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The Bad Nauheim Hotels in *The Good Soldier*: A Re-evaluation

Andrew Gustar

Ford Madox Ford's novel *The Good Soldier* is partly set in and around the German spa town of Bad Nauheim between the years 1904 and 1913. Three hotels in Bad Nauheim are mentioned in the novel: the Englischer Hof, the Hotel Regina, and the Hotel Excelsior. In the Norton Critical Edition of the novel, they are described as follows:

Englischer Hof: 'Probably Hotel d'Angleterre, now the Deutscher Hof, a substantial private hotel on a tree-lined street, at 1 KÜchlerstrasse, one block from the Kurpark and baths'.

Hotel Regina: 'A few yards from the Englischer Hof and on the same street at 8 KÜchlerstrasse.'

Hotel Excelsior: 'Grander than the Englischer Hof and Hotel Regina, the Excelsior was within easy walking distance of them but still modest in comparison with Grand-Hotel Kaiserhof or Grand-Hotel Metropole and Monopole. Ford places characters in establishments exactly reflecting their social status rather than their wealth'.¹

Following a recent visit to Bad Nauheim, I concluded that these locations and descriptions do not appear to be consistent with the historical evidence, or with certain passages in the novel. This essay discusses these inconsistencies and proposes an alternative hypothe-

sis for the locations.

Ford started writing *The Good Soldier* in December 1913, and it was published in March 1915.² He had visited Bad Nauheim in the summer of 1910, and subsequently spent some time living in nearby Giessen during 1910-11, so probably knew the town reasonably well.³

The Norton edition includes photographs of the Hotel d'Angleterre and the Hotel Excelsior (172). The building in the Excelsior photograph is now the Villa Royal at 7 Bahnhofsallee, halfway between the baths and the railway station.⁴ In the last few years, Villa Royal has been restored to its former *Jugendstil* glory, and the process has been documented on its website, which includes several historic photographs and copies of press articles. One photograph, probably from the 1930s, clearly shows it as 'Hotel Excelsior'.⁵

(See photo, page 24)

An article about the restoration in the *Wetterauer Zeitung* of 13 February 2007 states: 'Von Historismus und Jugendstil geprägt, wurde das imposante Gebäude 1893 als Villa Stockhausen gerichtet, 1898 erweitert und in Villa Royal umgetauft. Nachdem ein weiterer Ausbau 1928 erfolgte, wurde das Haus in der Bahnhofsallee 7 zum Hotel Royal Excelsior / Kurhotel Excelsior.' ['Influenced by historicism and Art Nouveau, the imposing building was converted into Villa Stockhausen in 1893, extended in 1898 and renamed

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Villa Royal. After further extension in 1928, the house in Bahnhofsallee 7 became Hotel Royal Excelsior / Kurhotel Excelsior.’] ⁶

Villa Royal was not, therefore, the Excelsior Hotel until well after Ford wrote *The Good Soldier*. In the 1907 *Visitors Guide to Bad Nauheim* it is listed as the ‘Royal Pension’ – a guest house providing full-board, but not a hotel.⁷ Prior to the 1928 extension, a photograph on the Villa Royal website indicates that it was rather smaller, consisting of just the corner section of the building shown on the opposite page.⁸

The German Jewish history website <http://www.alemannia-judaica.de> further confuses the issue. It reproduces the following short advertisement from the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums* of 10 August 1921:



The Hotel Hohenzollern, according to a Baedeker guide of 1911,⁹ was at 25 Ludwigstrasse, halfway between the baths and Küchlerstrasse where the Norton edition locates the other two hotels. Baedeker calls it the ‘Bittong’s Hotel Hohenzollern’, so it was certainly not branded Excelsior in 1911. Perhaps, as subsequently with the Villa Royal, the Excelsior name was added following the work to which the ‘neu renoviert’

in the advertisement refers.¹⁰

So there does not appear to have been a real 'Hotel Excelsior' in Bad Nauheim at the time of the novel. The names 'Hotel Regina' and 'Englischer Hof' are also absent from the contemporary sources.

Baedeker (1911) is one such source, listing 22 hotels and boarding houses in Bad Nauheim, giving exact addresses for all but five. The Meyer's Reisebuch of the Rhinelands of 1911 has a similar list to Baedeker's.¹¹ The 1907 English language *Visitors Guide to Bad Nauheim* has lists of 19 'Recommended Hotels', 4 'Jewish Hotel-Restaurants', and 83 'Lodgings and Boarding Houses'. Most of these have full addresses and can be located on a modern map (allowing for a few changes of street names).

Hotels also advertised in guides to the baths and treatments at Bad Nauheim. Groedel (1899) has a section of half-page advertisements for hotels, including half a dozen not mentioned in the 1907 *Visitors Guide*.¹² Bradshaw (1904) also mentions a few hotels in Bad Nauheim, though none not covered elsewhere.¹³ Hotels are also shown in some old photographs and postcards of the town, although the exact locations and dates are often hard to identify.¹⁴

None of these sources from 1899-1911 mentions a Regina, Englischer Hof or Excelsior. The Excelsior we have already discussed. 'Englischer Hof' could simply

be a German name for the Hotel d'Angleterre. There was, and still is, a Haus Regina at 8 KÜchlerstrasse, which currently operates as an assisted-living retirement home. The building is marked on maps of the time, although none of the guides list it as a hotel or boarding house.¹⁵

It appears that the identification of these hotels in the Norton edition was based on finding actual buildings with similar names. There is a Haus Regina, but it was not a hotel. There was a Hotel d'Angleterre at 1 KÜchlerstrasse, with a plausibly similar name to the Englischer Hof. And there was a Hotel Excelsior at 7 Bahnhofsallee, but not until 1928. In addition, as I shall argue below, the location of these hotels is inconsistent with other geographical descriptions in the novel.

The simple explanation for these discrepancies is that the names of the hotels in *The Good Soldier* are fictitious. Nevertheless, they may well be based on real hotels. To track them down, we must examine geographical clues in the novel itself. Although Ford and his characters are often unreliable in their narratives, real places are realistically portrayed elsewhere in his writings, and it is reasonable to assume that the geographical descriptions in the novel are based on his good knowledge of Bad Nauheim when he was writing the novel in 1913-14.

Several clues in the novel can help to locate the hotels

that Ford had in mind. The most useful passage is:

I could find my way blindfolded to the hot rooms, to the douche rooms, to the fountain in the centre of the quadrangle where the rusty water gushes out. Yes I could find my way blindfolded. I know the exact distances. From the Hotel Regina you took one hundred and eighty-seven paces, then, turning sharp, lefthanded, four hundred and twenty took you straight down to the fountain. From the Englischer Hof, starting on the sidewalk, it was ninety-seven paces and the same four hundred and twenty, but turning lefthanded this time. (*GS* 22)

It is worth including the deleted section that immediately follows the above passage, that appears in the Cornell manuscript of the novel (see *GS* 211):

From the end of the tennis courts to Florence's seat after she had been at Nauheim a week was exactly five hundred steps; from the same place to a seat higher up the hill—she was allowed so much to extend her walk during the second week—was just seven hundred and fifty. From the same place to the steps of the Casino, by the path Dr Bittelmann told us to take during the fourth week was exactly seven hundred and fifty. And so on . . .

The clear implication of this description of the route is that there was a simple 420-pace straight-line route direct to the fountain at the centre of the quadrangle of the Sprudelhof (Bad Nauheim's Art Nouveau bath house complex). The two hotels (Regina and Englischer Hof) were then 187 paces and 97 paces re-

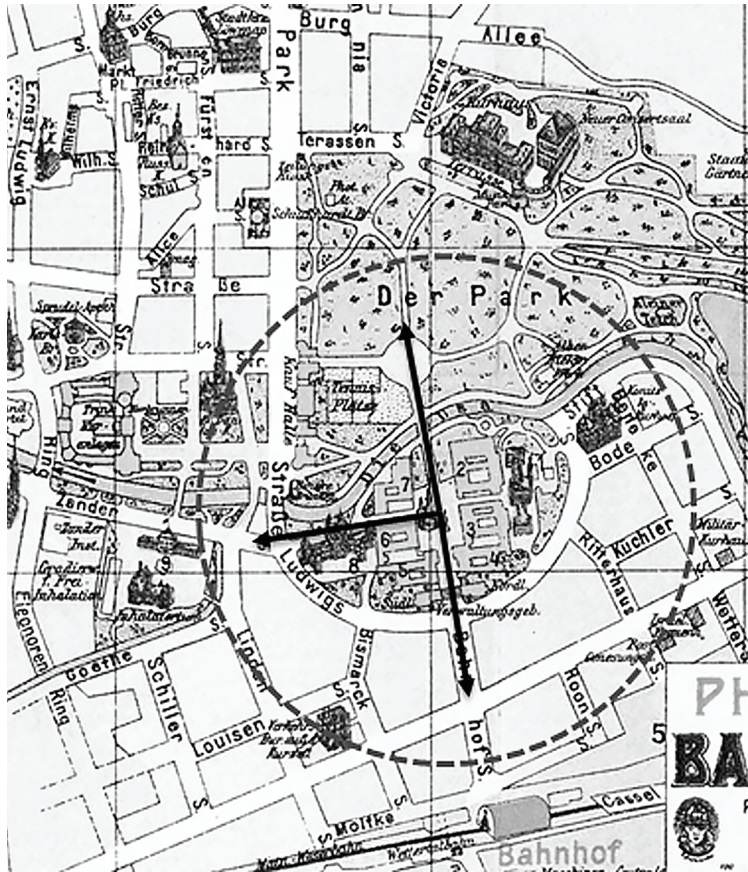
spectively from the end of this route.

Note that Ford (or rather Dowell, the novel's narrator) says that both routes from the hotels require a left turn. The final phrase 'turning lefthanded *this time*' suggests that it should be a turn in the opposite direction from that previously described – so it seems reasonable to assume that one of the two 'lefts' should be a 'right'. This might be a simple typographical error, or a deliberate mistake on Dowell's part. Ford was exactly six feet tall,¹⁶ so his average stride length would have been about 30 inches.¹⁷ This gives the following approximate distances for the figures mentioned above:

Paces	Distance (Metres)
97	75
187	140
420	320
500	380
750	570

To locate the starting points at the hotels, it is sensible to consider possible routes in the reverse direction. There are three directions in which 320m can be walked in a straight line from the fountain in the centre of the baths. The first is to head east, uphill out of the Sprudelhof, along Bahnhofsallee towards the station. The second leads west into the Kurpark. The third option is to go south, through an archway between the bathhouses, along the access road 'Zu den

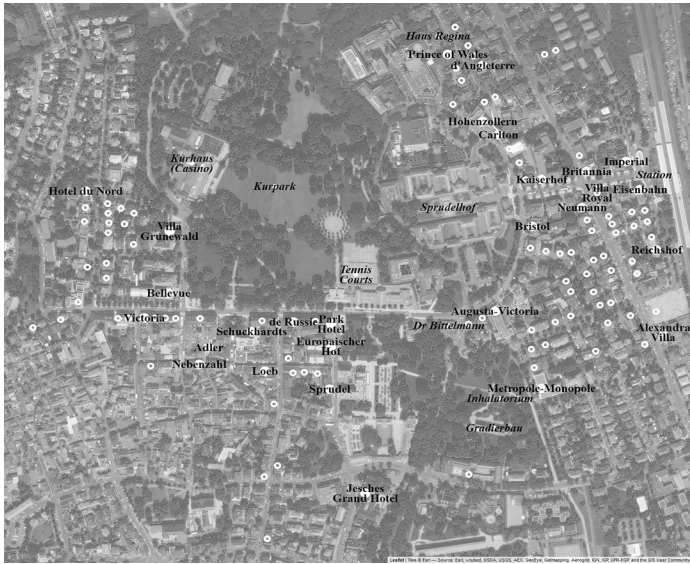
Sprudeln', and then across Parkstrasse into Zanderstrasse. The map below, a detail from the Pharus-Plan of 1912, illustrates these options (note that the map is oriented so that 'up' is west rather than north).¹⁸



The arrows show the three possible directions described above from the centre of the Sprudelhof. The dotted circle marks a distance of 320m (420 paces) from the fountain. K uchlerstrasse, where the Norton edition locates the Regina and Englischer Hof, is to the north (right) of the baths. Although the distance is about right, there is no straight-line route. There never appears to have been a direct route from the central fountain in this direction. Even before the Sprudelhof complex was built in its current form during the years 1905-11, contemporary maps show that such a path would have been blocked by the long building (one of the bathhouses from the original development) on the northern side of the complex. Ford would have been aware of the recent reshaping of the baths complex (he has Dowell half-remembering the ‘white half-timbered chalets’ of the previous baths as he recalls the group’s first visit in 1904), but it was not relevant for the purposes of his pace-counting.¹⁹

Before discussing the hotels suggested by Dowell’s pacing, it is worth looking at the location of the hotels in Bad Nauheim, as listed in the various sources mentioned above.

This is a satellite view (pictured on page 32) of Bad Nauheim (with north being up, this time), showing all hotels and boarding houses listed in the Visitors Guide, Baedeker, and the other sources from the period 1899-1911. The Hotels (named) are the large discs, Villas and ‘Pensions’ (mostly unnamed) are the smaller



rings, and other places mentioned in this essay are marked as smaller dots and named in *italics*.²⁰ There were clearly a great many places to stay, clustered in the area between the baths and the railway station, and along the southern and western sides of the Kurpark. There is some doubt over whether Villa Grunewald (on the left) was actually a hotel at the time.²¹ Jesche's Grand Hotel (at the bottom) did not appear in the Visitor's Guide, as it had only recently opened when William Van Duzer Lawrence stayed there in the summer of 1913.²² The large building on the western side of the Kurpark (just above Villa Grunewald) was the Kurhaus, the complex that housed the 'Casino' that is mentioned in the novel. The actual casino closed in 1872 and the building (still known by its former name) was used as a theatre and concert hall (*GS* 79 n.5).²³

Let's consider the three direct routes from the Sprudelhof fountain. On the route to the east, 420 paces take us almost to the station. There are plenty of hotels and boarding houses in the vicinity. However, the following passage (just before the 'paces' extract quoted above) suggests that the Englischer Hof was near the public gardens and within view of the baths complex:

whilst poor Florence was taking her morning bath, I stood upon the carefully swept steps of the Englischer Hof, looking at the carefully arranged trees in tubs upon the carefully arranged gravel whilst carefully arranged people walked past in carefully calculated gaiety, at the carefully calculated hour, the tall trees of the public gardens, going up to the right; the reddish stone of the baths – or were they white half-timber chalets? (*GS 22*)

A location near the railway station is not compatible with this description. It is hard to see the public gardens or Sprudelhof (unless looking directly down Bahnhofsallee), and the trees of the gardens would be below the observer, so would not 'go up' to the right.²⁴

Pacing in the opposite direction takes us to the middle of the Kurpark, close to a fork in the path. To the right is the Kurhaus, another 140m or so, which is consistent with the '187 paces' although not with the 'sharp' turn that Ford describes on the route from the Hotel Regina. The Kurhaus was not a hotel (although it is now), so is an unlikely candidate for Hotel Regina, especially as it is also the location of the Casino. On the left fork, a path leads to Parkstrasse (a too-far 180m or

so), very close to Schuckhardts Hotel and, a little further, the Bellevue and the Hotel de Russie. Although these hotels do not quite fit the description, they are close to the public gardens with (perhaps, through the trees) a view of the Sprudelhof.

A variant on the western route is to extend the initial 420 paces to the crossroads of paths about 80 paces (60m) further down the left-hand fork towards Parkstrasse. A right turn at this junction takes you close to Villa Grunewald as the possible location of the Regina, at roughly the right distance (although there is doubt over whether this was a hotel at the time). A left turn leads directly to the Hotel de Russie on Parkstrasse, although the distance, at 150m, is twice as far as the desired 97 paces. This reading is perhaps more plausible, although it does require some stretching of Dowell's distances.

The third route, heading south from the fountain, is more promising. A 320m walk takes you in a straight line through an archway, along a minor road, across the junction with Parkstrasse, and a little way down Zanderstrasse, which is bordered on both sides by public gardens. Turning right, through the gardens, leads in about 220m to the Park Hotel and the Europäischer Hof (next door) at the northern end of Kurstrasse. Turning left, through the park on the other side, leads either to the Hotel Metropole-Monopole (140m), or, nearer and with a sharper left-hand turn, the Hotel Augusta-Victoria (120m).²⁵

Apart from the distance to the Park Hotel, which is much too far to cover in 97 paces, this option fits the directions and distances well, and is consistent with being near the public gardens. A view of the Sprudelhof would perhaps have been possible from the steps of the Park Hotel. The Park Hotel is also just opposite the tennis courts which, in the deleted passage quoted above, is where Florence starts her walk – which would make sense if that is where she was staying. 500 paces from the Parkstrasse end of the tennis courts might put ‘Florence’s seat’ near the junction of paths close to the north-east corner of the Kurhaus. 250 paces further would take her uphill to the junction with what is today Nördlicher Park, but at the time was part of the Kurpark.

The deleted passage mentions a Dr Bittelmann. There was indeed a Dr Bittelmann operating in Bad Nauheim at the time – he is mentioned in Ford’s lover Violet Hunt’s travelogue *The Desirable Alien* of 1913.²⁶ The 1907 Visitors Guide lists him at 1 Ludwigsstrasse, which would have been on Dowell’s direct route to and from the baths, and close to both hotels.

During the spring and summer of 1910, just before Ford left England for Germany, *The Times* published short weekly advertisements for two hotels in Bad Nauheim – the Park Hotel and the Metropole. These may or may not have been among the hotels at the top of Ford’s mind when he visited Nauheim that August,

although he would certainly have become familiar with them during his time there and on subsequent visits. The route that Dowell describes (not quite accurately) in the novel is the most direct course between the baths and these hotels. The 'Englischer Hof' was perhaps based on the Park Hotel, with its fictional name based on the hotel next door, the Europäischer Hof. The 'Hotel Regina' may well have been based on the Hotel Augusta-Victoria, the name of which may simply have reminded Ford of Queen Victoria.²⁷ In this case, Dowell's directions from the Regina should have been 'turning sharp, right-handed', with those from the Englischer Hof remaining correctly 'turning lefthanded this time'.

Violet Hunt wrote in her account of their visit to Bad Nauheim that she and her chaperone 'the Countess' stayed at 'a smart hotel – Bittong's' (by which she meant Bittong's Hotel Hohenzollern,²⁸ as listed by Baedeker at 25 Ludwigsstrasse), while Ford (whom she refers to as 'Joseph Leopold') stayed in 'some Hotel Alexandre or other, but he ate with us, and called ... every morning at Bittong's for one or the other of us ladies'.²⁹ She is probably referring to Alexandra Villa, a boarding house listed in the 1907 Visitors Guide at 17 Frankfurterstrasse – a little way south on the road that crosses Bahnhofsallee.³⁰ This is half a mile from the Hohenzollern, giving Ford several options for his 10-minute morning stroll to Violet's hotel. One of these routes, via Lindenstrasse, would have included the 187+420 paces of the route Dowell describes from

the Augusta-Victoria to the Sprudelhof.

We are left with the mystery of the fictional Hotel Excelsior. The Regina and Englischer Hof are only mentioned once early in the novel (in the passages already quoted), in the context of the Dowells' first visit to Nauheim in 1904. The Excelsior is mentioned by name a couple of times later in the book, and several incidents take place in its dining room and corridors, so it might have been the hotel that the Dowells and Ashburnhams usually frequented on their subsequent annual visits. It is instructive to examine the information on Bad Nauheim's hotels given by Baedeker in 1911, summarised in the table on page 38:

Three hotels, which Baedeker names but gives no details for, are omitted from this table.³¹ The first six, marked with asterisks, are in Baedeker's '*beachtenswert*' ['noteworthy'] category. The three hotels with prices marked with a '+' – the Metropole, Park Hotel and Augusta-Victoria – also had a dozen or so rooms with en-suite bathrooms available for typically 6–15 Marks more than the prices shown. The last six (from Irene onwards) are listed as 'Private residences and Pensions' and only offered full board.

If the Regina and Englischer Hof were based on the Augusta-Victoria and Park Hotel respectively, then it is likely that the Excelsior was also one of the larger, more expensive, up-market establishments. Dowell admits to being very wealthy, and he also indicates

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<u>Hotel</u>	<u>Address</u>	<u>No of Rooms</u>	<u>Full Board (Marks/night)</u>
Kaiserhof *	Bahnhofsallee 4	160	12-20
Metropole & Monopole*	Goethestrasse 4	92	10-20 +
Bristol *	Ludwigstrasse 19	90	10-16
Park Hotel *	Kurstrasse 2-4	150	10-16 +
d'Angleterre *	Küchlerstrasse 1	80	12-30
Augusta-Victoria *	Ludwigstrasse 7	150	11-19 +
B i t t o n g ' s H o t e l Hohenzollern	Ludwigstrasse 25	110	10-25
Carltonhotel	Ludwigstrasse 27	80	10-16
Sprudelhotel	Kurstrasse 13-15		7-10
Britannia	Bahnhofsallee 6		7
Imperial	Bahnhofsallee 10	52	7-14
Europäischer Hof	Kurstrasse 5-7	105	7-10
Hotel du Nord	Burgallee 22	40	8.5-13
Irene	Parkstrasse 38	20	7.5-10
Schneider's Privathotel Viktoria	Parkstrasse 34	26	8.5-12
Villa Hubertus	Goethestrasse 2	40	9-14
Villa Waldersee	Küchlerstrasse 7	25	8-10
Villa Warburg	Küchlerstrasse 3	20	6.5-12
Walwer	Karlstrasse 19	15	4-7

that the Ashburnhams (particularly Leonora) led an affluent lifestyle, or at least had aspirations to be seen as such, despite the financial problems that took them to India.³² Of the remaining hotels in the 10+ Marks price bracket, the Kaiserhof was at the bottom of the road from the station, near the entrance to the Sprudelhof; the Carlton and Hohenzollern were next to each other on the northern part of the semi-circular Ludwigsstrasse that goes around the edge of the Sprudelhof, with the d'Angleterre, as already discussed, a street further back; the Bristol was on the southern section of Ludwigsstrasse, quite near the Sprudelhof entrance; and the Metropole-Monopole was a little way down Goethestrasse, opposite the public gardens that contained the *Inhalatorium* (now the Public Library) and the first of Nauheim's extraordinary *Gradierwerke*.³³

What does the novel say about the Excelsior? The most detailed description is of the dining room:

I have forgotten the aspect of many things but I shall never forget the aspect of the dining-room of the Hotel Excelsior on that evening—and on so many other evenings. Whole castles have vanished from my memory, whole cities that I have never visited again, but that white room, festooned with papier-maché fruits and flowers; the tall windows; the many tables; the black screen round the door with three golden cranes flying upward on each panel; the palm-tree in the centre of the room; the swish of the waiter's feet; the cold expensive elegance; the mien of the diners as they came in every evening—

their air of earnestness as if they must go through a meal prescribed by the Kur authorities and their air of sobriety as if they must seek not by any means to enjoy their meals—those things I shall not easily forget. (*GS* 23-24)

This is clearly the dining room of a large and up-market hotel. Although there are a few old postcards and photographs of Bad Nauheim hotel dining rooms, I have not found any matching this description or that allow hotels to be eliminated from our enquiries. Dowell mentions the hotel proprietor is a ‘Monsieur Schontz’, but I cannot find this (or a similar name) in any of the sources.

Later, Dowell recalls that ‘Leonora [. . .] visited every one of the public rooms of the hotel—the dining-room, the lounge, the *schreibzimmer* [writing-room], the winter garden. God knows what they wanted with a winter garden in an hotel that is only open from May till October’ (*GS* 58). Unfortunately none of the contemporary guides gives any information on the existence or otherwise of these features. However, Violet Hunt mentioned that the Bittong (i.e. the Hohenzollern) had ‘no proper lounge’,³⁴ so we can eliminate that one from our enquiries.

There are a few geographical clues regarding the Excelsior. Just before the passage quoted above (*GS* 58), Dowell reports that the hotel manager ‘said that Mrs Maidan [had] paid her bill, and had gone up to the station to ask the Reiseverkehrsbureau [travel agen-

cy] to make her out a plan for her immediate return' (*GS* 57).³⁵ The phrase 'up to the station' suggests that she was starting some way down Bahnhofsallee, which leads uphill to the station – perhaps the Kaiserhof or one of the hotels on Ludwigsstrasse. It does not seem to be an appropriate phrase for somebody starting at the Metropole, for example.

A location around the end of Bahnhofsallee is supported by the following passage, describing the route taken by Edward and the girl to the Casino:

You will remember I said that Edward Ashburnham and the girl had gone off, that night, to a concert at the Casino and that Leonora had asked Florence, almost immediately after their departure, to follow them and to perform the office of chaperone. Florence, you may also remember, was all in black, being the mourning that she wore for a deceased cousin, Jean Hurlbird. It was a very black night and the girl was dressed in cream-coloured muslin. That must have glimmered under the tall trees of the dark park like a phosphorescent fish in a cupboard. You couldn't have had a better beacon.

And it appears that Edward Ashburnham led the girl not up the straight allée that leads to the Casino but in under the dark trees of the park (*GS* 79).

The route is described firstly as 'under the tall trees of the dark park', as if that would be the normal route – i.e. the 'straight allée that leads to the Casino' – and then Edward's unexpected diversion into the trees is

mentioned. The obvious route from the Kaiserhof (or nearby hotels) to the Casino would be through the courtyard of the Sprudelhof, and across the Kurpark on the straight path (bearing gently to the right) that leads directly to the Kurhaus.

This route is a continuation of Bahnhofsallee – one of only two streets in central Bad Nauheim with the ‘allee’ suffix (the other being Burgallee, which runs north-south a couple of streets behind the Kurhaus). There are three other possible candidates for the ‘straight allée’ to the Casino. One would be Terrassenstrasse, the road from Parkstrasse which leads north directly to the Kurhaus. This is not near any of our large up-market hotels, but it would be on a sensible ‘main-road’ route to the Casino from the Metropole or one of the hotels on Parkstrasse, for example. Also possible would be the path across the southwest corner of the Kurpark from near the Hotel de Russie. A third possibility would be the path from the northern end of Ludwigsstrasse, although contemporary maps suggest that there was no crossing over the River Usa to reach this path from Ludwigsstrasse: a bridge is shown in 1898 and 1927, but not in 1906-13, so it may have been a casualty of the Sprudelhof redevelopment work.

The novel mentions annual dinners with the Grand Duke of Nassau Schwerin, who reminded Dowell of ‘the late King Edward VII’ (*GS* 31). The locations are not specified, but it is possible that the Grand Duke

stayed in the same hotel as the Dowells and Ashburnhams and that these dinners were held there.

This would be tenuously consistent with an advertisement for the Grand Hotel Kaiserhof in Groedel (1899, p.178), which describes itself as ‘Patronized by Royalties’, and having facilities including ‘Electric light throughout, Lift, Splendid terrace, Tennis ground, Restaurant Français’.

On balance, based on these clues, the Kaiserhof – the largest hotel in Bad Nauheim, and among the most expensive and luxurious – seems the most likely for Ford to have used as the model for the ‘Excelsior’ – Latin for ‘more elevated’ (perhaps a reference to Edward and Leonora’s aspirations). Meyer’s *Reisebuch* singles it out for special praise as a ‘vornehmes Haus I. Ranges’ – a distinguished house of the first rank.

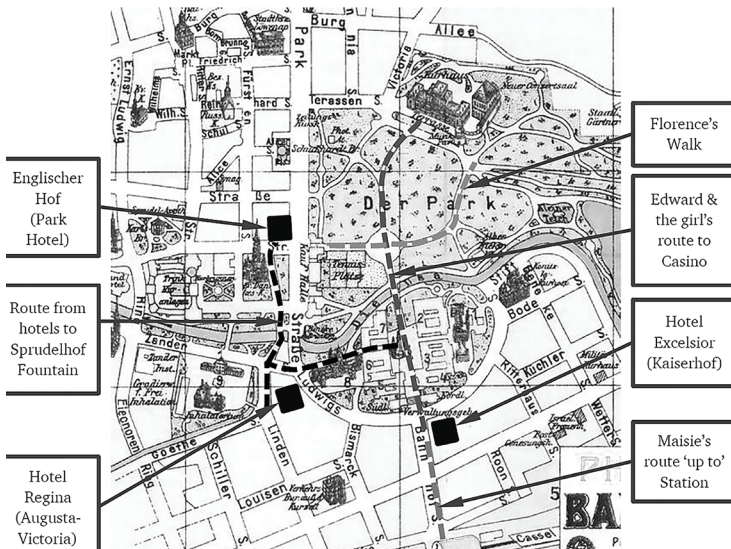
To quote Dowell, ‘I have, I am aware, told this story in a very rambling way so that it may be difficult for anyone to find their path through what may be a sort of maze’ (*GS* 124).

So, to summarise:

The locations of the Hotel Regina, Englischer Hof and Excelsior Hotel described in the Norton edition of *The Good Soldier* are not consistent with the contemporary sources relating to Bad Nauheim, or with geographical and other details mentioned in the novel. Tracing the route described in the novel suggests

that the most likely candidates for the fictional Hotel Regina and the Englischer Hof are respectively the Hotel Augusta-Victoria (at 7 Ludwigsstrasse) and the Park Hotel (at 2-4 Kurstrasse, on the corner with Parkstrasse). Analysis of various clues within the novel points towards the fictional Hotel Excelsior most likely having been based on the Grand Hotel Kaiserhof (at 4 Bahnhofsallee).

Here are these locations on the 1912 map below:



These hotels are larger and more up-market than those identified in the Norton edition.³⁶ Despite the comment, quoted at the start of this essay, that 'Ford places characters in establishments exactly reflecting

their social status rather than their wealth', it would appear that, rather, the choice of these expensive hotels was more influenced by the Dowells' actual wealth and the Ashburnhams' aspirations to be seen as such.

In the period immediately before writing the novel, Ford had spent a fair amount of time in and around Bad Nauheim, and it would have been fresh in his memory. It is not a large town, and he would certainly have been familiar with its hotels and geography. Although there are some inconsistencies in Dowell's account, it seems likely that any irregularities are deliberate on Ford's part. The confusion lies with Dowell, and contributes to our judgement of his reliability as a narrator.

I have not attempted to engage with the literary interpretation of *The Good Soldier*, but simply to piece together the evidence at face value. This re-evaluation of the geographical locations and routes will hopefully be of value in understanding and interpreting the narrator's complex, sometimes inconsistent and non-linear account of the plot.

Notes:

1 Ford Madox Ford, *The Good Soldier* (1915; edited by Martin Stannard, second edition, New York: Norton, 2012), 22fn., 23fn; hereafter *GS*.

2 Ford's dedicatory letter to Stella Ford (*GS* 3) gives the start date as 17 December 1913; Ford's fortieth

birthday.

3 Max Saunders, *Ford Madox Ford: A Dual Life*, two volumes (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996). See I, 313 for the first discussion of the visit to Bad Nauheim, while chapter 21 (338–345) covers Ford's time in Giessen, including his visit to Nauheim with Ezra Pound in August 1911 (341).

4 The photograph was identified on satellite images by the distinctive pattern of dormer windows in the roof.

5 Reproduced from <http://www.villa-royal-bad-nauheim.de/03c1989ba80caaa05/>

6 See <http://www.villa-royal-bad-nauheim.de/images/zeitungsauschnittwzvom130207.jpg>

7 *Visitors guide to Bad-Nauheim*. Bad Nauheim Verkehrs-Commission. 1907. Available at <https://archive.org/details/b28079309>. The hotels and lodgings are listed on pp.92-94.

8 See <http://www.villa-royal-bad-nauheide/031989ba80ca8c01/03c1989ba912f01f3/03c-1989ba912foaf5/d003.html>

9 Baedeker, K. *Nordwest-Deutschland. Handbuch für Reisende* (Leipzig: Baedeker, 1911). Available at: <https://archive.org/details/nordwest-deutschlookarl>. For Bad Nauheim, see 360-361.

10 It is tempting to speculate that either the Hohenzollern or the Villa Royal adopted the 'Excelsior' name to capitalise on the success of *The Good Soldier*, although I have found no evidence for this.

11 *Meyer's Reisebücher: Rheinlande*, 13th edition (Leipzig: Bibliographisches Institut, 1911), 17-19 for Bad Nauheim.

12 Groedel, I. M. *Bad-Nauheim : its springs and their uses, with useful local information and a guide to the environs* (Friedberg: Bindernagel, 1899). Available at: <https://archive.org/details/b28105059>

13 B. B. Bradshaw, *Bradshaw's dictionary of mineral waters, climatic health resorts, sea baths, and hydropathic establishments* (London: Kegan Paul, 1904): available at <https://archive.org/details/bbradshawsdictiooobraduoft>. For Bad Nauheim see 208-210.

14 There are many old photographs at <https://www.crowdfunding-bad-nauheim.de/online-museum/villen-hotels-und-prachtstrassen/>.

15 The earliest reference to it I have found is as 'Sanatorium Regina' in a small leaflet, 'Bad Nauheim: Pauschalkuren 1956/7', part of the Margo Wolff Collection. Available at https://archive.org/details/margowolff_5_reel05. For the 'Pauschalkuren'

[package cures] leaflet see 507-508.

16 See Ford Madox Ford, *Return to Yesterday* (1931; Manchester: Carcanet Press, 1999), 204: 'I am exactly six foot in height.'

17 <http://livehealthy.chron.com/determine-stride-pedometer-height-weight-4518.html> for a formula for stride length based on height. Six feet corresponds to a typical stride of 76cm, or 30 inches.

18 This and other maps are available at <https://www.crowdfunding-bad-nauheim.de/online-museum/forschung-heilung-lehre-und-kur/>

19 The footnote to this sentence (*GS* 22) describes Ford as 'struggling with the documentary detail' here. This is debatable, as Ford would probably have been very familiar with Nauheim's baths and their recent history in 1913.

20 Addresses are plotted on this map based on current street numbering. By triangulating modern addresses and aerial photographs against old maps, descriptions, postcards and photographs, this seems to be much the same as the street numbering 100 years ago, although there might be one or two small discrepancies in the placement of the markers.

21 This is where Elvis Presley stayed during his period in Germany doing National Service, a point that

features highly in Bad Nauheim's current tourist brochures.

22 W. V. D. Lawrence, *A diary: and reminiscences portraying the life and times of the author* (Poughkeepsie, New York: A.V. Haight, 1922). Available at <https://archive.org/details/cu31924029858820>. On his stay at Nauheim, see 198-206.

23 It is marked as *Neuer Konzertsaal* on the Pharus Plan above.

24 This description is also difficult to justify for a location on KÜchlerstrasse, which is away from any public gardens and would have had its view of the Sprudelhof blocked by other buildings.

25 The Augusta-Victoria appears to have had a north entrance on Ludwigstrasse and a south entrance, facing the public gardens, on Lindenstrasse, which is the better match for these directions. Photographs of both aspects of the Augusta-Victoria are at <https://www.crowdfunding-bad-nauheim.de/online-museum/villen-hotels-und-prachtstrassen/> (although the commentary refers to 'Luisenstrasse' rather than 'Lindenstrasse' – surely a mistake, as Luisenstrasse is a block further east).

26 Violet Hunt, *The Desirable Alien at Home in Germany* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1913). Available at <https://archive.org/details/desirablealien->

atoohuntiala. Dr Bittelmann is mentioned on p.93. The book includes two chapters and many footnotes by Ford.

27 There was another Hotel Victoria in Bad Nauheim, at the other end of Parkstrasse. The road running from the south side of the Kurhaus was Victoriastrasse (now Auguste-Viktoria-Strasse), and there was even a Britanniastrasse running parallel to it, one block south (now Franz-Groedel-Strasse).

28 There is an advertisement in Groedel (1899) for Bittong's Hotel Bristol, although it subsequently became simply the Hotel Bristol. The Hohenzollern was the only hotel using the Bittong name at the time Ford and Hunt were there.

29 Violet Hunt, *The Flurried Years* (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1926): available at <https://archive.org/details/flurriedyearsoohuntuoft>. The quoted passage is from p.132.

30 See https://www.picclickimg.com/d/l400/pict/372304785668_/52435603-6350-Bad-Nauheim-Villa-Alexandra-1903.jpg for a postcard of Villa Alexandra from 1903.

31 These were the Prince of Wales, the Eisenbahn Hotel and the Reichshof. The Prince of Wales was on K uchlerstrasse; the Eisenbahn was directly opposite the station; and the Reichshof was a little way south

‘noteworthy’ hotels. The Eisenbahn and Reichshof were towards the bottom of Baedeker’s list: Meyer’s Reisebuch describes them both as ‘bürgerlich’ [‘middle-class’].

32 See, for example, GS 13, where Dowell says: ‘Yes, Leonora was extraordinarily fair and so extraordinarily the real thing that she seemed too good to be true. You don’t, I mean, as a rule, get it all so superlatively together. To be the county family, to look the county family, to be so appropriately and perfectly wealthy; to be so perfect in manner—even just to the saving touch of insolence that seems to be necessary. To have all that and to be all that! No, it was too good to be true.’ Later (GS 51), he describes the return from India with Mrs Maidan thus: ‘So it had looked very well—the benevolent, wealthy couple of good people, acting as saviours to the poor, dark-eyed, dying young thing.’

33 These are long, tall wooden structures covered in bundles of brushwood (typically blackthorn), through which the salty spa water is made to cascade, creating an effect not unlike ‘sea air’. Several are still in existence and operational.

34 *The Flurried Years*, 132.

35 The Pharus Plan shows a *Verkehrsbureau* on the corner of Louisenstrasse and Bismarckstrasse, rather than at the station. This may or may not be the same

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as the *Reiseverkehrs-bureau*.

36 Although, based on Baedeker's prices, the Hotel d'Angleterre was perhaps the most exclusive hotel in Bad Nauheim at the time.