenth century and were prevalent by the eighteenth century.

The 'two Germanys' was an influential stream of perception that forked and divided in various ways over the next 200 years. Both in the literature of the early twentieth century and in subsequent histories of this period, the concept is represented in multiple ways. For some, the 'two Germanys' are the Prussian military class (the Junkers) on the one hand and the German people on the other. MP Josiah Wedgwood said in parliament in August 1914:

We are fighting the Junkers and the Hohenzollerns, and I pray that this war may end by smashing them [...]. But there is another Germany—a lovable, peaceful Germany. We all know the people, and it was among them I was brought up.¹¹⁰

Others distinguish between northern and southern Germany, considering the Prussian people as one with their leaders. Ford comments repeatedly (both before and during the war) that all artists, musicians and poets of worth lived south of the river Elbe, whereas '[t]he true, the unchangeable Prussian, all guiltless of imagination, in his hyperborean regions, sleeps a changeless, dreamless, a perhaps semi-drunken sleep'.¹¹¹ Another frequent distinction is between German culture, the 'Dichter und Denker', and the 'blood and iron' of German militarism. This is allied to the separation between an idealised Germany of the past and a 'modern' or 'new' Germany. H.G. Wells writes of a transition from a traditional Germany which boasts 'the most amiable of people' to its more recent development: 'these people did a little lose their heads after the victories in the sixties and seventies, and there began a propaganda of national vanity and national ambition'.¹¹²

Gisela Argyle's study of German influences in English literature is essentially structured around these dual categories in the form of 'model' and 'monster'.¹¹³ While this might suggest a trajectory from Germany as model to Germany as monster, Argyle argues that positive and negative allusions coexisted until the 1890s.¹¹⁴ She summarises several British authors' responses to the 'two Germanys' thus:

[O]nly [George] Meredith uses political Germany as a positive model of efficiency for Britain to emulate. Gissing represents the two Germanys elegiacally as historically successive [...] whereas Conrad portrays the two Germanys in contrasted characters

¹¹⁰ J.C. Wedgwood, 'Statement on Vote of Credit £100,000,000', *Hansard*, HC Deb, 6 August 1914, vol. 65, col. 2093 <[https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/1914-08-06/debates/1ab0c452-5ee7-4966-9914-3cd3f5ce0781/VoteOfCredit%C2%A31000000000](https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/1914-08-06/debates/1ab0c452-5ee7-4966-9914-3cd3f5ce0781/VoteOfCredit%C2%A3100000000)> [accessed: 29 November 2016].

¹¹¹ Ford, 'Literary Portraits—XII: Herr Arthur Schnitzler and *Bertha Gerlan*', *Outlook*, 32, 29 November 1913, pp.753-54 (p.753).

¹¹² H.G. Wells, *The War that Will End War* (London: Palmer, 1914), p.10.

¹¹³ Argyle, *Germany as Model and Monster*.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.158.

synchronically. Ford alone creates his major characters as themselves aware of the dichotomy and torn by ambivalence.¹¹⁵

Argyle refers here to Ford's novels either side of the war, *The Good Soldier* and *Parade's End*. Notably, she identifies a similar approach to Germany in both texts. The research in this thesis concentrates on the period between these novels, and considers whether Ford's representation of Germany remains as consistent as Argyle implies. The focus on allusion in Argyle's work means that while it surveys a wide range of literary engagements with Germany, there is little sense of how these references respond to or interact with the political landscape.

In *The Death of the German Cousin*, Peter Firchow charts the change in depictions of Germany in English literature in line with a broad sense of a decline in the political relationship – moving from admiration to condemnation. His imagological study considers authors such as Conrad, E.M. Forster, Wells, and Rudyard Kipling. As mentioned above, he cites Ford as an example of a writer who had a violent Germanophobic reaction at the outbreak of war.¹¹⁶ He acknowledges the ambivalence felt towards Germany by some English writers, citing the letters of Charles Hamilton Sorley as an example of 'the curious love-hate relationship that existed between the English and the Germans in the early years of [the twentieth] century'.¹¹⁷ But Firchow regards most of the literature written by those who supported the war as 'congenitally maimed', and belonging to the 'mental slum'.¹¹⁸ He dates the death of the idea of the 'German cousin' to 1915, a shift in English perceptions of the Germans which he, writing in 1986, regarded as final.¹¹⁹

Günther Blaicher's *Das Deutschlandbild in der englischen Literatur* benefits from a much broader scope than many of the books on British depictions of Germany already cited, spanning the middle ages to the end of the twentieth century.¹²⁰ This contrasts with Firchow's view that 'Germany only began to impinge on the English consciousness in the mid-eighteenth century'.¹²¹ Blaicher traces the British conception of the Germans as their 'cousins' to the writings of the Venerable Bede in the seventh century.¹²² He dates the notion of German bellicosity to the sixteenth century, and observes that the image of the Prussian officer was initially portrayed positively at the beginning of the nineteenth century, but changed around 1871, after the Franco-

¹¹⁵ Ibid., p.178.

¹¹⁶ Firchow, *Death of the German Cousin*, p.92.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., p.41.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., p.100.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., p.178.

¹²⁰ Günther Blaicher, *Das Deutschlandbild in der englischen Literatur* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1992).

¹²¹ Firchow, *Death of the German Cousin*, p.31. John Mander similarly comments that '[i]t is not quite true that the Germans and their *Kultur* were unknown to the English before [1750], but it is as true as to make no difference'. Mander, *Our German Cousins*, p.19.

¹²² Blaicher, *Das Deutschlandbild*, p.19.

Prussian war.¹²³ Blaicher characterises the period from 1871 to 1914 as highly ambivalent, exemplified by the notion of the ‘two Germanys’.¹²⁴

Petra Rau argues in *English Modernism, National Identity and the Germans* that it was principally a fear of ‘modernity’ that led to negative depictions of Germany in English literature. She also highlights that the political rivalry between the two nations was accompanied by ‘a cultural counter-discourse of internationalism, cosmopolitanism and imperialist critique’.¹²⁵ Rau suggests that it was English anxieties which had most impact on English literary depictions of Germany:

Modernism does witness a transition in the view of the Germans from the learned and cultured cousin of Victorian times to the belligerent Teuton of the early twentieth century, but this shift cannot simply be reduced to the effect of the war. [...] [T]he image of the German changes, often not in response to actual historical or political events, such as war, but in anticipation of what these events might mean for the nature of Englishness.¹²⁶

It is a compelling argument, and distinct from several other studies of the Anglo-German relationship in literature. Her emphasis throughout is not so much on the depictions of Germany, but on what these depictions suggest about England and its experience of modernism. But Rau excludes the writing produced for Wellington House, suggesting that these ‘embarrassing footnotes to literary history’ are ‘perhaps more relevant in terms of cultural history rather than for literary merit’.¹²⁷ This exclusion from the literary conversation has meant that the texts produced for Wellington House are primarily considered within the context of propaganda studies. This thesis aims to integrate analysis of Ford’s wartime work with the rest of his oeuvre.

Richard Scully’s *Images of Germany* considers representations of Germany in British literature, maps, travel guides and cartoons. He, too, emphasises the ambivalence of the relationship, and suggests that negative depictions of Germany did not fully take root until after the declaration of war.¹²⁸ Scully offers a particularly nuanced account of the trend for invasion stories and their relation to wider literature. In his influential work on these imagined wars, I.F. Clarke comments that in the decade before the First World War ‘the growing antagonism between Britain and Germany was responsible for the largest and most sustained development of the most alarmist stories of future warfare ever seen at any time in European history’.¹²⁹ Scully revises this argument, suggesting that the growth of literature about Germany ‘should be seen as a period of

¹²³ Ibid., p.37.

¹²⁴ Ibid., pp.159-60.

¹²⁵ Rau, *English Modernism*, p.50.

¹²⁶ Ibid., p.10.

¹²⁷ Ibid., p.11.

¹²⁸ Scully, *British Images of Germany*, p.86.

¹²⁹ I.F. Clarke, *Voices Prophesying War, 1763-1984* (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), p.138.

increased and ongoing debate [...] as to precisely what “Germany” could and should mean for Britons’.¹³⁰

It is tempting to draw a continuous line from George Tomkyns Chesney’s *The Battle of Dorking*, written in response to the Prussian victory against France in 1871, to Saki’s *When William Came*, written in 1913. The consumption of such literature throughout these years would then parallel the narrative of increasing tension in diplomatic relations. However, between the early 1870s and the beginning of the twentieth century there were relatively few novels and short stories about a German invasion. The form remained popular, but writers sought inspiration in more traditional British enemies, particularly the threat posed by the French and Russians.¹³¹ The entente with France in 1904 prompted a sharp decline in both Britain and France of stories about future wars against the other nation, and saw instead an increase in narratives about German invasions.¹³² The literature of foreign invasion is not only an expression of fear about external threats, but also denotes criticism of British society. The Englishmen in William Le Queux’s *Invasion of 1910* (1906) are a warning against somnolent ignorance.¹³³ Similarly in *When William Came*, Saki depicts the middle-class English lacking conviction and surrendering to their oppressors.¹³⁴ Daniel Pick suggests this narrative developed from the fears of degeneration in late Victorian and Edwardian society.¹³⁵ Many authors of invasion fiction sought to champion national service and argue for naval reinforcement against the background of the Anglo-German naval race. This also reflected *fin-de-siècle* anxieties about the Empire, and the need to maintain Britain’s dominance as other European powers grew in economic prowess, wealth and geographical spread.¹³⁶

Ford’s work engages with key aspects of the political and cultural elements of the Anglo-German relationship. Over the course of his literary career, Ford celebrated Germanic fairy tales, mocked invasion narratives, and railed against the influences of German educational policy in Britain. The current research on Anglo-German relations therefore provides a valuable lens for a reappraisal of Ford’s engagement with Germany, to look at his supposed rejection of Germany in his propaganda, reflect on the consequences for his attitudes towards nationalism and cosmopolitanism after the war, and explore his unique literary manifestation of contemporary Anglo-German ambivalences and antagonisms.

¹³⁰ Scully, *British Images of Germany*, p.109.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, pp.97, 109-10.

¹³² Clarke, *Voices Prophesying War*, p.138.

¹³³ William le Queux, *The Invasion of 1910* (London: Nash, 1906).

¹³⁴ Saki [H.H. Munro], *When William Came: A Story of London under the Hohenzollerns* (London: John Lane, 1914).

¹³⁵ Daniel Pick, *War Machine: The Rationalisation of Slaughter in the Modern World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), p.118.

¹³⁶ Michael Paris, *Warrior Nation: Images of War in British Popular Culture, 1850-2000* (London: Reaktion Books, 2000), p.86.

III: Definition of Terms

There are three terms or concepts that require definition at the outset, as they are foundational to the thesis. First, I consider the historical understanding of ‘ambivalence’ within psychology. It occurs frequently in the historiography to describe pre-war Anglo-German relations, as well as being a term often associated with Ford’s writing, and is central to my reading of Ford’s work during the war. Second, I address the apparent conflict between ‘cosmopolitanism’ and ‘nationalism’ as this helps to frame the decision facing numerous cosmopolitan authors as they embarked on their propaganda writing. Third, I consider the definition of ‘propaganda’ historically, before introducing Ford’s own critical writing on propaganda and some of the issues surrounding the engagement with literary propaganda in this research.

Ambivalence

As we have seen, the relationship between Britain and Germany before the war can be characterised by ambivalence. What I am calling ‘Fordian ambivalence’ is a prominent feature of Ford’s style and, I argue, one way he mediates the tensions of wartime. Ambivalence is seen as characteristic of Ford’s writing: Sara Haslam comments on the ‘energies in his writing which often seem to pull in opposing directions’;¹³⁷ and Ann Barr Snitow suggests Ford’s voice is ‘almost always double, ambivalent, self-questioning—in short, ironic’.¹³⁸ Ford is also thought to display ambivalent attitudes: in recent criticism Carey Snyder has commented on Ford’s ambivalence towards mass culture and modernity,¹³⁹ and Hayman has observed the ambivalence in his ‘performance of national identity’ during the war.¹⁴⁰ Building on this critical heritage I consider how this term and its origins and application in psychology might help us to understand more fully Ford’s relationship with Germany before and during the war.

Today, ‘ambivalence’ is often used casually to express a lack of decided opinion, but the first known use of the term was in 1910, by Swiss psychiatrist Eugen Bleuler who included ‘Ambivalenz’ as one of the defining symptoms of schizophrenia,¹⁴¹ and it was soon afterwards translated and adopted in English.¹⁴² Bleuler acknowledged that those who are psychologically

¹³⁷ Haslam, *Fragmenting Modernism*, p.13.

¹³⁸ Ann Barr Snitow, *Ford Madox Ford and the Voice of Uncertainty* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1984), p.2.

¹³⁹ Carey Snyder, “‘More Undraped Females and Champagne Glasses’: Ford Madox Ford’s Ambivalent Affair with Mass Culture”, in Sara Haslam and Seamus O’Malley (eds), *Ford Madox Ford and America*, *International Ford Madox Ford Studies*, 11 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2012), pp.139-53.

¹⁴⁰ Hayman, ‘Under Four Eyes’, p.29.

¹⁴¹ Bleuler first described it in a paper in 1910, and then at greater length in his 1911 monograph. Eugen Bleuler, *Dementia Praecox or The Group of Schizophrenias*, trans. Joseph Zinkin (1911; New York: International Universities Press, 1969).

¹⁴² The Oxford English Dictionary lists the first use in English from a paper in the *Lancet* in 1912. ‘Ambivalence’, *OED Online* (Oxford University Press, January 2018)

<<https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/6176?redirectedFrom=ambivalence#eid>> [accessed: 5 February 2018].

‘normal’ can have positive and negative feelings about the same object, but added that the schizophrenic is unable to weigh the difference: ‘He loves the rose because of its beauty and hates it because of its thorns’.¹⁴³ Since this is only one symptom among many, it is possible to suggest that Ford was ambivalent, as clinically understood at this point in history, without implying that he was schizophrenic. Indeed, Carl Jung, who worked as Bleuler’s assistant between 1900 and 1907,¹⁴⁴ wrote that: ‘Ambivalency can in no sense be put on all fours with the “schizophrenic splitting of the psyche,” but must be regarded as a concept which gives expression to the universal and ever-present inner association of pairs of opposites.’¹⁴⁵

Sigmund Freud also separated the study of ambivalence from schizophrenia. He appears to have first used the term in 1912 and expanded on it in *Totem and Taboo* (1913),¹⁴⁶ where he observes attitudes of respect and hatred towards an enemy.¹⁴⁷ Freud continued to identify emotional ambivalence, and particularly the contradictory forces of love and hatred, both in personal relationships and between nation states. Perhaps most pertinent in the analysis of Ford’s life is Freud’s observation of emotional ambivalence in the Oedipal relationship between a son and his father:

A little boy is bound to love and admire his father, who seems to him the most powerful, the kindest and wisest creature in the world. [...] But soon the other side of this emotional relationship emerges. One’s father is recognized as the paramount disturber of one’s instinctual life; he becomes a model not only to imitate but also to get rid of, in order to take his place. Thenceforward affectionate and hostile impulses towards him persist side by side, often to the end of one’s life, without either of them being able to do away with the other. It is in this existence of contrary feelings side by side that lies the essential character of what we call emotional ambivalence.¹⁴⁸

The idea that these latent emotions persist throughout life is significant in considering the duration of Ford’s ambivalence, both towards his father, and his father’s homeland. Writing in the 1950s, D.W. Winnicott describes ambivalence as a developmental stage to be achieved in childhood. Building on Freud’s analysis of Oedipal desires, Winnicott observes that the young boy’s guilt

¹⁴³ Bleuler, *Dementia Praecox*, p.374.

¹⁴⁴ Ernst Falzeder, ‘The Story of an Ambivalent Relationship: Sigmund Freud and Eugen Bleuler’, *Journal of Analytical Psychology*, 52 (2007), 343-68.

¹⁴⁵ C.G. Jung, *Collected Papers on Analytical Psychology*, ed. Constance E. Long (London: Bellière, Tindall & Cox, 1916), p.201.

¹⁴⁶ Sigmund Freud, ‘Instincts and their Vicissitudes’ (1915), trans. James Strachey, in James Strachey and Anna Freud (eds), *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works: Volume XIV* (London: Vintage, 2001), pp.109-40 (p.131 n.2).

¹⁴⁷ Sigmund Freud, *Totem and Taboo*, trans. James Strachey (1913; London: Routledge, 2001), p.45.

¹⁴⁸ Sigmund Freud, ‘Some Reflections on Schoolboy Psychology’ (1914), trans. James Strachey, in James Strachey and Anna Freud (eds), *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works: Volume XIII* (London: Hogarth Press, 1958), pp.239-44 (p.243).

‘suggests that he could tolerate and hold the conflict’ in his feelings.¹⁴⁹ He adds: ‘The sense of guilt, seen this way, is a special form of anxiety associated with ambivalence, or coexisting love and hate. But ambivalence and the toleration of it by the individual implies a considerable degree of growth and health.’¹⁵⁰ This is markedly different from the term’s origins in pathology, and as something which poses a threat to the subject’s mental stability.

Shortly after the outbreak of the First World War, Freud used the concept of emotional ambivalence to understand the conflict. He suggested that feelings of disappointment about the war derived from the perceived friendship between ‘civilized’ nations before the war, and the development of cosmopolitan identities.¹⁵¹ As he explained the reversal of this trend, Freud argued that civilised society had only achieved the suppression of instinctual desires.¹⁵² The instinct to hate remained sublimated, until given the permission in war, at which point the sometime-friend nation became the enemy. Freud returned to the sublimation of instincts in ‘Civilization and its Discontents’ (1930), in which he argued that the feuds between neighbouring territories can be explained as the ‘narcissism of minor difference’, providing an outlet for aggression ‘by means of which cohesion between the members of the community is made easier’.¹⁵³ He used the example of the ‘constant feuds and ridiculing’ between the North Germans and South Germans, and the English and the Scots.¹⁵⁴ In these terms, the affinity between the Germans and the British before the First World War could also have contributed to the antagonism in the relationship. Despite not being geographical neighbours, the other nation played an important role in the formation of a distinct national identity.¹⁵⁵

While I am not suggesting that Ford was particularly conscious of the trends in psychiatric research in the early twentieth century, it is significant that a term that is so frequently associated with Ford’s practice was coined contemporaneously. There is no evidence that Ford read Freud,¹⁵⁶ however he does mention his name multiple times in his writing, and his 1910 novel *A Call* features the first psychoanalyst in fiction, Katya Lascarides.¹⁵⁷ Ford’s work has long invited psychoanalytical critical approaches; indeed the frequent association between Ford and Freudian

¹⁴⁹ D.W. Winnicott, ‘Psycho-Analysis and the Sense of Guilt’ (1958), in *The Maturation Processes and the Facilitating Environment: Studies in the Theory of Emotional Development* (London: Hogarth Press, 1965), pp.15-28 (p.16).

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p.21.

¹⁵¹ Sigmund Freud, ‘Thoughts for the Times on War and Death’ (1915), trans. James Strachey, in James Strachey and Anna Freud (eds), *The Complete Psychological Works: Volume XIV* (London: Vintage, 2001), pp.273-300 (p.277).

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, p.285.

¹⁵³ Freud, ‘Civilization and its Discontents’ (1930), trans. James Strachey, in James Strachey and Anna Freud (eds), *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works: Volume XXI* (London: Vintage, 2001), pp.57-145 (p.114).

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p.114.

¹⁵⁵ For example, Germany was characterised by the strength of its army, and Britain by its naval strength.

¹⁵⁶ Saunders, *Dual Life*, I, p.186.

¹⁵⁷ Ford, *A Call* (1910; Manchester: Carcanet, 1984).

themes by early readers led to the nickname ‘Freud Madox Fraud’.¹⁵⁸ There are regular instances in Ford’s fiction which are clear depictions of emotional ambivalence. Notably, there are several portrayals of relations between men and women where love and hatred co-exist, epitomised by the marriage of Christopher and Sylvia Tietjens in *Parade’s End*.¹⁵⁹ Using the notion of ambivalence as holding states in tension, it is conceivable that Ford’s personal ambivalence was a way of finding resolution in the midst of an inevitable conflict of interest, rather than representing internal division. Stylistically, the ambivalence of his impressionism allows Ford to straddle the seeming incompatibilities of his views rather than masking a fractured mind. The widespread ambivalence towards Germany before the war suggests that Ford’s characteristic style may also be a means of expression for a shared experience.

Cosmopolitanism and nationalism

Describing Ford as a cosmopolitan is relatively uncontroversial when using the term loosely, as a sense of affiliation with multiple nations or nationalities. After all, Ford self-identified as a cosmopolitan,¹⁶⁰ along with other analogous descriptors of transnational allegiance, notably as a member of the ‘Republic of Letters’.¹⁶¹ This concept, to which I return in Chapter 4, was Ford’s term for the sense of supranational communion among artists and writers, distinct from the term’s original application to the correspondence between influential figures of the Enlightenment. While Ford aspired to what Toby Loeffler calls the ‘higher unity of transnational creativity’,¹⁶² he was not a liberal internationalist. H.G. Wells imagined a future in which there would be no more war, because there would be no more national boundaries.¹⁶³ Ford’s views were not so radical nor so inclusive; in his writing he frequently distinguishes between artists and other people – he does not attempt to outline a system of international governance for all.¹⁶⁴

Though Ford often uses the term ‘cosmopolitanism’, there are various, related concepts that describe international affiliation today. ‘Internationalism’ is primarily associated with the development of international infrastructures, institutions and exhibitions over the course of the

¹⁵⁸ Gordon, *Invisible Tent*, pp.108-9.

¹⁵⁹ Ambrose Gordon suggests that ‘one of the best things about Ford’s treatment of the relations between the Tietjens, is the impression he conveys of the extraordinary closeness between husband and wife, not in spite of hate but, it would almost be true to say, because of it’. Gordon, *Invisible Tent*, p.77.

¹⁶⁰ For example: Ford, ‘Charles-Louis Philippe and *Le Père Perdrix*’, p.174.

¹⁶¹ Ford’s notions of the ‘Republic of Letters’ and the ‘Kingdom of the Arts’ are virtually interchangeable. For example, Ford, *It Was the Nightingale* (London: Heinemann, 1934), p.v; Ford, *The March of Literature: From Confucius’ Day to Our Own* (New York: Dial Press, 1938), p.719.

¹⁶² Toby Henry Loeffler, ‘The “Backbone of England”: History, Memory, Landscape, and the Fordian Reconstruction of Englishness’, *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, 53 (2011), 1-25 (p.5).

¹⁶³ Messinger, *British Propaganda*, p.188.

¹⁶⁴ Caroline Patey comments: ‘The Republic of Letters is clearly not open to all citizens of the world, and it can prove particularly ruthless to some of them.’ Caroline Patey, ‘Introduction’, in Alexandra Becquet and Claire Davison (eds), *Ford Madox Ford’s Cosmopolis: Psycho-Geography, Flânerie and the Cultures of Paris*, International Ford Madox Ford Studies, 15 (Leiden: Brill/Rodopi, 2016), pp.13-23 (p.18).

nineteenth century.¹⁶⁵ ‘Supranationalism’ was first used at the beginning of the twentieth century, and extends the ideas of internationalism to imply a challenge to the political power of nation states by ‘overriding’ or ‘transcending’ these boundaries.¹⁶⁶ ‘Transnationalism’ was first used in the 1920s, and developed over the course of the twentieth century to become a favoured term among scholars; to be ‘transnational’ means ‘extending or having interests which extend beyond national bounds’.¹⁶⁷

Cosmopolitanism has a long intellectual history. Diogenes the Cynic first described himself as a ‘citizen of the world’ in the fourth century BC, but contemporary critics tend to engage most with Kant’s essays either side of the French Revolution.¹⁶⁸ ‘Cosmopolite’ came into use in English in the seventeenth century, initially as a neutral term.¹⁶⁹ Its connotation changed in the early nineteenth century and, as Scott Malcolmsen observes, ‘the idea of being a citizen of the world became defined as the opposite of patriotism’.¹⁷⁰ With the rise of the nation state in the mid-nineteenth century, ‘cosmopolitan’ was seen in Britain as a competing identity.¹⁷¹ In America, however, it was associated in the 1890s with the growth of a new confident national identity.¹⁷² Judith Walkowitz suggests there was a dual conception of ‘cosmopolitanism’ in pre-war Britain; conveying both the exoticism of foreign travel and the seedy underworld epitomised by the cosmopolitan district of Soho in London.¹⁷³ The boundaries of this distinction became somewhat blurred in the years before the war.

Local or national ties have always been regarded in tension with, and often in opposition to, cosmopolitanism.¹⁷⁴ But several critics today argue that the various components of self-identification – local, national, and cosmopolitan – can, and do, coexist. Stuart Hall articulates

¹⁶⁵ Grace Brockington, ‘Introduction’, in Grace Brockington (ed.), *Internationalism and the Arts in Britain and Europe at the Fin de Siècle* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2009), pp.1-24 (p.7); Martin H. Geyer and Johannes Paulmann, ‘Introduction’, in Martin H. Geyer and Johannes Paulmann (eds), *The Mechanics of Internationalism: Culture, Society, and Politics from the 1840s to the First World War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp.1-25 (p.2).

¹⁶⁶ ‘Supranational’, *OED Online* (Oxford University Press, June 2019) <<https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/194766?redirectedFrom=supranationalism>> [accessed: 20 June 2019]; Brockington, ‘Introduction’, p.8.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*; ‘Transnational’, *OED Online* (Oxford University Press, June 2019) <<https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/204944?redirectedFrom=transnationalism>> [accessed: 20 June 2019].

¹⁶⁸ Robert Fine and Robin Cohen, ‘Four Cosmopolitan Moments’, in Steven Vertovec and Robin Cohen (eds), *Conceiving Cosmopolitanism: Theory, Context, and Practice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp.137-62 (pp.138-40).

¹⁶⁹ Scott L. Malcolmsen, ‘The Varieties of Cosmopolitanism Experience’, in Pheng Cheah and Bruce Robbins (eds), *Cosmopolitics: Thinking and Feeling Beyond the Nation* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), pp.233-45 (p.233).

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p.233.

¹⁷¹ Jessica Berman, *Modernist Fiction, Cosmopolitanism, and the Politics of Community* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p.35.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, p.37.

¹⁷³ Judith R. Walkowitz, ‘The “Vision of Salome”: Cosmopolitanism and Erotic Dancing in Central London, 1908-1918’, *The American Historical Review*, 108 (2003), 337-76 (pp.339-40).

¹⁷⁴ Berman, *Modernist Fiction*, p.32.

this as a form of ‘double consciousness’ between political belonging to a single nation and its traditions and the cosmopolitan world.¹⁷⁵ Brett Bowden argues that national feeling may be a prerequisite of cosmopolitanism: ‘without a sense of belonging or national identity, we may also be incapable of identifying and opening ourselves up to externally received (foreign) additions to our respective personal and national make-ups’.¹⁷⁶ Bowden suggests that appreciation of our own national identity can fuel mutual understanding rather than confrontation. While this establishes a basis for multiple identities, it does not explain the experience of the numerous authors who wrote overtly nationalist propaganda and who had, at least before the war, expressed cosmopolitan views. In Thomas Weber’s account of universities in Germany and Britain before the First World War, he uses the term ‘cosmopolitan nationalists’ to describe academics and students who were engaged in transnational and cosmopolitan relations before the war while also holding nationalist views.¹⁷⁷ Though these concepts and identities have often been seen in conflict, it is clearly possible for them to overlap. Ford’s experience of the tensions between these two concepts is a central part of the thesis.

Propaganda

Propaganda is notoriously difficult to define. In common parlance, it is almost exclusively associated with negative synonyms – purveying false information, the distribution of lies, and indicating undue state influence over the public. Until the sixteenth century it was solely a Latin term used in a biological context relating to the propagation of species.¹⁷⁸ Its meaning shifted after the establishment of the Congregation of the Propaganda in 1622, a group of Roman Catholic cardinals responsible for spreading Christian doctrine; its political connotation became more prevalent in the nineteenth century.¹⁷⁹ The current edition of the Oxford English Dictionary refers to the ecclesiastical definition first, citing second ‘[a]n organization, scheme, or movement for the propagation of a particular doctrine, practice’. It lists third, ‘[t]he systematic dissemination of information, especially in a biased or misleading way, in order to promote a political cause or point of view’, with an associated reference to ‘black propaganda’.¹⁸⁰ The propaganda campaign at Wellington House is sometimes cited as an example of ‘gray propaganda’, where ‘the source may or may not be identified, and the accuracy of the information is uncertain’.¹⁸¹ Although the

¹⁷⁵ Stuart Hall, ‘Political Belonging in a World of Multiple Identities’, in Vertovec and Cohen (eds), *Conceiving Cosmopolitanism*, pp.25-31 (p.29).

¹⁷⁶ Brett Bowden, ‘Nationalism and Cosmopolitanism: Irreconcilable Differences or Possible Bedfellows?’, *National Identities*, 5 (2003), 235-49 (p.244).

¹⁷⁷ Thomas Weber, *Our Friend ‘The Enemy’: Elite Education in Britain and Germany before World War I* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008), p.234.

¹⁷⁸ Erwin W. Fellows, “‘Propaganda’: History of a Word”, *American Speech*, 34 (1959), 182-89, p.182.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p.182-83.

¹⁸⁰ ‘Propaganda’, *OED Online* (Oxford University Press, January 2018)

<<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/152605?rskey=FrnOXG&result=1&isAdvanced=false>> [accessed 29 March 2018].

¹⁸¹ David Welch, ‘Gray Propaganda’, in Nicholas J. Cull, David Holbrook Culbert and David Welch (eds), *Propaganda and Mass Persuasion: A Historical Encyclopedia, 1500 to the Present* (Santa Barbara: ABC-

campaign largely operated covertly, those involved claimed they did not intend to distort information.¹⁸² Such classification remains somewhat subjective, since ‘black propaganda’ can include ‘all types of creative deceit’.¹⁸³

The association between propaganda in general and ‘black propaganda’, which implies intentional deceit, was a development of the twentieth century. Philip Taylor comments that ‘before 1914, propaganda simply meant the means by which the converted attempted to persuade the unconverted’.¹⁸⁴ The First World War marks a critical point in the history of propaganda, for its widespread use by governments and its exploitation of new technologies – print media, poster production, radio and cinematograph.¹⁸⁵ This was modern propaganda on an unprecedented scale. Its proliferation no doubt accounts for the inclusion of the word ‘propaganda’ in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* for the first time in the twelfth edition in 1922.¹⁸⁶ Writing in 1927, Harold Lasswell observed that the word had acquired an ‘ominous clang’ in the wake of the war.¹⁸⁷ David Welch argues that the negative associations with propaganda are largely the legacy of Nazi propaganda during the Second World War.¹⁸⁸ However, Fiona Houston’s recent research into the definitions in the Oxford English Dictionary suggests that the term’s negative associations were only cemented in the latter part of the last century, around the time of the Vietnam War.¹⁸⁹ It is clear that over the last hundred years the connotations of the term have changed in response to the use of propaganda, particularly by the state, and especially in the context of war. In considering propaganda from the beginning of the First World War it is important to ensure that the accumulated baggage of the term does not distort the reading.

The changing connotations over the past century indicate that post-war reflections on propaganda have contributed to the way we think of propaganda today. Several major works on propaganda and communications theory appeared in the 1920s, including those by Lasswell and Edward Bernays. For Bernays the development of an ‘invisible government’ that helps to form public attitudes is ‘a logical result of the way in which our democratic society is organized’.¹⁹⁰ It is an

CLIO E-book, 2003), pp.152-53 <legacy.abc-clio.com/reader.aspx?isbn=9781576074343&id=PROPE.118>.

¹⁸² Lucy Masterman, *C.F.G. Masterman: A Biography* (London: Nicholson and Watson, 1939), pp.274-75.

¹⁸³ Garth Jowett and Victoria O’Donnell, *Propaganda and Persuasion*, 4th edn (Thousand Oaks: SAGE, 2006), p.20.

¹⁸⁴ Philip M. Taylor, *Munitions of the Mind: A History of Propaganda from the Ancient World to the Present Era*, 3rd edn (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), p.4.

¹⁸⁵ George Robb, *British Culture and the First World War* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), p.119.

¹⁸⁶ Randal Marlin, *Propaganda and the Ethics of Persuasion*, 2nd edn (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 2013), p.55.

¹⁸⁷ Harold D. Lasswell, *Propaganda Technique in the World War* (London: Kegan, Paul, 1927), p.2.

¹⁸⁸ David Welch, ‘Introduction: Propaganda in Historical Perspective’, in Cull, Culbert, and Welch (eds), *Propaganda and Mass Persuasion*, pp.xv-xxi (p.xv).

¹⁸⁹ Fiona Houston, ‘“Seducers of the People”: Mapping the Linguistic Shift’, *Alicante Journal of English Studies*, 31 (2018), 33-52.

¹⁹⁰ Edward Bernays, *Propaganda* (1928; New York: Ig, 2005), pp.37-38.

ethically neutral, even necessary, instrument of social control; the morality depends on the cause that is being promoted and the methods used.¹⁹¹ Characterising the post-war period, Lasswell writes:

Some of those who trusted so much and hated so passionately have put their hands to the killing of man, they have mutilated others and perhaps been mutilated in return, they have encouraged others to draw the sword, and they have derided and besmirched those who refused to rage as they did. Fooled by propaganda? If so, they writhe in the knowledge that they were the blind pawns in plans which they did not incubate, and which they neither devised nor comprehended nor approved.¹⁹²

This familiar depiction of First World War propaganda assumes that there is a direct correlation between the words of propaganda and the thoughts and actions of the public – a relation that is certainly not guaranteed.¹⁹³ While this narrative reflects the disillusionment felt by some in the 1920s, it does not necessarily give an historically accurate representation of the public response to propaganda during the war. The notion that the public are merely ‘blind pawns’ without the potential for independent critical thought places responsibility on those advocating war, including the propagandists. More recent research suggests that the public were not merely the passive consumers of propaganda messaging; Gregory argues that: ‘[t]he public were more vehement haters than most of the press, and the press was far more inclined to hatred than official agencies. The process was bottom-up more than top-down.’¹⁹⁴

It is impossible to discuss the post-war response to propaganda without referring to Arthur Ponsonby’s *Falsehood in War-Time* (1928), which catalogues the ‘lies’ told by the British government throughout the war.¹⁹⁵ Ponsonby argued, and it became a prevalent post-war myth, that the wartime reports of German atrocities were falsified to garner support for the war. John Horne and Alan Kramer’s research demonstrates that, with a few exceptions, many of the atrocity stories were true.¹⁹⁶ In the light of this, Gregory views Ponsonby’s text as a form of propaganda, with as little basis in fact as the material it seeks to discredit.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹¹ Ibid., p.48.

¹⁹² Lasswell, *Propaganda Technique*, p.3.

¹⁹³ Jacques Ellul emphasises the ‘dissociation between opinion and action’. Jacques Ellul, *Propaganda: The Formation of Men’s Attitudes*, trans. Konrad Kellen and Jean Lerner (1965; New York: Vintage, 1973). p.271.

¹⁹⁴ Adrian Gregory, *The Last Great War: British Society and the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p.69.

¹⁹⁵ Arthur Ponsonby, *Falsehood in War-Time* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1928).

¹⁹⁶ John Horne and Alan Kramer, *German Atrocities, 1914: A History of Denial* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).

¹⁹⁷ Gregory, *Last Great War*, p.41.

In his seminal work on propaganda, Jacques Ellul argues that successful propaganda is reliant on the latent views held in a society or by a social group, where ‘existing opinion is not to be contradicted, but utilized’.¹⁹⁸ Wartime images of the Germans in Britain were founded upon beliefs that had been established over centuries, and particularly since the late nineteenth century.¹⁹⁹ But did men volunteer to fight because of the chauvinistic rhetoric they read in propaganda, as Lasswell implies? As ever, there were numerous reasons why people chose to fight, and they were not necessarily motivated by a hatred of the Germans.²⁰⁰ Propaganda played a role in creating an environment of norms and expectations, but it was only one factor among many. In the first months of the war, there was a dramatic social shift to support the war, affecting all parts of British life, from a political truce and the cessation of the suffrage campaign, to activities in schools and patriotic public fundraising.²⁰¹ Catriona Pennell argues that the British were not ‘brainwashed’ in 1914, but instead the idealism of a war of defence ‘found echoes in people’s minds’, so much so that propaganda was not really necessary.²⁰² The propaganda produced by Wellington House was primarily intended for neutral nations, and particularly the US, at the beginning of the war, though it was also distributed in Britain. The authors’ propaganda work, especially in the first months, must be seen in the context of a society-wide reorientation towards the war effort.

There is a danger when trying to define propaganda that it can encompass all forms of persuasive communication; indeed, Ellul’s view of sociological propaganda is expansive. Garth Jowett and Victoria O’Donnell distinguish propaganda from other forms of persuasion and define it as ‘the deliberate, systematic attempt to shape perceptions, manipulate cognitions, and direct behavior to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist’.²⁰³ While Ford was clearly part of an organised attempt to shape perceptions in a specific way, there are some complexities in determining which of Ford’s texts can be described as propaganda, as I outline below.

Ford, impressionism and literary propaganda

Ford was an unlikely propagandist. Over the course of his career, he repeatedly denounced the notion of the artist writing for a cause and, specifically, engaging in propaganda. In December 1914, Ford wrote: ‘[t]he artist can never write to satisfy himself—to get, as the saying is, something off the chest. He must not write propaganda which it is his desire to write’.²⁰⁴ The literary technique of impressionism gives precedence to the individual perception, seemingly in

¹⁹⁸ Ellul, *Propaganda*, p.35.

¹⁹⁹ Pick, *War Machine*, p.28.

²⁰⁰ Susan L. Carruthers, *The Media at War*, 2nd edn (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), p.66.

²⁰¹ Catriona Pennell, *A Kingdom United: Popular Responses to the Outbreak of the First World War in Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp.72-83.

²⁰² *Ibid.*, p.229.

²⁰³ Jowett and O’Donnell, *Propaganda and Persuasion*, p.7.

²⁰⁴ Ford, ‘On Impressionism—II’, pp.333-34.

opposition to the homogenising influences of propaganda.²⁰⁵ A decade later, in a description of impressionist technique, Ford reiterated the author's duty to avoid directly expressing opinions: '[t]he one thing that you can not [*sic*] do is to propagandise, as author, for any cause. You must not, as author, utter any views'.²⁰⁶ Ford's aim in writing was to show rather than tell, to 'render' life rather than narrate it.²⁰⁷

Wollaeger suggests that Ford's argument is a literary rather than political one: '[w]here the propagandist hectors the reader, telling her what to think, the impressionist is more sly. The impressionist solicits the reader's identification by offering vicarious experience of the seemingly immediate'.²⁰⁸ In his 1913 study of Henry James, Ford accuses Charles Dickens and several of his Victorian contemporaries of 'propagandising', denouncing moralising in fiction which sought to achieve social reform.²⁰⁹ Nonetheless, Ford's use of the word 'propaganda' in the 1914 article retains some potential ambiguity and the timing is conspicuous.²¹⁰ We could say that the phrase 'which it is his desire to write' is crucial, betraying Ford's reluctance to write wartime propaganda, justifying his work for Wellington House instead as a sacrificial patriotic act, an act of friendship to Masterman, or one of wartime necessity but against his judgement as an artist. Each of these issues will be addressed in more detail throughout this thesis.

In his analysis of Ford's propaganda among others', Jain primarily concentrates on Ellul's conception of political, or institutional propaganda, meaning that which had been directly commissioned by the state.²¹¹ While this is a useful distinction, I use a broader definition principally because the commissioning process at Wellington House remains relatively unclear with regard to specific texts. Many of the authors involved in writing propaganda for the government were, like Ford, also writing for newspapers and magazines. Ford refers to his articles in the *Outlook* as 'propaganda',²¹² and although there is no indication that these were also commissioned by the government, they remain important texts in the development of his longer propaganda books. Indeed, large sections of the articles are replicated in the books. By Jain's definition Ford's articles are 'journalism' and not 'propaganda',²¹³ but since I am also interested

²⁰⁵ Benjamin Doty, "'As a Mass, a Phenomenon so Hideous": Crowd Psychology, Impressionism, and Ford Madox Ford's Propaganda', *Journal of War and Culture Studies*, 6.2 (2013), 169-182.

²⁰⁶ Ford, *Joseph Conrad: A Personal Remembrance* (London: Duckworth, 1924), p.208.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.180, 208.

²⁰⁸ Wollaeger, *Modernism, Media, and Propaganda*, p.135.

²⁰⁹ Ford, *Henry James: A Critical Study* (London: Secker, 1913), p.69.

²¹⁰ A letter from Ford to Harold Monro suggests that Ford's article 'On Impressionism – II' article was written by October 1914. Ford to Monro, 28 October 1914, Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas, Austin, MS-1436/1/1.

²¹¹ Jain, 'Ford, Kipling, Conan Doyle, Wells and British Propaganda', p.25. Jain acknowledges the non-institutional work produced by Ford and other writers, but his primary interest is in the relationship between the authors and the state. His comparison between Arthur Conan-Doyle's intuitional and independent work is instructive in this regard (pp.152-210).

²¹² Ford, *Return to Yesterday* (1931), ed. Bill Hutchings (Manchester: Carcanet, 1999), p.272.

²¹³ Jain, 'Ford, Kipling, Conan Doyle, Wells and British Propaganda', p.25.

in how Ford perceived them, I maintain that they occupy a hybrid status as both journalism, and, particularly when they are obviously driven by an anti-German agenda, as propaganda too. Many of the articles contain text almost identical to that in the government-commissioned propaganda books, which renders the distinction between propaganda and non-propaganda somewhat artificial. Jain argues that the context of publication and dissemination differentiates between the articles and their book form, although Ford's British readers would not necessarily have made, or understood, such a distinction.²¹⁴

More generally, it is sometimes difficult to classify War Propaganda Bureau publications. The 'Schedule of Wellington House Literature', dated 26 November 1918 (not public at the time), lists 1,129 items, including books and pamphlets, speeches and official documents.²¹⁵ However, this list does not include the work produced by some of the campaign's most famous authors, including H.G. Wells and Arnold Bennett. Wells and Bennett both negotiated their own contracts, which perhaps explains their omission.²¹⁶ Buitenhuis comments that Bennett became 'one of Masterman's most productive and effective writers' and that 'he wrote no fewer than three hundred propaganda articles'.²¹⁷ Many of these articles were commissioned by newspapers, not necessarily by the government.²¹⁸ This raises an important question: which texts should we consider as propaganda? Only those that we know were commissioned or distributed by Wellington House, or all texts written by authors that voiced support for the war? Such questions provide necessary context for my analysis of Ford's writing in this thesis. I refer to 'literary propaganda' as a description of authors' work for Wellington House, distinct from the speeches and official documents that were also published by the department, and as a reflection of the original vision of Masterman's campaign which I outline in Chapter 2.²¹⁹

IV: Methodology

This project combines archival and contextual research with literary analysis of Ford's published and unpublished texts. In doing so, I participate in the 'historical turn' within New Modernist Studies. The starting point for the research was Ford's articles in the *Outlook* (1913-15), especially the forty-nine articles written in the first year of the war. As they have not been republished in full, I consulted the complete copies of the magazines held at The British Library.

²¹⁴ I outline the distinction between Ford's articles and books in detail in subsequent chapters.

²¹⁵ Schedule of Wellington House Literature, Imperial War Museum, London (IWM), LBY 80/311.

²¹⁶ C.F.G. Masterman, Letter to Mr Colles, 18 January 1917, C.F.G. Masterman Papers, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham (hereafter 'Cadbury Library'), CFGM/6/5/6/1.

²¹⁷ Buitenhuis, *Great War of Words*, p.40.

²¹⁸ Bennett was asked to write about the war for both the *Daily News* and *Everybody's Magazine* on 16 and 17 August 1914. The meeting with Masterman was not until September. Arnold Bennett, *The Journals of Arnold Bennett, Volume II: 1911-21*, ed. Newman Flower (London: Cassell, 1932), p.99.

²¹⁹ Sanders and Taylor also use this description to distinguish between the Wellington House campaign and news. For example, Sanders and Taylor, *British Propaganda*, p.65; Sanders, 'Wellington House and British Propaganda', p.124.

Ford's engagement with German history and culture in these texts made it clear that I needed to learn as much as possible about Ford's knowledge of Germany and his relationship with his German relatives, as well as examining the broader context of Britain's relationship with Germany during this period. I was also keen to deepen my understanding of the context of production of both the articles and Ford's propaganda books.

Throughout my research, there were points where it was important to think biographically, in order to engage with the individual's experience of international events. Ford's letters are an important biographical source, though they have not yet been published in their entirety. The first collection, edited by Richard Ludwig, was published in 1965, but there are some large gaps, and the letters before 1909 are sparse.²²⁰ Some additional letters were included in the *Ford Madox Ford Reader* edited by Sondra Stang in 1986. Ford's correspondence with significant figures, including his partner Stella Bowen, and American authors Ezra Pound and Caroline Gordon, has been published in separate volumes, but these letters mostly date from the post-war period.²²¹ Saunders's edited volume of Ford's *War Prose* includes some of Ford's wartime letters to his mother, but there are still some unpublished wartime letters, which have been valuable in my research. As Haslam and Saunders highlight, virtually none of Ford's letters to his wife, Elsie, and his two elder daughters, Christina and Katherine, have been published to date, and as a result, Ford's relationship with them has often been overlooked in criticism.²²² Ford wrote frequently to his wife and children when he was travelling in Germany in 1904. Apart from biographies, Haslam and Saunders's recent chapter on the letters in the *Routledge Research Companion* is the first work to use, and make detailed reference to, these letters. My research has therefore been able to consider these letters in the context of his relationship with Germany and the pre-war political environment.

The major collection of archival material on Ford is located at the Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.²²³ This large collection (amounting to more than 37 linear feet) was initiated by Arthur Mizener, a professor at Cornell and one of Ford's biographers. The first acquisition was the collection owned by Ford's youngest daughter, Julia Madox Loewe, in 1964. Since then, Cornell has acquired material owned by Ford's partner Janice Biala, his middle daughter Katherine Hueffer Lamb, and his grandson Julian Loewe. In consulting this collection, I searched for material regarding his work for the *Outlook*, his propaganda, the war, and Germany. I particularly benefited from reading Ford's unpublished letters from his

²²⁰ Richard M. Ludwig (ed.), *Letters of Ford Madox Ford* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965).

²²¹ For full details of all published letters see, Sara Haslam and Max Saunders, 'Ford's Letters' in Haslam, Colombino and O'Malley (eds), *Routledge Research Companion*, pp.25-38 (pp.26-29).

²²² *Ibid.*, p.25.

²²³ There are also smaller collections of archival material on Ford at the Firestone Library, Princeton University, the Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas, the Parliamentary Archives, Westminster, and the Huntington Library, California, among others.

travels in Germany before the war, his financial accounts, and the unpublished manuscripts of ‘A Romance of the Times Before Us’ and ‘That Same Poor Man’. I had hoped to view the proof copies of Ford’s two propaganda books, which were originally part of the Loewe collection purchased by Cornell, but unfortunately these documents cannot be traced.²²⁴ Cornell also has a large collection of Violet Hunt’s papers (acquired in 1961). Among these, I was especially interested in Ford’s letters to and from his Hüffer relatives, and Hunt’s transcriptions of letters between herself and Ford in 1910 and 1911.²²⁵

I consulted collection material from several other institutions, including the ‘Schedule of Wellington House Literature’ and the reports on Wellington House at the Imperial War Museum, as well as additional reports on Wellington House held at the National Archives. I also examined the large collection of Masterman papers at the Cadbury Research Library, Birmingham University, with particular interest in correspondence which might illuminate the commissioning of propaganda and Masterman’s attitudes to his work at the Propaganda Bureau.²²⁶ I read some of Ford’s unpublished wartime correspondence at the Firestone Library, Princeton University, and additional letters from the Bodleian Library, Oxford and the University of Glasgow Library. I used the Hodder and Stoughton ledgers at the London Metropolitan Archives to research the publication history of Ford’s propaganda books.

It was somewhat difficult to gather information about the *Outlook*. I found some company papers within the Board of Trade files at the National Archives but have not been able to locate extant records of the publishing company’s archive.²²⁷ It is possible that the *Outlook* would be mentioned in the files of the printing house Spottiswoode & Co or Australian export company Gordon & Gotch,²²⁸ and there may be additional documents about the magazine in the private papers of the various directors, but I felt it was beyond the practical scope of the project to pursue these avenues of research. I searched for information about the magazine’s editors, circulation and contemporary profile in publications such as the *Publishers’ Circular* from 1898, when the

²²⁴ They were in the original inventory of material Cornell purchased but cannot be found in the current collection. I am grateful to archivist Fredrika Loew at Cornell for her assistance in trying to trace them.

²²⁵ One difficulty in using these sources is that Hunt transcribed the letters in preparation for writing her memoir. In the process, she removed all the dates and sometimes altered the text.

²²⁶ This large collection of personal, political and literary papers was acquired by the university 1985-1996, with further additions in 2001. Gary Messinger notes that they were not yet available to the public when he conducted his research in the early 1990s. *British Propaganda*, p.259 n.1. However, Eric Hopkins did use them when writing his biography, *Charles Masterman (1873-1927), Politician and Journalist: The Splendid Failure* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1999).

²²⁷ It was registered under different names relating to different periods of ownership, The Outlook Publishing Company and The New Outlook Company Ltd.

²²⁸ The magazine was printed by Spottiswoode & Co, which became Spottiswoode Ballantyne & Co. Some of the company’s papers are held by Essex Records Office, but having searched the catalogue and consulted the archivist I did not find anything pertinent. The *Outlook* was distributed internationally by Gordon & Gotch, an Australian firm with a London branch. There are some records in the Australian National Archives, but these may not yield much additional information about individual magazines.

magazine was founded, and the *Circulation Manager*, *Review of Reviews*, the *Bookman*, and press directories from 1914 and 1915. This yielded limited information, but together with other secondary material I compiled a brief history of the magazine which is outlined in Chapter 3.

To understand the context of production for Ford's propaganda, it is important to consider the work of his contemporaries in the propaganda campaign. The number of authors involved makes selection necessary.²²⁹ I chose a range of authors, for reasons including their relationship with Ford, the nature of their involvement in the campaign, and their knowledge of Germany. Charles Masterman (1873-1927) was Ford's friend and the director of the War Propaganda Bureau and invited him to join the campaign. H.G. Wells (1866-1946) and John Galsworthy (1867-1933) were prominent writers who both had close relationships with Ford. G.K. Chesterton (1874-1936) was close friends with Wells and Galsworthy and, for a time, he and Ford moved in the same literary circles.²³⁰ Masterman invited both men and women to the initial conference for authors at Wellington House, although no women attended.²³¹ Among the women who gave early public support for the war, Mrs Humphry Ward (Mary Ward, 1851-1920) was arguably the most influential, particularly in America.²³² Ward and Chesterton feature less frequently in analysis of British literary propaganda than some, but offer helpful thematic connections with Ford's writing. Additionally, the work of Elizabeth von Arnim (1866-1941) provides pertinent comparisons with Ford's experience, as someone who had personal ties to Germany and wrote in support of the war, but who was not part of the official campaign. In examining these authors, I aim to give a sense of the literary milieu in which Ford was working, and so prioritise those he knew personally.

My research was guided by questions relating to the gaps in the existing research on Ford's propaganda, and the campaign more generally. I was, for example, particularly keen to find information on Masterman's commissioning process, and how much influence the government had in the material that was produced. Throughout my research I sought information relating to Ford's relationship with Germany, his work for the *Outlook* and his propaganda books. When

²²⁹ One way to quantify the authors' involvement is to consider the twenty-five authors who are known to have attended the initial meeting at Wellington House on 2 September 1914. The 'Authors' declaration' that was published in *The Times* on 18 September was signed by fifty-two authors, including those who attended the meeting. Several more subsequently added their names in additional public letters, taking the total to around eighty-five, though no doubt others would have expressed support in different publications. This does not, however, account for changes in opinion throughout the war. 'Britain's Destiny and Duty: Declaration by Authors', *The Times*, 18 September 1914, p.3; 'Letters: Authors and the War', *The Times*, 22 September 1914, p.4; 'To the Russian Men of Letters', *Manchester Guardian*, 23 December 1914, p.4.

²³⁰ In 1906, Ford regularly attended a weekly lunch for authors, including Chesterton and Galsworthy, among others. Saunders, *Dual Life*, I, p.211.

²³¹ Report of the work of the Bureau established for the purpose of laying before neutral nations and the Dominions the case of Great Britain and her Allies, 7 June 1915, The National Archives, Kew (TNA), CAB/37/130/35, p.1.

²³² Ward had three novels in the top ten American best-seller lists between 1898 and 1905. Philip Waller, *Writers, Readers and Reputations: Literary Life in Britain 1870-1918* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p.647.

selecting from among Ford's published material, I also tried to consider relevant works which are less prominent in Ford criticism, such as his contribution to Violet Hunt's book *The Desirable Alien* (1913) and his 1923 novel, *The Marsden Case*. Building on my existing knowledge,²³³ I was alert to indications of ambivalence, whether explicit or implicit, in Ford's writing and that of other literary propagandists. Using the information gathered from my historical and archival research, I then conducted a thorough literary analysis of the articles and selected works by Ford from either side of the war. I read Ford's work and that of other writers with an interest in style, argument and context, both biographical and historical.

V: Thesis Outline

The structure of this thesis is broadly chronological. In the first chapter, I consider the foundations of Ford's ambivalent response to Germany in the pre-war period, addressing his relationship with the Hüffer family, the periods he spent living in Germany in 1904 and from 1910 to 1911, and his early writing about Germany in the unpublished manuscript 'A Romance of the Times Before Us'. Using Ford's unpublished letters and postcards from this period I revise the view of Ford's pre-war relationship with Germany. I establish Ford as a cosmopolitan writer with an astute sensitivity to international relations and a prescient sense of the tensions that may emerge if war were to occur between his two parental cultures.

Chapter 2 outlines the structure of the British propaganda campaign at Wellington House and the role played by eminent British authors, including Ford. Through analysis of the terms on which they were commissioned, and a range of writing by several key authors, I question the notion that they surrendered their independence in subservience to the state. By looking at the wartime work of Ford's friends and contemporaries, we gain a necessary sense of the context of Ford's own wartime writing. This later helps to illustrate some of the stylistic idiosyncrasies in Ford's propaganda, as well as highlighting issues on which the propagandists were united.

In Chapter 3, I provide a brief history of the *Outlook* and Ford's involvement with the magazine. I then conduct a detailed analysis of Ford's journalism between August 1914 and August 1915, from the declaration of war to his departure to join his regiment in Wales. This demonstrates Ford's engagement with fundamental anxieties of both British and German national identity in his propaganda books and journalism. Although Ford expresses a vehement hatred of Germany, there is considerable continuity with his earlier views, as outlined in Chapter 1. There are also discernible currents of ambivalence. Ford negotiates the complexities of his own national identity by revisiting the German cultural influences of his youth and reading the present day through the

²³³ Lucinda Borkett-Jones 'In Love and War: Propaganda and Enmity in *Parade's End*' (unpublished master's thesis, King's College London, 2016).

lens of history. Throughout the year, Ford also addresses the function of language in society from various angles, and there remain unresolvable tensions in his writing, between his attention to the precise use of language, and his own employment of chauvinistic language in the name of propaganda.

Chapter 4 is dedicated to an analysis of Ford's writing during his time in the army as well as his response to propaganda, and to Germany, after the war. We see a relatively consistent response of continued ambivalence towards his father's homeland. Above all, Ford emerged from the war with renewed cosmopolitan fervour, particularly expressed in his allegiance to the Republic of Letters above other national commitments. It is clear that Ford's multiplicity is part of his literary identity. His ambivalence, his ability to hold ideas and emotions in tension, is fundamental to his novelistic sensibility. He continued to champion an idealistic belief in the power of literature to communicate emotions and facilitate connection, suggesting that Ford's characteristic ambivalence has both an artistic and social function, which this thesis aims to chart.

CHAPTER 1: FORD AND GERMANY BEFORE THE WAR

It has frequently been suggested that the First World War marked the end of ‘Hueffer’ and began the process leading to the emergence of ‘Ford’ in 1919.¹ It is true that Ford shifted from displaying what might be termed a more ‘Germanic’ identity before the war to a more ‘Francophile’ one in the post-war period, as I will discuss throughout this thesis. Peter Firchow describes 1903 to 1914 as ‘Ford’s German Period’, by which he means a time when Ford primarily wrote positively about Germany.² He argues that this ended ‘abruptly and ignominiously’ within days of the outbreak of war.³ But Firchow’s description over-emphasises the positive nature of Ford’s response to, and imaginative relationship with, Germany before the war, and arguably it also severs the connection prematurely. Ford’s attitudes towards Germany during the war developed from a complex relationship with his father’s home nation before the conflict began. We can identify some of this complexity, or, more accurately, ambivalence, in his wartime journalism, but it is also apparent much earlier in a range of published and unpublished texts.

Among Ford’s most well-documented visits to Germany before the war were those he made in 1904 and 1910 to 1911.⁴ Besides these there were childhood visits to see relatives, and two visits in the early 1890s.⁵ Ford went to Heidelberg with his wife Elsie and their two daughters for a holiday in 1906, and returned for a holiday on the Rhine in 1913, with his mistress, Violet Hunt, and Charles and Lucy Masterman. Ford’s experience of Germany encompasses interactions with family and friends, as well the perspective of an Edwardian tourist among the many other British visitors to Germany before the First World War.⁶ This chapter provides the context of Ford’s experience of Germany before the war, and some of the ways he represented this in his personal correspondence, fiction and non-fiction.

¹ Saunders, *Dual Life*, I, pp.1, 474; Moore, ‘Ford and Germany’, p.148.

² Firchow, *Death of the German Cousin*, p.90.

³ *Ibid*, p.92.

⁴ Ford wrote regular letters and postcards to his wife and children from his time in Germany in 1904; in 1910-11, he sent postcards to his children, and letters to Violet Hunt. Ford also wrote about his time in Germany in 1910-11 in his articles for the *Saturday Review*, which were later incorporated into Violet Hunt’s book *The Desirable Alien at Home in Germany* (1913), as well as articles for the *Bystander*. He also wrote about his experience of Germany in his memoirs of the pre-war period, *Ancient Lights and Certain New Reflections* (1911) and *Return to Yesterday* (1931).

⁵ Saunders, *Dual Life*, I, p.49; Mizener, *Saddest Story*, p.19.

⁶ The mid- to late nineteenth century saw a considerable increase in international leisure travel by the British middle-classes. Railways and steamboats made remote parts of Europe more accessible than ever before. Jan Palmowski, ‘Travels with Baedeker – The Guidebook and the Middle Classes in Victorian and Edwardian Britain’, in Rudy Koshar (ed.), *Histories of Leisure* (Oxford: Berg, 2000), pp.105-30 (p.118).

I: Early Influences: The Hüffer Family

Ford's father, Franz Hüffer, left Germany in 1869 and came to London, where he anglicised his name to Francis Hueffer. Before leaving Germany he studied for his PhD in philology on the troubadour Guillaume de Cabestanh at the Universities of Berlin and Göttingen. In London, Hueffer worked as a journalist and music critic, and eventually became music editor at *The Times* in 1878. He became friends with the Pre-Raphaelite set, and married Catherine, the daughter of the artist Ford Madox Brown. Despite his willing assimilation into English life, he continued to champion German culture, and was a leading advocate for the music of Richard Wagner and the philosophy of Arthur Schopenhauer.⁷ Hueffer wrote the first English-language work on Wagner, *Richard Wagner and the Music of the Future* in 1874, contributing to the growing interest in Wagner's music in Britain.⁸

Ford's relationship with his father has been much discussed by critics; particularly his description of Ford as a 'stupid donkey' whom he advised not to write.⁹ From the evidence Ford left and from the critical analysis of this issue, we can deduce that Ford had a complex relationship with his father, and, perhaps even more so, with his father's memory. While Francis Hueffer seems to have dismissed Ford's abilities and been experienced as a punitive force by the young Ford, Ford nonetheless generally appears to respect his father in his absence. In *Ancient Lights and Certain New Reflections* (1911), he characterises him as 'a man of encyclopaedic knowledge', conveying both respect for that knowledge, and perhaps also making a more critical judgement on his Prussian education.¹⁰ This ambiguity is typical of Ford's response to his father, and, as I hope to demonstrate here, more broadly related to his representations of German culture.

Ford was not only exposed to German cultural influences within the family context. Between the ages of seven and fifteen he, with his brother, Oliver, attended a boarding school in Kent run by Elizabeth and Alfred Praetorius, originally from Frankfurt, where he was taught to speak both French and German fluently.¹¹ In the 1930s, Ford described Elizabeth as 'a celebrated educationalist in England of those days, when all education had to have a German tinge; and, as far as I am concerned, all that I had in the way of education came from her'.¹² He and Oliver had to leave the school after their father's sudden death in 1889, after which they attended

⁷ Mark S. Asquith, 'Francis Hueffer and the Early Reception of Richard Wagner's Aesthetics in England', in Rademacher (ed.), *Modernism and the Individual Talent*, pp.135-47.

⁸ Anne Dzamba Sessa, *Richard Wagner and the English* (London: Associated University Presses, 1979), pp.27-28; Christiansen, *Visitors*, pp.42-79.

⁹ Ford, *Ancient Lights*, p.42. Moser, *Life in the Fiction*, pp.133-37; Saunders, *Dual Life*, I, p.30.

¹⁰ Ford, *Ancient Lights*, p.41.

¹¹ Saunders, *Dual Life*, I, p.33.

¹² Ford, 'For Poorer Travelers', *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, 166, April 1933, pp.620-30 (p.620).

University College School in London. Ford's memories of one German tutor from this school are less fond than those of his earlier years. He recalls a disagreement over the reading of German literature, in which he allegedly stood up in class to protest that:

German was a language fit only for horses; that German literature contained nothing that any sensible person could want to read except the works of Schopenhauer, who was an anglo-maniac, and in any case was much better read in an English translation.¹³

Ford claims his outburst was uttered in German and it is characteristically attended by qualifications. Criticism of the German language is a recurring feature in Ford's work, sometimes paradoxically, as in this instance.¹⁴ At the time, Ford was missing German classes to attend classical concerts, and so his denigration of German literature is accompanied by praise of the music of Beethoven, Bach, Wagner and Robert Franz.

At the beginning of his career Ford hoped to become a composer, and there is a strong Germanic influence evident in Ford's juvenilia – in his early musical compositions and criticism, and in the fiction.¹⁵ His early published fairy tales show his admiration for the Brothers Grimm and excerpts from his reading journal in 1893 include his notes on the thirteenth-century German writer Walther von der Vogelweide as well as Schopenhauer.¹⁶ A fragment of a manuscript on Richard Wagner, dated 1891, suggests he also considered continuing his father's legacy. 'Wagner Educationally Considered' was conceived as a pamphlet directed at the young not yet convinced of the composer's 'genius'. Ford begins:

Richard Wagner is indisputably one of the most remarkable appearances in the cultured world of the 19th century. Gigantic and overpowering the productions of his genius confront us, yet the literature which explains in every direction and renders comprehensible this remarkable man and his genius forms a mass even as great.¹⁷

Ford's hyperbolic enthusiasm continues throughout the short text. He signed the manuscript with the pseudonym 'Hermann Ritter, Royal Professor [*sic*] and Granducal [*sic*] Kammervirtuoso at Würzburg'.¹⁸ Along with the stylistic excesses of the piece, this signature is

¹³ Ford, *Ancient Lights*, p.77.

¹⁴ Ford was also critical of German in his letters to his wife when he was visiting Germany in 1904, commenting that 'the awful Germanic language makes it almost impossible to write or think an Eng. construction out'. Even so, he does occasionally write to her in German, or in a combination of English and German. Ford, Letter to Elsie Hueffer, 14 August 1904, Ford Madox Ford Collection, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library, Ithaca (hereafter 'Cornell') 4605/34/35.

¹⁵ On Ford's musical education see Nathan Waddell, 'Ford, Family and Music', in Haslam, Colombino and O'Malley (eds), *Routledge Research Companion*, pp.79-93.

¹⁶ Ford, 'Notes as to thoughts', Ford Collection, Cornell, 4605/15/11.

¹⁷ Ford, 'Wagner Educationally Considered', Ford Collection, Cornell, 4605/26/6.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

perhaps the most revealing suggestion that it was written in jest. Either Ford was mocking his father's work or affectionately imitating the work of the seasoned academic. Sondra Stang and Carl Smith read it as 'an act of filial piety', though they acknowledge some tonal ambiguity.¹⁹ The tone also makes it difficult to make serious comparisons with Ford's later criticism of Wagner in his wartime propaganda, but even in 1915 Ford acknowledges that Wagner was 'a very great artist'.²⁰

Francis Hueffer was the youngest of Johann Hermann Hüffer's seventeen children (from two marriages), so there was a wide circle of Hüffer aunts and uncles to visit whenever Ford was in Germany. As well as childhood visits to family in Westphalia, Ford spent two summers in Germany before he was twenty, accompanied by a tutor.²¹ In *Return to Yesterday* (1931), he wrote that he spent some time studying under his uncle, Hermann Hüffer, who was a professor of Law at Bonn University.²² Hermann was also a keen literary historian and, among others, published a biography of Heinrich Heine in 1878. He may have had an influence on Ford's German literary tastes, since Heine is one of the few German writers Ford continued to praise throughout his career. Ford claimed to have met Wilhelm II during his visit to his uncle's, and to have passed Bismarck in the street.²³ In his memoir, Hermann Hüffer mentions the Kaiser's visit to Bonn, but he does not indicate whether Ford was staying with him at the time.²⁴ More important than the truth of Ford's claims is what they suggest of his need to make them; Ford depicted himself as well acquainted with Germany from many angles.

Following Francis Hueffer's early death, Ford's mother Catherine Madox Hueffer looked to their wealthier German relatives for support. The Hüffer family's successful publishing firm, Aschendorff Verlag, based in Münster, was established in 1720, and at least two of Ford's uncles had prosperous business ventures abroad. Although the support was not immediate, Ford did receive a number of instalments of financial help from the Hüffers. In 1897, he and his siblings received an inheritance of £3,000 on the death of their uncle Leopold.²⁵ When Ford was in Germany researching his book on Holbein in 1904, his aunt, Laura Schmedding, was concerned about his health and offered to pay him the equivalent of an advance so that he would not have to work.²⁶ Ford accepted, and wrote to tell his wife Elsie the good news, adding that

¹⁹ Sondra J. Stang and Carl Smith, "'Music for a while": Ford's Compositions for Voice and Piano', *Contemporary Literature*, 30 (1989), 183-223 (p.187).

²⁰ Ford, *When Blood is their Argument: An Analysis of Prussian Culture* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1915), p.142.

²¹ Ford, *Return to Yesterday*, pp.90, 97.

²² *Ibid.*, p.90.

²³ *Ibid.*, p.91.

²⁴ Hermann Hüffer, *Lebenserinnerungen* (Berlin: Reimer, 1912), pp.353-57.

²⁵ Mizener, *Saddest Story*, p.35.

²⁶ Judging by a later comment by Ford, this probably amounted to 600M. Ford to Elsie Hueffer, [n.d. 10 Sept 1904(?)], Ford Collection, Cornell, 4605/35/7.

‘[t]he Hüffers really behave angelically towards me’.²⁷ In 1908 he also received £500 from his uncle Friedrich and aunt Antonia, to support the establishment of the *English Review*.²⁸

Wolfgang Kemp suggests that Ford’s image of Germany before the war was shaped by these financial interventions: ‘Aus Deutschland kam eine andere Art von Geld, das großzügig, überraschend, ohne Auflagen gegeben wurde’ (Germany was the source of a different kind of money, one that was generous, surprising, and given without expectations).²⁹ Kemp contrasts this with Ford’s experience in England, struggling with publishers, family pressures and a lack of money. Part of the surprise, Kemp suggests, is that this money was given by relatives who held stricter moral views than his more liberal British relatives, and who were more likely to disapprove of Ford’s infidelities and refuse to support him. While the money from Germany was significant, and no doubt shaped his view of the Hüffers at the time, Ford received considerable support from his English relatives too. Ford, his mother and his siblings lived with Ford Madox Brown after his father’s death, and in the winter of 1904 to 1905 William and Lucy Rossetti, Ford’s uncle and aunt, gave him the use of their London home.³⁰ In later years, there were conditions attached to the money from Germany, especially the much anticipated inheritance from his aunt Laura, which she made conditional on Ford’s ‘good behaviour’ shortly before her death in 1910, and which he never received.³¹ In 1911, when Ford was troubled by the mounting costs of his attempts to divorce Elsie, he wrote to Violet Hunt about the Hüffers in less friendly terms: ‘I am going to Boppard to see if I cannot get the confounded Hueffers [*sic*] to pay off some of these debts’.³² It appears that he did not receive any financial help from them at this point. Although Laura made Ford’s inheritance conditional, at her death she still left some money for her great nieces, but fragmentary sources in the archives suggest they may never have received it.³³

Ford’s relationship with his German family was not solely defined by money. At least at the beginning of Ford’s 1904 trip, he enjoyed being among friends and relatives.³⁴ Although sometimes exhausted by the number of visits, he sounds relatively cheerful in letters describing plans with his cousin, Maria ‘Mimi’ Goesen. He also wrote of a sense of affiliation with Germany: ‘It’s in a sense good to be here where one feels one has roots: there isn’t at least the tremendous feeling of loneliness and the end of the world that I had latterly in England’.³⁵ His

²⁷ Ford, Letter to Elsie, 27 August 1904, Ford Collection, Cornell, 4605/34/39.

²⁸ Moore, ‘Ford and Germany’, p.149.

²⁹ Kemp, *Foreign Affairs*, p.39. All translations mine unless otherwise indicated.

³⁰ Saunders, *Dual Life*, I, p.190.

³¹ Mizener, *Saddest Story*, pp.199-200.

³² Ford, Letter (copy) to Hunt [c.1911], Violet Hunt Papers, Cornell, 4607/23/12.

³³ Note on envelope to Katherine Hueffer Lamb, October 1937, Ford Collection, Cornell, 4605/91/97.

³⁴ Ford, Letter to Elsie, September 1904, Ford Collection, Cornell, 4605/35/3.

³⁵ Ford, Letter to Elsie, 6 September 1904, Ford Collection, Cornell 4605/34/6.

feelings of isolation in England may relate to his depression, and so this should not be read solely as an expression of national affiliation. Even so, there were certainly aspects of life in Germany that seemed inviting; he even suggested to Elsie that they could live there.³⁶ Ford had intended to go to Berlin, to meet those he referred to as the ‘literary lights’ of Germany, including Gerhart Hauptmann and Hermann Sudermann, but illness prevented him from making the journey.³⁷ He did, however, visit the German professor of English literature, Levin Ludwig Schücking and his family. Schücking was the nephew of the novelist Levin Schücking (1814-83). Ford wrote an enthusiastic letter to Elsie, giving a long description of the manor house and some of the family’s history.³⁸ There were several interactions between Ford, Elsie, the Hüffers and the Schückings in the years before the war, including at least one visit by Levin Ludwig to London, but Ford’s relationship with him ended at the outbreak of war.³⁹

The Hüffers’ Catholic faith also made an impression on Ford. He converted to Catholicism in November 1892 while visiting his German relatives in Paris, at which point he became Joseph Leopold Ford Hermann Madox Hueffer.⁴⁰ Although Ford only maintained a nominal commitment to his religion, Ford’s two daughters with Elsie were also received into the Catholic Church during the family holiday in Germany in 1906. Perhaps just as significant as the Hüffers’ influence upon his religious views, this was the first of three changes in Ford’s name, and it represents his affinity with some of the defining Germanic influences of his early years. In her autobiographical writing, Violet Hunt refers to Ford as ‘Joseph Leopold’, although she usually addressed him as Ford in her letters.⁴¹ One explanation for this might be the centrality of Germany to Ford and Hunt’s relationship – Ford attempted to get German citizenship in order to divorce Elsie and marry Hunt. When this attempt failed, they returned from Germany claiming to have been married abroad, and Hunt used the name ‘Mrs Hueffer’. It is important to consider, therefore, that the composite portrait of Ford’s pre-war Germanic identity is tied up with his relationship with Hunt and how she, and others, chose to characterise him.

Though we know relatively little about Ford’s involvement with his German relations in between his visits to Germany, a letter from Laura Schmedding to Ford in 1906 conveys a sense of ongoing friendship. She scolded him for not giving her his most recent address, but thanked him for sending copies of his recent books. She suggested that she must be one of his most avid

³⁶ Ford, Letter to Elsie, [n.d. 10 September 1904(?)], Ford Collection, Cornell, 4605/35/7.

³⁷ Ford, Letter to Elsie, 30 August 1904, Ford Collection, Cornell, 4605/34/40.

³⁸ Ford, Letter to Elsie, [n.d. early September 1904(?)], Ford Collection, Cornell, 4695/35/3.

³⁹ Jörg W. Rademacher, ‘Tracing a Biographical Habit: Notes on the Lives of Franz Hüffer and Ford Hermann Hüffer’, in Rademacher (ed.), *Modernism and the Individual Talent*, pp.120-34 (p.128).

⁴⁰ Goldring, *The Last Pre-Raphaelite*, p.52.

⁴¹ Hunt uses the name ‘Joseph Leopold’ in both *The Desirable Alien* (1913) and *The Flurried Years* (1926).

readers, and regretted that they could not be in contact more: ‘Yes, dear Ford, I wish very much we might some times have a good talk, between us, as we formerly had in Telgte, and we remained always the best friends’.⁴² She told him about a meeting with Schücking at which he had praised Ford’s hospitality during his visit to London, and added:

I was not a little proud to hear that my nephew is in England such a considerable and amiable fellow. And just an hour later I got a lettre [*sic*] from the director of the Königl. Bibliothek [...] he thanks me for the friendly gift of Ford Madox Huffer’s [*sic*] The Cinque Ports.⁴³

This letter confirms that there was a continued relationship between his visits to Germany and shows her support for his work. Ford dedicated his two 1907 novels to his aunts – *Privy Seal* to Laura Schmedding, and *The English Girl* to Emma Goesen, commenting that she had ‘beaten the author thirty-one out of thirty-two games of chess’.⁴⁴ Whether Ford sent his books, and made these dedications, out of a sense of duty or a heartfelt desire to involve them in his work we cannot know. But when we consider the support they gave him, it makes Ford’s remarks in a letter to his publisher John Lane in 1915 all the more poignant: ‘I have had to give up literature and offer myself for service to George Five; so shortly you may expect to see me pantingly popping cartridges into garrison guns directed against my uncles, cousins and aunts advancing in pickelhaubes’.⁴⁵ Ford certainly felt a sense of torn national allegiance. He was not imagining fighting an anonymous enemy, but a people among whom he counted relatives and friends.

One of the more curious aspects of Ford’s biography is the period in which he tried to gain German citizenship in the hope of being able to get a German divorce from his wife, Elsie, and marry Hunt.⁴⁶ This idea was allegedly Emma Goesen’s.⁴⁷ Ford spent much of the period between the summer of 1910 and June 1911 living in Giessen, though making frequent trips to other parts of Germany, Belgium, and England. The letters between Ford and Hunt during this period are fraught with concern about the status of his application, the expense of the process, and the length of time he is likely to have to remain in Germany.⁴⁸ In her memoir, Hunt refers to

⁴² Laura Schmedding, Letter to Ford, 21 April 1906, Ford Collection, Cornell, 4605/91.097.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ford, *An English Girl: A Romance* (London: Methuen, 1907), n.p.

⁴⁵ Ford to John Lane, 12 August 1915, Ludwig (ed.), *Letters*, p.61.

⁴⁶ The plan sounds unlikely but was founded on the idea that if Ford gained German nationality, he thought would be able to divorce Elsie under German law and marry Violet. Saunders, *Dual Life*, I, pp.314-15; Berrahou-Anzuini, ‘Hufferian Years’. Although we assume Ford never acquired German citizenship, it is possible that Ford and Violet had a form of marriage ceremony in Paris in the autumn of 1911 – see Saunders, *Dual Life*, I, p.351.

⁴⁷ Mizener, *Saddest Story*, p.201.

⁴⁸ Letters (copies) between Hunt and Ford, Hunt Papers, Cornell, 4607/6/4 and 4607/24/12.

Ford's 'newly gained nationality', but Ford almost certainly did not become a German citizen.⁴⁹ Kemp highlights the records in Giessen town archives, which show that his citizenship application was indeed rejected in 1913, long after Ford had returned to live in London.⁵⁰ During the war Ford denied that he had become a German citizen, and was anxious to confirm his British status with C.F.G. Masterman, then a cabinet minister.⁵¹ In 1927, Ford wrote to the *New York Herald Tribune Books* to comment on an article, adding: 'I never became a German for legal or illegal reasons or for any reason. I should be flattered to be included among your countrymen [i.e. American] but I always was and shall always be a British subject.'⁵²

There are signs of tension between Ford and the Hüffers while he was trying to gain citizenship in 1910. Letters to Ford from his cousin Mimi, suggest that she was acting as an intermediary between Ford and her mother, Ford's aunt, Emma Goesen. Ford was forbidden from bringing Hunt to the house, but Mimi offered to meet her out of friendship to Ford.⁵³ Mimi tried to persuade him that she had not taken sides between Ford and his wife; in the letters her tone is sympathetic, but relations seem strained. In August 1910 Mimi wrote:

Ich werde mich nicht mehr darum kümmern, denn helfen kann ich nicht, und es geht mich gar nichts an, ich weiß nur, daß ich das größte Mitleid habe, sowohl mit Dir, als mit Elsie und den Kinder. Du hast mich mißverstanden, wenn Du meinst, ich hätte jemals geglaubt, Du hättest die Kinder verlassen. Was nun Miss Hunts Besuch betrifft, so bitte ich Dich, daß sie nicht kommt, ehe sie Deine Frau ist, Mama erklärt mir eben auf das Aller bestimmteste, sie würde mir nie erlauben, sie vorher zu empfangen und da sie Herrin des Hauses ist, kann ich keine Gäste aufnehmen, die sie nicht billigt.⁵⁴

(I am not going to concern myself with it anymore, for I cannot do anything to help and it does not concern me. I only know that I have the greatest sympathy for you, as well as for Elsie and the children. You have misunderstood me if you think that I ever thought that you had left the children. As for Miss Hunt's visit – I ask you that she does not come until she is your wife. Mama just made it clear to me in no uncertain terms that she would never allow me to receive her before this, and as she is mistress of the house, I cannot entertain guests of whom she does not approve.)

⁴⁹ Violet Hunt, *The Flurried Years* (London: Hurt & Blackett, 1926), p.131. Hunt's account is rather unreliable on this point, since his citizenship attempt was linked to their claim to have been married before they returned from Germany.

⁵⁰ Kemp, *Foreign Affairs*, p.35.

⁵¹ Saunders, *Dual Life*, I, p.470.

⁵² Ford, 15 February 1927, in Ludwig (ed.), *Letters*, pp.170-72 (p.172).

⁵³ Maria (Mimi) Goesen, Letter to Ford, 'Donnerstag Morgen', Hunt Papers, Cornell, 4607/9/23a.

⁵⁴ Mimi Goesen, Letter to Ford, 23 August 1910, Hunt Papers, Cornell, 4607/9/23b.

In November Mimi sent another mixed letter – with affectionate news of the family, and expressing an intention to read a recent novel by Hunt, but again she tried to avoid taking sides.⁵⁵ In August 1911 she wrote to Ford to try and remedy a misunderstanding concerning Ford’s brother, Oliver, and his wife, Zoe; in this case Mimi passionately defended Zoe and explained some of the efforts the German family had made to support her.⁵⁶ It further demonstrates that the German Hüffers were closely involved in the lives of their English cousins, and particularly in their marital difficulties. This involvement may at times have felt intrusive. In 1911, Ford told Hunt that they should avoid staying in Bonn ‘on account of the Hüffers that abound there’.⁵⁷

Depicting Ford’s relationship with his German relatives, Violet Hunt wrote in her 1926 memoir:

The Great Catastrophe perforce severed Joseph Leopold’s connection with the Fatherland. For, of course they all heard that he had repudiated his newly gained nationality. This gesture had been taken by them as a great compliment. But he had afterwards gone and sworn allegiance to King George, obtained a commission, and was fighting against them [the Hüffers].⁵⁸

Hunt’s description of Ford’s relationship with his family in Germany has contributed to the notion that Ford’s previously positive associations with Germany ended suddenly in 1914. It is also possible that Ford’s relationship with Hunt was a key factor in the distance between Ford and his family which predated the outbreak of war. Ford’s associations with Germany and German culture before the war were more ambivalent than some critics have previously suggested, and this is significant context for reading Ford’s wartime writing.

II: Ford’s Impressions of Germany: Writing and Correspondence

Early writing: ‘A Romance of the Times Before Us’

In 1934 Ford wrote that ‘nationality’ is ‘the thing I hate most’.⁵⁹ His experience of the First World War would justify this view, but his concerns about the effects of nationalism are discernible much earlier in his career.⁶⁰ ‘A Romance of the Times Before Us’ is an unpublished short story Ford wrote in about 1897.⁶¹ The story is set in Mussington, a fictional, sleepy village

⁵⁵ Mimi Goesen, Letter to Ford, 16 November 1910, Hunt Papers, Cornell, 4607/9/23c.

⁵⁶ Mimi Goesen, Letter to Ford, 10 August 1911, Hunt Papers, Cornell, 4607/9/23d.

⁵⁷ Ford, Letter to Hunt [n.d.], Cornell, Hunt Papers, 4607/24/12.

⁵⁸ Hunt, *Flurried Years*, p.131.

⁵⁹ Ford, *It Was the Nightingale*, p.318.

⁶⁰ An article derived from this section of my research has been published in *Last Post: A Literary Journal from the Ford Madox Ford Society*. See Acknowledgements for details.

⁶¹ There are three incomplete manuscripts of the story, from which it is possible to discern an almost complete narrative. The title on one manuscript (a) is ‘Times Before Us: A Romance of Peasant

in Kent, on the south coast, that witnesses a German invasion and a local civil uprising. The invasion is short lived, and London is not overtaken by the Germans as feared, although the inhabitants of Mussington believe the war continues beyond its borders. The peace is further disturbed when a local food shortage sparks a violent riot. More complex than a typical invasion narrative, Ford fuses two plotlines that both speak to the political circumstances of his day, with a title which could mean the times preceding his own, or, more likely, the times ahead.⁶² This early work, rarely considered in criticism,⁶³ offers insights into Ford's interpretation of international politics and his negotiation of his cultural heritage.

'A Romance of the Times Before Us' is a comic twist on the popular invasion narrative form. Chesney's *The Battle of Dorking* (1871) was the first of its kind, depicting German forces arriving at Britain's unsuspecting shores, with a climactic battle in the suburban town. By the 1890s, stories about French and Russian invasions were more common, particularly after the proposals for the building of a Channel Tunnel in 1882, and the Franco-Russian Alliance of 1894.⁶⁴ The sense of threat was serious enough that in 1888 the British government launched an enquiry into London's vulnerability to invasion, particularly from France.⁶⁵ There was a resurgence of interest in stories about German invasions following the passage of the German First Navy Law in 1898.⁶⁶ Ford therefore anticipates the renewed concerns about an Anglo-German conflict around the turn of the century. The reason Ford's story remained unpublished is unclear, and among Ford's published letters there is no mention of the text. Its literary merit may be one factor; it is also possible that it was felt to be slightly out of sync with current trends.

Invasion stories of the period draw upon a range of different genres, including spy fiction, science fiction and nineteenth-century adventure stories, but after Chesney they often share common features. There was usually a political message – whether campaigning for compulsory military service, protecting the strength of the British fleet, or promoting national self-sufficiency.⁶⁷ Many such stories emphasise how unprepared Britain was for attack, in line with

Uprising'. The manuscripts are undated, but the cover page of one (a) includes Ford's address at Pent Farm, where he lived between 1896 and 1898. Ford's attempt to redraft the story suggests some effort to prepare it for consideration by a publisher. Version 'c' is a copy of 'b', thought to be in Elsie Hueffer's, hand, with Ford's corrections. The gaps in the extant manuscripts may have been lost when pages were edited; the story was not left unfinished, but pages are absent from the middle of the manuscripts. Ford, 'A Romance of the Times Before Us', Ford Collection, Cornell, 4605/20/8a-c (hereafter 'Romance of the Times', followed by collection number).

⁶² Saunders, *Dual Life*, I, p.106.

⁶³ Saunders's biography is an exception. *Ibid.*, pp.106-8.

⁶⁴ Clarke, *Voices Prophesying War*, pp.109, 137.

⁶⁵ David G. Morgan-Owen, *The Fear of Invasion: Strategy, Politics and British War Planning 1880-1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), p.21.

⁶⁶ Clarke, *Voices Prophesying War*, pp.138-39.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p.38.

their political goal. In Ford's tale, British soldiers visit Mussington before the declaration of war, to gather food stores in expectation of a German attack. Ford may have been influenced by his surroundings near Romney Marsh and the Kent coastline, known as the 'invasion shore', where the remains of Martello Towers would have been a reminder of Britain's preparations for a French invasion during the Napoleonic Wars.⁶⁸ Even so, it seems the British are not prepared enough: Ford writes that they had 'as a matter of course been taken by surprise' with 'no ammunition in the country'.⁶⁹ Despite this failure, Ford's message is rather different from the rueful tone of Chesney's story. The attack on the south-east, the food crisis, and the popular uprising are all characteristic of the genre, but where some of these stories describe mass movements of men, Ford's narrative centres on a small village, and an even smaller group of closely drawn portraits. He concentrates on individual impressions, which include a jumbled experience of crossed ties and mixed emotions, through which he demonstrates the blindness of localism and nationalism.

The story's central character is the intelligent, spirited Dorothy 'Dolly' Fraser, reminiscent of the romantic heroines in Ford's fairy tales from this period, as well as a possible model for the later suffragette, Valentine Wannop, in *Parade's End*. Dorothy dresses in 'mediaeval garb',⁷⁰ suggestive of Pre-Raphaelite medievalism, and she betrays strong inflections of the moral and aesthetic philosophy of William Morris.⁷¹ Her dress is intended to help spread 'the taste for the beautiful amongst the proletariat'.⁷² But her intentions are easily misconstrued: 'she was uneasily conscious that her garb inspired the utmost antagonism amongst the cottagers and that, thus, perhaps, the social and aesthetic millennium was retarded rather than helped'.⁷³ Her sartorial choice therefore leads to greater social disparity. To the peasants in Mussington her costume is 'foreign', 'connected with the college of Girton, "somewhere's [sic] abroad"'.⁷⁴ In a story ostensibly about Anglo-German conflict, the antagonism is instead directed towards a fellow Englishwoman.

⁶⁸ On the threat of invasion in Romney Marsh and Winchelsea at the beginning of the nineteenth century see Malcolm Pratt, *Winchelsea: A Port of Stranded Pride* (Hadlow Down: Authors' Publishing Guild, 1998), pp.20-25; Margaret Brentnall, *The Cinque Ports and Romney Marsh* (London: Gifford, 1972), pp.31-38. Ford also describes the long history of invasion in this part of the country in *The Cinque Ports* (1900).

⁶⁹ Ford, 'Romance of the Times', Ford Collection, Cornell, 4605/20/8c.

⁷⁰ Ford, 'Romance of the Times', Ford Collection, Cornell, 4605/20/8b.

⁷¹ Ford writes of his own sartorial choices in the 1890s that 'we were all dressed more or less mediaevally, after the manner of true disciples of socialism of the William Morris school'. Ford, *Ancient Lights*, p.226. Morris died in 1896, and so this aspect of the story may be a form of homage.

⁷² Ford, 'Romance of the Times', Ford Collection, Cornell, 4605/20/8b.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Ibid. Girton was the first college open to women at the University of Cambridge.

Ford stops short of imagining a nationwide German invasion; in fact, war with Germany is rather inconsequential in his invasion story. The report of the war at large is deliberately underwhelming in comparison with the villagers' fears and rumours:

It was said that there were any number from ten to two [?] hundred thousand troops between Dymchurch and Orpington. [...] As a matter of fact the German line of communication failed dismally on the sea – and provisions failed them too. There was nothing to be seen in Dungeness bay but two gun boats that steamed to and fro. – They were British ships.⁷⁵

The German mission is a failure, but the emphasis on the war at sea reflects British fears about the prospect of improved German naval capability. Ford juxtaposes the anticipated German warships with two British ships cruising in a seemingly peaceful bay, making light of the British sense of peril. After a swift defeat, the German soldiers respond by declaring 'the whole affair [...] a "Gemeiner Schwindel" [damned fraud] after which they set to work to fraternise with their victors'.⁷⁶ Unlike the stereotype of the efficient, organised German army, the invading force experience weakness and embarrassment. It is not entirely clear whether their frustration is directed at their German leaders or the British. In either case, as soon as they have admitted defeat, they begin to rebuild positive relations with the British, suggesting that the antagonism which fuels the war is rather superficial.

Rather than critiquing Britain's naval or military defences, and a lack of attention to the German threat, Ford argues the reverse – that while Britain considers the threat from abroad, there are domestic concerns that are being overlooked. In the opening chapter, an article about Dorothy's brother, James McDiarmid Fraser, a cabinet minister, is read out from the local newspaper by one of the villagers. The article relates:

[G]loomy forebodings about foreign complications and German unscrupulousness, and hinted that the Whig leaders would be more than half-pleased with a war, since the jingoism that it would evoke would be likely to detract from the popularity of the only too popular Mr Fraser and would help them to shake off the tyranny of his yoke.⁷⁷

Within the context of the story, Ford suggests that there are politicians in England who seek to gain from a war with Germany, and there are those in the press willing to help them. Instead of amplifying the German threat, Ford highlights the sense of difference and 'foreignness' between the classes, which ultimately leads to the chaos and confusion of the civil uprising. Ford

⁷⁵ Ford, 'Romance of the Times', Ford Collection, Cornell, 4605/20/8c.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

returned to the subject of invasion in a 1909 article for the *English Review*, by which time British fears had intensified. In the article, he suggests that Britain's politicians, namely Asquith and Arthur Balfour, may be manufacturing the threat for their own ends, to garner support for financing more Dreadnoughts.⁷⁸ Ford's unpublished story, written about a decade earlier, reveals his long-standing concern about the manipulation of international relations for domestic political advantage.

In 'A Romance of the Times Before Us', Ford makes the fear of international war secondary to interpersonal relationships. This may be due to a greater emphasis on character development than plot in these drafts, but it results in a series of cosmopolitan entanglements. Dorothy has an ambiguous relationship with a German professor, sixteen years her senior. A schoolgirl fancy for her teacher has grown into a long-term relationship of admiration and respect for Professor Rittenhouse, whose anglicised name is reminiscent of Ford's father. Rittenhouse is described as having an 'encyclopaedic character' (another trait shared by Francis Hueffer, and, in fiction, by Christopher Tietjens in *Parade's End*), which 'cast a halo round him still in the eyes of Miss Fraser'.⁷⁹ Even so, Dorothy returns from university to find he has 'lost much of his charm'; she sees that he is 'mean-sighted' but 'almost unbearably mild'.⁸⁰ He remains a refreshingly complex German character within the genre. Rittenhouse is also notable as a surprisingly positive depiction of a German professor, a figure that fares badly in Ford's later memoirs and journalism. Despite his 'mean-sightedness' Rittenhouse is kind, wise, and cunning. His foresight provides Dorothy – and consequently the whole village – with food to help survive the crisis.

Rittenhouse speaks English with a thick German accent, and, rather curiously, speaks German with an English accent. While descriptions of military engagements are only brief, Ford sketches the professor's character and physical attributes in detail:

His attractions lay in his mildness, his pleasant smile, the gleam of his spectacles, his tawny mane and beard, his great presence, broad chest, slow movements, manners, deportment, and above all perhaps in the miraculously sweet way in which he 'sphogze Engleesh lankwech'. The charm is difficult to convey to eyes used to a different phonography – to the ear it was delicious. His syntax, grammar, expression, were perfect.⁸¹

⁷⁸ Ford, 'The Critical Attitude: Blue Water and the Thin Red Line', *English Review*, 1, April 1909, pp.135-44 (p.135).

⁷⁹ Ford, 'Romance of the Times', Ford Collection, Cornell, 4605/20/8b.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid.

The enjoyment of language here is worth noting; the intermingling of the two languages represents interwoven nations and cultures. In the manuscript, Ford continues to write all the professor's direct speech in his accent, despite the obvious difficulty of doing so. In one lengthy section, he writes in standard English, and leaves a note indicating that it will be written with the appropriate accent later.⁸² The attention to language as a cultural indicator is something we see emphasised in Ford's propaganda. This description of the professor also suggests a further similarity with Ford's father, whom Ford describes as having 'slightly cumbrous Germanic English'.⁸³ Despite having lived in England for decades, Rittenhouse retains a sense of difference, and Ford uses this indicator of otherness as an essential part of his charm, at least in Dorothy's mind. She finds the professor's accent 'tantalizing', and she is keen to practise her own German though anxious that she might offend him.⁸⁴ There is a desire for cross-cultural exchange, but a telling hesitation.

Dorothy responds to the invading force with a surge of involuntary patriotism. Despite this, and unlike her long, ambiguous relationship with the professor, she falls in love almost instantly with a German soldier whom she rescues first from battle, and later from the riot, and who, incidentally, speaks English perfectly. His battle wound makes him more attractive, since 'a great deal of his materialism, a great deal of his *schneidigkeit*, his military cynicism, had been let out of him through the hole that the small cylindrical bullet had made'.⁸⁵ Ford's punctuation implies that he translates 'schneidigkeit' as 'military cynicism', although the adjectival root 'schneidig' means 'dashing', and it may therefore be an error. Although framed in romantic terms, Dorothy's regard is based on his temporary state of weakness, and her momentary power over him. Her pragmatism undermines any development of romantic feeling. It seems to be a rather pointed suggestion that the German nation or Germanic disposition would perhaps be improved by wounds from the British.

The lovers are oddly opposed to one another – each vying for dominance over the mental life of the other, reflecting something of the struggle between admiration and rivalry in the relationship between Britain and Germany. Dorothy's hopes for the moral improvement of her German soldier prove to be unfounded, and his thoughts of her are equally self-gratifying:

So noble a creature he had never seen – nor one so glowing with life and the glory of Spring – *Lebens-glücklich-keit* – as he might have said if he had been at all well-read. [...]

[...] But that wonderful double-mindedness which is the property of the Teuton –

⁸² Ford, 'Romance of the Times', Ford Collection, Cornell, 4605/20/8c.

⁸³ Ford, *Ancient Lights*, p.86.

⁸⁴ Ford, 'Romance of the Times', Ford Collection, Cornell, 4605/20/8b.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

allowed him to reason on the other side of the matter and that quite calmly after a very paroxysm of adoration. He was not quite certain whether her station in life rendered her marriageable.⁸⁶

There are elements of Ford's later critique of German culture in his description of the young soldier's thoughts. His 'double-mindedness' could be an early reference to the 'homo duplex' of Ford's later impressionism, but given that this is explicitly 'Teutonic' in character, it may refer to the contemporary German philosophical interest in the 'double ego' or 'dipsychism', developed and popularised by Max Dessoir.⁸⁷ The English authorial voice intervenes to provide his character with a German word, 'Lebens-glückselig-keit'. In Ford's mind, the 'instructed' Prussian is not the well-rounded culturally educated English gentleman. It betrays Ford's long-held antipathy towards the Prussians, but relies on Ford's own fluency in German – a paradox we see repeated in his wartime propaganda.⁸⁸ The style of this intervention is not the skilled interior narrative of Ford's later fiction, but it hovers between omniscience and free indirect style. The critical voice of the German 'Herzog' (which Dorothy interprets as 'duke') undercuts the overblown 'paroxysm of adoration'. The soldier also seeks to usurp influence and imagines that Dorothy would be ideologically 'quite convertible', wrongly assuming he would be able to bend her thoughts to his own will. Her ultimate refusal of his proposal is another indication of a British victory over an attempted German invasion, but in both instances, victory is handled rather politely, and friendly relations resume quickly.

'A Romance of the Times Before Us' downplays the threat of invasion and counters the influence of nationalism using humour. We see the developing voice of the cosmopolitan Ford: alert to cultural differences, gently mocking national stereotypes, and highlighting tensions at home. The main German characters in the story, the professor and the Prussian soldier, are among the most prominent British stereotypes of Germany of the period, but Ford subverts expectations; the professor saves the day, and the maimed soldier is twice rescued by a woman. This interest in character while experimenting with the tropes of the genre aligns with Ford's message in the story, and resists the homogenising influences of nationalism. Ford wrote most about Germany between 1914 and 1915, when his relationships with German relatives and friends were most strained. This story provides us with a glimpse into Ford's approach to the relationship between these two nations in peacetime. In the story, conflict between Britain and Germany is both inevitable and absurd. Most of the individual Anglo-German relationships portrayed have elements of attraction and repulsion. Ford's depiction corresponds with the

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Max Dessoir's popular book *Das Doppel-Ich* (1890) developed a theory of two levels of consciousness, upper and lower. Peter Watson, *The German Genius: Europe's Third Renaissance, the Second Scientific Revolution, and the Twentieth Century* (New York: Harper, 2010), p.395.

⁸⁸ Hayman, 'Under Four Eyes', p.31.

broader ambivalence of Anglo-German relations before 1914. At the end of the nineteenth century Ford treads the line between ridiculing the notion of a war altogether, and still willing a British victory.

The spa: Ford in Germany and Switzerland, 1904

Ford went to Germany in August 1904, ostensibly to research his book on Holbein, but it also provided him with a rest from the strains of family life. Earlier that summer Ford had been advised by his doctor in London that he should take a sea voyage for the sake of his health, possibly for as long as two years.⁸⁹ Instead, he went to Germany for five months, during which he spent a considerable amount of time visiting his relatives; especially Emma and Mimi Goesen in Boppard, his dying uncle Hermann in Bonn, and Laura Schmedding in Telgte, near Münster. He also travelled to Basel for research, and was intending to go further, but while he was there he suffered a severe mental breakdown.⁹⁰ In his first weeks in Germany, Ford socialised widely, but he also suffered attacks of depression and agoraphobia, conditions which had troubled him intermittently for a few years. As his symptoms intensified, he consulted a doctor in Basel, and then sought treatment at a sanatorium in Mammern, by Lake Constance in Switzerland, and later at the spa in Marienberg, Boppard. Ford describes his experience of these ‘cures’ in *Return to Yesterday*, downplaying the severity of his depression:

From 1903 to 1906 illness removed me from most activities. The illness was purely imaginary; that made it none the better. It was enhanced by wickedly unskilful doctoring. In those days I wandered from nerve cure to nerve cure, all over England, Germany, Austria, Switzerland—but mostly in Germany.⁹¹

As Saunders notes, the ‘imagined illness’ gives it a questionable status – seemingly meaning a fictional illness, it is equally a product and experience of the mind.⁹²

His depression was certainly real enough. In his letters Ford described feeling like he had weights on his limbs, he could not think clearly, and also struggled with his eyesight.⁹³ But it is the ‘melancholia’ of the letters which is most striking;⁹⁴ in October 1904, he wrote to his wife:

Of course I shd love to have you here: it seems a shame that I shd wander about in this lovely scenery so full of gloom that I cannot see its beauties, whilst you wd enjoy it so

⁸⁹ Moser, *Life in the Fiction*, p.56.

⁹⁰ Saunders, *Dual Life*, I, pp.178-79.

⁹¹ Ford, *Return to Yesterday*, p.202.

⁹² Saunders, *Dual Life*, I, p.180.

⁹³ Ford, Letter to Elsie, [n.d. November 1904(?)], Ford Collection, Cornell, 4605/35/29.

⁹⁴ Ford, Letter to Elsie, 17 November 1904, Ford Collection, Cornell, 4605/35/37.

immensely. – In fact, my dear child, the more I consider matters the more I think that I have in one way + another ruined your life. – Really it wd be best if I cd just die & let you have a second instalment of life that wd not be so filled with gloom by me.⁹⁵

Despite his depression, the doctors supervising his care repeatedly told him there was nothing wrong with him, or that whatever ailed him, the cure they prescribed was bound to work. Ford exemplified these vacillations in a letter from Mammern, after he had seen Dr Ullmann, who told him that ‘except for the Great Nerve – whatever that may be – + Brain Fog there is nothing the matter. But these are serious, nevertheless perfectly curable by these baths’.⁹⁶ Of course, this is Ford’s interpretation of the consultation and may betray his own qualms about the seemingly insubstantial diagnosis. He was prescribed a regime comprising baths of different temperatures, electric baths, massages and short walks. He was also advised to have several teeth removed and was subjected to strange diets. Ford’s first taste of a Swiss cure was a dietetic treatment which made him sick, involving the consumption of six pints of milk a day, prescribed by Dr Reinke in Basel.⁹⁷

Ford observed in a letter to Elsie that ‘[t]here’s such a lot of nervous breakdown’ in Germany, adding that his cousin Mimi also suffered.⁹⁸ From the late nineteenth century German psychiatry was world leading, and there was indeed a different approach to ‘nervousness’.⁹⁹ Neurasthenia, first defined in 1860 by George Miller Beard as a specifically American syndrome, was conceptualised as a disease of modernity; its symptoms of exhaustion, headaches, and physical weakness were seen as a response to the pace and technology of modern life.¹⁰⁰ Beard’s work was translated into German in the 1880s, and the diagnosis was swiftly adopted into German culture, with its rise running parallel to the nation’s path to industrialisation.¹⁰¹ Andreas Killen observes that social insurance provision in Germany in the 1880s helped to shift ‘nervousness’ from being merely a bourgeois illness to one that was experienced by the masses.¹⁰² A form of social and cultural criticism emerged, epitomised by Max Nordau’s *Degeneration* (1892), using

⁹⁵ Ford, Letter to Elsie, 17 October 1904, Ford Collection, Cornell, 4605/35/18.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Ford, Letter to Elsie, [n.d. September 1904 (?)], Ford Collection, Cornell, 4605/35/31. Milk and whey cures were common practice and were used to combat a wide range of complaints, though their efficacy was beginning to be doubted in the late nineteenth century. Julius Braun, *On the Curative Effects of Baths and Waters: Being a Handbook to the Spas of Europe*, ed. Hermann Weber (London: Smith, Elder, 1875), p.434.

⁹⁸ Ford, Letter to Elsie, 15 September 1904, Ford Collection, Cornell, 4605/35.008.

⁹⁹ Paul Lerner, *Hysterical Men: War, Psychiatry, and the Politics of Trauma in Germany, 1890-1930* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003), pp.17-19.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., p.31; Andreas Killen, *Berlin Electropolis: Shock, Nerves, and German Modernity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), pp.4-5, 42-43.

¹⁰¹ Lerner, *Hysterical Men*, p.31; Killen, *Berlin Electropolis*, p.4.

¹⁰² Killen, *Berlin Electropolis*, pp.88-93.

the medical language of nervous disorder to explain the perceived moral decline.¹⁰³ Saunders suggests that ‘the German attitude towards mental illness made [Ford] feel at home’.¹⁰⁴ Ford wrote that ‘I feel sometimes, when I’m rather collapsible in the street, that here it would not matter – that people would understand’.¹⁰⁵ By contrast, Olive Garnett, Ford’s childhood friend, commented that when she went to stay with Ford and Elsie in the summer of 1904, ‘I had never heard then of neurasthenia’.¹⁰⁶ Ford’s attack of agoraphobia during her visit seemed strange. While Ford may have felt understood in Germany, his observation about the ubiquity of nervous breakdown in Germany could also be a more ambivalent statement, indicating a form of national weakness.

German spas had been popular with British visitors since the beginning of the nineteenth century. They were attracted by the landscape, the renowned expertise of the German spa doctors, and the elite social scene.¹⁰⁷ While in the eighteenth century, spa-going had been encouraged for health and general wellbeing, in the nineteenth century the emphasis was on curing patients of their illnesses.¹⁰⁸ In the context of widespread modern nervousness, the spa was often seen as a necessary retreat from the strains of modern life. The beautiful scenery of many spa locations was thought to provide relief from increasingly urbanised lifestyles. The Baedeker guide from 1896 notes that ‘the handsome old nunnery of Marienberg, has of late attracted numerous visitors owing to the beauty and healthiness of its situation’.¹⁰⁹ But, as Adam Rosenbaum observes in his research on Bad Reichenhall in Bavaria, the spa was not necessarily an escape from modern life, but instead ‘a more acceptable version of it’, combining ‘a romanticised version of the past’, with the benefits of modern comforts, technology and medicine.¹¹⁰ A plethora of newly defined disorders was accompanied by the development of specialised sanatoria to address the needs of specific patients, like the one Ford visited at Mammern, which focused on ‘nervous and internal diseases’.¹¹¹ In treating nervous conditions, cold baths and electric baths were thought to provide a therapeutic shock to the nervous system and restore the perceived imbalance in the body.¹¹² Exercise became an important aspect of the

¹⁰³ Nordau saw neurasthenia as a minor stage in the development of hysteria and degeneracy. Max Nordau, *Degeneration* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1993), p.15.

¹⁰⁴ Saunders, *Dual Life*, I, p.176.

¹⁰⁵ Ford, Letter to Elsie, [n.d. early September 1904], Ford Collection, Cornell, 4605/35/2.

¹⁰⁶ Moser, *Life in the Fiction*, p.54.

¹⁰⁷ Scully, *British Images of Germany*, pp.53-54.

¹⁰⁸ David Blackbourn, ‘Fashionable Spa Towns in Nineteenth-century Europe’, in Geyer and Paulmann (eds), *Mechanics of Internationalism*, pp.435-57 (pp.437-38).

¹⁰⁹ Karl Baedeker, *The Rhine from Rotterdam to Constance: Handbook for Travellers*, 13th edn (Leipzig: Baedeker, 1896), p.111.

¹¹⁰ Adam T. Rosenbaum, ‘Grounded Modernity in the Bavarian Alps: The Reichenhall Spa Culture at the Turn of the Twentieth Century’, *Central European History*, 47 (2014), 30-53 (p.32).

¹¹¹ *Bäder-Almanach: Reports of Spas, Climatic Stations and Sanatoria in Germany Austria-Hungary Switzerland and Adjoining Countries for Physicians and Patients*, English edn (Berlin: Mosse, 1912), p.210.

¹¹² Braun, *Curative Effects of Baths and Waters*, p.98.

‘cure’ from the mid-nineteenth century.¹¹³ One of the many treatments advertised at Mammern was the ‘Oertel-Cure’,¹¹⁴ a somewhat regimented form of increasingly strenuous hiking trails, promoted by German physician Max Joseph Oertel.¹¹⁵ Ford’s description of his daily routine at Marienberg includes five short walks.¹¹⁶

Over the course of his treatments, Ford made intermittent progress, sometimes feeling better, at others, despairing. Reflecting on his treatment in the 1930s, Ford dismissed the medical advice he had received, but at the time he seems to have placed considerable faith in their expertise. Writing to Elsie he said: ‘I feel worse than I ever did, but the Dr. absolutely swears that there is nothing the matter with me but nerves – &, since he’s had immense experience I suppose I may believe him.’¹¹⁷ Ford had to leave Mammern before the end of the recommended four-week cure because the sanatorium was closing for the season.¹¹⁸ He considered going to another resort, either Montreux or St Moritz,¹¹⁹ but found Switzerland too expensive, and told Elsie that he preferred the idea of returning to Germany to be closer to England.¹²⁰ He went to the Marienberg hydrotherapeutic institution at Boppard, where he was within walking distance of the Goesens, and he visited them daily as part of his exercise regime.¹²¹ Despite this freedom to leave the spa regularly, he told Elsie that the spa at Marienberg was ‘rather like being buried alive beneath an immense whitened mausoleum’, adding that he hoped to be ‘out of gaol’ by Christmas.¹²² Ford read his experience of the place through his bleak emotional state.

Ford’s treatment in 1904 is highly significant for his portrayal of spa culture at Bad Nauheim in *The Good Soldier*.¹²³ Rau describes the German spa as ‘a profoundly equivocal locus in the European cultural and literary landscape’.¹²⁴ The spa in *The Good Soldier* is a fraught social space of sexual license, façade and deception. Rather than a place where physically sick people

¹¹³ Jill Steward describes the attraction of ‘Kneippism’, a particularly ascetic approach to hydrotherapy which emphasised ‘hardening the system’ in response to the literature of degeneration. Jill Steward, ‘The Culture of the Water Cure in Nineteenth-Century Austria, 1800-1914’, in Susan C. Anderson and Bruce H. Tabb (eds), *Water, Leisure and Culture: European Historical Perspectives* (Oxford: Berg, 2002), pp.23-35 (pp.32-33).

¹¹⁴ *Bäder-Almanach*, p.210.

¹¹⁵ Rosenbaum, ‘Grounded Modernity’, p.43.

¹¹⁶ Ford, Letter to Elsie, [n.d. early November 1904], Ford Collection, Cornell 4605/35/29.

¹¹⁷ Ford, Letter to Elsie, 21 October 1904, Ford Collection, Cornell, 4605/35/21.

¹¹⁸ Three to four weeks was the average duration of a cure, so the two months that Ford spent at various institutions suggests an unusual degree of malaise. Hermann Weber and F. Parkes Weber, *The Mineral Waters and Health Resorts of Europe* (London: Smith, Elder, 1898), p.52.

¹¹⁹ Ford, Letter to Elsie, 17 October 1904, Ford Collection, Cornell, 4605/35/18.

¹²⁰ Ford, Letter to Elsie, 27 October 1904, Ford Collection, Cornell, 4605/35/25.

¹²¹ Ford, Letter to Elsie, [n.d. early November 1904(?)], Ford Collection, Cornell, 4605/35/29.

¹²² Ford, Letter to Elsie, 10 November 1904, Ford Collection, Cornell 4605/35/34.

¹²³ The world of the German spa is also the setting for the beginning of Ford’s 1912 novel *The New Humpty Dumpty* but plays a more peripheral role. In this earlier book, Ford mentions Wiesbaden and Nauheim – both places he visited, though not spas where he received treatment.

¹²⁴ Rau, *English Modernism*, p.93.

go to be cured, it is where the well benefit from prescribed routines and privacy. The Dowells' life is planned around Florence's supposed illness, and the strict regime at Nauheim serves no purpose other than to keep her husband at a distance, and conceal and facilitate her affairs. As Rau acknowledges, their annual summer trip to Nauheim 'looks like that of a cosmopolitan social elite, but it reduces them to prisoners on the continent'.¹²⁵ This depiction resonates with Ford's experience; Ford felt trapped in Germany, both at the sanatoria in 1904, and in 1911, when he had to remain in Giessen while seeking German citizenship. In the novel, Dowell describes Bad Nauheim as 'a prison full of screaming hysterics'.¹²⁶ And yet, this is not an asylum; the phrase jars with the polite social world Dowell depicts. Rather, the 'screaming hysterics' are a projection of the sense of mounting pressure within a vacuum, reading back into the past a disorder of which he was not conscious in the moment. Ford translates his experience of mental disorder at the spa into a social disorder.¹²⁷

The spa in Ford's novel also provokes a mental response. Dowell comments that it was only after they had left Nauheim and returned to England that Leonora suffered a mental collapse:

Upon her return from Nauheim Leonora had completely broken down—because she knew [that] she could trust Edward. That seems odd but, if you know anything about breakdowns you will know that by the ingenious torments that fate prepares for us, these things come as soon as, a strain having relaxed, there is nothing more to be done.¹²⁸

We could read this as a description of Ford's own experience, although here the role of Germany and England are reversed – in Germany Ford finally had opportunity, as well as a degree of social permission, to collapse. In the novel, Leonora's mental distress is caused by the sexual liaisons facilitated by the spa, but she only begins to suffer headaches on her return to England. Her experience at Nauheim is repeatedly described as 'like a long silent duel with invisible weapons'.¹²⁹ The spa is portrayed as a place of strain, not relaxation. Given that Bad Nauheim was a renowned institution for the treatment of heart conditions, we might suggest that Ford sent his protagonists to the wrong institution.¹³⁰ With the exception of Maisie Maudan's heart condition, it is treatment for nervous disorders that his characters require. Leonora has a mental breakdown, Edward and Florence commit suicide – at least allegedly, and Nancy Rufford loses her mind. She, too, is advised to travel to 'restore her reason', a prescription

¹²⁵ Ibid., p.100.

¹²⁶ Ford, *Good Soldier*, p.12.

¹²⁷ Julian Preece sees the First World War as the 'culmination of a civilizational crisis' that Ford explores in the novel. Preece, 'Anglo-German Dilemmas', p.224.

¹²⁸ Ford, *Good Soldier*, p.136.

¹²⁹ Ibid., pp.88, 92.

¹³⁰ *Bäder-Almanach*, p.140.

which also fails.¹³¹ The disordered narrative betrays Dowell's own agitated nerves, as well as his description of his breakdown and 'catalepsy' after Florence's death.¹³² Ford conveys the deficiency of the spa to deal with this degenerative social condition in every respect – offering neither rest, nor cure; it is a battleground and a prison.

Some critics have seen Ford's treatment at German and Swiss spas as evidence for a strong association with Germany as a place of rest and wellbeing, but this does not seem to correspond with Ford's descriptions. Gene Moore suggests that although Ford's attitudes to Germany were mixed, they were 'largely shaped before the War, when his German relatives twice helped to provide him with a refuge from the moral and marital difficulties in which he had become involved in England'.¹³³ He adds that 'in practical terms it [Germany] was primarily a place to go to be cured of one's physical ailments or legal problems'.¹³⁴ Similarly, Kemp describes Ford's pre-war experience of Germany as 'Das Land der Wiedergeburt, der Heilung und des Überflusses [...]. Also das ideale Mutterland' (the land of rebirth, of healing, and of abundance [...] therefore the ideal motherland).¹³⁵ This emphasis on healing and rest in Germany does not reflect the depth of despair Ford felt during both of his extended stays in Germany. It is also questionable whether Ford returned from Germany feeling any better than when he left. His letters to his family in 1904 betray increasing homesickness and a desire to return to England as soon as possible, against the advice of his doctors. And yet, earlier in his visit, Ford had felt much more positively about being in Germany. The ambivalent character of Ford's pre-war experiences set the tone for his long-standing views of his father's homeland.

The Rhineland and the 'land of good Grimm'

In his preface to Violet Hunt's book *The Desirable Alien at Home in Germany* (1913) Ford wrote that had *he* been writing a book about Germany he would have considered 'what Bismarckism, Nietzscheism and agnosticism [...] have made of the land of the good Grimm'.¹³⁶ Ford's first propaganda book, *When Blood is Their Argument*, was in many ways the book he proposed writing a year before the war began. Ford's sense of Germany was woven together with its literary past. Like many British travellers, he had strong associations with the romance of the Rhine that he contrasted with modern Prussia. Translations of European fairy tales emerged in Britain at the beginning of the nineteenth century.¹³⁷ Grimms' fairy tales were first

¹³¹ Ford, *Good Solider*, p.157

¹³² *Ibid.*, p.86.

¹³³ Moore, 'Ford and Germany', p.148.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, p.152.

¹³⁵ Kemp, *Foreign Affairs*, pp.38-39.

¹³⁶ Violet Hunt and Ford Madox Ford, *The Desirable Alien at Home in Germany* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1913), p.ix.

¹³⁷ Jack Zipes, 'Introduction', in Jack Zipes (ed.), *Victorian Fairy Tales: The Revolt of the Fairies and Elves* (New York: Routledge, 1987), pp.xiii-xxix (pp.xiv-xvii).

translated into English in 1823, with numerous translations of the various editions over the course of the century. David Blamires argues that the Grimms' tales are 'without a doubt the single most important German contribution to world literature'.¹³⁸ Ford's last work of literary criticism, *The March of Literature* (1938), displays his enduring appreciation for German folklore and fairy tale, especially those by the Brothers Grimm.¹³⁹

Literary responses to the German landscape influenced the expectations of British travellers, and particularly their perception of the Rhineland. Eighteenth-century British writers were the first to perceive the Rhine as romantic; this interpretation was subsequently adopted in Germany, where the Rhine also became an important symbol of national identity.¹⁴⁰ Hagen Schulz-Forberg observes that towards the end of the nineteenth century '[w]hile the Rhine served as an integrative means for the German unification process, for English tourists it was more and more a fairyland'.¹⁴¹ Visitors who travelled to Berlin got a very different impression, which was interpreted as the disparity between old and new Germany. Scully highlights that there were separate Baedeker guidebooks for southern Germany and the Rhineland, and northern Germany until 1913 in the German edition, but until 1936 in the English edition; 'the division of Germany into distinct areas in the mind of the British traveller effectively maintained the tradition of a disunited geographical entity well into the period of its actual political unification'.¹⁴² Ford's distinction between North and South Germany is a relatively well-recognised feature of his wartime journalism and propaganda, but it is also present in his pre-war writing. His conception of the Rhine, seen partly through his personal correspondence, adds to our understanding of Ford's sense of old and new Germany, South versus North.

Fairy tale and romance are common features in Ford's early writing; three of his first novels were fairy stories, and in 1906, he published a collection of short stories and poems for children, entitled *Christina's Fairy Book* after his eldest daughter. In one sense, then, it is unsurprising that when writing to his children about Switzerland and Germany he describes it in storybook terms. This is particularly evident in his letters and postcards during his 1904 visit, when Christina was seven and Katherine, four. A postcard to Katherine, showing the cathedral in Basel, reads: 'I think there's a fairy on each steeple; but I have not been to see'.¹⁴³ A postcard to Christina of Marienberg at Boppard explains that '[t]he creature at the side here is the German

¹³⁸ David Blamires, *Telling Tales: The Impact of Germany on English Children's Books 1780-1918* (Cambridge: Open Book, 2009), p.147.

¹³⁹ Ford, *March of Literature*, p.647.

¹⁴⁰ Hagen Schulz-Forberg, 'The Sorcerer's Apprentice: English Travellers and the Rhine in the Long Nineteenth Century', *Journeys*, 3 (2002), 86-110 (pp.87-89).

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p.101.

¹⁴² Scully, *British Images of Germany*, p.64.

¹⁴³ Ford, Postcard to Katherine Hueffer, 9 October 1904, Ford Collection, Cornell, 4605/38/56.

Eagle which is a fabulous monster', framing modern political Germany in the language of the stories of old Germany.¹⁴⁴

Alison Lurie sees Ford's published fairy stories for children as part of Ford's preference for fiction over fact; a retreat into the realm of imagination – a realm shared more readily by children than by an adult readership.¹⁴⁵ The references to fairies in his letters suggest not only that he was exceptionally good at engaging in his children's imaginative lives, but that he was himself retreating into fairyland in search of psychological relief. In his classic essay 'On Fairy-Stories', J.R.R. Tolkien suggests that we are generally too quick to consign fantasy and fairy tales to the nursery. He writes:

If written with art, the prime value of fairy-stories will simply be the value which, as literature, they share with other literary forms. But fairy-stories offer also, in a peculiar degree or mode, these things: Fantasy, Recovery, Escape, Consolation, all things of which children have, as a rule, less need than older people.¹⁴⁶

Ford may well have used the descriptions of fairies both for his daughters' benefit and for his own.

Unlike the occasional references to fairies at cultural landmarks, during Ford's most intense periods of relapse into depression the fairies in Ford's letters seem to carry additional significance. In October 1904, he wrote to Christina and Katherine:

Here are two German violets that I have plucked for you in a German wood on top of a high mountain. [...] I think the fairies had not long left these violets because there were still large drops like diamonds in them, and, in the mornings here, the thick mists hang for so long on the mountains that the fairies need not be in the least afraid that any one will see them. [...] There are bad fairies in these mists and one of them has got into my nose and makes me sneeze all the time. – But there are also very good fairies in the mist: these look after the grapes in the vineyards and make the skins nice and thin – and that is very good for the wine, so that it grows very sweet.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁴ Ford, Postcard to Christina Hueffer, 11 November 1904, Ford Collection, Cornell, 4605/32/34.

¹⁴⁵ Alison Lurie, 'Ford Madox Ford's Fairy Tales', *Children's Literature*, 8 (1980), 7-21 (p.19).

¹⁴⁶ J.R.R. Tolkien, 'On Fairy Stories', in *Essays Presented to Charles Williams* (London: Oxford University Press, 1947), pp.38-89 (p.66).

¹⁴⁷ Ford, Letter to Christina and Katherine Hueffer, 1 October 1904, Ford Collection, Cornell, 4605/38/55.

Ford evokes a specifically German landscape – a wistful depiction of a rural scene, and a representation of the Rhineland’s famous wines. In his letters to Elsie around this time, he often describes his symptoms by saying that his head is ‘clouded’ or in a ‘mist’.¹⁴⁸ While these meteorological metaphors are not remarkable in themselves, there may be a relationship between the way Ford interprets the landscape for his children, and his attempt to understand his illness. Haslam describes Ford’s writing as a ‘curative method’ more effective than the treatments he received at the spa.¹⁴⁹ In this letter, Ford turns his complex mental symptoms into a recognisable physical response (sneezing) and brings out creatures from the mist. His letters generally drift between lyrical description and presenting the bare details of his condition. The descriptive mode must have required conscious effort but may have served a therapeutic function; Ford may have managed his fears by presenting the depressive mists as fantastical creatures, blending the mental and geographical landscape.

Ford sounds relatively buoyant in the first letter to his children, unlike a letter written later the same month, from Mammern, towards the end of his cure in Switzerland, when he was missing his family and tiring of the treatments.

No – I do not see any fairies here: perhaps that is because my eyes are not any good, or perhaps there are no nice fairies in Switzerland. – But sometimes at night I dream that two little creatures come and sit on my pillow and talk to me and say: Get well soon, Pumpums. And those little creatures have wings and one like Xtina and Baby sister – so perhaps when you are asleep you come to me here – and that is the nicest thing that happens to me. [...] I hope, if I am well enough, to go back to Boppard where I did see some Rhine fairies.¹⁵⁰

‘Pumpums’ was the affectionate name Ford used with his children. In this instance, the fairies Ford imagines are not native to Switzerland, but his children conjured in his dreams. Another postcard to Christina says: ‘A bad fairy called Dyspepsia is troubling him [Ford] and so he cannot write much’.¹⁵¹ Again, attributing his illness to a mythical creature distances it, as well as helping to explain it for his children. As with many of Ford’s postcards it is written in the second person, adding to the sense of self-alienation. Ford’s mother joined him towards the end of his stay at Mammern, and he makes a number of references to her reading to him for his

¹⁴⁸ Ford, Letter to Elsie Hueffer 27 October 1904, Ford Collection, Cornell, 4605/35/25.

¹⁴⁹ Haslam, *Fragmenting Modernism*, p.22.

¹⁵⁰ Ford, Letter to Christina and Katherine Hueffer, 29 October 1904, Ford Collection, Cornell, 4605/38/57.

¹⁵¹ Ford, Postcard to Christina Hueffer, [n.d. 1904], Ford Collection, Cornell, 4605/32/33.

relief, even reading him to sleep. When Ford was writing to his children he was, in effect, telling himself stories.¹⁵²

The fairy tale descriptions offer another example of the ambivalence of his experience of his father's homeland: the landscape and stories of the Rhineland and its fairyland may have been a refuge from the reality of a Germany of psychological cures and mechanisation. Schulz-Forberg (quoting Bronislaw Malinowski) sees a retreat into the mythical not just as an individual response to personal suffering, but a collective response to political tensions: 'The return to romance or myth at the end of the nineteenth century is also due to the fact that "myths function where there is a sociological strain. . . , where profound historical changes have taken place".'¹⁵³ Ford's associations with Germany are clearly informed by fictional elements in common with other British travellers. However, there is a danger that in highlighting the role of the 'Land of Grimm' in Ford's idea of Germany, we neglect his appreciation for the political situation between Britain and Germany, its realities and its fictions.¹⁵⁴

Ford in Germany from 1910 to 1911

From 1910 to 1911 Ford spent more than a year based in Giessen, attempting to gain German citizenship as part of his plan to marry Violet Hunt. *The Desirable Alien* is primarily Hunt's book, documenting her reflections on life in Germany while visiting Ford. But it is also essential to a consideration of Ford's impressions of Germany shortly before the war, particularly as he refers to it in *When Blood is Their Argument*. Ford's contribution to the book includes the preface, two chapters which were initially published as articles in the *Saturday Review* in September and October 1911, and several long footnotes throughout the text. While Ford was based in Giessen he and Hunt travelled extensively, making trips to Nauheim, Marburg, Hildesheim, Celle, Trier, and the book ends with an account of their trip to Belgium. Parts of the book are written as a guide for the British traveller in Germany as well as passages of cultural criticism.

The 'desirable alien' in the title refers to Hunt's identification as a German citizen. She claims in the opening chapter that she has had the honour of German citizenship 'thrust upon' her.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵² Saunders notes the regressive character of several of Ford's behaviours and descriptions of his time at the spa – drinking milk, 'crawling' on his walks, and being read to. Saunders, *Dual Life*, I, p.186.

¹⁵³ Schulz-Forberg, 'Sorcerer's Apprentice', p.99.

¹⁵⁴ Paul Kennedy characterises British Germanophile 'idealists' as having little knowledge of contemporary conditions and politics in Germany. Though Ford wrote against a war with Germany in 1909, he was not an idealist, and had recent experience of life in Germany. Kennedy, 'Idealists and Realists', p.146.

¹⁵⁵ Hunt and Ford, *Desirable Alien*, p.1.

She means that she has acquired German citizenship through Ford's – the citizenship he did not actually achieve.¹⁵⁶ She ends the chapter:

[S]uddenly it comes into my head that [...] when I am asked, 'Are you a British subject?' I shall have to answer 'No,' because I have tasted of these grapes, drunk of this wine, and heard the flow of this—of *the* river. When I return to my native land I shall be an—I trust—desirable alien.¹⁵⁷

This definition of citizenship, one gained through cultural experience, calls into question her earlier statement about her acquired nationality. If merely the sight of the beautiful Rhine gave her license to citizenship, then all travellers confronted with this scene could claim it, which sounds like a citizenship as insubstantial as Ford's. When Hunt hopes she will be welcome in her native land, she means Britain, but, as Kemp acknowledges, the title could imply that she will now be a 'desirable alien' in both nations.¹⁵⁸

Hunt depicts a somewhat idealised version of Germany – particularly of the Rhine which she describes as 'surely the most romantic thing in the world'.¹⁵⁹ Elsewhere, she offers a relatively balanced portrait: 'No misery shows in Germany [...]. But on the other hand, no one ever looks very happy'.¹⁶⁰ She certainly does not shrink from negative observations, particularly those connected with 'modern' Germany, commenting that '[t]here is nothing in the world like the aggressiveness of the Prussian officer'.¹⁶¹ She tells her fellow British travellers that if you sample the waters at Nauheim: 'The drink upsets you for days; the bath is neither here nor there'.¹⁶² On several points, Hunt's views of Germany are aligned with Ford's. She observes, for example, that some elements of German culture are 'only education-deep, and in no-way instinctive', in sympathy with his condemnation of instruction rather than a more holistic form of cultural education, an issue I address in detail in Chapter 3.¹⁶³

Ford's preface to *The Desirable Alien* is essentially a brief essay on impressionism and subjectivity. In this context, he highlights the various possible views of German life:

¹⁵⁶ In *The Flurried Years* Hunt admits that she had never seen any papers confirming Ford's citizenship, and even that there 'were no papers to speak of'. Hunt, *Flurried Years*, p.191.

¹⁵⁷ Hunt and Ford, *Desirable Alien*, p.16.

¹⁵⁸ Kemp, *Foreign Affairs*, p.43.

¹⁵⁹ Hunt and Ford, *Desirable Alien*, p.11.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp.52-53.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p.207.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, p.91.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, p.28.

Destiny might make you an Interpreter situated at Essen, or a British Consular Representative at Frankfurt! How different would be your views of a country that for me is partly Muenster in Westphalia, with its dark arcades and its history of blood, and that is still more the Rhine between Koblenz and Assmanshausen, where life lives itself so pleasantly. Essen is all coal-dust, grime, and the resounding of mighty hammers; Frankfurt is all banks, diamonds, gilding, prostitutes, theatres, art centres. Which, then, is Germany, and could any one soul give you uncoloured facts about both? It is unthinkable.¹⁶⁴

This is a prime example of Ford's pre-war ambivalence towards Germany. He describes both a 'history of blood' – referring to the Thirty Years' War – and the pleasant associations of the Rhineland.¹⁶⁵ Ford portrays himself as having authority and oversight, able to appreciate multiple perspectives, although not without giving his own incidental impressions, including Essen's ubiquitous 'coal-dust' and the materialism of Frankfurt. In the preface, Ford also sets out the cultural ties which influence his strained articles in the first weeks after the outbreak of war. Referring to the German annexation of Alsace-Lorraine, Ford comments that 'if France regained its loss, Germany, to make the fairy-tale complete, must have its place in the sun, and Great Britain must lose nothing either'.¹⁶⁶ He knows that such an outcome would be impossible – hence the language of fantasy. Ford knew long before August 1914 that his connection to Britain, France and Germany would cause him grief in the event of war.

Ford's two essays from the *Saturday Review* sit awkwardly within Hunt's narrative. In 1911 they were first published under the collective title 'High Germany'.¹⁶⁷ The first included in the book concerns 'Utopia'. Ford details the requisite attributes of a utopian town, including a university, ample sources of cultural diversion associated with the university, and an old town centre, situated in a rural valley. At the end of the chapter he reveals:

It is odd, we are living in Utopia; we are living in an earthly paradise. There can't be any doubt about it. But just at this moment our man comes in and tells us that the washing will not be home till to-morrow morning, and we become frenzied with rage.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p.viii.

¹⁶⁵ The Peace of Westphalia which ended the Thirty Years' War (1618-48) was negotiated in Münster and Osnabrück. Ford describes Münster's bloody history in *The Spirit of the People* (1907), the final volume of his trilogy *England and the English*. 'The arcades of Münster witnessed murders of the most terrible: the church towers of Münster are square because, so the legend has it, the Anabaptists set their cannon upon the platforms left after the spires had fallen.' Ford, *England and the English*, ed. Sara Haslam (Manchester: Carcanet, 2003), p.234.

¹⁶⁶ Hunt and Ford, *Desirable Alien*, p.xi.

¹⁶⁷ They were published in the *Saturday Review* in the opposite order to their placement in the book. Ford, 'High Germany I: How it Feels to be Members of Subject Races', *Saturday Review*, 112, 30 September 1911, pp.421-22; 'High Germany II: Utopia', *Saturday Review*, 112, 7 October 1911, pp.454-56.

[...] Yes; we are all citizens of an earthly paradise, but—if we may be permitted the expression—we will be damned if we do not leave by the 6.9 for London.¹⁶⁸

Despite Ford's assertion that he is living in paradise, we are not meant to believe him. His thoughts about the perfection of his location are interrupted by a practical frustration, and he longs to take the next train to England. The actual location is not named in the original article; in the book version, Ford rather cryptically refers to 'the town alluded to in the previous chapter as H—'.¹⁶⁹ This would be Homberg, which lacks a university, particularly one built in the seventeenth century, as Ford specifies. Fittingly for this notoriously difficult word, its perfection is merely fictive.¹⁷⁰

Giessen was far from utopian in Ford's mind. He wrote to Hunt in 1911: 'Giessen may kill me but I am not going to give in. [...] I do weigh on you with all the weight with which Giessen bears on me.'¹⁷¹ The mental 'weight' of Giessen comprised various factors. Perhaps foremost was the legal struggle with the German authorities to become a citizen and acquire a divorce. He disliked the food and his accommodation. He felt isolated, and found Giessen society limited, commenting more than once that the town was full of professors.¹⁷² And, as we have seen, his relationship with the Hüffers had been adversely affected by his relationship with Hunt. Douglas Goldring concludes that '[h]is exile in Giessen must have been a nightmare of misery'.¹⁷³ In 1915 Ford anticipates criticism about a supposed change in his views towards Germany. In *When Blood* he writes: 'I find myself expressing in those articles exactly the same feeling of unrest and of anxiety to get away that I have just re-expressed' – and he quotes the above passage from the article on 'Utopia'.¹⁷⁴ He argues that it was the time he spent living in Germany in 1910 that made him 'dislike the idea of spending a moment longer than was absolutely necessary in that country'.¹⁷⁵ Nathan Waddell suggests that in 1915 Ford 'seals the "Earthly Paradise" of the continental university town in a memorial tomb that now cannot be accessed', by saying it had only 'the *makings* of a modern Utopia' (Waddell's emphasis).¹⁷⁶ Ford does indeed romanticise Germany of the past, but his writing in 1915 is not as revisionist as it may seem; he highlights frustrations that had been there since at least 1910, if not considerably longer.

¹⁶⁸ Hunt and Ford, *Desirable Alien*, p.51.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p.45.

¹⁷⁰ Gene Moore assumes it is Heidelberg. Moore, p.153. Nathan Waddell addresses the complex heritage of the term 'Utopia' in *Modernist Nowheres: Politics and Utopia in Early Modernist Writing, 1900-1920* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), pp.8-9.

¹⁷¹ Ford, Letter (copy) to Hunt, [1911] Hunt Papers, Cornell, 4607/24/12.

¹⁷² Ford, Letter (copy) to Hunt. [1911(?)], Hunt Papers, Cornell, 4607/24/12.

¹⁷³ Douglas Goldring, *South Lodge: Reminiscences of Violet Hunt, Ford Madox Ford and the English Review Circle* (London: Constable, 1943), p.96.

¹⁷⁴ Ford, *When Blood*, p.171.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p.170.

¹⁷⁶ Waddell, *Modernist Nowheres*, p.170.

Ford's chapter on 'How it Feels to be Members of Subject Races' contains a similarly qualified response to German life. He begins by describing a rural German landscape with a dog in the foreground. This dog 'seemed to resemble the result of several crosses between a rat, a rabbit, and a wire-haired terrier'.¹⁷⁷ The land he describes is Westphalia, which was home to several members of the Hüffer family. Ford draws parallels between the mongrel-looking animal, the Westphalian land that has been repeatedly conquered, and his own fused national identity: 'we, English-Westphalian-Hessian—a queer mixture like that of the rat-rabbit-dog'.¹⁷⁸ Ford considers life in a state conquered by Prussia. It is a typically ambivalent portrait, though his criticism of Prussia is more implicit than in his wartime propaganda. He suggests that 'Prussia has given us plenty along with peace', but refers to the factory towers which scar the landscape.¹⁷⁹ He concludes that the British are likely to be conquered by either 'Prussian, Jew, or hungry tradesman', and prefers the notion of the Prussian invader who 'will at least administer, will enrich us'.¹⁸⁰ Ford identifies himself as both 'we' the conquered Hessians, and 'we' the British who could be conquered. When he returns to this article in *When Blood*, his comments about a possible invasion of Britain have renewed force.¹⁸¹

Given the equivocal tone of Ford's 1911 *Saturday Review* articles and his contribution to *The Desirable Alien*, it is surprising that these texts have sometimes been interpreted as displaying Ford's unreserved affection for Germany. Firchow describes the two articles in the *Saturday Review* as 'fairly glowing with optimism and pro-Germanism'.¹⁸² Although he acknowledges that it is likely that parts of these articles were tongue-in-cheek, he seems convinced that they exhibit real national pride.¹⁸³ Similarly, Kemp describes *The Desirable Alien* as 'das positivste Zeugnis der englischen Deutschlandliteratur' (the most positive testimony of English literature about Germany).¹⁸⁴ Admittedly, Ford does describe Germany as 'my beloved country' in the preface,¹⁸⁵ but as we have seen, the necessary broader context of such comments suggests that they are not as positive as they initially appear.

In an article for the *Bystander*, also published in 1911, Ford describes his location: 'Geographically it is Middle Germany—High Germany, as you might say. But in sympathy we here are South Germans. We don't love the Prussians. They have absorbed our army and taken

¹⁷⁷ Hunt and Ford, *Desirable Alien*, p.211.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p.213.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p.214.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p.217.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p.216; Ford, *When Blood*, pp.172-73.

¹⁸² Firchow, *Death of the German Cousin*, p.90.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, p.91.

¹⁸⁴ Kemp, *Foreign Affairs*, p.52.

¹⁸⁵ Hunt and Ford, *Desirable Alien*, p.x.

away our railway.’¹⁸⁶ He describes himself once again with a split identity, using ‘we’ the South Germans, as well as writing ‘[a]s an Englishman’.¹⁸⁷ He offers an appraisal of public opinion in Germany at that time, suggesting that there was ‘more of war feeling in Pure Germany now than there has been at any time during the last ten years’.¹⁸⁸ But he reassures his readers by adding that this ‘war feeling’ is not directed at any state in particular, and certainly not Britain: ‘No, the good, simple German of commerce bothers his head very little about England and her armaments.’¹⁸⁹

Ford’s attitudes towards his German heritage should be seen within the broader context of his complex sense of nationality, both his own and others’.¹⁹⁰ In *The Spirit of the People* (1907), the last in his trilogy on *England and the English*, Ford describes himself as ‘a man of no race and few ties – or of many races and many ties’.¹⁹¹ He also comments on being ‘abroad, where I passed for an Englishman’.¹⁹² By implication, he does not ‘pass’ in Britain and is therefore an alien in both countries. Ford’s portrait of Englishness in this text emphasises London’s cosmopolitanism and the mixed heritage of all Anglo-Saxons: ‘that odd mixture of every kind of foreigner that is called the Anglo-Saxon race’.¹⁹³ Therefore, though foreign himself he is not alone in the ‘melting pot’ of London.¹⁹⁴ In a period when racial ideology began to emphasise the purity of Anglo-Saxon blood, Ford resists the trend. However, Saunders identifies throughout Ford’s work, and particularly in the post-war writing, a racial divide between northern and southern European peoples; the North described as ‘Nordic’, and the South characterised by Provence.¹⁹⁵ So far as it concerns Germany, this rhetoric also participates in the long-standing distinction between ‘two Germanys’ outlined in the Introduction to this thesis, and which certainly pre-dates the war.

In 1911 Ford was not afraid to emphasise his hybrid cultural heritage. Indeed, when it suited him, he exaggerated his claims to Germanness and even to Prussian connections. Goldring recalls Ford claiming that ‘if he had his rights he could call himself Baron von Aschendorf’.¹⁹⁶

¹⁸⁶ Ford, ‘The Critical Attitude Applied to the Affairs of the World in General: The True State of German Popular Sentiment’, *Bystander*, 32, 13 December 1911, pp.587-88 (p.587).

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p.588.

¹⁹⁰ Max Saunders, “‘All These Fellows are Ourselves’”, Ford Madox Ford, *Race and Europe*, in Len Platt (ed.), *Modernism and Race* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp.39-57 (p.39).

¹⁹¹ Ford, *England and the English*, p.325.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, p.244.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, p.232. On Ford’s cosmopolitanism in *The Soul of London* see Andrzej Gasiorek, ‘Ford Among the Aliens’, in Plastow and Brown (eds), *Ford and Englishness*, pp.63-82.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.264; Saunders, ‘Ford, Race and Europe’, p.47.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.43.

¹⁹⁶ Goldring, *South Lodge*, p.7. The name was a play on his relatives’ publishing firm, Aschendorff Verlag.

Goldring explains that this was just one of Ford's many 'romantic disguises', which he used when competing with Conrad's own claims to an aristocratic European lineage.¹⁹⁷ In October 1911, Ford told the *Daily Mirror*: 'I am heir to large entailed estates in Prussia, and have therefore retained my German nationality'.¹⁹⁸ This was not true, and the newspaper had to publish a retraction, but this performance of illustrious foreignness exemplifies the ways Ford tried to leverage his 'mongrel' status to fit his purpose. In wartime, he leveraged it yet again.

Images of Germany

One of the striking aspects of Ford's pre-war correspondence is the number of postcards he sent to his children while travelling in Europe. Postcards were first developed in Europe in the 1860s, but picture postcards were not widely available until the 1890s, and became enormously popular at the turn of the century.¹⁹⁹ Ford's postcards, which have been almost entirely overlooked in criticism, highlight his mobility; he sent them from every new place he visited, sometimes daily. In 1904, and again in 1910 to 1911, Ford sent individual cards to each of his daughters, reflecting the postcard's function as both a missive and a gift.²⁰⁰ Like his letters, the intimacy of his language on the cards from 1904, using the familiar 'Pumpums' and 'Mummums' for himself and Elsie, indicates his close, affectionate relationship with his children and how much he missed them while he was away.²⁰¹ Many of the cards from the later visit carry no message apart from an insignia incorporating his initials. Sending blank cards was a common practice at the time as there was a craze for collecting them. The postmark was a critical part of the appeal when building a collection, as Christina was doing.²⁰² Ford's postcards from Germany present a shared activity between the children and their absent father, through which Ford invites them to engage with his cultural heritage.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., pp.37-38.

¹⁹⁸ Barbara Belford, *Violet: The Story of the Irrepressible Violet Hunt and Her Circle of Lovers and Friends—Ford Madox Ford, H.G. Wells, Somerset Maugham, and Henry James* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1991), pp.182-83; Saunders, *Dual Life*, I, p.354.

¹⁹⁹ Richard Cotton Carline, *Pictures in the Post: The Story of the Picture Postcard and its Place in the History of Popular Art* (London: Gordon Fraser Gallery, 1971), pp.43-44, 56.

²⁰⁰ Julia Gillen, 'Writing Edwardian Postcards', *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 17.4 (2013), 488-521 (p.497).

²⁰¹ Haslam and Saunders highlight Ford's involvement in domestic decisions and his affection for his children expressed in his letters. Haslam and Saunders, 'Ford's Letters', pp.35-36.

²⁰² Carline, *Pictures in the Post*, p.64. Ford writes to Christina from Giessen: 'Here is another place for your collection.' 18 November 1910, Ford Collection, Cornell, 4605/32/39.



Figure 1: Postcard to Katherine Hueffer [1904]. Message reads: 'Dear little one, Here is a Rhine fairy looking at a steamer.'

© Ford Madox Ford collection, Cornell, 4605/38/56

The collection, both then and now, presents a form of visual log of his travels; towns he stayed in, landscapes seen, and tourist sites visited. His cards to his children are rarely repeated as the popularity of postcards meant that every town, vista and tourist attraction had its own collection.²⁰³ There appears to be at least a degree of selection and explanation involved, especially in those from Ford's 1904 visit. The postcards are therefore part of the representation of his German experience and offer an accompaniment to his writing about Germany. In his messages to his children, Ford operates as both native and tourist. He explains his context as well as drawing attention to its foreignness, pointing out the 'funny kids' depicted on one card

²⁰³ In Germany at this time there were about 100 new postcard designs produced every day. Carline, *Pictures in the Post*, p.69.

from 1910 which has a picture of children in traditional German dress.²⁰⁴ It is similar to the confused voice Ford often uses to describe his nationality; he is both English and not-English.



Figure 2: Postcard to Christina Hueffer from Boppard, 26 November 1904. Message reads: 'This Mummums, one son & two daughters | all went for a wade in the waters.'

© Ford Madox Ford collection, Cornell, 4605/32/34.

Esther Milne suggests that despite the use of mass produced images, the picture postcard 'increases the sense of presence and of unmediated communication' because '[t]he picture presents itself as realist and encourages the idea that sender and recipient share the same view'.²⁰⁵ Even when they do not feature realist images, postcards offer moments of shared perspective. Among the collection, there are cards which represent the different strands of Ford's experience in Germany: research, tourism, and medical treatment. He briefly explained the tourist sites depicted, bits of mythology, and his illness. Among mythical depictions of the Rhine, he sent Katherine a picture of Lorelei, describing her as a 'Rhine fairy' (Figure 1).²⁰⁶ On a card to Christina, he told the story of the Mäuseturm bei Bingen.²⁰⁷ While he was working on his book on Holbein, he sent pictures of Holbein's studies of schoolrooms. There are several images of cathedrals, town halls, and scenes including a ruin or an ancient castle. He also sent two different pictures of highly stylised images of children playing in a stream. For Christina he wrote a brief couplet (Figure 2), to Katherine he wrote that he wished they were his children,

²⁰⁴ Ford to Katherine, 1 November 1910, Ford Collection, Cornell, 4605/38/60.

²⁰⁵ Esther Milne, *Letters, Postcards, Email: Technologies of Presence* (London: Routledge, 2010), p.110.

²⁰⁶ Ford to Katherine, [n.d. 1904], Ford Collection, Cornell, 4605/38/56.

²⁰⁷ Ford to Christina, [n.d. 1904], Ford Collection, Cornell, 4605/32/34.

imagining his daughters into the landscape.²⁰⁸ This idealised pastoral image portrays the Rhineland as a place of innocence, immune to the forces of industrialisation. Ford often sent pictures of the towns by the Rhine, but much less frequently of scenes that could be described as ‘modern Germany’.



Figure 3: Postcard to Katherine Hueffer from Mammern, 17 October 1904. Ford’s note reads: ‘This is what Pumpums is doing.’ Card message translation: ‘If someone was sick and is no longer | Then he gladly gives a tip | To the one who treated him | Then he happily strolls home.’

© Ford Madox Ford collection, Cornell, 4605/38/56.

He sent a series of cartoon postcards from Mammern, Switzerland in October 1904, depicting his *Wasserkur*. The three cartoons show an ape being scrubbed, having a massage, and paying for his treatment.²⁰⁹ The text and image in the cartoons are satirically juxtaposed (as in Figure 3). The text suggests the recipient of the *Wasserkur* went home thoroughly cured and gladly paid a gratuity; the image counters the text with a miserable-looking ape, begrudging the additional cost. Knowing Ford’s doubts about the effectiveness of his treatment, we can see the cynicism of his note: ‘[t]his is what Pumpums is doing’. The card’s message would have been beyond his daughter’s understanding, so while the fact of his sending it demonstrates his desire to maintain connection with his daughters, the bleak humour and choice of card may have been an outlet for Ford’s frustration or disappointment with the cure and his persisting illness. As

²⁰⁸ Ford to Christina, 26 November 1904, Ford Collection Cornell 4605/32/34; Ford to Katherine, [n.d.], Ford Collection, Cornell 4605/38/56.

²⁰⁹ Ford sent three different cartoon cards from the same series, two to Katherine (Cornell, 4605/38/56) and one to Christina (Cornell, 4605/32/34), all in October 1904.

with all postcards, the recipient would not have been the only reader;²¹⁰ it is a remarkably public way for Ford to confess his feelings, perhaps reacting against a sense of isolation and separation from life at home.



Figure 4: Postcard to Christina Hueffer [1904]. Message reads: ‘Dear Kid: Here is a lady called Germania. Tell Mummums that I have reached Boppard safely.’

© Ford Madox Ford collection, Cornell, 4605/32/34.

Another card (Figure 4) depicts the Germania monument in Niederwald, which was constructed as a symbol of German unification after the Franco-Prussian war. The rays of sunlight are suggestive of Bernhard von Bülow’s call for Germany’s ‘place in the sun’. Ford’s brief message, ‘[h]ere is a lady called Germania’, is characteristic of the limits of postcard correspondence. But the card has particular interest in connection with an article Ford wrote in October 1914, which features an ekphrastic description of the figure of Germania. The image on the postcard is exultant; in Ford’s later description, Germania is matronly:

For Germania, reduced to human scale, would be an unreasonably buxom lady, five feet eleven and a quarter high, lifting with one plump arm an unreasonably heavy Imperial crown and resting the other hand upon a sword much too heavy for the strongest supporter of woman’s suffrage to lift.²¹¹

²¹⁰ Gillen, ‘Writing Edwardian Postcards’, p.506.

²¹¹ Ford, ‘Literary Portraits—LVI: Germania’, *Outlook*, 34, 3 October 1914, pp.430-31.

Ford does not provide this gloss for the postcard to his daughter in 1904, but his choice of image is nonetheless significant for his representation of modern Germany. Postcards commodify the experience of travel, much like a holiday photograph. It is not unreasonable to suggest that Ford's memories of visiting the monument are partly influenced by images like the one on the postcard. The images should be read therefore as fragments in the picture of Ford's experience of Germany, and as one of the ways in which he was attempting to shape aspects of his cultural heritage and transmit them to his children.

Conclusion

Ford's last visit to Germany before the war was a trip on the Rhine with Violet Hunt and Charles and Lucy Masterman in September 1913. The Mastermans had never visited Germany before and their descriptions of the holiday give a typically ambivalent portrait of Germany from the British perspective. Writing in the 1930s, Lucy describes the Rhine as 'almost bewilderingly picturesque', but acknowledges that there were 'circumstances of tension'.²¹² Her husband's account, which was probably also written after the war, draws attention to German preparations for war, including speaking to Germans about their fears for the future, and noticing the 'new barracks everywhere, new Zeppelin sheds, artillery, all the latest installation of the machinery of destruction'.²¹³ Hunt commented in her 1926 memoir: 'I did not love the Rhine anymore. It did not seem to belong to me [...] it wasn't the Germany of two years ago.'²¹⁴ These post-war reflections were undoubtedly affected by hindsight. Hunt's remark indicates the sense of possession that the British had previously felt over this region, and that despite her stated allegiance to Germany, she had been alienated once again.

The exploration of Ford's detailed, personal knowledge of German culture in this chapter has demonstrated the range of his exposure to German musical, literary, and artistic influences during his youth and early adulthood. Ford's pre-war impressions of Germany present a divergent and contradictory picture, balancing or contrasting old and new, the music he admired, and the German language he resented. At times, his German relatives seemed 'angelic'; at others, they were a source of intrusion or frustration. Twice during the decade before the war, Germany was a temporary home. It was the place he went to retreat, to break down, and attempt to recover, and as a result was the place where he suffered extreme depression, undeniably colouring his experience of the country. In 1910 he tried to become a citizen, and failed, returning to Britain to face another legal imbroglio.

²¹² Masterman, *Biography*, p.259.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, p.260.

²¹⁴ Hunt, *Flurried Years*, pp.245-46.

Conscious of the rise of 'modern' Germany, Ford displays in his writing, and his choice of postcards, a fondness for the old Germany associated with his youth, with Grimms' fairy tales and a notion of happier, simpler times – regardless of whether they ever existed. The numerous references to Germany and German characters in Ford's pre-war fiction are an expression of his immersion in Germanic influences. Almost always nuanced, rarely do we see Ford writing either unqualified praise or wholesale derision of anything German before 1914. Throughout this period Ford was conscious of the sometimes-antagonistic relationship between his two parental cultures, and alert to the attempts of British politicians and the press to exploit these tensions. In his own work that comments on Anglo-German relations, Ford breaks down national boundaries, partly by mocking national stereotypes. He criss-crosses national boundaries, rather than promoting entrenched nationalism. Instead of emphasising national borders, Ford depicts a divide between northern and southern Germany long before this becomes a useful distinction in his propaganda.

CHAPTER 2: FORD AND THE BRITISH PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN

This chapter addresses the nature of the official British propaganda campaign during the war, and Ford's role within it, before introducing some of the key themes of the wartime writing of Ford and his contemporaries. In order to contextualise Ford's propaganda, I consider the work of H.G. Wells, John Galsworthy, Mrs Humphry Ward, G.K. Chesterton, and, more briefly, Elizabeth von Arnim.¹ These authors had varied experiences of the war aside from their propaganda work and different degrees of personal commitment to the campaign and to the war. Some were invited to join the propaganda campaign at the beginning, others showed their support later. Ford fought, Galsworthy engaged in humanitarian work in France, Wells and Ward toured the front lines as journalists, and Wells briefly accepted an administrative role within the Ministry of Information. Chesterton was ill for a significant part of the war; von Arnim had to regain her British citizenship and wrote in support of the war under a pseudonym. These authors were personally connected too, and considering their work alongside Ford's provides a diverse portrait of this aspect of wartime literary endeavour.

The first part of the chapter concerns the organisation of British propaganda, in particular the work of Wellington House under Masterman's leadership, the place of the Edwardian author in the campaign, and Ford's involvement in that campaign. The second part concentrates on the work produced by the literary propagandists. In my analysis I consider three prominent themes, which help to contextualise central concerns in Ford's writing which will be explored in greater depth in the following chapter. The first theme I address is the prominence of the invasion of Belgium in propaganda and the appeal to humanitarian values. Second, I consider the way the literary propagandists negotiated the battle between German *Kultur* and Anglo-French culture. Third, I explore how writers with personal connections with Germany and an interest in German culture responded in their writing to the transition from friendship to enmity. Although I am interested in exploring moments of ambivalence and doubt expressed in the authors' work, it is also clear that there was a strong patriotic element driving the authors' involvement and not just the will of the state.

I: The Organisation of British Propaganda

Sanders and Taylor describe the British propaganda campaign during the First World War as an 'impressive exercise in improvisation'.² There was no propaganda department before the war, but there were plans for the control of information through censorship. On 5 August arrangements

¹ See Methodology for the rationale behind the selection of these authors.

² Sanders and Taylor, *British Propaganda*, p.1.

were made for press censorship through a newly created Press Bureau, led by F.E. Smith, and based, from September, at the Royal United Service Institution.³ It was intended to channel news to the press from the armed forces and the War Office, and also monitored the press against the terms of the Defence of the Realm Act (DORA). Enacted on 12 August, DORA was initially intended to prevent valuable information being intercepted by the enemy, but was extended over time, ultimately infringing upon British civil liberties.⁴ Subordinate to the Press Bureau, there were three propaganda organisations that emerged in the first weeks of war: the News Department in the Foreign Office, responsible for sending daily news updates to its representatives abroad, and the Neutral Press Committee in the Home Office, to communicate with the press in neutral countries.⁵ These organisations were combined in 1916. The third organisation was the War Propaganda Bureau, the work of which is the focus of this chapter.

The organisational change that created the propaganda departments was part of wider political change across the government, even before the formation of the coalition in May 1915. Throughout the war there were currents of extreme anti-German sentiment, and suspicion of anyone with German heritage, particularly those in government office and the civil service.⁶ Some political change was therefore provoked by pressure from the press, and the need to reduce the prominence of perceived Germanophiles in senior posts. Prince Louis of Battenberg, the son of Prince Alexander of Hesse, was replaced by Lord Fisher as First Sea Lord in October 1914.⁷ Lord Haldane was also forced to resign in May 1915, partly owing to the sustained press campaign against him from *The Times*, the *Daily Mail* and the *National Review* among others.⁸ Koss argues that the papers targeted Haldane out of political expediency, and his admiration for German culture was an easy source of critique.⁹ Calls for his resignation were particularly vociferous in December 1914 and January 1915. During this time, Arnold White wrote a series of articles for the *Daily Express* presenting ‘The Case Against Lord Haldane’ suggesting that he had ‘deceived the public about the Army, about Germany, and about spies’.¹⁰

Charles Masterman was given responsibility for the production of propaganda in neutral countries at a cabinet meeting on 28 August, at Asquith’s suggestion.¹¹ Under his leadership, the War Propaganda Bureau was established at Wellington House on Buckingham Gate, formerly home to

³ Ibid., pp.18-19.

⁴ Ibid., p.24; Trevor Wilson, *The Myriad Faces of War: Britain and the Great War 1914-1918* (Cambridge: Polity, 1986), p.154.

⁵ Sanders and Taylor, *British Propaganda*, pp.32-38.

⁶ Panayi, *Enemy in our Midst*, pp.67-69.

⁷ Wilson, *Myriad Faces of War*, p.160.

⁸ Lord Hankey, *The Supreme Command, 1914-1918*, 2 vols (London: Allen & Unwin, 1961), I, p.329; Koss, *Lord Haldane*, pp.157-83.

⁹ Ibid., pp.132-34.

¹⁰ Arnold White, quoted in *ibid.*, pp.163-64.

¹¹ C.F.G Masterman, Letter to Vaughan Nash, 16 December 1915, Masterman Papers, Cadbury Library, CFGM/6/2/22.

the National Health Insurance Commission, of which Masterman had been chairman before the war. The name soon became synonymous with the propaganda department, in part to disguise the origin of the publications they produced.¹² At the outset, the emphasis of the work was to counter German propaganda in the United States. Over time its remit expanded, distributing literature to neutral and enemy countries, but the work in America remained significant, initially to persuade America to join the Allies and then after April 1917 because of the impact of American support.

At the time of his appointment, Masterman was a member of the Liberal Cabinet as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. He and Ford had been friends for several years. Having lost his parliamentary seat in February 1914 and having been unable to win the Ipswich by-election in May, Masterman resigned from the cabinet in February 1915.¹³ After this, Asquith asked him to continue his propaganda work, and he remained involved in the campaign throughout the war.¹⁴ Masterman's position changed again in February 1917, when John Buchan was made director of the newly formed Department of Information, with Masterman as an assistant director in charge of the subsidiary literary branch.¹⁵ The rearrangement of propaganda in 1917 also saw the launch of the National War Aims Committee, which was responsible for maintaining morale on the home front. In February 1918, Lord Beaverbrook became the head of the new Ministry of Information, with Arnold Bennett as director of French propaganda. Lord Northcliffe was made responsible for the Department of Enemy Propaganda, and between May and July 1918, H.G. Wells worked under Northcliffe as head of the Committee on Propaganda in Enemy Countries. It was not long before Wells resigned over a difference of vision for the purpose of the department and his frustration with Northcliffe's lack of support for the League of Nations.¹⁶ This last major shift in propaganda management in 1918 demonstrates the increased influence of the press barons in the campaign after Lloyd George became Prime Minister in December 1916.¹⁷ A final transition took place in October 1918, when Bennett took over as interim head of ministry when Beaverbrook resigned. Masterman remained working in the department throughout all these permutations, albeit with reduced influence over time.

Wellington House and Britain's authors

At the beginning of the war, Masterman's intention was to encourage the major authors of the day to write literature which could be sent to neutral nations, and particularly to influential individuals

¹² Masterman, *Biography*, p.273; Nicholson, 'An Aspect of British Official Wartime Propaganda', p.594.

¹³ Samuel Hynes, *A War Imagined: The First World War and English Culture* (London: Pimlico, 1992), p.26.

¹⁴ Masterman to Vaughan Nash, 16 December 1915; Masterman, *Biography*, p.271.

¹⁵ Messinger, *British Propaganda*, p.89.

¹⁶ H.G. Wells, *Experiment in Autobiography*, 2 vols (1934; London: Faber & Faber, 1984), II, pp.700-2; Norman and Jeanne Mackenzie, *H.G. Wells: A Biography* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1973), pp.315-17.

¹⁷ Messinger, *British Propaganda*, p.49; Sanders and Taylor, *British Propaganda*, p.133.

in the United States. To this end, he ‘summoned representative literary men and women whose work was well known abroad’ to a conference at Wellington House on 2 September.¹⁸ The meeting was attended by William Archer, J.M. Barrie, Arnold Bennett, A.C. Benson, R.H. Benson, Robert Bridges, Hall Caine, G.K. Chesterton, Arthur Conan Doyle, John Galsworthy, Thomas Hardy, Anthony Hope Hawkins, Maurice Hewlett, W.J. Locke, E.V. Lucas, J.W. Mackail, John Masfield, A.E.W. Mason, Gilbert Murray, Owen Seaman, George Trevelyan, H.G. Wells and Israel Zangwill.¹⁹ Masterman recorded that all who attended ‘expressed their willingness to help’.²⁰ Arthur Quiller-Couch and Rudyard Kipling were also invited but unable to attend the meeting, and they too ‘offered their services’.²¹ This list indicates the breadth of support but it is far from being an exhaustive record of all the authors involved in producing propaganda. The ‘Authors’ Declaration’ stating public support for the war, published in *The Times* on 18 September, included fifty-two notable literary and academic signatories, with others subsequently adding their names.²² The *New York Times* published the declaration on the same day with a slightly shorter list of names.²³ No women attended the meeting, although it appears they were invited, but five women signed the declaration in *The Times*, including Mary Ward, May Sinclair, and Margaret L. Woods.

Samuel Hynes describes the ‘enlistment of the literary establishment’ as ‘a mode of warfare without precedent’.²⁴ The authors’ involvement is testament to their public profile, and the management of the campaign reflects the changes that had taken place in the literary marketplace in the decades before the war. Masterman chose older, establishment figures who garnered high sales figures and had an international reputation; they were not radical experimentalists. The Edwardian period had seen considerable professionalisation and commercialisation of the book trade. The much-contested Net Book Agreement of 1908 had regulated prices, and a new Copyright Act was introduced in 1911, which particularly affected book sales abroad.²⁵ Literary agents were largely responsible for negotiating the deals between publisher and author.²⁶ Books were often borrowed from commercial libraries, as book prices remained high.²⁷ Even so, the late nineteenth century had seen the advent of the best-seller, and in the early twentieth century some

¹⁸ Report of the work of the Bureau, TNA, CAB/37/130/35, p.1.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² ‘Britain’s Destiny and Duty’, p.3. An additional nineteen authors wrote to *The Times* to add their names to the list. ‘Letters: Authors and the War’, p.4.

²³ Only forty-one authors are listed in the *New York Times* article. ‘British Authors Condemn Germany’, *New York Times*, 18 September 1914, p.3.

²⁴ Hynes, *War Imagined*, p.27.

²⁵ John Feather, *A History of British Publishing*, 2nd edn (London: Routledge, 2006), pp.152, 161; Chris Baldick *Oxford English Literary History: Volume 10: The Modern Movement* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp.19-21.

²⁶ Feather, *History of British Publishing*, p.140.

²⁷ Baldick, *Modern Movement*, p.18.

authors, including Arnold Bennett, sold hundreds of thousands of books.²⁸ Most authors relied on their work for newspapers to support their literary and artistic endeavours.²⁹ Writing for newspapers and periodicals in wartime was, for many, an extension of their pre-war journalism.

There are some notable absences from the list among best-selling authors of the period; Joseph Conrad was in Austria at the outbreak of war, so we do not know whether he would have been invited to the meeting at Wellington House had he been in Britain. He was subsequently invited by Rear-Admiral Sir Douglas Brownrigg to write articles on the work of the merchant navy, building on his experience as a merchant marine. Conrad toured the country to research the articles, but ill health prevented him from ever writing them.³⁰ John Buchan was also absent, although he later went on to become director of the department. Philip Waller attributes his absence to a lack of profile, which then changed substantially during the war, owing to the success of *The Thirty-Nine Steps* (1915), *Greenmantle* (1916), and his contribution to *Nelson's History of the War*.³¹ George Bernard Shaw did not attend the meeting, but he was invited to sign the Authors' Declaration. According to A.D. Harvey, Shaw requested too many revisions to the document, so it was decided that the declaration would be published without his signature.³² In November 1914, Shaw published *Common Sense About the War*, in which he argued that the militarist forces in all belligerent nations were to blame for the war. It was, he claimed, 'a failure for secret Junker diplomacy, ours no less than the enemy's'.³³ The pamphlet sold out almost as soon as it was published, and Shaw became a target for pro-war propagandists, including Ford, Bennett, Wells and Gilbert Murray, who all wrote to counter his argument.³⁴

Ford's absence from Masterman's meeting can probably be explained by his lack of profile. Although he had published a considerable amount before the war, he did not have the readership of Wells, Galsworthy or Bennett, and his reputation had suffered considerably from scandal in the pre-war years. What is perhaps more surprising than his absence from the meeting is that he did not sign any of the public declarations of support for the war – neither the letter to *The Times*, nor subsequent open letters, like the one in the *Manchester Guardian* in December, addressed to the Russian 'Men of Letters'.³⁵ This is particularly strange given the hostility faced by those of German extraction; one would think that, given the chance, Ford would want to declare his

²⁸ Waller, *Writers, Readers and Reputations*, p.636.

²⁹ Baldick, *Modern Movement*, pp.17, 48-49.

³⁰ Messinger, *British Propaganda*, p.117; G. Jean-Aubry, *Joseph Conrad: Life and Letters*, 2 vols (London: Heinemann, 1927), II, p.165.

³¹ Waller, *Writers, Readers and Reputations*, p.968.

³² A.D. Harvey, 'On the Literary Front', *Times Literary Supplement*, 14 January 2005, pp.12-13 (p.12).

³³ George Bernard Shaw, *Common Sense about the War* (London: Statesman Publishing Co, 1914), p.12.

³⁴ It went through five impressions in only a few weeks. Hannes Schweiger, 'Between the Lines: George Bernard Shaw as Cultural and Political Mediator', in Brockington (ed), *Internationalism and the Arts*, pp.275-95 (p.289).

³⁵ 'To the Russian Men of Letters', p.4.

loyalty to Britain as publicly as possible. When the declaration in *The Times* was published, Ford was probably already writing his propaganda for Masterman, and by December, he had published several articles in support of the war. We cannot be certain whether it was again a lack of profile or reticence which prevented Ford from joining these public statements, but his otherwise active role in the campaign suggests it was the former. Ford was also not included in collections such as *Princess Mary's Gift Book* (1914), and subsequent similar volumes, which feature works by recurring names from among the most successful authors of the period: Galsworthy, Conan Doyle, Barrie, and Caine, among others.

After receiving his invitation to the 2 September meeting, Hall Caine wrote to Lloyd George questioning the likelihood of persuading Britain's authors to coordinate their efforts: 'my twenty-five years' experience of the Society of Authors leads me to think that nothing to any real purpose can ever be done by[?] an effort to make literary people act in unison'.³⁶ Caine's concerns turned out to be unfounded. In September 1916, Masterman reported that '[a]lmost all the prominent writers of this country have been willing to help in this work'.³⁷ But Caine's observations are striking and suggest that their united action was by no means guaranteed. The purpose of the meeting, according to Galsworthy, was to 'concert measures of putting forward principles for which England is fighting'.³⁸

Arthur Benson wrote in his diary after the meeting that Trevelyan had drafted a manifesto which 'was moderate in tone and was applauded'.³⁹ This suggests that the declaration by the authors was the intended outcome of Masterman's meeting, rather than a more general bid for support. This view of the meeting is supported by Chesterton's account in his autobiography in which he says they were 'called together to compose a reply to the manifesto of the German professors'.⁴⁰ Writing in the 1930s, Chesterton may have confused the sequence of events. The most well-known manifesto by German professors, *An die Kulturwelt*, or the 'Manifesto of the Ninety-Three', which sparked a series of responses from the European academic community, was not published until 4 October.⁴¹

³⁶ Hall Caine, Letter to Lloyd George, 1 September 1914, Masterman Papers, Cadbury Library, CFGM/6/2/2.

³⁷ Third Report on the Work Conducted for the Government at Wellington House, September 1916, TNA, CAB/37/156/6, p.8.

³⁸ H.V. Marrot, *The Life and Letters of John Galsworthy* (London: Heinemann, 1935), p.409.

³⁹ Benson, quoted in Waller, *Writers, Readers and Reputations*, p.928.

⁴⁰ G.K. Chesterton, *Autobiography* (London: Oates & Washbourne, 1937), p.248.

⁴¹ Anne Rasmussen, 'Mobilising Minds', in Jay Winter (ed.) *Cambridge History of the First World War: Volume III: Civil Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp.390-417 (p.397).

In Germany in August 1914, artists, writers and academics were among the most supportive of the war, but organised declarations did not appear until a few weeks later.⁴² Among the first German academic defences of the war were letters from two professors from the University of Jena, Rudolf Eucken and Ernst Haeckel, written in August but printed in the *New York Times* in September 1914, defending the superiority of German culture.⁴³ In their declaration, the British authors repudiate the notion of German cultural superiority, but this appears to be a general statement rather than a specific response. Hartmut Pogge von Strandmann suggests that the British authors' declaration was a spontaneous venture, and, like the propaganda pamphlets by the group of academics known as the Oxford Historians, was not instigated by the government.⁴⁴ The number of authors who signed the declaration but were not present at the meeting supports this suggestion.

If the authors did coordinate the declaration themselves, it would be one of several examples of the blurred line between government sponsored and more organically produced propaganda. Although the Oxford Historians wrote and produced their pamphlets independently, many of these texts were distributed through Wellington House channels. Private propagandists functioned at many levels, from members of the public keen to support the war, to those working in a quasi-official capacity. Asquith was honorary president of one unofficial propaganda organisation, the Central Committee for National Patriotic Associations.⁴⁵ This organisation created difficulties for Masterman when they announced that they would produce large scale propaganda in neutral countries, and Asquith had to intervene to ensure that Wellington House maintained control over all materials being sent to the US.⁴⁶ Far from being bound by state authority, the independence of authors created problems, even among those who supported the war.⁴⁷ There were, for example, panicked notes between Masterman and Sir Edward Grey in a cabinet meeting over the idea of Rudyard Kipling making a tour of America to state the British case. It was feared he would do more harm than good; Masterman wrote: 'My whole activities have been devoted to preventing the Kiplings, X-'s etc., from doing this sort of thing: but the only hope would be to get powers to

⁴² Jeffrey Verhey, *The Spirit of 1914: Militarism, Myth, and Mobilization in Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p.126.

⁴³ The letters were published on 10 and 25 September 1914. Charlotte A. Lerg, 'Off Campus: German Propaganda Professors in America 1914-1917', in Marie-Eve Chagnon and Tomás Irish (eds), *The Academic World in the Era of the Great War* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), pp.21-41, (p.24).

⁴⁴ Hartmut Pogge von Strandmann, 'The Role of British and German Historians in Mobilizing Public Opinion in 1914', in Benedikt Stuchtey and Peter Wende (eds), *British and German Historiography, 1750-1950: Traditions, Perceptions, and Transfers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp.335-71 (pp.366-67).

⁴⁵ Buitenhuis, *Great War of Words*, p.16

⁴⁶ Messinger, *British Propaganda*, p.64.

⁴⁷ Jain notes that Kipling did not wholly participate in the government campaign and retained copyright over his work. Jain, 'Ford, Kipling, Conan Doyle, Wells and British Propaganda', pp.96-97.

lock them up as a danger to the State.⁴⁸ Although clearly exaggerated here, Masterman and the War Office were concerned by Kipling's zeal.⁴⁹

Buitenhuis argues that 'seldom in recorded history have a nation's writers so unreservedly rallied round a national cause'.⁵⁰ This supposed rejection of their critical faculties is seen to have a considerable effect on the trust between authors and readers, and between the different generations of writers in the post-war period.⁵¹ Not only this, but Buitenhuis suggests that it had a widespread impact on the role of the author within society, and the sense of trust in language itself:

The debasement of the word in the Great War [...] had a great deal to do with the decline of the prestige of the author and perhaps also something to do with the widely shared sense of the loss of decency and the diminution of civilized values in postwar England.⁵²

This argument places enormous weight on the decision of the nation's authors to support the war. He concludes by suggesting that the experience of the First World War means that such involvement of the creative arts in propaganda is unlikely to be repeated: 'A healthy scepticism about group effort in support of a cause is usually to be found in any community of writers.'⁵³ Arguably this scepticism was present in 1914, despite the widespread involvement in the campaign. The authors' support was not guaranteed, nor was it necessarily expected. It was unprecedented, but it may not have been as wholehearted as Buitenhuis implies. Waller's account of authors during the war portrays a more varied experience, with opinions subject to change throughout the war.⁵⁴ Jain, too, highlights points at which authors involved in propaganda diverged from the dominant government narrative.⁵⁵ We need not redeem the reputation of the writers involved, but it is necessary to question the narrative of widespread obedience to the state and a betrayal of the literary community.

Masterman's campaign

The propaganda produced by Britain's authors is best understood as an Edwardian project, with Masterman's liberal values as a guiding influence for the work. Masterman is often characterised

⁴⁸ Masterman, *Biography*, p.277.

⁴⁹ Jain, 'Ford, Kipling, Conan Doyle, Wells and British Propaganda', pp.106-7.

⁵⁰ Buitenhuis, *Great War of Words*, p.xv.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p.xviii.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p.180.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p.182.

⁵⁴ Waller, *Writers, Readers and Reputations*, pp.926-74.

⁵⁵ Jain cites Conan Doyle's views on Irish Home Rule and Wells's disagreements with the government in 1918. Jain, 'Ford, Kipling, Conan Doyle, Wells and British Propaganda', p.267.

by his political failures. Eric Hopkins' biography is subtitled 'The Splendid Failure'.⁵⁶ Kinley Roby describes him as 'impressive and, at the same time, rather pathetic'.⁵⁷ Some suggest that the propaganda work was merely something to keep him occupied.⁵⁸ However, those who worked closely with him in the propaganda department thought highly of him. T. Bellows, who worked on French propaganda, said that '[t]o come under the sway of this ardent Radical [...] was at the outset a somewhat moving experience'.⁵⁹ Ivor Nicholson, who was responsible for the pictorial branch of Wellington House, lamented that Masterman had died before writing his account of the campaign, commenting that 'if anyone can be said to have founded propaganda in this country and to have laid down the lines on which it should be conducted, it was Masterman'.⁶⁰

Shortly after the meeting of authors, Masterman held a similar meeting with leading figures of the press to garner their support.⁶¹ They were representatives from the leading national newspapers, including the *Daily Mail*, *Daily News*, and the *Daily Chronicle*.⁶² He primarily sought to involve respected editors, rather than the press barons.⁶³ This, combined with the literary emphasis of the campaign, has meant it has often been characterised as 'elitist'.⁶⁴ But Masterman's approach also reflects the primacy of the written word in the Edwardian period, and the opportunity to address a British public that was more literate than ever before.⁶⁵ There was a shift towards a more populist approach to propaganda over the course of the war, using propaganda films from 1915 and more pictorial propaganda from 1916.⁶⁶ Masterman is usually depicted as someone who was not seeking to deliberately mislead the public.⁶⁷ He was generally reluctant to publish atrocity stories, and was concerned to double check the facts presented.⁶⁸ The underlying principle was 'to present facts and the arguments based on these facts'.⁶⁹ Even so, many of the literary propagandists he employed were primarily known for writing fiction. Given Masterman's professed intentions and his aversion to atrocity reporting, it is ironic that while much of the propaganda produced by his department has been forgotten, the most notorious Wellington House publication is the *Bryce Report of the Committee on Alleged German Outrages*. One of the most controversial and widely

⁵⁶ Hopkins, *Charles Masterman*. The phrase 'splendid failure' refers to a joke between Masterman and Lord Beaverbrook, but it is nonetheless treated as an apt description of his career.

⁵⁷ Kinley E. Roby, *A Writer at War: Arnold Bennett 1914-1918* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1972), p.42.

⁵⁸ Wright, 'Government Propaganda and English "Men of Letters"', p.3.

⁵⁹ T. Bellows, Some Propaganda Memories, Masterman Papers, Cadbury Library, CFGM/32/2/9/2.

⁶⁰ Nicholson, 'Aspect of British Official Wartime Propaganda', p.593.

⁶¹ Sanders and Taylor, *British Propaganda*, p.39.

⁶² Report of the work of the Bureau, TNA, CAB/37/130/35, p.1.

⁶³ Messinger, *British Propaganda*, pp.36-37.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p.25; Patrick Deer, *Culture in Camouflage: War, Empire, and Modern British Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p.39.

⁶⁵ Hynes, *War Imagined*, pp.27-28.

⁶⁶ Haste, *Home Fires Burning*, p.45.

⁶⁷ Sanders and Taylor, p.41. This depiction may be influenced by Lucy Masterman's portrayal of her husband's work. Masterman, *Biography*, pp.274-75.

⁶⁸ Haste, *Home Fires Burning*, p.38.

⁶⁹ Masterman, *Biography*, p.274.

discussed documents of the campaign, Haste describes it as the ‘supreme propaganda achievement of the department’.⁷⁰

Under Masterman’s leadership, the organisation of Wellington House included Claud Schuster as CEO, and E.A. Gowers as general manager, both of whom were civil servants who had previously worked at the Health Insurance Commission.⁷¹ Gilbert Parker was responsible for the relations with the US, building on his reputation and connections as a Canadian novelist and British MP. In February 1917 he was replaced by Professor William Macneile Dixon, of Glasgow University. Throughout the war, Anthony Hope Hawkins acted as literary advisor, and A.S. Watt, from the leading firm of literary agents, A.P. Watt & Son, negotiated deals with publishers.⁷² By August 1916, Wellington House had published 300 books in 21 languages.⁷³ Articles and speeches by political figures tended to be among the most widely translated works. Ford’s *Between St Dennis* was translated into French, and Chesterton’s *The Barbarism of Berlin* (1914) was translated into French, German, Spanish, Italian, Dutch, Swedish and Danish.⁷⁴

Over the first two years of the war Parker worked intensively to maintain relationships with influential Americans in order to distribute Wellington House material. He consulted *Who’s Who* to identify appropriate contacts and sent books and pamphlets with a personal note of introduction. A typical letter included the following explanation:

[Y]ou have, no doubt, made up your mind as to what country should be held responsible for this tragedy, but these papers may be useful for reference, and because they contain the uncontrovertible [*sic*] facts, I feel that you will probably welcome them in this form. My long and intimate association with the United States through my writing gives me confidence to approach you, and I trust you will not think me intrusive or misunderstand my motive.⁷⁵

Parker compiled a list of 15,000 leading Americans: ‘senators, judges, congressmen, heads of religion, university professors, librarians, and any kind or class which could influence large sections of opinion’.⁷⁶ He maintained regular communication with more than 10,000 people.⁷⁷ In response, he received letters requesting additional copies of the materials he had sent, as well as

⁷⁰ Haste, *Home Fires Burning*, p.38.

⁷¹ Sanders and Taylor, *British Propaganda*, p.40.

⁷² Masterman, *Biography*, p.274.

⁷³ Third Report on Wellington House, TNA, CAB/37/156/6, p.6. See also Sanders and Taylor, p.108.

⁷⁴ Third Report on Wellington House, TNA, CAB/37/156/6, p.114.

⁷⁵ Peterson, *Propaganda for War*, p.52. The addressee of this letter is unknown.

⁷⁶ Second Report on the Work Conducted for the Government at Wellington House, February 1916, IWM, LBY X. 52569, p.8.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p.24.

cheques to support the work of Wellington House and wartime charities.⁷⁸ Parker believed that the materials were well received because of the perceived emphasis on fact:

The distribution of 'objective' documents is frequently contrasted with the German Propaganda in the United States, and, in fact, with 'propaganda' as such, which means to them shrieking demonstrations that the German Kultur is the finest in the world.⁷⁹

Apart from these personal interactions, the propaganda materials were also distributed by British steamship companies that used their in-country contacts to disseminate them. In addition, Wellington House books were sent to more than 600 American public libraries, as well as clubs, historical societies, colleges and universities, and hundreds of national and provincial newspapers across the US.⁸⁰ By 1917 the list of influential individuals, groups and institutions had increased to 170,000.⁸¹

As Parker's statement suggests, Wellington House deliberately sought to set itself apart from the 'shrieking' materials produced by other nations. It is known as a highly classified operation, a secret kept from parliament, the press, and not revealed to the British public until the 1930s. In this approach, the British were influenced by the experience of the German propaganda operation in America, which, although initially prolific, became hampered by publicity. The German campaign was exposed by British espionage, causing a scandal in the American press.⁸² Masterman and Schuster were concerned that they should not bombard neutral countries with unwanted literature and they felt that the German campaign had suffered from being too obvious.⁸³ Distributing through private publishing houses and using personal introductions was crucial to this strategy. In a 1916 cabinet report on their work, Masterman wrote:

We have endeavoured all through to preserve methods of secrecy, to get our literature into the hands of those who will read it without any knowledge of any 'Government Bureau' behind it, and never to thrust it or force it upon those who resent its gift, or will merely treat it as waste paper.⁸⁴

⁷⁸ Third Report on Wellington House, TNA, CAB/37/156/6, p.18.

⁷⁹ Second Report on Wellington House, IWM, LBY X. 52569, p.23.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p.22.

⁸¹ Messinger, *British Propaganda*, p.60.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p.55.

⁸³ Claud Schuster, Letter to C.F.G. Masterman, 4 December 1914, Masterman Papers, Cadbury Library, CFGM/6/4/8.

⁸⁴ Second Report on Wellington House, IWM, LBY X. 52569, p.6.

The secrecy of the work meant criticism and accusation of inactivity was unavoidable. Even so, Masterman apparently took pride in their ability to disguise propaganda. Chesterton recalls a scene with his friend:

Masterman [...] told me with great pride that his enemies were complaining that no British propaganda was being pushed in Spain or Sweden. At this he crowed aloud with glee; for it meant that propaganda like mine was being absorbed without people even knowing it was propaganda. And I myself saw my very bellicose essay called *The Barbarism of Berlin* appearing as a quiet Spanish philosophical study called 'The Concept of Barbarism'. The fools who baited Masterman would have published it with a Union Jack cover and a picture of the British Lion, so that hardly one Spaniard would read it, and no Spaniard would believe it. It was in matters of that sort that the rather subtle individuality of Masterman was so superior to his political surroundings.⁸⁵

Robert Donald, editor of the *Daily Chronicle*, may have been one of the 'enemies' Chesterton had in mind. Donald was involved with Wellington House but was critical of both Masterman and Buchan.⁸⁶ In 1917 he conducted reviews of the campaign so far, in which he argued for a more pro-active approach.⁸⁷ Nicholson portrays the shifting power in the propaganda department in 1917 and 1918 as the result of the constant criticism from the press barons, who felt shut out from Masterman's system.⁸⁸

Despite Masterman's pride, the clandestine nature of the work took its toll on him personally. In December 1915, he wrote to his friend, the journalist Vaughan Nash:

I am getting very tired of the work here, and also of enforced silence, modified by mendacious suggestions which I am unable to answer. [...] I am only staying on at present because it seems to me, unfitted and over age for military service, that I am doing something for the benefit of the country.⁸⁹

The fact that Masterman was able to write about the work in his personal correspondence suggests it was not quite as covert as we are led to believe. His desire to contribute while being above the age of military service was common among the literary propagandists. The authors who gathered

⁸⁵ Chesterton, *Autobiography*, p.251.

⁸⁶ Messinger, *British Propaganda*, pp.50, 96.

⁸⁷ Sanders and Taylor, *British Propaganda*, pp.59-62; Buitenhuis, *Great War of Words*, pp.133-34.

⁸⁸ Nicholson, 'Aspect of British Official Wartime Propaganda', pp.603-4.

⁸⁹ C.F.G. Masterman, Letter to Vaughan Nash, 17 December 1915, Masterman Papers, Cadbury Library, CFGM/6/2/23.

at Wellington House in September 1914 had an average age slightly over fifty.⁹⁰ Hynes comments:

[T]he concept of the Old Men, as the makers of the war and enemies of the young, had many origins; but one was certainly that meeting at Wellington House in September 1914, when those middle-aged and old writers gathered to support a war in which they would not fight.⁹¹

Relatively little is known about the relationship between Wellington House and the authors, particularly regarding the commissioning process and how much involvement Masterman and his staff had in the books and pamphlets that were produced. This is partly due to a lack of sources; there is no evidence to suggest that Masterman specified the form, genre or subject matter that he wanted the authors to address.⁹² Some authors began writing in support of the war before the meeting with Masterman. Wells began writing his response to the war on the day Britain declared war on Germany.⁹³ His first article ‘Why We Fight’ was published the following day and later included in *The War That Will End War* (1914), a defining title of the period.⁹⁴ Although his views later moderated, Wells welcomed the war not only as an opportunity to bring down Prussian militarism, but in the hope of ending all militarism, ‘that pacification of the world for which our whole nation is working’.⁹⁵

Mary Ward had a clear brief in her wartime writing – given to her, not by the British government, but by former President Roosevelt. He sent Ward a letter in late December 1915 saying that he felt the English view had not been well communicated in America.⁹⁶ This would have been a rather disheartening testimony of the work of Wellington House over the first year of the war. Ward approached Masterman and Parker to ask if she might write propaganda for the government, and if they would support her wish to visit British army bases in France. Her request was granted, and she went on to write some of the most popular propaganda of the war.⁹⁷ She comments in *England’s Effort* (1916) that her work ‘has the goodwill of the Government, though

⁹⁰ Messinger, *British Propaganda*, p.35.

⁹¹ Hynes, *War Imagined*, p.26.

⁹² Buitenhuis, *Great War of Words*, p.15.

⁹³ Mackenzie and Mackenzie, *H.G. Wells*, p.299. In later life, Wells regretted his bellicose writings. Wells, *Experiment in Autobiography*, II, p.678. It is possible that the birth of his son, Anthony, to Rebecca West on 5 August contributed to the bravado of his writing. Michael Sherbourne, *H.G. Wells: Another Kind of Life* (London: Peter Owen, 2012), p.225.

⁹⁴ Sarah Cole, ‘H.G. Wells and the Wartime Imagination’, *Modernist Cultures*, 12.1 (2017), 16-35 (p.29).

⁹⁵ Wells, *War That Will End War*, p.13.

⁹⁶ Janet Trevelyan, *The Life of Mrs Humphry Ward* (London: Constable, 1923), pp.269-70.

⁹⁷ Ward claimed in her notes that it had been published in ‘every European language’. John Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Eminent Victorian, Pre-eminent Edwardian* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), p.354. The Third Report on Wellington House (September 1916), lists only the English version, but it is possible that it was translated after this date.

[it is] in no sense commissioned by it'.⁹⁸ Given that she had approached the government this could be true, but not entirely. Her second volume of propaganda, *Towards the Goal* (1917), was written at her own instigation, after seeking approval from the War Office to visit France again.⁹⁹ This volume was published in American newspapers in the summer of 1917, and in book form, with a preface by President Roosevelt, in late July.

For some authors, there was an economic incentive to write propaganda. During the war, the publishing industry faced increased production costs and paper shortages.¹⁰⁰ For a brief period, there was a decline in the demand for fiction, making publication more difficult.¹⁰¹ Lucy Masterman notes that some writers were not remunerated for their propaganda work; she writes that 'in certain circles there was a kind of *chic* in a civilian refusal to benefit from the war'.¹⁰² Masterman confirms in a letter that Lord Bryce was not paid for the articles he wrote,¹⁰³ and Galsworthy clarifies in his preface that any profits from the sale of his wartime essays would be given to charity.¹⁰⁴ But not all authors enjoyed Galsworthy's financial security. Ward, who, at the outbreak of war was burdened by her son's gambling debts, told Masterman and Parker when she proposed writing *England's Effort* that she 'could not do it for nothing'.¹⁰⁵ Ward's daughter, Janet Trevelyan, claims that she offered the government the books at a reduced price in comparison with her novels.¹⁰⁶ Even so, additional to what she earned from the sale of *Towards the Goal*, *Scribner's* magazine paid £3,600 for the ten articles.¹⁰⁷

Ford, who was not nearly so wealthy as Ward, commented in a letter to Masterman that it would be wrong for him to accept payment for *When Blood*, as it was 'so much the product of German hospitalities that it would be the very basest return to use those experiences as a means for making money'.¹⁰⁸ When he requested leave to visit Paris in recognition of the French translation of *Between St Dennis*, Ford told his senior officer: 'My financial affairs having become exceedingly embarrassed owing to my having done this & other work without pay, for H.M. Government, it would be of the greatest advantage to me if this short leave could be granted to me.'¹⁰⁹ Saunders

⁹⁸ Mrs Humphry Ward, *England's Effort: Letters to an American Friend* (1916; New York: Scribner's, 1918), p.116.

⁹⁹ Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward*, p.359.

¹⁰⁰ Jane Potter, *Boys in Khaki, Girls in Print: Women's Literary Responses to the Great War, 1914-1918* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2005), p.59.

¹⁰¹ Buitenhuis, *Great War of Words*, pp.6-7.

¹⁰² Masterman, *Biography*, p.273.

¹⁰³ C.F.G. Masterman, Letter to Mr Colles, 25 March 1917, Masterman Papers, Cadbury Library, CFGM/6/5/6/5.

¹⁰⁴ John Galsworthy, *A Sheaf* (London: Heinemann, 1916), n.p.

¹⁰⁵ Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward*, p.351.

¹⁰⁶ Trevelyan, *Life of Mrs Humphry Ward*, p.228.

¹⁰⁷ Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward*, p.61.

¹⁰⁸ Ford, Letter to C.F.G Masterman, 15 January 1915, Ford Collection, Cornell, 4605/39/18.

¹⁰⁹ Ford to the Adjutant, 9/Welch B.E.F., 7 September 1916, in Stang (ed.), *Ford Reader*, p.478.

reasonably concludes that Ford likely never received payment for either text.¹¹⁰ However, Ford's bank records show that he did receive payments from Claud Schuster, in January and August 1915, and from Hodder and Stoughton in August 1915, which were probably for the propaganda books. As the sums were relatively small, he may have only been paid royalties.¹¹¹

Ford's propaganda for Wellington House

Ford's propaganda is often portrayed as a *volte-face* in his writing career, in which he suppressed his true feelings both about propaganda and about Germany for the sake of the government and the war.¹¹² Hynes comments that 'though the officialness of the assignment may be a defence, the shabby reality of the situation remains: Hueffer, the son of a German scholar, the good European, last year's Germanophile, abusing German learning in public for the sake of the war'.¹¹³

Buitenhuis suggests that although Ford's comments in his articles in August 1914 are more moderate, '[w]hen Masterman asked him to write a propaganda book for Wellington House, Hueffer marches to the beat of a very different drummer'.¹¹⁴ This implies that Ford betrayed his cosmopolitan sensibilities for personal gain, out of financial need and his insecurity about his British citizenship.

Ford scholars have suggested that his propaganda was unusual, particularly as it is less polarised than might be expected. Alan Judd characterises it as 'not the normal run of propaganda, it is balanced, informed, lucid, wise and readable'.¹¹⁵ Judd's assessment is too generous, but Saunders also suggests that the style of *Between St Dennis* is propaganda written 'against propaganda itself. In its form as well as its content it champions art over instruction, personality over statistics'.¹¹⁶ With his emphasis on the personal impression, Ford's writing is almost always idiosyncratic but, as we shall see, the themes Ford handles are similar to other works of propaganda. His ambivalence about the war, and even about writing propaganda, was also shared by some of his fellow Wellington House writers.

Despite Ford's proscription of the idea of the author as propagandist, Ford's wartime writing was not the first time he had written to promote a cause.¹¹⁷ In 1913 he wrote *This Monstrous Regiment of Women* for the Women's Freedom League, a militant suffrage group that splintered from the

¹¹⁰ Saunders, *Dual Life*, I, p.474.

¹¹¹ Ford received just over £50 from Schuster in January 1915, and in August he received about £28 from Schuster and £19 from Hodder and Stoughton. Ford had no other books published by Hodder that year. Account book of funds with Messrs. Barclay & Co., 1910-15, Ford Collection, Cornell, 4605/1/6.

¹¹² Firchow, *Death of the German Cousin*, p.92.

¹¹³ Hynes, *War Imagined*, p.72.

¹¹⁴ Buitenhuis, *Great War of Words*, p.44.

¹¹⁵ Judd, *Ford*, p.247.

¹¹⁶ Saunders, *Dual Life*, I, p.475.

¹¹⁷ Ford, 'On Impressionism—II', pp.333-34. See discussion in Introduction.

Women's Social and Political Union in 1907.¹¹⁸ Ford wrote for them at the request of actress and novelist – and president of the Women Writers' Suffrage League – Elizabeth Robins.¹¹⁹ His whimsical pamphlet argues for women's suffrage without even mentioning the word. Instead, he identifies the peace, prosperity and international respect accorded to Britain during the reigns of Elizabeth I and Victoria, and coyly observes at the end that 'if it is profitable that a woman should occupy the highest place, it is only reasonable to carry the argument one or two stages further. What those stages are I will leave to the reader'.¹²⁰ This method, of using history to comment on the present, is highly pertinent to Ford's approach to his wartime journalism, where he uses a similar technique. In the case of his suffrage writing, his message is clear but, as in his fiction, he still leaves the reader to draw her own conclusion.

There are several explanations for Ford's involvement in the propaganda campaign. His personal relationship with Masterman was certainly a factor. There was also the potential financial benefit, as demonstrated above, and Ford struggled financially for much of his career.¹²¹ In January 1915 Ford wrote to Schuster and Masterman keen to hurry the publication of *When Blood*, presumably because he needed the money.¹²² Ford was also concerned by the plight of the Belgians, and this provided additional motivation for his writing.¹²³ Another significant impetus was his German heritage, and the German name that would have made him vulnerable.¹²⁴ The day after war was declared the Aliens Restriction Act came into force and began limiting the freedoms of enemy aliens.¹²⁵ Ford was British, both because he was born in Britain and because he was the son of a naturalised British citizen. But the press and some right-wing politicians became 'obsessed' with the idea of naturalisation, including calling for the revocation of naturalisation certificates from the last thirty years.¹²⁶ During a peak of anti-German sentiment in the summer of 1918, all foreign-born citizens (not just enemy aliens) were prevented from changing their names.¹²⁷ This would not have affected Ford and it is one of the many curiosities of his biography that he waited until 1919 to change from Hueffer to Ford. He did, however, record experiences of anti-German hatred and suspicion. In mid-September 1914, he claimed that 'if I walk down the village street I

¹¹⁸ Ford's title alludes to John Knox's *The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women* (1558), which argued against female monarchs.

¹¹⁹ Elizabeth Robins, Diary, 9 March 1912, The Elizabeth Robins Papers, Fales Library and Special Collections, New York University Libraries, MSS.002/6/27. I am grateful to Sara Haslam for bringing this reference to my attention. Joanne E. Gates, *Elizabeth Robins, 1862-1952: Actress, Novelist, Feminist* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1994), p.205.

¹²⁰ Ford, *This Monstrous Regiment of Women* (London: Women's Freedom League, 1913), p.27.

¹²¹ Buitenhuis, *Great War of Words*, p.44.

¹²² Ford, Letter to C.F.G. Masterman, 15 January 1915, Ford Collection, Cornell, 4605/39/18.

¹²³ Ford, 'Charles-Louis Philippe and *Le Père Perdrix*', pp.174-75. Sara Haslam suggests that the sight of Belgian refugees in London was a considerable factor in Ford's decision to support the war. Ford, *Parade's End Volume III: A Man Could Stand Up* – (1926), ed. Sara Haslam (Manchester: Carcanet, 2011), p.xx.

¹²⁴ Hayman, 'Under Four Eyes', p.28. Thomas Moser suggests he was motivated by self-loathing because of the German invasion of Belgium as well as 'political prudence'. Moser, *Life in the Fiction*, pp.196-97.

¹²⁵ Panayi, *Enemy in our Midst*, pp.46-47.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.61, 64-65.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, p.66.

am apt to be insulted every two minutes—because of my German descent'.¹²⁸ In January 1915 he was ordered by West Sussex police to leave the county, following a report questioning his citizenship.¹²⁹ The order was subsequently withdrawn, but Ford was still anxious to confirm his status with Masterman.¹³⁰ Writing propaganda, and later enlisting in the army, was one way to silence the critics.

Masterman probably invited Ford to join the propaganda campaign shortly after the 2 September meeting. Ford began work on the propaganda in September, and his articles in *Outlook* which overlap with his propaganda books were written simultaneously. Ford's articles switched from the analysis of contemporary literature as soon as war was declared, as I discuss in more detail in the following chapter. The first article that also appears in *When Blood* was published on 19 September. It seems unlikely that *When Blood* was just a compilation and expansion of his articles, as some critics assume.¹³¹ I suggest that Ford used excerpts from the propaganda books for his weekly articles when needed. In both December 1914 and May 1915 Ford used continuous sections from the two propaganda books over consecutive weeks, indicating that they had already been thoroughly worked through. The first book was not published until March 1915, but it was finished considerably before then, as evidenced by Ford's letter in January 1915 wanting to speed up publication.¹³²

An unpublished letter to Masterman on 21 October 1914 demonstrates that Ford had already written a substantial amount of the propaganda book by this point and was hoping for some feedback.¹³³ Ford wrote:

I am making quite good progress with that book; but, as it is really much more your book than mine I wish you would take a look at it – or, better still, if you could afford me time, let me read to you some of the passages about which I am doubtful. You see, if the book is addressed primarily to the United States it is, I think, necessary to be as courteous as possible to the enemy alien; whereas a book intended for this country would have to take a different tone – or isn't this so?

It is, of course, only a matter of a word or two here and there, but I should be glad of your autocratic guidance early in the day since, later, it might mean a lot of re-writing. [...]

You see, I am nervous and fitful [?] about this job because it is so out of my line. Now if

¹²⁸ Ford, 'Literary Portraits—LIII: The Muse of War', *Outlook*, 34, 12 September 1914, pp.334-45 (p.335).

¹²⁹ Ford suspected that Violet Hunt's friends had denounced him to the police. Saunders, p.474; Ford, Letter to C.F.G. Masterman, 15 January 1915, Ford Collection, Cornell, 4605/39.018.

¹³⁰ Saunders, *Dual Life*, I p.470.

¹³¹ Jain, 'Ford, Kipling, Conan Doyle, Wells and British Propaganda', p.49; Wollaeger, *Modernism, Media, and Propaganda*, p.146.

¹³² The first reviews of *When Blood is Their Argument* appeared in March 1915. Harvey, *Bibliography*, p.48.

¹³³ Ford, Letter to C.F.G. Masterman, 21 October 1914, Ford Collection, Cornell, 4605/39.017.

you would have eighty million copies of my poem about the Belgians, which will appear in next Saturday's Outlook, distributed about the globe from aeroplanes you might do something.¹³⁴

In this private exchange, Ford is free to express his anxiety about the purpose and tone of the book. We know little about Masterman's influence over the theme and content of the Wellington House literature generally, but this letter implies that he provided detailed consultation. Although, given Ford's friendship with Masterman, we cannot assume that his experience was universal. Ford's claim that the book belongs more to Masterman than to himself is significant, especially as Ford emphasised the personal tone of his writing in the preface to *When Blood*.¹³⁵ This admission also suggests that Ford minimised his sense of agency, perhaps as a way of justifying his involvement in the campaign. The implication is that Ford wrote to help Masterman rather than being motivated by nationalistic fervour. His sensitivity to the American audience acknowledges the large German immigrant community in America.¹³⁶ But his comment that the book was 'out of his line' is questionable, since Ford's propaganda drew on his experience of writing memoirs and cultural criticism, as well as his pamphlet for the suffragettes. 'Antwerp', the poem to which he refers, is rarely considered as propaganda by critics today, but there are commonalities between this poem and *When Blood*, as I demonstrate below.

When Ford began writing his propaganda, he was assisted by his secretary, the imagist poet Richard Aldington, who claimed Ford wrote between 6,000 and 8,000 words per week during this period.¹³⁷ Aldington was replaced in January 1915 by Alec Randall, a journalist and writer (later Sir Alec, British Ambassador to Denmark), who worked for Wellington House in the foreign propaganda section throughout the war and wrote several of his own articles on German culture.¹³⁸ Randall not only worked for Ford within the department, but also provided private secretarial support between January and August 1915.¹³⁹ Ford thanks Randall for his contribution in both propaganda texts, and particularly for the compilation of the appendixes in *When Blood*, which relate to Ford's sources on the German economy and education.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ Ford, *When Blood*, p.xi.

¹³⁶ There were more than 8 million first and second generation German immigrants in America in 1910, amounting to 26 percent of the population. Frederick C. Luebke, *Bonds of Loyalty: German Americans and World War I* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1974), pp.29-30.

¹³⁷ Richard Aldington, 'Homage to Ford Madox Ford', in Ford, *The Good Soldier*, ed. Stannard, pp.319-20 (first publ. in *New Directions*, 7 (1942), 456-58), p.320.

¹³⁸ Randall wrote articles on German poetry and literature for the modernist periodical the *Egoist* (of which Aldington was assistant editor) in 1915-16, as well as occasional articles for *Outlook*. In the 1916 report on Wellington House, Randall is listed as working on Swiss and Italian propaganda. Third Report on Wellington House, TNA, CAB/37/156/6, p.3.

¹³⁹ In Ford's bank records, his regular payments to Aldington are replaced by payments to Randall. Account book of funds with Messrs. Barclay & Co., 1910-15, Ford Collection, Cornell, 4605/1/6.

¹⁴⁰ Ford, *When Blood*, p.xxi; Ford, *Between St Dennis and St George: A Sketch of Three Civilisations* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1915), p.vi.

Among the authors Masterman recruited, Ford's knowledge of Germany and fluency in the language was probably among the best, along with Jerome K. Jerome who had lived in Germany for four years,¹⁴¹ and Lord Bryce, who had studied at Heidelberg and was a known Germanophile.¹⁴² While British propaganda often referred to Nietzsche and German military historians such as Treitschke and Bernhardt,¹⁴³ Ford's engagement with the contemporary German propagandists in *Between St Dennis* was more unusual.¹⁴⁴ His German connections and recent travel in Germany equipped him well for the task, and the personal tone was noted in contemporary reviews. *The Sunday Times* reviewer observed that the 'severity of the wrench' Ford must have experienced from his German connections 'has only made his judgements the more incisive'.¹⁴⁵

Ford also sought the advice of others when writing *When Blood*. In his opinions and evidence on German education, he relied heavily on the work of nineteenth-century German academic Friedrich Paulsen, perhaps partly researched by Randall. He contacted Scottish painter D.S. MacColl to ask about 'German, & more particularly, Prussian, patronage of the arts'.¹⁴⁶ He told MacColl that the enquiry was 'in connection with some polemical work that I am trying to do for the government'.¹⁴⁷ Ford also wrote to the editor of the *Round Table*, asking for the details of the author of a recent article in the magazine on the 'Prussian Spirit', in the hope that he might be able to make contact.¹⁴⁸ It is possible that he wrote similar letters to others which have not survived. Ford's desire to source opinions from others, like his comments in his letter to Masterman, could be seen as a way of dissociating from the book. These letters are marked 'confidential', but Ford's willingness to acknowledge his work on behalf of the government is noteworthy given the secrecy surrounding the campaign. Ford mentioned it to several people, even those he did not know personally. His willingness to communicate his government work could be read as a desire to advertise his loyalty to Britain and his inclusion in this group of influential authors. In personal correspondence, however, this seems less likely than if he had signed the public declarations of support.

¹⁴¹ Waller, *Writers, Readers and Reputations*, p.943.

¹⁴² Messinger, *British Propaganda*, p.72.

¹⁴³ M.E. Humble, 'The Breakdown of a Consensus: British Writers and Anglo-German Relations 1900-1920', *Journal of European Studies*, 7 (1977), 41-68 (p.44); Nicholas Martin, "'Fighting a Philosophy": The Figure of Nietzsche in British Propaganda of the First World War', *Modern Language Review*, 98.2 (2003), 367-80.

¹⁴⁴ Ford, *Between St Dennis*, pp.157-67.

¹⁴⁵ 'More About the War', *The Sunday Times*, 4 April 1915, p.5.

¹⁴⁶ Ford, Letter to D.S. MacColl, 14 October 1914, MacColl Papers, University of Glasgow Library, Special Collections, MS MacColl/H397.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ Ford, Letter to *Round Table* Editor, 21 October 1914, Papers of the *Round Table*, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, MS. Eng. Hist. c.791 fol. 53.

Ford virtually announces his role in the propaganda itself. At the end of *When Blood* he summarises his thesis in hyperbolic terms:

[T]he thing that it is important for the whole world to consider is that, if Prussia wins the present struggle [...] every inhabitant of the whole world will have of necessity to become a monomaniac instead of a reasonable human being. [...] If I were a propagandist and tried to preach to the United States, to Italy, or to Denmark the necessity for supporting the cause of the Allies, that, and that alone is the line that I should take.¹⁴⁹

We could interpret this as Ford's attempt to convince his reader of his innocence by hiding in plain sight. Combined with Ford's letter to Masterman in October, it suggests that Ford was well aware of his intended American readership. Although his works were not among the most popular books published by Hodder and Stoughton in Britain in 1915,¹⁵⁰ Wayne Wiegand notes that they were among the most widely distributed British propaganda texts in American public libraries.¹⁵¹ It is worth acknowledging that, like his British readers, Americans accessing Ford's books in public libraries would have approached the text without the introductory letter from Gilbert Parker.¹⁵² The books were sent to librarians with a card reading 'donated by the author' and the libraries 'routinely catalogued the books into their collections'.¹⁵³ Wiegand suggests Ford would have been well-known to an American readership before the war, owing to the wide circulation of the *English Review* in American libraries as well as some of his early books.¹⁵⁴ This is somewhat surprising given that critics usually date Ford's positive reception in America from the post-war period.¹⁵⁵ There were certainly other Wellington House authors who were more successful in the United States than Ford, but it nonetheless suggests that his books had a wide and varied potential readership.

When Blood responds to Masterman's intention to create material for an intellectual American readership, but it also engages with particularly British fears about the threat of Germany that were established long before the outbreak of war. I have suggested that this is the book Ford envisaged writing in 1913, in considering 'what Bismarckism, Nietzscheism, and agnosticism of

¹⁴⁹ Ford, *When Blood*, p.317.

¹⁵⁰ Haslam, 'Making a Text the Fordian Way', p.211.

¹⁵¹ All thirteen of the state and public libraries Wiegand consulted in his research had copies of both of Ford's books. Wayne A. Wiegand, *'An Active Instrument for Propaganda': The American Public Library During World War I* (New York; London: Greenwood, 1989), pp.23, 144-45 n.35.

¹⁵² Jain particularly emphasises the context of reading directed by Parker, but this would have applied to a relatively small proportion of Ford's books, and none of his articles. Jain, 'Ford, Kipling, Conan Doyle, Wells and British Propaganda', p.86.

¹⁵³ Wiegand, *Active Instrument*, p.23.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ Seamus O'Malley describes the early 1920s as 'the transitional period in Ford's career when he began to lose his English audience but acquire a new American one'. Seamus O'Malley, 'America's Ford: Glenway Wescott, Katherine Anne Porter and Knopf's *Parade's End*', in Haslam and O'Malley (eds), *Ford and America*, pp.97-108 (p.97).

the Jatho type have made of the land of the good Grimm'.¹⁵⁶ In general, the argument joins the widespread denouncement of Prussian militarism and materialism in Britain at the time. But German brutality is not Ford's primary focus; he is not particularly concerned with atrocity stories, for example. Instead, he addresses the dominant culture of instruction in place of education which he claims is prevalent in Germany, reflective of what he perceives to be the increasing dominance of Prussia over the course of the nineteenth century. The first part of the book is a chronological history of Germany's civil and financial history, the second offers vignettes of different characters, both celebrated and obscure, and the third concerns Ford's argument against German education and culture.

The title is taken from Shakespeare's *Henry V*. The choice of play is not surprising given the wartime revivals of Shakespeare's most patriotic play, including one at the Shaftesbury Theatre, London in December 1914.¹⁵⁷ However, the passage in which this line occurs suggests some ambiguity in Ford's meaning:

WILLIAMS I am afeard there are few die well that die in a battle; for how can they charitably dispose of any thing, when blood is their argument? Now, if these men do not die well, it will be a black matter for the King that led them to it; who to disobey were against all proportion of subjection.¹⁵⁸

Ford's choice of title could be a veiled justification for his decision to engage in the propaganda campaign. He, as a loyal subject of the king, has no option but to support the war, but the legitimacy of the war is not his decision to make, therefore absolving him of the ethical burden of his decision. Equally, Ford's title does stand alone as a repudiation of Prussian belligerence. The *New Statesman* remarked that the choice of 'so strong a title' was unfortunate, as it led the reader to expect something 'trenchant', and instead Ford had written 'one of the most informative, good natured, and at the same time entertaining books on Germany that we have seen since the war began'.¹⁵⁹

In *Between St Dennis and St George*, Ford takes a different approach, particularly in its structure. Ostensibly it was written as a response to George Bernard Shaw's *Common Sense About the War*

¹⁵⁶ Hunt and Ford, *Desirable Alien*, p.ix.

¹⁵⁷ Anselm Heinrich, 'Reclaiming Shakespeare: 1914-1918', in Andrew Maunder (ed.), *British Theatre and the Great War, 1914-1919: New Perspectives* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), pp.65-80 (pp.66-67); Gordon H. Williams, *British Theatre in the Great War: A Reevaluation* (London: Bloomsbury, 2003), pp.250-51. Soldiers also read Shakespeare during the war, motivated by patriotism, nostalgia, and to maintain connections with home. See Edmund G.C. King, "'A Priceless Book to Have Out Here": Soldiers Reading Shakespeare in the First World War', *Shakespeare*, 10.3 (2014), 230-44.

¹⁵⁸ Shakespeare, *The Riverside Shakespeare*, ed. G. Blakemore Evans et al., 2nd edn (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1997), *Henry V*, IV.i.141-46.

¹⁵⁹ 'Kultur and Bildung', *New Statesman*, 10 April 1915, p.20.

and other ‘Anglo-Prussian Apologists’, although the substantive treatment of these texts is in the lengthy appendix. Haslam suggests that this shifts the ‘heart’ of the book to the end, ‘manifesting a challenge to its coherence and intent’.¹⁶⁰ Benjamin Doty, following Haslam, suggests that by voicing opposing views Ford resists the ‘crowd mentality’ of wartime.¹⁶¹ The title is again taken from *Henry V*, from the final scenes which include the marriage of the English king with the French princess: ‘Shall not thou and I, between Saint Denis and Saint George, compound a boy, half French, half English, that shall go to Constantinople and take the Turk by the beard?’¹⁶² The Shakespearian allusion presents a less ambiguous sentiment than in the first book, and, unlike *When Blood*, the full quotation was widely used in Hodder and Stoughton’s advertisements and subsequent reviews.¹⁶³ Ford’s argument is in sympathy with the final blessings of Shakespeare’s play, a union which should lead to peace between the French and the English. Ford writes that ‘we have one thing to thank the Prussians for—by their crime on August 3rd, 1914 [...] the two nations [France and Britain], by a happy force of circumstance have been flung into each other’s arms’.¹⁶⁴ The book draws comparisons between the national characters of Britain, France and Germany, but the emphasis is on the superiority of French culture and language, ‘[f]or in the whole world it is only France that incontestably matters’.¹⁶⁵ As a result of the emphasis on France, there is less focus on Prussia than in *When Blood*, which suggests Ford may have had a more stable conception of the German enemy as a united force by mid-1915 when he was writing this book.¹⁶⁶

An aspect of Ford’s work for Wellington House that is often overlooked is his 1917 translation of Pierre Loti’s pamphlet, *L’Outrage des Barbares*, published in Britain as *The Trail of the Barbarians*, which Ford wrote while he was on active service.¹⁶⁷ Echoing Ford’s own propaganda, it begins with an epigraph from a German professor, claiming the superiority of German intellectual life.¹⁶⁸ Loti then recounts the devastation wrought by the German invasion of France, illustrated by numerous photographs of wrecked factories, ruined churches and battered trees. Ford probably chose to translate this text in consultation with Masterman, making use of his fluency in French and because he admired Loti’s work.¹⁶⁹ Thus like *Between St Dennis*, his translation is a celebration of French style as well as an argument for war. Loti’s book is a lament

¹⁶⁰ Haslam, ‘Making a Text the Fordian Way’, p.210.

¹⁶¹ Doty, ‘As a Mass, a Phenomenon so Hideous’, pp.170, 175-76.

¹⁶² Shakespeare, *Henry V*, V.ii.206-09.

¹⁶³ For example: ‘From Hodder and Stoughton’s War List’, *The Times*, 17 September 1915, p.5.

¹⁶⁴ Ford, *Between St Dennis*, p.210.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p.193.

¹⁶⁶ It was probably published in September 1915, by which time Ford had already enlisted and left to train with his regiment. Harvey, *Bibliography*, p.48.

¹⁶⁷ Pierre Loti, *The Trail of the Barbarians*, trans. Ford Madox Hueffer (London: Longmans, Green, 1917). This text is listed in the Schedule of Wellington House Literature.

¹⁶⁸ Loti, *Trail of the Barbarians*, p.1.

¹⁶⁹ Saunders comments that Ford was, like Henry James, an admirer of Loti’s work. Ford, *War Prose*, ed. Saunders, p.191.

for a ravaged nation that develops into an impassioned war cry against the Germans who ‘have murder in their souls as other peoples have the instinct of honour’.¹⁷⁰

Both of Ford’s own propaganda books were published by Hodder and Stoughton, and although Ford had not published with them before, they were the most prolific publisher of Wellington House texts. Jane Potter notes that Hodder produced more than 130 of the pamphlets and books included in the ‘Schedule of Wellington House Literature’.¹⁷¹ The next largest contributor was T. Fisher Unwin, who published seventy-eight.¹⁷² In 1915, Hodder and Stoughton printed 5,645 copies of *When Blood*, of which 1,000 were sent to A.S. Watt, the literary agent for Wellington House, presumably for distribution.¹⁷³ According to the publishing ledger, the following year 100 copies were sent to Canada, and 618 to the US.¹⁷⁴ *Between St Dennis* had a print run of 5,000, of which 1,000 were sent to Watt, and fifty-four to Canada. This is a reasonable sized print run for a text which by its nature is not targeted at the popular market.¹⁷⁵ It is roughly equal to the publication figures for J.M. Barrie’s play *Der Tag*, also published by Hodder and Stoughton that year.¹⁷⁶ However, it serves to demonstrate the success of Ward’s *Towards the Goal* that 6,000 of the 10,000 copies of Murray’s first edition were already subscribed on publication day.¹⁷⁷ Even so, these are still modest figures in comparison with the most successful works of wartime fiction. Ian Hay’s *The First Hundred Thousand* (1915), sold 500,000 copies in the first year,¹⁷⁸ and Wells’s *Mr Britling Sees it Through* was published in September 1916, and by the end of November had been reprinted eight times.¹⁷⁹ *Princess Mary’s Gift Book*, also published by Hodder in 1914, sold 600,000 copies in two years, with the profits going to the Queen’s Work for Women Fund.¹⁸⁰ These sales figures help to illustrate Masterman’s rationale in recruiting literary men as propagandists even though the propaganda did not have the same reach as their fiction.

¹⁷⁰ Loti, *Trail of the Barbarians*, p.18.

¹⁷¹ Jane Potter, ‘For Country, Conscience and Commerce: Publishers and Publishing, 1914-18’, in *Publishing in the First World War*, pp.11-26 (p.19). As discussed in the Introduction, the Schedule does not include all work written by those involved with Wellington House.

¹⁷² Potter, ‘For Country, Conscience and Commerce’, p.19.

¹⁷³ Hodder and Stoughton Profit and Loss Ledger, London Metropolitan Archives, CLC/B/119/61312/022.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

¹⁷⁵ Waller, *Writers, Readers and Reputations*, p.636.

¹⁷⁶ Hodder and Stoughton Profit and Loss Ledger, London Metropolitan Archives, CLC/B/119/61312/003.

¹⁷⁷ Sutherland, p.361.

¹⁷⁸ Patrick Scott Belk, ‘John Buchan and the American Pulp Magazines’, in Kate Macdonald and Nathan Waddell (eds), *John Buchan and the Idea of Modernity* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2013), pp.155-68 (p.160).

¹⁷⁹ David C. Smith, *H.G. Wells, Desperately Mortal: A Biography* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), p.222.

¹⁸⁰ John Attenborough, *A Living Memory: Hodder and Stoughton Publishers 1868-1975* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1975), p.78.

II: The Work of the Literary Propagandists

Having established the system within which the authors operated, I turn now to consider the work they produced. In doing so, I highlight some of the key themes and positions that characterise their responses to the war. This provides the context for the detailed consideration of Ford's wartime writing in the following chapter. Buitenhuis suggests that 'patriotic fervour was the chief motivation that caused writers to be carried away by the tide of dedication and ardour that marked England's early war effort'.¹⁸¹ This is reminiscent of the narrative of 'war enthusiasm' based on the crowds on the streets of London on the day war was declared. But the notion that this enthusiasm was widespread has faced considerable criticism and challenge over the last decade.¹⁸² Like the wider British public, the authors did not necessarily commit with as little resistance as Buitenhuis implies.

John Galsworthy observed in 1915 the inherent antipathy to war among most writers:

[T]o practically all imaginative writers of any quality war is an excrescence on human life, a monstrous calamity and evil. [...] The nature of the imaginative artist is sensitive, impressionable; impatient of anything superimposed; thinking and feeling for itself; recoiling from conglomerate views and sentiment.¹⁸³

Galsworthy sought to maintain his own authorial integrity and independence, even while writing for Wellington House. Arnold Bennett did dramatically change his mind at the beginning of the war, although not immediately. In August 1914, he wrote in his journal that he thought the war was 'a mistake on our part', only shifting to write in favour of the war later in September.¹⁸⁴ Jerome K. Jerome made the opposite progression, from supporting the war at the beginning, to turning against it in 1915, in response to atrocity propaganda.¹⁸⁵ Wells was more enthusiastic about the outbreak of war, but even though he was briefly employed by the Ministry of Information in 1918, his position on the war certainly did not always align with the government's.¹⁸⁶ Far from expressing exuberance at the outbreak of war, Ford anticipated that it would be long and costly.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸¹ Buitenhuis, *Great War of Words*, pp.7-8.

¹⁸² Pennell, *Kingdom United*, pp.1-5; Gregory, *Last Great War*, p.11.

¹⁸³ Galsworthy, 'Our Literature and the War', in *Sheaf*, pp.204-9 (p.205).

¹⁸⁴ Roby, *Writer at War*, p.33.

¹⁸⁵ Waller, *Writers, Readers and Reputations*, p.954.

¹⁸⁶ Wright, 'Government Propaganda and English "Men of Letters"', p.89.

¹⁸⁷ At the outset, Ford speculated that the war could last for eight years. Ford, 'Literary Portraits—XLIX: A Causerie', *Outlook*, 34, 15 August 1914, pp.205-6.

The invasion of Belgium and humanitarian responses to war

News of atrocities committed by German soldiers during the invasion of Belgium did not receive widespread coverage in the British press until some weeks into the war, but by the end of August the reports were the same across Britain, France and Belgium.¹⁸⁸ The violation of Belgian neutrality was used as a call to arms by British propagandists, and was seen as a defining factor in Britain's entry into the war. Britain was portrayed as the protector of small states, coming to the aid of 'little Belgium'. It was a familiar argument among the Wellington House writers, keen to stress the honourable cause. Wells wrote: 'We declared war because we were bound by treaty to declare war. We have been pledged to protect the integrity of Belgium since the kingdom of Belgium existed.'¹⁸⁹ Chesterton set out 'the facts of the case' relating to the 1839 Treaty of London in a similarly no-nonsense fashion which clearly separated German and British intentions in the lead-up to war. He included a fictional timeline of events if Britain had conceded to German claims, ultimately resulting in a German invasion of Britain.¹⁹⁰ Masterman's 'After Twelve Months of War' is half lament, half victory cry, depicting the agonised attempts to stave off a European war, before England determined to 'keep its pledged word' and defend Belgium.¹⁹¹

As well as fuelling hatred of Germany, the sympathy for the Belgians provoked numerous charitable responses, especially in the early phase of the war, directed towards the 265,000 Belgian refugees who had arrived in Britain by June 1915.¹⁹² Ford's poem 'Antwerp' was written shortly after the Belgian city fell to the Germans on 9 October 1914.¹⁹³ After the end of the Belgian resistance, as many as 1,000 Belgians a day arrived in Folkestone in October.¹⁹⁴ The poem was first published in *Outlook* on 24 October. Ford wrote to Harold Monro later that month to say that he would be willing to read it at an event at the Poetry Bookshop 'if you can see any way of its raising a little money for the Belgian Refugees for whose sake I wrote it'.¹⁹⁵

In the poem, Ford balances praise for the ordinary Belgian resisting the German army with the grief of the bereaved Belgian widows left waiting at Charing Cross station. This poem which questions national pride – 'Can any man so love his land?' – shares the ambiguous tone of the passage from *Henry V*, from which 'when blood is their argument' is taken.¹⁹⁶ He depicts war as

¹⁸⁸ Horne and Kramer, *German Atrocities*, pp.177-78.

¹⁸⁹ Wells, *War That Will End War*, p.7.

¹⁹⁰ G.K. Chesterton, *The Barbarism of Berlin* (London: Cassell & Co, 1914), pp.10-11.

¹⁹¹ C.F.G. Masterman, *After Twelve Months of War* (London: Darling, 1915) p.10.

¹⁹² Peter Grant, *Philanthropy and Voluntary Action in the First World War: Mobilizing Charity* (London: Routledge, 2014), p.27.

¹⁹³ Saunders, *Dual Life*, I, p.473.

¹⁹⁴ Jacqueline Jenkinson, 'Soon Gone, Long Forgotten: Uncovering British Responses to Belgian Refugees during the First World War', *Immigrants & Minorities*, 34.2 (2016), 101-112 (p.105).

¹⁹⁵ Ford, Letter to Harold Monro, 28 October 1914, Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas, Austin, MS-1436/1/1.

¹⁹⁶ Ford, 'Antwerp', *On Heaven and Poems Written on Active Service* (London: John Lane, 1918), pp.17-26 (p.23).

inevitable but tragic: 'For there is no new thing under the sun, | Only this uncomely man with a smoking gun'.¹⁹⁷ Ford also celebrates a new kind of heroism, the lone Belgian peasant-soldier offers a 'strange new beauty' to be compared with the great battles and heroes of antiquity.¹⁹⁸ He thus participates in the creation of a mythical sense of Belgium as 'the bravest of nations'.¹⁹⁹ The poem ends with the pathos of Belgian women and children filling Charing Cross station: 'They await the lost that shall never again come by the train | To the embraces of these women with dead faces'.²⁰⁰ Ford portrays the emotional impact of the Belgian refugees arriving in London, bringing with them the reality of war to British shores, but it remains an idealised, sympathetic vision.

Ford recommended 'Antwerp', both to Masterman and Monro, as potential propaganda.²⁰¹ Celebrated by T.S. Eliot as one of the best poems about the war, 'Antwerp' is not usually considered to be propaganda.²⁰² Although the tone of Ford's suggestion is questionable, he may have been correct in thinking it would have been more effective than his propaganda books. 'Antwerp' was not commissioned by Wellington House, it is not dogmatic, it does not even mention Germany by name, but it does arouse the reader's sympathy for the Belgians and so strengthen the British sense of purpose. It is entirely possible, then, that Ford would have written some anti-German propaganda, regardless of whether Masterman had commissioned him. Jain argues that there is a fundamental difference between Ford's 'literary' works and his propaganda texts.²⁰³ But there is continuity of purpose between the subtlety of 'Antwerp' and his more belligerent approach in the commissioned books. This overlap is more apparent in *When Blood*, which was written while the refugees were a particularly prominent issue in the British press.

Ford had a personal connection with the Belgian refugees. The dedication to *When Blood* reads:

To our much loved friends

THERESE AND EMILE ———

Who, being of ——— on the frontier of Belgium disappeared from the knowledge of the outer world on the third of August MCMXIV, the first of mankind to experience the effects of Prussian culture, this with affection if they be spared to enjoy this witness of

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., p.19.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., p.21.

¹⁹⁹ Tony Kushner, 'Local Heroes: Belgian Refugees in Britain during the First World War', *Immigrants & Minorities*, 18.1 (1999), 1-28 (p.9).

²⁰⁰ Ford, 'Antwerp', p.25.

²⁰¹ Ford, Letter to Masterman, 21 October 1914, Ford Collection, Cornell, 4605/39.017; Ford to Monro, 28 October 1914.

²⁰² T.S. Eliot, quoted by Saunders, *Dual Life*, I, p.473.

²⁰³ Jain, 'Ford, Kipling, Conan Doyle, Wells and British Propaganda', p.86.

affection. Their names I dare not inscribe lest the inscription ensure for them the final culture of death.²⁰⁴

Dr Emile Guillaume and his wife Thérèse may have been the ‘two delightful G’s—Belgians’ that Hunt refers to when writing about her travels with Ford in 1911 in *The Desirable Alien*.²⁰⁵

Thérèse’s brother, Paul Descours, wrote to Ford in May 1915 after reading Ford’s book to reassure him that he had heard from his sister in April and as far as he knew they were now safely sheltered in Holland.²⁰⁶ The inscription reinforces the notion that Prussian culture means brutality, territorial violation, and the death of innocents. Ford’s concern for the Guilleaumes’ welfare evokes a greater sense of peril than much of the rather esoteric argument throughout the rest of the text. It is curious, given Ford’s connection, that he avoids much discussion of atrocities in *When Blood*, a decision that was perhaps guided by Masterman’s ethos for the campaign.

Tony Kushner suggests that:

[T]o understand why, at least initially, the Belgians received such a warm welcome throughout British society is also to fathom the sheer hatred generated against the Germans. The construction of ‘Brave Little Belgium’ could only be achieved with the parallel widespread belief in the ‘evil Hun’.²⁰⁷

However, humanitarian appeals such as those for the Belgian refugees also provided a focus for a writer like Galsworthy who was an early sceptic of propaganda.²⁰⁸ Galsworthy was deeply troubled by the war, and at times he found himself so moved by what he heard of the Belgians that he struggled to write about it.²⁰⁹ He agreed to support the work of Wellington House, but much of his wartime writing displays his distaste for war. In ‘First Thoughts on the War’ he writes:

Will there not, can there not, arise an emotion as strong as this present patriotism—a sentiment as passionate and sweeping, bearing men on to the use of every faculty and the forgetfulness of self, for the salvation, instead of the destruction, of their fellow-man?²¹⁰

²⁰⁴ Ford, *When Blood*, p.v.

²⁰⁵ Hunt and Ford, *Desirable Alien*, p.322.

²⁰⁶ Paul Descours, Letter to Ford, 19 May 1915, Ford Madox Ford Collection, Firestone Library, Princeton University, MS-CO158/1/1. Charles Irons, another friend of the Guilleaumes, also contacted Ford to inform him of the wellbeing of his Belgian friends. Charles Irons, Letter to Ford, 25 March 1915, Ford Collection, Princeton, MS-CO158/1/1.

²⁰⁷ Kushner, ‘Local Heroes’, p.3.

²⁰⁸ Jeffrey S. Reznick, *John Galsworthy and Disabled Soldiers of the Great War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), p.12.

²⁰⁹ Marrot, *Life and Letters*, p.416.

²¹⁰ Galsworthy, ‘First Thoughts on this War’ (1914), in *Sheaf*, pp.175-88 (p.180).

Despite his aversion to war, he nonetheless felt a strong sense of duty to support it. He negotiated this complex position by primarily writing articles for humanitarian causes. Over time, he developed a particular concern for the wounded and disabled soldier. He donated all the income generated from his wartime writing to charity, and gave his familial home in Cambridge Gate to the Red Cross to use as a rehabilitation centre for wounded soldiers.²¹¹ He and his wife, Ada, spent three months working at a French convalescent hospital in Die, near Valence. He later took on the editorship of a magazine for wounded soldiers, a role which he ended when he felt there was an unnecessary level of censorship.²¹² Far from being a puppet for the government, Galsworthy tried to retain his artistic integrity, while also feeling a sense of responsibility to help.

***Kultur* and civilisation for the literary propagandists**

Within weeks of the outbreak of war the notion of German *Kultur* became a shorthand for the sins of the enemy nation considered from a cultural and historical perspective.²¹³ Denigrating the significance of German culture was used to counter claims by German intellectuals about the value of German culture to the world. Pogge von Strandmann suggests that German academics sought to elevate the debate to the realm of culture in order to avoid discussion of who was responsible for the start of the war.²¹⁴ In one of the first academic defences of the war in the American press, two German professors wrote that since the war had been ‘forced upon’ Germany, the sense of cause was clear for national preservation, as well as the ‘progress of true culture’.²¹⁵ The British authors wrote in their declaration of 18 September:

Many of us have dear friends in Germany, many of us regard German culture with the highest respect and gratitude; but we cannot admit that any nation has the right by brute force to impose its culture upon other nations, nor that the iron military bureaucracy of Prussia represents a higher form of human society than the free constitutions of Western Europe.²¹⁶

This was the interpretation of the conflict and its cultural relevance at the time that Ford and the literary propagandists began writing. Their work is an answer to the problem it identifies. Moshik Temkin observes that these cultural arguments also held particular interest for American academics, who were, after all, a primary audience for Wellington House materials.²¹⁷ American art critic and Princeton professor Frank Mather wrote in the *New York Times* in November 1914

²¹¹ Marrot, *Life and Letters*, p.447; Reznick, *John Galsworthy*, pp.50-68.

²¹² Dupré, *John Galsworthy*, p.237.

²¹³ Hynes, *War Imagined*, p.67; Pick, *War Machine*, pp.156-57.

²¹⁴ Pogge von Strandmann, ‘The Role of British and German Historians’, p.370.

²¹⁵ Rudolf Eucken and Ernst Haeckel, ‘Germany’s Culture’, *New York Times*, 25 September 1914, p.10.

²¹⁶ ‘Britain’s Destiny and Duty’, p.3.

²¹⁷ Moshik Temkin, ‘Culture vs. Kultur, or A Clash of Civilizations: Public Intellectuals in the United States and the Great War, 1917-1918’, *Historical Journal*, 58 (2015), 157-82.

that culture in the Anglo-American sense meant a ‘balanced and humanized state of mind’ and argued that Germany’s culture had ‘been swallowed up in her Kultur’.²¹⁸ Ironically, through frequent use, the German word ‘Kultur’ passed into English texts untranslated, without needing further definition. Gregory notes, for example, that by mid-1915, it was no longer translated or explained in the *Daily Mail*.²¹⁹

The distinction between different forms of culture was part of the demonisation of the enemy that is inevitable in wartime, especially between cultures that had experienced so much interaction in the decades before the war. As Lasswell comments, ‘[t]he enemy is inherently perfidious’, which makes the ‘mass of specialized studies upon different features of the life and character of another country [...] welcome in war’.²²⁰ Building on his earlier attitudes towards Germany, Ford is particularly critical of Prussian education and materialism in his propaganda. In *When Blood*, he offers examples of what he sees as the growing ‘Prussianisation’ of England from the mid-nineteenth century, ‘typified by the Great Exhibition of 1851, and by monuments like the Albert Memorial’.²²¹ He continues this argument in *Between St Dennis* where he claims that ‘[t]he province of Prussian education has been to teach the Germans that the ideal man is a millionaire like a pig living in a vast and gilded hotel’.²²² Similarly, in *The Barbarism of Berlin* Chesterton works through several definitions of ‘barbarian’, clarifying that he does not mean that the Germans lack material development. They are, he claims, ‘veneered vandals’, using technological progress and institutional organisation in their destruction of civilisation: ‘in Prussia all that is best in the civilised machinery is put at the service of all that is worst in the barbaric mind’.²²³ Such arguments were traded on opposing sides in the war for culture. Welch comments that ‘[f]or German intellectuals, culture was the inward-looking search for beauty and truth, whereas civilization was obsessed with outward appearances and manners’.²²⁴ Ford and Chesterton make the inverse argument, that it is the Germans who are materialist and their habits have permeated Britain.

Chesterton’s *The Crimes of England* (1915) opens with a humorous letter addressed to a ‘Professor Whirlwind’, whose German name is too complex for Chesterton to deign to remember. In the letter, Chesterton counters the arguments of the German intellectuals through mockery. He suggests they have given so many contradictory reasons for England’s guilt in the war that they are no longer believable: ‘do you not see, my dear Professor that the very richness and variety of

²¹⁸ Frank Jewett Mather Jr, ‘Culture vs. Kultur’, *New York Times*, 8 November 1914, Editorial Section, p.2.

²¹⁹ Gregory, ‘A Clash of Cultures’, p.37.

²²⁰ Lasswell, *Propaganda Technique*, pp.79, 92.

²²¹ Ford, *When Blood*, p.314.

²²² Ford, *Between St Dennis*, p.192.

²²³ Chesterton, *Barbarism*, pp.30, 79.

²²⁴ David Welch, ‘War Aims and the “Big Ideas” of 1914’, in David Welch and Jo Fox (eds), *Justifying War: Propaganda, Politics and the Modern Age* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), pp.71-94 (p.87).

your inventive genius throws a doubt upon each explanation when considered in itself?'.²²⁵ In the argument which follows, England's crimes are all the times it has allowed German influence to triumph over its native temperament and character. Julia Stapleton suggests that Chesterton's emphasis on the conflict between civilisation and barbarism was his way of avoiding an explicitly British or English patriotism.²²⁶ Ford may have attempted the same by focusing on the excellence of France in *Between St Dennis*.

Ford's propaganda is not so polarised as Chesterton's. Chesterton comments that Grimm's fairy tales are 'the one classic and perfect literary product that ever came out of Germany', but then adds that '[g]ood as Grimm's Fairy Tales were, they had been collected and not created by the modern German; they were a museum of things older than any nation, of the dateless age of once-upon-a-time'.²²⁷ He therefore undermines any praise he might have given German literature. Ford's approach to German literature and philosophy is more nuanced; he suggests, for example, that Nietzsche is 'vastly miscomprehended'.²²⁸ He finds much to admire in Nietzsche's career and writing, and it is instead the reception of his work and its misinterpretations which have contributed to Prussianism: 'the philosophy of Nietzsche is one thing and Nietzscheism another'.²²⁹ Ford was not alone in pointing out the irony of Nietzsche's conscription as a supporter of modern Prussia. Galsworthy makes a similar observation: 'Nietzsche was an individualist, a hater of the state and of the Prussians, a sick man, a great artist in words to be read with delight and—your tongue in your cheek.'²³⁰ In this regard both Ford and Galsworthy attempt to educate the reader to look for nuance and differentiation, rather than being blinded by jingoism. They are also negotiating the obstacle that presented itself to many British authors who admired German culture but supported the war and opposed contemporary German political culture.

By the time Ward was writing *Towards the Goal*, America had joined the Allies, and so she aims to boost morale by reminding her readers of the cause, once again expressed as a conflict of civilisations. Letters seven to ten in this volume are vociferous in stirring up hatred of Germany:

The horror has now thrown off the trappings and disguise of modern civilisation, and we see it and recoil. We feel that we are terribly right in speaking of the Germans as barbarians; that, for all their science and their organisation, they have nothing really in common with the Graeco-Latin and Christian civilisation on which this old Europe is based. [...] And as one says these things, one could almost laugh at them!—so strong is

²²⁵ G.K. Chesterton, *The Crimes of England* (London: Cecil Palmer & Hayward, 1915), p.11.

²²⁶ Julia Stapleton, *Christianity, Patriotism and Nationhood: The England of G.K. Chesterton* (Lanham, MD: Lexington, 2009), p.153.

²²⁷ Chesterton, *Crimes*, pp.69, 77.

²²⁸ Ford, *When Blood*, p.149.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, p.155.

²³⁰ Galsworthy, 'Second Thoughts on this War' (1915), in *Sheaf*, pp.223-42 (p.234).

still the memory of what one used to feel towards the poetic, the thinking, the artistic Germany of the past. But that Germany was a mere blind, hiding the real Germany.²³¹

Ward's characterisation of separate civilisations is combined with a visceral, personal response – 'recoiling' in horror at the supposed deception of German culture. Her feelings of betrayal parallel those expressed by Germans towards the English.

Like many of the cultural elite, Wells distinguished in his propaganda between the German ruling class and its people:

We are fighting Germany. But we are fighting without any hatred of the German people. We do not intend to destroy either their freedom or their unity. But we have to destroy an evil system of government and the mental and material corruption that has got hold of the German imagination and taken possession of German life.²³²

He highlights the same themes discussed by Chesterton and Ford, though he does not explore German culture in as much detail. Wells's argument here is an academic distinction, since the absence of hatred makes little difference to the experience for those killed in war. Likewise, if the whole 'German imagination' has been corrupted then, apart from apportioning blame for this development, the German people now share the same mind as their leaders. Wells's attacks on Germany do not share the same complexity as Ford's propaganda, but in some ways his naïve hopes of ending war somewhat temper his belligerence. Wells writes in favour of disarmament at the same time as arguing for the continuation of the war.²³³

Ambivalent authors: loving and hating the enemy

A close relationship with Germans, or a strong identification with German culture before the war led to various responses in wartime literature. Some writers were indignant, expressing a sense of betrayal, but others were more ambivalent. Writing in 1926, Jerome K. Jerome expressed the conflict he felt about his own propaganda work: 'If I knew and hated the German military machine, so likewise I knew, and could not bring myself to hate, the German people. I had lived among them for years. I knew them to be homely, kind, good-humoured folk.'²³⁴ Similarly, Ford's knowledge of Germany provided source material for his propaganda, but it also meant severing relationships. He demonstrated his loyalty to Britain by a rejection of his German friends and relations and was conscious of this betrayal, as we have already seen in his letter to John Lane

²³¹ Mrs Humphry Ward, *Towards the Goal* (London: Murray, 1917), pp.165-66.

²³² Wells, *War That Will End War*, pp.8-9.

²³³ *Ibid.*, p.11.

²³⁴ Jerome K. Jerome, *My Life and Times* (1926; London: Folio Society, 1992), p.192.

when he enlisted.²³⁵ Here I explore how other writers navigated similar dilemmas during the war. Von Arnim had been married to a Prussian, Galsworthy had a German brother-in-law, and Wells's children had a German tutor. Some of the texts I consider in this section were not commissioned by Wellington House but were contemporaneous with the propaganda campaign and in some way associated with it.

Thomas Weber attributes some of the bitterness among the academic community at the outbreak of war to the close relationships German and British scholars had enjoyed before the war.²³⁶ In general, Ward's propaganda does not place as much emphasis on education as one might expect from the niece of Matthew Arnold. In *England's Effort*, she concentrates on what the British are doing to combat the German threat, although there is little mention of Germany itself in the text. But in the introduction to the German edition she expresses her sense of betrayal by the German academy:

We held [German professors] to be servants of truth, incapable of acquiescence in a tyrannous lie. We held them also to be scholars, incapable therefore of falsifying facts and ignoring documents in their own interest. But in that astonishing manifesto [...] those very men who had taught Europe to respect evidence and to deal scrupulously with documents, when it was a question of Classical antiquity, or early Christianity, now, when it was a question of justifying the crime of their country [...] threw evidence and documents to the winds.²³⁷

Trevelyan's biography of her mother insists that while Ward had respected German learning before the war, she did not have close German friends.²³⁸ However, she recalls the evening they hosted a group of German professors in London, which helps to explain Ward's sense of personal insult: 'Little more than a year afterwards the names of nearly all our guests were to be found in the manifesto of the ninety-three German Professors—the pronouncement which above all others in those grim days stirred Mrs. Ward's indignation'.²³⁹

Ford expresses a vehement sense of betrayal in *Between St Dennis*:

I am tired of Germany with the intense weariness of a person who has been deceived and has willingly let himself be deceived. I feel as if the whole German nation had played

²³⁵ Ford to John Lane, 12 August 1915, in Ludwig (ed.), *Letters*, p.61.

²³⁶ Weber, *Our Friend 'The Enemy'*, p.231.

²³⁷ Ward, quoted in Trevelyan, *Life of Mrs Humphry Ward*, p.265.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.264-65.

²³⁹ *Ibid.*

upon me, personally, the shabbiest form of confidence-trick [...]. I wish Germany did not exist, and I hope it will not exist much longer.²⁴⁰

This passage contains some of the strongest language against Germany in Ford's propaganda. Here he outlines his argument without exception or caveat. If there remained some doubts about Ford's commitment to writing propaganda in his first book, this passage suggests that he had resolved these doubts by the time he wrote the second. Nonetheless, the sense of personal connection to international relations remains, and indicates that Ford experienced Germany's actions in the war as a personal affront.

The impact of the war on personal relations was felt keenly by those whose nationality was affected by marriage.²⁴¹ Mary Annette Beauchamp married the Prussian count Graf Henning von Arnim-Schlagenthin in 1891 and lived in Pomerania for much of her adult life, until her husband's death in 1910. At the outbreak of war, then known as the author Elizabeth von Arnim,²⁴² she returned to Britain from her home in Switzerland, with two of her daughters, Liebet and Evi. Two daughters, Trix and Felicitas, remained in Germany. Once in Britain, von Arnim was able to rescind her German citizenship and became a naturalised Briton, but her daughters (who were born in Berlin) were not eligible. They eventually left for America, to escape the difficulties of life as enemy aliens in Britain.²⁴³ Felicitas died in Germany during the war, from pneumonia, aged sixteen.²⁴⁴ Von Arnim's 1917 novel *Christine*, published under the pseudonym Alice Cholmondeley, was in part a response to her grief.²⁴⁵ It is described by many as a work of propaganda, though there is no clear evidence that she was part of the Wellington House campaign.²⁴⁶

The novel depicts a love affair between a British music student studying in Germany and a German Junker during the summer of 1914, narrated through letters to her mother in England. It ends, we learn in a prefatory note, in tragedy, with Christine dying from pneumonia before she manages to leave Germany.²⁴⁷ Von Arnim writes that 'the war killed Christine, just as surely as if she had been a soldier in the trenches', a sentiment she expressed about her own daughter's

²⁴⁰ Ford, *Between St Dennis*, p.66.

²⁴¹ Richard van Emden gives numerous accounts of families divided by the war, and particularly of women who suffered as a result of their husband's nationality. *Meeting the Enemy*, pp.85-120.

²⁴² 'Elizabeth' was also a pen name, but she eventually adopted it in her private life.

²⁴³ Leslie de Charms [pen name of von Arnim's daughter, Liebet], *Elizabeth of the German Garden* (London: Heinemann, 1958), pp.164-65, 173-74.

²⁴⁴ Isobel Maddison, *Elizabeth von Arnim: Beyond the German Garden* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), p.80.

²⁴⁵ Liebet certainly read it in this way, writing that it 'is the story of Felicitas'. De Charms, *Elizabeth*, p.189.

²⁴⁶ Maddison makes a case for considering the book as propaganda on the basis of von Arnim's relationships with other writers working for Wellington House. Maddison, *Elizabeth von Arnim*, pp.64-65. De Charms notes its 'usefulness as propaganda' in her biography, p.188. Both Harold Lasswell and Stewart Halsey Ross describe it as propaganda without being aware of the author's real identity. Lasswell, *Propaganda Technique*, pp.94-96; Ross, *Propaganda for War*, p.39.

²⁴⁷ Elizabeth von Arnim [as Alice Cholmondeley], *Christine* (London: Macmillan, 1917), p.v.

death.²⁴⁸ She perfectly characterises the pre-war ambivalence between Britain and Germany, as perceived from 1917:

It is the funniest thing, their hostility to England, and the queer, reluctant, and yet passionate admiration that goes with it. It is like some girl who can't get a man she admires very much to notice her. He stays indifferent, while she gets more exasperated the more indifferent he stays; exasperated with the bitterness of thwarted love.²⁴⁹

Von Arnim had spent decades observing Anglo-German relations and depicting them in her novels. Over the three months of letters, Christine narrates the changes in Germany as war approaches, and the sudden transition from friendship to enmity when it finally arrives. Von Arnim suggests the distorting effects of war on personality when Christine's music teacher, Kloster, 'that freest of critics', becomes a militarist Prussian, 'his German blood after all unable to resist the call to slavery'.²⁵⁰

Galsworthy was also aware of the sudden change in personal relationships necessitated by the war. His sister, Lilian, had married the German artist Georg Sauter in 1894. During the war, Sauter and his son Rudolf were interned as enemy aliens, despite Galsworthy's attempts to campaign on their behalf. Georg was sent back to Germany after the war, leading to a permanent separation from his wife.²⁵¹ Galsworthy turned this family episode into fiction in 'The Bright Side' (1919), describing the wartime experiences of a German leather worker in London and his English wife.²⁵² Max Gerhardt is ostracised by his community, imprisoned in 1916, and becomes deeply embittered. Galsworthy's story highlights the injustice of internment, magnified by the fact that Gerhardt's son is conscripted into the British army.

'The Bright Side' was not published in wartime, but Galsworthy also explored the relationship between British and German soldiers in his wartime articles. In 'First Thoughts on This War' Galsworthy dramatises the soldier's dilemma, imagining a meeting of those killed in battle after death:

I was told that, unless I killed as many of you as I could, my country would suffer. I don't know whether in my heart I believed what I was told, but I did know that I should feel disgraced if I did not take rifle and sword and try to kill some of you; I knew, too, that

²⁴⁸ Ibid., p.vi; de Charms, *Elizabeth*, p.179.

²⁴⁹ Von Arnim, *Christine*, pp.38-39.

²⁵⁰ Ibid., p.232.

²⁵¹ Dupré, *John Galsworthy*, p.215.

²⁵² Galsworthy, 'The Bright Side', in *Tatterdemalion* (London: Heinemann, 1925), pp.75-105.

unless I did, they would shoot me for a deserter. [...] I did not *want* to kill you, but I knew I had to.²⁵³

The meeting between soldiers on opposing sides after death became an established literary trope after the war.²⁵⁴ In this early example, Galsworthy introduces doubt, the fear of death, and a sense of the futility of war. He anticipates the friction between those fighting and those instructing them to fight, whether propagandists or generals. In 'Second Thoughts on This War' (1915), Galsworthy highlights the hypocrisy in the depiction of British actions in comparison with those of the Germans.²⁵⁵ He notes the absurdity of welcoming patriotism at home, while calling it insanity in the Germans; of celebrating British espionage as courage and calling the German a 'dirty spy'.²⁵⁶ Nonetheless, Galsworthy ends this passage by writing: 'Shall we not rather fight our fight, and win it, without these little ironies?'.²⁵⁷ The ironies, he admits, are insufficient for him to argue against war altogether.

A significant moment in Wells's household was the conscription of his sons' tutor, Kurt Bülow, into the German army.²⁵⁸ Throughout the war, and into the 1930s, Wells and Bülow maintained a friendship and correspondence, and he was the source for Herr Heinrich in Wells's popular wartime novel, *Mr Britling Sees it Through* (1916). In the novel, Wells challenges some of the certainties expressed in his earlier war writing through the universal experience of grief. The novel was neither commissioned by Wellington House nor written as official propaganda, but Masterman did arrange to have it translated and distributed in Germany.²⁵⁹ Wells gives a surprisingly balanced portrait of the Germans in the novel; there are outbursts of anti-Germanism that reflect wartime attitudes, but Herr Heinrich is a sympathetic character with close ties to the Britling family. When both he and Britling's son, Hugh, are killed, Britling grieves for them both:

He found himself thinking of young Heinrich in the very manner, if with a lesser intensity, in which he thought about his own son, as of hopes senselessly destroyed. His mind took no note of the fact that Heinrich was an enemy [...]. He went straight to the

²⁵³ Galsworthy, 'First Thoughts', p.184. While it is not clear which of Galsworthy's essays were written specifically for Wellington House, one biographer indicates that Galsworthy sent this article to his American friends, including the influential New York publisher Charles Scribner, whose magazine published it in 1914. James Gordin, *John Galsworthy's Life and Art: An Alien's Fortress* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1987), p.350.

²⁵⁴ Max Saunders, 'Friendship and Enmity in First World War Literature', *Literature and History*, 17 (2008), 62-77 (p.65).

²⁵⁵ This article was among the work Galsworthy completed by the end of September 1915. It was published in *Scribner's Magazine* in 1915. Marrot, *Life and Letters*, p.416.

²⁵⁶ Galsworthy, 'Second Thoughts', p.229.

²⁵⁷ Ibid.

²⁵⁸ Sherbourne, *H.G. Wells*, p.226. There is some discrepancy in scholarship over the spelling of Kurt's surname. Most call him Kurt Butow, though Sherborne calls him Bülow.

²⁵⁹ Messinger, *British Propaganda*, p.192.

root fact that they had been gallant and kindly beings, and that the same thing had killed them both. . . .²⁶⁰

The ‘Teutonism’ Britling remembers when he thinks of Heinrich comprises fond memories of his disposition and sartorial tastes – not his militarism. There are certain recognisable German stereotypes in his depiction, such as Heinrich’s musicality and his interest in classification, but these are not images of the beastly Hun.

Britling begins writing a long, fragmented letter to Heinrich’s parents in Pomerania, to send when he returns Heinrich’s violin to them. The letter is both a personal account of bereavement, and a treatise on the causes of the war. It balances a questioning, hopeless grief with conviction about the justice of the British cause. Andrew Frayn attributes the success of this novel to the balance Wells struck between the two; he expresses scepticism and sorrow but with the hope that the war can still be won.²⁶¹ The violin is a poignant reminder of pre-war cultural exchange and particularly of British admiration for German music. For Heinrich the violin ‘symbolised many things [...] that he connected with home’;²⁶² but in its case it looks to Britling ‘like a baby in a coffin’.²⁶³ Britling plans to send the violin to Heinrich’s parents in the absence of a body, a combined symbol of the loss of their children, Britain’s rejection of German culture, and a gesture of peace. Pre-war cosmopolitanism had indeed been mangled, as Ford imagined it would be when the war was just beginning.

Conclusion

First World War propaganda is not usually considered in the context of the fraught personal and international ties that would have complicated its construction. The fact that these authors publicly supported the war did not prevent them from feeling ambivalent, and expressing this ambivalence, in their propaganda and other wartime writing. Their propaganda was not produced in isolation, so we must consider the books commissioned by Wellington House alongside non-commissioned articles and the novels in which the authors had greater freedom to express emotional complexity. In doing so, we are able to construct a more nuanced portrait of wartime literary activity. A sense of patriotic duty often influenced their work but, from what we can ascertain, the government appears to have had limited sway over what they chose to write. I have, therefore, questioned the notion that the authors subordinated their creative and critical faculties to mass enthusiasm and state control. Wells did not require much government influence to begin writing propaganda. Ward wrote at the encouragement of Roosevelt, not the British government.

²⁶⁰ H.G. Wells, *Mr Britling Sees it Through* (1916; London: [n.pub]., 1933), p.256.

²⁶¹ Andrew Frayn, *Writing Disenchantment: British First World War Prose 1914-1930* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014), p.53.

²⁶² Wells, *Mr Britling*, p.259.

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, p.258.

Galsworthy was outspoken in his criticism of the war and tried to maintain his creative independence. Ford's writing reflects his own ambivalence. His arguments were not always consistent, which can be seen as his way of negotiating the complex emotional ties he had on different sides of the conflict. In the next chapter I explore how these competing forces are exhibited in Ford's wartime journalism.

CHAPTER 3: FORD'S WRITING IN THE *OUTLOOK*

The forty-nine articles Ford wrote in the *Outlook* between August 1914 and August 1915 have, to date, only received limited critical attention. In the absence of a diary or many surviving letters from this period of Ford's life, these articles are essential to a more detailed understanding of Ford's experience of the war before he made the crucial decision to enlist. Ford is rare among novelists as one who wrote government propaganda, fought, and then later wrote against the war. In other ways he is more representative, and he is an example of the many cosmopolitan Edwardians who had to determine where their loyalties lay at the outbreak of war.

This chapter provides an overview of the major preoccupations of Ford's writing during the first year of the war and adds significant context to the excerpts of the *Outlook* articles available in certain editions. I begin with a history of the *Outlook*, followed by a summary of Ford's involvement with the magazine before the war, and an overview of the trajectory of his articles from 1914 to 1915. I then analyse the articles over the course of year by theme: I consider the voice of Ford's criticism during this period; his engagement with the idea of enmity; his depiction of German culture, and specifically German education. I then address his consideration of the place of language and literature in society, especially in wartime. Ford began the war believing that the 'pen is mightier than the sword',¹ but by August 1915 he had decided to put down his pen and take up the sword. He gestures to this decision in *Zeppelin Nights* (1916), but it is through these weekly articles that we can trace the changes in his views about literature and about Germany over the course of the year.²

I: Ford and the *Outlook*

A brief history of the *Outlook*

The *Outlook: in Life, Letters, Politics and the Arts*, was established by the journalist and Conservative MP George Wyndham in 1898, following the closure of the *New Review*.³ The subtitle varied slightly in the early years and changed substantially in the 1920s when it became *The Outlook for Men and Women*, until production ceased in 1928.⁴ When it was launched, Joseph Conrad wrote in a letter to his friend Ted (E.L.) Sanderson: 'There is a new weekly coming. Its name The Outlook; its price three pence sterling, its attitude literary; its policy—

¹ Ford, 'Literary Portraits—LII: "Cedant Togae. . ."', *Outlook*, 34, 5 September 1914, pp.303-04 (p.304).

² Ford and Violet Hunt, *Zeppelin Nights: A London Entertainment* (London: Bodley Head, 1916). The first edition is dated 1916, but it was probably published in late 1915. Harvey, *Bibliography*, pp.49-50.

³ The Outlook Publishing Company purchased the liquidated *New Review* in 1898. Board of Trade records, TNA, BT 31/15909/55888.

⁴ It is listed in the British Library catalogue under its later name, though some libraries use its first title. It is also identifiable as the *Outlook*, London, distinct from the *Outlook*, New York.

Imperialism, tempered by expediency'.⁵ At the end of the nineteenth century, the periodical industry was booming.⁶ There were one hundred new titles in 1898, among which *Mitchell's Press Directory* considered the *Outlook* to be one of the four of most interest.⁷ The editorial office was based in London, with readers in Britain and the Dominions, as the magazine was distributed in Australia, New Zealand and South Africa.⁸ It was still common for British periodicals and newspapers to be shipped to these markets, although it also reflects the magazine's 'constructive imperialism'.⁹ It was founded 'to advance the Imperial movement, and devoted to the cause of closer economic and political union between England and the Colonies'.¹⁰

In the early years of the magazine, it garnered considerable respect and attracted well-known authors to fill its pages, including Conrad, W.E. Henley, Max Beerbohm, Hilaire Belloc and E.V. Lucas. In 1911, Ford associated the 'brilliant days' of the *Outlook* with the work of T.W.H. Crosland who was sub-editor and a regular contributor from 1899 to 1902.¹¹ The *Outlook* became a significant voice in imperial affairs under the editorship of J.L. Garvin between 1903 and 1907. Garvin converted it to a sixpenny review,¹² and circulation allegedly tripled under his management.¹³ After his departure the *Outlook's* influence declined considerably,¹⁴ and it is notable that other editors are not nearly so well advertised or acknowledged.¹⁵ Edwin Oliver, who edited *Atalanta* and the *London Review* in the late 1890s,¹⁶ worked as assistant editor of the *Outlook* between 1900 and 1906, and editor between 1910 and 1917, but is rarely mentioned.¹⁷ Perhaps one indication that the magazine failed to live up to its early promise is the relative lack of attention it has attracted from literary historians. It is also possible that the *Outlook* has fallen between the gaps in scholarship, being neither a Victorian periodical, nor a modernist magazine,

⁵ Conrad, quoted by Scott A. Cohen, 'Imperialism tempered by expediency: Conrad and *The Outlook*', *Conradiana*, 41 (2009), 49-66 (p.49).

⁶ There were approximately 50,000 periodical titles published in Britain in 1900. Joseph McAleer, *Popular Reading and Publishing in Britain 1914-1950* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p.25.

⁷ Cohen, 'Conrad and *The Outlook*', p.51.

⁸ The sole agent for international markets was Gordon & Gotch, one of the foremost exporters of British periodicals. See Roy F. Bell, *Gordon & Gotch, London: The Story of the G. & G. Century 1853-1953* (London: Gordon & Gotch, 1953).

⁹ Simon J. Potter, *News and the British World: The Emergence of an Imperial Press System, 1876-1922* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2003), p.56.

¹⁰ *The Writers' and Artists' Year-Book 1914: A Directory for Writers, Artists and Photographers*, ed. G.E. Mitton (London: Black, 1914), p.49.

¹¹ Ford, *Ancient Lights*, p.230; W. Sorley Brown, *The Life and Genius of T.W.H. Crosland* (London: Cecil Palmer, 1928), pp.61-85.

¹² Dennis Griffiths, *Fleet Street: Five Hundred Years of the Press* (London: The British Library, 2006), p.161.

¹³ James D. Startt, *Journalists for Empire: The Imperial Debate in the Edwardian Stately Press, 1903-1913* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991), p.90. Circulation figures are generally hard to find for this period, as records were not regularly kept before the creation of the Audit Bureau of Circulation in 1931.

¹⁴ Stephen Koss, *The Rise and Fall of the Political Press in Britain* (London: Fontana, 1990), p.512.

¹⁵ Databases and directories often only record Garvin as editor, despite his relatively short period in this position.

¹⁶ 'Notes and Announcements', *Publishers' Circular and Booksellers' Record*, 68, 2 April 1898, p.382.

¹⁷ Sandra Kemp, Charlotte Mitchell and David Trotter, *Edwardian Fiction: An Oxford Companion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p.304.

but one of many reviews covering both current affairs and literature.¹⁸ Although the *Outlook* was respected, it did not appeal to the masses. R.A. Scott-James wrote in 1913 that '[t]he *Saturday Review*, the *Outlook*, the *New Statesman*, and the *New Witness* all represent a high level of journalism, but the average Englishman is indifferent to them; they do not strike the popular note'.¹⁹

The magazine changed hands several times over the course of its life. At the time of Ford's involvement, it was owned by Walter Guinness (later Lord Moyne), who had acquired it in 1906.²⁰ Guinness was the Conservative MP for Bury St Edmunds. He sat on the board of the family brewery in Dublin, and served with the Suffolk Yeomanry during the war.²¹ Guinness was the son of Lord Iveagh, one of the richest men in England, who bought the *Outlook* on his son's behalf.²² Derek Wilson suggests Guinness's principal interest in the periodical was the opportunity to tackle his political opponents.²³ Walter Guinness and his brother Rupert, who was also a Conservative MP, 'were party men through and through – staunch Unionists, upholders of the privileges of the Tory-dominated upper house, imperialists and tariff supporters, and always ready to attack Liberal reform measures'.²⁴

Ford always maintained that he was a Tory of the 'obstinate, sentimental and old-fashioned' kind, reflecting the contradictory politics of his grandfather, Ford Madox Brown.²⁵ Ann Snitow describes Ford as 'vague in matters of politics, precise only in matters of art'.²⁶ He lamented the loss of the feudal system,²⁷ while supporting significant Liberal policies, such as women's suffrage and Irish Home Rule. He sided with the 'African natives' during the Boer war,²⁸ and in 1931 wrote that 'were I a politician I should be an embittered anti-Imperialist'.²⁹ Paul Peppis

¹⁸ It is not, for example, included in the relevant volumes (3 and 4) of Alvin Sullivan (ed), *British Literary Magazines* (Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1984; 1986), nor is it included in studies of modernist magazines, such as Andrew Thacker (ed.), *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines: Volume I: Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), or Morrisson, *Public Face of Modernism*. Cohen's article on Conrad's work for the *Outlook* is an exception.

¹⁹ R.A. Scott-James, *The Influence of the Press* (London: Partridge, 1913), p.303.

²⁰ Guinness registered it as a new company, The New Outlook Company Ltd. The business records for 1914-15 are missing. Board of Trade records, TNA, BT/17944/91176.

²¹ Brian Bond and Simon Robbins (eds), *Staff Officer: The Diaries of Walter Guinness (First Lord of Moyne) 1914-1918* (London: Cooper, 1987), p.11.

²² Koss, *Rise and Fall of the Political Press*, p.511.

²³ Derek Wilson, *Dark and Light: The Story of the Guinness Family* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1998), p.162.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p.157.

²⁵ Ford, [signed 'Didymus'], 'A Declaration of Faith', *English Review*, 4, February 1910, pp.543-51 (p.544); Saunders, *Dual Life*, I, pp.27, 250.

²⁶ Snitow, *Ford and the Voice of Uncertainty*, p.25.

²⁷ Ford described the feudal system as 'the most satisfactory form [...] of government'. Ford, 'Historical Vignettes—XII: July 3, 1913: The Product of it All', *Outlook*, 32, 5 July 1913, pp.14-15 (p.14). Saunders notes that Ford's regard for Feudalism is 'an emotional predisposition and a historical "impression" rather than an earnestly advocated position'. *Dual Life*, I, p.467.

²⁸ Ford, *England and the English*, p.245.

²⁹ Ford, *Return to Yesterday*, p.43.

situates the contradictory politics of Ford's *English Review* (1908-10) among the paradoxes of Edwardian liberalism, which was progressive in domestic politics but more aligned with the Tories on international issues and Britain's imperial dominance.³⁰ In view of this, Ford's involvement with the *Outlook* is not surprising, but while he wrote in support of Home Rule and women's suffrage in the *Bystander* in 1911 and 1912, he noticeably avoided these issues in his articles for the *Outlook*, although they were some of the most pressing contemporary political concerns.³¹ He may not have supported the *Outlook's* imperialist agenda, but he clearly tailored his writing to fit the editorial stance of the magazine.

During the Marconi scandal of 1912-13 the *Outlook* was among the Conservative papers that reported on the potential corruption of Liberal Government ministers.³² Wilfred Ramage Lawson, a financial journalist working for the *Outlook*, was the first person to comment in print on the rumours about Marconi's contract with the Post Office.³³ Guinness and Oliver were both questioned by the Parliamentary Select Committee and admitted that they had printed allegations without knowing the basis of the claims.³⁴ Ford wrote in *Return to Yesterday* that the Marconi affair was the only time he wrote 'anything political' – a comment made at the same time as discussing his government propaganda and his writing for the suffragettes.³⁵ Ford claimed that he wrote several articles in defence of the financial editor of the *Outlook* during this period, though it underscores Ford's elusive politics that these articles have not been found, if indeed they ever existed.³⁶ Canadian businessman Laurence Lyon bought the magazine from Guinness during the war, possibly in 1916.³⁷ Lord Lee of Fareham and his sister-in-law Faith Moore purchased it from Lyon in 1918, but sold it in 1920.³⁸

In July 1914, there was only limited reporting in the *Outlook* on the approach of war, which is consistent with other press of the period.³⁹ By August this had changed completely, and the *Outlook* reflects broader trends. In early July, there was a range of articles, covering Home Rule

³⁰ Paul Peppis, *Literature, Politics, and the English Avant-Garde: Nation and Empire, 1901-1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p.29.

³¹ Ford, 'A Tory Plea for Home Rule', *Bystander*, 32, 22 November 1911, pp.397-98 and 29 November 1911, pp.438, 440; Ford, 'Saving the Cabinet's Face: The Spurious Suffrage Split', *Bystander*, 33, 17 January 1912, pp.134-35.

³² *The Eye-Witness* (later the *New Witness*), edited by Cecil Chesterton, played a central role in the accusations.

³³ Frances Donaldson, *The Marconi Scandal* (London: Bloomsbury Reader, 2013), pp.10-11.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.81-82; Wilson, *Dark and Light*, p.163.

³⁵ Ford, *Return to Yesterday*, pp.272-73.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ Guinness was still listed as a director in 1913, and a change of address was recorded in June 1916. The New Outlook Company Ltd, Board of Trade records, TNA, BT/17944/91176.

³⁸ Arthur Lee, 'A Good Innings': *The Private Papers of Viscount Lee of Fareham*, ed. Alan Clark (London: Murray, 1974), p.187.

³⁹ Adam James Bones, 'British National Dailies and the Outbreak of War in 1914', *International History Review*, 35 (2013), 975-92.

in Ireland and the death of Joseph Chamberlain as well as reporting the ‘Habsburg Tragedy’.⁴⁰ On 1 August the magazine reported on the ‘Threatened Armageddon’ amid other news,⁴¹ but by the following week much of the magazine was devoted to analysis of the war, including a change in advertising to include recruitment posters. The *Circulation Manager*, a trade publication, commented on the difficulty and ‘demoralisation’ faced by weekly periodicals in the rapidly changing news environment at the outbreak of war: ‘It can with a certain amount of safety be said that the public bought absolutely nothing in the way of periodicals. All it wanted was the news’.⁴² By September, most of the *Outlook* had morphed into discussion of different aspects of the war, cultural, political and financial.⁴³ By 12 September even the list of ‘Recent Books’ included a section on ‘War Books’, some relating to the present war, but also including a collection of Florence Nightingale’s addresses to nurses.⁴⁴ Other periodicals follow a similar trend; the *Saturday Review*, for example, reviewed a number of reprinted works on Germany and European politics in September.⁴⁵ The change in Ford’s writing shortly after the beginning of the war reflects the publication context as well as his own views.

Ford’s writing in the *Outlook* September 1913 to July 1914

Before 1913, Ford had published a few poems in the *Outlook*, as he had done in other magazines, including the *Academy*, the *Saturday Review*, and *Country Life*.⁴⁶ Between April and July 1913 he wrote a short series of ‘Historical Vignettes’ for the *Outlook*, most of which were later incorporated into *Zeppelin Nights*.⁴⁷ In September 1913, Ford became the *Outlook*’s literary editor.⁴⁸ A letter to Compton Mackenzie in 1913 suggests that Ford was responsible not only for writing his ‘Literary Portraits’, but also for commissioning other literary articles in the

⁴⁰ ‘The Habsburg Tragedy’, *Outlook*, 34, 4 July 1914, p.6.

⁴¹ ‘The Threatened Armageddon’, *Outlook*, 34, 1 August 1914, p.132.

⁴² ‘Plight of Periodicals’, *Circulation Manager*, 22, September 1914, p.17.

⁴³ In her overview of more than 1,000 wartime periodicals, Kate Macdonald suggests that the established periodicals that weathered the economic strains of wartime adapted to changes in the market. Kate Macdonald, ‘Popular Periodicals: Wartime Newspapers, Magazines and Journals’, in Ann-Marie Einhaus and Katherine Isobel Baxter (eds), *The Edinburgh Companion to the First World War and the Arts* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017), pp.245-60 (p.249).

⁴⁴ ‘Some Recent Books’, *Outlook*, 34, 12 September 1914, p.339.

⁴⁵ *Saturday Review*, 118, 12 and 19 September 1914. Publishers reprinted works which ‘tapped into and reinforced current anxieties and antipathies’. Jane Potter, ‘The British Publishing Industry and the First World War’, in Einhaus and Baxter (eds), *Edinburgh Companion to the First World War and the Arts*, pp.371-84 (p.374).

⁴⁶ Harvey, *Bibliography*, pp.139-72.

⁴⁷ This book also included vignettes published in the *Daily News* in 1908. Harvey, *Bibliography*, p.161.

⁴⁸ Ford comments in a letter that he is ‘assuming the literary editorship’. Compton Mackenzie, *My Life and Times: Volume IV: 1907-15* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1965), p.199. Saunders suggests that ‘assuming’ may mean he had not been given the role, but since the magazine did regularly have a literary editor it is perfectly possible that he had been appointed to the position. Saunders, *Dual Life*, I, p.393.

magazine.⁴⁹ For this, he was usually paid between £20 and £25 per month over the two years before he enlisted in the army.⁵⁰

Ford's series in the *Outlook* resumed the 'Literary Portraits' he had written for the *Daily Mail* and the *Tribune* from 1907 to 1908. Considered as a whole, Ford's portraits are like a 'Who's Who' of Edwardian literature.⁵¹ Several of the authors he reviewed in 1907-8 and 1913-14 are among those who joined the propaganda campaign in 1914, including Galsworthy, Wells, Bennett, and R.H. Benson. His choices were, at least initially, influenced by those writers he knew and respected, wanting to add the personal dimension to his portraits. The style of the *Outlook* series reflects Ford's developing confidence as a critic, pairing humour and anecdote with incisive literary criticism.⁵² Edwin Oliver allegedly allowed Ford to write 'whatever [he] liked about any subject under the sun'.⁵³ The typical format of the articles includes a description of the author and their oeuvre, or commentary on the contemporary literary scene, followed by a review of a recent work. They were Ford's interpretation of a familiar style of column. Bennett's 'Books and Persons' series, published in the *New Age* between 1908 and 1911, was 'widely regarded as the best literary column of its time'.⁵⁴ Shorter than Ford's column and less idiosyncratic though still personal, Bennett captures the literary scene as it is. Ford, meanwhile, draws attention to literature as it could be, using his platform to highlight the work of 'les jeunes' alongside established authors, as he had also done as editor of the *English Review*.⁵⁵

Sondra Stang comments that Ford's criticism was driven by 'his forward-looking momentum'.⁵⁶ True to this spirit of innovation, in the first of his literary portraits in the *Outlook* Ford argues that literature can only be advanced by movements,⁵⁷ and over the next two years, he gives his support to the Imagists, the Futurists and Vorticists, among others.⁵⁸ He uses his articles to propagate his

⁴⁹ Ford commissioned Mackenzie to write a piece accompanying his own review of Mackenzie's latest novel. Mackenzie, *My Life and Times*, p.199.

⁵⁰ Account book of funds with Messrs. Barclay & Co., 1910-15, Ford Collection, Cornell, 4605/1/6.

⁵¹ Mark Morrisson says the same of Ford's editorial choices for the *English Review*. Morrisson, *Public Face of Modernism*, p.45.

⁵² Saunders outlines six periods of Ford's critical writing. His *Outlook* articles belong to the third period, and are characterised as 'playful, yet still authoritative'. Saunders, 'Critical Biography', p.179.

⁵³ Ford, *Return to Yesterday*, p.272.

⁵⁴ Christopher Kent, 'Introduction', in Alvin Sullivan (ed.), *British Literary Magazines: The Victorian and Edwardian Age, 1837-1913* (Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1984), pp.xiii-xxvi (p.xxiii). Some of Bennett's articles were published as a book in 1917. Arnold Bennett, *Books and Persons: Being Comments on a Past Epoch 1908-1911* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1917).

⁵⁵ 'Les jeunes' were the young writers whose work Ford sought to promote, including among others, Ezra Pound, Richard Aldington, Wyndham Lewis and D.H. Lawrence. They were frequent visitors at Violet Hunt's home, South Lodge. Judd, *Ford*, p.235.

⁵⁶ Sondra J. Stang, *Ford Madox Ford* (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1977), p.20.

⁵⁷ Ford, 'Literary Portraits—I: Mr Compton Mackenzie and *Sinister Street*', *Outlook*, 32, 13 September 1913, pp.353-54 (p.353).

⁵⁸ The first Imagist anthology, *Des Imagistes*, was edited by Ezra Pound and published in 1914. It includes a poem by Ford and he also reviewed it. Vorticism, strongly influenced by Futurism and Cubism, primarily centres on the two editions of *Blast*, edited by Wyndham Lewis in 1914 and 1915, both of which Ford also reviewed in the *Outlook*. George Mosse highlights that Futurism, like Expressionism, was a youth

view of the purpose of literature. When reviewing George Saintsbury's *The English Novel*, he writes: 'The statement of morals, the formulation of ethical codes, appears to me to be no business of the novelist. His business is to draw pictures of possible—of as far as he can normal—conditions; the reader's business being to draw the morals.'⁵⁹ Throughout his career, Ford positioned himself, and his views on literature, in opposition to the work of the 'Victorian Great' he encountered in his youth.⁶⁰ The essential difference between Ford and his Victorian predecessors, as Levenson observes, is that Ford 'possesses no comprehensive vision, no moral authority, no proposals for reform'.⁶¹

In his articles between September 1913 and the summer of 1914, Ford makes several allusions to his non-Englishness. These passing references include a comment that he fails to appreciate the work of Charles Lamb because he is 'not really English',⁶² or that he is a 'German Papist'.⁶³ Describing travelling in Italy on his way from Germany, he remarks: 'I was a German, coming straight from Germany, after a long sojourn in that land which is very disagreeable to live in, though it is lovely enough to visit.'⁶⁴ This articulation of his association with Germany, while acknowledging how much he disliked living there, typifies the mixed emotions Ford had about his father's homeland before the start of the war. It also echoes his self-representation as a foreigner in both England and Germany in 1911, and as a man with many racial ties in *England and the English*.⁶⁵ Little wonder, then, that in his journalism Ford defends cosmopolitanism, depicting it as both necessary and inevitable in the creative arts: 'for an artist deliberately to ignore the influence of foreign work is as if he should attempt to paint pictures with his eyes shut. And even for very national writers, their art is an extraordinarily international affair.'⁶⁶ Ford's already-complex personal identity was exacerbated by the tensions of war the following year.

Ford also reviewed some recently published German-language literature, including Gerhart Hauptmann's *Atlantis*. When reviewing Austrian writer Arthur Schnitzler's novel *Bertha Gerlan* he took the opportunity to discuss German literature more generally, demonstrating his knowledge of the contemporary scene. He wrote a glowing review of Schnitzler's novel, but

movement, with a 'love for the chaos of modernity'. George L. Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), p.55.

⁵⁹ Ford, 'Literary Portraits—VIII: Professor Saintsbury and the English "Nuvvle"', *Outlook*, 32, 1 November 1913, pp.605-6 (p.606).

⁶⁰ For example: Ford, *Ancient Lights*, p.65.

⁶¹ Levenson, *Genealogy of Modernism*, p.52.

⁶² Ford, 'Literary Portraits—XX: Mr Gilbert Cannan and *Old Mole*', *Outlook*, 33, 24 January 1914, pp.110-11 (p.111).

⁶³ Ford, 'Literary Portraits—XXV: Monsignor Benson and *Initiation*', *Outlook*, 33, 28 February 1914, pp.278-79 (p.278).

⁶⁴ Ford, 'Literary Portraits—XL: Vernon Lee and *Louis Norbert*', *Outlook*, 33, 13 June 1914, pp.815-16 (p.815).

⁶⁵ See discussion in Chapter 1.

⁶⁶ Ford, 'Literary Portraits—X: Mr Clement Shorter and *Borrow and His Circle*', *Outlook*, 32, 15 November 1913, pp.677-78 (p.677).

included the distinction between the people of South Germany and the North: 'The Prussian is the self-made man of the world, and as such is generally detested; by none so much as the south German.'⁶⁷ This distinction between the North and South extends to the distribution of creativity: 'For centuries—throughout all recorded time—all the poets of Germany have been south Germans.'⁶⁸

In June 1914, while advocating Joseph Conrad's work, Ford wrote:

What England needs more than anything to-day is a return to Elizabethan standards—is a return to a frame of mind that had only just left behind Papistry, the large sense of honour, the large sense of cosmopolitanism, the large senses of those attributes that are called loyalty, self-sacrifice, duty and chivalry.⁶⁹

This sets the scene for Ford's attitudes to violence and chivalry during the war, and it is worth noting that his idealism was in full force before the war began. This passage suggests too that even Ford's cosmopolitanism is somewhat backward-looking. The fate of these 'big words' and large concepts during the war is a major concern of post-war modernist literature, including in Ford's post-war writing, as I will consider in the next chapter. A few weeks later, Ford declared that '[a]ll great art has been produced by people interested in their own ages and their own climes'.⁷⁰ The responsibility of the artist to respond to his own times is a recurring theme in Ford's criticism, and especially during the war, but this view is informed by the past.

In July 1914, Ford reviewed the first issue of *Blast*, which featured the first three and a half chapters of *The Good Soldier*, then entitled *The Saddest Story*. He felt rather underwhelmed by seeing his latest novel in print, though he gave a warm review of the rest of Wyndham Lewis' magazine. This muted reaction was possibly a product of his depressive mood. At the end of the review Ford describes himself as 'I who am, relatively speaking, about to die',⁷¹ and Saunders observes a 'suicidal strain' in the articles throughout the summer of 1914.⁷² Although in writing Ford did not turn his attention to the war until after Britain had declared war on Germany, in private he was reportedly convinced that Britain would join the war. He and Hunt spent a weekend near Berwick-upon-Tweed, visiting American writer Mary Borden and her husband, together with E.M. Forster and Wyndham Lewis, who remembered Ford saying with conviction

⁶⁷ Ford, 'Arthur Schnitzler and *Bertha Gerlan*', p.753.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ Ford, 'Literary Portraits—XLI: Mr Richard Curle and *Joseph Conrad*', *Outlook*, 33, 20 June 1914, pp.848-49 (p.849).

⁷⁰ Ford, 'Literary Portraits—XLIII: Mr Wyndham Lewis and *Blast*', *Outlook*, 34, 4 July 1914, pp.15-16 (p.16).

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² Saunders, *Dual Life*, II, pp.646-65.

one morning over breakfast, 'England will'.⁷³ Ford's last article before Britain joined the war was a review of W.R. Titterton's *Me as a Model*. It is a light-hearted take on bohemianism which follows the typical structure of his literary portraits. The shift the following week feels sudden, unless one takes into account the contextual factors addressed above.

Ford's writing in the *Outlook* August 1914 to August 1915

Before the thematic analysis of the articles, it is worth considering the trajectory of Ford's articles from the first year of the war. From 8 August 1914, Ford turned his attention to the war and fundamentally altered the structure and tone of his articles. The tone continues to fluctuate with the changing seasons of the war, as well as Ford's own mental and emotional vicissitudes. His first article after the outbreak of war expresses horror, though not principally about the idea of mass death:

[W]hat is senseless, what is imbecile, are the ideas for which people are dying [...]. I like the French so much; I like so much the South Germans and the Austrians. Whichever side wins in the end—my own heart is certain to be mangled in either case. I should feel no triumph in a German victory over France; I think I would cut my throat if the German Fleet destroyed the British Fleet; I should mildly like France to get back the Reichsland. I should feel intensely any mortification to Germany; almost more intensely any mortification to France; and any blow to this country would cause in me emotions more horrible than any others of a life not wanting in horrible emotions.⁷⁴

In the opening paragraphs he establishes a defining problem – namely, his cosmopolitanism and his intensely personal connection to this war. His focus on the South Germans and Austrians is by now familiar, but his main sympathies are with the French and the British from the beginning.

With one exception, the articles between 19 September and 19 December are all included in *When Blood* and Ford's tone is, predictably, more belligerent. His early wartime articles are full of doubt; but from mid-September he becomes more forthright, even if it is still possible to detect moments of ambivalence. The timing is significant: the 'Authors' Declaration' was published on 18 September, and although Ford did not sign it, he gave his support for the war by beginning his anti-German campaign the same week. Over the course of the following weeks his argument follows consistent themes; he attacks the deficiencies of the German language and critiques the German education system. These are two of the central concerns of his propaganda. The sections from *When Blood* used in September and October form much of the final chapter on 'Kultur', and

⁷³ Saunders, *Dual Life*, I, p.466; Wyndham Lewis, *Blasting and Bombardiering: An Autobiography (1914-1926)* (1937; London: Calder, 1982), p.58.

⁷⁴ Ford, 'Charles-Louis Philippe and *Le Père Perdrix*', p.174.

Ford's approach to the battle over *Kultur* versus culture is consistent with the concerns expressed in the 'Authors' Declaration'.⁷⁵

At the end of December Ford writes two articles that are noticeably more reflective, full of questions, disbelief, and grief. He writes:

I wish that, if nowhere else, then at least in some deep inner chamber of the mind, we could hold a little armistice and think what peace is doing all this time—for peace, like truth, is at the bottom of a well, buried beneath the sort of lava flow of all these topics of war that, like that other marching boundary, has swept over and engulfed all the peace that was once in our poor hearts.⁷⁶

By pausing his propaganda writing in the articles, Ford creates his own brief armistice of the mind. He sounds weary, as if the first few months of the war have cost him personally, forcing him to take sides more violently than he would wish, and he is all too willing to call a truce, however temporary. Though he briefly rails against Germany's breach of the Treaty of London, uncertainty remains the presiding tone of his Christmas interlude: 'the record of 1914 in my diary must be blotted out by a sad, an enigmatic, and a perhaps wistful note of interrogation'.⁷⁷ Ford's questions are an apt response to the daunting reality of war, which perhaps makes his more chauvinistic articles more palatable in retrospect, but it was also characteristic of his style – to see the world, and even his own consciousness, as an outsider.⁷⁸

In Ford's writing the cessation in hostilities lasts only for two articles. The remaining articles in January vary in theme and style, but they are more obviously anti-German than over the Christmas period. All four articles from February are taken from *When Blood*. They contribute to the passages of the book on the history of the Hohenzollerns and the rise of Prussia. Ford wrote only one article in March, a review of *The Titan* by Theodore Dreiser, and he did not publish another until May. During Ford's hiatus, *The Good Soldier* and *When Blood* were both published and a series of articles by Violet Hunt filled the gap in the magazine.

There is a decided change in emphasis after Ford returned from his break, which reflects the different focus of his two propaganda books, as well as the entrenchment of anti-German feeling in Britain by mid-1915. Most of Ford's articles between 1 May and 12 June are included in *Between St Dennis*. They concentrate on the beauty of French culture, and Ford's love for France.

⁷⁵ See discussion of the 'Authors' Declaration' in Chapter 2.

⁷⁶ Ford, 'Literary Portraits—LXVIII: "Et in Terra Pax"', *Outlook*, 34, 26 December 1914, pp.822-23 (p.823).

⁷⁷ Ford, 'Literary Portraits—LXIX: Annus Mirabilis', *Outlook*, 35, 2 January 1915, pp.14-15 (p.15).

⁷⁸ Saunders, *Dual Life*, I, p.22.

Ford received a commission in the Welch Regiment at the end of July. He wrote to Lucy Masterman: 'it is as if the peace of God had descended on me—that sounds absurd—but there it is! Man is a curious animal.'⁷⁹ There are numerous reasons why Ford might have felt relieved. His relationship with Hunt was strained, and he was financially dependent on her,⁸⁰ but his articles also suggest an increased sense of the burden of writing. Ford's last ten articles from mid-June to the end of August 1915, when he left to join his regiment, return to the review format of his pre-war style, though they still refer to the war and include reviews of war-related literature. In some respects, Ford also returns to the preoccupations of his first articles after the outbreak of war about the effect of the war on language.

II: August 1914 to August 1915: Thematic analysis

Impressionism and history in Ford's critical voice

Although there is a substantial difference in the subjects addressed in his criticism after Britain declared war, Ford's experimentation with voice and the writing of history is largely a continuation of his earlier work. Critics have observed that the voice of John Dowell, the narrator of *The Good Soldier*, which Ford was revising at the time, seeps into his writing about the war.⁸¹ The phrase 'I don't know' echoes throughout the novel, and it takes on personal meaning in his journalism. Dowell tells his readers that he wants to narrate the story of the Ashburnhams as if he were sitting by the fire talking 'with a sympathetic soul opposite me'.⁸² Allan Tate remembered Ford saying that he wanted to write novels as one Edwardian gentleman talking to another.⁸³ The posture of this sympathetic conversation and the diction of the would-be gentleman spills over into his articles. Ford assumes the role of talking to his readers in a knowing, instructive voice of authority, but his tone quavers with uncertainty. Snitow highlights the sense of panic beneath the surface:

The tone of Ford's essays is authoritative, bold, but their imaginative leaps are in fact quite precarious. [...] Here is a man, this tone would seem to say, who goes rushing along with an élan that obscures the embarrassing fact that he is running for his life. He pretends only to be making one more innocent, Chestertonian ramble, while in fact there is nothing restful in this writing.⁸⁴

Snitow considers Ford's transition from pro-German to anti-German writing to be just another of Ford's many self-contradictions, while I aim to demonstrate that this transition is neither so

⁷⁹ Ford to Lucy Masterman, 31 July 1914, Ludwig (ed.), *Letters*, p.61.

⁸⁰ Judd, *Ford*, p.197; Saunders, *Dual Life*, I, p.482; Belford, *Violet*, p.186.

⁸¹ Moser, *Life in the Fiction of Ford*, p.128; Saunders, *Dual Life*, I, p.468; Tomlinson and Green, 'Ford's Wartime Journalism', p.141.

⁸² Ford, *The Good Soldier*, p.15.

⁸³ Samuel Hynes, 'Ford and the Spirit of Romance', *Modern Fiction Studies*, 9 (1963), 17-24 (pp.20-21).

⁸⁴ Snitow, *Ford and the Voice of Uncertainty*, p.131.

sudden nor so unprecedented as it may appear to be. Nonetheless, the idea that Ford's criticism depicts him 'running for his life' applies not only to his wartime writing, where his logic becomes strained in the service of propaganda, but also to his earlier articles in the *Outlook* which manifest his depressive state.

Ford was well versed in what it took to be an English gentleman, even though he did not make the grade. As Christine Berberich has shown, Ford displayed an unusual degree of interest both in 'Englishness' and in the idea of the gentleman, constructing figures in fiction to challenge the Victorian ideal.⁸⁵ Ford, like Dowell, is not fully English, nor is he fully a gentleman. In *The Good Soldier* Ford perfected the art of speaking as a gentleman ought to speak – though not without leaving room for doubt, irony, and scepticism. The voice that emerges in his criticism is similarly performative; Ford adopts the voice of the Edwardian gentleman who, like Chesterton, would have been invited to Masterman's meeting of influential men. However, the voice he adopts is not all disguise – or if it is, it belongs to the persona he used regularly in his own life and had developed at a young age to overcome his sense of inferiority. Judd observes that '[t]he Grand Manner, with its remote oracular pronouncements [...] was a form of defence rather than attack and was no less real for probably having started as a device'.⁸⁶ The expressions of gentlemanly behaviour, particularly in his calls for chivalry, are innate to Ford; his interest in the Middle Ages was imbibed from childhood through his father's knowledge of the troubadours, his own appreciation of the Minnesänger, and the Romantic influences of his youth.

Ford borrows from another of his fictional characters in his article on 'Mr Blood and Commonsense about the War' in January 1915.⁸⁷ Mr Blood is a character from his 1913 novel, *Mr Fleight*. In the article, Ford claims that the views he expressed about life and literature in the *Outlook* the previous year were those of 'my friend Mr. Blood', and sketches the character: 'if he had not been the head of a great Whig house would have been a stern, unbending Tory', 'peculiarly English' with a 'peculiarly encyclopaedic memory'.⁸⁸ These are familiar traits in Ford's version of the English gentleman. The article is a conversation between Ford, Fleight (now Captain) and Major Wyndham-Loder-Wyndham (no doubt a play on Wyndham Lewis). Despite claiming that he paraphrased Blood's views the previous year, Ford is clearly joking as their views are completely opposed. Blood argues for the internment of 'every Englishman who had ever read a foreign book', and yet also suggests that Prussian rule in England 'would make men of us' by purging Britain of its 'internationalism' and 'race-comprehension'.⁸⁹ Ford uses Blood's

⁸⁵ Christine Berberich, 'A Modernist Elegy to the Gentleman? Englishness and the Idea of the Gentleman in Ford's *The Good Soldier*', in Plastow and Brown (eds), *Ford and Englishness*, pp.195-209.

⁸⁶ Judd, *Ford*, pp.17-18.

⁸⁷ Ford, 'Mr Blood and Commonsense about the War', *Outlook*, 35, 23 January 1915, pp.110-11.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p.110.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.110-11.

preposterous suggestions to satirise political infighting and criticise the press, as he does at several points in the year. In this instance, he is attacking the cries for mass internment that were printed by most newspapers from the autumn of 1914.⁹⁰ It ends with a comment overheard from Major Wyndham-Loader, remembering a corpse on the battlefield. Ford jolts his reader back to the conflict and is presumably suggesting that such infighting is hindering Britain's cause. The article is theatrical, playful and disorienting; its multiple voices are characteristic of Ford's impressionism.

A large part of Ford's wartime writing attacks German scholarship. This is an extension of his arguments against specialisation in his editorials for the *English Review* from 1908 to 1910. John Attridge suggests that in these articles Ford was responding to the professionalisation of academic disciplines, which meant a shift away from the model of the Edwardian 'man of letters' to the researcher working with sources.⁹¹ Ford was part of a wider conversation in early modernism, with Conrad, James, and Pound, who were all engaged, as Seamus O'Malley demonstrates, in exploring the shared territory between history and fiction.⁹² One way that Ford counters German scholarship in his articles and propaganda is to demonstrate his alternative method.⁹³ History can never be impartial, but Ford presents an intentionally personal, impressionist history.⁹⁴ He writes in his 1903-4 essay on 'Creative History and the Historic Sense':

History conceived as an exact Science is an impossibility because even the minutest of financial accounts is made by human means, coloured by human views or liable to the slips of human pens, & as soon as your historian has gathered his materials together the devil of theorizing enters into him.⁹⁵

Ford does not want to replicate the work of the Germanic 'Scientific Historian' but to present an entirely different point of view; one that tells history through clusters of pictures, layering personal anecdote, fiction and imagination, but is nonetheless true.⁹⁶ These are the 'Quellen' (sources) from which Ford works, as he notes in the preface to *When Blood*.⁹⁷ When describing the 1848-49 Saxon Revolution, Ford uses the account in Wagner's autobiography because, Ford

⁹⁰ Panikos Panayi, *Prisoners of Britain: German Civilian and Combatant Internees during the First World War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), p.235.

⁹¹ John Attridge, "'We will listen to none but the specialists': Ford, the Rise of Specialization, and the English Review", in Andrzej Gasiorek and Daniel Moore (eds), *Ford Madox Ford: Literary Networks and Cultural Transformations* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2008), pp.29-42 (p.31).

⁹² Seamus O'Malley, *Making History New: Modernism and Historical Narrative* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p.28.

⁹³ Wollaeger, *Modernism, Media, and Propaganda*, p.147.

⁹⁴ Elena Lamberti, "'Scientific Historian" versus "Social Historian": Ford Madox Ford's Historic Sense', in Vita Fortunati and Elena Lamberti (eds), *Ford Madox Ford and 'The Republic of Letters'* (Bologna: CLUEB, 2002), pp.30-40.

⁹⁵ It was first published in 1989. Ford, 'Creative History and the Historic Sense', in Ford, *Critical Essays*, pp.4-14 (p.12).

⁹⁶ Farrar, 'The Artist as Propagandist', p.159.

⁹⁷ Ford, *When Blood*, p.ix.

argues, Wagner's 'power of psychological analysis', 'affords more light on Germany of those days than can be attained to by an immense amount of reading of serious historians'.⁹⁸

Among the best examples of Ford's impressionism in the *Outlook* articles are those he wrote at the end of 1914, as he reflected on the changes that had been wrought over the course of the year. His 26 December article begins with his thoughts on seeing a Belgian play, *Le Mariage de Mlle. Beulemans*. Ford describes the conscious experience of watching the play, with layers of 'superimposed pictures' over the scene before him, like a Futurist collage.⁹⁹ The description represents the 'homo duplex' that is central to Fordian impressionism – depicting the experience of being in one place, with his mind elsewhere.¹⁰⁰ Watching the Belgian play, Ford sees 'moving panes of reddish wet light—the windows of tram-cars'.¹⁰¹ These painterly glimpses of abstracted colour are memories of travelling through Belgium, being forced to change trains in 'what appeared a hell on earth, at Verviers'.¹⁰² At such a time it is rather pointed to suggest that poor transport connections could be 'hell on earth', but the implication is an automatic association with the 'Armageddon times' of the present-day destruction of Verviers.¹⁰³ Like many modernists, Ford uses train travel as a symbol of the social and technological developments of modern life.¹⁰⁴ Laura Colombino suggests that 'the modernist eye' is the view of one 'observing the world from the window of a train'.¹⁰⁵ This form of travel provided a lens for a new way of looking at the world – one that is sped up, fragmented, and that invites experimentation with time. Ford writes in *The English Novel* (1930) that 'with the ease of locomotion came the habit of flux'.¹⁰⁶ War exacerbated this sense of flux in modern life – geographically, morally, and politically.

To this collaged image of the Belgian play, Ford then adds another layer of thought as he imagines the German invasion. He acknowledges with some surprise:

[W]hen I think of Verviers, that invasion moves me to a real frenzy of rage which I feel, relatively, hardly at all at the thought of Liège [*sic*], or Brussels, or Bruges. [...] [J]ust because it was so unnoticeable and filled with such unnoticeable people I feel a hot rage

⁹⁸ Ford, 'The Saxon Revolution', *Outlook*, 35, 27 February 1915, pp.270-71 (p.270).

⁹⁹ Ford, 'Et in Terra Pax', p.822.

¹⁰⁰ Ford, *It Was the Nightingale*, p.197. This is a prominent theme in Ford criticism; the 'homo duplex' is, for example, an organising principle of Max Saunders' biography *Ford Madox Ford: A Dual Life*.

¹⁰¹ Ford, 'Et in Terra Pax', p.822.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, pp.822-23.

¹⁰³ Ford, 'Cedant Togae. . .', p.304.

¹⁰⁴ Sara Haslam, 'Ford's Training', in Robert Hampson and Max Saunders (eds), *Ford Madox Ford's Modernity*, International Ford Madox Ford Studies, 2 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2003), pp.35-46.

¹⁰⁵ Laura Colombino, *Ford Madox Ford: Vision, Visuality and Writing* (Oxford: Lang, 2009), pp.86-87.

¹⁰⁶ Ford, *The English Novel: From the Earliest Days to the Death of Joseph Conrad* (London: Constable, 1930), p.9.

that Verviers should not have escaped the notice and the dread arbitrament of picric acid.¹⁰⁷

His approach, both in theme and style, sets Ford's wartime writing apart from that of his Wellington House contemporaries. His chosen point of reference for the invasion of Belgium is idiosyncratic, as he admits. Ford projects onto the London stage the scenes from his memory and his imagination, and so brings the war within closer reach. Mark Wollaeger describes the goal of Ford's wartime impressionism as being 'to reinvest dead facts with coherent value'.¹⁰⁸ Ford could have written about the numbers killed in the atrocities in Belgium. Instead he shares his experiences of the news of the war, filtering and reinterpreting it for his readers. This is not only an expedient form of propaganda writing, it also speaks of Ford's sensitivity to the porous boundary between the home front and the Western Front – even before he experienced combat himself. It is also the work of a cosmopolitan mind littered with impressions of travels around Europe in the decade before the war.

Facing a 'gallant enemy'

At several points during the year, Ford's approach to enmity betrays his entangled relationship with the opposing side. Ford's article of 29 August 1914 is among the most frequently cited of his wartime journalism. In it, Ford declares himself to be a cosmopolitan and laments the effect of the war on the language of the press. He writes:

I do wish that [...] this war could be fought in terms of 'the gallant enemy.' For I do confess that when [...] I read or hear that the chief sovereign of the confederacy opposed to us is a mad dog, I am rendered more miserable than I can well express.¹⁰⁹

This is sometimes read as an indication of Ford's moderate response to the war in its early weeks, later followed by his belligerent anti-German writing.¹¹⁰ But in the same article Ford articulates his 'race-hatred of Prussia':

I hate Prussia for her efficiency, for her commercial spirit, for her commercial dishonesty, for her growing socialism. But even at that [...] I am not going to call the German War Lord a mad dog or the Prussians massacring brutes.¹¹¹

If this hatred paired with tempered language is a sign of moderation, then it persists through much of Ford's wartime writing.

¹⁰⁷ Ford, 'Et in Terra Pax', p.823.

¹⁰⁸ Wollaeger, *Modernism, Media, and Propaganda*, p.142.

¹⁰⁹ Ford, 'Literary Portraits—LI: The Face of Janus', *Outlook*, 34, 29 August 1914, pp.270-71 (p.270).

¹¹⁰ Wollaeger, *Modernism, Media, and Propaganda*, p.133; Buitenhuis, *Great War of Words*, p.44.

¹¹¹ Ford, 'The Face of Janus', p.271.

Ford eventually condemns all of Germany, not just Prussia,¹¹² but there are small moments of measured appraisal which continue. He admires Heine's poetry, he describes Bismarck as 'reasonably humanist and opportunist', and acknowledges that it is not the German people that are evil, so much as the leadership.¹¹³ Borrowing from Shakespeare's *Henry V* once more, he writes: 'If it be given to no king, be his cause never so just, to try it out with all unspotted soldiers, so it is given to no potentate, be his cause never so evil to have all, or even a large proportion, of his contestant subjects evil at the heart.'¹¹⁴ Even in *Between St Dennis*, when describing the warmongering Germans he has encountered, he includes an exception, his friend, the well-known German pacifist Professor Walther Schücking.¹¹⁵

Ford uses the phrase 'gallant enemy' in two wartime articles, as well as in several post-war texts, although it was not a common phrase in the press during the war. He draws on an antiquated idea of chivalric combat, in contrast with the nationalistic language of the contemporary press. The editor did not share Ford's view, and added in a footnote: 'Gallant is as gallant does. The English may be pardoned not appreciating German "gallantry" as displayed in Belgium and in the North Sea.'¹¹⁶ Ford claims in *Return to Yesterday* (1931) that this description of the enemy resulted in a loss of readers for the magazine, and suggests that it was an act of 'rare courage at that date' that the editor had not asked for his resignation.¹¹⁷ But it could well be yet another instance of Fordian posturing, since he claims in *Mightier than the Sword* (1938) that:

[I]t was symptomatic of the rather languidly Tory audience of the *Outlook* of those days that my article evoked no protest from my readers save for one letter written by a very old lady who said that, if I wanted the Enemy forces to win I was at liberty to do so, but that it was rude to say so in public. . . .¹¹⁸

In his journalism, Ford returned to the idea of the 'gallant enemy' in January 1915. He describes his reaction to seeing footage of German planes over Paris at a cinematograph theatre, and records telling his friend:

Three months ago, I remember—and it seems as if it were a dream of another age on this planet—I wrote that I wished the war could be conducted in terms of 'the gallant enemy.'

¹¹² Ford, *Between St Dennis*, p.66.

¹¹³ Ford, 'Literary Portraits—LIV: The Classic Muse', *Outlook*, 34, 19 September 1914, pp.367-68 (p.367); Ford, *When Blood*, p.92; Ford, 'Literary Portraits—LXX. The Face of the Future', *Outlook*, 35, 9 January 1915, pp.46-47 (p.46).

¹¹⁴ Ford, 'The Face of the Future', p.46. See Shakespeare, *Henry V*, IV.i.158-61.

¹¹⁵ Ford, *Between St Dennis*, p.32.

¹¹⁶ Ford, 'The Face of Janus', p.271.

¹¹⁷ Ford, *Return to Yesterday*, p.272.

¹¹⁸ Ford, *Mightier than the Sword: Memories and Criticisms* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1938), p.219.

Now I should thank God to know that a million Germans were killed [...]. It certainly is queer. [...]

I have nothing but questions left in the world [...]. And so I ask myself: Is it wrong to thank God for the death of a million of one's fellow-beings?¹¹⁹

Ford recalls his earlier use of the phrase 'the gallant enemy', but rather than dismissing it outright, he questions his present willingness to pray for the death of his enemy. It leads him to question the justice of the war: 'Is it then right? Is it then wrong? I don't know. I know nothing any more; nobody knows anything'.¹²⁰ Far from being a forthright declaration of hatred towards the Germans, this article is a consideration of the psychological effect of war. Ford returns to the Dowellesque refrain 'I don't know', echoing the doubt and uncertainty of his articles in August and September 1914.

Later in January, Ford wrote an article on 'Enemies', which he claimed was prompted by re-reading Wells's *The War in the Air* (1908) and Apuleius' *The Golden Ass* (late second century AD), and by his editor asking him to write about something other than German culture.¹²¹ It was also, no doubt, a response to being ordered to leave Selsey, by the Chief Constable of West Sussex on 2 January.¹²² This order was likely triggered by Edward Heron-Allen, in revenge for Ford's negative fictional portrait of Heron-Allen in his short story 'The Scaremonger' in November 1914.¹²³ Ford channels his personal experience of betrayal, combined with his interpretation of international politics, and muses on the root cause of the 'group-hatred' witnessed in wartime with faux-naivety: 'Why, for instance, should Germany be bubbling over with Songs of Hate? We have never hurt the Germans that I know of'.¹²⁴ The 'Songs of Hate' refers to Ernst Lissauer's popular anti-British poem 'Hassgesang gegen England' (Hymn of Hatred against England). Ford's ignorance of the causes of hatred is clearly an attempt to depict the British as the peaceful opponent to belligerent Germany. The questioning tone is not the forceful conviction expected from propaganda, but it does reflect his performed curiosity about the world around him.

Referring to the chivalric code helped to disguise the emotional complexity of advocating war against Germany. Ford was not alone in turning to the language of medieval warfare to navigate these cosmopolitan connections. There were frequent references to chivalry during the war, as

¹¹⁹ Ford, 'Annus Mirabilis', p. 15.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ Ford, 'Literary Portraits—LXXI: Enemies', *Outlook*, 35, 16 January 1915, pp.79-80 (p.79)

¹²² Masterman subsequently assured Ford of his British nationality, and he did not have to leave. Saunders, *Dual Life*, I, pp.473-74.

¹²³ Joan Hardwick, *An Immodest Violet: The Life of Violet Hunt* (London: Deutsch, 1990), p.130.

¹²⁴ Ford, 'Enemies', p.80.

well as in post-war commemoration,¹²⁵ and Allen Franzten suggests this was influenced by Britain's close ties with Germany before the war.¹²⁶ Ford's notion of the 'gallant enemy' was consistent with his call for a return to 'Elizabethan standards' in July 1914.¹²⁷ The language of chivalry was also familiar to him; two of his recent historical novels, *Ladies Whose Bright Eyes* (1911) and *The Young Lovell* (1913), were set in the Middle Ages. Ford's wartime allusions to chivalry are both a retreat into an aestheticized version of warfare, and a way of asserting his identity as a British gentleman.¹²⁸ This trope appealed to a late nineteenth-century ideal of gentlemanly behaviour, although Ford's allusions are to medieval literature, rather than their nineteenth-century equivalents. He writes of twelfth-century troubadour Bertran de Born and Piers Plowman rather than using the language of Carlyle's or Charles Kingsley's 'muscular Christianity'.¹²⁹

Ford begins one article in May 1915 with an extended tribute to the beauty of Provence, setting the scene for the theme of courtly love and chivalry exemplified by Bertran de Born. It initially seems rather remote from the ongoing war, but Ford writes that '[i]f to-day we are, metaphorically speaking, "playing the game," it is due as much as anything to Bertran de Born'.¹³⁰ He articulates a connection between the medieval ideal, and the sport-playing public schoolboy, who became the modern gentleman and dutiful soldier.¹³¹ This is not just a chivalric trope; Ford uses the story of Bertran as an allegory. He refers his readers back to the 'Historical Vignette' he wrote in the *Outlook* almost exactly two years earlier, narrating the siege of the Castle of Autafort.¹³² In the May 1913 version, Ford emphasises the betrayal Bertran experienced from his sometime-friend the King of Aragon. Bertran says that 'merely to be in arms the one against the other is no destroyer of friendship', which somewhat illuminates Ford's notion of 'the gallant enemy'.¹³³ In his 1915 retelling, he writes that 'Bertran protested that [...] the use of cannon-shot was contrary to the conventions of knightly war', for which we could substitute the German use of chlorine gas on 22 April 1915 or the sinking of the *Lusitania* on 7 May.¹³⁴ It is Bertran's words

¹²⁵ Stefan Goebel, *The Great War and Medieval Memory: War, Remembrance and Medievalism in Britain and Germany 1914-1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Allen J. Frantzen, *Bloody Good: Chivalry, Sacrifice, and the Great War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004); Mark Girouard, *The Return to Camelot: Chivalry and the English Gentleman* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), pp.276-93.

¹²⁶ Frantzen, *Bloody Good*, p.155.

¹²⁷ Ford, 'Richard Curle and *Joseph Conrad*', p.849.

¹²⁸ Christine Berberich describes the medieval knight as the forerunner to the Victorian ideal of the English gentleman. Christine Berberich, *The Image of the Gentleman in Twentieth-Century Literature: Englishness and Nostalgia* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), p.15.

¹²⁹ Ford likens Belgian poet Emile Cammaerts to Piers Plowman in a review of his work. Ford, 'Of the Twenty Steeples', *Outlook*, 36, 17 July 1915, pp.78-79.

¹³⁰ Ford, 'French Pictures (*continued*)', *Outlook*, 35, 22 May 1915, pp.666-67 (p.667).

¹³¹ On the connection between chivalry and sports in public schools, see Goebel, *Great War and Medieval Memory*, pp.220-22.

¹³² Ford, 'Historical Vignettes—VI: May 26', *Outlook*, 31, 24 May 1913, pp.713-14 (p.714).

¹³³ *Ibid.*

¹³⁴ Ford, 'French Pictures (*continued*)', p.667.

and ‘too abusive poems’ that instigate the battle, but it is also his ability to speak ‘so movingly’ to the King of England that redeems him and brings peace.¹³⁵

Ford’s evocation of medieval Provence is implicitly associated with his German roots, since Ford may have drawn on the knowledge he gained from his father’s work on the troubadours.¹³⁶

Francis Hueffer’s portrait of Bertran in *The Troubadours* (1878) depicts a lover of war who uses language to manipulate others. Bertran’s poetry, Hueffer writes, is ‘the secret of his power. It was the irresistible sway of his eloquence over men’s minds [...] which enabled Bertran to play on men’s minds as on the strings of a lute’.¹³⁷ The comparison with the work of the wartime literary propagandist is undeniable. Although Bertran allegedly tempered the English King with his lament for the King’s son, Hueffer emphasises that this moment of reconciliation went against Bertran’s bellicose nature. This knightly poet is an ambivalent figure for Ford to invoke at such a time.

Throughout the year, Ford’s approach to the idea of enmity is obviously complicated by his intimacy with Germany. At times he relies on the language of chivalry as a way to straddle that complexity, looking back to a world in which it was acceptable to fight against a friend, so long as one abided by the prescribed rules of combat. Elsewhere, Ford seemingly finds the transition from friend to enemy baffling, both on a personal and international level. In the example of Bertran de Born, we see a slightly different use of the chivalric trope: he explores the possibility of ‘songs of hate’ as well as songs of peace emanating from the same pen, an idea which seems to capture the ambivalence of Ford’s own involvement in the propaganda campaign.

Combating German culture: language, politics and the arts

The analysis of German culture is the primary theme of Ford’s first propaganda book and many of his articles in the first six months of the war. His argument is in large part a response to the statements made by German intellectuals at the beginning of the war, as discussed in the previous chapter. In November 1914, Ford announced that he would systematically refute the German claim to be a positive cultural influence around the world. He writes that ‘[t]he last thing that the Prussian State ought to claim is that it is an organism for the dissemination of culture in the English sense of the term’.¹³⁸ First, however, he gives his ‘credentials’ for attacking Prussia: ‘From the year 1890, when I was seventeen, until June 1914, I have never missed an occasion

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ On Ford’s engagement with his father’s work on the troubadours, see Ashley Chantler, ‘Ford Madox Ford and the Troubadours’, in Dominique Lemarchal and Claire Davison-Pégon (eds), *Ford Madox Ford, France and Provence*, International Ford Madox Ford Studies, 10 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2011), pp.203-16.

¹³⁷ Francis Hueffer, *The Troubadours: A History of Provençal Life and Literature in the Middle Ages* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1878), pp.192-93.

¹³⁸ Ford, ‘Literary Portraits—LX: The Kulturmensch’, *Outlook*, 34, 31 October 1914, pp.562-64 (p.563).

[...] for dragging in and jumping upon, to the best of my ability, Koenigreich Preussen.¹³⁹ Ford's claim to a long-standing hatred of Prussia can be well illustrated. His criticism of Prussia draws on his dislike of materialism, industrialisation, and specialisation in academic life. These are not all solely Prussian faults, but, as a way of constructing the necessary divisive concepts in his propaganda, Ford targets Prussia, and by extension, Germany, as an example of all of them.

Ford justifies his discussion of culture and education by drawing attention to the global impact of 'Prussian' attitudes. He argues that the war was 'absolutely necessary to make the English nation in general, and English thinkers in particular, revise their estimate of Prussian influence upon the world'.¹⁴⁰ He puts the present moment into historical perspective by quoting Carlyle's letter to *The Times* during the siege of Paris in November 1870, suggesting that Germany ought to become 'the Queen of the Continent'.¹⁴¹ Carlyle is a key example of the 'Victorian Great' against whom Ford wrote frequently. During (and after) the war, Ford accuses Carlyle and his contemporaries of creating the antecedents of war.¹⁴² He explains the connection in his preface to Violet Hunt's *Their Lives* (1916): 'the selfishness of the Eighties – of the Victorian and Albert era – is the direct Ancestor of ... Armageddon. Those fathers, and particularly those mothers, ate of the vines of Carlyle, Ruskin and Self-help Smiles'.¹⁴³ Ford blames the war on Victorian attitudes, including their adoration of German culture, and the assimilation of Prussian ideas into British life. Chesterton takes a similar approach in *The Crimes of England*, blaming British faults on a perceived Teutonic influence during the Victorian period, and particularly attacks Carlyle for venerating Prussia.¹⁴⁴ If the treatment of culture in propaganda was intended to avoid discussion of causation, it failed. It merely shifted the discussion to the roots of the ideas which shaped Europe in the decades before the war.

In the articles between late October and mid-December Ford elaborates on the perceived difference between *Kultur* and culture. Exposing the difficulty of the translation of such terms, he suggests:

The Kulturmensch of Prussia is by no means the 'man of culture' of these islands. [...] Such people are the 'good people' of the English society phrase—they are at least those 'good people' who have a certain knowledge of the arts, of literature, possibly of

¹³⁹ Ford, 'Literary Portraits—LXI: The Kulturmensch (*continued*)', *Outlook*, 34, 7 November 1914, pp.593-94 (p.593).

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p.594.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴² Joseph Wiesenfarth, 'Ford Madox Ford and the Pre-Raphaelites or How Dante Gabriel Rossetti Started the First World War', in Herbert Graves, Winifred Fluck and Jürgen Schlaeger (eds), *REAL: Yearbook of Research in English and American Literature*, 9 (Tübingen, Narr, 1993), 109-48 (pp.139-45).

¹⁴³ Ford, Preface to Violet Hunt's *Their Lives* (1916), reprinted in Ford, *War Prose*, p.190.

¹⁴⁴ Chesterton, *Crimes*, pp.73-75.

painting, possibly also of gastronomics. ‘Good people’ in Germany would probably be called ‘vernuenftige Leute,’ as who should say, ‘reasonable people’.¹⁴⁵

Ford adopts the paternalistic tone of that desired ‘Edwardian gentleman’, acting as guide to both British and German culture and language. But his reference to ‘good people’ invites suspicion. Again, the phrase appears in *The Good Soldier*, where the ‘quite good people’ at the heart of the novel may well be men and women of culture, but are in no way ‘good’ in any moral sense of the word.¹⁴⁶ Ford attempts to illustrate the differences between the two forms of ‘civilisation’ by focusing on linguistic differences, offering ‘vernünftig’ as a translation of ‘good’, and using ‘Bildung’ in place of ‘Kultur’ as a translation of ‘culture’.¹⁴⁷ His emphasis on specificity in translation and definition somewhat mimics the philological method he condemns. By the time he reaches ‘good people’, the terms begin to feel insubstantial, as if he is grasping after a correct translation for a word which, even in English, implies something altogether different.

Ford moves on to attack Prussian state influence in the plastic arts by critiquing the excessive number of Prussian eagles in the stonework at a Berlin museum, state spending on *Kultur*, and the Kaiser’s influence in decisions about the artists exhibited at the National Gallery.¹⁴⁸ His response to state intervention in the arts and education is similar to his antipathy to the moralistic writing of Carlyle, Dickens and Eliot. As Gasiorek observes, Ford’s propaganda ‘shifts his pre-war antipathy for moralism in art to nationalism. [...] To see the arts as instruments of the nation-state, [...] was to replace one form of didacticism (ethical) with another (nationalist)’.¹⁴⁹ There is an inherent contradiction though, since Ford’s own argument – however nuanced it may be, and consistent with his beliefs – was written to benefit the state, and, among other reasons, at Masterman’s request.

Ford’s antipathy to the overbearing German state contributes to his assessment of the lack of democracy in Germany. In his history of the rise of Prussia, Ford comments that during the 1840s ‘[i]t was in Germany alone that the failure of democracy was absolute’.¹⁵⁰ His defence of democracy is somewhat surprising, since in his article of 8 August 1914 Ford writes that he hopes that when the war is over ‘there may be a revaluing of democracy, of Rousseauism, and that the Rights of Man may be put for ever into a dishonoured dustbin [...]. For men have no rights—they

¹⁴⁵ Ford, ‘The Kulturmensch’, p.563.

¹⁴⁶ Ford, *Good Soldier*, p.10. Ford’s idea for *The Good Soldier* came from a scene he records in *The Spirit of the People*, and the phrase ‘good people’ occurs in this description too. Ford, *England and the English*, p.313.

¹⁴⁷ Ford, ‘The Kulturmensch’, p.563.

¹⁴⁸ Ford, ‘Literary Portraits—LXIII: William II and the Plastic Arts (*continued*)’, *Outlook*, 34, 21 November 1914, pp.603-4.

¹⁴⁹ Andrzej Gasiorek, “‘In the Mirror of the Arts’: Ford’s Modernism and the Reconstruction of Post-War Literary Culture”, in Wiesenfarth (ed.), *History and Representation Ford’s Writings*, pp.201-17 (p.208).

¹⁵⁰ Ford, ‘The Rise of Modern Prussia’, *Outlook*, 35, 20 February 1915, pp.237-39 (p.238).

have only duties'.¹⁵¹ Christos Hadjiyannis suggests that as the war progressed, Ford, like David Hulme, shifted his argument away from critiquing British liberalism and focused his attention on the threat from Germany.¹⁵² Rather than being an explicit attack on democracy, Ford's comments in August also reflect his romantic notions of feudalism, and his long-standing rejection of collectivism. Robert Green argues that the main thrust of Ford's wartime propaganda is not criticism of Germany, but instead 'Ford's real concern is with British political institutions'.¹⁵³ He highlights Ford's feeling that Britain had become too like Germany in its socialism and materialism. But if Britain's fault was its likeness to Germany, then the root cause is once again the German influence upon Britain during the nineteenth century.

When Ford describes the rise of Prussia in February 1915, his primary intention is to discredit the Prussian monarchy and undermine German national unity. He repeatedly claims that 'Prussia was never a nation' and Germany is characterised as an 'unnatural union'.¹⁵⁴ Ford suggests he could write 'a thousand thumb-nail sketches' of 'Germany proper', meaning a fantastical version of southern Germany:

There are the Meistersingers, living in their strong castles in the winter, riding out in the summer weather to do deeds of arms, to rescue holy places from the heathen, and to write lovely little poems like Tandaradei. There are the Mastersingers of Nuremberg, sitting in the shadows of the enormous gables at night, with their water-globes illuminating their handicrafts—strong shadows and flickering lights beneath the sweet-smelling limes.¹⁵⁵

In this romantic illustration, Ford weaves together two examples of German culture he had admired since his youth. 'Tandaradei' is the word used to describe the Nightingale's song in Walther von der Vogelweide's poem 'Under der Linden'.¹⁵⁶ Wagner's 1868 opera *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg* features a fictional knight, Walther von Stolzing, who studies the works of Walther von der Vogelweide in the hope of becoming a Mastersinger. Ford's passage above conflates the medieval Minnesinger and his literature, with the sixteenth-century knight, and the Mastersingers and craftsmen of Wagner's opera. Since its creation, *Die Meistersinger* has been seen to 'forge collective and cultural memories for and of the German *Volk*' and to foster a

¹⁵¹ Ford, 'Charles-Louis Philippe and *Le Père Perdrix*', p.175.

¹⁵² Christos Hadjiyannis, *Conservative Modernists: Literature and Tory Politics in Britain, 1900-1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp.135-36.

¹⁵³ Robert Green, *Ford Madox Ford: Prose and Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p.74.

¹⁵⁴ Ford, 'Hohenzollerns', *Outlook*, 35, 6 February 1915, pp.175-76.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p.175.

¹⁵⁶ The word 'Tandaradei' is not translated in English versions. Walther von der Vogelweide's poem is among quotations Ford copied in his 'Notabilia Quaedam', 1892, Ford Collection, Cornell, 4605/15/9. Ford also wrote a translation, which he called 'Tandaradei', published in *Poems for Pictures* (1900).

unified German identity.¹⁵⁷ It is as if Ford is attempting to reclaim Wagner for southern, ‘proper’ Germany, by drawing out the opera’s medieval associations. This blended scene is a fantasy, representing a culturally rich Germany that ‘has now so long vanished’.¹⁵⁸ Prussia of the present day is also ‘so like a fairy tale’, but of a very different kind.¹⁵⁹ In Ford’s account, the Hohenzollerns were so unfit to ascend the throne that they would naturally believe in the divine right, since it could only have been a supernatural force that put them there. He concludes that ‘the Hohenzollerns are beggars who were put on horseback by Bismarck’, making Wilhelm I an odd kind of Cinderella, and the Iron Chancellor a sort of fairy godmother.¹⁶⁰

The politics of language is another significant thread of Ford’s attack on German culture. An article from September, entitled ‘The Classic Muse’ begins with an epigraph from Ovid, but becomes an attack on German language and education. Ford opens the article: ‘I was lying in bed this morning thinking of the death of Tibullus’.¹⁶¹ As he contemplates Ovid’s depiction of Tibullus he first hears, then sees, a seaplane outside his window, and writes: ‘And suddenly I heard myself saying to myself: “Well, thank God, there’s an end of the German language.”’¹⁶² The connection between his classical meditation and the German language touches on one of Ford’s main arguments in the first few months of the war. One of the major developments in German philology in the early nineteenth century was the creation of an historical grammar, which gave the German language an antiquity to rival the classical languages.¹⁶³ This ‘historicization of the language’ became significant for German nationalists over the course of the nineteenth century.¹⁶⁴ Towards the end of the century, it had a practical impact on German schooling. In 1890, Wilhelm II publicly supported the idea of removing classical literature from school education, focusing instead on modern German works.¹⁶⁵ I consider Ford’s criticism of the German education system in more detail later, but already we can see how Ford blends the voice of the Edwardian gentleman, lying on his bed meditating upon Latin poetry, with his hatred of the German language and educational theory.

¹⁵⁷ Stephen McClatchie, ‘Performing Germany in Wagner’s *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg*’, in Thomas S. Grey (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Wagner* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp.134-50 (p.135).

¹⁵⁸ Ford, ‘Hohenzollerns’, p.175.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p.176.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁶¹ Ford, ‘The Classic Muse’, p.367.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*

¹⁶³ Tuska Benes, *In Babel’s Shadow: Language, Philology and the Nation in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2008), pp.117-18.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.115-16.

¹⁶⁵ Victor A. Murray, ‘Education’, in F.H. Hinsley (ed.), *New Cambridge Modern History: Volume 11: Material Progress and World-Wide Problems, 1870-98* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962), pp.177-203 (p.188); Benes, *In Babel’s Shadow*, p.157. Ford includes long quotations from the Kaiser’s speech in a subsequent article. Ford, ‘Literary Portraits—LXVI: Professors and Universities in Modern Germany (*continued*)’, *Outlook*, 34, pp.757-58 (p.758).

Ford writes that ‘there are few people that more dislike or have more unceasingly preached against the language of Luther, Goethe, and the editorial writers of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*. (The language of Heine is another matter)’.¹⁶⁶ This aptly summarises Ford’s approach in the propaganda: he attacks the German language, demonstrating an incisive knowledge of German culture and politics, while showing some consistency with his earlier views, and then makes an exception – in this instance, as often, for Heine. Ford had long disliked the German language; in 1904, he complained in a letter to Elsie about the ‘awful Germanic language’,¹⁶⁷ and in 1913, he wrote in an article on European literature that Germany would not produce anything worth reading ‘until its barbaric language is regenerated’.¹⁶⁸ In wartime, Ford’s criticism of the German language was an attack on the cultural heart of Germany.

The language was a crucial aspect of a unified German identity, both during the Reformation in the sixteenth century, and with renewed significance in the nineteenth century. Luther’s translation of the Bible was essential for bringing together a nation divided into principalities which spoke vastly different dialects. As Neil MacGregor writes, Luther, ‘more than any other single person, created the modern German language’.¹⁶⁹ Ford’s renunciation of ‘the language of Luther’ is a rejection of this unity, and of Luther’s Protestant influence in preference for his own Catholic German roots.¹⁷⁰ During the nineteenth century, the language was again seen as a way to foster common national identity between rather disparate states, especially after German unification in 1871.¹⁷¹ There were attempts throughout the nineteenth century to cleanse the German language from foreign influences, including the formation of the *Allgemeiner Deutscher Sprachverein* (German Language Association) in 1885.¹⁷² Ford explicitly denounces the *Sprachverein* movement in *When Blood*.¹⁷³ But, as Hayman notes, he also calls for his own linguistic cleansing to rid the world of the German tongue.¹⁷⁴ In order to counter claims about the superiority of German culture, Ford attacks the very thing which makes their culture ‘German’.

Ford claims in the same article that ‘the Prussian language is the enemy of the European humanities’.¹⁷⁵ His description of the Prussian language as distinct from German can helpfully be

¹⁶⁶ Ford, ‘The Classic Muse’, p.367.

¹⁶⁷ Ford, Letter to Elsie Hueffer, 14 August 1904, Ford Collection, Cornell, 4605/34/35.

¹⁶⁸ Ford, ‘Literary Portraits—VII: Percival Gibbon and *The Second Class Passenger*’, *Outlook*, 32, 25 October 1913, pp.571-72 (p.571).

¹⁶⁹ Neil MacGregor, *Germany: Memories of a Nation* (London: Penguin, 2016), p.96.

¹⁷⁰ A climactic scene in *The Good Soldier* centres on a visit to Marburg, to the site of the original ‘protest’. Ford, *Good Soldier*, p.128. See Preece, ‘Anglo-German Dilemmas’.

¹⁷¹ Florian Coulmas, ‘Germanness: Language and Nation’, in Patrick Stevenson (ed.), *The German Language and the Real World* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), pp.55-68 (p.57).

¹⁷² Roger Chickering, ‘Language and the Social Foundations of Radical Nationalism in the Wilhelmine Era’, in Walter Pape (ed.), *1870/71 – 1989/90: German Unifications and the Change of Literary Discourse* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1993), pp.61-78 (p.70).

¹⁷³ Ford, *When Blood*, pp.67-70.

¹⁷⁴ Hayman, ‘Under Four Eyes’, p.29.

¹⁷⁵ Ford, ‘The Classic Muse’, p.368.

situated within cultural debates about Prussian influence on High German, traditionally the language of the South. Ruth Sanders observes: ‘The new German nation followed the lead of other European languages and put its linguistic centre into its political centre. Not just High German, but High German with a Prussian accent became the prestige language of the new state’.¹⁷⁶ As with Ford’s broader attack on Prussia, he attacks the language to try to undermine German unity. He borrows nineteenth-century French statesman Leon Gambetta’s phrase ‘[l]’ennemi, c’est le Prussien’.¹⁷⁷ The following week he outlines the case against Prussia in more detail, particularly attacking Prussian materialism, but modifies his argument to say: ‘L’ennemi in fact is not so much the Prussian as the spirit of Prussia.’¹⁷⁸ In these distinctions and revisions, Ford demonstrates a separation between the people and the superimposed political and cultural forces of Prussia. However, he does not sustain this distinction – indeed he cannot, since it diffuses the intensity of his argument against *Kultur*.

George Bernard Shaw shared some of Ford’s observations about the political tensions within Germany, but his writing is less conflicted. Shaw, like Francis Hueffer, had promoted Wagner’s music and had been similarly influential in raising Nietzsche’s profile in Britain before the war.¹⁷⁹ He was among the few notable writers that refused to participate in the propaganda campaign and offer his support for the war. For this, he was labelled by Ford and many others as ‘pro-German’. Shaw’s *Common Sense about the War* was originally published as a supplement to the *New Statesman* on 14 November 1914. *Between St Dennis* was intended as an extended attack on writers such as Shaw and Bertrand Russell, but Ford also wrote a more immediate rebuttal in the *Outlook* on 28 November.¹⁸⁰ On one point in particular, it is easy to see why Ford would be frustrated. Shaw writes:

Let me warn those who are hoping for a disintegrated Germany [...] that their hopes are vain. The southern Germans, the friendliest, most easy-going people in the world [...] dislike the Prussians far more heartily than we do; but they know that they are respected and strong as part of United Germany, and that they were weak and despised and petty as separate kingdoms.¹⁸¹

Shaw’s assessment of German politics displays far more political realism about the position of the nation state. Throughout the pamphlet Shaw suggests the terms on which an Anglo-French victory is most likely, and advocates socialism as the path to lasting peace. Crucially, rather than fuelling

¹⁷⁶ Ruth H. Sanders, *German: Biography of a Language* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp.163-64.

¹⁷⁷ Ford, ‘The Classic Muse’, p.368.

¹⁷⁸ Ford, ‘Literary Portraits—LV: Trimalchio’, *Outlook*, 34, 26 September 1914, pp.399-400 (p.400).

¹⁷⁹ Schweiger, ‘Between the Lines’, p.283; Argyle, *Germany as Model and Monster*, p.126.

¹⁸⁰ Ford responds in detail to *Common Sense About the War* in ‘Appendix B’ of *Between St Dennis*, pp.233-83.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p.19.

the culture war, Shaw attempts to extricate culture from the realm of battle, commenting that '[w]hen we fight the Kaiser we are not fighting Bach and Wagner and Strauss, to whom we have just joyfully surrendered without a blow at the battle of Queen's Hall'.¹⁸²

Ford, meanwhile, wades deep into the cultural war, attempting to salvage elements of German culture he admires from criticism, but becoming entangled. In his wartime writing he attempts to separate the influence of Prussian dominance from other aspects of German life, but ultimately condemns it all – indeed, in writing propaganda he must persuade his readers that war against the whole of Germany is worthwhile. Ford accuses Shaw of being naïve in his expectations for the terms of peace and he focuses on Shaw's suggestion that Britain and Germany are equally militarist. To Ford, 'England is not militarist at all; it is simply opportunist.'¹⁸³ The argument is persuasive, so long as one forgets that Britain had also carved out its territories by sword. Ford accuses Shaw of lacking sufficient knowledge of German political writing. By late November, Ford had clearly demonstrated his knowledge of German culture, and in this article he is playing a game of trumps – albeit with a limited, conflicted hand.

The same week, Ford published his short story 'The Scaremonger' in *The Bystander*, depicting an attempted German invasion of Britain.¹⁸⁴ In the story, Prussian submarines are swiftly repelled by the Mid-Kent Cycling Corps and the scaremongering Squire of Bleakham commits suicide. Saunders suggests Ford may have intended it as propaganda, honouring stoicism over panic,¹⁸⁵ but its disdain for invasion rumours renders it ambiguous and bears similarities to his earlier invasion story, 'A Romance of the Times Before Us'. Ford's friends felt his thinly veiled portrayal of Edward Heron-Allen as the Squire was unreasonably severe and in bad taste.¹⁸⁶ Heron-Allen was Violet Hunt's landlord and neighbour at Selsey and was known to fear a German invasion.¹⁸⁷ Barbara Belford notes that on Hunt's copy of the letter, she had added that Ford wrote the story in a morning for £10 because they were short of money.¹⁸⁸ It is reflective of Ford's paradoxical attitudes that he wrote this ambiguous story at the same time as writing anti-German propaganda, both of which may have had a degree of financial motivation.¹⁸⁹ It also suggests once again that Ford's ambivalence did not dissipate at the outbreak of war, or even some months afterwards.

¹⁸² Ibid., pp.20-21.

¹⁸³ Ford, 'Literary Portraits—LXIV: Mr Shaw and *Common-sense about the War*', *Outlook*, 34, 28 November 1914, pp.693-95 (p.694).

¹⁸⁴ Ford, 'The Scaremonger', *Bystander*, 44, 25 November 1914, pp.273-76.

¹⁸⁵ Saunders, in Ford, *War Prose*, p.140.

¹⁸⁶ Belford, *Violet*, p.218.

¹⁸⁷ Saunders, *Dual Life*, I, p.473.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ See previous chapter for details on the financial aspects of Ford's propaganda.

Ford's attack on German education

The early interventions of German academics in propaganda writing is one reason why Ford's wartime writing focuses so heavily upon German education. Another factor was the influence of German educational ideas in Britain over the course of the nineteenth century. In an article in September 1914 Ford outlines his own experience of teaching in Germany: 'I remember lecturing some years ago in the University of Jena [...] and it was a really painful experience'.¹⁹⁰ He claims the students were only interested in the lives of poets, not their writing, and that they had 'an avidity for facts, dates, and factual meticulousnesses that was like the hunger of wolves'.¹⁹¹ Ford taught a class on the Pre-Raphaelites at Jena in 1911 while visiting Levin Ludwig Schücking, who was a professor of English literature there.¹⁹² Ford records some of his observations about German education from this period in his footnotes to *The Desirable Alien*, including the feeling that '[i]t has always seemed to me that the whole machinery of German education is extraordinarily wrong-headed, and must prove fatal in the end to the German race'.¹⁹³

Ford began his attack on education in earnest on 3 October 1914, singling out the figure of the 'Prussian professor' as his chief German enemy. He accuses Germany in all aspects of cultural life of being 'professorial', a condemnatory term, since to Ford '[a] Prussianised professor in the modern sense of the word is a specialist, without knowledge of life, without a sense of the humanities'.¹⁹⁴ He returns to Gambetta's notion of the Prussian enemy, and here amends it: 'l'ennemi, c'est le professeur!'.¹⁹⁵ In this relatively early condemnation of the Prussian professor, he includes a caveat, noting that 'indeed two of my dearest friends are professors—the one of English literature at the great university of the Saxon duchies, the other of international law in a South German university, subject to Prussia'.¹⁹⁶ From his description, this is probably Schücking and his older brother, Walther Schücking, who was then professor of international law at Marburg.¹⁹⁷ This reference to his personal association with the professoriate is absent from the book version, which is consistent with the removal of other personal details.

The following week, he outlines the deficiencies of the Prussian education system. Again, the article has more personal flair than the version included in *When Blood*, particularly as he describes his father's connection with Germany.¹⁹⁸ Ford addresses the uncomfortable proximity

¹⁹⁰ Ford, 'The Classic Muse', p.368.

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

¹⁹² Rademacher, 'Tracing a Biographical Habit', pp.120-34 (p.128).

¹⁹³ Hunt and Ford, *Desirable Alien*, p.113n.

¹⁹⁴ Ford, 'Germania', p.431.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁹⁷ Marburg came under Prussian control in 1866 after the Austro-Prussian war. Ford visited Walther Schücking in Marburg. He sent Christina Hueffer a card from there on 12 November 1910. Ford Collection, Cornell, 4605/32/39.

¹⁹⁸ Moser, *Life in the Fiction of Ford*, p.197.

between himself and the professorial enemy by attempting to rescue his father's reputation. He explains his father's dislike for the enforced '[m]ust-be-Prussian professorial life', and stresses both his father's 'Englishness' and his South Germanness.¹⁹⁹ He writes:

[I]t was Schopenhauer's ardent admiration for England that sent my father, a very erudite, but very spirited and unprofessorial, South German to this country [...]. He became the most preposterously English person I have ever met. I once heard him ask, in Bonn, 'What is the German for "poached egg"?' He wished to persuade us that he had forgotten German or had never known it.

I mention this not so much to emphasise my English and inherited patriotism, which must take care of itself, as to let my reader more fully into the psychology of the South German learned or 'cultured' person when he is regarded historically.²⁰⁰

It is clear from the number of times Ford mentions the insults he endured, that his patriotism did not 'take care of itself'. This is Ford's attempt to reframe his German heritage into an Anglophile line. In characteristically Fordian style, he does so by admitting the reader 'into the psychology' of his father through an anecdote. Unlike this portrait of his father, Ford does not pretend to forget German or his knowledge of Germany, instead he uses it in the development of his own new identity. And yet the person we see in this anecdote is as much Ford's creation, and a reflection of his own psychology, as it is an insight into his father. By suggesting that his father distanced himself from Germany, Ford somewhat undermines his own claims to an intimate knowledge of German culture, and he projects onto his father the response that he too may have had. From Ford's tenuous assertions about national character, it seems that being South German or English is merely a state of mind. Ford reframes his views on German culture in an argument that both fits what he imagines that the times require, and is rooted in his personal convictions. However, the strained logic betrays the instrumentalisation of language for a political purpose, contrary to his own principles.

In his December articles, Ford gives detailed attention to German higher education. Here, Ford's argument against the German professors is not entirely unforgiving. He claims that German political historians, such as Treitschke and Delbrück, have been misunderstood amid their newfound fame in Britain. He suggests that they wrote with more passion than they felt because they knew they had so little political influence.²⁰¹ The truth of such a claim is difficult to measure, but Welch proposes that one reason for the enthusiasm of German academics at the outbreak of

¹⁹⁹ Ford, 'Literary Portraits—LVII: Persecution of German Professors', *Outlook*, 34, 10 October 1914, pp.463-64 (p.464).

²⁰⁰ Ibid. Although much of this article is included in *When Blood*, this anecdote is not.

²⁰¹ Ford, 'Literary Portraits—LXV: Professors and Universities in Modern Germany', *Outlook*, 34, 5 December 1914, pp.725-27 (p.726).

war was the prospect of cultural relevance, having felt excluded from political life.²⁰² In his analysis of German education, Ford relies on German texts to support his argument, seeking to lend authority to his personal analysis.

Ford focuses on modern German universities, beginning with the establishment of the University of Berlin in 1810. Berlin was at the centre of educational innovation at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Wilhelm von Humboldt, a philologist, implemented definitive theories of German education, the *Wissenschaftsideologie*, which emphasised the importance of original research by methodical study.²⁰³ These research methods were applied first in philology and history, and developed later in the sciences.²⁰⁴ By 1914, Berlin was ‘probably the most influential and esteemed university in the world’.²⁰⁵ In his 5 December article, Ford defines ‘philologist’ in a derogatory footnote:

It should be understood that ‘philolog’ is not the equivalent of the English word philologist. The proper translation of the English word ‘philologist’ into German is ‘Linguist.’ ‘Philolog,’ derived as it is from Greek words meaning ‘lover of the word,’ may be exactly understood if it be read in the scriptural sense of ‘the letter which killed and the spirit which giveth life.’²⁰⁶

There is some historical nuance in Ford’s definition – his snide biblical quotation speaks of the roots of German philology in theological study. Tuska Benes notes that Luther’s translation of the Bible was considered to be a ‘masterpiece of philology’.²⁰⁷ In the article, Ford offers an example of the kind of literary criticism this field produces – which, according to Ford, overlooks the real point of criticism, being the analysis of the spirit of the work, and instead focuses on facts. These comments are hardly surprising given Ford’s personal antipathy to facts in preference for impressions.

Like his denunciation of state intervention in the arts, Ford argues that government control has stifled academic life in Germany. He observes that since 1876, restrictions have been imposed on research, especially in history and politics, to clamp down on speculation that could threaten

²⁰² Welch, ‘War Aims and the “Big Ideas” of 1914’, p.86.

²⁰³ Watson, *German Genius*, p.228.

²⁰⁴ Ibid., p.230. German universities were at the centre of the development of philology as a discipline in the eighteenth century. Robert S. Leventhal, ‘The Emergence of Philological Discourse in the German States, 1770-1810’, *Isis*, 77 (1986), 243-60.

²⁰⁵ Elizabeth Fordham, ‘Universities’, in J. M. Winter and Jean-Louis Robert (eds), *Capital Cities at War: Paris, London, Berlin 1914-1919: Volume 2: A Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp.235-79 (p.239).

²⁰⁶ Ford, ‘Professors and Universities in Modern Germany’, p.726. The biblical quotation is from II Corinthians 3.6.

²⁰⁷ Benes, *In Babel’s Shadow*, p.13.

political unity.²⁰⁸ With regard to state involvement in higher education, Britain was the exception, and most other European nations had a similar system.²⁰⁹ But the concept of academic freedom, expressed as *Lehrfreiheit* and *Lernfreiheit*, was a celebrated ideal in Germany.²¹⁰ Independence from the state was a key principle in Humboldt's reforms, although it was sometimes in tension with the university's role in training students for the German civil service.²¹¹ In his commentary on higher education Ford refers to Friedrich Paulsen's now-classic work on German universities, but his critique is his own.²¹² Paulsen outlines a system in which state administration does not significantly interfere with academic research, commenting that '[i]t may be truly said that at no time has university instruction enjoyed a wider freedom'.²¹³ In some respects, Ford's emphasis on state control lifts the burden of his criticism from the academics themselves and onto the government and the ruling classes. Although this contradicts his singular enmity towards 'le professeur', it may have helped to explain or excuse his many associations with German intellectuals. Once again, we see Ford targeting the central ideals of German culture, and some of the inconsistencies of his argument.

Ford's denigration of German learning is an attempt to revise the image of German education as the home of innovation, the standard to which Britain aspired during the nineteenth century. The years in which Ford identifies the decline of modern education, from 1849 onwards, coincides with the period when the German system had a profound influence upon British education, both in schools and universities.²¹⁴ The number of British students attending German universities peaked in the mid-nineteenth century.²¹⁵ The Victorian Royal Commissions on educational reform took extensive evidence from German schools. One report claimed that the Prussian schooling system 'appears to be at once the most complete and the most perfectly adapted to its people of all that now exist'.²¹⁶ Ford attempts to undermine the authority of Matthew Arnold's investigations into German schools by noting that he conducted his research during the school holidays, and 'before the Austro-Prussian War, when Prussian Germany was temperamentally a very much milder and gentler State than it is at present'.²¹⁷

²⁰⁸ Ford, 'Professors and Universities in Modern Germany (*continued*)', p.757.

²⁰⁹ Farrar, 'The Artist as Propagandist', p.156.

²¹⁰ H.-J. Hahn, *Education and Society in Germany* (Oxford: Berg, 1998), p.4.

²¹¹ Roger Paulin, *Goethe, The Brothers' Grimm and Academic Freedom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp.10-12.

²¹² Ford's use of this text is more explicit in *When Blood*.

²¹³ Friedrich Paulsen, *The German Universities and University Study*, trans. Frank Thilly and William W. Elwang (New York: Scribner's, 1906), p.81.

²¹⁴ John R. Davis, 'Higher Education Reform and the German Model: A Victorian Discourse', in Kirchberger and Ellis (eds), *Anglo-German Scholarly Networks*, pp.39-62.

²¹⁵ Wallace, *War and the Image of Germany*, p.6.

²¹⁶ 'Schools Inquiry Commission: Report of the Commissioners' (1870), quoted in Davis, *Victorians and Germany*, p.294.

²¹⁷ Ford, 'Professors and Universities in Modern Germany (*continued*)', pp.757-58.

Ford continues his attack on the school system by highlighting the high suicide rate among German schoolchildren. He refers to (without explicitly citing) the statistics from a German white paper and suggests:

[T]he fact that there should be a suicide rate at all amongst small children and that this suicide rate should be officially attributed to over-driving in schools has always seemed to me to be a phenomenon in itself sufficiently horrible to condemn the whole German scholastic system.²¹⁸

The phenomenon of child and adolescent suicide attracted considerable attention in the German press at the turn of the century and was a common theme in German fiction and drama.²¹⁹ It was suggested that the suicides could be attributed to school pressures, and was used to promote reform, suggesting that the education system was too ‘impersonal’.²²⁰ Ford had already written about it in *The Desirable Alien*, commenting in a footnote that ‘[t]he suicide tale of school children in Germany is [...] the most hideous feature of modern life’.²²¹ It became a useful idea for propaganda, and Elizabeth von Arnim also mentions it in her 1917 novel, *Christine*.²²²

In an attempt to write more about the literature of the day, which his articles were always intended to do, Ford includes a survey of some contemporary works of propaganda by German professors.²²³ His article in June 1915 entitled ‘The Cloud of Witness’ forms part of the chapter on ‘The Last of Germany’ in *Between St Dennis*, and his excerpts from English translations of the German texts contribute to the multivocality of that book.²²⁴ Ford summarises the key arguments of professors Georg Misch, Rudolf Eucken, and Kurt Engelbrecht, who all argue for the value of German culture to the world.²²⁵ Misch’s argument is especially vitriolic towards the English, distinct from Germany’s other enemies.²²⁶ Ford quotes from the beginning of a chapter in which Misch lists quotations from writers such as Rudyard Kipling and Henri Bergson, who have rejected German culture. It adds to Ford’s argument that the English ‘pro-German’ writers ‘put up an infinitely better case for Germany than the unfortunate Germans can do for themselves’, though it is not quite representative of the text itself.²²⁷ Eucken, whose argument is the more

²¹⁸ Ford, ‘Literary Portraits—LXVII: The Making of the German Official’, *Outlook*, 34, 19 December 1914, pp.790-91 (p.791).

²¹⁹ Sterling Fishman, ‘Suicide, Sex, and the Discovery of the German Adolescent’, *History of Education Quarterly*, 10 (1970), 170-88 (pp.172-73).

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp.174-79.

²²¹ Hunt and Ford, *Desirable Alien*, p.113n.

²²² Von Arnim, *Christine*, p.101.

²²³ Ford mentions at the beginning of his 12 June article that the editor asked him to stop writing so much about French culture. Ford, ‘The Cloud of Witness’, *Outlook*, 35, 12 June 1915, pp.768-70 (p.768).

²²⁴ See Haslam, ‘Making a Text the Fordian Way’, pp.202-14.

²²⁵ Ford claims in *Between St Dennis* (p.159) that he is friends with Georg Misch, who was a philosopher at Marburg University, but I have been unable to discover if or when they met.

²²⁶ Georg Misch, *Vom Geist des Krieges und des deutschen Volkes Barberei* (Jena: Diederichs, 1914).

²²⁷ Ford, ‘Cloud of Witness’, p.768.

reasoned of the three, contends that the German people have found a way to unite the two different sides of the German spirit, essentially making a philosophical case for a united Germany.²²⁸ Ford expresses a demeaning form of sympathy for the professors: 'I cannot help feeling that these are deeply unfortunate people'.²²⁹ Lastly, he juxtaposes Engelbrecht's vaulted claim that 'God must adopt the German cause' with an account of German soldiers shooting 500 prisoners in a Belgian village in an excerpt from the *Bryce Report on Alleged Atrocities*.²³⁰ Ford adds little further comment; much like the ending of *This Monstrous Regiment*, he allows the reader to draw her own conclusion.

Writing of the change in Ford's style in the propaganda, Buitenhuis comments that '[e]ven given that Hueffer [Ford] needed the money Masterman's assignments offered, it is hard to justify the line he took in them'.²³¹ Of course any such xenophobic treatment of one nation's culture is hard to justify. But in the context of war, and the cultural environment that preceded it, Ford's line of argument makes a great deal of sense. He tackles issues on which he held strong views before the war and with which he had a personal connection. These issues also speak to the heart of German cultural identity and British anxieties. Ford's writing style remains idiosyncratic and sometimes contradictory, but the themes he addresses specifically confront the concerns of the moment, even if arguing about school curricula seems rather removed from the fighting on the Western Front. Ford ends his review of German propaganda by saying '[w]e are conducting a war not only against the armies of our adversaries, but also against their Press'.²³² Demonstrating his role as both cultural observer and a participant in the cultural war, I consider in the following section Ford's evolving response to the war of words.

Words at war

The First World War is known as a distinctly literary war. It is remembered and taught through the poems that were written during the war and the novels of the late 1920s. Mary Hammond and Shafquat Towheed describe the war years as 'a period of intense and unparalleled creativity'.²³³ Through the involvement of the literary propagandists and the prominence of the cultural battle in Europe, literature remained a central concern, at least for the first years of the war. However, as doubt over the buoyancy of the publishing industry attests, there was not always such confidence in the war's literary fate.²³⁴ Ford's writing from the first six weeks is primarily concerned with the impact that the war was likely to have on literature and language. He speculates on the kind of

²²⁸ Rudolf Eucken, *Die weltgeschichtliche Bedeutung des deutschen Geistes* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1914), p.15.

²²⁹ Ford, 'Cloud of Witness', p.769.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, p.770.

²³¹ Buitenhuis, *Great War of Words*, p.46.

²³² Ford, 'Cloud of Witness', p.770.

²³³ Mary Hammond and Shafquat Towheed, 'Introduction', in Hammond and Towheed (eds), *Publishing in the First World War*, pp.1-8 (p.2).

²³⁴ Potter, 'For Country, Conscience and Commerce', p.12.

literature that would be produced in the event of a German victory or loss, he considers what role poets and artists should have, and he campaigns for continued support for the arts. Although Ford advocates the writer's role in wartime, he also expresses the difficulty he has in writing about the present time. He suggests that 'there is no man who, in the middle of a war, can write poems about war', since it requires the distance that can only be achieved with time for reflection, though he clearly tried to do so and managed to publish a volume of wartime poems.²³⁵

In his article of 5 September 1914, Ford dramatizes an internal debate that is central to his response to the war:

I heard myself saying to myself: 'I wonder if the pen *is* mightier than the sword?' Until that moment I should have had no doubt at all. I should have said that that statement was all bosh and bunkum [...]. But then I wavered for a moment—in the midst of Armageddon times, beneath an immense sky [...]. You see these times wake up in us all sorts of patriotisms. [...]

Even putting it at the most concrete and the most immediate, this war is the product of the pen, not of the sword. If it had not been for the lies of Dash on the one side, in the daily Press, and if it had not been for the lies of another gentleman in his professorial lectures on the other side, this war would never have happened.²³⁶

In this instance, he concludes that 'very likely the pen is mightier than the sword'.²³⁷ He implies that the British press and the German professoriate are both responsible for the war. The question he does not answer is, if the pen is to blame for the start of the war, what role should it play as the war progresses? Ford's article was published a few days after Masterman's meeting with authors. Even if Masterman did not enlist his help immediately, Ford may have known the meeting was taking place. This might explain Ford's shift in his articles from campaigning for continued support for the arts, to musing on the responsibilities of the writer, thinking about patriotism, and questioning his place in the midst of it all. The article betrays uncertainty, a sense of being overwhelmed, and a devout patriotism; all of which put Ford's propaganda writing into necessary perspective.

The following week he admits complete failure in his attempt to write about the war:

[I]f I say that I am unable—absolutely and helplessly unable—to write a poem about the present war, I say it with shame. It is a confession of sheer impotence.

²³⁵ Ford, 'The Face of Janus', p.271.

²³⁶ Ford, 'Cedant Togae. . .', p.304.

²³⁷ Ibid.

I simply cannot do it. [...] It is, I think, because of the hazy remoteness of the war-grounds; the impossibility of visualising anything, because of a total incapacity to believe any single thing that I read in the daily papers.²³⁸

Ford's reluctance to believe what he reads suggests both his sense of horror at the war, similar to Galsworthy's early reaction, and his distrust of the press.²³⁹ In the rest of the article, Ford describes the German occupation of Amiens. Again, he struggles to visualise it, recalling instead his own experiences in the same landscape, and conjures imagined memories of a medieval past – of 'William II of the eleventh not of the twentieth century'.²⁴⁰ When he went to war, Ford found he was equally incapable of writing about it. He wrote in the 1916 manuscript 'A Day of Battle': 'As far as I am concerned an immense barrier in my brain seems to lie between the profession of Arms and the mind that puts them into words.'²⁴¹ Although he was then able to see the landscape before him, he was even less able to 'visualize' it and put it into perspective, and into words, than he had been the year before.²⁴²

From mid-September, Ford moved on to the consideration of German culture and he began work on his first propaganda book. Questions about the role of literature are not absent from his articles in the autumn, but rather, are subsumed within a larger argument about the place of culture in the war, as well as in the formation of societies. It is somewhat surprising that Ford does not give more attention to German literature in the articles, especially considering it was a literary column. His two articles in October which look at Goethe do not consider his work, but the notion of 'Goethe as Superman' and the way he was instrumentalised by the former Minister for Education, Adalbert Falk.²⁴³ There is a little more analysis of Goethe as a writer in the extended passage in *When Blood*, but still the main focus is on Goethe as a cultural phenomenon.²⁴⁴

After his treatment of German education throughout the autumn and winter, Ford returns to questions of language and literature when writing about French culture in May 1915. He justifies his focus on France by articulating his perception of the role of language in the war, arguing that Europe 'drifted into the greatest of catastrophes for want of plain-speaking'.²⁴⁵ The fault, he argues, lies with Germany:

²³⁸ Ford, 'The Muse of War', p.334.

²³⁹ Dupré, *John Galsworthy*, p.211. See also discussion of Galsworthy's response in the previous chapter.

²⁴⁰ Ford, 'The Muse of War', p.335.

²⁴¹ Ford, 'A Day of Battle', in *War Prose*, pp.36-42 (p.37).

²⁴² *Ibid.*, p.36.

²⁴³ Ford, 'Literary Portraits—LVIII: Goethe as Superman', *Outlook*, 34, 17 October 1914, pp.493-94; Ford, 'Literary Portraits—LIX: Goethe as Superman (continued)', *Outlook*, 34, 24 October 1914, pp.531-32.

²⁴⁴ Ford, *When Blood*, pp.282-84.

²⁴⁵ Ford, 'France, 1915 (continued)', *Outlook*, 35, 8 May 1915, pp.599-600 (p.599). This is the only article between 1 May and 12 June 1915 not included in *Between St Dennis*.

We are, in short, at war to-day because German allegories of Mailed Fists, shining armour, and the rest of it seemed ludicrous to the rest of the world, and because the cautious indefiniteness of phraseology of the rest of the world seemed to the German office-holders to be a sign of timidity.²⁴⁶

Accusing the Germans of starting the war and blaming it on German military pride is a familiar, and expected, argument in British propaganda. But Ford makes language, from the labourer's speech to the construction of a diplomatic sentence and the works of literary masters, central to the reason for war. Despite the communicative failure at the heart of the war, he has not given up hope in the potential for language to promote peace and understanding. He writes: 'we shall only make a decent thing of peace when we can see human issues clearly, and we shall only see human issues clearly when we have learnt to effect their just expression'.²⁴⁷ He proposes that his readers learn from the French example: 'to be precise is the most difficult thing in the world, and it is only the French, [...] who have at all appreciated the value of this precision'.²⁴⁸

An article the following month includes Ford's attempt to translate the first sentence of Gustav Flaubert's 'Un Coeur Simple' from French into English. He suggests that: 'This simple sentence is the beginning of the story which, at this moment, is of most significance to the world'.²⁴⁹ It is, without question, an unusual approach to propaganda, though no stranger than the evidence Ford has already amassed for the virtue of France, such as Joan of Arc's expertise with a needle and thread.²⁵⁰ Ford anticipates his reader's surprise, and answers by writing that 'the exact use of words seems to me to be the most important thing in the world. We are, in the end, governed so much more by words than by deeds'.²⁵¹ Ford's intention is first to highlight the precision of French expression, and then to use Flaubert's portrait of the Madame Aubain and her humble servant Felicité, to contrast what he sees as the extravagant materialism of Prussian culture. His praise of exactitude may appear to be at odds with his impressionism, but it echoes his commitment to portraying real life and his pursuit of 'le mot juste'. Ford juxtaposes Flaubert's description of life in a provincial French town with his own account of the 'vast gilded modern [German] hotel, with central heating and vast basements'.²⁵² It is the materialist drive in Germany, Ford argues, which has fuelled the attack on the humble Belgians. It seems strange to think that German plumbing, or even the merits of a national language, could be used as a justification for war; indeed it only really makes sense in the context of the war between culture and *Kultur*.

²⁴⁶ Ibid.

²⁴⁷ Ibid., p.600.

²⁴⁸ Ibid., p.599

²⁴⁹ Ford, 'Un Coeur Simple', *Outlook*, 35, 5 June 1915, pp.738-39 (p.738).

²⁵⁰ Ford, 'France, 1915' *Outlook*, 35, 1 May 1915, pp.563-64 (p.563).

²⁵¹ Ford, 'Un Coeur Simple', p.739.

²⁵² Ibid.

Although Ford is fastidious about the correct choice of words in translation, by concentrating on capturing the true spirit of the words he embodies a different approach to the German philologists he condemns in his articles in December. He uses this act of translation to reiterate his belief in the promotion of peace through language:

[I]f I could have my way, I would introduce a conscription of the French language into this country and a conscription of the English language into France [...]. For it is only through language that comprehension and union can arise, and it is only by the careful and strained attention to the fine shades of language in common use that comprehension of language can be reached.²⁵³

Hayman argues that Ford is making ‘an outright call for language’s mobilization (“conscription”) as a tool of war’.²⁵⁴ This is true of all propaganda, but Ford’s argument here is also an expression of his innate belief in the power of language.

Ford continues this theme in the late June and July articles, which convey a pressing need to express human experience. He comments that Ezra Pound’s *Cathay* (1915) ‘is like a door in a wall opening suddenly upon fields of an extreme beauty, and upon a landscape made real by the intensity of human emotions’.²⁵⁵ He adds:

Man is to mankind a wolf—homo homini lupus—largely because the means of communication between man and man are very limited. I daresay that if words direct enough could have been found, the fiend who sanctioned the use of poisonous gases in the present war could have been so touched to the heart that he would never have signed that order [...]. Beauty is a very valuable thing; perhaps it is the most valuable thing in life; but the power to express emotion so that it shall communicate itself intact and exactly is almost more valuable.²⁵⁶

Ford uses this proverb repeatedly in his writing, including before the war.²⁵⁷ His return to it here demonstrates that he has not given up on the function of literature in society. Ford’s lifelong search for ‘le mot juste’ was a product of the influence of Flaubert, and his experience of working with Conrad. In wartime, the search for the right words became for Ford not just an author’s

²⁵³ Ibid.

²⁵⁴ Hayman refers to the same passage in *Between St Dennis and St George*. Hayman, ‘Under Four Eyes’, p.32.

²⁵⁵ Ford, ‘From China to Peru’, *Outlook*, 35, 19 June 1915, pp.800-01 (p.801).

²⁵⁶ Ibid.

²⁵⁷ For example: Ford, ‘Literary Portraits—XVII: Nineteen-Thirteen and the Futurists’, *Outlook*, 33, 3 January 1914, pp.14-15 (p.15).

challenge but a political and diplomatic necessity. However unlikely it may seem, it suggests Ford still thought it possible to avoid violence through the effective use of language.

Although he may not have lost faith in the need to communicate effectively, Ford did question his own role in doing so. In his article of 10 July 1915 he makes a veiled reference to his decision to enlist: 'If not to-day, then to-morrow, I hope to be up and away to regions where I shall be precluded from uttering injunctions to find le mot juste, and le mot juste. And le mot juste again!'²⁵⁸ After twenty-five years as a critic, Ford claims he is sick of his own writing. Yet he still holds to the idea that 'the rendering of the material facts of life, without comment and in exact language, is poetry and that poetry is the only important thing in life'.²⁵⁹

Later in July he resumes his criticism of political infighting and the 'inkslingers' in the press.²⁶⁰ He blames the 'leaders' and 'leader-writers' for weakening Britain, making it more vulnerable to the enemy, in contrast with the 'silent bulk of this nation'.²⁶¹ He critiques the misuse of language by the press in propagating and protracting the war, as he did in the war's first weeks. It also foreshadows his own decision to join the numbers of the 'silent bulk' of dutiful soldiers. In the same article he reviews Conrad's *The Nigger of the 'Narcissus'* (1897), chosen by Ford because, like all great works of art, it 'is a precise diagnosis of human estates'.²⁶² Ford suggests that Conrad's book 'is the story of this country in these days'.²⁶³ His review blends with his indictment of the press as Ford conflates the novel's mutinous sailor with the contemporary journalist: 'Donkin, the eternal Cockney agitator, the eternal Yellow Press journalist [...] is the representative of death, the mean god of egotism, the negation of life'.²⁶⁴ Ford contrasts the soldier's self-sacrifice with the threatening plague of individualism in journalism and politics. He uses the relevance of an eighteen-year-old novel to the present moment to underscore the value of literature for the nation, both for the present time and as a guide for the future.

Ford continues this theme the following week when he reviews the war edition of *Blast*. He notes the difference between this edition and the first, which he reviewed the previous year: 'the pressure of these times leaves its solemn traces. And, indeed, they would be bad enough artists if it did not, since, in the end, all good art is, in however distorting a mirror, a reflection of its own time.'²⁶⁵ Ford's attitude to the Vorticists is characteristic of his approach to innovation in literature; he welcomes their radical style as a necessary response to the times: 'I find a certain

²⁵⁸ Ford, 'A Jubilee', *Outlook*, 36, 10 July 1915, pp.46-48 (p.46).

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁰ Ford, 'The Nigger', *Outlook*, 36, 24 July 1915, pp.110-1 (p.111).

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*

²⁶² *Ibid.*

²⁶³ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁵ Ford, 'On a Notice of *Blast*', *Outlook*, 36, 31 July 1915, pp.143-44 (p.144).

strangeness in their effects. [...] But I am in London of the nineteen tens, and I am content to endure the rattles and the bangs—and I hope to see them rendered.²⁶⁶ Ford knew he would soon be leaving for war, and while he felt his time for writing criticism may be coming to an end, he used these final articles to establish the need for writers to be historians of their own times for the work they produce to be of most value.

When Ford wrote his article for the *Outlook* for 21 August 1915, he knew it would be his last for the magazine for some time. He had already enlisted for the army and was prepared for the fact that he might die. Despite the gravitas of the circumstance, the article lacks the lyrical cynicism of his more reflective mode and the theoretical approach displayed in his most incisive criticism. Although entitled ‘The Movies’, Ford writes very little about the cinema, and the beginning of the article feels like a list of all the things Ford could have written about – movies, Somerset Maugham’s latest novel, and the frequent failings of modern plays. Instead, Ford resolves this final article by suggesting that writers can learn from the process of adaptation for the screen by cutting down their writing: ‘That is a great lesson to all of us since we all talk too much and most of us write too much.’²⁶⁷ In some respects this is a throwaway ending to a meandering article, but it also reflects his response to the use of language in the war. He shifts from saying that the pen is mightier than the sword in September 1914, to suggesting that it is time to put down his pen and pick up the sword. He ends by quoting Sir Francis Jeune, a senior divorce judge: ‘Don’t write, and fear no woman.’²⁶⁸ Ford seems to have obeyed, braving Hunt’s displeasure at his decision to leave her and go to war.²⁶⁹ By the time the article was published, Ford had already left London to begin training in Pembrokeshire.

Conclusion

Saunders suggests that we should consider Ford the ‘unreliable critic’ as we would the ‘unreliable narrator’ of *The Good Soldier*.²⁷⁰ Perhaps this is nowhere more pertinent than in Ford’s wartime essays, when, fresh from the practice of unreliable narration, he fashions for himself the persona of the English gentleman that will convince his readers and himself of his loyalty to George V.²⁷¹ With this in mind, we must ask whether Ford’s repeated expression of doubt and emotion during the war is genuine ambivalence, or part of the act. Ford wrote to his mother shortly after joining his regiment in Wales:

²⁶⁶ Ibid.

²⁶⁷ Ford, ‘The Movies’, *Outlook*, 36, 21 August 1915, pp.239-40 (p.240).

²⁶⁸ Ibid.

²⁶⁹ On Violet Hunt’s response to his decision, see Debra Rae Cohen, *Remapping the Home Front: Locating Citizenship in British Women’s Great War Fiction* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2002), pp.11-29.

²⁷⁰ Saunders, ‘Critical Biography’, p.177.

²⁷¹ On Ford’s ‘self-fashioning’ see Christine Berberich, ‘Ford and National Identity’, in Ashley Chantler and Rob Hawkes (eds), *An Introduction to Ford Madox Ford* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), pp.177-88; idem, *Image of the English Gentleman*, p. 16.

You ask me why I have gone into the army: simply because I cannot imagine taking any other course. If one has enjoyed the privileges of the ruling classes of a country all one's life, there seems to be no alternative to fighting for that country if necessary.²⁷²

Ford had never been among the ruling classes.²⁷³ Again, he seems to be adopting a pose, and it is hard to know whether it was consciously done. Why would he feel the need to continue to play this part in private? Of all people, his mother would know the truth about his rank.

The articles presented another, public, vehicle for self-definition during the war. Farrar describes Ford's propaganda books as 'a kind of declaration of independence from Germany'.²⁷⁴ But in the books and in his articles, Ford mines personal and international history for impressions of Germany, never seeming to stray far from the cultural influences of his youth. His polemical method in his pamphlet for the suffragettes, *This Monstrous Regiment of Women*, avoids explicit engagement with the present by writing about the past; the message is implied. Ford uses a similar approach in his wartime journalism – particularly when writing about Bertran de Born and *The Nigger of the 'Narcissus'*. He expresses his message or purpose more explicitly than in *This Monstrous Regiment*, but still Ford rarely mentions specific events from the week. In part, this is because some of his articles had already been written for the propaganda books, so he was not always responding to immediate events. At other times, however, it is clearly a choice. His frequent resort to medieval allusions, in his vocabulary and in literary references, is another way that Ford negotiates the transition from seeing Germans as friends, to defining the German enemy.

Throughout the year, Ford approaches the role of language from various perspectives. He campaigns for the positive influence of literature in society, but also observes the misuse of language by the press that has promoted confusion and hatred. His attack on the German language acknowledges the constitutive role of language in national and cultural affiliation, particularly in the German case. From May onwards, he argues repeatedly for the use of accurate rendering as a means of communicating universal human emotions and promoting understanding. Such attention to the use of words inevitably puts Ford's own wartime writing under the spotlight. One wonders whether he was conscious of the disjunction between acknowledging the potential for unity and understanding through language while writing propaganda, which by its very nature is intended to divide nations and breed discord. There remains a tension, expressed in Ford's ambivalence and paradoxical views: there is the cosmopolitan who uses his knowledge of different cultures and

²⁷² Ford to Catherine Hueffer, 18 September 1915, in Ford, *War Prose*, p.218. Ford includes a similar passage in *Zeppelin Nights*, p.306.

²⁷³ Ford gives one definition of the 'ruling classes' in *It Was the Nightingale* when describing Christopher Tietjens, the central character of *Parade's End*. It includes those among the sons of landed gentry, and those occupying high military office and senior positions in government. Ford, *It Was the Nightingale*, pp.199-200.

²⁷⁴ Farrar, 'The Artist as Propagandist', p.159.

languages to write in support of the war between them, and the propagandist who writes, while reaffirming the importance of the proper use of language to avoid the propagation of violence. This is perhaps what provokes his frustration with his own writing towards the end of the year, and his desire to give up the demands of literature and fight.

When Ford looked back on this period in an article about France in 1934, he wrote:

Between August 4th 1914 and August 4th 1915, I wrote at least 300 articles and two whole propaganda books for France. And then, as Mr. Herriot was once kind enough to put it: ‘This youngish English yet alas ageing poet (that’s me!) discarded the pen to take up the sword’ with the only aim, I assure you, of helping to preserve France and civilisation.²⁷⁵

This comment displays the usual Fordian disregard for fact, given that he wrote a fraction of the number of articles he claimed to have written, though there is probably some truth to his assertion that he wrote and fought for the preservation of France. What is striking in the present context is that the trajectory that emerges from Ford’s writing over the course of the year is further highlighted by his return to Herriot’s phrase two decades later. This is the narrative that Ford wanted us to take from his writing that year.

²⁷⁵ Ford, ‘Que Pensez-Vous de la France?’, trans. Dominique Lemarchal, in Lemarchal and Davison-Pegnon (eds), *Ford, France and Provence*, pp.29-42 (first publ. in *L’Intransigeant*, 5 January 1934, pp.1-2), p.37.

CHAPTER 4: FROM ACTIVE SERVICE TO THE POST-WAR WORLD

Whether motivated by patriotic conviction, financial and personal circumstance, or frustration with his literary calling, Ford ended his writing in August 1915 claiming that he was laying down his pen and taking up the sword. Despite this seeming resignation from literature, he continued to vacillate between writing and not writing about the war. He felt compelled to record his own times, as he had argued in his critical writing before enlisting, but found his descriptive powers limited when faced with the enormity and horror of the battlefield. His inability to write was compounded by his experience of shell shock and amnesia in the summer of 1916. Even so, Ford began writing about the war before it was over, in both fiction and memoir. The first volume of *Parade's End* was not published until 1924, allowing Ford the time that was needed for recovery and reflection, though still ahead of the major war books boom at the end of the decade.

This chapter draws together analysis of Ford's relationship with Germany and his post-war reflections on the war, propaganda, and the purpose of literature. In order to provide context for his post-war writing, I begin with a summary of Ford's experience during the remaining part of the war, after he left London in August 1915 until his demobilisation in January 1919. I then consider Ford's post-war responses as both a typically nuanced correction to his wartime attitudes and as a reaction to his experiences. I reflect first on Ford's apparent rejection of Germany, then his reflections on propaganda, after which I consider his approach to language and literature, and conclude with his developing identity as a citizen of the 'Republic of Letters'. It is beyond the scope of this chapter to consider everything that Ford wrote about the war; I concentrate on key passages which articulate significant aspects of, or turning points in, his approach, especially regarding his relationship with Germany. I have also tried to look beyond a primary concentration on *Parade's End*, and therefore consider a broad range of Ford's writing in the last twenty years of his life.

I: Ford's Combat Experience from 1915 to 1919

Ford was appointed to a commission as a second lieutenant in the Welch Regiment in August 1915, and went to join the ninth battalion in Tenby, Carmarthen Bay. His brother, Oliver, got a commission in the East Surrey Regiment later that autumn. At the end of the year Ford moved to Cardiff, and the battalion was stationed at Cardiff Castle until they left for France in July 1916. Ford served with the battalion transport during the Battle of the Somme, until he was injured in a shell blast, which left him with concussion and a period of amnesia.¹ He spent a week at a

¹ Saunders, *Dual Life*, II, pp.1-2. Ford wrote in his memoirs: 'three weeks of my life are completely dead to me'. Ford, *It Was the Nightingale*, p.175.

Casualty Clearing Station in Corbie, ‘with the enemy planes dropping bombs all over it and the dead Red Cross nurses being carried past [his] bed’.² He described this period as a near constant experience of fear, of being taken prisoner and of trying to remember his name, and of the abstract figures that haunted his dreams at night.³ Ford later used this experience in his depiction of Christopher Tietjens in *Parade’s End*.⁴

He re-joined his battalion on the Ypres Salient in August 1916 and took leave in Paris for a few days in September. There are varying accounts of his activity in the autumn – according to his personal service record he was wounded, but he was writing to Masterman from the third battalion of the Welch Regiment in Wales by mid-October.⁵ By November he was back at the base in Rouen, France, where among other duties he had to ‘mount guard over some wounded Germans in hospital huts’.⁶ In December his health deteriorated, and he was sent to convalesce in the south of France.⁷ He was back in Rouen in early 1917, and in February he was made responsible for wounded German prisoners of war in Abbeville, but was invalided home in March, due to the condition of his lungs.⁸ Ford spent the remainder of the war in Britain, initially as captain attached to 23rd King’s Liverpool Regiment at Kinmel Park; later he joined the staff of training command at Redcar in Yorkshire, which involved lecturing throughout the north of England.⁹ His lecture notes include points on the management of field hospitals, tactics, and strategy, as well as a lecture on France and ‘Civilisations’.¹⁰ Ford was discharged from the army on 7 January 1919.¹¹ Shortly afterwards he also received a letter from Masterman thanking him for his service to the propaganda campaign.¹²

At least for the first few months, Ford rejoiced in the routine of army life, and he wrote to Masterman: ‘Here I am and hard at it—6 a.m. to 7 p.m. everyday, like any V form boy [...]. I am really quite happy except for an absolute lack of social life’.¹³ Stella Bowen, who met Ford in 1917, reflected in 1941 that Ford was ‘the only intellectual I had met to whom army discipline provided a conscious release from the torments and indecisions of a super-sensitive brain’.¹⁴ Even

² Ford, *Mightier than the Sword*, p.265.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Mizener, *Saddest Story*, pp.286-87; Saunders, *Dual Life*, II, p.3.

⁵ Judd, *Ford*, p.286.

⁶ Ford to Conrad, 19 December 1916, in Ludwig (ed.), *Letters*, p.79.

⁷ Saunders, *Dual Life*, II, p.27.

⁸ Judd, *Ford*, pp.306-07; Saunders, *Dual Life*, II, p.28.

⁹ Saunders, *Dual Life*, II, p.36.

¹⁰ Ford, *War Prose*, pp.250-55.

¹¹ Saunders, *Dual Life*, II, p.59.

¹² The letter is dated 30 January 1918, but it refers to the closure of the Ministry of Information, which happened at the end of December 1918. C.F.G. Masterman, Letter to Ford, 30 January 1918 [1919], Ford Collection, Cornell, 4605/57/57. Mrs Humphry Ward received virtually the same letter, though from John Buchan. Trevelyan, *Life of Mrs Humphry Ward*, p.288 n.

¹³ Ford to C.F.G. Masterman, 28 August 1915, in Ludwig (ed.), *Letters*, p.61.

¹⁴ Stella Bowen, *Drawn from Life* (1941; London: Virago, 1984), p.61.

so, Ford did not entirely disconnect from literary life. He continued to publish books, most of which had been written before he left. *Between St Dennis* was published in Britain in September 1915; Mary Butts translated it into French and this version was published in September 1916.¹⁵ That month, Ford was invited to Paris to meet the Minister for Instruction to commend him for his work to promote the French cause.¹⁶ *Zeppelin Nights*, which included several of Ford's articles in the *Daily News* in 1908 and the *Outlook* in 1913, was co-authored with Violet Hunt and published in November 1915.¹⁷ Ford also translated *L'Outrage des Barbares* by Pierre Loti in 1917, and his book of war poetry, *On Heaven and Other Poems*, was published in 1918.

Ford tried to record his experience of combat, though he struggled to 'visualize' the war in its totality.¹⁸ Perhaps in response to his struggle to make sense of what he saw and heard, Ford wrote to his friend and former collaborator Joseph Conrad with 'notes upon sounds' – disjointed impressions which might prove useful for either himself or Conrad in the future.¹⁹ Among the few articles Ford published during active service 'Pon... ti... pri... ith' is a collection of fragmentary impressions of colours and scenes either side of his 'effaced' memory from July 1916.²⁰ Saunders suggests it may have been intended as propaganda for the Ministry of Information, but its sentiment is not overtly anti-German, indeed it does not even mention Germany, but is instead an elegiac account of his Welsh comrades.²¹

Ford wrote a pair of articles in 1916 and 1917 collectively known as 'War and the Mind' which were not published in his lifetime but which powerfully illuminate Ford's wartime experiences and his relationship with the enemy in particular.²² Even in the midst of war, Ford's depiction of the Germans oscillates between compassion and contempt, exhibiting what Richard Holmes describes as the 'Gordian knot linking the diverse strands of hostility and affection, at the very heart of the soldier's relationship with his enemy'.²³ In the first article, written in the Ypres Salient on 15 September 1916, Ford describes the experience of aiming a shot at a German soldier:

The preoccupations of my mission absolutely numbed my powers of observation. Of that I am certain. [...] With your backsight and foresight aligned on that dark object like a pot you are incapable of remembering that that pot shelters hopes, fears, aspirations or has

¹⁵ Harvey, *Bibliography*, p.49.

¹⁶ Judd, *Ford*, p.295.

¹⁷ Harvey, *Bibliography*, pp.49-50.

¹⁸ Ford, 'A Day of Battle', p.36.

¹⁹ Ford, Letters to Joseph Conrad, September 1916, in Ludwig (ed.), *Letters*, pp.71-76.

²⁰ Ford, 'Pon... ti... pri... ith', in *War Prose*, pp.30-35 (p.32).

²¹ Max Saunders, Introduction to 'Pon... ti... pri... ith', in *War Prose*, p.30.

²² They have since been published separately and together, under variant titles. The first essay is 'A Day of Battle', the second, 'The Enemy'. Ford, *War Prose*, pp.36-48.

²³ Richard Holmes, *Acts of War: The Behaviour of Men in Battle* (London: Cassell, 2004), p.361.

significance for wives, children, father and mother It is just the 'falling plate' that you bring down on the range. You feel the satisfaction you feel in making a good shot at golf.²⁴

Ford's description comprises several aspects of the experience of combat. Conflating the human body with the target from practice illustrates the effect of army training. As John Keegan observes, training and simulation is used 'to reduce the conduct of war to a set of rules and a system of procedures – and thereby to make orderly and rational what is essentially chaotic and instinctive'.²⁵ What Ford characterises as his 'numbed [...] powers of observation' was fostered by repetitive drills, designed to make the soldier inert to the psychological strains of battle.²⁶ Ford's account is consistent with the emotions associated with mid-range combat, such as rifle fire. Dave Grossman explains that '[t]he actual kill is usually described as being reflexive or automatic. Immediately after the kill the soldier goes through a period of euphoria and elation, which is usually followed by a period of guilt and remorse'.²⁷ Ford acknowledges this exhilaration in the 'satisfaction' of accuracy, but his admission that he had not contemplated the soldier's relatives suggests that a sense of remorse has subsequently come into view. It is possible, given that he worked in battalion transport, that Ford did not fire directly at an individual German soldier, and that the scene above was imagined based on his training and the experiences of others.

In his propaganda, Ford claimed that he hated the Germans, but his description of firing at the enemy bears little evidence of hatred. Grossman argues that the soldier need not hate, but he acknowledges the significance of emotional as well as physical distance in the soldier's willingness to overcome his innate 'resistance to kill'.²⁸ Propaganda can contribute to this emotional distance.²⁹ In 1926, Ford described his wartime bayonet drill, which exemplifies the use of propaganda in military training:

[The instructor] stuck imaginary Germans with the cold inches of steel. He rolled his eyes and appealed to his classes to remember the murders, rapes, and all the rest of it, of Louvain and, with exaggerated grunts, he pictured us pushing the bayonet home into the chest of a p . . . r b . . . y Hun.³⁰

²⁴ Ford, 'A Day of Battle', p.39.

²⁵ John Keegan, *The Face of Battle: A Study of Agincourt, Waterloo and the Somme* (1976; London: Pimlico, 2004), p.20.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p.21.

²⁷ Dave Grossman, *On Killing: The Psychological Cost of Learning to Kill in War and Society*, 2nd edn (New York: Little, Brown, 2009), pp.111-12.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.88-89, 158-61.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.158-61.

³⁰ Ford, 'From a Paris Quay', quoted in Saunders, *Dual Life*, II, p.261.

The propagandist who fights must be conscious that he has also participated in the construction of this caricature of the enemy. It is hard to believe that Ford, with all his awareness of the power of language and sensitivity to its uses, was not cognisant of the artificiality of this form of enmity during the war as well as in his post-war reflections.

Ford's second essay from 'War and the Mind', written in 1917, and entitled 'The Enemy', explores the contradiction between the personal and the impersonal in war. Ford's own 'numbed' observational powers are evident in his portrait of the Germans as 'blue-grey hobgoblins without features', introducing a description that becomes a familiar interpretation in Ford's work of the distant haze on the other side of No Man's Land.³¹ Among the changes that Keegan describes in combat over the centuries is an increasing 'impersonalisation', the distance between combatants making them 'only indistinguishable figures in shapeless and monotone uniforms'.³² Ford claims that '[i]f one hated the Hun it was for specific acts of barbarism [...]. One did not as a rule hate him for having occupied that stretch of territory – but one did hate him a great deal for what he had done inside that territory'.³³ Ford turns over the idea of hating the Germans like he is inspecting an artefact, considering it from different angles. He claims that he cannot differentiate any of the Huns in his memory, and then contradicts himself by recalling a single sniper. Then he suggests that 'I [...] never saw another Hun who struck me as being a man – except one, and he was hardly a man', and he recounts a conversation with a prisoner, presumably from his time working at either the base in Rouen or Abbeville.³⁴ He is 'hardly a man', not just because he is German, but because he is traumatised – and so Ford highlights the absurd, distorting effects of war on the mind, both the healthy and the sick. As Judd observes, Ford's subject 'was not war, but the people war produced'.³⁵

II: Post-War Responses

Ford remained in Britain for a few years after the war, but he did not return to his old life. His relationship with Hunt was over, and after he was demobilised Ford left London society to live at Red Ford, in Sussex, with Stella Bowen. There he lived off the land, cultivated potatoes, raised pigs, and retreated from the world. Ford began writing about the war during this period, although much of what he wrote was not published until some years later. Ford's initial attempts to write fiction after the war, including the unfinished novel 'True Love and a GCM' and *No Enemy*, are highly autobiographical, and show him reflecting on his post-war condition, as well as the sights and sounds of war.³⁶ *No Enemy*, which was largely written in 1919 though not published until

³¹ Ford, 'The Enemy', in *War Prose*, pp.42-48 (p.42).

³² Keegan, *Face of Battle*, pp.320, 322.

³³ Ford, 'The Enemy', p.44.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p.47.

³⁵ Judd, *Ford*, p.288.

³⁶ 'True Love & a GCM' was first published in Ford, *War Prose*, pp.77-139.

1929, is constructed as a dialogue between the poet Gringoire with ‘the Compiler’, reflecting on scenes from Gringoire’s memories of the war. Ford described it as being ‘betwixt & between’ – part novel, part ‘serious book’.³⁷ His first book after the war, *Thus to Revisit* (1921), builds on the concerns of his earlier literary criticism and though it mentions the war, it does not include any personal accounts. His memoir *Return to Yesterday* (1931) chronicles his life up to his enlistment. *It Was the Nightingale* (1933) begins with his demobilisation, but the destabilising mental and social effects of war pervade the text.³⁸

Rejecting Germany

Critical writing on Ford’s German connections generally focuses on the pre-war period, since his decision to engage in the propaganda campaign, and then fight, is taken as an indication of his turn against his father’s homeland.³⁹ Although there is substantial evidence, as I outline below, to suggest that Ford rejected his German connections outright and forged an entirely new identity for himself after the war, he continued to write about German culture and the Anglo-German relationship in the post-war period. In some respects, this work demonstrates a continuation of the approach Ford took throughout his life; he expresses admiration for certain aspects of German culture and challenges German authorities. In the 1930s, this hatred is directed less at the Prussians, as it was before and during the war, and instead targets Hitler and National Socialism.⁴⁰

Some of Ford’s most overtly anti-German sentiments are found in his letters to Bowen in November 1918 immediately after the Armistice:

The one glorious fact in the world is that the Rhine is going to be in French hands. If you only knew how, all my life, I have suffered from the dull, stupid, arrogant pedantry of the Hun Professor you wd. realise it. It is like a fairy tale, & to have had only the remotest hand in getting rid of Germandom from the Rhine & France there instead is more than I ever asked of life.⁴¹

³⁷ Ford, Letter to J.B. Pinker, 22 January 1920, in Stang (ed.), *Ford Reader*, p.479. On the generic boundaries of *No Enemy*, see Hawkes, *Ford and the Misfit Moderns*, pp.102-36.

³⁸ *It Was the Nightingale* was first published in the US in 1933, and in the UK in 1934.

³⁹ Violet Hunt depicted it as such, and critics have often supported this idea. Hunt, *Flurried Years*, p.131; Firchow, *Death of the German Cousin*; Moore, ‘Ford and Germany’; Harriet Y. Cooper ‘The Duality of Ford’s Historical Imagination’, in Wiesenfarth (ed.), *History and Representation in Ford’s Writings*, pp.189-99 (p.190). Apart from the biographies there has been little consideration of Ford’s relationship with Germany after the war.

⁴⁰ In an amusing letter to the *New York Times* in 1937 he writes: “‘Germany’ is one thing; the German people is another. German cooking is perfectly good; the second best in the world. The German people is perfectly pacific—so pacific that it lets itself be ruled by a vegetarian.’ Ford, ‘Observations on Cooking’, *New York Times*, 3 March 1937, p.22.

⁴¹ Ford to Stella Bowen, 17 November 1918, in Sondra J. Stang and Karen Cochran (eds), *The Correspondence of Ford Madox Ford and Stella Bowen* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), p.35.

Ford refers once again to the battle against German scholarship that had dominated much of his wartime writing.⁴² His juxtaposition of the Hun professor with the present day ‘fairy tale’ is ironic given how much the British conception of the fairy tale derives from German literature. As suggested by his response in November, Ford welcomed the outcome of the peace negotiations and wrote to Masterman on the day the Treaty of Versailles was signed: ‘I am pretty well satisfied with the results: for me they have not gone far enough in splitting up L’Infame. Still it’s like a fairy world. I daresay they go too far for you—still it can’t be unsatisfactory to you.’⁴³ Masterman was indeed concerned, commenting in *England After War* (1922) that ‘[t]he territorial delimitations of Europe have not been settled. They poise desperately on a Treaty of Versailles which has no friends, and which is rapidly being torn to fragments’.⁴⁴

Ford’s decision to change his name from Hueffer to Ford by deed poll in June 1919 is seen as the final part of his transformation away from his Germanic heritage and towards the Anglo-French genealogy of his own choosing.⁴⁵ It also separated him from his wife, Elsie, who would not divorce him, and his elder daughters, Christina and Katherine. Violet Hunt, too, continued to call herself Mrs Hueffer into the 1920s, despite the end of her relationship with Ford and Elsie’s legal challenge against her using his name.⁴⁶ Ford gave numerous explanations for his decision and its timing. In letters to his agent, J.B. Pinker, and to Masterman, he said that he had done it ‘partly to oblige a relative & partly because a Teutonic name is in these days disagreeable’,⁴⁷ although he also claims he waited until after the war out of ‘obstinacy’ – as if he was refusing to bow to the pressure of wartime anti-German sentiment while expressing his commitment to Britain in other ways.⁴⁸ In *It was the Nightingale* he adds that he wanted to change his name at the same time that the peace terms came into effect, since ‘the world was to begin again’.⁴⁹ He did not publish as Ford until 1923, when he claims his publisher, Gerald Duckworth, suggested it would be easier to market a book under ‘Ford’.⁵⁰

There does not appear to be any evidence of an ongoing relationship between Ford and his father’s family. There are no surviving letters to his Hueffer relatives, no more letters from Cousin Mimi or books dedicated to that side of the family. Ford only returned to Germany once after the war, in the autumn of 1932 on a visit with Janice Biala, his partner for the last decade of his life. They travelled around parts of the Rhineland that were familiar from his earlier visits,

⁴² See discussion of Ford’s views on German education in Chapter 3.

⁴³ Ford to C.F.G. Masterman, 28 June 1919, in Ludwig (ed.), *Letters*, p.94.

⁴⁴ C.F.G. Masterman, *England after War* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1922), p.11.

⁴⁵ Saunders, *Dual Life*, I, pp.1, 474.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, I, p.2; II, p.98.

⁴⁷ Ford to J.B. Pinker, 5 June 1919, in Ludwig (ed.), *Letters*, p.93.

⁴⁸ Ford to C.F.G. Masterman, 28 June 1919, in *ibid.*, p.95.

⁴⁹ Ford, *It Was the Nightingale*, p.118.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p.120.

including Cologne, Boppard, and Coblenz, and visited the novelist Katherine Anne Porter in Basel.⁵¹ They were living on a very restricted income, which, combined with the poor weather and political tensions in Germany at the time, meant that Ford wrote to Hugh Walpole that they ‘did not get much out of’ their visit.⁵²

In an article about this trip, written for *Harper’s Magazine*, Ford contrasts nostalgic memories of the Germany of his youth with the depressive weather and economic circumstances of the last days of the Weimar Republic. Ford looks back wistfully on the freedom he felt on visits to Germany in his youth: ‘for me, the Rhine flows forever between its narrow, towering confines. And it will be forever in sunshine and peopled with folk mostly long since dead’.⁵³ This sun-drenched memory is inconsistent with his experience of Boppard in 1904, but it provides a useful juxtaposition for the endless rain and grey skies during their visit in 1932. The weather becomes a symbol of decline in German national confidence and economic strength. He writes of the absence of ‘beautiful officers’ in this modern German landscape, adding that ‘[w]hat struck me most in all Germany was the softness of the voices that used to be harsh and arrogant [...] as if confidence had gone from their world’.⁵⁴ At the railway station at Aix-la-Chapelle, he anticipates the arrival of soldiers ‘in their blue tunics and shining silver buttons’ to rescue this new, demure vision of Germany.⁵⁵ Instead, he finds: ‘There were no uniforms, there was no shouting. A weary man with a depressed flat cap, in some sort of blue with dull buttons, was lugging a brass train-lantern along the platform as if the weight had reduced him to exhaustion in those dimnesses.’⁵⁶ The attention to German uniform recurs in several of Ford’s other post-war texts; here the train conductor’s uniform is used as a synecdoche for the German military and its fall from grandeur.

The title of *No Enemy: A Tale of Reconstruction* refers to lines from Shakespeare’s *As You Like It* ‘Here shall he see | No enemy | but winter and rough weather’.⁵⁷ It speaks of Ford’s immediate post-war circumstance, when he had given up the idea of writing in favour of exiling himself in a dilapidated rural cottage. Of course, it also implies an end to enmity, although it is ambiguous whether this signifies a willing resignation to a world in which he encounters no enemies, or a declaration of universal peace. In *No Enemy* Ford continues to rely on the notion of two Germanys that he used in his wartime writing, expressed in this instance as the difference between the German people and ‘Huns’:

⁵¹ Saunders revises Mizener’s timeline for this visit. Saunders, *Dual Life*, II, pp.432, 641 n.23.

⁵² Ford, Letter to Hugh Walpole, 25 October 1932, in Stang (ed.), *Ford Reader*, p.498.

⁵³ Ford, ‘For Poorer Travelers’, p.620.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p.627.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ Shakespeare, *As You Like It*, II.v.43-45.

It is a convenient phrase to use about what was evil in the people we were fighting against. I should not now – and I never did – call Brahms anything but a German composer nor should I ever think of calling Holbein a Hun painter or the Brothers Grimm of the fairy-tales, Boches. So that the word is a convenient one for differentiations. In effect for me the German musicians, painters, poets, working men, postmen and soldiers in the trenches or at their Headquarters were never Huns.⁵⁸

He defines the Huns as ‘the professors, the prosaists, the publicists, the politicians who had sent those poor blighters to prevent our going home’.⁵⁹ This goes some way to explaining Ford’s preoccupation with German education in his wartime journalism and propaganda. Notably, Ford includes all German soldiers in his exemption, choosing to blame the politicians for the war and its protraction. This approach to the enemy is a familiar one in post-war writing – it was common for men to express sympathy for those who had fought in the opposing trenches.⁶⁰

One of the most striking aspects of *No Enemy* is Ford’s use of colour. Ford was trained by Ford Madox Brown and the Pre-Raphaelites among whom he was raised, to observe the world with a painter’s eye.⁶¹ He began his career in art criticism and, partly through reading Flaubert and Maupassant, had learnt to turn these visual proclivities into fiction.⁶² As he began to write about the war, he returned to these visual roots. Like the indistinct ‘blue-grey’ (sometimes ‘bluegrey’) figures in Ford’s 1917 essay ‘The Enemy’, certain passages in *No Enemy* become competing seas of colour, with the Germans in the distance in blue-grey and the British swamped by mud and khaki. ‘All nooks of the world were threatened by the tide of blue-grey mud’, Gringoire tells the Compiler.⁶³ Gringoire also collects an ‘apparition’: ‘The red roofs of a village he knew to be Wytschaete were brilliant and quiet in the sun – but, on the brown line beneath the ridge the little white balls went on coming into existence – one every half second’.⁶⁴ The ‘white balls’ are the shells falling on the German trench. Ford’s abstract use of colour is reminiscent of Ruskin’s description of the ‘innocence of the eye’, which is ‘a sort of childish perception of these flat stains

⁵⁸ Ford, *No Enemy: A Tale of Reconstruction*, ed. Paul Skinner (1929; Manchester: Carcanet, 2002), p.46. It is notable that he specifically refers to the ‘Brothers Grimm of the fairy tales’, distinct from their influential work in philology.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p.47.

⁶⁰ Even during the war, men sometimes sympathised with soldiers in the opposing trenches. Joanna Bourke, *An Intimate History of Killing: Face-to-Face Killing in Twentieth Century Warfare* (London: Granta Books, 1999), p.155. Ford’s brother, Oliver Madox Hueffer, also explored the flimsy boundary between friend and enemy at war in his novel *Cousins German* (1930).

⁶¹ Angela Thirlwell, ‘From Paint to Print – Grandfather’s Legacy’, in Laura Colombino (ed.), *Ford Madox Ford and Visual Culture*, International Ford Madox Ford Studies, 8 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2009), pp.29-38; Sara Haslam, ‘To Cook, or Paint, in Paris?: Ford in Colour’, in Colombino (ed.), *Ford and Visual Culture*, pp.85-96.

⁶² Haslam, ‘Ford in Colour’, pp.88-89; Caroline Patey, ‘Into the Blue: A Short Excursion into the Semantics of Colours’, in Carlo Pagetti and Francesca Orestano (eds), *Il gioco dei cerchi concentrici: Saggi sulla letteratura inglese da Shakespeare al Novecento* (Milano: Unicopli, 2003), pp.161-173 (pp.169-71).

⁶³ Ford, *No Enemy*, p.33. Haslam notes that Ford’s use of blue corresponds with Goethe’s theory of colour in which blue tones belong to the ‘minus side’, or the negative. Haslam, ‘Ford in Colour’, p.91.

⁶⁴ Ford, *No Enemy*, p.43.

of colour [...] without consciousness of what they signify'.⁶⁵ As Laura Colombino highlights, it also shares the perspective of John Dowell, Ford's 'cubist' narrator in *The Good Soldier* who sees the whole world 'like spots of colour in an immense canvas'.⁶⁶ Ford had always been alert to the use of colour, but these indistinct visions are a notable feature of his wartime and immediate post-war writing. The 'innocence' of the indistinct vision may distract from, or paint over, Ford's own sense of complicity. While he was still trying to make sense of what he had seen and done, Ford used these blurred stains on the horizon. The enmity, now redundant, is part of the abstracted haze.

While the battlegrounds remained out of focus, Ford's artistic eye ranged over civilian spaces in his first novel published after the war, *The Marsden Case* (1923). Questions of Anglo-German identity are central in this book, which was the first he published as 'Ford'. It is more concerned with Germany than any of his other post-war books; a novel about identity politics published at a time when Ford was beginning to establish his own post-war identity. The central character, George Heimann, has a German father and an Anglo-French mother. Many of the personal parallels with Ford's life are obvious, and have been identified by Ford's biographers.⁶⁷ Most pertinent in the present context is Ford's use of his own experience of wartime anti-German hatred in Britain – George is suspected of being a spy when he returns from Germany to Britain at the beginning of the war. The pain of Ford's 'mangled' heart at the start of the war is also manifest in the novel.⁶⁸ George's father, Earl Marsden, commits suicide on hearing that Germany has invaded Belgium. Before the war, 'the whole of his mind had been given to cementing what he would call a union of hearts between the two great Teutonic Empires'.⁶⁹ Ford had not been so committed to this union, but others certainly had – and Ford may have modelled this character on Lord Haldane's passionate commitment to Anglo-German understanding, for which he was hounded by the press.⁷⁰

Within this context of fraught family and international relationships, one character continues an important theme from Ford's early wartime writing. George and his sister, Marie-Elizabeth, are sent to Germany for their education. Their 'Uncle Heimann', who is actually their father, is keen for Marie-Elizabeth to improve her knowledge of English literature, and so instructs a renowned German poet and professor of English literature, Professor Doktor Wirklicher Geheimrath

⁶⁵ John Ruskin, *The Elements of Drawing* (1865; London: Smith, Elder, 1937), p.6.

⁶⁶ Colombino considers the influence of Ruskin, among others, on Ford's sense of the visual. She refers to Dowell's statement as both 'pointillist' and 'cubist'. Colombino, *Ford: Vision, Visuality and Writing*, pp.83-85. Ford, *Good Soldier*, p.17.

⁶⁷ Moser, *Life in the Fiction*, pp.209-10; Mizener, *Saddest Story*, p.232; Saunders, *Dual Life*, II, pp.111-16.

⁶⁸ Ford, 'Charles-Louis Philippe and *Le Père Perdrix*', p.174.

⁶⁹ Ford, *The Marsden Case: A Romance* (London: Duckworth, 1923), p.54.

⁷⁰ Koss, *Lord Haldane*, pp.157-84.

Edouard Curtius.⁷¹ The professor specialises in Elizabethan literature, which is not surprising since Shakespeare was thoroughly embedded in German culture, through translation as well as his influence on canonical German writers.⁷² During the war there were attempts by some academics to claim him for Germany; Gerhart Hauptmann concluded his address for the German Shakespeare Society in 1915 by saying that ‘if [Shakespeare] was born and died in England, then Germany is the country where he truly lives’.⁷³ It was implied that the British did not appreciate Shakespeare as much as they ought – which might explain why Marie-Elizabeth was sent to Germany for an education in English literature.⁷⁴ Ford, whose own knowledge of Shakespeare was extensive, was no doubt mocking these claims. Nonetheless, Curtius also shares Ford’s dislike for Victorian literature, and from his first introduction Ford encourages an ambivalent attitude towards this character. He is a poet *and* a professor. To Ford, poets are among the artists of the world, not those fit only to fill graveyards, but the German professor was his chief wartime enemy.

Between Anglophile poet and German professor it appears that the professorial enemy triumphs. George meets Curtius after the outbreak of war:

The light was pallid and obscured by the figure of a very tall man, who was looking out of the window. He wore a very long cape of light grey with a dark blue high collar and a great gilt-spiked helmet. It gave George a disagreeable feeling. He was used to officials who were also of course military officers; but these were usually in *déshabille*, obese, spectacled, and engrossed in papers. This was the murderous Prussian in the nail-new, parade spick and spanness of butchery.

The grey pillar turned and regarded him with dark, lowering eyes beneath prominent bony brows. A deep, resentful voice that grated from the chest, said:

‘Sie!’—which is the less intimate form of the German for ‘You!’

George felt his own voice assume the same resonance as if on parade. His lips said:

‘Curtius!’ And they stood stiffly, crossing hostile glances.⁷⁵

This striking transformation of the professor into the soldier is a perfect fictional embodiment of Ford’s wartime propaganda, which focused more on countering Prussian education than Prussian militarism. It also represents the feeling among British writers that German academics were

⁷¹ Friedrich Paulsen notes the increase in excessive decorative titles for academics in the late nineteenth century. ‘Geheimrat’, meaning ‘privy councillor’ was especially common. Paulsen, *German Universities*, pp.100-2.

⁷² Peter Edgerly Firchow, *Strange Meetings: Anglo-German Literary Encounters from 1910 to 1960* (Baltimore: Catholic University of America Press, 2008), p.64.

⁷³ Gerhart Hauptmann, *Shakespeare Jahrbuch* (1915), quoted in translation in *ibid.*, p.65.

⁷⁴ Balz Engler, ‘Shakespeare in the Trenches’, in Stanley Wells (ed.), *Shakespeare Survey, 44: Shakespeare and Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp.105-12 (p.108).

⁷⁵ Ford, *Marsden Case*, p.218.

conspiring with the military leaders to justify their actions in Belgium. Of course, these British writers and academics had also sprung to defend the British military cause. The scene is cinematic, with the description panning across the German uniform before his identity is revealed.⁷⁶ As we have already seen, allusions to aspects of uniform are common in Ford's writing, using passing references as a kind of impressionist shorthand for the enemy. In *No More Parades* (1925), Sylvia Tietjens treacherously remarks: 'Wouldn't it be fun to see the blue uniform with the silver buttons again and some decently set up men?...'.⁷⁷ As well as the costume change which delays recognition, Ford draws attention to the linguistic shift, which moves from familiarity to foreignness. The 'hostile glances' happen in a civilian space, since this is a novel that circumnavigates the battlegrounds. And yet, at the same time as realising that the poet has become an efficient militarist, the reader also learns that Curtius wrote numerous public letters to support George, who was taken prisoner in Germany at the start of the war. Ford does not include the petition in German, but instead a transliteration evoking German syntax as he refers to 'the German-culture-spreading George, Earl Marsden'.⁷⁸ Their relationship hovers in an uncomfortable tension between friendship and enmity.

In the character of Curtius, Ford fuses German stereotypes with aspects of his own experience. For all his apparent professorial faults, Curtius is described as 'casting away the pen of the poet and girding on the warrior's sword', as Ford himself had done.⁷⁹ The narrator, Jessop, whose wartime experiences are based more closely on Ford's own, mentions relatively early in the novel that the professor died in the war 'and my own regiment must have killed him. I wish they hadn't. In peaceful July such things seemed impossible'.⁸⁰ This kind of coincidence is typical of the suspension of disbelief required by this novel, but Jessop's regret is one of several oscillations between sympathy and judgement in Ford's portrayal of Curtius. Arguably Ford attached so much symbolic weight to this minor character that he lacks believable personality, but as a manifestation of Ford's ideas about *Kultur* and culture Curtius makes a pertinent specimen for study. Ford's later fiction about the war pays much less attention to the division between nations, concentrating instead on conflict within England. Critical responses to *The Marsden Case* have often treated it as a rehearsal for the more successful treatment of the war in *Parade's End*,⁸¹ but the novel appears to have played an important role in allowing Ford to process his personal relationship with the enemy nation before he could proceed with his later work.

⁷⁶ Jenny Plastow highlights the theatrical quality of the novel, which is presented like a 'series of scenes' or 'stage pieces'. Jenny Plastow, "If We Shadows Have Offended": The Metaphor of Shadow in *The Marsden Case*, in Colombino (ed.), *Ford and Visual Culture*, pp.159-73 (p.163).

⁷⁷ The implication is that Sylvia is referring to the pre-war Prussian blue uniform rather than the French 'horizon blue'. Ford, *Parade's End Volume II: No More Parades* (1925), ed. Joseph Wiesenfarth (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), p.181.

⁷⁸ Ford, *Marsden Case*, p.220.

⁷⁹ Ibid. p.222.

⁸⁰ Ibid., p.66.

⁸¹ Smitow, *Ford and the Voice of Uncertainty*, p.202; Plastow, 'If We Shadows Have Offended' p.161.

In several respects, Ford's assessment of German culture in both fiction and non-fiction after the war remained similar to his pre-war and wartime writing, although it constituted a smaller proportion of his work after the war. After mid-1915 Ford generally referred to Germany as a whole, rather than distinguishing between North and South. Even so, this distinction does not entirely disappear from his writing.⁸² In *Provence* (1935) Ford issues one of his strongest pronouncements against Germany since the war, but even here he tempers his criticism:

I hate Germany, her constitution, the rigidity of her scholastic thought, her heroic traditions and every side of her public life and manifestations and all her inhabitants north of a line drawn from Hamburg to Frankfort on the Oder [...]. But I hate Germany only as a disturber of the world and I am ready to assert that the South and Middle German is a man of infinite conscientiousness, kindness, love for the arts, domestic self-respect and dignity who contrives, even in a Northern climate, to make his territory flow with music, poetry and simple, innocent, kindly and deeply pacific merriment—and all this to a degree unknown outside Provence and the Mediterranean littoral.⁸³

The surrounding passage has echoes of *Between St Dennis* in its comparison of the cultures of England, France and Germany as well as its vehement anti-Germanism. Nonetheless, Ford suggests the path to world peace would include a transfusion of certain aspects of culture between the three countries. Though he is still disposed to hate the North, his attitudes to the boundaries of political nation states are as fluid as ever.

In the last book published before his death, *The March of Literature*, Ford refers once again to the Elbe as the dividing line between good and bad German literature.⁸⁴ Ford praises the Brothers Grimm, the Minnesänger, Heine, and Nietzsche, while he continues to express his hatred of German scholarship. His comments on Heine reproduce the attitude of his wartime propaganda. In 1915 he wrote that 'the personality of Heine is detested, or at least viewed askance by, every German of an official or of a docile mind'.⁸⁵ In 1938 he suggested that Heine ought not even to be considered among the German poets:

[S]ince Germany—or, perhaps, one should say Prussia—never sufficiently honoured, and has now expelled even the memory of the author of the *Lorelei* from its soil, we might as

⁸² Saunders associates this with a broader pattern in Ford's post-war writing. Saunders, 'Ford, Race and Europe'.

⁸³ Ford, *Provence: From Minstrels to the Machine* (1935), ed. John Coyle (Manchester: Carcanet, 2009), p.325.

⁸⁴ Ford, *March of Literature*, p.792.

⁸⁵ Ford, *When Blood*, p.50.

well leave our consideration of his work until we arrive at the French romantic poets, to whom, except for the language in which he wrote, he was really spiritually more akin.⁸⁶

His comments resemble German wartime arguments about Shakespeare. As well as being rejected by Germany, Ford suggests that Heine was, like himself, ‘of no place and of no race’.⁸⁷ Ford often applies this description to great writers – indicating their cosmopolitan identity as part of the Republic of Letters. For Heine, it is fitting, since he had various national, political, and religious identities during the nineteenth century, and critics continue to regard his identity as multiple and ‘contested’.⁸⁸ But Ford also suggests, rather like Chesterton in 1915, that the Brothers Grimm ‘belonged to the earth movement and are known wherever the sky covers the land’.⁸⁹ While this reflects the truly international appeal of their work, Ford masks a crucial aspect of the Grimms’ work; in collating fairy tales they sought to revivify a specifically German literary heritage.⁹⁰ This cultural project was in support of a unified Germany, and their editions of *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (Children’s and Household Tales) were written alongside their philological research, including Jacob Grimm’s *Deutsche Grammatik* (German Grammar).

Ford’s attitude towards Germany during and after the war is significant for our understanding of his work more generally because his ambivalence is central to his art, and particularly his impressionism. At the beginning of the war he identified himself as a poet and a cosmopolitan – and these identities (poet and cosmopolitan) are closely connected.⁹¹ Ford’s impressionism relies on his ability to sympathise with multiple perspectives, and to present numerous views. Valentine says to Tietjens in *Some Do Not*. . .: ‘You and I are standing at different angles and though we both look at the same thing we read different messages’.⁹² As author, Ford sees both views, and more besides. If we were to say that Ford became entirely prejudiced against one nation and blinded by a nationalism which lasted the rest of his life, it would limit his art. If, however, we recognise that Ford’s relationship with Germany was always complex, and almost always ambivalent, then his decisions to write propaganda and to fight can be understood as a result of multiple influencing factors. It seems that Ford retained the ability to hold the conflicting demands on his loyalty in tension.

⁸⁶ Ford, *March of Literature*, p.549.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p.719. Ford says this about himself repeatedly. For example: Ford, *England and the English*, p.325. Heine left Germany to live in France in 1831.

⁸⁸ Jost Hermand and Robert C. Holub (eds), *Heinrich Heine’s Contested Identities: Politics, Religion, and Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (New York: Lang, 1999).

⁸⁹ Ford, *March of Literature*, p.647.

⁹⁰ Jack Zipes, *The Irresistible Fairy Tale: The Cultural and Social History of a Genre* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), p.111; *idem*, *The Brothers Grimm: From Enchanted Forests to the Modern World*, 2nd edn (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), p.7.

⁹¹ Ford, ‘Charles-Louis Philippe and *Le Père Perdrix*’, p.174.

⁹² Ford, *Parade’s End Volume I: Some Do Not*. . . (1924), ed. Max Saunders (Manchester: Carcanet, 2010), p.285.

Reflecting on propaganda

Buitenhuis comments that after the war Galsworthy, Ford, Wells, Kipling and Bennett all ‘looked back with irony, bitterness, regret, grief and wonder at the ordeal the world had suffered and with some dismay at their own complicity in the enterprise’.⁹³ Trudi Tate suggests Ford’s ‘unease’ about his propaganda writing contributed to the ambivalence of *Parade’s End*.⁹⁴ Ford’s tetralogy was indeed written against war, but his statements on propaganda are less clear than his attitude towards war in general.⁹⁵ Ford’s post-war comments on propaganda can be roughly divided into three kinds: he does not deny participating in the campaign, he endorses propaganda in the name of France, and he still condemns didactic propagandising in the arts.

When Ford mentions his own propaganda work, he usually acknowledges that he worked for the government, he does not apologise for it, and claims that he still agrees with what he wrote. His introduction to *A Mirror to France* (1926) is characteristic of this first kind of response:

A good many years ago, when we were all writing propaganda, I wrote a book that, as far as I was concerned, was mainly about France [...]. In spite of the fact that it was published as what was called propaganda, I used to like to think that it would be the book of mine by which I should be remembered if I were to be remembered. [...]. I got hold of a copy of the French edition and re-read it, thinking that I should like to have it republished, for I had written it with great care and sincerity and I was certain that I should to-day endorse every one of its views. And that is the case. I see in the book nothing to repent of and nothing that I want to change.⁹⁶

His description of the time ‘when we were all writing propaganda’, is intriguing given the secrecy surrounding the campaign during the war and in the years immediately following it. As with his willingness during the war to tell his correspondents that he was writing for the government, Ford discusses his wartime work openly and rather casually. This presents a challenge to the perception that the work of Wellington House was a fiercely kept secret until the mid-1930s, when the first substantial accounts of this aspect of the campaign were published. It is surprising that Ford gives so little introduction to his propaganda writing. Either it had become widely accepted without being discussed in the scholarly literature, or Ford is trying to downplay his own contribution. He did not continue to argue for the lasting significance of *Between St Dennis*, but he did not revoke the sentiments he expressed.

⁹³ Buitenhuis, *Great War of Words*, p.151.

⁹⁴ Trudi Tate, *Modernism, History and the First World War* (1998; Penrith: Humanities E-Books, 2013), p.60.

⁹⁵ Ford, *It Was the Nightingale*, p.205.

⁹⁶ Ford, *A Mirror to France* (London: Duckworth, 1926), p.9.

He makes similar comments in *Return to Yesterday* when describing his propaganda and his articles for the *Outlook*, and in *No Enemy* he gives voice to his experiences through the character of Gringoire.⁹⁷ Gringoire tells the Compiler about his propaganda book, and we can assume that Ford is again describing *Between St Dennis*:

It would not have been a different book if it had been unofficial or if there had been no war. It simply advanced the theory in the world of letters and ideas, for personal industry and pride in work as work, it is only France that matters among the nations. I had said that when I was twenty; I resaid it then being over double that age; I resay it again today; and I will resay it as my eyes close in death.⁹⁸

Jain argues that we ‘should be wary of accepting [Ford’s] conflation of rhetorical and institutional propaganda’, adding that the distribution of his books through the campaign channels ‘transformed Ford’s texts into official propaganda’.⁹⁹ The distinction is true so far as it applies to the copies of Ford’s books sent personally by Gilbert Parker. It is less clear with regard to copies read in American libraries, or in Britain, or his articles for the *Outlook*. We should, however, be wary of taking Ford too much at his word, especially in this fictional representation. Ford’s statements about his own propaganda generally overlook *When Blood is Their Argument* and whitewash the purpose of both books. The desire to appear consistent is understandable in a post-war era when people were questioning wartime enthusiasm and the propaganda that was blamed for fuelling it. The perceived gulf between propaganda and reality was a contributing factor in the disillusionment that followed the war.¹⁰⁰

Ford displays some ambivalence towards his wartime work in *No Enemy* but he portrays his love for France trumping other concerns: ‘it was mainly the idea that a field-grey tide of mud was seeking to overwhelm the small verdure-masked homes, the long, white, thatched farms of the world’.¹⁰¹ This perspective is consistent with Ford’s emphasis on defending the ‘uncomely’ Belgian in ‘Antwerp’ and the French peasantry in his wartime journalism. But Gringoire offers further explanation: he believed himself to be many things ‘—but a politician! “Ah, *mais non*. That one should prostitute one’s pen!...”’.¹⁰² Then the Compiler continues: ‘But the field-grey tide threatened [...]. So one wrote endless, interminable propaganda; until the brain reeled and the fingers stiffened.’¹⁰³ In 1919, this seems to be how Ford rationalised his decision; he hated the thought of writing for a political purpose but the call to defend France was greater. Since this is

⁹⁷ Ford, *Return to Yesterday*, p.272.

⁹⁸ Ford, *No Enemy*, p.101.

⁹⁹ Jain, ‘Ford, Kipling, Conan Doyle, Wells and British Propaganda’, p.86.

¹⁰⁰ Disillusionment was not the only response to the war, but it was a significant part of its literary heritage.

¹⁰¹ Ford, *No Enemy*, p.36.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

not written in direct speech the line between the Compiler, who narrates this passage, and Gringoire, blurs, making ‘one’ an ambiguous pronoun – one of several instances.¹⁰⁴ It is possible, then, that Ford implies that both the Compiler and Gringoire wrote propaganda – spreading the responsibility as with Ford’s reference in *A Mirror to France* that ‘we’ were all writing for the government.

When Chesterton addressed his wartime work in his 1936 autobiography, he adopted a very similar position to Ford’s in *A Mirror to France*:

I wrote several pamphlets against Prussia, which many would consider violent, though in that moment every one supported their violence. I am still perfectly prepared to support their truth. I hardly know of a word I would alter. I did not take my views from the fever of that fashion; nor with that fever have they passed away.¹⁰⁵

Chesterton specifically contrasts his own position with that of Wells:

Those who are disappointed with the great defence of civilisation are those who expected too much of it. A rather unstable genius like Mr. H. G. Wells is typical of the whole contradiction. He began by calling the Allied effort, *The War That Will End War*. He has ended by saying [...] that it was no better than a forest fire and that it settled nothing. [...] It settled exactly what it set out to settle.¹⁰⁶

It is possible that Ford’s and Chesterton’s approach to writing propaganda, which focused on cultural criticism with a historical lens, particularly lent itself to these longer-term views. As Chesterton indicates, Wells did regret his wartime pronouncements. In 1934, Wells wrote in his *Experiment in Autobiography*:

The fount of sanguine exhortation in me swamped my warier disposition towards critical analysis and swept me along. I wrote a pamphlet, that weighed, I think, with some of those who were hesitating between participation and war resistance, *The War that will end War*. The title has become proverbial.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ Cornelia Cook comments that ‘[p]ronominal confusion sometimes makes the joint “authors” appear like the two ends of a pantomime horse’. Cornelia Cook, ‘Constructions and Reconstructions: *No Enemy*’, in Hampson and Saunders (eds), *Ford’s Modernity*, pp.191-206 (p.194).

¹⁰⁵ Chesterton, *Autobiography*, p.248.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid. p.247.

¹⁰⁷ Wells, *Experiment in Autobiography*, II, p.667.

Wells describes himself as losing his sanity, and without a ‘grip’ on the war, until 1916.¹⁰⁸ He laments his ‘shrill jets of journalism’, although he admits that he still believes that a final conflict will be necessary before the world can achieve international peace.¹⁰⁹

As we have seen, Ford’s close relationship with Masterman was undoubtedly a contributing factor in his decision to write in support of the government. Both Charles and Lucy Masterman were among Ford’s most faithful correspondents during the war, while he was cut off from many of his literary friends. This personal loyalty influenced his post-war response as well. In June 1919 Ford wrote to Masterman:

I don’t suppose either my pen or my voice are much good—but if you care to make use of either they wd. be as wholeheartedly at your disposal on these lines as they were at the disposal of the country during the war. [...] So do command me if I can do anything in the way of ‘propaganda’ either for yourself or for any other member of the original cabinet that carried on the war.¹¹⁰

Ford and Masterman did not remain such close friends in the 1920s, but the idea of loyalty to Masterman and, more publicly, to France, is the lasting impression that Ford cultivated for his own propaganda in the post-war period. Each of the above examples of Ford’s attitude to propaganda is consistent as it relates to his dedication to France, where, after an initial period of recovery in Britain, Ford looked to make his home.

Ford’s second, and less prominent, approach to propaganda is to advocate propagandising for France in the light of new threats from Germany. In a short article for the French newspaper *L’Intransigeant* in 1934, Ford begins by saying that ‘France diffuses little – too little – propaganda abroad’.¹¹¹ He continues:

The Frenchman should remember that each American whose blood contains a few drops of German blood has always produced an ardent propaganda for the *Vaterland* and that the American press is, for the most part [...], in the hands of German-Americans. But the time is now ripe for a vigorous counter-attack from France.¹¹²

This approach is really an extension of Ford’s interpretation of his work during the war – emphasising that he was writing and fighting to benefit France. Ford was by this point

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., p.668.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., p.667.

¹¹⁰ Ford, Letter to C.F.G. Masterman, 28 June 1919, Ludwig (ed.), *Letters*, p.95.

¹¹¹ Ford, ‘Que Pensez-Vous de la France?’, p.39.

¹¹² Ibid., p.40.

predominantly living in France, fearing the rise of fascism – unlike his friends Ezra Pound and Wyndham Lewis, who welcomed it. With Janice Biala’s encouragement in the 1930s, he became especially concerned for the fate of the Jews, and wrote several articles advocating an active stance against German influence in both France and the United States.¹¹³

Ford’s admission to, and explanation of, his wartime writing did not preclude him from maintaining his distaste for propaganda in the arts throughout his life – his third form of post-war reaction. Writing in 1935 in response to the propaganda of the American Communist Party, he comments once again that ‘the moment an artist introduces propaganda of whatever kind into his art he ceases to be an artist’.¹¹⁴ Ford argues that ‘[t]he wise leader of states [...] is he who leaves his propaganda in the hands of pamphleteers, political journalists, caricaturists, military song-writers’.¹¹⁵ This implies a condemnation of his own wartime writing. Ford also admits that in writing *Parade’s End* he betrayed his own principles:

I have always had the greatest contempt for novels written with a purpose. Fiction should render, not draw morals. But when I sat down to write that series of volumes, I sinned against my gods to the extent of saying that I was going [...] to write a work that should have for its purpose the obviating of all future wars.¹¹⁶

He claims that *Parade’s End* was the first time he had written for a purpose, despite his wartime work for the government and his pamphlet for the suffragettes. In *Return to Yesterday*, however, he claims that the only politically motivated writing he had done concerned the Marconi case before the war.¹¹⁷ More than anything, it is difficult to establish what exactly Ford meant by ‘political writing’ or writing for a purpose.¹¹⁸ Neither Ford’s propaganda nor his suffragette pamphlet were fiction, and it is propaganda in the novel that Ford most disdains. But the clearer distinction between *Parade’s End* and these earlier instances is that the purpose was determined by an external source – it was not his own. When writing *When Blood*, he commented in a letter to Masterman that it was ‘much more your book than mine’.¹¹⁹

It would be reductive to say that as a result of the war Ford came to accept propaganda. Ford’s willingness to acknowledge his work for the government after the war may have been motivated

¹¹³ Saunders, *Dual Life*, II, p.371.

¹¹⁴ Ford, ‘Hands Off the Arts’, in *Critical Essays*, pp.300-8 (first publ. in *American Mercury*, 34, April 1935, pp.402-8), p.300. This article was written in the context of his opposition to the Technocracy movement in America. Nathan Waddell, ‘Technocracy and the Fordian Arts: America, the *American Mercury* and Music in the 1930s’, in Haslam and O’Malley (eds), *Ford and America*, pp.167-80.

¹¹⁵ Ford, ‘Hands Off the Arts’, p.300.

¹¹⁶ Ford, *It Was the Nightingale*, p.205.

¹¹⁷ See discussion in Chapter 3.

¹¹⁸ Ford, *Return to Yesterday*, p.272.

¹¹⁹ Ford, Letter to C.F.G. Masterman, 21 October 1914, Ford Collection, Cornell, 4605/39/17.

by a desire to be associated with a cultural moment – however maligned it has been subsequently, or it might have been an attempt to salvage whatever credibility he had left. In *Thus to Revisit* he suggests that the work of the ‘factual-propagandist [...] may pass over into the division of literature—by virtue perhaps of its very inaccuracy’.¹²⁰ One wonders whether this is another attempt to explain what he was doing. If his propaganda was not political writing, nor was it *really* propaganda, then maybe it can be considered as literature. Ford adopted different voices in his wartime journalism, as if he were inhabiting characters; what he wrote in each article and propaganda book was no doubt true for that character – some of which was true for Ford as well. Such apparent inconsistencies were not uncommon in Ford’s life and work. Stella Bowen describes first meeting Ford:

I soon found that if he was a militarist, he was at the same time the exact opposite. When I got to know him better, I found that every known human quality could be found flourishing in Ford’s make-up, except a respect for logic. [...] [H]e could show you two sides simultaneously of any human affair, and the double-picture made the subject come alive.¹²¹

This was part of the role of the novelist, as Ford saw it. He particularly praises this quality in Ivan Turgenev who ‘had the seeing eye to such an extent that he could see that two opposing truths were equally true’.¹²² One way to consider Ford’s wartime writing is as an exploration of his nationalist or militarist part, while recognising that he did not have to relinquish his cosmopolitan views to the contrary in order to represent that position.

Redeeming language

Returning to writing after the war required that Ford wrestle with his role in the propaganda campaign. It also meant confronting the insufficiency of language to communicate the experiences of war. As demonstrated in the previous chapter, Ford was alert to some of the ways that language might be affected by the war in its first months. After the war, language was felt to have suffered. Henry James famously said in 1915: ‘The war has used up words; they have weakened, they have deteriorated like motor car tyres [...] we are now confronted with a depreciation of all our terms.’¹²³ Buitenhuis reads this as a prophetic indictment against the work of the propagandists,¹²⁴ but Hazel Hutchison observes that:

¹²⁰ Ford, *Thus to Revisit: Some Reminiscences* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1921), p.190.

¹²¹ Bowen, *Drawn from Life*, p.62.

¹²² Ford, *Mightier than the Sword*, p.208.

¹²³ Preston Lockwood, ‘Henry James’ First Interview’, *New York Times*, 21 March 1915, Magazine Section pp.3-4 (p.3).

¹²⁴ Buitenhuis, *Great War of Words*, p.180.

[I]t was this very deterioration which created new perspectives and new possibilities for how words would be used in the future. Like motor car tires, old meanings wear out, and new ones are supplied—language, like history is a continual stream of change and readjustment.¹²⁵

Ford shared the feeling among many writers that concepts or terms which had once felt concrete were now, because of the war, deprived of meaning. He writes in *It was the Nightingale*:

I don't know that the large words Courage, Loyalty, God and the rest had, before the war, been of frequent occurrence in London conversations. But one had had the conviction they were somewhere in the city's subconsciousness. . . . Now they were gone.¹²⁶

The notion of the end of 'big words' was prominent in post-war writing and has been discussed extensively in criticism.¹²⁷ In *A Farewell to Arms* (1929), Hemingway's narrator, Frederic Henry, comments that '[a]bstract words such as glory, honour, courage, or hallow were obscene beside the concrete names of villages, the numbers of roads, the names of rivers, the numbers of regiments and the dates'.¹²⁸ Hemingway had read James's comments quoted above, and he wrote them in the margins of the manuscript of this novel.¹²⁹ D.H. Lawrence describes a different type of linguistic degeneration as a result of the war in *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (1928): 'All the great words, it seemed to Connie, were cancelled for her generation: love, joy happiness, home, mother, father, husband, all these great dynamic words were half-dead now, and dying from day to day.'¹³⁰ These are not the 'large' or 'abstract' concepts that Ford and Hemingway highlight, but instead the interpersonal relationships which have also been damaged by war. Paul Fussell argues that it was not merely a change in language but a shift in tone in post-war literature, that replaced innocence with irony.¹³¹

Ford was arguably better prepared for the transition away from 'large words' than some of his generation, owing both to his personal disposition and his impressionist methods. Ford had a rather flexible notion of truth, and he did not align himself consistently with one particular political creed or religious doctrine, despite his statements about Toryism and his conversion to

¹²⁵ Hazel Hutchison, *The War that Used Up Words: American Writers and the First World War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), p.242.

¹²⁶ Ford, *It Was the Nightingale*, p.55. Ford also mentions the 'big words, courage, loyalty, honour, constancy' associated with Edward Ashburnham's profession in *The Good Soldier* (p.25).

¹²⁷ Hynes, *War Imagined*, p.282; Randall Stevenson, *Literature and the Great War 1914-1918* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp.47-49; Haslam, *Fragmenting Modernism*, pp.84-86.

¹²⁸ Ernest Hemingway, *A Farewell to Arms* (1929; London: Arrow Books, 2004), p.165.

¹²⁹ Buitenhuis, *Great War of Words*, p.61.

¹³⁰ D.H. Lawrence, *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (1928; London: Penguin, 2006), p.62.

¹³¹ Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (1977; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp.22-24.

Catholicism. While his political convictions were diverse, his commitment to literature was steadfast, and his faith in the social function of literature survived the war. In 1938 he wrote:

[I]t is characteristic of a confused world dominated by a hybrid social stratum that of necessity never had any use for the Big Words . . . that along with the disappearance of Continnence, Probity, and the belief in revealed religion, Truth should have developed the bewildering faculty of the chameleon and have taken on like Janus, two faces. . . . There is no longer any one Faith, no longer any one Cause, no longer any one anything for the reasoning man. So the novelist [...] seeing both sides of Truth can do no more than take one side at one moment and the other immediately afterwards.¹³²

Ford's impressionism came of age in the post-war era. He argued that the novelist must not 'take sides' with any of his characters.¹³³ Bowen's description of Ford, which characterises him as inhabiting two seemingly contrasting views simultaneously, suggests that he embodied the role of the ideal novelist he describes in life as well as on the page.¹³⁴ The tools he employed to great effect to depict the social world of the pre-war era in *The Good Soldier*, he exploited again and in new ways to approach the war. His attempts to describe the war culminated in the multiple focalisations of *Parade's End*, where several events are reported repeatedly, each time from a different perspective.¹³⁵ Combined with the use of time shift, and his characteristic ellipses, impressionist techniques gave Ford a stylistic vocabulary to approach the unspeakable.

In June 1915, Ford argued that Flaubert's 'Un Coeur Simple' was the story 'of most significance to the world' at that time.¹³⁶ He sought to demonstrate the excellence and simplicity of French culture, but it was just one example he might have given of the potential power of the 'sympathetic imagination'.¹³⁷ Ford's belief in the role of literature in society became even more significant after the war. *Thus to Revisit* echoes his wartime journalism, arguing that '[c]ommunication between man and man is the most important, the most beneficent of human gifts'.¹³⁸ Even towards the end of his life, when he could see the human failure to understand one another threatening yet another war, he suggested that a wider knowledge of the right kind of literature could have prevented the Great War, drawing inspiration from Flaubert's comment that

¹³² Ford, *Mightier than the Sword*, p.235.

¹³³ Ford, *English Novel*, p.121.

¹³⁴ Bowen, *Drawn from Life*, p.62.

¹³⁵ Peter Clasen and Max Saunders' recent essay with tabulation of the plot sequence demonstrates afresh 'the tetralogy's intricate re-imagining of temporality'. Peter Clasen and Max Saunders, 'Ford's *Parade's End*', in Haslam, Colombino and O'Malley (eds), *Routledge Research Companion*, pp.273-301 (p.275).

¹³⁶ Ford, 'Un Coeur Simple', pp.738-39.

¹³⁷ Saunders, *Dual Life*, II, p.400.

¹³⁸ Ford, *Thus to Revisit*, p.161. He expresses something similar in Ford, 'From China to Peru', p.801.

had more people read *Education Sentimentale* than the Franco-Prussian war might have been avoided.¹³⁹ Ford made a similar case for the work of James and Conrad for his own times.

Ford also used his own fiction to counter the failures of comprehension and empathy that had been so devastatingly revealed by the war. In her work on the shift towards empathy that coincided with literary modernism, Meghan Hammond suggests that the value of literary impressionism is ‘that it stimulates sympathetic imagination or empathetic thinking’.¹⁴⁰ She considers Ford’s approach as one that unites empathy and abstraction.¹⁴¹ Eve Sorum has shown some of the ways Ford uses structural forms of abstraction in *Parade’s End* to enable ‘empathetic engagement’ both between characters and with the reader.¹⁴² The use of ellipses, she suggests, signals moments of transition, ‘the attempts to leap between perspectives, moments, and places’, and the difficulty of doing so.¹⁴³ These narrative gaps expose the reader to the experience of the traumatised mind.

After the war, Galsworthy suggested that the only way to sustain international peace was through a common international language, commenting that: ‘When educated expression in all countries finds the means of direct linguistic communication, the Cinderella, Peace, may have some chance of appearing at the ball’.¹⁴⁴ Although Ford called for greater ‘comprehension and union’ between England and France through language, his hope was more literary than linguistic.¹⁴⁵

Fundamentally, he believed in the capacity of the novel to communicate the depths of human experience between people: ‘Creative Literature is the only thing that can explain to man the nature of his fellow men’.¹⁴⁶ Haslam describes this as Ford’s ‘regenerative faith’ in the modern novel’s ability to ‘bridge that new disjunctive space and provide the knowledge, or perspective, of another that threatens to recede’.¹⁴⁷

Communication and communicative failures play a central role in *Parade’s End*. The failure to communicate is especially prevalent in the relationship between Christopher and Sylvia

¹³⁹ Ford, *Mightier than the Sword*, p.279.

¹⁴⁰ Meghan Marie Hammond, *Empathy and the Psychology of Literary Modernism* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014), p.120.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p.125.

¹⁴² Eve Sorum, ‘Empathy, Trauma, and the Space of War’, in Chantler and Hawkes (eds), *War and the Mind*, pp.50-62 (p.53).

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp.59-60.

¹⁴⁴ John Galsworthy, *Glimpses and Reflections* (London: Heinemann, 1937), p.181.

¹⁴⁵ Ford, ‘Un Coeur Simple’, p.739.

¹⁴⁶ Ford, *Thus to Revisit*, p.19.

¹⁴⁷ Haslam, *Fragmenting Modernism*, pp.186, 185.

Tietjens.¹⁴⁸ Sylvia spreads rumours about Tietjens and exploits the power of malicious gossip,¹⁴⁹ she thrives on the misunderstandings she scatters about him.¹⁵⁰ By contrast, before the war, Tietjens is repeatedly described as silent: ‘the basis of Christopher Tietjens’ emotional existence was a complete taciturnity—at any rate as to his emotions. As Tietjens saw the world, you didn’t “talk”.’¹⁵¹ But it is not only Sylvia’s destructive language that is to blame for the failure of their relationship. Tietjens concludes that Sylvia relates to him ‘on terms of hatred and miscomprehension’.¹⁵² Ford implies that the lack of mutual understanding is to blame for the conflict between both individuals and nations.

Janice Biala described her life with Ford as a ‘long passionate dialogue’, and we see elements of Ford’s belief in the centrality of conversation to marriage reflected in Tietjens’s relationship with Valentine.¹⁵³ It marks one of the significant developments in Tietjens’s character from pre-war to post-war. He returns from the war and tells Mrs Wannop: ‘One has desperate need. Of talk.’¹⁵⁴ Conversation, or ‘talk’, becomes an essential part of Tietjens’s post-war recovery. John Pegum suggests that Tietjens’s relationship with Valentine depicts ‘the inability of speech to truly communicate’.¹⁵⁵ But despite the numerous communicative failures between them, particularly in *Some Do Not*. . . , their relationship is ultimately defined by mutual understanding. They not only long to speak to one another, but they also echo each other’s thoughts. Tietjens thinks: ‘You seduced a young woman in order to be able to finish your talks with her. You could not do that without living with her.’¹⁵⁶ Later, Valentine asks herself: ‘Why did she take it that they were going to live together? She had no official knowledge that he wanted to. But *they* wanted to TALK. You can’t talk unless you live together.’¹⁵⁷

Last Post (1928), the last volume of the tetralogy, is governed by Mark Tietjens’s silence following a stroke on the day of the armistice.¹⁵⁸ Mark was not a combatant and his silence may be more representative of the social silences around the subject of the war, than the psychological experience of the shell-shocked soldier. Gene Moore suggests it is his ‘refusal to be implicated in

¹⁴⁸ John Pegum, ‘The Parting of the Ways: The Armistice, the Silence and Ford Madox Ford’s *Parade’s End*’, in Trudi Tate and Kate Kennedy (eds), *The Silent Morning: Culture and Memory after the Armistice* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), pp.17-35 (p.20).

¹⁴⁹ On the power of gossip in *Parade’s End*, see Tate, *Modernism, History and the First World War*, pp.61-2. Sara Haslam notes Ford’s love of gossip in relation to his propaganda. Haslam, ‘Making a Text the Fordian Way’, p.211.

¹⁵⁰ On rumour in *Parade’s End*, see Tate, *Modernism, History and the First World War*, pp.60-73.

¹⁵¹ Ford, *Some Do Not*. . . , p.8.

¹⁵² Ford, *No More Parades*, p.71.

¹⁵³ ‘An Interview with Janice Biala’, in *Presence of Ford Madox Ford*, pp.218-28 (p.222).

¹⁵⁴ Ford, *A Man Could Stand Up* – , p.199.

¹⁵⁵ Pegum, ‘The Parting of the Ways’, p.21.

¹⁵⁶ Ford, *A Man Could Stand Up* – , p.165.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.* p.191.

¹⁵⁸ Ford, *Parade’s End Volume IV: Last Post* (1928), ed. Paul Skinner (Manchester: Carcanet, 2011), p.13. The precise cause of his silence is left ambiguous. Saunders, *Dual Life*, II, p.251.

a corrupt and dishonourable world'.¹⁵⁹ Michela Calderaro considers the 'futility of speech' as a structural theme in *Parade's End*, and concludes that 'when speech loses its meaning, silence emerges as a favourable, positive solution'.¹⁶⁰ This reflects something of James's idea that language had been 'used up', or deteriorated by misuse. As Ford demonstrates, this is not the only response to the post-war, post-propaganda world. On the final page of the novel, Mark breaks his silence, and in his last words before his death he instructs Valentine to speak kindly to Tietjens, through the words of '[a]n old song': 'Never thou let thy child weep for thy sharp tongue to thy goodman'.¹⁶¹ Language had, after all, played a considerable part in Ford's own 'reconstruction' after the war.¹⁶²

Through writing about his experiences in the war, Ford found a way to make sense of the post-war world. Paul Skinner suggests that in writing *No Enemy* 'he learns to write again [...], by the act of writing, by setting these things down, by working over and over them'.¹⁶³ With time, his novels became less autobiographical, and *Parade's End* marked a considerable shift in his ability to incorporate personal experiences without hindering the effectiveness of his fiction or overwhelming the plot.¹⁶⁴ Having gained the temporal and geographical distance he needed to get his subject into perspective, Ford approached the tetralogy with renewed personal conviction about the need to write a novel, and – contrary to his beliefs – to write it with the purpose of 'obviating future wars'. Through writing, Ford also crafted and established his new identity. His books on France confirmed his identity as a French specialist in the way that he had formerly been a connoisseur of England and the English, and of German culture.

Citizen of the Republic of Letters

After the war, Ford's ambivalent attitude to his nationality took on increased political significance. He had seen first-hand the devastation that nationalism could cause and wanted nothing more to do with it. In *It was the Nightingale*, he writes: 'There has been nothing more disastrous for humanity than the conception of nationality. [...] [T]hat men living on one side of an imaginary line called a "frontier" should automatically hate people born on the other side of

¹⁵⁹ Gene M. Moore, 'Peace of Mind in *Parade's End*', in Chantler and Hawkes (eds), *War and the Mind*, pp.159-70 (p.169).

¹⁶⁰ Michela A. Calderaro, *A Silent New World: Ford Madox Ford's Parade's End* (Bologna: CLUEB, 1993), p.81.

¹⁶¹ Ford, *Last Post*, p.204. Immediately preceding this, Ford quotes from 'The Ghastly Warning', a translation from a Danish ballad by Robert Jamieson referenced in the Appendix to Walter Scott's *Lady of the Lake* (1810). (See Skinner's editorial note, p.204.) Mark's final words may refer to another obscure song or Ford may be using archaic diction based on Scott's use of 'goodman'.

¹⁶² Ford describes *No Enemy* as an attempt to reflect on 'the painful processes of Reconstruction'. Ford, *No Enemy*, p.7.

¹⁶³ Skinner, Introduction to Ford, *No Enemy*, p.xiii.

¹⁶⁴ Max Saunders, 'The Marsden Case and the Treatment of Reading' in Robert Hampson and Tony Davenport (eds), *Ford Madox Ford: A Reappraisal*, International Ford Madox Ford Studies, 1 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2002), pp.133-57 (p.153).

that line is a conception of madness'.¹⁶⁵ If before the war his cosmopolitanism was an artistic inclination, afterwards it became a determined conviction. He claims, somewhat ironically, that '[o]nly one thing will arouse any national or race feeling in me. It is to hear one national express hatred for another nation'.¹⁶⁶ Directly after this, he expresses a 'settled dislike' for the subjects of Hitler and Mussolini, on account of their 'designs' on other countries.¹⁶⁷ As we saw above in the discussion of his propaganda, this was also Ford's justification of writing for the sake of France during the war as well.

In late 1917 Ford wrote 'Footsloggers', a poem reflecting on the nationalistic impulses of war, which he addressed to Charles Masterman. The poem likens the passionate love of one's country to the consuming fire of romantic love, but grounds this vaulted emotion with the reality of the England for which they are fighting. Ford begins by asking 'What is love of one's land?' and roots this theoretical problem with a material answer.¹⁶⁸ The poem is littered with references to quotidian experiences, snatches of songs and conversations. The land is the primary reason for fighting and dying:

For it is for the sake of the wolds and the wealds
That we die,
[...]
That these may be inviolate.¹⁶⁹

The state, however, is remote, benefitting from the toil of its men: 'We bear the State upon our rain-soaked backs, | Breathe life into the State from our rattling lungs'.¹⁷⁰ These lines are accusatory, and although Masterman was Ford's friend, he was also still working for the government. The poem resolves on a more enthusiastic note. Love of one's land 'shakes | The whole being and soul . . .'.¹⁷¹ This was Ford's vision of patriotism after it had been tested by combat, but before he felt the rejection and isolation of post-war Britain for the returning soldier. The embers of passion for his native country remain, but his reason to fight is not reliant on feelings of hatred towards the enemy nation. The poem looks inward, focusing on the land and the people, however imperfect, rather than looking outward to the power struggle between nations. The seventh chapter of Masterman's *England after War* is titled 'Love of One's Land' and begins with an epigraph from Ford's poem. Masterman adds his own answer to Ford's question. He

¹⁶⁵ Ford, *It Was the Nightingale*, p.318.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p.319.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁸ Ford, 'Footsloggers', in *On Heaven and Poems Written on Active Service*, pp.58-76 (p.58).

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p.73.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p.65.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p.76.

agrees that the Englishman/woman in general ‘hates the state’ but suggests that English patriotism is ‘of race and not of soil’, and relates not so much to the sacredness of land as ‘of the sea’.¹⁷²

It Was the Nightingale begins with Ford’s sense of alienation among other writers at an event at the French embassy after the war. He continues on an elegiac note as he writes of Galsworthy’s death (in 1933) and he goes on to describe the loss of several friends during and after the war.

London had become a terribly sad place. The people I had known and liked before the war seemed to have fallen all alike under a curse. Several had died in their beds, many had been killed in the war, some had aged disproportionately; all were terribly impoverished and shabby. Some had been militantly pro-German and I didn’t want to see them; some were actually German and still interned, so that I could not see them.¹⁷³

In this opening, Ford depicts the changing of the guard in the decade after the war. To name just a few of those around Ford, or who had been involved with the propaganda campaign: Henry James died in 1916, Mary Ward in 1920, and Joseph Conrad in 1924, Charles Masterman was frequently ill during the 1920s, and died in 1927, and Thomas Hardy died in 1928. This underscores the choices that were made in the initial selection of propaganda writers, and it played a considerable part in one of the prominent themes of literature about the war – together with the generals and politicians, they were the ‘Old Men’ who argued for the war’s continuance, while the young men fought and died.¹⁷⁴

This is a familiar narrative, and one of the defining ‘myths’ of the war that Hynes identifies.¹⁷⁵ One problem with the prevalence of this narrative, including Ford’s own account, is that it suggests that the old men became irrelevant after the war. Buitenhuis argues that ‘[i]t is probably significant that those who have best survived the test of time, Hardy, Conrad, and Shaw, were those who subscribed least to the propaganda myth of the Great War’.¹⁷⁶ He therefore credits the propaganda campaign with having a significant impact on literary history. The war certainly acted as a catalyst in the development of literary modernism,¹⁷⁷ but it is worth noting that all three of Virginia Woolf’s definitive ‘Edwardian’ writers, remained prolific after the war.¹⁷⁸ Arnold Bennett was more successful than ever.¹⁷⁹ Wells, too, was ‘at the height of his reputation’ in the

¹⁷² Masterman, *England after War*, pp.145, 156.

¹⁷³ Ford, *It Was the Nightingale*, p.66.

¹⁷⁴ Hynes, *War Imagined*, pp.246-48.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷⁶ Buitenhuis, *Great War of Words*, p.180.

¹⁷⁷ Wright, ‘Government Propaganda and English “Men of Letters”’, p.93.

¹⁷⁸ Virginia Woolf, ‘Mr Bennett and Mrs Brown’ (1924), in David Bradshaw (ed.), *Selected Essays* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp.32-36.

¹⁷⁹ Margaret Drabble, *Arnold Bennett* (London: Baylis, 1974), p.214.

early 1920s.¹⁸⁰ Galsworthy published the second and third volumes of *The Forsyte Saga* in 1920 and 1921, for which he received the Nobel Prize for literature in 1932, having been nominated five times since 1919.¹⁸¹ The reception of these authors over the last century probably has more to do with the debate over ‘middlebrow’ literature than their involvement in the propaganda campaign.¹⁸² Although Ford did not enjoy the contemporary popularity, or sales, of his Edwardian friends, his work bridges the divide between these establishment figures and the literary modernists.¹⁸³

After the war Ford broke away from a number of the relationships he had had with prominent Edwardian authors in the pre-war period. Instead, he oriented his social network towards the younger generation of transatlantic writers and artists. Ford’s departure from London literary life was influenced by his experience as a returning soldier: ‘We who returned [...] were like wanderers coming back to our own shores to find our settlements occupied by a vindictive and savage tribe.’¹⁸⁴ Ford spent a considerable amount of time shortly after the war working on a novel that he never managed to publish. It was initially called ‘Mr Croyd’, though he later retitled it ‘That Same Poor Man’ when he revised it in 1928.¹⁸⁵ The later title is taken from his epigraph from Ecclesiastes 9.14-15: ‘he by his wisdom delivered the city; yet no man remembered that same poor man’.¹⁸⁶ The following verse (not included in the epigraph) reads: ‘the poor man’s wisdom is despised, and his words are not heard’.¹⁸⁷ According to literary tradition, the returning warrior is celebrated as a man of wisdom.¹⁸⁸ Among the most poignant elements of this novel is Ford’s depiction of the Great War veteran as impoverished, ignored, and wilfully forgotten. It begins with Humphrey Pilcer returning from war; ‘he has no home and he is afraid of himself’ – afraid of the ‘dreads’ that have followed him home.¹⁸⁹ He is now ‘merely the hollow receptacle of the potential nightmares of remembrance’.¹⁹⁰ The ‘poor man’ of the title, however, is the much-maligned Jethro Croyd, a writer who also fought in the war, and whose literary reputation suffers as a result. Ford communicates the sense of injustice that combatants felt on their return. While

¹⁸⁰ Sherbourne, *H.G. Wells*, p.267.

¹⁸¹ The Nobel Prize website, Literature Prize Nominations 1901-1950, <<https://www.nobelprize.org/nomination/nominations-1901-1950/>> [Accessed: 20 June 2019].

¹⁸² Baldick, *Modern Movement*, p.29.

¹⁸³ Isabelle Brasme outlines Ford’s aesthetic ‘in-betweenness’ in ‘Between Impressionism and Modernism: *Some Do Not . . .*, a Poetics of the *Entre-Deux*’, in Gasiorek and Moore (eds), *Literary Networks and Cultural Transformations*, pp.189-99.

¹⁸⁴ Ford, *It Was the Nightingale*, p.49.

¹⁸⁵ Ford first wrote it in 1920. He also considered calling it ‘The Wheels of the Plough’. In one of his last letters he referred to it as ‘Mr Croyd’ again, suggesting that he would have returned to the original title if he had managed to publish it. Saunders, *Dual Life*, II, pp.92, 571.

¹⁸⁶ Ecclesiastes 9.15b, KJV. Ford, ‘That Same Poor Man: A Romance’, Ford Collection, Cornell, 4605/23/1. This is Ford’s revised typescript from 1928.

¹⁸⁷ Ecclesiastes 9.16, KJV.

¹⁸⁸ Eric J. Leed, *No Man’s Land: Combat & Identity in World War I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), p.194.

¹⁸⁹ Ford, ‘That Same Poor Man’, p.2-4 [numbers on typescript].

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p.5

the soldier who died was remembered as a hero, the one who returned was a social problem.¹⁹¹ Unemployment among veterans was a critical issue, and they bore wounds, both visible and invisible, which complicated their social reintegration.

Given this context, it is not surprising that Ford became detached from the national allegiance that had been so necessary at the start of the war. He felt increasingly that his only country was ‘that invisible one that is known as the kingdom of letters’.¹⁹² Ford was among several modernist writers, including Hemingway, Pound, and Gertrude Stein, who left their native country after the war to live in Paris during the 1920s. In 1924, Ford founded the *transatlantic review*, together with his brother, Oliver, and with Hemingway as assistant editor. The *review* was triangulated between Paris, New York and London, and was therefore a kind of physical manifestation of Ford’s vision of the international Republic of Letters.¹⁹³ In a memorandum for the new publication, Ford wrote:

The aim of the *Review* is to help in bringing about a state of things in which it will be considered that there are no English, no French—for the matter of that, no Russian, Italian, Asiatic or Teutonic—Literatures: there will be only Literature [...]. When that day arrives we shall have a league of nations no diplomatists shall destroy, for into its comity no representatives of commercial interest or delimitators of frontiers can break. Not even Armageddon could lately destroy the spell of Grimm for Anglo-Saxondom or of Flaubert and Shakespear [*sic*] for the Central Empires.¹⁹⁴

This is another iteration of Ford’s long-standing vision for communion through literature, which he first expressed in the pages of the *English Review*.¹⁹⁵ Despite his participation in the fierce culture war through his propaganda, it seems that the war brought into sharper relief the distinction between culture that ranges above national boundaries, and political disputes between states. Ford essentially agrees here with George Bernard Shaw’s attempt to separate culture from international politics in *Common Sense about the War*, which he had dismissed at the time.¹⁹⁶ There is a curious opposition suggested by Ford’s view of the ‘kingdom of letters’, between the cultural baggage that attended the international conflict and the idea of freedom for those who belong to this purely cultural community.

¹⁹¹ Frayn, *Writing Disenchantment*, p.93.

¹⁹² Ford, *It Was the Nightingale*, p.248.

¹⁹³ Elena Lamberti, ‘Real Cities and Virtual Communities: Ford and the International Republic of Letters’, in Sara Haslam (ed.), *Ford Madox Ford and the City*, International Ford Madox Ford Studies, 4 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2005), pp.139-52 (pp.140-41).

¹⁹⁴ Memorandum dated November 1923, quoted in Goldring, *South Lodge*, p.144.

¹⁹⁵ Lamberti, ‘Real Cities and Virtual Communities’, p.143.

¹⁹⁶ See discussion of Ford and Shaw in Chapter 3.

The cosmopolitan literary community lacks the rules and responsibilities of the nation state, though, paradoxically, as one who travelled frequently, Ford was highly dependent on his political citizenship for his British passport. Bridget Chalk highlights this tension, suggesting that expatriate modernism ought to be reconsidered: ‘what has been seen as an international, border-dissolving movement must be reinterpreted as a moment of intense awareness and negotiation of national identity within cosmopolitan spaces and international mobility’.¹⁹⁷ The greatest demand of living in a nation state, however, is the commitment to fight to defend it against other nations. Ford writes in *The Great Trade Route* (1937): ‘I never personally wanted to kill a German: not for my own gratification. It was a group impulse, or for the sake of France. . . . Why in hell must there be nations?’¹⁹⁸ He envisions instead belonging to an idyllic ‘nation of Small Producers, but no national feeling at all’. Crucially, this would mean freedom from the compulsion ‘to kill anyone out of a group feeling’.¹⁹⁹ This was the weight of the state bearing down on the soldiers in his 1917 poem ‘Footsloggers’.

Ford did not stay in Paris, instead he moved frequently between the capital and the south of France, then between New York, and later, Michigan. He produced what is considered to be some of his best work during this transient period of his life. When he looked back on his career in the late 1930s, he wrote:

[T]he creative artist is almost always an expatriate and almost always writes about the past. He *must* in order to get perspective, retire in both space and time from the model upon which he is at work. . . . Still more, he must retire in passion . . . in order to gain equilibrium.²⁰⁰

This certainly reflects Ford’s own experience. He needed the temporal and physical distance from the experience of the war, and from his relationships in Britain, in order to distil them into compelling fiction and reminiscence.

Ford’s decision to leave England might be considered surprising. In the earlier part of his career he appeared to have a fascination with England, especially the English countryside, and with mimicking the traits of an English gentleman. But Ford had always been the observer. He wrote about English culture as he would later write about French or American culture – with admiration, but without completely belonging. His split Anglo-German identity provided him with a basis for his technique; he was as ‘betwixt and between’ as his genre-blending work. After the war, Ford

¹⁹⁷ Bridget T. Chalk, *Modernism and Mobility: The Passport and Cosmopolitan Experience* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), p.13.

¹⁹⁸ Ford, *The Great Trade Route* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1937), p.86.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁰ Ford, *Mightier than the Sword*, p.207.

acted as translator between civilian and combatant, able to straddle the divide between the old men who wrote propaganda and the young men who fought. Ford embraced his transient lifestyle out of necessity, and because it served his art. It could also be considered a political statement – he loosened the hold of the state that weighed heavily on his back in the trenches and affiliated instead with a fictional citizenship in the Republic of Letters, the insubstantiality of which appears to have been part of its appeal.

Conclusion

Ford returned to the idea of the pen versus the sword numerous times after the war. Even though he wavered when faced with the onslaught of activity during the war, the triumph of pen over sword became a defining principle for him in later life. Bowen writes that ‘Ford used to say that ideas were more powerful, in the end, than arms’.²⁰¹ *Mightier than the Sword* was one of Ford’s last works of criticism and reminiscence. This study of several of the significant literary figures from three periods of his life was initially published in America as *Portraits from Life*, but Ford was keen to call it ‘Mightier Than Swordsmen’. He wrote to his publisher that ‘it is time that people should be reminded that we are mightier than the swordsmen’.²⁰² In his late criticism, Ford provided the answer to his own questions from his wartime writing from 1914 to 1915, and wrote with renewed urgency of the value of literature to society.

Haslam observes that for Ford:

The novel is a mediator. It is, as Ford thinks of it, a ‘place’ where plural truths can co-exist. It is at its best when it enables one to see, to hold, two seemingly exclusive truths of experience in conjunction, in equilibrium with each other.²⁰³

As novelist, Ford plays host to contrasting voices, emotions and experiences, or, as Saunders comments, ‘his ideas become characters; he sets up a dramatic situation and watches the conflict’.²⁰⁴ Ford hated politicians, and he was not a diplomat, but he used the tools he had to create a diplomatic, communicative space in his writing. The ambivalence we see throughout Ford’s work is an embodiment of his worldview. *Parade’s End* is his way of writing with a social purpose – not to convey a moral, as his Victorian forbears had, but as a way to experience something of the Other, and so to combat the communicative failures that he believed to be responsible for the war. In this light, and despite what Ford might have said, much of Ford’s

²⁰¹ Bowen, *Drawn from Life*, p.251.

²⁰² Ford, quoted in Saunders, *Dual Life*, II, p.518.

²⁰³ Haslam, *Fragmenting Modernism*, p.191.

²⁰⁴ Saunders, *Dual Life*, II, p.401.

writing had a purpose. Every book, every story, poem and article that Ford contributed to the Republic of Letters, held the potential for men and women to understand each other better.

CONCLUSION

Ford Madox Ford held a lifelong ambivalence towards his father's home nation. He neither loved Germany before the war as much as has sometimes been portrayed, nor hated it afterwards as much as is often assumed. Raised among some of the pre-eminent artists and writers of the Victorian period, and with a father who participated in the cultural transfer from Germany to Britain in the late nineteenth century, Ford was an informed cultural critic. His experience provides a unique perspective on British literary attitudes towards Germany during the First World War. At the outbreak of war he faced a challenge which, while far from exceptional in Britain, was unusual among the propagandists working for Wellington House. He turned against his German connections in order to support the war, first on the page, and then in the military. Centring on Ford's writing between 1914 and 1915, this thesis has drawn out the historical connections between the culture war of 1914, and the cultural exchange between Britain and Germany in the preceding decades. My analysis of his articles underscores exactly why Ford chose the subjects he did in his arguments against Germany. He participated in the culture war with a targeted assault on language and education designed to attack German national identity and address latent British fears.

My analysis of Ford's personal correspondence, unpublished manuscripts and pre-war journalism has revised the image of an unambiguously positive experience of Germany before the war. Using these overlooked sources, we have seen the significance of German influences in Ford's early life, as well as his awareness of the tensions of international politics. While Ford continued to cherish Romantic impressions of the Rhineland and the literature of fairyland from his youth, he vehemently opposed contemporary German scholarship, materialism and 'Prussianisation'. Ford's views on German education were also part of his broader argument in developing the theory and practice of impressionist history.

The German professor emerges in each chapter of Ford's life as a central figure onto which he projects his feelings about Germany. The professor is always a strange figure, though more alluring and benevolent in Ford's unpublished story 'A Romance of the Times Before Us', written in the mid-1890s, than in his work on Germany in 1911. His brief experience of teaching at the University of Jena that year cemented his views of German education and strengthened his argument against the academy in Britain. In wartime this character becomes a figure of enmity, a repository for Ford's views on education, state control, and perhaps also the frustration he felt towards his father. The professor morphs into a militarist portrait in *The Marsden Case* in 1923, but in the post-war world Ford refuses to present an entirely polarised character. Ford's attitudes towards Germany did change over time, but as he distanced himself from his German identity

after the war, he also distanced himself from any strictly *national* identity, preferring instead to affiliate himself with the 'kingdom of letters'. His ardent anti-nationalism after the war is more striking than anything he wrote about Germany or propaganda in the later years. He celebrated this insubstantial, borderless kingdom for the freedom it presented from the demands of the nation, most importantly the demand to kill on its behalf.

This is the first detailed analysis of Ford's writing in the *Outlook*. As such, it contributes to our understanding of Ford's experience of the war before enlisting, as well as his wider journalism. It also contributes to scholarship on a magazine which has been largely overlooked in studies of Edwardian magazines. Ford responded to the demands of the magazine and its audience, and his sudden shift to writing about the war in August 1914 reflects the changes in the magazine and the press in general in the first weeks of war. Ford's later writing about this period demonstrates that he viewed the transition from writing to not-writing as a significant moment in his career. In his youth Ford had felt pressure to be an artist and a genius, but the war introduced a new pressure to be a man of action not of words. It was a gradual transition, for which there are key markers in his articles, as he questioned the role that authors should play in the war and the value of his own writing. It was a view that he subsequently reversed, as he later reaffirmed the idea that the pen is indeed mightier than the sword.

Considering Ford's journalism from 1914 to 1915 as a whole, we could say that his attention to the exact use of language in some articles tempers the nationalist rhetoric of others. This radical inconsistency suggests that Ford was either blind to the opposing forces in his own work, or intentionally duplicitous. But the tension that emerges between these two threads points to a broader ambivalence, not just in Ford's attitudes to Germany, but to the war at large. Ford's ability to maintain these seemingly paradoxical views is fundamental to our more complete understanding of his literary identity. He embodied different voices in his wartime journalism, including those from his fiction, in order to meet the demands of war and express coexisting realities. He loved the Germany of his youth, *and* he wanted to fight for the honour of France. In this regard, considering Ford's *Outlook* articles alongside his commissioned propaganda provides an important corrective to a singular focus on the propaganda as Ford's literary response to life on the home front.

Challenging the distinction between Ford's propaganda and his journalism is valuable for several reasons. The production context, to which I have been able to bring more clarity through my archival research, suggests that Ford was working on both simultaneously. While doing so, Ford was also engaging with different audiences; he was writing for Masterman, and aware of the American audience for his propaganda books, as well as tailoring his writing to the tonal and

stylistic expectations of the *Outlook's* editor and its readers in Britain and the Dominions. Additional to this, Ford sought to engage others' opinions, adding to the multivocality that has long been recognised in his propaganda. Ford's reliance on external sources suggests that he was trying to distance himself from the work which presented a challenge to both his personal and literary identities. It limits our appreciation of the conflicting forces at work in the propaganda books to view them solely within the context of the direct distribution to influential Americans by Wellington House. This revaluation has also highlighted the continuities between Ford's wartime poetry and his propaganda work, indicating that Ford may well have written a form of propaganda regardless of whether he had been commissioned by Masterman. We achieve a more holistic portrait of the campaign in general when we appreciate the authors' propaganda as an extension of their literary and journalistic work before and during the war.

Ford's intermediary position, as a propagandist who also fought in the war, singles him out as a pivotal figure for study. But his connections, both with Masterman and with other authors, mean analysis of Ford necessarily sheds light on the wider campaign. Though the work of the War Propaganda Bureau was not widely discussed until the 1930s, we see from Ford's wartime correspondence and his post-war writing that it may not have been quite so clandestine as accounts of the campaign usually suggest. Ford shaped his propaganda into a campaign against German culture and a vehement defence of France that was a more belligerent form of his pre-war attitudes. It became personal both in theme and style. Though less stylistically innovative, his contemporaries had a similar approach; Wells's texts are charged with radical internationalism, Galsworthy wrote to promote various humanitarian causes, and Chesterton chose a form of anti-Germanism that critiqued Britain's failings. Surrounded by the patriotic chorus of the early stages of the war, they opted to write, but they did not surrender their personal voice. Even though Ford sought Masterman's involvement and advice in producing his propaganda, the products of the campaign suggest that it was not highly prescriptive nor tightly controlled.

The work of the authors writing for Wellington House is sometimes seen as an aberration, glossed over in accounts of their literary careers, or treated solely within the remit of propaganda. But there is value in incorporating this work into their oeuvres and handling it with the same attention to literary style as employed elsewhere. We inevitably find both continuity and dissonance. Where we see ambivalence and conflict, it serves to demonstrate some of the contradictions inherent in Masterman's design for literary propaganda. He sought authors who would communicate with subtlety, without resorting to the jingoism that he feared from the 'Kiplings, X-'s etc', but he also wanted to harness their powers of persuasion, sales figures, and cultural cachet.¹

¹ Masterman, *Biography*, p.277.

I have concentrated on Ford in order to explore in detail the unique biographical and contextual threads that are woven into his writing, especially in the first year of the war. The comparison with the experience of other authors has proved fruitful and could certainly be extended in various directions. One avenue would be to look beyond the concentration on those involved in the propaganda campaign, to consider other British writers who had an intimate knowledge of Germany, but who did not give their support for the war, such as Norman Douglas and George Bernard Shaw. Jerome K. Jerome would present an alternative view, as one who also loved Germany, and initially gave his support for the war, but later changed his position. It would also be valuable to consider the work of writers and professors of literature in Germany, alongside their British counterparts.² Levin Ludwig Schücking's wartime writing would provide another interesting correlative to Ford's, as a professor of English literature and Ford's friend who went from writing for the *English Review* in 1909 to writing against English culture in his own wartime propaganda.³

Focusing on Ford's *Outlook* articles which were, so far as we know, not directly commissioned by the government, has raised questions about the fluid boundaries between state-sponsored and more indirect forms of propaganda. It is difficult to know what Masterman's authors might have written had they never attended the meeting at Wellington House, but the focus on state-organised propaganda can obscure the extent to which so much British wartime writing had a propagandist element. The typical emphasis on top-down propaganda frames the writers as members of the elite seeking to influence the public and neutral nations, but they were also responding to the general mood. They formed opinions about the war not just because they were invited to write for the government, but because they were British citizens witnessing war as a unique moment in national, and personal, history. The remarkable social shift towards supporting the war effort provided a considerable readership for works about the war. Elizabeth von Arnim's novel *Christine* is just one example of a book which straddles the divide between unofficial propaganda and an instinctive response to the crisis of war. Ford's poem 'Antwerp' occupies a similar position. Popular wartime texts are often treated as historical documents rather than works of literature, and revisiting these neglected works adds nuance to the literary history of the war, which can easily become polarised between state propaganda and the writing of the soldier-poets.

Throughout his life, Ford's cosmopolitanism, and his position as an outsider, fuelled his interest in national differences and was central to his plural, impressionist vision. His exposure to different cultures and nationalities made him sensitive to the subtleties of national character. Even

² Firchow notes that there is more research on professors of history and theology than on professors of literature. Firchow, *Strange Meetings*, p.58.

³ Levin Ludwig Schücking, 'Some Notes on Present-Day German Literature', *English Review*, 1, April 1909, pp.165-71; idem, *Der englische Volkscharakter* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1915).

though he participated in the nationalistic propaganda campaign, Ford's cosmopolitanism did not disappear at the outbreak of war. His cosmopolitan voice is present in the wartime articles through his emphasis on the defence of France, as well as in his performed curiosity towards the world around him. The unfamiliarity of the wartime environment and wartime psychology – even on the home front – became yet another strange territory to explore. The compounded pressures of finance, anti-German sentiment, loyalty to Masterman, and his love for France all contributed to his decision to write propaganda. Combined, these factors had more bearing on his decision than a shift towards nationalism, or the pressure to conform to the will of the state. The energy with which Ford wrote about union through literature and the arts, even during the war, and the ambivalence in his subsequent writing about Germany during active service, suggest that Ford was responding to the demands of war more than surrendering his artistic principles.

This study of Ford Madox Ford's relationship with Germany and his wartime work has described his ambivalence as a style he used out of habit, necessity, as well as by design. While revisionist histories have characterised pre-war Anglo-German relations as ambivalent, wartime propaganda is not usually viewed through this prism. Ford confronted inevitable, and common, ambivalences and used his impressionist techniques to articulate them. Rather than being the product of indecision and incongruity we could see ambivalence, as Ford did, as an artist's attribute. It is the ability to present opposing views simultaneously which makes the Kingdom of the Arts a uniquely communicative space. Yet this aesthetic translates badly into decisive action and practical politics, which is perhaps why Ford struggled so much, and so publicly, with the notion of pen versus sword during the first year of the war.

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