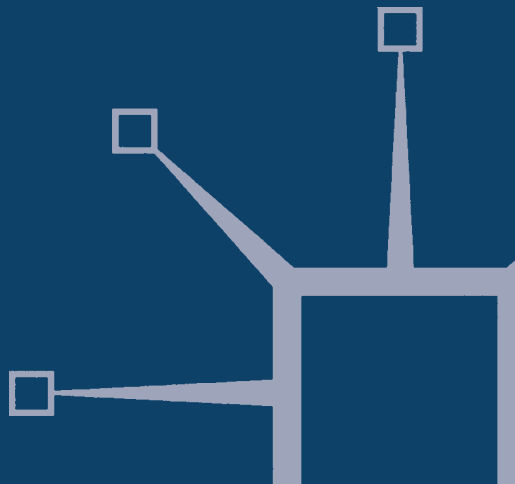


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British Images of Germany

Admiration, Antagonism and Ambivalence,
1860–1914

Richard Scully



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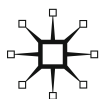
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1860–1914

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Series Editors' Preface

British Images of Germany: Admiration, Antagonism & Ambivalence, 1860–1914 is the fifth book in the *Britain and the World* series, edited by The British Scholar Society and published by Palgrave Macmillan. From the sixteenth century onward, Britain's influence on the world became progressively profound and far-reaching, in time touching every continent and subject, from Africa to South America and archaeology to zoology. Although the histories of Britain and the world became increasingly intertwined, mainstream British history still neglects the world's influence upon domestic developments and British overseas history remains largely confined to the study of the British Empire. This series takes a broader approach to British history, seeking to investigate the full extent of the world's influence on Britain and Britain's influence on the world.

British Images of Germany offers a reassessment of Anglo-German cultural relations from the 1860s to the 1910s. In it, Richard Scully challenges the widely held view that Britons progressively identified Germany and Germans as enemies in the lead-up to the First World War. He argues that Britons regarded Germany with ambivalence: they admired Germany and its achievements on the one hand while they regarded it as an unwelcome rival on the other. Britons engaged in intense debate over what Germany and its achievements meant for Britain and its Empire, with British admiration and antagonism coexisting right up to the outbreak of the war. Scully draws upon a variety of sources – maps, travel literature, literary and popular fiction, and political cartoons and the press – to present a fascinating picture of Britain's cultural relations with a key imperial rival during the height of empire.

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It seems to be a convention to thank the most important person in one's life last, and far be it from me to break with convention: to my wife, partner and best friend Natashia, your hard work and high achievement in your own academic career continue to be an inspiration to me. That we've managed to give the world a couple of books, in addition to little Patrick Richard Scully, is surely only the beginning.

Any errors or other failings in this book are, of course, my own.

Richard Scully, April 2012

Introduction – ‘The Beginnings’

It was not part of their blood,
It came to them very late
With long arrears to make good,
When the English began to hate.

They were not easily moved,
They were icy willing to wait
Till every count be proved
Ere the English began to hate.

Rudyard Kipling, 1915.¹

It need hardly be said that Britain’s relationship with Germany and the Germans has been of immense importance historically. In the twentieth century, the contest for power between the two countries helped to push the world to war in 1914; triggered a second more terrible conflict in 1939; led to Britain’s imperial retreat and drove it by necessity into a ‘special relationship’ with the United States after 1941. The origins of this troubled relationship – the 1860–1914 period, which is the focus of this book – is perhaps one of the best-known, but least understood, phases in Britain’s association with Germany, being most meticulously explored in Paul Kennedy’s *Rise of the Anglo-German Antagonism* (1980): still the dominant master-narrative despite three decades of subsequent scholarship. Charting the process by which Britain and Germany became diplomatically and militarily estranged, Kennedy took as his basic purpose to explain why ‘the British and German peoples ... went to war against each other’, when they possessed no longstanding tradition of antipathy and indeed had been remarkably close for much of the preceding century.² The general and ongoing fascination with this apparent paradox has also led popular historians to explore it, and in a sense, every history of the origins of the First and Second World Wars – which constitute entire genres in their own right – can be said to constitute a work on Anglo-German relations.³ But therein lies a significant problem

of perspective: while millions of words have been devoted to the military and diplomatic relationship between these two nations as they relate to the causes of the world wars of the last century, comparatively little has been written of Anglo-German relations outside this context, particularly in the sphere of cultural history.⁴

The tendency to conflate all aspects of Anglo-German relations with the origins of the world wars has had a particular effect upon the way historical British attitudes towards Germany are viewed. Historians and literary critics have tended to treat Anglo-German relations teleologically: accepting that the war was 'going to happen', and reading history 'backwards'.⁵ Historians like Kennedy referred to cultural evidence only in so far as it supported their intention to trace the origins of antagonism, culminating in Germans and Britons lining up on different sides of No-Man's-Land in 1914.⁶ Because of the ultimate failure to prevent the countries going to war with one another, evidence for the continuing sense of affinity felt by Britons for their 'German Cousins' before 1914 was therefore largely seen as unimportant. Indeed, even so thorough an historian as Kennedy, who acknowledged the 'religious, racial, cultural and dynastic ties which so many people felt bound Britain and Germany together', dismissed these, claiming that because they ultimately gave way to wartime Germanophobia, they 'were of little or no weight in the changing relationship', and therefore worthy of only a few chapters of analysis.⁷

Partly because of the continued historical emphasis on conflict, a negative attitude towards Germany and the Germans in Britain dating from 1914–1918 continues down to the present. John Cleese's infamous ironic injunction of 1975 – 'Don't mention the war!' – remains of pivotal significance when trying to explain British (and particularly *English*) attitudes towards Germany, and indeed it was in the Britain of Basil Fawlty that the first recognisable cultural history of Anglo-German relations first appeared: John Mander's *Our German Cousins*.⁸ Appearing in 1974, shortly after Edward Heath took United Kingdom into the Common Market, Mander's exploration of the complex course of relations between the two nations should really be better recognised as a standard work of reference on the subject. Mander asserted (in rather patronising fashion) that if Britons were still Germanophobic in the mid 1970s, it was only out of a yearning for

that Germany of wine and song, of *Dichter und Denker* [poet and thinker], of *Ruhe* [tranquility] and *Gemütlichkeit* [geniality]! That is the Germany Anglo-Saxons used to love, the Germany of Albert and Victoria and our grandparents. Is it still there? Is it – was it ever? – the 'real' Germany?⁹

Though intending to problematise British views of Germany and recall a time when attitudes were more positive, Mander's work did little to correct a tendency to focus on the more negative Germany opposed to that

in the above quotation; by the end of the century, 'tired images of spiked helmets, monocles and goose-stepping soldiers' remained the norm.¹⁰ By the last months of the Thatcher government, negative views of Germans as warmongers were ingrained even at the highest levels of British government. Trade and Industry Secretary Nicholas Ridley was famously forced to resign over having 'said the unsayable' about Germany in an interview for the *Spectator*: that the then EEC was simply a 'German racket' designed to take over the continent, and comparing Chancellor Kohl to Adolf Hitler.¹¹ A high-level meeting at Chequers of historians and experts exposed the Prime Minister herself as an unreformed Germanophobe (and Europhobe); while conversing with a group of historians at the Chequers meeting, Thatcher repeatedly interjected that one couldn't *trust* the Germans.¹²

Clearly 'oversimplified pictures of the past' – making it 'difficult to see the present' – can be disastrous for fruitful political interaction between nations.¹³ This is a problem for governments as well as historians, and both the British and German foreign offices have sought ways to emphasise the *Crossroads and Roundabouts*, that characterise the 'the colourful mosaic' of German–British relations, within the enterprise of Europe.¹⁴ Historians too are now keen to show that 'the ways in which the two nations viewed each other were more varied, changeable, and open-ended' than historians have previously allowed for.¹⁵ Yet it has only been since 2000 that a significant shift has occurred in the academy.¹⁶ It was only in 2006 that the persistent Anglo-German interactions and affections of the pre-1914 period received their own international conference; the most exciting papers of that conference appeared in book form as Dominik Geppert and Robert Gerwarth's collection, *Wilhelmine Germany and Edwardian Britain* (2008).¹⁷ Their belief, that the 'traditional scholarly focus' on the rise of Anglo-German antagonism has only revealed part of a much richer story, has also animated parallel works of great significance in very recent years.¹⁸ Thomas Weber's superb study of elite education in Britain and Germany before 1914; complete special editions of the journals *German History* (in Europe) and *Central European Studies* (in North America); Frank Bösch's and others' examinations of the press and *Öffentlichkeit* [public sphere], have all combined to produce something of a new consensus.¹⁹ It is now impossible to tell the Anglo-German story without accounting for 'cultural affinities, intellectual cross-fertilizations, social connections, and mutual admiration', for to do so is to privilege the master-narrative of international conflict epitomised by Kennedy, at the expense of trans-national issues of equal importance.²⁰

While the existence of growing diplomatic and political antagonism prior to 1914 cannot be doubted, it is now the focus of much study to explore the apparent paradox that cultural exchanges between Germany and Britain 'were particularly intense when their relationship was characterised by enmity as well as by veneration, by simultaneous rivalry *and* partnership'.²¹ That the challenge to Kennedy has been so successful is partly because of the

expansion of the source-base from which historians construct their knowledge of the past. A Rankean preoccupation with diplomatic documents, press reports and economic data (sources which are nevertheless appropriate and indispensable for exploring the origins of major diplomatic and military conflicts) produced the view of a relationship in steady decline, leading to almost inevitable conflict.²² Yet an alternative focus upon cultural forms of evidence reveals 1914 as an abrupt termination, rather than a logical culmination, of different historical trends in Anglo-German relations.

The older idea that anti-German public opinion was an essential cause of Britain's drive to war in 1914 has therefore been successfully challenged, and even the notion of a widespread Germanophobia has come into question, in favour of a more nuanced view of an ongoing Anglo-German 'love-hate relationship'.²³ There has been a realisation of the ways in which the popular cultural image of Germany changed only slowly, and often with a significant 'delay' when compared with changes in perceptions at the apex of the diplomatic and political hierarchy.²⁴ Indeed, Mander's concepts of 'ambivalence' and 'ambiguity' are now the key terms used to describe British attitudes towards Germany and the Germans, and are emerging as more critical attention is devoted to the cultural history of Anglo-German relations.²⁵ It has been difficult for historians brought up on the older diplomatic version of Anglo-German relations to abandon the notion that after 1890, there was a 'steadfast hostility' to Prussianism; an inexorable downturn in British attitudes towards Germany; and that from the time of the Second South African War (Boer War) 'it was downhill all the way to 1914'.²⁶ Yet those same historians have urged the new generation of graduate students to challenge the generalised concept that in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Germany became 'the new threat against which "Britain" defined itself', and not simply accept the notion as 'probably correct'.²⁷

This book continues and extends such a reassessment, having been conceived on the other side of the world from the fulcrum of the new consensus, but animated by very much the same spirit. Beginning in 1860, I ask to what extent had Germany already become a clear 'enemy Other', or a misunderstood friend, for Britons by the time war broke out in 1914? Such a question is primarily a cultural, as well as a diplomatic and political one, requiring a close interrogation of a variety of different sources. Like Geppert and Gerwarth and their contributors, I cannot honestly hope to pursue a 'total history' of Anglo-German cultural relations in this period, nor do I hope to be the 'new Kennedy' called for by Jan Rüger.²⁸ To best illustrate the unfolding of British intellectual and cultural debates over Germany, I have taken a broad sample of still largely neglected or poorly understood cultural forms (cartography, travel literature, literary and popular fiction, and political cartoons), and investigated the way their authors sought to define Germany over the entire period 1860 to 1914.

Maps are perhaps the most obvious representations of Germany, and their study reveals not only the way political realities caused the lines and colours representing 'Germany' to be drawn and redrawn, but also the ethnic, racial and religious assumptions underpinning the construction of such images by cartographers. Even more significantly, this study reveals the way close professional and personal relationships – of a similar kind to those already explored by other scholars – literally 'coloured' the way Britons viewed Germany cartographically.²⁹ Such images are more characteristic of affinity than antipathy in the years before 1914; of co-operative 'freemasonry' rather than competition.³⁰ Like the maps of Germany (which were often found inside the travel books of the period), the images presented in travel literature do not reflect a simple shift from admiration to antagonism, but a continued esteem only destroyed by the coming of war. German spas, hotels and boarding houses were 'zones of contact' for British and German elites and businessmen, and well-to-do Britons actively sought these out in their ongoing attempt to make meaning of the dynamic entity that was Germany.³¹

Despite their heavy use in earlier works on British attitudes to Germany, my approach to 'popular' and 'literary' fiction is nevertheless a novel one.³² The 'great war between Britain and Germany' did not begin in 1903–1904, with the publication of the first strident tales of German invasion, nor did such 'tales of the war-to-come' merely encourage the British and Germans to 'see themselves as inevitable enemies'.³³ As I show here, even the novels expressing fear of German invasion contain what A. J. A. Morris called 'a significant ambivalence of attitude'.³⁴ Even 'scaremongers' like William Le Queux, proponents of national efficiency, greater state control, or conscription, expressed a 'startling admiration for German models'.³⁵ In clashing with more liberal authors who argued from a different standpoint, they together produced an image of Germany which could simultaneously and paradoxically be both a 'monster' to be bested, and a 'model' to be emulated.³⁶ The British literary engagement with Germany did not decline from the 1860s, and nor did 'German Lucifer' transform into 'German Satan' very readily.³⁷ Similarly, political cartoons encapsulated the kinds of debates over Germany that confronted Britons throughout 1860–1914.³⁸ Though used after 1914 to inculcate 'hatred of England's enemies', before 1914 British cartoons show well the way today's enemy became tomorrow's friend with a startling rapidity.³⁹

My choice of these forms of evidence reflects both the 'gaps' in existing historiography, as well as the quite extraordinary fashion in which cartography, literature, travel literature and cartoons/*karikatur* overlap and simultaneously inform upon one another, making the selection appear almost natural. Erskine Childers' novel *The Riddle of the Sands* draws much of its narrative strength from 'thick geography'; references are made throughout to *Baedeker* guides and E. F. Knight's travel memoir *The Falcon*

in the *Baltic*; the Kaiser appears as little more than a caricature (with the merest hint of an upturned moustache being enough to persuade the *Punch* and *Judy*-reading audience of the novel of the identity of the man in the illustrations); as do the efficient, militarised Germans.⁴⁰ That other sources – the press in general, or juvenile literature – have been exhaustively and effectively mined by others, is the reason for their relative absence here.⁴¹

Recognising the inherently political nature of such sources goes some way to bringing together ‘the political and cultural histories of Anglo-German relations’, which ‘continue to be written in isolation from one another’.⁴² In these sources, one can discern most clearly the cultural counter-currents to the diplomatic ‘flood-tide’ of British relations with Germany, yet despite ongoing expressions of affinity, the two nations did go to war in 1914.⁴³ So rather than being content with describing only the more positive side of what was a multifarious set of images of Germany, or seeing Britain being passively bombarded by often paradoxical impressions of Germany and the Germans, it is important to perceive how throughout the period 1860–1914, key Britons were active in seeking a better understanding of Germany, and constructing that image to suit their purposes. The question, ‘What could and should “Germany” mean for Britain?’ generated a debate at many ‘different levels’ of high politics, public opinion, and popular culture, which resulted in Britons of all levels treating Germany and the Germans with caution, but coming up short of classifying them categorically as an ‘enemy’.⁴⁴

This complex sense of Germany was only brought to an end with the irruption of war between the two countries in 1914. This comparatively late moment was the real ‘parting of the ways’ between Britons and their German cousins.⁴⁵ No sense of Anglo-German affinity could survive the realities of open conflict, in which the citizens and subjects of Britain and Germany were actively engaged in killing one another, and 1914 therefore saw a radical reorientation of British attitudes, as war with Germany ceased to be only a ‘remote contingency’, and Germany itself no longer an unknown quantity.⁴⁶ Though Germanophobia did not cause the British to go to war with the Germans, it proved a powerful tool with which to rally support for involvement in the conflict during the heady days of late July and early August 1914; and after war was actually declared on 4 August, helped sustain the legitimacy of the conflict as serving the nation’s interest.⁴⁷ Indeed the resolution of decades of debate and ambivalent feeling towards Germany (rather than a long-standing, Germanophobic ‘psychological preparation’) was what inspired so many to take up arms (or pens, or other tools), as millions of Britons became actively engaged in shaping their country’s relationship with Germany with a new sense of clarity, and even of relief.⁴⁸

Written as it was in 1915, the quotation from Rudyard Kipling which stands as an epigraph to this introduction encompasses much of what I seek to explore in the coming chapters. Kipling himself had settled upon Germany as an enemy from an early date; his letters speaking of a real fear at German

designs on the British Empire.⁴⁹ But it would be a mistake to take Kipling's attitudes as an exemplar of wider British attitudes. Indeed in writing 'The Beginnings', Kipling was expressing something of a frustration that his countrymen and women had not been prepared to imagine Germany absolutely as their enemy until no other course was left open, retaining the regard felt for their German cousins until the last possible minute. 'The Beginnings' suggests that widespread hatred of Germany was much more a product of the unique circumstances of the First World War than the period preceding it; and through an analysis of the work of Kipling's contemporaries, I will show in this book just how British attitudes were shaped by ongoing debate, *before* the British truly learned to 'hate' the Germans.

Part I

Mapping Germany, 1860–1914

‘Now – well, look at the chart. No, better still, look first at this map of Germany. It’s on a small scale, and you can see the whole thing’. He snatched down a pocket-map from the shelf and unfolded it. ‘Here’s this huge empire, stretching half over central Europe – an empire growing like wild-fire, I believe, in people, and wealth, and everything.

Erskine Childers, 1902¹

Author’s note: While it has only been possible to reproduce a small number of the maps discussed in the following chapters, readers can access a considerable number of them via the excellent *David Rumsey Historical Map Collection*, at www.davidrumsey.com.

1

From Geographical Expression to German Empire

When considering how the British viewed and depicted Germany in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it seems appropriate to begin with an examination of their image of the land itself: the shape of its coastline, extent of its borders, the position of its cities and rivers. Cartography allowed the Britons of the period to gain an immediate picture of the essential physical nature of any state – not merely Germany – by imagining its appearance on the page. And just as other visual sources can further inform the historian as to the prevailing attitudes of Britons towards Germany and the Germans, it is possible also to read maps in this way. Keith Robbins among others has acknowledged that ‘every map has a message, implicit or explicit’, and that as in the writing of a history or novel, in the science of cartography there is just as much ‘need to tell a story’.² The quotation at the head of this section exemplifies well the starting-point from which many Britons approached an understanding of their German cousins; although as we shall see, it presents a somewhat simplistic interpretation of the available cartographic evidence for dramatic, literary effect.

The world maps and atlases produced throughout the late nineteenth century were popular items which brought a basic understanding of geography to the schoolrooms and private residences of the prosperous middle classes of Victorian and Edwardian Britain. ‘A splash of colour suggestive of new horizons’ could illustrate the bold march of progress into the Dark Continent, or just as easily inform the armchair diplomat of the recent changes to South American borders.³ The writers of novels like *The Riddle of the Sands* utilised geography to help establish a framework on which to impose their narrative and did so secure in the knowledge that if their audience did not already know enough of the topography of Europe or the world to follow the story, then a quick glance over a handy atlas or collection of maps would solve their momentary difficulty. Maps and atlases were thus becoming increasingly accessible and essential tools for understanding concepts of nation and identity.⁴

Despite the central importance of cartography to the British (and European) understanding of the world, very little in the way of analysis has been attempted to explore what maps can reveal about past attitudes between nations. Much of the theoretical work on cartography to date has concerned itself with mapping as a practical tool of internal state control; or as a power-political instrument, shaping patterns of national, colonial or imperial rule, rather than as a form of cultural representation.⁵ Thus, while there exists a plethora of works dealing with mapping as a form of imperial power projection or indigenous dispossession, the historian seeking out investigations of how nations represented their relationships with one other in map form will be unable to locate more than a few relevant texts, or brief throwaway references in works concerned with other issues.⁶ Nevertheless, the methodologies used by postcolonial critics of cartography are readily transferable to the study of British representations of Germany, and to the maps of Germany that were produced in this period, which offer an interesting insight into British attitudes and ideas.

It has been apparent to historians since at least the 1970s that cartography is, despite pretensions to impartiality, a highly subjective method of representing the world and that 'the apparent "objectivity" of map-making and map-using processes cannot be divorced from aspects of the politics of representation'.⁷ Foucault's (and Derrida's) problematisation of all knowledge construction, questioning its relationship with themes of political power, was applied to cartography by Arno Peters, Brian Harley and others, who sought by various means to expose the biases and inaccuracies in maps.⁸ While Harley and those who followed him saw in maps 'documents that contribute to the discourse of power' (and actively sought out what Jeremy Black called 'cartographic conspiracies'), more recent studies have emphasised the less political and more ingenuous aspects of mapmaking, such as the limits imposed by technology on the profession and the impossibility of representing that which is spherical – the surface of the earth – on a flat plane.⁹ Therefore rather than being simply a case of powerful knowledge-makers (and their patrons) imposing their view of the world, cartography is now regarded as being composed of various choices between *different* politics, as well as other factors.¹⁰ In Denis Wood's *The Power of Maps*, the historian finds the most apposite exploration to date, as he skilfully adopted 'the iconic tradition of decoding paintings and other works of art', combining them with 'postmodernist concerns about the nature of text and the contingent nature of authorial intention'.¹¹ The map is therefore, 'not apart from its culture, but instead a *part* [italics in original] of its culture', and like the 'signs and myths' in works of art and literature is able to be 'decoded' for the light it can shed on the assumptions and ideas held by past societies.¹²

Though incorporating critiques of maps from the age of 'Route 66 [and] Kentucky Fried Chicken boxes', Wood's method was of the greatest relevance to maps produced contemporaneously with Renaissance works of art,

the exploration of which led to the birth of art history as a discipline.¹³ The first thing to note in any examination of late nineteenth and early twentieth century maps as cultural objects is the great extent to which a more objective, scientific form of cartography had come to dominate the profession. Bizarre geographical errors, fabrications and imaginative flourishes slowly began to disappear from Western cartography in the period around the turn of the nineteenth century, as scientific observation brought greater accuracy to the art of mapmaking.¹⁴ By the end of the nineteenth century, cartographers had 'measured the Earth to a more or less fine degree of accuracy', obliterating the empty spaces, dragons and sea-monsters of an earlier era.¹⁵ Thus, lacking as they do the more obvious forms of 'artistic' embellishment, it might appear that any British maps of Germany in the 1860–1914 period will be purely scientific artefacts, devoid of any of the more subjective observations that appeared on eighteenth century maps of Eastern Europe, for example.¹⁶ But the maps created at this time still permit the historian to glimpse the unspoken beliefs and prejudices which informed the practitioners of that science, as well as some fairly overt declarations of attitude and outlook. Aspects such as a map's scale, orientation and projection are informative, and likewise the 'splashes of colour'; the deliberate inscription of place names and boundaries; titles; keys and captions, assist the historian in decoding a map. These allow the early twenty-first century observer a glimpse of the inherent biases and underlying assumptions about the world which British mapmakers invested in their work, and particularly as that work related to Germany.

While the projection or scale of any given map has occupied the attention of most scholars of cartography as a cultural production, in terms of British maps of Germany the issue of most significance is that of colour.¹⁷ 'Colour', observed Mark Monmonier, 'is a cartographic quagmire'.¹⁸ While colours can make a map visually attractive and fulfil a need for contrast (on road maps, geological maps or other maps showing many different categories) 'spectral hues have no logical ordering in the mind's eye. ... Some might order them from green to red, some from blue to red'.¹⁹ Monmonier is correct to problematise any discussion of colour in the deconstruction of maps, as the implications of a particular colour are significantly different for different observers and at different times. While the large patches of blue on a world map are quite obvious to some as representing the bodies of water, splashes of red meant different things at different times to different people. The effect of simultaneous contrast on the sensory organs of an observer not only draws one's attention to a brightly coloured area because of its own characteristic hue, but because the adjoining areas may be less brilliant; red for example appearing far brighter next to a pale blue than if it were placed next to a colour of similar attributes.²⁰ Thus, colour is both inclusive and exclusive as a cartographic tool, denoting what belongs and what does not. This is further enhanced in some maps by the use of coloured or matt-black

boundary lines. In addition, use of a particular colour or shade can rest on a myriad associations from sources other than simply the key of a map. Associations are sometimes made, for example, between red, scarlet or crimson and blood, passion, heat, anger or power, material force, royalty. In the period after that discussed in this book, red also signified Communism.²¹ Blue and green are 'cooler' colours, distinct from red and orange as pacific and more commonly occurring in nature. It was to such cooler colours that democratic nations resorted when depicting themselves during the later Cold War.²² Thus colour takes on immensely varied connotations – not all of which may be readily accessible to the historian – depending on the perspective of the observer, as well as the actual designation by a cartographic key as to the colour's significance.

It is however possible to make a reliable claim for the value accorded to the colour red as in the maps explored here. Despite all the possible connotations which that colour possesses, for British mapmakers and their readers in the 1860–1914 period, red was the *imperial* red, the one colour against which all others were deemed to be subordinate. The British Empire was regularly depicted in reddish hues in domestically produced maps and atlases from the 1840s. It was first used to denote possessions of the East India Company on the Subcontinent, and most probably selected for its traditional associations with royalty and power, as well as for its 'striking effect': red being then the most vivid tone available.²³ By the early twentieth century, the red applied in the cartographic world had become inextricably linked to a sense of British national identity. In describing the appearance of the map of Africa in *Heart of Darkness* (1903), Joseph Conrad could be confident that his readers knew what he meant when describing 'one vast amount of red – good to see at any time'; and cartographers used the 'red usually reserved for the empire' as shorthand for a specific shade when communicating within their workplace.²⁴ E. M. Forster, in *Howards End* (1910), was less impressed, and described Africa's appearance as 'looking like a whale marked out for blubber', but he was in a minority.²⁵ Such was the pervading sense of national importance attached to this particular view of the world that many in positions of influence – cartographers included – saw the study of cartography in general and of the red blotches on the map in particular as a 'positive duty' for the patriotic subjects and children of the first true world power.²⁶ It is important to keep in mind the importance of colour to British cartographers, for as we shall see, it occupied a place of particular importance when depicting Britain's relationship with Germany and the Germans.

This was a period when the colours, lines and names which denoted 'Germany' on British maps underwent significant change. British cartographers chronicled the transformations wrought by Bismarckian diplomacy, as first the duchies of Schleswig-Holstein yielded to combined Austrian and Prussian military power; then as the German Confederation was swept away,

and Austria was 'excluded from Germany' by Prussian victory in 1866.²⁷ Latterly, Bismarck's short-lived North German Confederation expanded to encompass the southern German states and Alsace-Lorraine in a German Empire; and then, after a hiatus of little over a decade, 'Germany' again expanded to take in sections of Africa and numerous island groups in the Pacific, including north-eastern New Guinea. Though they understandably rushed to include the new boundaries and divisions in their works, what an examination of the maps and atlases of this period indicates is that British cartographers only gradually altered their conceptions of what 'Germany' could mean, both in geographic terms and as it related to Great Britain more broadly. In fact, the 'New' Germany after 1871 took a long time to become differentiated from the 'Old' Germany of petty statelets, as non-existent boundaries and archaic emphases continued to appear on British-produced maps of Germany. Indeed it seems that only in the twentieth century did British cartographers come to envisage 'an empire growing like wildfire', unified and powerful, and a potential threat to Britain. Even then, underlying assumptions about the religious and racial connections between Britain and Germany (which were represented in the maps they produced), as well as close professional ties with their German counterparts (which were not), prevented them from depicting the German Reich as an outright enemy or 'Other', until the reality of open war made any other view impossible to sustain after 1914.

'Germany' had existed on the map of Europe for centuries before the period in which it achieved its initial national form, although in its earlier cartographic guises it was ill suited to representation in a single colour or shade. Within the same atlas, Germany as the mere 'geographical expression' of Prince Metternich's famous estimation could encompass all the territory from the borders of France to Russia and from the Baltic to Adriatic Sea; or alternatively represent those smaller lands along the east bank of the Rhine, leaving such German regions as Austria and Prussia in possession of a distinct identity of their own.²⁸ The young Princess (later Queen) Victoria, in a hand-drawn and hand-coloured map of c.1830, saw fit to depict Germany (marked with a firm 'g') as a sprawling form, that included Belgium, Bohemia and Austria, but excluded a small 'rump' Prussia. It comprised a unit alongside France, Hungary and the other 'geographical expression' of early nineteenth century Europe: Italy.²⁹ The Germany of ages past – the Holy Roman Empire – and the German Confederation of the early nineteenth century, appeared on the page as features more appropriate to physical maps, a veritable forest of small states in which the armies of Great Powers campaigned, amidst the vegetation of principalities, duchies and church lands. Since the early 1800s, the popularity of historical maps and atlases had reinforced this appearance, as the campaigns of Wallenstein or Gustavus Adolphus during the Thirty Years' War were faithfully represented cutting across borders as easily as traversing streams, and charts of the

campaigns of Napoleon *in* Germany give further credence to the image of a readily permeable entity rather than a cohesive nation-state.³⁰

By the 1860s therefore, the tradition of German disunity was an established fact for mapmakers in Britain. Those cartographic publishers releasing new editions of maps or atlases throughout the decade found it easy to depict the European status quo by simply maintaining the conventions of the past for depicting political features like the ill-defined delineation of the 'German Confederation' (the entity which replaced the Holy Roman Empire in the post-Napoleonic period). Indeed, in the final editions of the prominent Johnston *Royal Atlas* to be released before the beginning of the Wars of German Unification, what appears to be a printing error has left the 'boundary of the German Confederation coloured thus', with no trace of the coloured line intended for the map (Plate 1).³¹ Perhaps this would be excusable as a mere accident and therefore not terribly revelatory in historical terms, if it weren't for the similar absence of the boundary in the subsequent 1864 edition also.³² Inspecting the Johnston atlases' maps of Europe for a trace of the actual limits of the Confederation, one does find an obscure dotted line, of the kind apparently reserved for guiding the later application of international borders as colour overlays on initial black-and-white printings.³³ Evidently the German Confederation was deemed somewhat unworthy of halting the expensive business of atlas publishing. In any case, the stability of the European state system in the years between the two editions seems to have allowed the Johnston firm to reuse the 1861 plates for the 1864 edition with little alteration (the cession by Britain to Greece of the Ionian Islands being the only discernible change in international borders during those years; the Polish uprising of 1863–4 not producing any major shift in the borders of the Russian Empire).³⁴

The reuse of engraved printing plates from edition to edition of Johnston's *Royal Atlas* (a common practice, based on financial concerns) meant that while cartographers thus encountered few major difficulties from the 1861 to 1864 editions, any major change in political geography would have necessitated a somewhat drastic alteration to the conventions of the past. Nevertheless, though the 'physical and intellectual landscape was changing' in the 1860s, the nature of those changes meant that the Johnston layout proved remarkably resilient.³⁵ The exclusively 'German' lands, divided as they were largely over three maps in both the 1861 and 1864 editions, in fact appeared in an unchanged arrangement well into the twentieth century. For example, the focus of Map 17 was and remained the area of:

DENMARK and Hanover, Brunswick, Mecklenburg, Oldenburg, Anhalt and Lippe.³⁶

Alteration of the exact phrasing of this title indicated any new political changes, rather than variation of the map's visual focus. Interestingly, the

political realities of 1861–1864 are depicted in particularly selective form, with no mention of the nominally independent nature of the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein in the map title of either edition.³⁷ It was this issue which was the legal basis for Austria's and Prussia's military challenge to Denmark in 1864, after King Christian IX unilaterally annexed the duchies – of which he was the duke – to the Danish kingdom, and yet both atlas editions chose to show Schleswig-Holstein in the same shade of green as the Danish kingdom proper.³⁸

In the case of the other two 'German' charts, one consistently displayed the same area of 'South-Western Germany' with its constituent states, while the focus of the other was the 'Kingdom of Prussia'. In the former instance, an insight into what precisely constituted a 'German' state for the Britons reading this atlas may be gained by referring to a short note in the key. The editor advises that parties interested in 'Liechtenstein principality, see plate 15', grouping that tiny Alpine realm with its northern compatriots, and thereby separating it from its cartographic neighbours Austria and Switzerland as an example of a purely 'German' state.³⁹ Viewing Map 19, the Johnston atlas reserves colouration exclusively for the areas under Prussian control, and yet what would be regarded as logical conventions are applied – as in the Danish map – rather flexibly. The Prussian provinces are each given their own distinctive colour – predominantly hues of purple, yellow, green – while the two separate provinces which bear the name of the kingdom itself – West Prussia and East Prussia – are given the same pinkish-red shading.⁴⁰ Presumably, the desire to show the Prussian homeland as a unit, despite de facto political divisions, dictated this course of action, and yet the impression given is one of an imperial relationship between Johnston's version of 'Prussia proper' and the other German regions subject to the rule of the Hohenzollern dynasty (West Prussia itself did not become Prussian territory until the Partition of Poland in 1772).⁴¹ Berlin, the administrative and dynastic centre of the kingdom, is located within the differently coloured province of Brandenburg on the main field of the map, and yet via the existence of a detailed inset-map stands aloof from that province, constituting an island of purely Prussian identity within an otherwise German territory.⁴²

Of particular interest to the historian must be the British atlases which appeared after 1871, the date at which 'Germany' ceased to be a mere geographical expression and began to connote something more concrete. With almost a grudging sense of satisfaction at the *fait accompli* presented by the proclamation of Bismarck's Reich, Adam and Charles Black noted that

Germany is a geographical division of Central Europe, the extent of which may be variously estimated, but which we shall here regard as including all the territory now constituting the German Empire, without reference to any more extensive signification.⁴³

The 1873 *Black's Atlas*, like the 1871 edition of the Johnston *Royal Atlas*, was compiled during a period of exceptional change in German political geography. Johnston's previous 1864 atlas was now clearly out of date not only as the territorial changes wrought by the Second Schleswig-Holstein War of that year, but also those of the subsequent Austro-Prussian or 'Seven Weeks' War' of 1866, demonstrated. The frontiers of the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein had passed from Danish, to combined Austro-Prussian, and then to Prussian hands in the space of just two years; while equally significantly for Britons, the Kingdom of Hanover – homeland of the ruling British dynasty for over a century – had been absorbed entirely into a victorious Prussian state.⁴⁴ While these small wars no doubt informed the publishers' desire to produce a new volume, the irruption of the Franco-Prussian War towards the end of the compilation process could only have produced consternation at the firm's London offices.

In the early days of the war, many in Europe expected Napoleon III to make short work of the Prussian armies, and proceed to reorganise Rhenish Germany in a manner more beneficial to the ambitions of Imperial France.⁴⁵ Such a reorganisation would most likely have dictated the scrapping of all the work done up to that time and the preparation – at great financial cost – of new plates for Germany and the central European states by W. & A. K. Johnston and many other atlas- and map-makers. As it transpired, with the demolition of the French armies and capture of Napoleon at Sedan in September, and the subsequent siege of Paris, such a change was not required. As released in early 1871, the Keith Johnston *Royal Atlas* quite happily made use of the older plates in the company's possession, and merely adopted a style of superimposing more recent border changes and political divisions upon the technically obsolescent maps completed between 1864 and 1871.⁴⁶ One has but to inspect Map 3 of the 1871 edition to understand this.⁴⁷ The map of Europe appears with a large amethyst blob at its centre, as 'the German Empire, 1871, coloured purple' appears for the first time in a published atlas.⁴⁸ However well this later colouration has been disguised as an afterthought is betrayed by the presence of the curiously outdated expression 'NORTH GERMAN CONFEDERATION' printed in heavily outlined block lettering across its northern segment. In addition to such an anachronism, the border region of Alsace and Lorraine, taken from France only at the beginning of the year, appears indefinitely printed. Ghostlike, the green shading reserved for the border of the new French Republic extends in faded form into the lost provinces, and along the course of the Rhine until turning north-westwards again in the region of Karlsruhe. A heavier green line meets with the German purple several miles further to the west to delineate the boundary established at the Peace of Frankfurt, giving the lands along the Vosges Mountains a queer double-identity. Through an accident of printing the Johnston 'Europe' of 1871 is not only a map of the political status quo, but also an historical map which depicts political

entities and political divisions no longer current, but nevertheless essential for the understanding of geography at the time.

Turning to Map 10 improves the view of Alsace-Lorraine in the 1870s, for the convention established by this edition of the atlas was to remain current in some form in the Johnston atlases well into the twentieth century.⁴⁹ Map 10 – ‘France’ – utilises the same plates as the 1864 edition in depicting in black and white the cities, towns and railways of metropolitan France, while reserving colouration solely for the political boundaries both of the nation, and its provincial subdivisions and departments. Once again, in the Alsace-Lorraine area is encountered a modification which produces an interesting impression in the reader: the pinkish hue which delineates the French political boundaries intrudes into a red–orange region visibly separated from the new republic and yet retaining its pre-1871 character, albeit in more muted tones. The key informs the reader that the red–orange boundary shows the ‘Limits of Territory ceded by France to Germany 1871’, while the old departmental boundaries of Lorraine appear within the orange demarcation, disregarded by Berlin in its redivision of the new *Reichsland* as an obsolete formula for denoting regional identities.⁵⁰ cursory glances at the succeeding editions of the atlas show the Johnston firm has dispensed with showing the old political boundaries, but continued use of the same plate for the black-and-white detail of French towns and rail-links presents Alsace-Lorraine as an anomaly: other regions outside of France have but sketchy details presented – the occasional town, or place name – and yet the now extra-French region displays all the details of settlement and communication reserved for the map’s eponymous state.⁵¹

If one moves to those maps which show as their primary focus the lands of the new Germany, similar curiosities present themselves. Map 17 now purports to show as its main focus:

DENMARK with a portion of the North German Confederation, comprising Schleswig, Holstein, Hanover, Brunswick, Mecklenburg, Oldenburg, Lippe, parts of Anhalt &c.⁵²

While the persistence of the 1866–71 Confederation is in itself interesting, perhaps more so is the grouping together in the map’s title of certain regions of that extinct entity which do not comply with any contemporary political reality. Interestingly, only the territories of Oldenburg, Mecklenburg, Anhalt and Lippe possessed, in either their Confederation or Imperial forms, the status of statehood in the German context. Hanover, Schleswig, Brunswick and Holstein were all absorbed in 1866 into the Kingdom of Prussia and yet here they appear as areas with a distinct political identity of their own. In addition, the convention of giving different colouration to different political entities is extended to the provinces of Prussia, creating a far less integrated picture of north-western Germany than in fact existed in administrative

terms, and preserving that long-established tradition of German national and geographical disunity.⁵³

Even in editions of the regular Johnston atlas as late as 1903, the anomalies of Map 17 remain, with Prussian administrative regions being coloured as would-be individual states, contributing to a sense of British confusion over the status of 'Germany'.⁵⁴ Yet by this time, other atlas-makers were keen to represent the German states in a manner more closely attuned to the realities of administration and governance. Philip & Sons' *Readers' Reference Atlas* of 1911 depicts on Plate 16 'The German Empire' in terms of its constituent states, with all the territories of Prussia coloured a reddish-pink, the provinces of particular states bearing the same shading as their parent-states (in Bavaria's case, yellow).⁵⁵ Similarly the 1912 edition of J. Bartholomew & Sons' *Handy Reference Atlas* adopts the 'pink Prussia' convention, shading all that kingdom's provinces in the same hue.⁵⁶ Indeed, even though its regular editions continued to muddle the shading of German states and provinces, the Johnston firm's specially produced *Victoria Regina Atlas* of 1902 (celebrating the life and reign of the firm's erstwhile royal patron) dispensed with all its prior conventions, and adopted a colour scheme which differentiated the divisions between states and those between provinces within states more accurately.⁵⁷

2

‘North Sea’ or ‘German Ocean’? Britain and Germany in the Wider World

Although as late as the turn of the twentieth century, the chief producers of maps and atlases in Britain were more inclined to depict Germany politically as a federal nation made up of disparate elements, the sudden and unexpected expansion of the German Empire into the wider world created a new set of conventions to be adhered to. The expansion of German colonies coincided with, and was an integral part of, one of the most comprehensive redrawings of the world map in history. The lonely death of David Livingstone in 1873, deep in the African interior, has been seen by many commentators as the key event in initiating what is now called the ‘Scramble for Africa’, but the event which is recognised to have prompted the ‘most feverish phase’ of expansion was the German annexation of Bell Town and of the whole of the adjoining Cameroons, in 1884.¹ The subsequent carving-up of the Dark Continent was an imperial process immediately visible to the British public via the maps and atlases of the time, just as the process of German Unification had been.

Until the 1880s, the appearance of Africa on the map was unlike that of any other continent. In maps of Europe, the Americas, and Asia, national and imperial boundaries were indicated by shaded lines of colour printed over black-and-white base maps; in Africa, most of these hues were confined to its shores, stretching in some cases along strips of coastline with no apparent unifying identity, and blank spaces reflecting the continent as a blank area largely unknown to Europeans.² Maps of Africa used an interesting convention for depicting areas of European influence, rarely seen in other maps. The coloured borders, as they turn away from the coastal bases and trading stations of Britain, France or Portugal, cease abruptly as they penetrate the interior.³ The impression given is of an undefined boundary, a lack of understanding as to how far from the sea the writ of the colonialists actually runs. Thus, for example, the coast immediately opposite the island Sultanate of Zanzibar is coloured the same buff yellow as Zanzibar proper, but no real ‘border’ exists, perhaps indicating the supra-national reach of that slaver entrepôt in earlier times, with its blood-red flag flying as far

inland as Tabora, south of the Serengeti and Ujiji, on Lake Tanganyika.⁴ The exceptions are areas such as the sprawling Egyptian 'empire' of the Khedive, from Cairo to the Sudan; or Cape Colony, proudly coloured British red and not only possessing a northern boundary of the typical extra-African kind, but two adjoining states in the Transvaal and Orange Free State.⁵ Thus the centre of Africa as presented by the major atlases immediately before the Scramble is the simple black-and-white base map depicting known or speculative deserts, major rivers and the like, but with no real attempt to indicate the true nature of the polities and peoples of the continent.

In the atlases nearest in time to German colonial expansion, several developments catch the eye of an interested observer. Referring to Philips' *Handy General Atlas of the World* for 1882 (just prior to Bismarck's African adventure), it is interesting to note the coastline of South West Africa is coloured a very British red–pink, indicating an implied British protectorate over the entire area of the inhospitable 'Skeleton Coast' which was later to become German South West Africa.⁶ It was arguably due to the imminence of a British takeover of this same area (in particular the barren harbour of Angra Pequena) that German colonialism actually caught the interest of Otto von Bismarck in the first instance, and rather than lose an opportunity to acquire valuable pawns in the diplomatic game, the Iron Chancellor extended imperial protection to the area's German traders.⁷ Germany's action was swiftly followed the following year by the extension of British claims in Southern Africa northward, into Bechuanaland. For the first time since Victoria ascended the throne, Britain possessed a land frontier with a German state, albeit one largely consisting of a vertical line 20° east of Greenwich through the centre of the Kalahari Desert. This frontier was not legally defined until the same Anglo-German agreement of 1890 which apportioned British control over Zanzibar in return for Helgoland (discussed in more detail below).⁸ The agreement also led to the appendage known as the 'Caprivi Strip' being attached to German South West Africa (now Namibia), which gave the arid colony access to the waters of the Zambezi and a stretch of the Okavango River. The strip was named for Bismarck's replacement as German chancellor, Georg Leo von Caprivi (1831–99), who negotiated the claim. Interestingly, the previous British claim to enclaves in the Namib is vehemently defended by the cartographers of London and Edinburgh in their subsequent publications. The Bartholomew firm insisted upon marking every single small port and outpost along the coastline of South West Africa in British red, as did the *Public Schools' Atlas of Modern Geography*.⁹

The following year, on the opposite side of the Dark Continent, Carl Peters' East Africa Company was granted a charter to develop a protectorate in the territory beyond the coastal strip known to be the property of the Sultan of Zanzibar.¹⁰ It is interesting that while atlases were content to assign the adjective 'German' to the South West African areas, in at least two

cases such an appellation is missing in the case of the Tanganyika area.¹¹ While the territorial extent of what was to become German East Africa is quite well delineated by 1887–8, as yet the Sultanate of Zanzibar's undefined borderlands had not disappeared. Politically this is accurate, as it was not a protectorate over Zanzibar itself which Sayid Barghash bin-Sayid accepted in August 1885, but merely one over his mainland possessions.¹² Yet certain British atlases were happy to tint the area with German colours while abstaining from describing it as overtly 'German'. Further German colonial adventures in Cameroons and Togoland in the same period were also 'unfinished', until atlases produced in the early twentieth century added the northern borders agreed by treaty to those German territories. British interests in West Africa were guaranteed by Berlin in 1885.¹³

Rather than illustrating a real concern at German expansion in Africa, maps of the period tended to underline the sense of British superiority over Germany as a colonial power. Such charts give the appearance of Germany merely being yet another power engaged in the civilising mission of European imperialism in Africa, rather than a threat.¹⁴ Indeed cartography was to play an important role in soothing potential Anglo-German conflict, and cementing what John Ramsden calls the 'colonial marriage' between the two powers, over East Africa in particular.¹⁵ In the period between the extension of Peters' protectorate and the appearance of the atlases explored above, a boundary commission had established British and German 'spheres of influence' based on an agreed frontier. The 'sphere of influence' was a diplomatic concept which was designed to precede any official extension of imperial power, and the original boundary between the British and German spheres was itself hand-drawn on a map of the area by agreement between London and Berlin.¹⁶ As it first appeared, and as represented in atlases of the time, this dead straight line extends inland from the coast opposite Pemba Island at an angle of 45° until a sharp turn to the vertical, then a return to the original trajectory slightly northward, which safely confines Mount Kilimanjaro ('Kilima Njaro' in the *Times Atlas*) to German custody. This rather confused demarcation stemmed from a very real ignorance as to the precise conditions on the ground in East Africa, the line taking no account of terrain or of the human geography of the native African tribes. The vague notion that Kilimanjaro was to be a German possession was what guided the diplomats drawing their line, and indeed the precise location of the mountain was unknown until later; the border needed subsequently to be redrawn.¹⁷

Though separated by thousands of miles of ocean, the Anglo-German boundary in East Africa was closely connected to a much more immediate boundary between Britain and Germany in Europe. The 1890 agreement between the Conservative government of Lord Salisbury and the new 'personal regime' of Kaiser Wilhelm II (represented by Caprivi) exchanged the British North Sea territory of Helgoland for undisputed British rights in Zanzibar, then in doubt because of the German protectorate over East

Africa.¹⁸ This agreement focused attention upon the Anglo-German 'border' in the North Sea, a matter of much greater significance for cartographic representations of Germany than squabbles over faraway Kilimanjaro, precisely because of the boundary being a maritime one. It was partly as 'the Island Race' that the British of the nineteenth century defined themselves, and as Keith Robbins and other historians of the United Kingdom have shown, 'the past, as taught in schools ... showed that it was the sea which made Britain'.¹⁹ On the map of Europe, it was the English Channel which featured as the chief bulwark of Britain, protecting it for centuries from the threat of domination by Continental (principally French) military power. The very name of an 'English' Channel displays the sense of proprietorial interest with which this shallow arm of the Atlantic was imbued. Indeed, the claim of actual sovereignty over the Channel was something for which Britain (and England) had fought more than a few wars in the early modern period.²⁰ While this body of water is significant in the role it played in defining 'Britain' as against the 'Other' in France, it is interesting that little semblance of propriety was extended to the North Sea, the body of water which separated Britain from 'another' in Germany.

The North Sea is a very different kind of boundary with very different historical connotations from the English Channel, though like the Channel, it could be represented either as a barrier or a link between Britain and other polities. In many of the atlases already described, the only details of the North Sea depicted are at the edges of those maps devoted to particular regions or of nations bordering it. It is primarily as a boundary that many in Britain would have regarded the sea, and its appearance as such at the edges of maps concerned with other areas is therefore unsurprising. However in some notable examples, atlas-makers reserved a special map or sequence of maps centred on the sea itself, and depicting it as being bounded by different nations. Maps 18a and 18b of an undated edition of Philips' *New Handy General Atlas* feature the North and the Baltic Seas, and the impression given of the proximity of Scandinavia and Germany to the British Isles is quite striking.²¹ This atlas also contains other maps variously entitled 'Commercial Chart of &c...' offering a detailed representation of key steamship lines, canals and railways and indicating the business-based view of the world presented to readers with mercantile interests the world over. It is within this framework that the North Sea appears, as an arena for trade and commerce in the raw materials of flax and sailcloth (a substantial portion of the world's shipping was still under sail) and the rich fisheries of the Dogger Bank.²²

The North Sea had therefore been a focus for the mapmakers of the Philips' firm for some time before the turn of the twentieth century. The original manifestation of the *Handy General Atlas* reserved Map 5 for the 'British Islands, North Sea and adjoining countries', and once again, the depiction of the North or 'German' Sea (in a manner similar to that of the Mediterranean)

as a focal point for the surrounding nations is most striking, presenting the image not of a barrier or bulwark for the defence of Britain, but an important theatre for trade and international relations.²³

However coinciding with the growth of German naval power in the North Sea in the late 1890s and early 1900s, a subtle yet significant change in the very name given to the sea indicates a shift towards a slightly more critical view of Britain's relationship with Germany as presented on the map. Throughout the nineteenth century, British cartographers used both the names 'North Sea' and 'German Ocean (or Sea)' interchangeably to describe the seas to the east of Britain (though mostly preferring to emphasise the former in larger font).²⁴ References to the North Sea as the 'German Ocean' are in fact far older than any to an 'English' Channel, dating as they do from the writings of Pliny the Elder and the geographer Ptolemy, and familiar reading to those in the nineteenth century with a Classical education.²⁵ However particularly in British history, the North Sea has a very 'Germanic' identity, serving on two occasions as the means by which Nordic tribesmen had invaded the island.²⁶

From across the dark, forbidding waters of that 'stormy place' came the Angles and Saxons to do battle with the first people to be called 'Britons'.²⁷ But as these raiders were of the Germanic racial stock from which the English themselves supposedly sprang, any *negative* association of the German Ocean with darkness and piracy for nineteenth and early twentieth-century Britons tended to focus on those other great raiders of the Dark Ages: the Vikings. Like their Germanic brethren some centuries earlier, the Danes and Norsemen used the North Sea as their highway to plunder and settlement in the rich lands of the British Isles, and this historical association of that ocean with the idea of invasion remained strong in the names given to it by British cartographers. The remoteness of such threats in the distant past meant that granting the possessive designation 'German Ocean' to the sea elicited little concern among map readers, until Germany's naval expansion in the 'vital highway' of the North Sea made the appellation less palatable.²⁸ As Jan R uger has shown, British and German statesmen increasingly spoke of the North Sea as a contested theatre for a coming struggle; it was a cultural space, not merely a geographical location, onto which the concerns of the day were projected.²⁹ By the early twentieth century, ultra-nationalist journalists like Leo Maxse had begun to utilise the term to generate support for right-wing policies of 'national efficiency', warning that Britain was in danger of becoming merely 'an island in the German Ocean'.³⁰ Cartographers accordingly began to phase out the use of this name in favour of the more politically neutral 'North Sea', and the alternative term largely disappeared from British atlases well before the outbreak of war.³¹ Ironically, by adopting this term British cartographers were acknowledging the preferred German name for the sea: '*Nordsee*' first being popularised by the Dutch, then taken up by the Germans for whom it was indeed located to the north.³²

Just as British maps of the North Sea underwent something of a subtle change in the period of increased German world influence, so too a small yet significant modification is evident in the maps of Germany in Europe. As the nineteenth century waned, more and more atlases began to tint the entire empire in one colour; though some smaller-scale maps of Europe continued to show the boundaries of the German states.³³ However, these German state boundaries ceased to be tinted in separate colours from one another, instead being delineated by thinner lines of the same colour.³⁴ In the later nineteenth century, this colour might be green, orange or yellow, but more often than not, cartographers chose to show the German Empire in Europe in a pinkish hue akin to that used for Britain; and when showing the extent of Prussian territory within Germany, continued to utilise the 'pink Prussia' convention described in Chapter 1.³⁵ This was a 'pink link' in more ways than one.

3

A 'Pink Link' – Race, Religion and the Anglo-German Cartographic Freemasonry

The use of a pinkish-red hue for Germany is an interesting convention to have adopted, in view of what we know about the associations of blood, energy and Britannia with that most prominent of cartographic shades. It is worth exploring whether there is an intended significance in the same shade of pink on different maps also being used to denote the extent of British power and wealth. In the case of purely political maps the link is a tenuous one at best, despite the significant dynastic and religious links which existed between Britain and Prussia at certain stages during this period.¹ Given its status as the most prominent of colours in the British palette (as well as being the most vivid of available inks), the use of pinkish-red was common to denote the chief subject of a given map (for example 'France' or 'European Russia'), and not therefore intended to connote any affinity with Britain or its empire.² In one cartographic form however, this link *was* intended and concrete: that curiously nineteenth-century variety of physical geography: the demographic and ethnographic map.

The religious aspects of British national identity were, like the empire, often represented by use of the imperial red or possessive pink. Exemplifying this convention, the religious maps of the world which appeared in Cassell & Co.'s *Universal Atlas* of 1893, and then in slightly revised form in the first *Times Atlas* of 1895, reserved pinkish-red tones for those areas in which Christianity was the predominant faith.³ Vast areas of Europe and the world were therefore included alongside British territories when such a wide perspective on religion was adopted, but it is interesting that on a map of narrower focus, a perceived relationship between Britain and Germany becomes more distinct. The map of the 'Religions of Europe' reserves pinkish-red for those peoples who profess the Protestant form of Christian belief, and therefore not only is the bulk of the United Kingdom (the entirety of Great Britain and the northern section of Ireland) included within that area, but also the majority of the German Empire.⁴ There is an obvious conclusion that, alongside the Scandinavian countries also coloured pink on the map, the bulk of both the British and German population *was* of the Protestant faith,

and it is therefore unsurprising to see them tinted the same hue. Despite this, it is important to recall the inherent subjectivity of even so straightforward a representation as this. Why, for instance, has the cartographer (or cartographers – these maps were the results of the labour of many people) chosen to emphasise the homogeneity of the ‘Protestants’ without making any reference to the very real differences between the Anglican communion, and nonconformist groups, and the numerous Lutheran and Calvinist forms of worship in Germany? Those preparing these maps were therefore much more conscious of an Anglo-German religious affinity, rather than any perceived differences, and keen to represent this link as being distinct from the religious others: blue Roman Catholicism, green Eastern Orthodoxy, and buff ‘Mohammedanism’.⁵

The constellation of pink, blue and green in the European context of these two atlases is even more striking when one turns to the ‘Ethnographic Map of Europe’ contained in *Universal* and *Times* atlases. This form of representation is today perhaps the most commonly reproduced of nineteenth-century maps, and was in its own day the greatest tool of the nineteenth-century nationalists, who dreamt of constructing state boundaries around what appeared to be naturally homogenous national territories.⁶ In maps in both the *Times* and *Universal* atlases, the pink-blue-green convention reappears in a different context, as it is the speakers of ‘Teutonic’ languages which appear in the possessive pink; while the Romance peoples of France, Iberia, Italy and Romania appear in blue; the green hues being reserved for the Slavs of the east.⁷ Again, the ethno-linguistic connection between the German and ‘British’ are emphasised rather than their very real differences, but subtle variations exist between its depiction in the religious maps and in the ethnographic context.⁸ Whereas in the previous charts, the use of exactly equivalent tones is suggestive of what might be termed a ‘filial’ relationship between equal partners in the Christian and Protestant arenas, on the ethnographic map the use of a far darker reddish-pink (indicating those areas inhabited by ‘Lower and Upper Germans and G[reat] Germans’) than the light pink of the English implies the relationship is one of a more ‘parental’ nature.⁹ Such a concept is a familiar one both to the historian of the English language and of British historiography in general, as the origins of the English language are to be found in Northern Germany, and ‘Germanic’ racial origins were frequently defined as an essential part of the national identity.¹⁰ Moreover, the Continental origins of the Anglo-Saxon and Jutish invaders of Dark Age Britain caused many to think of the modern English as something of an offshoot of their original countrymen, in which were preserved not only a linguistic patrimony, but also the ‘noblest traits’ of their ancestors’ legal, constitutional and social organization.¹¹

In addition to this parental relationship as represented on the ethnographic maps of the *Universal* and *Times* atlases, reference to the maps’ keys is also an interesting indicator of the perceived place of Germans

and 'British' in the racialist order of things as it was then understood. The grouping together of the pink-coloured German, English and Scandinavian peoples as 'Teutonic' not only differentiates them from the Romance, Slavic and other *linguistic* groups listed under the sub-headings of 'Indo-European', but places them firmly at the head of that list of *racial* categories in an obvious effort to rank the inhabitants of Europe in Social Darwinian terms.¹² Those members of the 'Romance' group of nations which are ranked next behind the Teutonic peoples seem to be graded according to the predominance of Germanic elements in their history: thus the French and West Walloons (of part Frankish extraction) sustain a relatively superior position to the Spanish and Portuguese, followed by the Italians and 'Rhaeto-Romans' who have inherited both Germanic and Classical attributes from their ancestors.¹³ An examination of *The Historical Geography of Europe* and its *Companion Atlas*, as produced by Longmans, Green and Company in 1903 and edited by the eminent historian and Classicist John Bagnall Bury (1861–1927) supports this notion of the ranking of Indo-European nations according to the extent of German influence in their history. In the case of 'Celtic' Scotland for instance, Bury argued that it was the English, or that nation's 'English element' which made it great, as 'the Irish settlers who first brought the Scottish name into Britain could never have made Scotland what it really became'.¹⁴ Bury saw no coincidence in the position of the Germans as the 'most central state of Europe' and their centrality in the making of European history, and indeed viewed the comparatively recent political unification of the Germans as 'the greatest historical and geographical event of our times'.¹⁵

It is therefore easy to see the desire of cartographers to depict religious and racial-linguistic links between their own nation and that of their 'cousins German'. However, so far we have assumed the process of mapping Germany in Britain to have been an entirely one-sided affair, in which essentially British nationalist motives underpinned the realisation of such representations. In reality, there are practical considerations which can make just as much impact on representation of nations in map form. For instance, it is naturally assumed by those who are so used to dealing with the modern (perhaps now, even postmodern) incarnations of the *Times Atlas* and the equally pervasive *Times Atlas of World History* that because of the appellation of their parent newspaper, such atlases are a British national institution of the same order. In fact the origin of the *Times Atlas* is far more complex than this; the atlas in fact derived from a German original.¹⁶ In terms of provenance, the *Times Atlas* of 1895 was in fact more akin to a 'Second Edition' of Cassell & Company's *Universal Atlas* of 1893, which in turn was 'based upon the famous German work known as 'Andree's Allgemeiner Hand-atlas'.¹⁷ Though it was common for the newspaper to assert that the atlas had been 'Specially prepared at a very large cost' under its own offices, occasionally the advertising made direct mention of the connection with

Cassell's earlier publication; and also referred to the German connection, by way of emphasising its reliability and world-class standard.¹⁸

The origins of the first *Times* atlas – and of the ethnographic and religious maps contained within it – are an indicator of a close professional (and personal) connection between British and German cartographers that existed throughout the period under discussion. This relationship has been characterised disparagingly by some commentators as one of mutual distrust; or incorrectly as one which led to outright plagiarism on the part of some British mapmakers.¹⁹ On the contrary, this was a mutually profitable and highly regarded relationship which stretched back to the 1840s, when the brilliant Heinrich Berghaus (1797–1884), of Justus Perthes in Gotha, first agreed to the production of English versions of some of his maps. Alexander Keith Johnston (1804–1871) contacted the great German cartographer in 1842, before the first edition of Berghaus' *Physikalischer Atlas* had even been completed, in order to secure the British rights.²⁰ Thereafter, four maps from the Berghaus atlas (including an earlier version of the ethnographic map detailed above) were utilised in the Johnston *National Atlas* (until its reincarnation as the *Royal Atlas* after 1860), to widespread acclaim: the Royal Geographical Society (RGS) positively gushing with praise for the new-found partnership.²¹ Furthermore, through collaboration with Heinrich Lange (1822–78), and Berghaus' equally brilliant protégé August Petermann (1822–78), the Johnston firm produced an abridged translation of 'the Physical Atlas of Professor H. Berghaus', between 1845 and 1855: the rather unimaginatively titled *Physical Atlas*.²² Though following its initial appearance, the development of the British *Physical Atlas* was largely independent of German influence, the close relations established between Johnston & Co. and Justus Perthes were maintained, not least through the presence in Britain of Petermann, who worked in Edinburgh and London, and founded the short-lived but influential British outpost of the Perthes 'Geographical Establishment' in 1850.²³

It was during Petermann's time in Britain that he established a connection with the younger John Bartholomew (1831–93), which would last until the German's death. Meeting for the first time in 1848, Petermann was impressed with Bartholomew's obvious talent, and though the Scot was initially too young to accompany him to his new London offices, by early 1853 Bartholomew could be contacted at the Geographical Establishment, 'care of Mr. A. Petermann, 9 Charing Cross, London'.²⁴ Living the 'laborious life in the Metropolis', Bartholomew revelled in the company of the 'sage of Gotha', and upon hearing that Petermann was to return to Germany to take up the directorship of Justus Perthes, he was determined to follow.²⁵ Petermann seemed somewhat bemused when informing the printer Archibald Fullarton (fl.1809–80s), of the young, 'painstaking and trustworthy map draughtsman and engraver' entertaining a wish to decamp to Gotha.²⁶ Bartholomew's family was also apprehensive at the 'Germany affair', prompting his father

(1805–61, also called John) to offer a full partnership in the family firm, which led to Bartholomew abandoning the idea. He returned to Edinburgh late in 1854, around the same time as Petermann departed for Germany.²⁷ The two men continued to correspond, Bartholomew floating a plan to publish an English-language version of Petermann's *Geographische Mitteilungen* in late 1858; Petermann advising Bartholomew of the holistic nature of their profession, offering congratulations on the latter's 1859 marriage, and suggesting that 'good mapmakers deserve, I think, dear little affectionate wives, to cheer them on in their work'.²⁸ Such was the reverence Bartholomew felt for his one-time mentor, that after the German's tragic suicide in September 1878, he commissioned a full-scale plaster bust of Petermann, which dominated his personal workspace in the late 1880s, the firm's board-room in the 1970s, and which today has a place in the main room of the Map Library of the National Library of Scotland.²⁹

The personal closeness between Bartholomew and his German counterparts extended to others besides Petermann, and transcended the generations. Ernst Georg Ravenstein (1834–1913) – another pupil of Petermann, who arrived in Britain in 1855 – also kept up a friendly correspondence with both John Bartholomew and his son John George (1860–1920) well into the twentieth century.³⁰ John George's inherited esteem for 'the solid scholarship of the German cartographers' led to the 1891 purchase of the full set of engraved copper plates for the most recent edition of Berghaus' *Physikalischer Atlas*.³¹ Though the proposed English-language edition never eventuated, £500 (10,000 marks) was invested in the project, speaking volumes for the commercial value of such an acquisition. The generally friendly tone of the correspondence between Bartholomew and Justus Perthes indicates the personal and professional value of continued ties.³² In addition, the German connections of the Bartholomews were often used by other publishing houses who sought access to the latest geographical scholarship, John and Walter Graham Blackie expressing a keenness to trace an original Gotha-made map of Bartholomew's in preparing their latest atlas.³³

In Britain throughout the period 1860–1914, German maps and charts were widely believed to be of the highest quality (and generally superior to British work). In the course of their correspondence, Petermann confided with an amenable John Bartholomew that 'our map drawings here in Germany are in general much more careful, painstaking, more elaborate and based on much more study & original research as those generally furnished or required in Great Britain'.³⁴ As late as the turn of the century, it was held that in the works of Justus Perthes, Velhagen & Klasing and other publishing houses, the science (or art) of mapmaking had reached its highest stage, and that Germany was the 'headquarters of scientific cartography'.³⁵ As a reflection of this, many English-language atlases preserved the German title of 'Hand-atlas' when publishing their newest editions, despite the cumbersome size and weight of these volumes.³⁶ In 1902, John George

Bartholomew could write at length about the superiority of German cartography over the domestic form; the German 'critical appreciation of merit in all its details', opposed to the British attitude that 'one map is as good as another, possibly better, if brightly coloured'; and acknowledging that 'if the Germans are essentially conservative in politics they are liberals in science – for an educated aristocracy rules Germany – and if the British are liberals in politics they are conservatives in science – for a half educated democracy rules the British Empire'.³⁷

The connection between British and German cartographers in general, and more specifically between Cassell & Co.'s *Universal Atlas* (and later the *Times Atlas*) with Velhagen & Klasing (Justus Perthes' great competitor) was therefore something which could be advertised openly.³⁸ The literary notes in which Cassell's *Universal Atlas* was first publicised explicitly acknowledged that the work was 'based upon Dr. Andree's Hand Atlas, the first edition of which appeared in Germany in 1881', and the review of the final volume-form of the atlas reiterated the superiority of 'the best Continental atlases' over their British counterparts, as well as the value of an English translation of the finest Germany had to offer.³⁹ *The Times*, struggling financially and facing ever diminishing circulation in the face of the new mass dailies like Alfred Harmsworth's *Daily Mail*, was also keen that their version of the atlas be as likely to attract appreciation (and therefore sales) as possible.⁴⁰ Their advertising made similar reference to the German link as proof of reliability and accuracy, and the new impressions and editions of the atlas produced yearly until 1900 made use of updated map sheets from the Velhagen & Klasing printing works, which was in fact the source of all the maps of *Universal* and *Times* atlases. The indexes and other pages being printed and bound up in London, along with the maps imported from Germany.⁴¹ In terms of the manner in which the British relationship with Germany was represented in map form, it is worth noting that both the *Universal Atlas* and *Times Atlas* were 'adapted for the public for which [they were] intended', and therefore the representations of Anglo-German religious and racial-linguistic affinity which appeared in them were deemed appropriate for British consumption, and in tune with British sensibilities.⁴² The acceptability of the atlases is evident at least from the popularity of the *Universal-Times* view of the world, which combined sold very healthily throughout the late 1890s. While the *Universal Atlas* was financially unsuccessful, at least 10,000 copies were to be delivered by Velhagen & Klasing to their British partner under the original contract of May 1885; around 25,000 copies of the *Times Atlas* were sold between its first appearance and 1899; and a further 10,000 copies were sold of the 1900 edition.⁴³

Though it is not possible to say exactly how the maps showing Anglo-German closeness were received, that they continued to appear without alteration into 1900 is significant. However, the ethnographic maps in the *Times Atlas* were not the only representations of a supposed racial

relationship between Britain and Germany, with other atlases appearing at around the same time presenting a different view, and including subtle changes akin to the replacement of 'German Ocean' with 'North Sea'. First appearing in George Philip's 1895 *Handy Volume Atlas of the World* (and edited by the German Ernst Georg Ravenstein), the first map in the volume shows the 'Anglo-Saxon states, Colonies, Protectorates, etc.' (including the British Empire and United States) in the imperial pink, the '*Other* [my italics] Teutonic States, &c.' (including Germany, Scandinavia and Holland) appearing in a shade of purple.⁴⁴ That a subtle distinction should be made between Britain and Germany in this map is interesting, but it is significant that Britain's essentially Germanic identity is preserved (it being included later on in descriptions of the 'Teutonic world').⁴⁵ This version of the Anglo-German relationship persisted until the outbreak of war; Philips publishing a new edition roughly every two years, with no change to the maps showing 'the Nationality of the dominant race'.⁴⁶ A similar subtle change in emphasis is evident in Bartholomew's *Literary and Historical Atlas of Europe*, produced around 1910. The ethnographic map contained in that volume depicts the different ethno-linguistic divisions of Europe in the same colour scheme as the *Times Atlas*: Slavs in shades of green, Romance peoples in blues and Teutonic peoples in pink. Significantly however, what had been a darker German centre is now shown in a lighter hue than the British offshoot, and thus reversing the 'parental' relationship evident in the earlier atlas.⁴⁷ That there was a conscious decision to depict Britain in this way as a superior partner in an ethnic and linguistic relationship is difficult to dispute; and the change in tone is therefore a good illustration of a sense of unease at a supposedly scientific link with Germany, but not yet so hostile a feeling as to separate the two entirely.

Such changes as these colourations and the removal of 'German Ocean' from the majority of atlases and maps do indicate a certain unease creeping into British cartography over the question of Germany. Nevertheless, even while such changes were being made to the maps of the early twentieth century, the profitable Anglo-German cartographic freemasonry continued to thrive. In keeping with the long tradition of German experts crossing the North Sea to work closely with their British counterparts, Friedrich Bosse was employed at Bartholomew & Co. in the 1890s as chief draughtsman.⁴⁸ Highly regarded and 'destined for cartographical honours' in his home country, Bosse was a hard taskmaster, demanding only the best quality of drawing and engraving. He succeeded John George Bartholomew as the Honorary Map Curator of the Royal Scottish Geographical Society in 1891, and held the post until returning to Germany in 1902.⁴⁹ His training of apprentices consisted partly of having them reproduce incredibly detailed maps from *Baedeker* handbooks, and was remembered for long after by the staff of the Edinburgh Geographical Institute as 'Bosse by name and bossy by nature'.⁵⁰ Indeed, it would appear that Bosse's continual reference to the

superiority of German work began to rankle with the staff at Bartholomew, making them determined to match (if not exceed) the best work of Bosse's countrymen.⁵¹ After the completion of his tenure at Edinburgh and his return to Germany, Bosse continued to correspond with Bartholomew on major projects: the German forwarded sheets from the new versions of *Andree's Allgemeiner Handatlas* and offered advice on how best to do the glaciers of Alaska full justice in terms of colourisation.⁵²

In addition to the connection with Bosse, the particular association between Bartholomew and Germany continued in even more concrete form with the 1907–8 apprenticeship of John Bartholomew (1890–1962, the son of John George, and known as Ian) in Leipzig. Ian Bartholomew had been attending lectures in cartography under a 'Herr Schrader' at the Sorbonne shortly before departing with his father for Leipzig in mid-to-late 1907, where he stayed on (John George returning to Edinburgh).⁵³ He worked with 'the master' Oswald Winkel (1873–1953) at the firm of Wagner and Debes, which produced the maps for the famous, red-covered *Baedeker* guidebooks (see below, Part II); and where he had several encounters with Heinrich Wagner (1840–1929), and Ernst Debes (1840–1923) himself, a figure of almost Petermann-like stature in German geography.⁵⁴ The young Bartholomew's apprenticeship included learning the German language (through a tutor, 'Herr Dr Voigt'), draughtsmanship and general geography, and his reports back to his father indicate an aptitude for the work as well as a feeling of pride at working at one of the 'very best' cartographical establishments of the world.⁵⁵ There is also a certain degree of playful cynicism at the overly officious character of the Germans and German government. Ian Bartholomew records having 'some trouble with the police' only a month or so after his arrival, when it was discovered that foreigners residing in a German town for more than two weeks needed to make themselves (as well as their occupation and nationality) known to the local officials. It was only following a frantic visit to the British consulate that 'a most official looking document with a British seal' was handed over to the police as proof of identity, who apparently regarded it as 'sufficient'. His enjoyment of the city and surrounds of Leipzig were also somewhat soured by the 'number of stupid regulations', requiring cyclists to carry a licence and registration number, and the imposition of petty fines by local officials.⁵⁶

It is interesting that, while undertaking his studies, Ian Bartholomew copied in fine detail maps drawn from the *Baedeker* guidebooks, in much the same way as Friedrich Bosse had trained apprentices in Edinburgh.⁵⁷ His reported three to four hours of cartography every morning were supplemented by exploring the city (Ian reported that after three or four months, he knew 'the streets of Leipzig as well as those of Edinburgh'), and the accumulation of 'quite the beginning of a German library', consisting of gifts from his enthusiastic patrons.⁵⁸ His father's suggestion that he also attend geography lectures at the university proved to be a more difficult matter

than expected, the regulations being complex – ‘like all those in Germany’ – and prohibiting anyone not enrolled officially from entering the lecture halls.⁵⁹ This was actually treated as good news by Winkel, who was adamant that it usually took four years to learn the basics of cartography, and that given only ten months was available to Ian, he should not waste his time on anything theoretical.⁶⁰ Indeed, the practical aspects of mapmaking seem to have been what delighted Ian Bartholomew the most, his letters home containing examples of his work, and descriptions of his use of the latest German methods (including that of another of his patrons, Lehmann).⁶¹ The interest of both Ian and his father in German practical methods extended to the layout of German map-printing works, the elder Bartholomew then considering the construction of a new establishment. Conscious of his future role in the family concern, Ian reported faithfully back to his father the best German practices, including that of constructing the newest buildings ‘principally of steel and cement, which is not only strongest but affords the largest amount of window space’.⁶² Several of the suggestions Ian made to his father – such as the ‘small library, containing not only all sorts of books [of] reference for cartography, geography, and printing, but also large collections of maps that may prove of use or interest’ – were later incorporated into practice at the Bartholomew firm.⁶³

British collaboration with German cartographers in the Edwardian period extended beyond the walls of the Edinburgh Geographical Institute, as George Philip & Son’s relationship with Ernst Georg Ravenstein until the latter’s death indicates.⁶⁴ Indeed, the years around the turn of the twentieth century were a time of even broader cartographic cooperation than simply that occasioned by the Anglo-German freemasonry. International Geographical Congresses for mapmakers of all nations had been organised and well attended since the first in Antwerp (1871) and subsequent meetings in Paris (1875, 1885), Venice (1881), and Berne (1891) were increasingly successful.⁶⁵ Furthermore, in 1884 the International Meridian Conference had resulted in a universal adherence to the Greenwich line of longitude as the base line for all geographic measurements: a landmark in international scientific and cartographic cooperation.⁶⁶ Under the auspices of the German Albrecht Penck (1858–1945), an attempt was also made to compile an International World Map on a uniform scale of 1:1 million, beginning with an address to the Bern Congress.⁶⁷ By the time of the Sixth International Geographical Congress (London, 1895), the project had ‘not made much progress’, but had attracted ‘a great deal of attention’.⁶⁸ Further work continued at a slow pace until the project received a significant push at a full-scale International World Map conference convened by the Ordnance Survey and Foreign Office in London in 1909.⁶⁹ Despite the *entente cordiale* of 1904, continued negotiations resulted in Anglo-French one-upmanship, before the Paris conference of December 1913 put the scheme on an even keel. Penck, the project’s originator, was by this stage being fêted for a lifetime’s work,

and it is significant that just as the International World Map appeared to be becoming a reality, he was awarded the highest honour in geography. Penck – in his acceptance speech for the award of the gold Founder's Medal of the Royal Geographical Society in May 1914 – spoke both of the 'international' nature of his science, and of the 'recognitions of German geographical work so often expressed' by his British counterparts, and of the particular sense of unity felt between British and German geographers in the first months of 1914.⁷⁰ Interestingly, Penck also spoke of the unity of vision which by 1913 had come to exist 'on both sides of the German Ocean' – using the name of the North Sea then becoming unfashionable because of its Germanic connotations.

Eight months later, Penck was arrested, and condemned as a 'die-hard Prussian militarist', and the new President of the RGS, Douglas Freshfield, was speaking in his opening address of 'days darkened by losses, personal, national and universal', and of the war against 'a foe whose deeds and words, burning and brutalities have revolted the conscience of humanity'.⁷¹

4

War and the Severing of the 'Pink Link'

For all its internationalist spirit, collaboration between British and German mapmakers could not survive the reality of open military conflict between the European powers. Like the utopian International World Map project, the close and profitable Anglo-German cartographic freemasonry 'foundered on the rocks of entrenched national antipathy and suspicion' exposed by the First World War; and the spirit of international cooperation which had been growing stronger in the cartographic world 'lay in ruins' by August 1914.¹ The outbreak of war between Britain and Germany caught many in the commercial cartographic business off guard. Thomas Barker, Bartholomew's printing manager (and a future director of the firm), was in Berlin when the crisis developed, and was trapped there for an unknown period full of 'anxiety and worry' at his situation.² Barker's German-born wife, Marie-Louise, related to John George her husband's 'fearful state' and his concern that he could not renew his business with the firm.³ Both Barkers viewed the war as 'so uncalled for', and for all the other cartographers maintaining close interpersonal and professional relationships across the North Sea, it must have been greatly upsetting.⁴ James Geikie, the noted geologist and a prominent enthusiast for German poetry and scientific thought, was no doubt expressing a widespread feeling when he remarked to his friend John George Bartholomew that '[t]his abominable war has upset everything and caused the very name of German to stink'.⁵

Cartographers on both sides also began to take as active a role as possible in contributing to the defeat of the new enemy, and alongside the better-known academics, signed and issued manifestos justifying their nations' respective causes in the war.⁶ Days before the final declaration of war on Germany, Douglas Freshfield placed the 'personal and material resources' of the Royal Geographical Society (RGS) at the disposal of the Geographical Section of the General Staff (GSGS).⁷ The idea of the 1:1 million scale map – previously a symbol of peace and international cooperation – was taken up by the assistant secretary of the RGS Arthur Hinks, who gained the support of the War Office for the production of a map of Europe on that scale, arguing

for its incalculable value as a weapon of war against the very nation which had championed it.⁸ The detailed geographical and topographical knowledge of Germany and Europe, gained through the long association with cartographers from that country, was now employed by Lord Kitchener himself to plan Germany's defeat, and kept in reserve for the day when the Continent would be divided anew by the victorious powers.⁹ In the private sector – and in keeping with the patriotic duty implied by his title of 'Geographer to the King' – Bartholomew's Institute was transformed into a veritable factory for the production of 'millions of military maps'.¹⁰ Indeed the firm's official historian, Leslie Gardiner, points out that the continual supply of maps of the Western Front, Africa and Mediterranean made Bartholomew & Co. something close to 'an auxiliary of the government cartographical departments'.¹¹

For Ian Bartholomew the coming of the war brought an extreme turnaround in attitudes. Recently engaged in cementing his family's German connections, Ian now found himself arrayed in khaki with the objective of killing as many Germans as he possibly could. He expressed his own sense of privilege in being 'able to take part in probably the greatest, and to be hoped, the last of the World's wars for freedom versus Tyranny'.¹² Ian Bartholomew's military service was nothing short of heroic.¹³ He was eventually joined in active service by his brother Hugh, his sister Elizabeth (a Red Cross nurse, primarily serving on the Italian Front), and just a few weeks before the Armistice, even the youngest Bartholomew, Boy. The initial sense of the war being only against Germany's rulers soon dissipated, as Ian saw the work being done by everyday 'Bosches [*sic*]' in uniform (including firing upon his company playing football), and lost the regard once felt for his country's onetime partners in the cartographic profession.¹⁴ While Ian survived the trenches, like so many other families with sons in uniform, the Bartholomews also felt the full horror of the war when tragedy struck one of their own: Hugh was hit by shrapnel and died of wounds on 30 September 1917. Ian wrote to his father from the Army Intelligence Office in Le Havre to help soothe the pain of loss, and in one of his more positive moments, John George wrote back to let Ian know his feeling that 'Hugh is still with us', and that his example would assist the whole family to 'lead fuller lives, and not starve each other for want of love and sympathy'.¹⁵ The gloom of personal tragedy served only to further distance the Bartholomews from their former regard for things German, John George speculating half-bitterly, half-jokingly that his recurring illness might very well be due to 'the Germans tak[ing] advantage of these east winds to send over influenza microbes', such was the otherwise 'thorough and systematic' nature of modern warfare.¹⁶

With his entire family effectively devoted to the war effort, and with both the inclination for, and possibility of, collaboration between British and German cartographers now gone, it is significant that John George Bartholomew now undertook a new project in collaboration with a man

who had done so much to foster anti-German suspicion before the war: Alfred Harmsworth, Baron Northcliffe.¹⁷ Having acquired *The Times* for his newspaper empire in 1908, Northcliffe now saw the opportunity to produce a completely revised version of *The Times Atlas* (the press baron was no doubt greatly impressed by the original volume's sales, and the potential for a new edition). Northcliffe turned to the Bartholomews for the undertaking, and in correspondence with his patron, John George Bartholomew betrays a sense of great enthusiasm for the project.¹⁸ The Scot was in particular 'most anxious to take advantage of the opportunity [of a lull in business caused by the war] to put full pressure on the completion of the atlas', especially as both he and Northcliffe seemed to believe that the conflict would be 'over by the end of this year [1915]', and therefore be the first to produce a post-war version of the world.¹⁹ When it became clear that the war would not be over for some time, a formal agreement was signed between Bartholomew and the management of *The Times* on 27 February 1916, and the Edinburgh Geographical Institute began work on what would prove to be its proprietor's magnum opus.²⁰

In the event, the completion of the atlas (as well as the war) was delayed for some more years – Bartholomew continuing to meet with Northcliffe and making 'steady progress' throughout 1917 – until finally being advertised in late 1919.²¹ When *The Times Survey Atlas of the World* appeared (like its predecessor, initially in instalments, then in a final volume form), the view of Anglo-German relations presented in its pages was very different from that in the earlier volume. Not only was the dismemberment of the German Empire chronicled and represented with the best possible accuracy, but so too the severing of the racial and religious affinities of the pre-war period.²² Gone was the 'pink link' between the British and Germans, with the *Times'* ethnographic map showing the extent of the English language and race in purplish tone, very distinct from the pink German core and its lighter Scandinavian offshoot.²³ Interestingly, the ethnographic map used was a reproduction of that which first appeared in 1915's *Historical Atlas of Modern Europe*, a text which purported to provide the essential background to the conflict then raging on the Continent.²⁴ Though the rest of this atlas was dedicated to showing the varying nature of Europe's previous boundaries and diplomatic affiliations, with its new colouration the ethnographic map provided a very unhistorical picture, obliterating any sense of the close ethno-linguistic ties which had once been perceived to exist between Britain and Germany. The coming of the war also put an end 'to any British indulgence in the German option' when it came to naming the North Sea: 'German Ocean' being finally committed to the deep in much the same way as the German High Seas Fleet (scuttled in early 1919), leaving the British supreme at sea.²⁵

The public reception of the atlas also dwelled upon the new impression of Germany contained within its pages. W. R. Prior, something of an expert on

the Schleswig-Holstein region, rejoiced that 'the correct and optimal form' of the Danish place names of Flensburg, Sönderborg and the like were to be finally restored, replacing the 'corrupted German form' in use since 1864.²⁶ The natural geography of the North German Plain, shown in the large physical maps, was seen as the underlying reason why 'Prussian overlordship' had extended with such ease from Poland to the Rhine, the southern regions being 'less ready to yield' owing to their hilly topography.²⁷ Scorn was also expressed for the 'German tribes' (note the backward and premodern implications of the term) who had permitted themselves to be 'unified' by 'Bismarck and his master', and which would be better understood from reference to the new atlas.²⁸ Just as the atlas itself removed perceived links of a broader kind, so too the advertising for the *Times Atlas* which appeared in the parent newspaper also repudiated the earlier Anglo-German professional connections. Reviewing the atlas for the American Geographical Society, W. L. G. Joerg asserted that the whole point of the atlas was 'to emancipate' Britain 'from the predominance of German cartography'.²⁹ Taking this notion a step further, the unknown author of one advertisement in the *Times* positively revelled in the notion that the coming of the new atlas 'at last has transferred the supremacy in the science of map making from Germany to Great Britain': the ending of the old freemasonry being reinterpreted as a triumph of almost equal standing as the recent victory on the battlefield (Figure 4.1).³⁰

The victory was not quite complete, however, as at least one correspondent with J. Bartholomew & Sons (N. N. Powzer) believed the new atlas inferior in many respects to 'two famous German atlases of 1914 and 1916' produced by Velhagen & Klasing, thus still making the German 'a very formidable rival'.³¹ Powzer nevertheless alluded to the new nationalism apparently inherent in the choice of post-war maps, protesting that though he desired only the best standard of cartography available, there was 'no one more anxious than myself to use an English atlas instead of a German one'. The RGS too shared this sense of patriotic duty, when commenting that with the *Times* and its competitors (*Harmsworth* and *Victory* atlases) Britons 'ought no longer have to turn to a foreign country to obtain the best atlases'.³² When the Society's Gerald Krone spoke of the previous editions of the *Times Atlas* as having 'all the signs of having been produced in Germany', he was using the description as a derogatory one: an attitude which has persisted in somewhat more muted form to the present day.³³

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HAVE you seen a copy of this new World Atlas, which at last has transferred the supremacy in the science of map making from Germany to Great Britain, and which provides students and business men with the best key to the world's affairs ?

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The Times
SURVEY ATLAS
OF THE WORLD

Prepared at the Edinburgh Geographical Institute under the direction of J. G. Bartholomew, LL.D., F.R.S.E., F.R.G.S., Cartographer to the King.

**Dedicated by Permission to
H.M. The King.**

Figure 4.1 Advertisement for *The Times Survey Atlas of the World*, from *The Times*, 23 March 1922

Part II

Travelling to Germany, 1860–1914: A Guidebook

The more the Englishman travels in the Germany of today, the more ardently he desires a complete understanding between that empire and his own land; for with Germany and Britain united on a firm basis of policy there could be no world-war, scarcely even a conflict between any civilized nations.

Sir Harry Johnston, 1912¹

5

Britain and *Baedeker's* Germany

If scholarship on travel and travel writing is 'best described as cluttered', with the anthropological, ethnological, geographical, literary and sociological fields far more developed than historical scholarship, then the impact of travel and tourism upon Anglo-German relations is a field largely devoid of any historical analysis.² Indeed, much of the work done to date concerning British travel to the Continent has focused squarely on excursions to the major tourist destinations of France, Switzerland or Italy, leaving Germany somewhat on the outer.³ Those authors who have dealt with travel in Germany in this period are primarily concerned with the impact of growing tourism on the Germans' own national identity. Recently, several key scholars have argued that from the early nineteenth century, the greater acquaintance of the Germans themselves with the cities, population and landscape that were included in the Reich in 1871 made a significant contribution to the growth of a widespread German identity.⁴ Hagen Schulz-Forberg in particular argues that British tourists made a significant contribution to this, given their travel to and romanticisation of the Rhineland from an early period.⁵ Indeed Schulz-Forberg is the only scholar who has examined in any depth the impact of travel in Germany on the British tourists of the nineteenth century (and down to 1914), but he restricted his discussion in the main to their experience of the Rhine region, and this is subordinated somewhat to his interest in the rise of the Rhine as a German national emblem.⁶ Nevertheless he showed that British perceptions of Germany as expressed in travel literature do not follow the expected pattern of increased antagonism in line with events on the diplomatic and international stage, but rather that

[t]he disillusion of English travellers to, and commentators on, Germany came as a shock and was complete in its impact, flipping the image of Germany from homely to aggressive, from positively patriotic to negatively nationalistic. Yet, for travellers' eyes, it came as late as 4 August 1914, the day England declared war on Germany.⁷

This theme is also applicable to the German Empire as a whole. Right up to that declaration of war, British travellers continued to visit the various regions of Germany, and moreover British authors continued to produce positively-themed memoirs and accounts of their journeys therein. Just two weeks before the war, British students studying at German universities – like Heidelberg – ‘could think of no other struggle with German students than that in a forthcoming rowing regatta’.⁸ And indeed, just like the Barkers, mentioned in Chapter 4, authors and travellers were interrupted in their reverie by the outbreak of war, which subsequently coloured the works appearing throughout its duration and aftermath. One can see in these accounts the same kind of ambivalent feeling towards Germany as both a ‘model’ and a ‘monster’ as can be found in the literary sphere (and examined in the next part), though in the case of travel literature, the overall tone is far more positive. Such evidence does much to ‘[refine] arguments about the inexorable rise of Anglo-German antagonism’ advanced by authors such as Kennedy, and exponents of the more ‘traditional history’.⁹

The focus of this, and the following chapters is therefore on the various forms of travel writing which were produced in Britain, or composed by British authors throughout the 1860–1914 period, and the insight these give into the views and impressions of that key group within British society who actually came into direct and sustained contact with Germany and the Germans. ‘Travel writing’ is recognised as a broad, even ‘gigantic’ category that is hard to define precisely.¹⁰ This part illustrates that breadth, and I have deliberately attempted to include as broad a sample as possible of the various ways in which the experience of travelling to, or being in Germany, was interpreted and expressed by a variety of authors and commentators. Thus this section includes discussion of travel memoirs of a literary kind as well as the various guidebooks available to travellers as reference material when planning, and then actually undertaking, their journeys, with a particular emphasis on the German-produced *Baedeker* series. It also includes significant fictionalised accounts of travel in Germany – such as Jerome K. Jerome’s much-neglected sequel to *Three Men in a Boat: Three Men on the Bummel* – and some key personal recollections from unpublished letters and correspondence.¹¹ I have attempted to avoid so far as possible the retrospective accounts of travel in Germany that were set prior to, but written or produced in, the period of the First World War and its aftermath, as such works are inevitably coloured by the experience of the conflict and its massive backlash against all things German. Where these texts have been consulted it is for the light they shed on the great (and late) change in attitude which the war brought about for British travellers to Germany in the years 1914–18 and beyond.¹²

Leisure travel between 1860 and 1914 was faster and more efficient than at any time before, as the ‘iron web’ of the railways enveloped Britain, and extended rapidly over the landscape of Germany and the rest of Europe.¹³

The advent of the railways, and to an equally important extent the steam-driven riverboat, allowed travellers to explore regions like the Rhineland 'with unexampled speed and efficiency' and in ever greater numbers, but they also transformed the experience of such a region by removing travellers from direct contact with their immediate surroundings, and creating what has been called 'a "panoramic" mode of perception, that took in landscapes not as tangible entities but as fleeting "sights"'.¹⁴ Though the 'tramping' (walking) and cycling crazes of the late nineteenth century did negate this mid-century trend to a considerable degree, British travellers became much more reliant on the railway timetable – and more particularly the tourist handbooks which detailed such 'sights' – for their knowledge and experience of the population and culture of Germany, which became accessible as never before.

The growing prevalence of guidebooks therefore signalled an important change in the way travel was conducted, both by travellers of British origin and those from other European states. These texts, designed specifically to lessen the discomfort and disconnection felt by the traveller in a strange land, also served (like the railways) to commodify the experience of a foreign land and people. Relying largely on a handbook, the individual reader might undergo an experience of Germany almost 'identical with all other experiences', rather than as something 'separate and unique'.¹⁵ While guidebooks certainly did not make *every* British experience of Germany throughout this period identical, the 'guidebook version' does appear to be the basic means of interpreting Germany and the Germans for British travellers. References to the trusty guidebook began to creep into the more literary travel narratives, and indeed one suspects that the authors of many travel accounts would actually have had a handbook with them as they wrote down their tales later on. It is difficult to locate a Briton writing about travel through the Rhineland in the 1860s who was not reminded of the lyricism of Byronic verse upon sighting the ruined *Drachenfels*, more so because the famous couplet appeared in their guidebook, and regardless of their actual familiarity with Byron's work.¹⁶ Another good example is the account of Thomas Sopwith who – having journeyed to France and Spain in 1864, and then into Germany a few years later – refers to there being no need for him to discourse at length on the sights of the Cathedral of Sts Peter and Helen in Trier, because 'details of the history and archaeology of this church are given in Murray's "North Germany", and in the "German Murray" or Baedeker's guide book'.¹⁷

More tellingly, Sopwith and his party were faced with a real crisis when visiting Nuremberg, where they were keen to view some of the romantic scenery, 'but not having guide books ... we were at a loss for exact information how to proceed'.¹⁸ Even an author of the literary stamp of Henry James, when travelling in Switzerland in 1872 'went, Bädeker [*sic*] in hand, to "do" the place'.¹⁹ A surprising admission, given the anti-guidebook and anti-'tourist' jibes he advanced in the essays later comprising his *Italian Hours*.

Given these trends, and the geographical changes mentioned in earlier chapters (maps also being essential to the experience of travel), the impression that British travellers had of the place called 'Germany' underwent considerable change at the beginning of the period under discussion here. After 1871 in particular, not only did the name now connote a new, discrete national entity as a potential destination – largely shorn of links to previously 'German' areas like Austria, Liechtenstein or (at a stretch) Bohemia – but the roving Briton became increasingly aware of the towering, titan-like figure which was to define the parameters of what 'Germany' could mean for individuals travelling within its borders. This figure was less that of a Bismarck than of a *Baedeker*.

Karl Baedeker (1801–59), the elder, was long dead by the time his influence truly began to be felt in Europe. At his passing, the little red guidebooks turned out by his Koblenz-based printing firm were merely some of a number of such *Handbücher* for travellers then on the market. In shape and form they owed much more to their being modelled after other, longer-standing creations (such as those of Britain's own John Murray), than from any particular individual genius for composing this type of product.²⁰ Yet owing to the growing precision of the information within their pages, and the inclusion of more historical and practical detail (where best to eat and sleep) at the expense of 'literary citations' regarding the places to visit, Baedeker's slowly overtook Murray's as the definitive guides for British travellers. This was even more so the case because in 1861, Baedeker's son Ernst (1833–61) had begun producing English-language versions of his father's books.²¹

An arrangement with John Murray had ensured that Baedeker's neat little book of *The Rhine* was available at 4s. 6d. for travellers by the 1861 season (the Murray firm acting as agent for the British distribution of the German's guides). Sales were at least strong enough to allow Karl Baedeker (1837–1911), the younger (his brother Ernst having died suddenly on 23 July 1861), to break with Murray the following year, and engage in direct competition with the more established British printer from June of 1862.²² It is significant that although the Baedeker firm was now presenting a different, more 'German' version of the Rhineland to the British public from that of its main domestic competitor, this was done with a significant amount of British connivance, as the previous agency relationship with Murray was transferred to the firm of Williams & Norgate.²³ It would seem that there was something resembling the 'freemasonry' evident between British and German cartographic printers of the period (referred to in Part I) among other printers and publishers as well, and that this contributed to the way in which Germany was presented to a British readership.

Baedeker guides in English (and other languages) gradually became 'tailored' to suit the needs of travellers from different countries; the vagaries of the market demonstrated the firm's 'ability to furnish travellers with

guidebooks that would entrench their various national viewpoints'.²⁴ This was achieved through the mediation of the firm's various British, French and German agents, and this may have been a significant factor in the *Baedeker's* international success.²⁵ Greater emphasis was placed on those things which were seen to be most attractive to Britons, like the detail of key myths and legends otherwise well known to German travellers; or more practically, the location of Church of England and Scots Presbyterian houses of worship.²⁶ Also, in *Baedeker*, the lengthy quotations from literary figures which characterised *Murray* guides were replaced by more detailed practical information regarding which hotels to stay in, the cost of various short trips and activities, and itineraries for visiting sites away from the rail arteries. By the 1870s the Baedeker firm was fast achieving 'the ultimate marketing success', as its name became synonymous with the 'handbook for travellers' as a product not only in its native Germany, but also in Britain (a new printing arrangement with James and Findlay Muirhead coming into play by 1878).²⁷ By the 1880s, Murray was fighting a losing rearguard action against the English-language *Baedekers*, and though their predominance was not yet assured by the end of that decade, sales of that most German of guidebooks had so completely outstripped those of the *Murray* guides by the 1890s, that in 1901 almost the entire series of *Murray's* was sold on to the firm of Edward Stanford for a mere £2000. Stanford apparently enjoyed little commercial success with his subsequent reissuing of individual guides.²⁸

The most dominant voice in pointing British travellers in the direction of 'what ought to be seen', though relayed in the English language, was now definitively a German one.²⁹ Indeed, it is important to note the national aspect of such representations, as 'reading a Baedeker, regardless of the language in which it was printed, was like reading a part of Germany', not least because of those little books' stereotypically "'Germanic" qualities of efficiency and reliability'.³⁰ What one American visitor called '[t]he unflinching Baedeker ... the true product of the German mind', dealt with all manner of German national symbols, cultural icons and landscapes.³¹ Rudy Koshar has argued that the sheer variety of 'expectations, experiences, and representations' chronicled by the *Baedeker* reflected in itself the variety and diversity of what he calls the 'national movement' which grew up throughout the nineteenth century, and which came to be anchored firmly after 1871 in the dominant 'state-political orientation' of the new Reich.³² Almost every monument to national figures as varied as Bismarck or Goethe, or the Hohenzollern monarchs (and 'sub-national' dynasties of Bavaria and other states) is faithfully recorded in the pages of the various English-language *Baedekers*, just as they appeared in the German counterparts.³³ Major national monuments and sites – such as the Oberberg on the *Kyffhäuser* (the mountain under which Kaiser Friedrich I, Barbarossa, is said to sleep) and the *Hermannsdenkmal* in the Teutoberg Forest (the monument to the first-century Germanic chieftain Arminius, who destroyed three

Roman legions near there) – are described lovingly in minute detail, with more space devoted to the sites associated with the semi-official cult of the Hohenzollerns than the privately sponsored memorials.³⁴

Despite the enthusiastic embrace of the ruling house as a focus for national identity (and even of Wilhelm II as a ‘consumer brand’), the very fact of Baedeker’s extension of what constituted a ‘national’ monument or memorial to depictions of figures outside the Hohenzollern dynasty, or commemoration of non-monarchical events (such as Bismarck, Barbarossa and those memorialised in the Bavarian *Walhalla*), constituted a recognition and perpetuation of what Koshar has called a longer-standing, more popular ‘national-liberal’ form of German nationalism and travel culture.³⁵ Therefore, just as the new rash of Bismarck memorials was chronicled faithfully in editions following the statesman’s dismissal in 1890, so too Baedeker gave adequate space to the former houses of various important scientific, literary and musical figures, with many of these originally personal spaces having since been transformed into repositories of the collective national memory as museums.³⁶ Koshar noted that in the *Baedeker Deutschland in einem Band* of 1913 (the first single-volume German-language *Baedeker* devoted to the entire German Empire), only half of the monuments and statues listed in Berlin were devoted to military/political figures, the rest recalling the ‘great intellectuals, poets, philosophers and architects’ of German national life.³⁷ In addition, a great number of natural sites peppered the pages of both the German and English-language *Baedekers*, including the romantic and semi-medieval landscapes of the Harz Mountains, the Bavarian Alps and of course, the Rhineland, together with the connotations of national identity with which these were imbued. The vineyards and mineral-water springs of Southern Germany and the Rhineland, together with the often-repeated triumvirate of ‘torrent ... mountains ... ruin’ were reflective of nostalgia for an imagined rural Germany and which was perceived as a direct link with the solid, venerable traditions of the German past.³⁸ These coexisted alongside enthusiasm for modern Germany, though it is interesting – and not surprising – that the industrial powerhouses of German industry received little in the way of attention from the *Baedekers*. Who, after all, wants to go on holiday to look at a smokestack?

The very appearance and content of the first English *Baedeker* in the years before the formulation of any ‘state-political’ German national identity shows that ‘natural’, ‘traditional’ aspects were what most attracted Britons to the German states. This was especially so as the first *Baedeker* was not a guidebook to ‘Germany’ as such, but concerned itself exclusively with *The Rhine* and the various sights along the valley of that great river. It is also significant that from the very beginning, most travellers’ handbooks (such as John Murray’s famous *Handbook of Travellers on the Continent*) were also concerned mainly with ‘the Rhine from Holland to Switzerland’.³⁹ Schulz-Forberg has argued convincingly that ‘English travellers had already

discovered the Rhine before Romantic [and nationalist] ideas about it had surfaced in German minds', and the number of volumes (both guidebooks and more narrative forms) on its valley and history published in English down to the 1860s is testament to its importance for the British travellers of the age.⁴⁰ The Rhine had been a popular and often necessary staple of the Grand Tour since the late eighteenth century, and in the age of steam-driven mass tourism, it only increased in popularity.⁴¹ Thomas Cook was offering the opportunity to visit the entire Rhineland for £5 in 1865 (rising only 5 shillings in price by 1900), and by that time the British ten-day-tourist was ubiquitous and instantly recognisable. He had his own 'code of appearance', defined as 'ordinary dress' such as appropriate for London, perhaps with a 'couple of flannel shirts and a wide-awake hat' thrown into a discreetly stowed carpet bag.⁴²

The incredible popularity of Rhine tourism, partially fuelled by such guidebooks in the 1860s, is evident from the fact that the annual capacity of the fleet of small steamers of the *Köln-Düsseldorfer Rheindampfschiffahrtsgesellschaft* (Cologne-Dusseldorf Rhine Steam Boat Company) was already close to one million by 1853 (the year of the merger which created the Cologne-Dusseldorf company from two smaller firms), of which British travellers constituted 'a considerable group'.⁴³ These travellers were those who were able 'now and then' to devote a few months, or even a few weeks, to 'going abroad', and who were attracted by their education to the castled crags of the Rhine valley, the picturesque nature of the scenery and people, or of course the famed red and white wines of the region.⁴⁴

The 'what *ought to be seen*' of Murray's guidebooks in this period, often interpreted as simply what 'was worth seeing' for the traveller, can also be interpreted in a different way. The German Rhineland contained much of what, for a well-educated Briton, comprised 'what ought to be seen'; in a similar way perhaps to a knowledge of Classical language and culture enabling one to read what 'ought to be read' (indeed Roman ruins feature in the guidebooks just as often as medieval).⁴⁵ To this Classical heritage could be added those English works which had extolled the Romantic and Gothic virtues of the Rhine itself, such as the famous third, *Drachenfels* canto of Byron's 'Childe Harold's Pilgrimage' (1816), or Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* (1818), quotations from which peppered the early guidebooks (as mentioned above).⁴⁶ Indeed, the guidebooks were also an effective substitute for those of the aspiring middle classes who lacked such an education, and who could remedy this deficiency by travel to such important cultural locations as the Rhineland, *Baedeker* or *Murray* in hand, and effectively educate themselves.⁴⁷ The most noticeable group for which this was true (throughout the period discussed) was British women of the middle classes, for whom the conducted tour and guidebook were each 'a great emancipatory tool', which gave women the opportunity for travel in complete independence.⁴⁸ The *Baedeker* could act as a sort of surrogate chaperone for women on holiday,

in the days when the female sphere was defined as private. Well-to-do ladies would never be seen out of doors without a companion (usually male), and so the different expectations when travelling can be seen as major steps towards the liberation of women in this period. It is by no means a coincidence that the numbers of British women travelling to Germany (and other areas) greatly increased in this period, and the sheer number of accounts written by women which crop up in the following chapters is nothing short of striking.⁴⁹

6

The Rhine, the Spas, and Beyond; in War and Peace

For 'folk tales and legends, romantic landscapes and Gothic castles', the Rhineland was unequalled in quality and quantity, but there was also the attraction of the various spas and health-resorts which lined the river's banks, and contributed in no small way to its popularity as a destination for British travellers.¹ J. A. R. Pimlott asserted that it was 'in large measure due to the English that ... German mineral springs [were] transformed into cosmopolitan resorts', and the vogue for 'hydropathy' which was exported from the spas of the Rhineland attracted large numbers of British seekers after health and wellbeing.²

Germany had been one of the principal destinations for spa goers since the early nineteenth century. By the 1840s it is estimated that there were upwards of 50 'water-cure establishments' in the area which later became the German Empire, and many of these were famous enough to be known simply by the name of their owner or operator.³ Such was the popularity of the German brand of hydropathy with well-to-do Britons that many German doctors (like Joseph Weiss and Christian von Schlemmer) abandoned their homeland to set up in the spa towns of Britain itself.⁴ Though spa facilities were available at home (at Bath, most notably), veritable floods of British travellers continued to visit the genuine Rhenish article throughout the 1860s. Such was the repute of German spas in particular that the noted physician Thomas More Madden paid special attention to them in his works on the subjects of hydropathy and change of climate therapy.⁵

However it was not purely for matters of health that Britons found the spa towns of the Rhineland attractive. Throughout the 1860s, the Rhenish spas were also capitals of gambling of all kinds, and it was for this that Britons of the 'fashionable set' flocked to Bad-Homburg and Wiesbaden in droves. David Blackbourn has noted just how important these locations were as 'zones of contact' between important members of the international elite (and the elite and their middle-class imitators), and this is perhaps epitomised by the regular presence there of the most fashionable of all nineteenth-century playboys: Albert, Prince of Wales.⁶ The continued patronage of the Prince

of Wales (later the 'playboy king' Edward VII) did much to cement the spas' popularity, and it was Homburg's reputation which benefited most from his presence.⁷ The innovations in men's dress which the prince inaugurated while holidaying there, including the 'Homburg' hat and the long-standing trend in keeping the bottom button of a waistcoat undone (owing in no small part to the prince's inability to fasten it, due to his growing corpulence), made the town a byword for sartorial elegance and 'fashionability'.⁸

In one important respect, Bismarck did equal Baedeker in terms of his influence on the experience of British travellers in Germany in this period, for in 1872 under the new Reich law-code, gambling at Bad-Homburg, Wiesbaden and the other Rhenish spa towns was prohibited. This led François Blanc to transfer the capital of his famous casino empire to Monte Carlo, thus ending the traditional association of a trip to Germany with louche habits and gambling, and establishing the reputation of 'Monte' and the Riviera that endures today.⁹ The American Henry James presented a memorable sketch of the spa town of Bad-Homburg the year after gambling was prohibited, and he noted then that 'though the gaming is stopped, the wells have not dried up, and people still drink them, and find them very good'.¹⁰ Between rapturous descriptions of the wooded landscapes around the town, and enthusiastic endorsement of the nation of 'deep drinkers and strong thinkers', James painted an enchanting portrait of 'the usual English lady' to be found in Homburg during the season, 'marching definitely about under the burden of the national costume, [with] indescribably more the air of what one may call a social factor – the air of social responsibility, of having a part to play'.¹¹

Such visitors to post-Unification Homburg as James described were still in mourning for the loss of the town's traditional attraction, and for those 'blighted survivors sitting about under the trees in the Kurgarten', the recent victorious conclusion of the Wars of Unification meant chiefly that they were unhappily 'to play "patience" forevermore'.¹² While the eventual conclusion of the Franco-Prussian War thus indirectly brought the destruction of a key reason for British travel to Germany (or at least, driving it underground), the events of the war itself, and the travel writing associated with it do not support the commonly held view of that conflict as a caesura, after which British interest in Germany began to decline absolutely. Indeed the British travellers' accounts reflect a continued 'kindred feeling and favouring of Germany' during the conflict, based in no small part on the sentimental attachment of their authors to the Germany and Germans they recalled from past experience.¹³

Despite any misgivings about Bismarckian political machinations, or the dismay at the destruction later visited on the boulevards and buildings of Paris, the Germans were seen by many from the outset as the wronged party in a dastardly Napoleonic scheme gone wrong; themselves 'too well educated and too homeloving [*sic*] to allow themselves to be made

instruments of offensive warfare'.¹⁴ Similarly, the editor of *The Times* wrote quite passionately of the need for neutral Britons to disregard any lingering feelings of horror at the disruptions caused by war and nevertheless display 'sympathy with sufferings which are not, after all, so very far away' from their own experience.¹⁵ After all, he reminded his readership:

Numbers among us have derived health and pleasure from a trip to the Rhine or amid the scenes where war is now waging. It would be some return for the past, and would be a link of friendship for the future, if we could do something to comfort the inhabitants of that beautiful land under the direst curse which can scourge humanity.¹⁶

It was widely expected (and commented upon in the press) that this was a war that would be fought in, and fought over, the Rhineland and Southern Germany.¹⁷ Thus, for many Britons the thought of the despoliation of their favourite holiday destinations by hordes of French warriors was uppermost in their minds, particularly as so many British nationals were actually in the affected region at the outbreak of the conflict.

One of the earliest pieces concerning the Franco-German conflict to appear in *The Times* came tellingly from a 'Holyday [sic] Correspondent', visiting Munich at the French declaration of war.¹⁸ According to this anonymous writer, the English visitors to the Bavarian capital were greatly concerned as to 'how their communications with home would be affected', and owing to the fact that a great many of them determined to leave that very evening (Friday 19 July), 'there was quite a rush to obtain seats in the express from Vienna to London' around 11:20 p.m.¹⁹ Thomas Cook himself was caught unawares by the suddenness of the crisis, and was at that moment conducting a group of British and American tourists to the Passion Play at Oberammergau, in the Bavarian Alps.²⁰ Unlike his experience of the April–July 1866 'Seven Weeks' War', which had 'not interfere[d] much' with his itineraries, the king of the package tour found himself not only under considerable pressure from panicked tourists desperate to return home, but also flooded with requests from interested Britons wanting to travel *towards* the seat of the conflict.²¹ Thomas Cook's son, John Mason Cook, 'undeterred by press censure', actually conducted a party of male tourists to within half a mile of the siege of Metz (the fortress-city surrendered on 29 October 1870), and his father was actually in Paris when the German armies surrounded the French capital in September 1870.²² Cook saw 'suspicious looking barrels moored by the sides of bridges', and had numerous other 'ocular demonstrations' of the state of preparations in the capital, but his chief purpose there was nevertheless to gauge the continued viability of French railway communications for potential visitors.²³

The general fascination of Britons with the events of the Franco-Prussian War also inspired at least one intriguing account of perhaps the ultimate

travel experience of the brand-new Reich. This was described by the author as 'a journey taken to Berlin, in June, 1871, to witness the Triumphant entry of the victorious German troops'.²⁴ Overcome by the 'irresistible desire' to witness the once-in-a-lifetime spectacle, Mrs Rosa F. Hill travelled with a small party by train from London and crossed the Channel at Calais, where she discovered to her irritation that recent events had 'made the passport nuisance more rampant than ever'.²⁵ For Britons, who were not required to carry 'papers' or passports, the experience of Continental travel, where they were often de rigueur, had always been a trial, but in wartime, they reached a peak. The disruptions associated with passport security during the Franco-Prussian War must have been something akin to those still experienced trying to enter the United States in the wake of the 'War on Terror'.

Mrs Hill's comment on passports indicates that she was already a seasoned traveller. Throughout the account of her journey, she includes similar hints at her previous experience of Continental travel (including Lombardy in explicit terms), though it would appear that in Germany she had never travelled beyond the Rhineland. Her excitement at visiting unexplored Berlin is therefore quite palpable from the description she provided.²⁶ Arriving on the Thursday before the festivities, Hill and her party took the opportunity to sight-see before moving around the city became too difficult, and were surprised by the 'enormous size and amplitude of all its buildings' as well as the grandeur of the various monuments and statuary, and the 'delicious walks and drives' through the shady avenues of the 'Their-garten [*sic*]'.²⁷

On the actual day of the *Einzug* (entrance), Hill records with enthusiasm a city festooned with 'wreaths and garlands of fir, enlivened by knots and ribbons, black, red, and white, the colours of United Germany'.²⁸ For her, this 'day of days' was further enlivened by the fortuitous change in the weather, as 'nothing but rain, rain, rain for more than a week past' turned to 'brilliant sunshine' and an 'unclouded sky', and Mrs Hill – taking pride in her 'English eyes, possibly more experienced in changeful weather' than the concerned Berliners – confidently predicted this turn for the better.²⁹ Such fulsome descriptions of the weather, the garlanding of the Pariser Platz ('a grand trophy' in itself) and the other major meeting-points for festivities also extended to the procession of the new Kaiser and imperial retinue through the central passage of the Brandenburg Gate, to general acclaim around 10:30 a.m. With particular attention being paid to the Crown Prince – '*Unser* [our] Fritz' – and Crown Princess Victoria, Hill recorded that the 'heartiest acclaim' was reserved for the English princess, who appeared 'to be as great a favourite in Prussia as she was in England'.³⁰

All of this description of the pomp and ceremony of the occasion is interesting enough as an outsider's observation of the beginnings of German nationhood, but to it Hill adds some remarkable opinions regarding the conduct and fairness of the recent Franco-German conflict. These are indicative both of the very real division of opinion in contemporary Britain over

which side was the more justified in its actions, as well as the broader feelings of ambivalence as the 'Old Enemy' in France was crushed by a power traditionally viewed with favour by the British. Mrs Hill peppers her effusive description of the Hohenzollern triumph with the occasional expression of regret for the fate of France, claiming that 'although on such a day German nationality must be allowed a little self-glorification', the prospect of so many proud 'weather-stained and time-worn' *tricolors* and Napoleonic eagle-standards was a 'touching, painful sight'.³¹ The French embassy in the Pariser Platz, 'closely shuttered and still as death', also served to help her 'remain alive to the numerous admirable qualities of the French people', at the same time as emphasising the 'sterling qualities of the German nation'.³² There are regretful passages in which she refers to French soldiers, 'mostly very young, looking very shabby', in soiled uniforms, waiting to take various trains to their homeland, and in Mrs Hill's opinion the 'sorrows and sufferings of a great and sister nation' in France are cause for 'every true Briton' to extend his or her sympathy.³³

Nevertheless, Hill had chosen to visit Germany at the moment of its triumph, and thus it is not surprising to find her coming down more firmly on its side over the question of responsibility for the outbreak and general conduct of the war. 'Be it ever remembered', she intones, that '*Germany was forced into the war*. The cruel work was thrust upon her, and she would have been wanting for honour, as well as in common sense, if she had refused to do that work'.³⁴ In addition, Hill makes clear her view that had France been the victor, 'her former dealings with these same Germans ... [and] her tender mercies to her own sons and daughters during her late grievous civil war' would indicate that the German states would have been treated to much harsher terms than those visited upon the French at the Peace of Frankfurt (10 May 1871).³⁵ Moreover, some sly 'frog-baiting' occurs when she recalls the visit made to an encampment of French prisoners outside Dresden after the Berlin festivities had concluded. Apparently, having been asked whether the Germans were treating them well, the only complaint the French could utter was that 'these horrid Germans will make us wash ourselves'.³⁶

While Mrs Hill's brief account illustrates perhaps the extreme of pro-German sentiment in Britain during the period of the Franco-Prussian War, the appearance of such a book is also indicative of a far more broadly interesting trend at this time: though briefly interrupted by the conflict, British travel to the newly federated Germany was swift to revive after 1871. Mrs Hill and her family were not the only representatives of their nation to travel to Germany in early June of that year, and she records in particular 'two pleasant English travelling companions' who left the train at Hanover, the younger of whom was 'a good German scholar' and sculptor, returning to his schooling there.³⁷ There is also the story of the 'tall, stalwart Englishman' who was only too happy to help a poor, wounded Prussian

soldier up the stairs in Frankfurt, the Samaritan acknowledging his thanks with an almost Wodehouse-like 'All right, old fellow'.³⁸ The journalist, Henry Vizetelly, also made a point of visiting, and publishing an account of, *Berlin under the New Empire* (1879) – a handsome two-volume work, part travel guide, part work of scholarship.³⁹

Thomas Cook was keen to emphasise that as early as September 1870, while 'tourists first took alarm on the banks of the Rhine and fled to Paris; now ... the Rhine is free and Paris is blockaded', and travellers and tourists were being welcomed back 'with gratitude'.⁴⁰ Cook's firm was continuing to advertise tours to Germany and the Rhineland throughout the war and in July–August of 1871, Cook himself conducted a tour of 70 English travellers on 'The German and Swiss Round', by which time hotels in Cologne and Mayence (Mainz) were taking 'an enormous number of guests'.⁴¹ In fact in Cook's opinion, an even greater number of visitors were flowing through the 'freer German [railway] lines' on their way to the evergreen destinations of Switzerland and the French Riviera as well as visiting Germany itself.⁴² This, Cook opined, resulted in large part from the 'vexatious demand' of the French government for the continued carrying of passports despite the ending of hostilities. Mrs Hill would have agreed with him. Indeed, such was the general decline in British tourism to France in this period, the Boulogne chamber of commerce was compelled in 1872 to present their government with a petition proposing the ending of passport regulations, based largely on the fact that 'the English, instead of coming as usual to spend the season on our coast, remained in the English watering-places or went to Ostend and Germany'.⁴³

The evidence of such an influx of British nationals to Germany at precisely the same time as Chesney was preparing his fantasy of German invasion – *The Battle of Dorking* (see below, Part III) – is hardly indicative of a widespread dislike or suspicion of the new empire. Despite any misgivings about reported Prussian atrocities in France during the war, or the rumours of a renewal of hostilities which periodically resurfaced during the 1870s, this was a period in which large numbers of Englishmen and women continued to visit, and to write about visits, to Germany. There was no break in the publishing schedule of John Murray's popular tourist guides, and in fact a move was made in the 1873 edition to divide the handbook into two parts, the second being entirely devoted to *North Germany from the Baltic to the Black Forest, the Harz etc.*, and in 1877 a complete break was made with the old format and *A Handbook to North Germany from the Baltic to the Black Forest, and the Rhine from Holland to Basle* was released as a separate publication.⁴⁴ Many travellers returned to Oberammergau, to see a reprise performance of the famous Passion Play which had been disrupted the previous year, one such tourist maintaining that it was 'without doubt one of the most extraordinary exhibitions of our times', and was pleased to have been given a second chance to view it.⁴⁵ Some experienced the sickening

sensation of lost luggage while travelling with the Belgian and Rhenish Railway Company in the European summer.⁴⁶ Some, such as the art critic and biographer (of Randolph Caldicott) Henry George Blackburn, found new and different things to enjoy in Germany from previous generations of travellers, by journeying away from the routes prescribed by *Baedeker* or *Murray*. Irritated by the handbook's dismissal of the Harz Mountains as 'hardly worth the while of the hunter after the picturesque ... unless he be a geologist', Blackburn composed a sizeable volume devoted to extolling its virtues as a destination.⁴⁷ Moreover, when visiting the once-mighty imperial city of Goslar, Blackburn was struck by how quickly the recent conflict had faded into the general cultural milieu of Germany. For there,

Under the battlements of a city eight hundred years old, the siege of Paris in 1871 has become already a matter of history, and the warrior of Sedan reposing upon his laurels in a beer garden at Goslar, is the real hero of the hour.⁴⁸

Similarly, the new memorials which sprang up all over the new Reich were soon to be dutifully catalogued along with all the other monuments and places of interest listed in the guidebooks, and visited in their turn by tourists of all nations.⁴⁹

The battlefields of the late war also became focal points for visiting Britons, as the private diary jottings of the 15-year-old Austen Chamberlain attest. Early one Friday morning Chamberlain, his father Joseph, aunts, and uncle, were driven to the battlefield of Gravelotte outside the fortress-city of Metz, where the young man contemplated the 'immense space' of the field, and wondered given such circumstances 'how any-one can make a good general'.⁵⁰ High on the list of sights on the guided tour were 'the monuments to the dead Prussians and Saxons', with the bemused Chamberlain feeling that the driver paid too much attention to these, and not enough to explaining the respective tactics and manoeuvres of Moltke and Bazaine.⁵¹ The importance of Gravelotte, as the largest action fought on German soil, inspired the Baedeker firm in particular to embellish its section on Metz with a double-page, fold-out map of the various stages of the battle for the interest of its English readership, complete with coloured figures of the various cavalry and infantry corps involved.⁵²

If one considers British tourists visiting these sights merely as 'consumers' of Germany, then such an emphasis is of great importance, because what was being consumed was the dominant German travel culture, full of pride in past glories (largely cultural, though many of them recent military adventures) and confidence in the future.⁵³ Likewise, if one considers that the British patrons (in the commercial sense) of such a Germany were of 'that stratum of educated consumers who referred to themselves as "the cultured"', and were therefore discerning about what kind of Germany they

wanted to see, then it is reasonable to assume that the mainstream nationalism inherent in such sights and scenery was in no way objectionable to these people, but was actually what they expected and desired.⁵⁴ Indeed, the interest of such travellers as Blackburn, Hill and the Chamberlains, as well as that of Cook's tourists and others who visited the Rhine in the period of the Franco-German conflict, indicates that the new, *Imperial* Germany was readily accepted along with the more traditional notions of Germany which continued to appeal to British travellers and tourists.⁵⁵

The 'Old' Germany remained a major attraction for British travellers throughout the period of the Franco-Prussian War and beyond, almost unaffected by the creation of the Reich. Indeed some areas of Germany were viewed as oases of this older idea of the Fatherland, little worlds apart from the troubles of contemporary Europe 'where, though we are assured that nothing but peace is intended, unexpected wars arise, and rumours of wars abound'.⁵⁶ One such area derived its attraction from the direct dynastic connections enjoyed by the British with Germany and the Germans, as Campbell Macaulay Greig elucidated in his account of a journey to the Duchy of Coburg-Gotha, 'where that son of the soil, Albert, the true, good-hearted husband of our beloved Queen' was born and raised.⁵⁷ Published ten years after the death of the Prince Consort and less than one year after the supposed end of the Germany of diminutive courts and princelings, Greig's memoir speaks of the romantic idylls of little brooks 'leaping and brawling – free and wild' over the 'rocky fragments, great and small, that were strewn in natural confusion', and the 'picturesque ruin of an old castle' standing out against 'noble wood-clad heights'.⁵⁸ Greig marvels at these beauties of nature '(which no one knows better to appreciate than a German)', and speaks of the enduring links between his native Britain (though a Scot, his emphasis is on this aspect of his nationality) and this area of Germany.⁵⁹ The items he looked over in the Rosette Chamber of the Ducal palace included 'ruder shaped bowls, from which the mead in which Hengist and Horsa [the mythical ancestors of the Anglo-Saxons] revelled, might have been drunk', while the pleasant conversation of rural Coburgers reminded him that 'our Duke has chosen Prince Alfred of England to succeed him ... Alfred, whom we have all known from childhood, and look on him as our own prince'.⁶⁰

For Greig, recent events had in no way tarnished the relationship between Britain and Germany, and indeed his work was published in part with the intention of increasing awareness of areas such as Coburg-Gotha, which were largely unknown as tourist destinations, unlike the 'well-known but ever romantic' Rhine.⁶¹ The continued flow of British tourists to the Rhine has already been remarked upon, but it is worth noting the way in which travellers' expectations and impressions of the 'River of the Fatherland' remained largely unchanged by the brief irruption of the Franco-Prussian War. English travellers, remarked Hagen Schulz-Forberg, 'would not disentangle themselves from the German wave of a reinvention of the Rhine as a

national place', but incorporated this newer facet of their favourite destination alongside the traditional Rhine of fable and romance.⁶² While it may be true of some travellers and travel writers that the consistent emphasis upon the romantic indicates a desire to escape from the newer realities of German nationalism – a desire 'to be in fairyland, not in Germany' – just as often British travel literature presents a good, even playful impression of the new Germany, of Prussia and its military triumphs in tandem with the fabulous and idyllic.⁶³

Just as Blackburn's Harz memoir treats recent events in Germany alongside the traditional rural aspect so attractive in the past, the narrative of Richard Marrack is indicative of a continued fascination with the Rhine and its history. All the regular sites of pilgrimage are present, with the cathedral of Cologne 'of course the first object to be visited' in that city, and 'the inevitable lines of Byron' quoted when passing the *Drachenfels*.⁶⁴ In addition, reference is made to the presence of 'a number of Prussian officers, in full uniform' at the table d'hôte in Cologne, who were 'fine, compactly built, well educated men – who did justice to their vesture as well as to the viands'.⁶⁵ Likewise, references to the recent war are largely confined to the form of amusing stories, such as that told by their riverboat captain, who boasted that he had once carried his boat over the ramparts of 'Metz the impregnable', apparently with the Union flag fluttering proudly at her bows.⁶⁶

7

Business as Usual: The 1880s and 1890s

The pattern evident in the 1870s, of little change in the way British travellers imagined Germany despite its wars and unification, continued right down to the turn of the twentieth century. There were subtle changes in the way British authors wrote about their experiences in the new Reich, but these had more to do with the opening up of more areas to explore. The invention of newer leisure activities – such as cycling or ‘tramping’ – or the extension of pastimes such as yachting and sailing to regions of Germany where these had not hitherto been popular, also contributed to minor changes in the themes of travel writing. As the new century approached, moreover, it is true that the ‘change of British official policy did not find any repercussions in travel writings’, but where mention is made of the growth of Anglo-German competition in the commercial or naval arenas, this results in ‘only stirring a few contradicting ripples here and there’.¹ British tourists continued to visit Germany in large numbers, often for the same reasons which had attracted previous generations of travellers, and unperturbed by any perceived antagonism between their respective nations or governments. Importantly, sales of the various travellers’ handbooks to Germany remained strong in this period, and it is true to say that ‘the Baedeker was simply not considered in reference to Anglo-German antagonism’.²

Indeed, it would appear from the evidence of travel literature that the only major bone of contention between Britain and Germany in the period of the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was in the area of personal hygiene and comfort. This was something which had always dogged the British traveller to Germany, as John Murray’s 1843 advice can attest. He warned of ‘the full extent of the misery’ to be expected by Englishmen attempting a good night’s sleep in a German bed, and ‘the small provision made for washing, usually confined to a small handkerchief for a towel’.³ Time and again, authors of various books or personal reminiscences make reference to ‘German sanitary arrangements [being] capable of improvement’; the insufficient volume of the ‘German wash basin’; or

the fact that German accommodation is 'about as uncomfortable as can be imagined'.⁴ Snide comments were levelled against German bedding, as Henry Doughty observed that the beds in his Harz Mountains hotel were 'comfortable, for Germany', and Austen Chamberlain certainly found this aspect of his 1887–8 stay in Berlin to be the most taxing. He was particularly appalled by what passed for a bed in the boarding house of Herr Hamann, his host:

Of all the inventions of the Evil One commend me to my bed as the worst. Even an angel would swear himself to perdition in the course of a week if he had to sleep in it. Is it too short? No it's long enough, but the coverings! No sheets, no blankets, nothing but a quilt which is too short and wouldn't cover both feet + shoulders at the same time! So the poor things have to take turn + turn about ... Ugh, I ain't up to it.⁵

At least Herr Hamann, unlike most other German hosts, was 'fully alive to the needs of an Englishman in the way of a bath in the morning', and provided Chamberlain with adequate facilities in this regard.⁶ When German accommodation was 'clean, airy, roomy', and contained 'large and pleasant' rooms, many authors felt the need for a surprised comment. Such was the apparent displeasure with which successive waves of British (and American) travellers met this aspect of vacationing in Germany that the Baedeker firm made specific its concern for improved relations by including a note addressed to 'Hotel-keepers who wish to commend their houses to British and American travellers', in the introductory section of their guidebooks.⁷ Particular care was to be taken in the furnishing of bedrooms 'with large basins, foot-baths, plenty of water, and an adequate supply of towels', and *Baedeker* also pressed hoteliers to ensure that the sanitary arrangements are in proper order, including 'a strong flush of water and proper toilet-paper'.⁸

Such comparatively trivial issues aside, the impressions of Germany and the Germans in travel literature through the 1880s and 1890s were undoubtedly positive. As mentioned above, British tourists and travellers continued to purchase the requisite handbooks to their German destinations, and it is interesting that these continued to be issued as guides to distinct areas of the new Germany, rather than attempting to incorporate these into a single guidebook for 'The German Empire'. Indeed 1873 even witnessed a further splintering of the English-language version of Germany in handbook terms, as the Baedekers discontinued the practice of including Northern Germany along with the Rhine in their guide, instead issuing *Northern Germany* as a separate volume from that year.⁹ John Murray also changed the way in which his handbooks were arranged, releasing *A Guide to North Germany from the Baltic to the Black Forest* as 'Part II' of his *Handbook for Travellers on the Continent* from 1873; a separate title which underwent two subsequent editions in 1877 and 1881 before the *Murray* guidebook series became

unprofitable.¹⁰ Much as in the case of the mapping of the *Kaiserreich* therefore, 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. This was a factor which was not to be rectified in the German-language series until 1913, and not in English until 1936.¹¹ But perhaps this very variety of promised experience was one of the factors which encouraged Britons to think of Germany as a holiday destination. To cater for demand, Murray's *Southern Germany* entered no fewer than 6 editions from 1871 until the final impression of 1890, and the *Baedeker to Southern Germany* (first published in 1868) went from strength to strength, eventually totalling 12 editions by 1914.¹²

The changes in the way guidebooks were presented around the turn of the 1870s is also significant when one considers that British tourists were expanding their interest in Germany as a destination to include areas outside the traditional Rhineland region. A significant aspect of this expansion of British interest in Germany as a destination for leisure travel might be termed the 'rediscovery' of the *Schwarzwald* (Black Forest) in the 1880s and 1890s. Of course the Black Forest was known to travellers from the British Isles from the eighteenth century, and was much frequented by travellers in the Rhineland during the nineteenth century, but as late as 1890 Henry Wolff could write that the region 'is, I am afraid, not altogether familiar to our English travelling public as it ought to be'.¹³ Interestingly, he placed much of the blame for this lack of interest on the changed nature of travel in recent years as well as to the overwhelming popularity of Switzerland as a destination, describing 'trains, closely packed', that ran by the forest, carrying 'our migrating flocks of human sheep to those recognised Alpine pastures, to which accepted bell-wethers still lead them'.¹⁴ Referring to the newly fashionable pastime of 'tramping', Wolff proclaimed the Black Forest 'the "paradise of pedestrians"', treating visitors to its rich assortment of 'ruins [and] battlefields, or entrenchments, everywhere recalling historic scenes'.¹⁵

The attraction also extended to the nearby spas of Wildbad and Baden-Baden, as well as innumerable smaller centres, which offered relief from many a 'fashionable complaint' suffered by everyone from foreign government ministers to 'humble folk'.¹⁶ Wolff took great pleasure in describing at length the 'Schweninger treatment' which had been devised in Wildbad specifically for Bismarck himself; a treatment which had by extension become 'violently popular among German patriots' who could while away the hours of their treatment with memories of 'their great Chancellor and of the glories of 1870'.¹⁷ Wildbad in this period was notable for the existence of an 'English church' which was 'open for services during the season' to service the spiritual needs of the town's British clientele.¹⁸ In the absence of precise statistics, the very existence of such English churches is helpful circumstantial evidence for the popularity of particular urban centres with

British visitors. All over Germany, these churches were run (in Philip Waller's words), by a 'network of Anglican clergymen' dedicated to the safeguard of English Protestant souls 'in a Continent teeming with Roman Catholics'.¹⁹

Britons travelling to the Black Forest did so in order to imbibe both curing waters and 'a peculiar charm which no other mountain-range [could] rival'.²⁰ That charm extended to the magical and legendary atmosphere of the place, where it was felt 'elves and water-sprites still sport[ed]', and where 'it is said that there is not a stone without a story to it'.²¹ Of particular appeal in this legendary landscape was the mysterious dark body of water known as the Mümmelsee, reputedly a veritable metropolis of spirits of all kinds and an 'arena ... of marvellous tales and tragedies, the haunts and deeds of a race other than man'.²² Attractions such as that 'magic sheet of water', with its associations of siren-like fairies did much to invoke in Charlotte Riddell's mind the image of Germany as 'a dream-country, where the real so constantly mingles with the unreal that one can scarcely tell where the waking ends and the dream begins'.²³ Such feelings inspired Riddell and her husband 'Bobby', despite any misgivings about 'the rank and file of the world's great army' (the Germans), to share with them a difficulty in 'forgiv[ing] those who have ruined castles and laid cities waste' (i.e. the French).²⁴ This desire to explore the folk and Gothic fantasy world of 'fays and fairies, goblins and ghouls, imps and vampires' which so 'enchant[ed] the memory' of British travellers, corresponds with that process of understanding German nation-building which Schulz-Forberg ascribed chiefly to travelling on the Rhine, in which visitors took up the themes of 'rural origin, backwardness, legends and songs, and linked these with the idea of German national identity'.²⁵ In consuming and absorbing this aspect of Germany, Britons were repeating the 'unofficial as well as the official German nation-building process', and thus celebrating essential components in the unifying of the very nation which was rivalling their own nation-empire on the commercial, economic and world stage.²⁶ As always, the ubiquity of *Baedeker's* dominant discourse and the attendant admiration of British travellers for that handbook's 'accuracy ... and comprehensiveness' did much to limit any negative feelings to the occasional grumble about the state of the beds or amenities.²⁷ The existence of British enthusiasm for such aspects of 'German-ness' helps to account for the delayed development of a view of Germany as an unequivocal 'enemy Other' in the period before the outbreak of the Great War.

Other areas of Germany were also opened up further to British tourists in the last decades of the nineteenth century, including the North Sea and Baltic seaboard, for water sports. Such activities were in their infancy in the 1860s, when John MacGregor published his remarkably successful accounts of his exploits in the canoe *Rob Roy*. His first book – *A Thousand Miles in the Rob Roy Canoe* – had explored the waterways of Europe in general and had run to four editions by 1866, popularising the sport and helping him to found what, in 1873, became the Royal Canoe Club, with the Prince of

Wales as Commodore.²⁸ In the follow-up volume, *The Rob Roy Canoe on the Baltic*, MacGregor paid tribute to the '[C]rowds of thinking Germans' who came out to see him on his travels, and expressed a good deal of exasperation that on the (then) British possession of Helgoland, for all the resident German subjects there was 'but only one book shop'.²⁹ He also viewed German unity under Prussian leadership as an inevitable historical process, and though he was somewhat saddened by the way free cities like Lübeck had been "'Bismarcked" into the Fatherland', he acknowledged the impossibility of Bremen or even Hamburg avoiding the 'vortex of Germanism'.³⁰ It is interesting also that despite Scottish origins, MacGregor equated his identity when travelling with 'Old England, and everything English', and responded to the appellation 'English' when visiting an inn in Holstein.³¹

MacGregor's kayaking expedition boosted interest in water sports, prompting intrepid yachtsmen such as E. F. Knight and Henry M. Doughty to embark on similar journeys. Knight recalled the strange discomfort he experienced at encountering a company of Prussian infantry as he 'stepped ashore on the Fatherland' (he had reportedly seen 'plenty of those uniforms seventeen years before in sunny France'), but that later what he supposed would be 'rude and overbearing' officials, actually 'showed no signs of impatience and were as courteous as possible all the while'.³² Such was his reception by all manner of Germans, from officials to peasants, that he was 'inclined to think that the British opinion' on the subject of Prussian arrogance was 'about as well-founded ... as the French theory of our Smithfield wife-market!'³³ Knight also took the time to explore the neglected naval station at Wilhelmshaven and its larger counterpart at Kiel, being shown around the former by a 'decent fellow' who was an 'ex-man-of-wars-man' and who, owing to his German education, was able to converse intelligently on almost any subject, apparently unlike any Englishmen of the same class Knight had encountered.³⁴ It is interesting that he also saw in the memorials of the area dedicated to the Second Schleswig-Holstein War of 1864 'proud respect for the valour of both armies'; the animosity of only a few years before having largely evaporated both in the minds of the local populace, as well as in his own attitude.³⁵ Knight also mentioned briefly the still-embryonic sailing regatta at Kiel, which was to find such favour in the later years of Kaiser Wilhelm II's reign. What Knight had regarded in 1889 as 'the most glorious facilities for yachting [being] almost totally neglected', were by the late 1890s playing host to a carnival of water sports second only in splendour to the Cowes regatta, and which only grew in importance into the twentieth century.³⁶

Henry Doughty's voyages incorporated much of the same area as those of MacGregor and Knight, though he also pressed his 'wherry' along the rivers and canals of Northern Germany, travelling as far as Berlin along the Spree, and Dresden via the Elbe. Doughty was proud to announce that despite the popularity of the Friesland area and Helgoland Bight with British

yachtsmen, he took the *Gipsy* into areas 'yet unexplored by any English yacht before'.³⁷ Doughty's account of his travels is remarkable not only for the degree to which he repeats commonly held stereotypes of the German inhabitants – 'big, blonde, thick-ankled farm wenches' and the limited sense of humour in the Teutonic character – but also the pervasive theme of racial kinship and history which he feels connects him to the inhabitants and landscapes of the regions through which he travels.³⁸ Though he emphasises the descent of Queen Victoria from the 'Wendish' family of Henry the Lion, 'it is not through one – albeit the most exalted – English family, that these old lands ... claim kinship with [his] own country', but also through the origin of 'those "mighty warsmiths" – the Saxons of our familiar histories' in the area, recalling the same common ancestry mentioned by C. M. Greig (and later illustrated so colourfully in the *Times Atlas*).³⁹ For Doughty, the whole area possessed a weird atmosphere of primeval familiarity, with the tradition of English law apparently deriving from the traditions of the ancient 'Aengli and Warini'; the mythology of Kent incorporating 'Ygdrasil the Holy Ash' of Nordic origin; and the Biestorfer forest near Lentz 'show[ing] again what the old English merry greenwood must have been like'.⁴⁰ In his account of the Black Forest, Wolff also made the link between the 'peculiarly tenacious remnants of old self-government' and the 'manly sense of independence' of the Teutonic races, and in which contemporary theorists traced the origins of English parliamentaryism.⁴¹ On a less weighty subject for the traveller, Doughty, like Knight before him, also marvelled at the 'magnificent lakes [with] camping grounds, perfect and picturesque along their shores; and free as air, both lake and shore, to all comers', all of which would serve perfectly as a playground for the British sportsman.⁴²

While these areas, previously 'quite unknown to Englishmen' began to attract more attention from British travellers, those traditional areas such as the spas and picturesque sights of the Rhineland retained and even increased their attraction into the 1880s and 1890s.⁴³ Janetta, Duchess of Rutland, recalled in 1882 that Bad-Homburg bustled with activity and teemed with English conversation, and that 'every sort of English and foreign comfort and luxury' was available in the shops of the Luisenstrasse and Kaiser Friedrich-Promenade.⁴⁴ *Baedeker* recorded that in 1889 and 1892 the annual clientele of Homburg amounted to 10–12,000 visitors 'and ha[d] lately been much frequented by the English'.⁴⁵ By 1903, this vague figure had been refined to the confident assertion that Homburg received 'over 12,000 visitors annually, one-third of whom are English'.⁴⁶

The growing British interest in the music and drama of Richard Wagner gave new life to many of the traditionally popular sites along the Rhine, with greater attention being given to the locations associated with *Nibelungen* mythology and heroic stories of dragons and knights.⁴⁷ The *Drachenfels* castle came to be associated with Siegfried in the early 1890s, with the *Baedeker Rhine* guide of 1892 asserting that the name of the local variety of

wine – ‘Drachenblut’ – was derived from the cavern below the castle which ‘[was] said once to have housed the dragon, slain by Siegfried ... who, having bathed himself in its blood became invulnerable’.⁴⁸ Wagner’s operas had been performed in London itself in the 1870s, and the later Gustav Mahler-led performance of 1892 only reinforced the musical reputation of Germany, the ‘homeland of music’. Bayreuth, the site of what was already developing as the ‘cult of Wagner’, attracted its fair share of British visitors during the annual festival, especially after the success of the first performances in the 1650-seat *Festspielhaus* of the *Niebelungen-Ring* (1876) and *Parsifal* (1882).⁴⁹

The expansion of British travel beyond the Rhineland also extended to the capital city of the newly federated empire. When Mrs Hill visited Berlin for Kaiser Wilhelm I’s victory parade in 1871, the city was still regarded as something of a backwater, with little to recommend it in the way of society or culture. As already noted, such was the limited extent of Hill’s prior knowledge of Berlin that she found herself surprised by the ‘enormous size and amplitude of all its buildings’ and the general aspect of a city filled with interesting sights, and ‘delicious walks and drives’ through inviting parkland.⁵⁰ The art-dealer and Liberal politician Sir William Agnew also indicated that before arrival, he ‘did not expect there was so much to see there’ and was pleased to discover that despite reports to the contrary, it was ‘a magnificent city, teeming with energy and life’.⁵¹ Agnew found much to admire in the layout of the ‘straight streets and platzes’, the magnificence of the art on display in the galleries, and despite feeling slightly affronted by crowds of ‘well-dressed people, drinking beer or coffee, or eating ices all day long’, he noted that at least the fashionable youth had nothing of the ‘loafing look of the Parisians, or the swaggering flaneurism of the Viennese’.⁵²

However, others were not so kind towards Berlin, instead preferring to reinforce the common notion of

that cleanly, dull, ambitious capital; the masters in the old museum; the disappointing ‘Unter den Linden’, with the one fine statue of Frederick the Great; the grandiose stucco; the dark overgrown Their-garten [*sic*].⁵³

For such reasons as these, Henry Doughty felt ‘no need to describe it’ in his memoir of travel, especially since such a good description had already been ‘done in Baedeker’.⁵⁴ But although he felt moved to promise his readers that ‘round Berlin the country is hideous’, his description of neighbouring Potsdam and its ‘happy combination of hill and dale, wood and water’ served to reassure them that travel to the German capital was of some merit.⁵⁵ Others too were nonplussed by Berlin, J. P. Mahaffy and J. E. Rogers going so far as to claim that despite its recommendations ‘no amount of Berlin splendour’, nor the merits of its massive collection of art could compare with the ‘smaller capitals’ of Weimar and Gotha, and particularly ‘English’ Hamburg.⁵⁶ It is interesting that the *Baedeker* itself was

not entirely complimentary towards the focal metropolis of the new, state-centred, German national identity, and notably gave only a single star to the newly completed Reichstag building, and to Kaiser Wilhelm II's favourite monumental undertaking, the *Siegesallee* (Avenue of Victory); regarded as 'impossibly ugly' by serious critics, and the subject of much lampooning by Berliners.⁵⁷

Despite the grumblings of many who journeyed there, and though it would never attain the status of Paris or Rome, Berlin was nevertheless growing steadily as a destination of interest for British travellers in the late nineteenth century. There was no direct route from the Channel ports to Berlin until the early 1890s, and *The Times* in 1893 greeted news of the proposed new rail link (via Hoek van Holland) with notable approbation. The unnamed journalist noted in particular that because of this long-standing deficiency, Berlin 'of all the European capitals [was] perhaps the least visited by the leisured class of English travellers', and that such a rail link would do much to raise interest in the German capital.⁵⁸ It was also noted that '[Berlin's] attraction and interest have so largely increased of late years' that a rail link was now essential to meet the ever increasing demand, and to take pressure off the existing services through Calais, Ostend and Flushing, which had to cope with the ever growing traffic of visitors going on to the Rhineland, Northern and Southern Germany, as well as to the German capital.⁵⁹

Perhaps the best evidence of the overall increase in popularity of Berlin as a destination lies in the decision by Fritz Baedeker (1844–1925) – this youngest brother having been offered a partnership in the firm in early 1869 and taking over fully from Ernst in the early 1870s – to release an English-language guide to *Berlin and its environs* in 1903.⁶⁰ By 1912 this book had run to five editions, and its contents are a further indication of the palatable nature of the dominant German culture for travellers of British origin, who 'consumed' the German capital both for its 'wealth of art treasures' and 'marvellous activity in industry', in addition to the 'magnificent military spectacle' of the Hohenzollern monarchy.⁶¹ British visitors to the 'greatest purely modern city of Europe' could expect to be accommodated well, with a list of English churches, clubs and physicians indicating a considerable permanent or long-term residential population (figures from the 1910 census are given as 3144 'English and Americans'), as well as being assured that 'almost every part of Berlin offer[ed] a pleasing picture'.⁶² Much of what comprised this 'pleasing picture' was in the nature of monumental apparatus that in spatial terms allowed Berlin to function as the capital and fulcrum of the new German national identity. 'Baedeker's Berlin', as much for overseas visitors as for domestic tourists, 'was a city of grand official buildings, museums and monuments' in which the chief foci were monarchy and military, and the confident expression of German national pride.⁶³ These reminders of Berlin's history of military glory coexisted alongside

those sites of 'cultural distinction and picturesque aspect' which attracted the likes of Hill, Agnew, Malhaffy and Rogers, and making the city just as much 'Athens as Sparta'.⁶⁴

It is noteworthy that the 'Spartan' aspects of Germany as represented in contemporary travel accounts are by no means always seen in a negative light. Doughty's account of the ubiquity of German officers, the sight of whom 'fill one's eye with portly, tight-buttoned forms, blonde beards, wax-ended moustaches, and never-absent swords', is echoed in the majority of the other travel narratives examined here.⁶⁵ But like Doughty's, these accounts serve more often to refute the existing stereotypes of Prussian soldiery, sailors or customs officials, who when asked for advice or information will answer even a civilian traveller 'quite affably'.⁶⁶ Though there are occasional difficulties with customs men or railway officials, these are nearly always ascribed to the 'provincial narrowness' of those Henry Wolff called the 'little Bismarck[s]', who exercised the small amounts of power and authority given to them away from the true German soldier-class, found in the larger centres of population such as (in Doughty's experience) Hamburg or Wilhelmshaven.⁶⁷ Doughty takes the trouble to point out 'how inexpressibly pleasant the easy courtesy of these men of the world' impressed him, especially 'after the Jack-in-office arrogance of their more ignorant *confreres*'.⁶⁸ Myriad are the references to the 'splendid physique and bearing' of the individual German soldiers, and the worthiness of these modern troops to march 'on the parade-ground of the legions, and the tilting-field of feudal knights'.⁶⁹

This said, there did remain a degree of uneasiness at the obvious prevalence of these 'stalwart, broad shouldered Germans', especially when visiting the various barracks and bastions of the Prussian or other German armies, such as the fortress of Ehrenbreitstein.⁷⁰ *Baedeker* made a point of noting the precise details of fortresses such as this, with the visiting Briton assured that the 50 pfennig entry fee was 'destined for charitable purposes' not military aggrandisement.⁷¹ A visit to that imposing stronghold recalled to Henry Hallam's mind the degree to which even 15 years after the end of the last war, Europe and particularly Germany was 'eaten up with militaryism [*sic*]' and that the country as a whole seemed 'ready and armed to the teeth'.⁷² However on their visit to the parade grounds of Berlin around the same time, Malhaffy and Rogers were moved to recall that 'the Prussians are [not] now, as they were at first, insolent or overbearing under their new greatness'.⁷³ Even Charlotte Riddell's rhapsodising over the glories of the German countryside were briefly interrupted when she imagined the 'field marshal's batons' which were no doubt hidden in the rucksacks of young German men.⁷⁴ Such recollections are indicative of the growing sense of ambivalence felt by British subjects towards the undeniable military power of their 'German cousins', a feeling which was only to grow as the nineteenth century waned and they were confronted in the media by the

increasingly negative attitudes of both the German government and press (and their own government and press, who responded in kind).⁷⁵ Austen Chamberlain was exceptional in that he detected something of the darkness of the future when studying in Berlin. The *Lehrjahre* (apprenticeship) of the young statesman comprised, among other activities, attendance at lectures at the University of Berlin, where he was shocked by the 'narrowminded, proud, intolerant Prussian chauvinism' of 'T.', the lecturer in history and politics.⁷⁶ 'T.' of course, was Heinrich von Treitschke (1834–96), whom Chamberlain suggested was 'forming a school' of ultra-nationalists, and that the clear result would be that '[his] generation of Germans and those a little younger will be far more highhanded, will pressure far more on the victories of '66 and '70 than those who won them'.⁷⁷

8

The Last of the Summer Holidays – Twentieth Century Travel

Just as an apparent German militarism did limit the enjoyment of some British visitors, those travelling to Germany at the turn of the twentieth century were not immune to the barbs of the German press directed against Britain and its policy in South Africa (indeed it was partially the reports of travellers to the Continent which alerted the domestic British press and society in general to the virulence of such attacks).¹ However for the most part it would seem that the undeniable bitterness of these years did not inhibit the British enjoyment of Germany and what it had to offer the vacationer (even Chamberlain's concern over Treitschke's teachings disappeared quite quickly, resurfacing only in the 1900s).² Some apprehension no doubt existed among those considering an excursion in the Fatherland in the Boer War period, and it was noted by Thomas Beck Foreman in his account that 'the unfriendly comments' of some German journalists 'at the expense of our countrymen had led us to expect more or less coolness from our German fellow-travellers'.³ Foreman was pleased to discover and report that all those Germans whom he and his party encountered on their journey 'were polite and even friendly' to them, and even in the larger urban centres such as Mainz and Koblenz, they 'did not experience the slightest discomfort on account of [their] nationality'.⁴ The fact that 'nothing transpired ... to verify [his] apprehensions' Foreman put down to the racist notion that 'the Teuton equally with the Anglo-Saxon' was subject to that profound sense of "Wander-lust" [*sic*] which had inspired their journey in the first place, and that despite the petty squabbling of the material world, there were deeper connections between German and Briton.⁵ This connection went even further in his opinion, serving to differentiate the Anglo-German relationship from the Anglo-French, as the German, 'if lacking in the French vivacity and external graces, has at least the instincts of a gentleman'.⁶ Significantly for the period, Foreman refers to every German 'from the lace-bedizened official to the humblest and most simply attired passenger' as being 'polite, and even friendly to the group of thirty-four *outlanders* [my italics]'.⁷

Despite any possible apprehension of encountering Anglophobic feeling in Germany at the height of the Boer War, British travellers were drawn in particular to events like the Oberammergau Passion Play, the more specific reason for which Foreman and other members of the London Polytechnic undertook their 1900 journey. Celebrated roughly every ten years since the Pentecost of 1634, the Passion Play of the little Alpine village of Oberammergau had been popularised with British tourists largely via its mention by Anna Mary Howitt in her hugely successful 1853 book, *An Art-Student in Munich*.⁸ Howitt's astonishment that such an archaic form of Catholic worship could still exist in the nineteenth century prompted her visit to the play (she was one of only a few foreigners at that time). It thereafter attracted British travellers who were perversely eager to share in her disapproval of the 'child-like faith' of the majority-Catholic Bavarians, as well as those keen to take in an aspect of the romantic, 'Old' Germany of the Middle Ages, which had such a powerful hold on British imaginations.⁹ The publishers of the subsequent 1880 edition of Howitt's book (coinciding with yet another performance of the play) took great pride in claiming

The 'Passion-Spiel' at Ober-Ammergau [*sic*], to which these sketches first directed public attention in England and America, has become since then more and more an object of public interest, until the Peasant's [*sic*] play has attained the perilous distinction of fashion.¹⁰

Thomas Cook's 1870 tour to the play had been interrupted by the outbreak of war between the German states and Napoleon III (see above, Chapter 6), but those of 1880 and 1890 drew ever larger audiences of overseas visitors, helping to establish the tradition that ever since 'the British have been in an overwhelming majority among foreign guests'.¹¹ Sir Richard Burton and his Catholic wife Isabel were notable attendees of the 1880 performance, and both penned accounts of their experience of the great power of the play, though only Sir Richard's account made it to the bookstores promptly, Lady Burton's being delayed until after her death.¹² Anton Lang, the villager who played Christ (or 'Christus' as the play's character is more properly known) in 1900, 1910 and 1922, recalled that one of the most notable things about the 1900 performance was that it was then that he 'made the acquaintance of Englishmen' for the first time; acquaintances which ensured that he was fêted as a celebrity during his visit to the United Kingdom in the summer of 1901.¹³ Though the *Baedeker* guides speak in rather muted terms of the 4500-seat, open-air theatre of the little village (population of 1870 in 1914), Foreman took statistics from the *Weekly Register* to say that over the 30 performances of the 1900 season, 173,785 visitors paid to see the play, with the village's company netting £38,058, 14s as clear profit (from takings of £52,058 14s).¹⁴ The play was performed 48 times in 1900, a total which only

increased in later years, with 57 performances recorded in 1910, all of them well attended by foreign visitors.¹⁵

The popularity of the *Passionsspiele* with British travellers was such that in reviewing his own journey to the 1890 season (at which Henry James was also in attendance) the comic author Jerome K. Jerome despaired at the use of 'saying anything about it at all ... [because] the merest school-boy must know all about the Ober-Ammergau Passion play by this time'.¹⁶ Jerome broke from his cynical and humorous style to discourse at length on the 'strength of Christianity' which the *Passionsspiele* demonstrated still lived on in Germany, along with the hardy peasantry which formed the base of the modern German nation.¹⁷ Like other accounts explored earlier in this part therefore, Jerome's humorous account of his travels in 1890 reveals a continued British regard not only for that 'Old' Germany – of spiritual and intellectual greatness and 'simple, earnest, homely, genuine people' who are only 'slow' in the same way as 'a deep river' – but also for the 'New' Germany, the denizens of which 'see a great future in front of them, and are not afraid to go forward to fulfil it'.¹⁸ In this last case, Jerome regarded a visit to the proudly patriotic German Empire as being nothing less than 'a tonic to an Englishman', who might learn to be confident again in his own nation's historical role, rather than regard patriotism simply 'as a stamp of vulgarity'.¹⁹

During the mid 1890s, some sense of concern at the Kaiser's supposed imperial designs preoccupied Jerome's mind, but these did not prevent him from maintaining his links with Germany.²⁰ A general regard for the German nation and German ways (combined with some unfortunate financial and legal difficulties) eventually prompted Jerome to spend some time living in Germany between 1898 and 1899.²¹ Upon his return he produced a fictionalised account of his travels, entitled *Three Men on the Bummel*, which was intended as a sequel to his earlier work *Three Men in a Boat* (1889). Though not a record of actual events, *Three Men on the Bummel* does reveal much about the British experience of travel in Germany at the turn of the century, which is consistent with other accounts of the period. Not as successful as the original tale of the misadventures of George, Harris and J ('to say nothing' of their dog, Montmorency), *Three Men on the Bummel* had nevertheless sold well enough (207,000 copies) to warrant a new edition by 1914, and this fact speaks a good deal about its appeal in terms of general accuracy, in addition to the book's value as entertainment.²² Just as the earlier *Three Men* book had concentrated on a growing craze in leisure pursuits – boating on the Thames – the German story focuses on the fashion for bicycling on the Continent, and particularly in the Black Forest – adding to that region's aforementioned importance for British travellers – which had been recognised by the publishers of guidebooks in the 1890s.²³ 'Viewing the German people from an Anglo-Saxon standpoint', Jerome admitted he was inclined to 'criticise them', but also recognised that there was much that might be

learnt from them at the same time.²⁴ This was a work which undoubtedly displayed a 'deeper concern to improve relations'.²⁵

Though the 'sentimental' German Empire consisted of 'a good people, a loveable people, who should help much to make the world better' once their nation reached its maturity, Jerome found somewhat disturbing the degree to which the German was 'willing, nay, anxious, to be controlled and regulated in all things'.²⁶ A sizeable paragraph of his *Diary of a Pilgrimage* is devoted to exploring just how many different species of soldier inhabit the public places of Cologne, including 'soldiers of rank, and soldiers of rank and file; attached soldiers (very much attached, apparently) and soldiers unattached; stout soldiers, thin soldiers; old soldiers, young soldiers'.²⁷ Though others have seen a more serious critique of German militarism in this passage, Jerome's attitude seems rather more flippant than seriously concerned.²⁸ Noting the way in which 'the German loves order and discipline above all things', the seemingly endless rules and regulations governing every aspect of public life – and the way in which policeman are treated as 'little god[s]' – Jerome nevertheless concluded (though somewhat bemusedly) that there was some merit in the orderly German way of life.²⁹ 'It is the antithesis of the Anglo-Saxon scheme', he decided, 'but, as both ... are prospering, there must be good in both methods', and he goes so far to say that the Germans are as a result 'an amiable, unselfish, kindly people' whose discipline and commitment to law-abiding behaviour is really nothing short of admirable.³⁰ If the Germans could be faulted, Jerome jokingly suggested, then it was because they 'think themselves perfect, which is foolish of them ... [and therefore] think themselves superior to Anglo-Saxons: this is inconceivable. One feels they must be pretending'.³¹ This is barely the only reference to any feelings of real friction between the British and German nations in the book save for a quite hilarious passage about English tourists potentially acting as 'agents' of the Foreign Office, creating mirth with their comical antics and appearance in Berlin or Paris, and thus diffusing international tension.³²

This pattern of British travel to Germany did not alter in the years after Jerome's visit in the early twentieth century, but continued to develop. The evidence of travel literature is clear in this regard, as texts such as Amy Fay's manual to *Music-Study in Germany* entered its eighteenth American edition in 1903 and sixth British in 1904. That 'the homeland of music' only continued to grow in popularity in the Edwardian period, despite a growing musical nationalism in Elgar's Britain, has been ably demonstrated by Sven Oliver Müller.³³ Baedeker continued to churn out its definitive guides to *Northern Germany*, *Southern Germany*, the Rhine and *Berlin and its environs*.³⁴ It is also significant that the basic underlying narrative of Erskine Childers' *Riddle of the Sands* (1903, discussed in Part III) concerned two Englishmen on a yachting holiday along the northern German coasts, and that such an expedition was treated as something ordinary, and yet attractive enough to woo a bored civil servant away from the 'dismal but dignified routine of office,

club, and chambers' and the 'dog-days in Whitehall'.³⁵ Childers also made it clear that his hero Carruthers 'had always had an idea' of visiting this area (having a *Baedeker* for the region in his pocket in later chapters), ever since reading Knight's *Falcon* book, no doubt a reference to an increasing interest not only in Knight's reminiscences, but also in travel to the regions he traversed in the late 1880s.³⁶ The development of ports like Wilhelmshaven and Kiel – along with the naval theatrics they played host to – attracted British tourists in increasing numbers, many visiting specifically to see the expanding fleet that apparently threatened the maritime superiority of the Royal Navy.³⁷ The continued attraction of places like Kiel and Bad-Homburg were also enhanced by their associations with the new monarch Edward VII, who attended 'Kiel Week' in 1904; continued to patronise the German bath-resorts along the Rhine (as he had done so famously when Prince of Wales); and visited his nephew Kaiser Wilhelm II in Berlin in February 1909.³⁸ The connection between the rise in the number of annual visitors to the Homburg spa resort from 12,000 to 14,000 (one-third of the total visiting population being English) and the late King Edward's influence, was even noted briefly in the *Baedeker* guide of 1911.³⁹

'Germanophile travel books' continued to appear in British bookshops and just as in earlier examples, the 'Old' and 'New' Germany appeared side by side as worthy of the attention of travellers from across the North Sea.⁴⁰ A key focus of British affection for the German landscape and the German nation and its culture remained the evergreen Rhineland, which Charles Marriott believed was 'big enough to bear both the obviously picturesque and the crudely commercial, the ruin of the robber baron and the factory of his modern equivalent'.⁴¹ The remarkable way in which Marriott could in all sincerity ascribe to the originally triumphalist Niederwald monument the purpose of celebrating peace is of considerable significance in the context of the hysteria over the Anglo-German naval and spy scares of 1908–9, and the Second Moroccan Crisis of the year in which Marriott published (1911).⁴²

Only three years earlier, the Oxford academic Halford John Mackinder was confident enough of a favourable response when he wrote of the admirable nationalistic associations which the Rhine possessed for Germany and the Germans, and the unrealistic and unfair presumption of the French in their historical claims to possess 'All Gaul' as far as the 'former Roman frontier' on the Rhine.⁴³ This was despite the undeniable growth since the *entente cordiale* of 1904 of expressions in travel literature of confraternity with France and the French people, notably in the work of Matilda Betham-Edwards. Writing of her impressions of the Anglo-French agreement, Betham-Edwards (a long-time patron of France as a holiday destination) spoke of Britain and France as 'the two great democracies of the west', which had suffered in past times from misunderstanding, and whose new-found friendship should 'bridge the Channel for ever and a day'.⁴⁴ Significantly, Betham-Edwards never explicitly claimed that the closer connection with France

necessarily negated any sense of closeness with Germany, the subject which had incidentally been her first foray into the genre of travel literature years earlier.⁴⁵ The historian Marjorie Morgan's argument that 'English travellers tended by this time to ... distance themselves from all things German' while at the same time 'play[ing] down differences between the French' is seen to be incorrect when a broader sample of the literature than available to her is consulted.⁴⁶ It is notable that the other major example Morgan gives of the supposed anti-German/pro-French turn at this time is also rendered far less significant. Henry George Blackburn used the historical-racialist theories of the period to assert that when in northern France, he 'seem[ed] hardly among foreigners – both in features and in voice there is a strong family likeness', but the connection he sought to draw was not with the Gallic French people (who at the time of writing – 1895 – were seen far more as enemies than the Germans) but with the Teutonic/Nordic Normans and the Celtic Britons of Brittany.⁴⁷

Such a new-found emphasis on the friendship with France did not prevent C. E. Hughes from lauding the people and landscape of the Black Forest, and it is interesting that he was not only positive about the changes wrought by the German Empire in that region (in particular the rescuing of the native clock-making and wood-carving industries by government intervention), but also took time to allocate credit to 'France, alone of all foreign invaders – and with such we travellers must necessarily range ourselves – [which] has left traces distinctly recognisable in the constitution of to-day'.⁴⁸ Such an even-handed treatment of French and German by Hughes is indicative of the twentieth-century trend of travel writers seeking to be fair to both sides while demonstrating a lingering bias in favour of the Germans; grounded largely in the same historical-racialist tradition recalled by Henry Blackburn, Campbell Macaulay Greig, Henry Wolff, and H. M. Doughty. Sabine Baring-Gould (the composer of 'Onward Christian Soldiers') in particular was clear on such points, claiming from the beginning of his account that 'when Arndt wrote "the Rhine is the River not the frontier of Germany"... he expressed not only a sentiment lying deep in every German heart, but also a geographical truth'.⁴⁹ For him, the 'war of 1870–1 has restored Elsass [or Alsace] to Germany', and any French claims to the region were unsustainable on the basis of racial and national 'truths'.⁵⁰ The superiority of the Germanic races, and their connections with the Anglo-Saxons were also sustained by Mackinder, who lamented the historical degeneration of the Franks, who having 'mingled in greater or lesser degree with the Latinized population within the former Roman frontier' were by the Middle Ages 'unfitted to play the dominant part' in the future of Europe, and contributed to France becoming consumed by aggression towards England, Prussia and Austria rather than seeking coexistence.⁵¹ The clergyman Baring-Gould also maintained the long-standing Anglo-German connection on the basis of religion, as he ascribed all the troubles of Germany, throughout its history

of division, to ultramontane Catholicism; the leaders of which had 'recourse to the vilest means' in intriguing against and toppling successive emperors ('admirable men, Germans').⁵²

Given the persistence of such notions, of Germany as an historic 'Fatherland' or a picturesque 'fairyland'; of the wars of the past having been largely settled, not least through the admirable martial vigour of the Germans; and of the Rhine 'as a peaceful and traditional river', it is not surprising that the 1914 season was shaping up as another bumper one for British tourism and travel in Germany.⁵³ There was to be a major exhibition in Leipzig of printing and publishing from May to October, and regarding the ever popular Rhineland, the Hotel Tariff Bureau, based in London's Regent Street, was recommending travellers stay at the Grand Hotel in Coblenz [*sic*] ('reopened 1913'), or the Palace Hotel in Wiesbaden ('the Most fashionable watering-Place').⁵⁴ On the Rhine in May, English visitors to Cologne were privy to an exhibition of the evolution of German art and workmanship of the period since 1904, which one reviewer claimed would be a 'worthy object of pilgrimage for all lovers of the beautiful in everyday life'.⁵⁵ The mayors and councillors of 30 English towns were scheduled to be fêted there on 28 May, and the brass band of King George V's own German regiment – the Eighth Cuirassiers – played at the official opening by *Oberbürgermeister* Wallraf.⁵⁶ One *Times* 'Travel for Pleasure' correspondent found that 'it [was] almost bewildering to read such a list of Whitsuntide announcements as is issued by Messrs. Thos. Cook and Son', which included 'a week ... on the Rhine', or 'eight days to Germany'.⁵⁷ For the members of 'that small group of well-off consumers who could afford cars at this early moment in European automotive history', Henry J. Hecht had produced *The Motor Routes of Germany*, detailing the best drives through the Rhineland, along the Moselle and on into the Black Forest and Bavaria.⁵⁸ Hecht included not only such information as decent road maps and lists of sights, but a glossary of essential terms such as the German for 'tire' [*sic*], 'oil' and 'brake', as well as the equally indispensable 'my car has broken down'.⁵⁹

In perhaps one of the best known episodes of the tourist-friendly European summer of 1914, a squadron of four British dreadnoughts – HMSs *King George V*, *Ajax*, *Centurion* and *Audacious* – overcame even the rivalry that was most poisoning Anglo-German relations and joined in the fun of Germany's greatest sailing regatta at Kiel in the week beginning 23 June.⁶⁰ The harbour was 'flecked with sails', and the German Admiralty offered hundreds of free railway passes to the visiting English dignitaries and their families, so that they could shop and see the sights of Hamburg and Berlin. Kaiser Wilhelm II himself was in attendance in his massive yacht *Hohenzollern*, a curious mixture of pleasure craft, ocean liner and warship.⁶¹ In terms of the regatta itself, anticipation was high as the British yacht *Pamela* was slated to meet the German-owned *Paula III* in the final of the Commodore Cup.⁶² On the morning of 28 June, the Kaiser himself took to the water in his ultra-fast

yacht *Meteor IV*, and until a telegram arrived from Berlin at 2:30 pm, those present at the 1914 Kiel regatta might well have regarded the current festivities as the best ever.⁶³

The telegram of course brought news of the assassination of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, but although festivities at Kiel were cut somewhat short when both the British ships and Wilhelm II himself departed under a sombre cloud, British tourists in general continued their vacationing in Germany; the only real sign of trouble coming with a notice of 'Advice to Tourists' in various newspapers, warning of delays concerning telegraph traffic through Germany, actual delays on the railway journey to Austria, and the 'immense area affected indirectly by the outbreak of war' between Austria and Serbia.⁶⁴ The future historian Llewellyn Woodward continued to enjoy his Black Forest holiday, assuming that the merriment of that hot summer would continue, interrupted by 'nothing more than another political assassination in the Balkans'.⁶⁵ The Australian Caroline Ethel Cooper – a Briton of a different kind – continued to write weekly letters as usual to her sister Emmie Bevan Carr in Adelaide, even as she continued to hear of nothing but war and mobilisation. Cooper recorded in her letter of 31 July that despite the implications of the crisis, she felt 'an uncanny respect for the enormous strength and control of this country [Germany]' as its citizens prepared themselves for the worst.⁶⁶ Anton Lang ('Christus' from the Ober-ammegau Passion Play) observed that

The year 1914 brought a great number of guests into our home ... until all of a sudden their coming stopped ... it meant a terrible shock to us when England also declared war upon Germany, considering the good many friends in England who only a few weeks before had spent their days in our home.⁶⁷

While Lang's guests departed some weeks before the actual outbreak of war, they most likely did so by rail, and it is interesting that even as late as 5 August, the Great Eastern Railway was still offering information (and a free illustrated pamphlet to those who applied) on holidays to the Harz Mountains, as they had been for over a year.⁶⁸

While the crews of the British dreadnoughts and those others with their yachts at Kiel had a ready form of transport with which to escape the enveloping diplomatic crisis of July–August 1914, as already noted (in chapter 4, above), a great many other Britons holidaying or living in Germany found things more uncomfortable. The Thomas Cook firm made 'valiant attempts' to rescue some 6000 British subjects stranded on the Continent by the outbreak of war, and even managed to retrieve some from enemy territory.⁶⁹ A very few, like Caroline Ethel Cooper, felt no inclination to escape from the country which had been their choice of home or holiday destination for so many years, but decided to wait out the crisis in the hope that 'when the

world has got so far into order again that one can talk of posts and trains and banks and such things', they might continue to live happily as they always had done.⁷⁰ For those who wished to but could not get home so easily, what is fascinating is the suddenness with which their impression of Germany changed. Lady Henrietta Jephson, visiting on the Rhine at the outbreak of war, remarked on 3 August that 'one cannot but admire the glorious spirit of sacrifice and patriotism which animates all classes of the German people ... [j]ust as it was in the war of 1813', and yet only a few days later she was 'so sick of "Heil Dir im Sieger Kranz" [Hail to You in the Victor's Crown]', and angered by the flag-waving and singing of patriotic German children that she went to her balcony and launched into a defiant rendition of 'Rule, Britannia'.⁷¹ No doubt the assembled Germans were more shocked and amused than angry at the strange woman and her performance. As the war progressed, Jephson became more and more disillusioned by her association with Germany, remarking of a poem she read beginning 'You God of the Germans' that such a deity of '[m]assacre, pillage, destruction, violation of territory' could only be the product of 'hideous distorted minds'.⁷² For Jephson, as for thousands like her who had positively revelled for years in the German national culture, its landscape, art and Teutonic racialist connotations, '[N]ow, *nothing pleased us that was German: scenery, architecture or people!*'⁷³

Others who had spent time in Germany before the outbreak of war also changed their views quite rapidly. I. A. R. Wylie – engaged in writing an account of her own *Eight Years in Germany*, which is otherwise filled with laudatory remarks about the need to emulate the system of German education or the ubiquity of high culture throughout Germany – felt moved to insert in the earlier part of her narrative an absolute rejection of the respect and admiration which had gone before.⁷⁴ '[B]etween the Englishman and the German', wrote Wylie, 'there is no real affinity whatever. The outward resemblances are superficial and misleading. There is not an idea, or ideal, or ambition which the German shares with us'.⁷⁵ Hilda Freeman, another 'Independent Australian Briton' like Cooper, resident in Germany at the outbreak of war, noted in her diary entry for 18 August that she

had hypnotised [her]self into believing that Germany was lovely in every way, but have received a rude awakening. Everything has altered. People are still kind and polite, it is true; but it is only surface kindness. Underneath a fierce race hatred is burning, no less on my side than theirs. I have always to be on my guard to prevent myself giving expression to my feelings.⁷⁶

Freeman's record of the household's feelings of betrayal occasioned by the outbreak of a war between 'blood-brothers' and 'Protestant country ... against Protestant country', seems from her earlier entries to correspond roughly with her own feelings in August 1914, and it was with palpable discomfort that she

described how in the course of a discussion with the Baroness von Klingraeff she underwent her final conversion to feelings of Germanophobia:

I gathered from her manner that our past friendly relations were never to be renewed ... A feeling of antagonism rose strong within me, and all the sympathy and kindly feeling which I had entertained towards the Germans vanished. We were enemies.⁷⁷

During the First World War Britons were of course physically prevented from visiting their favourite German holiday resorts – should they have wanted to – by the barbed-wire barricade of the Western Front and the U-boats, dreadnoughts and mines of the Kaiser's navy, as well as by the less concrete barriers of the mind. There is perhaps not a little irony in the fact that precisely as the British travellers' image of the German nation was finally resolved in the negative, and at the moment when travel in Germany was no longer physically possible, a 'trip to Germany' of sorts became the stated ambition of millions of British men (and a good many women as well). The banal dream of going 'on to Berlin', or to stand watch on the Rhine, entered the public consciousness as never before during 1914–18, and it was only at this very late stage that representations of Germany and the Germans in British travel literature took on the likeness of an alien, enemy 'Other'. In most cases, travel memoirs of holidays in Germany before the war, but which were published during or after the conflict, were coloured by the horrific events of those years, and the very real affection for Germany and the Germans which British travellers actually possessed was glossed over or forgotten. Works such as Lady Jephson's and I. A. R. Wylie's are significant for the degree to which the reality of pre-war feeling was maintained. Other accounts, such as that of T. F. A. Smith, did away with any semblance of pro-German sentiment, and attacked aspects of German life as mundane as housing, in which 'the landlord is the house policeman, so that even the German better-class homes are not free from barrack-yard discipline. Your comings and goings are duly observed, those of visitors likewise'.⁷⁸

British travel to Europe did not recover its pre-war levels until well into the 1920s. Overall numbers of British subjects travelling to the Continent had reached 761,019 in 1913, but had only reached 639,050 by 1922, and there is no reliable evidence for what proportion of these travelled to Germany, though we can assume the numbers were low.⁷⁹ The instability of the German political system in the early 1920s, in addition to the overall decline in tourism and travel following the advent of the Great Depression in 1929 are circumstantial evidence for such an assertion. But it is of real significance that the Baedeker firm did not produce a new English-language edition to any of the German regions for a number of years; its English-language editors – the Muirheads – having severed their connection in 1914, and embarked on their own *Blue Guides* from 1920.⁸⁰ A new edition

of *Berlin* appeared first in 1923, to be followed by *Northern Germany* in 1925, *The Rhine* in 1926, and *Southern Germany* as late as 1929.⁸¹ These were the only handbooks (apart from the National-Socialist inspired *Germany* of 1936, the Olympic year) to appear before the outbreak of the Second World War, when the negative image of Germany as the 'enemy Other' (which had undergone some rehabilitation during the years of peace before suffering under Nazism) was once again made predominant in the minds of British travellers. It was an image which had never been prevalent at any time in travel literature before the outbreak of war in August 1914, and its absence contributed greatly to the overall British perception between 1860 and 1914 that for all its faults, Germany was by no means the irreconcilable enemy of Britain.

Part III

Models and Monsters: English Literature and the Idea of Germany

Whoever fights monsters should see to it that in the process he does not become a monster. And when you look into the abyss, the abyss also looks into you.

Friedrich Nietzsche, 1886.¹

9

Learned, Indefatigable, Deep-Thinking Germany

It is next to impossible to undertake any examination of British representations of Germany before 1914 without close reference to fiction and literature. Nearly every major work of history on Anglo-German relations in the period before the outbreak of the Great War refers to the literary evidence as a cultural reflection of moves towards outright antagonism between the two powers, around the turn of the twentieth century.² Literary scholars too have explored the fictional representation of Germany by the British (and Britain by the Germans) using the political and diplomatic events of the period as part of historicist criticism.³ As noted earlier, in my introduction, the most famous such study is undoubtedly *Voices Prophesying War*, which explores the early twentieth-century representations of Germany in the new 'invasion' genre of English fiction.

While the existing studies of representations of Germany in Edwardian literature vary in scope and in emphasis, there is a common theme which pervades almost all of them, and which is so widely known as to be almost regarded as a truism of the history of Britain in the period. This involves an assertion that, while in the English literature of the nineteenth century (as in the broader British mindset) Germany was depicted positively as the land of *Dichter und Denker* (poet and thinker), that had produced such geniuses as J. W. von Goethe (1749–1832), and was an exemplar of the intellectual and hard-working nation, some time around the end of the century, this image was overwhelmed by that of 'a new and militarily aggressive Germany ruthlessly pursuing a doctrine of blood and iron'.⁴ The precise date for such a change of attitude varies slightly from study to study, however it is generally accepted that in the 1890s and 1900s in particular, terms such as "barbarous" and its cognates became the epithets that replaced the sense of Teuton family affinities' in English novels.⁵ Well before 1914, so the argument goes, the British had developed 'a unified fear and hate of German "frightfulness"', coming to represent the Germans no longer in terms of admiration but as 'inevitable enemies'.⁶ Recent historical and literary scholarship has acknowledged the existence of a much more ambivalent

contemporary British view of both a 'good' and 'bad' Germany coexisting simultaneously in literature of this period: 'the one represented by scholars, scientists, musicians and *gemütliche* [good-natured] ordinary people, the other by the military caste of the Prussian Junkers'.⁷

While this interpretation has its merits, the focus on the degree to which the traditional image of Germany 'had turned into an enemy' across all forms of literary representation of the period obscures the true complexity of British feeling.⁸ What the literary evidence actually reflects, particularly after the turn of the twentieth century, is an ongoing debate among a number of authors concerning the degree to which Germany should be thought of as a model for British practice. This literary dialogue paralleled (and contributed significantly to) the broader contest between so-called 'realists' (or 'scaremongers') and more liberal 'idealists', dealt with by Paul Kennedy, and also in two seminal studies by Anthony Morris in the 1970s and 1980s, but in each of which only a limited discussion of literary sources was undertaken.⁹ I have therefore sought to draw out in more detail the literary aspect of such debates, and to examine what Peter Firchow described as 'the curious love-hate relationship that existed between the English and the Germans in the early years of [the twentieth] century' and before.¹⁰ It is incorrect to view the late nineteenth century or even the turn of the twentieth century as definitively 'mark[ing] the death of the German cousin' in literature, since an interconnected literary image of Germany as simultaneously 'model' and 'monster' was evident right down to the outbreak of war. Even in the seemingly Germanophobic pre-war tales of invasion, an absolutely negative view of Germany did not take root, and in such novels the 'shadow of the Hun' of wartime imagery is 'nowhere to be seen'.¹¹ It was only with the British entry into the Great War that the literary aspect of that debate was finally settled, as representations of Germany became decidedly negative, and the idea of the close 'German cousin' finally expired.¹²

To gain as full a picture as possible, it is essential to address a long-standing imbalance regarding the particular kinds of literature used by historical and literary scholars in their examinations of this period. Despite the growing interest in popular culture in recent years, most discussions of British literary representations of Germany have retained a rather archaic distinction between the more 'literary' works which were produced in the Victorian and Edwardian periods, and those texts – like the 'invasion' novels so synonymous with the work of I. F. Clarke, but also earlier kinds of 'thriller' such as those by Wilkie Collins – which are more commonly regarded as 'popular fiction'.¹³ The majority of literary scholars confine their investigations to the former genre; by contrast, historians have traditionally erred in the opposite direction, preferring to analyse those works favoured by Clarke as illustrations of a widespread popular Germanophobia, and point to the use of such invasion texts by the political right before the outbreak of the Great War.¹⁴ In order to gain a comprehensive understanding of how representations of

Germany in literature changed over the course of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, one must examine the 'popular' and 'literary' fiction of this period in tandem. This becomes particularly imperative when one looks at the debate in the fiction of the early twentieth century, and especially at the most important literary representation of Germany of the period, E. M. Forster's *Howards End* (1910). In that seriously literary novel, Forster responded directly to the various spy and invasion stories produced since the turn of the twentieth century, and provides the historian with one of the clearest glimpses of the contemporary and historical British conception of Germany that it is possible to gain. To explore this text without also referring to the works of Erskine Childers or William Le Queux is to misunderstand much of what Forster was trying to explore regarding Britain's relationship with Germany and the Germans.¹⁵ Furthermore, it is via a thorough reading of these varied literary sources that the historian becomes most aware of the deeply complex and ambivalent attitude developed in relation to Germany across the 1860–1914 period.

It is, as John Walker has observed, 'a commonplace of intellectual history that British thinkers in the nineteenth century were strongly and persistently influenced by German thought'.¹⁶ This was in itself a relatively new phenomenon, for while it would be erroneous to go as far as John Mander in arguing that before 1800 'the English had no definite concept' of Germany at all, knowledge of German literature was extremely limited in Britain until the end of the eighteenth century.¹⁷ After a brief flowering of German *Sturm und Drang* ('Storm and Stress') drama and prose in the 1770–1800 period, 'British editors, reviewers, and readers settled down to ignorant contempt of individual German works', not least because that movement's perceived Jacobin overtones made interest in such works untenable in the charged atmosphere of the French Revolutionary Wars.¹⁸ The appearance of Germaine de Staël's *De l'Allemagne* in 1813 (the same year as the Battle of Leipzig reaffirmed Germany's opposition to the common Napoleonic enemy) did much to restore interest in things German, but despite its success, and the interest of significant figures such as Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772–1834) and Henry Crabb-Robinson (1775–1867) in German literature, it was not until the mid 1820s that Germany came to be seen in a more positive light, as an exemplar of the deep-thinking, literary nation.¹⁹

Rosemary Ashton is not alone in seeing Thomas Carlyle (1795–1881) as the real originator, both of knowledge of German thought and literature, and of the positive image of Germany in wider literary circles.²⁰ Carlyle's enthusiasm for extending the 'rights of brotherhood' to the 30 million like-minded 'Saxons' he saw as having fostered the genius of Goethe, Johann C. F. von Schiller (1759–1805) and others, stemmed initially from his own sense of dissatisfaction with the spiritually-barren world of David Hume and English Utilitarianism, as a counter to which German literature and the very different philosophies of Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) and Georg

Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831) seemed to him to offer ‘not only anti-materialism but thoroughgoing idealism’.²¹ In the years before Carlyle rose to literary prominence, mention of ‘Germany’ could still be equated with the ‘bad taste, immorality, and absurdity’ of preceding decades, while after his period of enthusiastic advocacy, Germany had come to be recognised in Britain as ‘the most important European country for theory [and] for ideas’.²² Though Carlyle ‘had scarcely begun to enjoy his fame as the chief Germanist of his age’ by the time of the publication in serial form of his *Sartor Resartus* in 1833–4, he then proceeded to turn away from promotion of what he termed ‘learned, indefatigable, deep-thinking Germany’, to a more domestic concern with the state of British society.²³ Nevertheless, it was through the work of Carlyle that so many of the later nineteenth century readers of German literature and philosophy ‘declared their interest to have begun’.²⁴ Indeed, Ashton and others argue that by the time that George Henry Lewes (1817–78) and George Eliot (Mary Ann Evans, 1819–80) became prominent writers and intellectuals, the cultural milieu of Great Britain was ‘almost as much German in its origins as it was English’.²⁵ Indeed, Eliot herself noted in 1865, that if ‘anyone in the present day can be called cultivated’ and still be unfamiliar with the German language, then the only reason for their continued high standing was that ‘the two other greatest literatures of the world [English and French] were themselves by then so ‘impregnated with the results of German labour and German genius’.²⁶

The supremacy of German scholarship and educational methods was foremost among the ways in which British authors of this period represented Germany. Matthew Arnold (1822–88) was in no doubt as to the efficacy of adopting German methods in the very conduct of educational institutions when he published his report into *Schools and Universities on the Continent* in 1868. Indeed, in succeeding decades the interest in German models for education at all levels was so pervasive that he republished selected parts of that original report as *Higher Schools and Universities in Germany* in 1874 and again in 1882 (in the latter instance declining the attempt to update and ‘bring the account down to the present time’, owing to the already advanced nature of German schooling when he first investigated their worth as a model, almost 15 years earlier).²⁷ So highly regarded was a German education that around 9000 British students enrolled at German universities between 1844 and 1914, and a very large proportion of Oxbridge academia had some form of German educational background.²⁸

Authors outside the academy, and writing with very different purposes, also regarded Germany as possessing an ‘intellectual superiority’, and therefore being worthy of emulation in Britain.²⁹ Writing very different forms of fiction for very different readerships, George Augustus Sala (1828–96), Charles Kingsley (1819–75) and Richard Blackmore (1825–1900), each alluded to aspects of advanced German research or the system of education in their novels of the 1860s.³⁰ While such references are brief, they

do illuminate the existence of a broad contemporary understanding of Germany as the prototypical nation of *Bildung* and scholarship. The German literary model of *Bildungsroman* (roughly a 'formation' or 'education' story) itself had a notable impact upon British authors of successive generations, as they took up the notion of chronicling in fictional form the growth and education of key characters from childhood to maturity.³¹ Notable exponents of the genre in English included Charles Dickens (1812–70), Edward Bulwer-Lytton (1803–73), and Carlyle himself. George Eliot adapted the previously exclusively masculine format to chronicle the life and education of a heroine in the 'full-scale story of developing girlhood' of *The Mill on the Floss* (1860).³²

By the 1860s therefore, 'standards alluded to as German' were often utilised in order to criticise aspects of the British education system, and British culture as smacking of 'philistinism'.³³ However, practitioners of a more 'popular' form of fiction often singled out the advanced state of German scholarship for something approaching ridicule. Wilkie Collins (1824–89) made some sardonic mention of the superiority of a German education in his 'shocker' *The Moonstone* (1868), as 'the celebrated Mr. Blake', irritated by his loss of a case under British law and fired by a desire to get 'even with his country', removed his son Franklin from the deficient English education system and sent him 'to institutions which his father *could* trust, in that superior country, Germany'.³⁴ Later in the novel, Collins poked fun at German idealist philosophy as the now 'universal genius' – Franklin Blake – quite seriously informs 'the lord of the manor' at the latter's rose-garden reception that his methods in bovine cultivation are deficient, because 'experience, properly understood, counted for nothing, and that the proper way to breed bulls was to look deep into your own mind, evolve out of it the idea of a perfect bull, and produce him'.³⁵

A less generous, though equally funny, critique of mainstream German philosophical methods also creeps in at the end of the second 'period' of the novel, in which Franklin is described as 'flounder[ing] into his German-English gibberish on the spot', and by a convoluted 'subjective-objective' reasoning concludes that Rachel (his cousin, who has mistreated him) is not his cousin, 'but Somebody Else [*sic*]' and that because he doesn't mind being mistreated by someone other than her, then he is happy.³⁶ The long-standing importance of Germany as a seat of learning and education did not therefore prevent the Germans being characterised as a group of somewhat 'cloudy metaphysicians'. Similar sentiments to those of Wilkie Collins were expressed by Elizabeth Braddon (1837–1915) in the sensational *Lady Audley's Secret* (1862), in which Robert Audley accuses Alicia of being 'German' when she attempts to describe the strange other-worldliness of Lady Audley's portrait, and in which she sees 'through the normal expression of the face, another expression that is equally a part of it, though not to be perceived by common eyes'.³⁷

Though such digs at idealist or metaphysical German thinking as Collins and Braddon authored seem more playful than critical, the negativity of the stereotype seems to have been significant enough in the 1860s for dedicated Germanists like George Eliot to engage in something of a spirited defence of their hard-won German inheritance.³⁸ Eliot herself engaged directly with the terms of the unflattering German stereotype when she asserted in 'A Word for the Germans' in the *Pall Mall Gazette* of 7 March 1865 that

The German mind possesses in a high degree two tendencies which are often represented as opposed to each other: namely, largeness of theoretic conception, and thoroughness in the investigation of facts. So undeniable is it that the typical German has these tendencies, that their excess is the very vice he is reproached with by those who don't know him and don't like him.³⁹

Having learned the German language in a period when 'there no longer prevailed an atmosphere of hostility' towards German literature and philosophy, and in which the advocacy of Carlyle and others like him had made 'Germany' synonymous with academic achievement, it would seem that Eliot was keen never to see such associations again reversed.⁴⁰ In her same 'Word for the Germans' Eliot called for those who disseminated such caricatures to 'abstain from portraying the typical German until they have made his [*sic*] acquaintance' and indeed, she had written some time earlier of the continuing need for recognition that Germany had 'fought the hardest fight for freedom of thought, has produced the grandest inventions, has made significant contributions to science, has given us some of the divinest [*sic*] poetry, and quite the divinest music, in the world'.⁴¹

These other categories of German accomplishment – of musical and artistic excellence – are also key features of the British literary representation of Germany in the 1860s. Given the consistent praise and patronage heaped upon visiting German composers by such figures and institutions as the Prince Consort and the London Philharmonic in the early 1860s, it is not an exaggeration to state as Gisela Argyle did, that '[i]n Victorian England, music as a serious art strongly suggested German music'.⁴² Sven Oliver Müller has noted 'British admiration for "German" music was almost boundless in the second half of the nineteenth century', as has Peter Watson.⁴³ Indeed in the late nineteenth century (and as noted in the previous chapter), 'innumerable' young women and men travelled to Germany every year to learn the musical craft in the land of Handel, Beethoven and Mendelssohn.⁴⁴ In the literary sphere, the contemporary middle-class readership of novels such as Elizabeth Gaskell's (1810–65) posthumously published *Wives and Daughters* (1866), for instance, were well aware of such musical connotations when reading that the character Osbourne Hamley had spent some time in Germany as part of his education; as were readers of those other

books which dealt with German education mentioned earlier.⁴⁵ The particular merits of German songs were recalled by William Makepeace Thackeray (1811–63) as having ‘delight[ed] us melodious youth in bygone days’; and when George Eliot had Stephen and Lucy sit and play a piano duet together in *The Mill on the Floss*, it was the music of Handel that she selected for that moment of their courtship.⁴⁶

In addition to German music, and as will now be familiar from Part II, the charms of the German landscape also held a broad appeal to a great many Britons who travelled there regularly for leisure. The ‘[t]all walls of fir-crowned rocks’, and the castled crags which had inspired the Romantic poets, also held the interest of British authors of fiction and their various readerships in the 1860s.⁴⁷ Authors such as ‘Ouida’ (Mary Louise de la Ramée, 1839–1908) could thus write in rapturous fashion of the glories of rustic Germany, safe in the knowledge that such imagery would appeal to a more or less common perception of the landscapes of the Rhineland or Black Forest. Such references invoked

corn-lands yellowing for the sickle, fields with the sheaves set-up, orchards ruddy with fruit, and black barn-roofs lost in leafy nests, villages lying amongst their hills like German toys caught in the hollow of a guarding hand, masses of forest stretching wide, sombre and silent and dark as a tomb, the shine of water’s silvery line where it flowed in a rocky channel.⁴⁸

In addition to notions of a connection with the landscape, literature also made use of the sometimes dubious connection which many readers felt towards the spa towns and watering-places of the Rhineland. Anthony Trollope referred to this aspect of his countrymen’s association with Germany in a number of his novels of the 1860s, which in themselves ‘fit into a series of spas in English fiction, all scenes of spurious excitement and desperate risk’.⁴⁹ For instance Trollope had the Pallisers travel down the Rhine in *Can You Forgive Her?* (1864), before arriving ‘safe beyond the reach of the German gaming-tables’ in Switzerland, and Lord De Courcy is likewise given to ‘sojournings at certain German watering-places’ in *The Small House at Allington* (also 1864).⁵⁰

The close connection of Britons to charming German spa towns and the idyllic ‘backwardness’ of the imagined historical German peasant life, inspired a good number of British authors not only to set their narratives in Germany, but in the Medieval German past. This apparent enthusiasm for the Gothic/Germanic aspects of the Middle Ages is also of particular interest as it was in this period that ‘the English began to rediscover their own origins somewhere in the bogs of Schleswig-Holstein’.⁵¹ Such connections (which inspired English travellers discussed in Part II) are clearly enunciated by Charles Kingsley in his retelling of the classic English legend of *Hereward the*

Wake – ‘Last of the English’ (1866), whose ‘sturdy independence, and ... sturdy common sense’ derives chiefly from his Teutonic blood, ‘mingled with fresh crosses ... from Frank, Sueve, Saxon, and the other German tribes’.⁵² Charles Reade (1814–84) too drew such links in the historical novel *The Cloister and the Hearth* (1861), in which the chief character undergoes an experience among the ‘music-bitten’ and ‘noble’ Germans of the Middle Ages.⁵³

Reade’s novel is also notable for the distinctions he drew between Northern Germans, whom he saw as ‘churlish, but frank and honest’, and ‘kindly and honest’ Southerners, who nevertheless possess a propensity for excessive alcohol consumption.⁵⁴ Such distinctions are also indicative of prevailing British attitudes in the 1860s, and particularly those of noted authors, including George Eliot and other ‘intellectual Britons’ of her stamp, who ‘identified predominantly with the culture and mindset of the Protestant German North’, where the great universities so admired by Arnold were located.⁵⁵ Despite this general favouritism, the rusticity of the German South also held great attraction for authors, and it is worth noting again that Reade’s narrative focuses largely on the Wittelsbach Kingdom of Bavaria, including the great medieval centres of Augsburg and Nuremberg.⁵⁶ Together with numerous throwaway allusions to quaint German ‘wooden toys’ and the picturesque woodworking shops where they are made – and the familiar associations of ‘ghost-haunted’ German stories (typical of the South), filled with the ‘voices and shadows of those charming elves and goblins’ – such references as these help reveal that the literary image of Germany – the ‘one honest country in Europe’ – in the 1860s was one with which the British felt largely comfortable and amicable, but did not hold above reproach.⁵⁷

10

The German Invasion of Britain in 1872 and 'What Became of the Invaders'

The general unease felt in Britain at German successes in the war with France manifested itself in the literary sphere in a number of ways. British authors, including George Eliot's immediate circle, were among those most shocked by the events of 1870–1, with Eliot herself torn between those who favoured British intervention on the French side and those who believed 'France had properly paid the price for Napoleon III's arrogance'.¹ Though Germany was by no means constructed absolutely as an enemy by British authors in this period, there was both consternation and ambivalent feeling in the literary world regarding the outcome of the Franco-Prussian War. The ageing Thomas Carlyle was perhaps unique in his unequivocal enthusiasm that

noble, patient, deep, pious and solid Germany should be at length welded into a nation, and become Queen of the Continent, instead of vapouring, vain-glorious, gesticulating, quarrelsome, restless, and over-sensitive France.²

Other authors of this period were not so sure, and an important interpretation of the general mood can be found in one of the first major works of fiction completed after the conclusion of the Franco-German conflict.

Eliza Lynn Linton's (1822–98) *True History of Joshua Davidson*, completed in 1872 in the typical *Bildungsroman* style, contains a short passage in which Linton describes the political sympathies of her hero Davidson altering with the developments of the conflict. 'At first' Linton explains, 'the tide of liberal sympathies went with Prussia' as it was against illiberal, Napoleonic France that the German states were united in opposition.³ Linton describes Davidson's swing in opinion conforming with the rest of his Radical counterparts in British society, as following the defeat of the Napoleonic regime, ultra-Tories and ultra-Liberals alike found themselves hoping for at least some French success against the Germans; the Tories hope for the restoration of a suitably chastened Napoleonic regime, the Radicals 'longing for the establishment of liberty', in the face of the Prussian military occupation.⁴

While the extremists of both kinds swung into line behind France, Linton believed that in this time it was moderate opinion which remained with the Germans and the stabilising influence their destruction of the Second Empire, and limited territorial claims, had on the European situation, (despite the general dislike of German methods during the siege of Paris).⁵ George Eliot also noted that '[i]t was not until after the battle of Sedan, that there was any wide-spread feeling on behalf of the French', but even then it was by no means universal.⁶

Not only did mainstream fictional representations of Germany and the Germans take on new connotations, but an entirely new genre of fiction writing emerged in the wake of the Franco-Prussian War. Commonly called 'invasion' literature, this genre was in many ways the germ from which 'spy' fiction later developed, and took as its central focus the great diplomatic and political issues of its time. The first and most important example of this genre, George Chesney's *The Battle of Dorking* (1871), has often been interpreted as representing the first stirring of what amounted to a 'new military rivalry' founded on British Germanophobia. In the view of some scholars, it contains a prognostication that the United Kingdom 'was being lulled into a slumber of security from which it would be rudely awakened, too late to resist the ruthless machine of German military planning'.⁷ Such a view is simplistic and ahistorical, however, for though *The Battle of Dorking* appeared at a time of general disapproval at German actions in the last phase of the conflict with France (and some anxiety at the sudden reordering of Continental Great Power relations regardless of British concerns), the story is remarkable primarily for the manner in which it portrays the 'new' Germany as 'the standard of perfection by which to measure the inadequacies of England's military establishment'; just as the 'old' Germany had been so regarded in an intellectual and cultural fashion.⁸

The gestation of Chesney's novel sheds a good deal of light on its intended purpose and its strangely ambivalent tone with regards Germany and the Germans. At the height of the peace negotiations for what eventually became the Treaty of Frankfurt, the Edinburgh publisher John Blackwood (1818–79) received a letter from Captain of Engineers George Tomkyns Chesney (1830–95), then at the India Office. Chesney had an idea for a fanciful short story dealing with 'a successful invasion of England, and the collapse of our power and commerce in consequence', and wondered if such a tale might be of sufficient appeal to be published in *Blackwood's Magazine*.⁹ Chesney's intention was to weigh into the still-simmering debate over army reforms, which had been a topic of considerable political interest since the election of William Ewart Gladstone's first Liberal ministry in 1868, and the rapid initiation of reform by Edward Cardwell, even 'before he had been a month at the War Office'.¹⁰

Though staunchly conservative in outlook, between 1868 and 1870 Blackwood had consistently rallied editorial support for the Liberals' policy,

and it would seem that Chesney saw in the recent events across the Channel a perfect opportunity to '[bring] home to the country the necessity for thorough reorganisation' beyond simply what was being advocated by Cardwell, and to seize back the initiative on army policy for Disraelian conservatism.¹¹ Blackwood readily agreed, and the story (which Chesney had originally set in and around the town of Guildford) was published in the April number of *Blackwood's Magazine* as 'The Battle of Dorking', a tragic memoir of a supposed Anglo-German War of 1872, as told by a veteran volunteer to his grandchildren some time in the 1920s. The story was nothing short of a triumph both for Chesney and for the 50-year-old magazine, which was long past its prime in terms of circulation figures, and was forced by this new-found success not only to run to a second edition, but then to reprint the short story as a 6d pamphlet in order to meet demand; the pamphlet had sold 80,000 copies by the end of May, rising to the astonishing (for 1871) total of 110,000 copies by the end of August.¹²

Rather than conforming to a simple 'tragedy of them and us, set in black and white', the portrayal of the Germans in *The Battle of Dorking* is actually quite complex.¹³ Certainly Germany is an enemy in this futuristic scenario, however, its position as an adversary of Great Britain is only made apparent in the story after the publication of a 'secret treaty' which the German leadership has concluded with the Russian Empire, Britain's most recent actual military foe and (in the 1870s) greatest potential threat.¹⁴ This apparently well-thought-out conspiracy, to divide Europe between them (in which Denmark and Holland are both annexed to the Reich), challenges directly the traditional British desire to maintain a 'balance of power' on the Continent, and thus the Germans and Russians are portrayed as somewhat indifferent either to the possibility of British non-intervention (as had in fact been the policy during the Franco-Prussian War), or a declaration of war for which they were in any case thoroughly prepared.¹⁵

The anonymous volunteer tells of how 'boiling over with indignation' – but weakened by worldwide commitments, years of internal political infighting, and a misplaced confidence in the potential of the Royal Navy – Britain rashly declared war on the Russo-German alliance, and following the loss of all telegraph contact with the Continent and a disastrous naval battle in which the fleet is reduced to 'a solitary ironclad', the country was left facing a German invasion.¹⁶ Germany is therefore represented as well prepared for the worst-case scenario and Chesney makes it clear that 'everything had been arranged beforehand', in contrast with the ad hoc British provisions of a 'Ballot Bill', a recruitment drive for the Volunteers, and 'a shipbuilding rush' designed to replenish the numbers lost to garrisoning India, defending the Canadian border, fighting Fenians in Ireland, and blockading the Dardanelles.¹⁷

Just as the German government and high command is portrayed as better organised and better led than their British counterparts, so too their professionally-trained armed forces make short work of the Volunteers and

militia, who fought 'pluckily' but soon 'got into confusion' when going into action in the Home Counties and southeast.¹⁸ The weakness of the much-vaunted citizen volunteers in particular is what allows the Germans to break the British line and rout them at the eponymous Battle of Dorking, and thus before long London is occupied and a Carthaginian peace has been imposed on Britain by its enemies.¹⁹ Despite the lurid description of ordinary German soldiers eating, drinking and smoking in the house of the narrator's late friend Travers – in which they are characterised variously as 'broad-shouldered brute[s]' or 'hulking lout[s]' – the story's representation is not one of simple German barbarism triumphant over British civilisation.²⁰ Chesney argues strongly throughout that, through complacency abroad and the 'selfishness' of both upper and lower classes at home, the British had in fact become unworthy of their position at the pinnacle of world power, and that if therefore 'the nation was ripe for a fall', then it was only natural that a stronger nation should seek to take its place.²¹

Central to Chesney's assertion is the issue of class. As a Conservative with no enthusiasm for suffrage reform, he blames 'those who should have led the nation' for spending their time 'bidding for Radical votes', rather than pursuing the traditional policies of the English gentry and aristocracy, which had made Britain great.²² In pandering to the desires of the lower orders, Chesney argued that his generation was allowing power to pass into the hands of those 'uneducated [and] untrained to the use of political rights, and swayed by demagogues'.²³ This is in contrast with his highly skewed version of class politics in Germany, where the lower orders are apparently kept in their place by admirably strict military discipline and national service. Indeed, as represented by the troops billeted in Travers' house, the German lower orders are in fact superior in character to their British counterparts, faithfully obeying the orders of their political and military masters. Just as these regular Germans are 'rough and boorish, but not uncivil', so too their officer is 'a fine soldier-like man', whose only vice is his arrogance and 'insolence' in the flush of victory.²⁴ In Chesney's view, these same Germans who had conquered decadent, arrogant France in 1870–1 were now worthy of British emulation in terms of their superior social, national and military achievements; just as they had been for those in the educational and cultural spheres in previous decades.

The impact of Chesney's sensational tale was unprecedented.²⁵ Not only were vast sales figures recorded for the original short story and its reincarnation as a pamphlet, but it also produced an immediate rash of imitators, seeking to chronicle in their own words *What Happened After the Battle of Dorking*; *What Became of the Invaders?*; or even the experience of *The Other Side at the Battle of Dorking*; all with covers in 'violent yellow, red, lavender, magenta and blue, designed to attract attention on the Victorian railway bookstalls'.²⁶ Even though these tales were quick to substitute victories for Chesney's account of a defeat, their representation of the Germans did not

alter greatly. Charles Stone's *What Happened After the Battle of Dorking; or, the Victory of Tunbridge Wells* (1871) maintained the fiction that the Germans 'on the whole ... behaved very civilly towards the Londoners' and others with whom they came into contact during the occupation, though the very thought of Germans being billeted in British homes was galling in itself.²⁷

Differing from Chesney, Stone was keen to present the British lower classes as the sound basis of the nation, and it was to them that he attributed the successful resistance and eventual victory of the post-Dorking campaigns. Despite the 'valour, steadiness and energy of their veteran adversaries', the new batch of hastily-recruited volunteers succeed by virtue of sheer amateur 'courage and energy' in surrounding the Germans at Dorking (as well as at Woolwich, London and Worthing), who then not only withdraw peacefully from England, but also (rather improbably) from hard-won Holland and Belgium.²⁸ Indeed, part of the credit for the victory is patriotically ascribed to the English countryside itself; the terrain being described as 'not favourable to the maintenance of that magnificent exactness of manoeuvring' by which the Germans had defeated France, and thus peculiarly suited to the English way of fighting.²⁹

Some authors went further in their patriotic reaction than Stone, and postulated the complete reversal of the circumstances of *The Battle of Dorking*, by inflicting on the 'affrighted Germans, who never yet [had] met such foes', a counter-attack which leads not only to the invasion of Germany, but the fall of Berlin and the disintegration of the German Empire, with Bismarck calling for 'peace at any price'.³⁰ The anonymous author of *After the Battle of Dorking* was keen to vent his disapproval of the Germans' treatment of France in 1871, and so based the fictional peace terms of Lord Granville 'on Prussia's own terms to France'.³¹ Nonetheless, he too called for 'rapid and immediate steps to remove the danger of invasion', and steps along German lines were what he had in mind; not the 'abortive bill' of Cardwell or the 'utter incapacity' of Gladstone.³²

Despite the heated debates over army reform in the immediate aftermath of the Continental conflict, the 'terminal decline' in sales of *Dorking*-inspired pamphlets and stories, which had commenced by the time Chesney received remuneration for his story (£279 8s 10d), indicates a lack of any enduring sense of Germanophobia in the British reading public.³³ For practitioners of the Chesney brand of sensational fiction, the early 1870s saw a turn back towards depicting the 'traditional' enemy of France as the prime threat to British security. Though Walter Adams's *The Carving of Turkey* (1874) was briefly to resurrect the idea of the Germans as potential enemy, the growth of actual diplomatic tension with the Third Republic (particularly from the early 1880s) – combined with the lack of threatening noise from a Germany in the midst of secular-religious *Kulturkampf*, and anti-socialist turmoil – ensured that tales of invasion by France would more readily hold the public's interest.³⁴ The true nature of the invasion story as an instrument of domestic

politics also became more apparent in the years after the Chesney sensation. By 1876, Anthony Trollope could write in *The Prime Minister* of the way in which such 'scares' as the *Dorking* episode were recognised in his own time not as an expression of anti-German feeling or fear, but as a harmless though necessary political tool. The peril of invasion is brought up in the course of a fictional debate in the House of Commons in which Sir Orlando Drought attacks the Coalition government over its neglect of the navy. It is pointed out by Trollope's authorial voice that while '[n]o one really thought that the Prussians and French combined would invade our shores and devastate our fields, and plunder London, and carry our daughters away into captivity', in order to maintain the armed forces (and Royal Navy in particular) at a high standard, 'a good cry is a very good thing'.³⁵

It is perhaps because of the uncertain feelings with which the majority of Britons and British authors greeted the appearance of a 'new' Germany in the 'shaken-up world' of post-war Western Europe, that apart from the short-lived craze for pamphlets of the *Battle of Dorking* variety, this Germany did not become a key feature of English literature in the immediate aftermath of the Franco-Prussian conflict.³⁶ Apart from the almost throwaway fashion with which the issue was treated by Linton, the only other direct reference from this period appeared in Samuel Butler's (1835–1902) *Erewhon; or, Over the Range* (1872), and then almost as an afterthought from the author. It is used to demonstrate the separation which Butler's hero has undergone from mainstream society while visiting the lost country of Erewhon (an anagram of 'nowhere').³⁷

References to German political developments and policies, whether positive or negative, remained scarce throughout English literature of the 1870s and 1880s. Where such matters are mentioned, it is often in the context of examining longer-standing aspects of the idea of Germany, or in order to express a guarded deference to Bismarckian political genius. One such example is found in Trollope's *The Way We Live Now* (1875), which features a club known as the Beargarden as a central narrative device (the name a play on 'beer-garden'). That the Beargarden is not only owned by a German but is also a haven for illegal gambling is significant when one considers the associations which the German Rhineland had held for such activities, until unification put an end to them. George Eliot was to make similar connections between Germany and the 'spurious excitement and desperate risk' associated with gambling, in *Daniel Deronda* (1876), in which Gwendolen indulges while at the German spa town of Leubronn, and Eliot had herself witnessed the height of the season at Bad Homburg in the last days of legalised gambling at that famous resort.³⁸ In Trollope's story, the decidedly dishonest Herr Vossner is likened in the context of his club to his 'great compatriot' in Bismarck (ironically, given Bismarck's abolition of gambling), without whose presence Germany itself would collapse, just as does the Beargarden when Vossner departs in disgrace towards the end

of the novel.³⁹ The parallel is an interesting one for the degree to which it illustrates a continued ambivalence about the 'new' Germany, for Vossner is never 'supposed ... to be an honest man', but rather a necessary evil without which a somewhat flawed system could not function, and though Trollope postulates that unlike the club, Germany would in time learn 'to live even without Bismarck', the assertion that the 'Iron Chancellor' had approached something like indispensability hints at a grudging respect for the man.⁴⁰

While Trollope never encountered Bismarck personally, by virtue of his unique position as an author and statesman, Benjamin Disraeli (1804–81) did meet him on a number of key occasions. Though the Earl of Beaconsfield (Disraeli was invested with the title in 1876) had mingled socially with Bismarck just before the beginning of the latter's Minister-Presidency of Prussia, it was their recent collaboration at the Congress of Berlin (1878) which inspired him to include a Bismarck-esque character in *Endymion* (1880).⁴¹ Disraeli antedated his narrative of political and diplomatic *Bildung* to the period 1820–50, but included many of the concerns of his own day in order to impart 'a sense of urgency through anticipation of the changed European balance of power'.⁴² The 'Count of Ferroll', described as 'always a welcome guest', because of his charisma and urbanity, despite being the scion of 'an ancient, and haughty, and warlike aristocracy', pays a visit to the English court just before he returns to his 'worthy master' to be minister.⁴³ Ferroll/Bismarck sees his future not in the 'fashioning of new constitutions' as the king desires, but 'mak[ing] a country, and convert[ing] heterogeneous domains into a patriotic dominion', through the only means possible: 'blood and iron'.⁴⁴ Throughout the novel, Disraeli hints at the great events to come later in Ferroll/Bismarck's career; the eventual unification of Germany is referred to in various chapters as 'inevitable', and as being a useful counterweight to the uncertain ambitions of France and Russia, in which Disraeli expresses nothing less than 'the majority view on British political interest' in the 1870s.⁴⁵ Though the 'new' Germany is therefore ever present in *Endymion*, it is worth noting that the 'old' remains strong also, as when the eponymous hero visits the Continent, it is in terms of traditional admiration that his journey is described:

A poet was then sitting on the throne of Bavaria, and was realising his dreams in the creation of an ideal capital. The Black Forest is a land of romance. He saw Walhalla, too, crowning the Danube with the genius of Germany, as mighty as the stream itself. Pleasant it is to wander among the quaint cities here clustering together: Nuremberg with all its ancient art, imperial Augsburg, and Wurzburg [*sic*] with its priestly palace, beyond the splendour of many kings.⁴⁶

As this suggests, the idea of Germany that was a major focus for British authors after the Franco-Prussian War was again that of the 'older' nation: still

linked to those Romantic themes with which it had been associated in the years before the advent of the *Kaiserreich*, and focused upon Southern Germany, not the Prussian north which had become so associated with the recent wars.

Just as in the literature of the 1860s, not everything associated with Germany was treated with universal approbation, though it was certainly not represented in terms of enmity or antagonism, and even aspects of the Prussian north could still be seen as appropriate models for emulation. This is apparent in the most notable literary work dealing with German issues to appear in the wake of the Franco-Prussian War: George Eliot's *Middlemarch*, which was serialised between December 1871 and December 1872 (by Blackwood's), before being published as a single work that same year. While Gisela Argyle has argued that by setting her narrative in 1832, Eliot was 'avoid[ing] contamination with negative associations about Bismarck's "Prussianized" Germany', her initial support for the Prussian cause and her continued enthusiasm for the German intellectual tradition during and after the events of the Franco-Prussian War may in fact indicate that in *Middlemarch*, Eliot sought to reaffirm the notion that both Southern and Northern Germany were still worthy of being considered an archetype of the intellectual nation.⁴⁷ Eliot was so torn between sympathy for those 'suffering', and respect for those 'inflicting' horrors, that she often felt unable to express her true feelings, instead seeking to 'avoid unwise speech' which might offend all and please none.⁴⁸ Therefore she began the second book of her novel by reminding her readers that it was chiefly in the minds of 'certain long-haired German artists at Rome' that Romanticism in the visual arts had originated, and through the character of Adolf Naumann presents the stereotype (still relevant in the 1870s) of 'the dedicated German artist, in contrast with the bungling English amateur'.⁴⁹ Naumann is one of a very few artists appearing in Eliot's novels 'who are proudly assured in their vocation and live without [intellectual and spiritual] conflict', and indeed Eliot's inspiration for the character of Naumann, the mentor of the young Will Ladislaw, seems to have stemmed from the members of the Society of the Tower in Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister* books, which Eliot is known to have re-read in 1870 while engaged in writing the early sections of *Middlemarch*.⁵⁰

In addition to the theme of artistic excellence, Eliot represents Germany as a centre of intellectual ferment. It is at his peril that a purported scholar, such as her Mr Casaubon, ignores the advances being achieved there. Thus Eliot has Will Ladislaw describe to the newly married Dorothea Casaubon how great a pity it is that her husband's own research 'should be thrown away, as so much English scholarship is, for want of knowing what is being done by the rest of the world'.⁵¹ Startled at this claim, Eliot has the ambitious Dorothea (both for herself and for her husband) bemoan in the 'piteousness of that thought' not having taken the opportunity to learn German herself when she had the chance in Lausanne, and despair that

therefore she 'can be of no use'.⁵² Despite Dorothea's later spirited defence of her husband's work, Ladislav's prediction ultimately proves correct, as Casaubon dies before he can complete his 'Key to all Mythologies' (had that ever really been his intention).⁵³ It is not only through Ladislav and the Casaubons that Eliot sought to emphasise the continued relevance of a German education, for just as had 'Mr Casaubon read German he would [have] save[d] himself a great deal of trouble', so too to a lesser degree the more laudable character of Doctor Tertius Lydgate also finds ignorance of German scholarship in his field to be threatening to his dreams of a career of great renown.⁵⁴ Even Lydgate's love for Rosamund is mentioned as being liable to 'interfere with the diligent use of spare hours which might serve some "plodding fellow of a German" to make the great, imminent discovery' in medicine.⁵⁵

The fear of being beaten to the intellectual punch by a more thorough German scholar also arose in many other English novels of the 1870s and into the 1880s, notably in Mrs (Mary Augusta) Humphry Ward's (1851–1920) *Robert Elsmere* (1888), penned over a decade after Eliot's *Middlemarch*. Ward's Squire, Mr Wendover, is in some ways a worldlier and more successful counterpart of Eliot's Casaubon, and by the time of his appearance in *Elsmere*'s life he has already published important works on all aspects of theological inquiry. Wendover, having been pressed by Robert into explaining his most recent academic enterprise, claims that his projected *History of Evidence* is 'the task of a lifetime' and that though he is making progress, '[p]robably before the last section is begun some interloping German will have stepped down before me; it is the way of the Race!⁵⁶ Just as her contemporary Thomas Hardy (1840–1928) presented German literature and metaphysics as constituent parts of one of the most prominent constellations of 'the zodiac of the intellectual heaven', Ward gave to her academic in *Robert Elsmere* a library full of volumes from his studies in Germany.⁵⁷ Indeed Ward went so far as to describe Germany in glowing terms as 'that unextinguished hearth whence the mind of Europe has been kindled for three generations'; this following the passage in which *Elsmere* and his friend Langham peruse the tomes of Wendover's library and come across inscriptions in the front of each volume which bear the signatures of Niebhur, Humboldt, Schelling and other giants of philosophy, history, and the sciences.⁵⁸ For Ward (not least because of her status as niece of the great Germanist Matthew Arnold) Germany's history is the history of that 'modern thinking Germany', continuing to impose its immense intellectual strength upon other areas of philosophical inquiry.⁵⁹

Though on the face of it, the nature of 'thinking Germany' is quite clearly represented in positive fashion by Eliot and Ward, there is a considerable degree of ambivalence in both novels. This stems from the type of intellectual enquiry for which 'thinking Germany' was perhaps most well known in the Victorian Age: the historical criticism of Biblical texts. As Keith Robbins and others have shown, this was one key area where the supposed

Protestant brotherhood between Germany and Britain came under considerable strain, as 'German' became something of a derogatory term when applied to theology and religious matters (almost connoting heresy in the one so named).⁶⁰ Despite this (and other criticisms of German theology by the Church of England, including allegations that even 'Lutheranism and Calvinism [were] heresies'), such ideas began to filter into British intellectual circles.⁶¹ Thomas Arnold (1795–1842, the father of Matthew) and Benjamin Jowett (1817–1893) embraced German historical criticism, and this spread beyond the Oxbridge universities to Scotland and Wales.⁶²

George Eliot was herself intimately connected with the process by which German thought in this field was assimilated, as she was responsible for the first English translation of David Friedrich Strauss's 'dangerous work', *Das Leben Jesu* (*The Life of Jesus*) in 1846.⁶³ Fascinated with such secularised views of traditional religious beliefs, Eliot also embarked on a translation of Ludwig Feuerbach's *Wesen des Christenthums* (*Essence of Christianity*) in 1854, in which the author sought to distil the basic tenets of the faith and divest them of their superstitious ephemera, arriving at a theory of the 'divinity of human nature', and of religion as the deepest expression of humanity's relationship with the natural world.⁶⁴ Though Eliot by no means accepted everything contained within those groundbreaking studies, her own 'strict Evangelical piety' was severely weakened by her exposure to Strauss and Feuerbach, and it is almost a certainty that this played a role in her own religious and intellectual shift 'to free-thinking'.⁶⁵

Though Eliot's impression of Germany was bound inextricably to the notion, she 'did not make the loss of Christian faith' a prime focus of her fiction.⁶⁶ Indeed, in *Daniel Deronda*, Eliot explored somewhat subversively the notion of Germany being a country in which one might rediscover the truth of one's faith. The subversion lies in that faith being not Christian, but Jewish, and the form of the faith is not merely mystical, but (through the Zionist mission which Deronda discovers for himself) a thoroughly secularised version, as he is led to rediscover the lost heritage to which he is heir. It is interesting that Eliot, like her hero, learned all she knew of Jewish culture and religion 'from German books and places'.⁶⁷

Herself experiencing a different kind of crisis of faith, Mrs Humphry Ward chose to deal directly with the issue in *Robert Elsmere*, in which the hero experiences 'both the loss and the gain that German scholarship could entail'.⁶⁸ Ward has Elsmere express to Langham his interest in undertaking a study of the decline of the Roman Empire, but the double meaning of his stated interest in the issues 'of Roman order and of German freedom, of Roman luxury and of German hardness; above all the war of oxthoudoxy [*sic*] and heresy', is clear.⁶⁹ Notably, it is in the same library filled with German tomes (which includes 'most of the early editions of the "Leben Jesu", with some corrections from Strauss's hand') that the young clergyman Elsmere is confronted by the man whose work on Biblical criticism holds a grim fascination

(at their first meeting, Wendover is smoking a 'German professor's pipe').⁷⁰ Having met Wendover, Elsmere is compelled to read the Squire's *Idols of the Market Place*, described as 'the fruit of his first renewal with English life and English ideas after his return from Berlin', and as he consumes the book voraciously, he begins to be affected by the 'dry destroying whirlwind of thought' which together from what he remembers from his time at Oxford years before, is eventually to lead to the annihilation of his unquestioning, uncritical faith in the truth of the Scriptures.⁷¹ While Elsmere rejects dogmatic Christianity and goes on to found something akin to a 'new church' through his social work in London (where he is 'martyred' as a result), the image of Germany, and the results of German thought which Ward leaves with her readers, is deeply ambivalent.⁷² Wendover, the catalyst for Elsmere's loss of faith (and therefore arguably his death from an unnamed illness), eventually concedes that in his opinion 'the Germans ... are beginning to founder in the sea of their own learning'; and that (just as Wilkie Collins had noted in *The Moonstone*) Germany itself has become something of a 'nation of learned fools, none of whom ever sees an inch beyond his own professorial nose'.⁷³

Though as Samuel Butler asserted in the posthumously-published *Way of All Flesh* (1903) 'the wave of scepticism' which inspired such 'crisis of faith novels' as *Robert Elsmere* had 'broken over Germany' as long ago as the 1840s, associations with the double-edged sword of religious liberation remained prominent in the British image of Germany until late in the nineteenth century.⁷⁴ Other associations from the period before the Franco-Prussian War also remained strong in the literary representation of Germany well into the 1880s. Musicality and high culture were some of the most pervasive such associations, with numerous authors choosing to make allusions to the importance of the various German composers (Ward's Robert Elsmere is said to be particularly 'excited' by the music of Wagner); chief characters travelling to Germany in order to further their musical education, or simply depicting music teachers as Germans.⁷⁵ As noted earlier, the connotations of the German landscape also remained strong in the fiction of Disraeli, but in other novels too the 'simplicity of the Germans' and associated rural and historic connotations also feature prominently.⁷⁶ Likewise, images of traditional Anglo-German cooperation often appear in novels written in this period but set in the past, such as Thomas Hardy's *The Trumpet Major* (1880, set in the Napoleonic Wars) and Walter Besant's (1836–1901) *Dorothy Forster* (1884, set in the eighteenth century).⁷⁷ While such associations did persist into the 1890s, it is in the fiction of that decade that aspects of the 'new' Germany first began to be explored in real depth, and in terms which would be taken up far more strongly as the nineteenth century turned into the twentieth.

11

Two Georges and Two Germanies: Gissing and Meredith Commence Debate

George Meredith (1828–1909) was the first author since the Chesney period to again examine in any depth the subject of the political and military aspects of Britain's relationship with Germany. In his youth Meredith himself spent almost two years in Germany and received a German education at the Moravian School at Neuwied on the Rhine. While there, he gained an abiding appreciation for German literature, including the 'fanciful fairylands of German Romanticism' and in later life often referred to his time there as one of the key formative influences of his life.¹ Steeped in notions of German intellectual brilliance, Meredith's sympathies for the Prusso-German cause in the war with France were weakened by the siege of Paris, and one biographer has gone so far as to assert that the conflict 'tore him apart' emotionally (his wife was French).² Though he was moved to ponder poetically the seeming transformation of 'her that sunlike stood' into one who proceeded only with 'iron heel', and also referred to the 'marching and drilling' of the great European powers, in *Beauchamp's Career* (1876), it was not until the 1890s that Meredith truly began to question again the nature of Britain's relationship with the country of his own *Bildung*.³

It was in *One of Our Conquerors* (1891) that the liberal Meredith first sought to draw out the notion that Germany was the essential model for a Britain in need of national rejuvenation, with as much urgency as the conservative Chesney had done in 1871. In that novel, Meredith's message of national decline is sharp and cutting despite its bluntness of expression. The author has the soldier Dartrey Fenellan – recently returned from the colonies to the decadence of the Mother Country – claim that 'England had certainly lost something of the great nation's proper conception of Force: the meaning of it, virtue of it, and need for it', and that like a sheep 'she' is 'bleat[ing] for a lesson, and will get her lesson'.⁴ For Meredith, the 'torpor of the people' and the weakness of its leaders have resulted in nothing less than Britain abdicating its right to be the leading world power, maintaining that position purely 'on sufferance'.⁵ Should his own nation not be shaken from its somnolent state, Meredith is very clear to which other the position of paramount

power should devolve, as he has his hero Victor Radnor bewail towards the end of the novel: 'Upon my word, it appears to me, Esau's the Englishman, Jacob the German, of these times ... [T]he nation's half made-up of the idle and the servants of the idle'.⁶ Just as in Chesney's *Battle of Dorking*, the position of Germany as potential inheritor of global empire is not owed necessarily to any aggressive designs on its own behalf, but rather of the unfitnes (in thinly-veiled Darwinian terms) of Britain to work to retain its place.

The arrogant self-confidence of the novel's representative German character – Dr Schliesen – is designed by Meredith both to reflect this sense of inevitable ascendancy, as well as to serve the didactic purpose of so offending his readers' patriotic conscience as to shock them into action (just as Chesney had sought to do). In his choice of an academic as the representative German character of his novel Meredith intentionally fused the 'older' notion of German intellectual achievement with the 'newer' Germany of arrogance and expansionism. Meredith's use of an academic built upon the continuing ambivalence of feeling regarding the nature of German scholarship which stretched back to the 1860s and before, but in *One of Our Conquerors* it takes on a far more distasteful form than Wilkie Collins's overachievers, or George Eliot's 'plodding' scholars and confident artists of *Middlemarch* and *Daniel Deronda*.⁷ This negative stereotype is reinforced through the later appearance (in Colney Durance's satire *The Rival Tongues*, which Meredith has that character narrate over lunch) of the 'indisputably learned, the very argumentative, crashing, arrogant, pedantic, dogmatic, philological German gentleman' Dr Gannius, whose portrait Meredith paints almost pungently by the appended description of Gannius' nature 'reeking of the Teutonic Professor, as a library volume of its leather'.⁸ In the later conversation among Schliesen, Victor Radnor, Dartrey Fenellan and Colney Durance, the doctor's semi-patronising assertion that despite their inferiority in matters such as architecture the British will 'come to something' as they continue to learn from the Germans is met by Radnor's rejoinder that Schliesen's countrymen may 'have the wreath in Music, in Jurisprudence, Chemistry, Scholarship, Beer, [and] Arms', but he adds 'Manners' to this list sarcastically, causing the doctor to stride from their company.⁹

Schliesen's manner does much to alienate even Durance, who admires the Germans for their advancements, as the doctor claims Durance's spoken 'English Latin' is 'orally incomprehensible to Continentals'.¹⁰ Meredith was not alone in his reference to the German advances in Classical scholarship, which was later to be echoed by H. G. Wells in *The Time Machine*, in which the following humorous exchange takes place regarding the merits of the futuristic contraption:

'It would be remarkably convenient for the historian,' the Psychologist suggested. 'One might travel back and verify the accepted account of the Battle of Hastings, for instance!'

'Don't you think you would attract attention?' said the Medical Man. 'Our ancestors had no great tolerance for anachronisms.'

'One might get one's Greek from the very lips of Homer and Plato,' the Very Young Man thought.

'In which case they would certainly plough you for the Little-go. The German scholars have improved Greek so much'.¹¹

What is also interesting, about the way Meredith presents his characters' understanding of the efficacy of adopting German models, is that for those who feel offended at Dr Schliesen's superior tone, it is obvious that it was initially from observing British practices that the Germans achieved their lead. Victor Radnor contemplates Britain having even been 'beaten by the Germans in Brewery too', reasoning that '[w]e were ahead of them, and they came and studied us, and they studied Chemistry as well; while we went on down our happy-go-lucky old road; and then had to hire their young Professors, and then to import their beer'.¹² What irks Radnor and his friends is therefore not merely the perceived need for 'instruction from foreigners', but that such emulation of German methods and achievements would require the recognition that foreign thinkers and entrepreneurs have managed to improve upon proudly British practices.¹³ Meredith has Radnor articulate this sense of exasperation when, in making his comment on Schliesen's manners, he cries 'Pupil to paedagogue indeed!'¹⁴ Later it is also Radnor who begins to examine the implications in more depth, questioning whether the Germans in fact 'have more brains' than the British.¹⁵ Though in contemplation of such a thought 'Victor's blood up to the dome of his cranium knocked the patriotic negative', Radnor begins to think in terms of British stagnation as being the cause for their falling behind the Germans in so many areas, as his friend Durance has already realised that 'the comfortably successful have the *habit of sitting*'.¹⁶ Radnor sees the possibilities of founding a 'well-conducted journal' specifically devoted to urging national efficiency upon his countrymen, and Meredith tellingly has him consider the Germanophile Colney Durance for the editorship of what is to be called *The Whipping-Top*.¹⁷ Again, it is significant that by the introduction of such a notion, Meredith turned to the example of Chesney and *The Battle of Dorking* style of journalism, which had inflamed nationalist feeling 20 years earlier, as the first step towards arresting national decline, advocating the panacea of German-style military service as the ultimate goal of such a journal.¹⁸

George Meredith was not the only author of 1891 to address the notion of Germany as a model of national service and modernisation, as his contemporary and correspondent George Gissing (1857–1903) also made some smaller-scale references to the tendency of British patriots to look to the Germans in his *The New Grub Street* (1891). In that novel,

Gissing has the wealthy invalid John Yule insist to the anti-hero Jasper Milvain that

there's no such way of civilising the masses of the people as by fixed military service. Before mental training must come training of the body. Go about the Continent, and see the effect of military service on loutish peasants and the lowest classes of town population.¹⁹

The opinionated old man goes on to assert that the Germans are in fact holding themselves back by insisting on both military training as well as more conventional education, and that if 'Germany would shut up her schools and universities for the next quarter of a century and go ahead like blazes with military training there'd be a nation such as the world has never seen'.²⁰ Gissing was an admirer of Meredith, and judging from their correspondence regarding one another's work, the feeling was mutual.²¹ Nevertheless Gissing was somewhat 'less sanguine' about his colleague's politics of regarding the military organisation of the semi-absolutist *Kaiserreich* as a paragon of the modern nation-in-arms.²² A lifelong interest in Britain's domestic problems led Gissing instead to see in the German SPD (*Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands*) the true model for Britain, and it was with the prominent German socialist Eduard Bertz that Gissing associated during the former's time in London (1879–84).

There is an undoubted connection between the literary tradition of viewing the 'new' Germany simultaneously as 'model' and 'monster' established by George Chesney, and that asserted in Meredith's *One of Our Conquerors*, and challenged in Gissing's *The New Grub Street*. Indeed, both authors were at some stage resident in Dorking itself. In contrast to Gissing's short stay (1898–9), Meredith spent the majority of his active life in the historic market town (1867–1909), and Mervyn Jones has asserted that further coincidences in the narrative of *The Battle of Dorking* suggest that Meredith must have had 'at the least' an advisory role in the composition of Chesney's story.²³ Regardless, the engagement of Gissing and Meredith was a literary dialogue which recommenced the broader British debate over the meaning of Germany and the Germans. However, the initial re-emergence of this theme in 1891 is an isolated literary phenomenon, as for almost the remainder of the 1890s, the dominant representation of Germany in English fiction was again the 'stereotypical place for classical music', cultural and intellectual achievement and romantic scenery.²⁴ In the same year that saw the publication of Meredith's and Gissing's key works, William Morris (1834–96) could write of the status of German as the language of 'huge numbers of communes and colleges' in Europe, and Oscar Wilde (1854–1900) could allude to the important work being undertaken in German intellectual circles regarding the 'materialistic' theory that all thought and human character resides in the physical, not the spiritual or mystical realm.²⁵ German

colonialism in both the modern age and (of a very different kind) the distant past is referred to only briefly, and in laudatory fashion, as the few pockets of culture and civilisation in the barbarous Balkans and Eastern Europe of Bram Stoker's (1847–1912) *Dracula* (1897) are due to the historic presence of Germans and the German language; and the ability of German colonialists in the Pacific to 'deal with Kanakas [Pacific islanders]' properly, is asserted in Robert Louis Stevenson's (1850–94) 'Beach of Falsea' (1893).²⁶

Despite his initial challenge to the idea of the militarism of the German Reich as a model for British national regeneration, George Gissing himself did not return to this aspect of the literary image of Germany, instead continuing to depict that nation in a more traditional form. In both of his other major novels of the 1890s, *The Odd Women* (1893) and *The Whirlpool* (1897), Gissing's preferred representation of Germany is an extension of that nation of musical genius which is so pervasive in English literature dating back to the 1860s and before. In the former work, Gissing makes only a short reference to the music of the Austrian Schubert, while in the latter, has Alma Frothingham travel to Leipzig to learn music (violin), and thereafter to take up residence with a new-found German friend in Munich, where the latter was to study art.²⁷ In 1898 the ageing Gissing travelled to Potsdam to visit his long-standing friend Eduard Bertz. Though he took with him some impression of the dominant Prussian culture, garnered largely from the press and literature, Gissing was so repelled by the actual prominence of the monarchical-military tradition that he remained only four days in and around the German capital.²⁸ Upon his return to Britain, Gissing embarked upon the unashamedly 'Anti-jingo' novel *The Crown of Life* (1899), in which he was to return to what he had perceived as the dangerous notion of wishing to emulate German political and military affairs.²⁹

His turn towards what might be regarded as a mild form of Germanophobia was no doubt increased by his association from July 1898 with the young Frenchwoman Gabrielle Marie Edith Fleury, with whom he was to spend his remaining years across the Channel in her homeland. In *The Crown of Life*, Gissing was the first British author to assert that Germany had been absolutely transformed from 'the peaceful home of pure intellect, the land of Goethe' into a land of military and materialist excess.³⁰ Like Meredith's Radnor, Durance and Fenellan almost a decade earlier, Gissing's John Jacks and Piers Otway fear that 'the national character is degenerating'; however, Gissing is not so convinced that 'material prosperity is progress', and sees in the German Empire the dangers of taking national efficiency too far, and losing sight of 'the real interests of England, [and] real progress in national life'.³¹ Through the character of Jacks (a sitting Liberal MP) Gissing expressed his own fear that through the growth of militaristic and nationalistic calls for strong leadership – such as those of Jacks' own jingoistic brother Arnold – Britain's 'brute, blustering Bismarck may be coming' to destroy what remains of the Liberal tradition (and its socialist potential).³² As Gisela Argyle has

noted, Gissing deliberately set the political debate of his novel within the context of a close-knit group of characters related either by ties of blood or friendship, thus creating a microcosm of the 'family' of Britain itself in the process.³³ Significantly when the heroine of the story – Irene Derwent – is given a choice between the 'cosmopolitanism, poetry, and love' epitomised by Otway, and the 'jingoism, commercialism, and selfishness' of Arnold Jacks, she opts for the former, and her choice is therefore an allegorical representation of what Gissing regards as the correct choice for Britain.³⁴

In many ways, Gissing's response to Meredith marks the beginning of the final phase of British literary representation of Germany and the Germans before the outbreak of the Great War (Meredith informed Gissing that he 'enjoyed the book for the story, the writing and the reflections', though he did not alter his stance on national service).³⁵ For it was in this period that the 'invasion' genre truly came into its own, both as an expression of popular nationalism and as a tool for what Kennedy called the orchestration of patriotism by key authors and their various media or political patrons.³⁶ This period 1899–1914 should not, however, be characterised simplistically as a period in which depictions of Germany underwent an inevitable decline, ending somewhat naturally in Britain and Germany adopting contrary positions in the general conflagration of 1914. Rather it should be seen as a period of increased and ongoing debate among novelists, playwrights, poets and other writers (mirroring that of contemporary pressmen and politicians) as to precisely what 'Germany' could and should mean for Britons and the future of Great Britain as a nation.

Significantly, the representations of Germany on both sides in this debate were each of a highly ambivalent nature. The image presented by 'realists' (to use Paul Kennedy's still-useful classification) in stories of German invasion often characterised Germany as both the invader, and the model to be followed à la Chesney.³⁷ 'Idealists', on the other hand, sought to challenge the adoption of German-style policies of national efficiency and military service, looking towards older versions of 'deep-thinking' Germany as their touchstones. Inherently bound up with a parallel ambivalence about modernity, this debate was not an even contest. After the end of the South African (or Boer) War the idealists faced the resurgence of the immensely popular and best-selling genre of invasion literature, and only after the craze for such stories had died down around 1910 were they able to respond effectively.

Since the early 1870s and its emergence from what Clarke described as the 'Chesney period', invasion literature in Britain was almost universally concerned with 'the shape of future wars fought by the British against the French and their allies'.³⁸ Clarke dated this period, when tales of invasion by France proliferated ('usually in combination with Russia') to between 1882 and 1904, during which time imaginative titles appeared such as *The Battle of Port Said* (1882), *The Siege of London* (1884), *The Great War in England in 1897* (1894), *The Sack of London in the Great French War of 1901* (1901), *The Coming*

Waterloo (1901), and *A New Trafalgar* (1902).³⁹ In the earlier stories of this period, Germany, if represented at all, was often given the honour of fighting alongside Britain as an ally valued for her superb military ability and well-trained reserves of manpower.⁴⁰ However the early twentieth century witnessed 'the first major divide ... in these tales of future warfare', as Germany came to be seen as a potential opponent in addition to (though importantly, not instead of) those more traditional enemies in France and Russia.⁴¹

Though in the confused atmosphere of turn-of-the-century international relations there were 'uncertainties about the naming of the enemy', at this time the image of the German invader regained much of its 1871 credence as a likely threat to the British way of life, appearing as such in *Spies of the Wight* (1899) and *How the Germans took London* (1900).⁴² An increasing awareness of ordinary German resentment of Britain's role in the South African War (1899–1902) has been cited as a driving factor behind the re-emergence of such stories, as well as a resurgence during that conflict of the fear that the British Army was incapable of meeting and defeating the most efficient and well-trained of potential enemies in the event of war.⁴³ Around the same time, there occurred the passage of the Second German Naval Law (1900), which was intended to double the size of Germany's battle fleet, and threatened directly the precarious balance of naval power which had for so long been tilted in Britain's favour. In addition to the emergence of Germany as a potential threat, older rivalries remained strong; the Fashoda incident resulted in renewed Anglo-French diplomatic and colonial tensions (1898), the memory of which helped to fuel anti-British sentiment in France for the duration of the South African conflict. International tensions such as these, and the associated renewal of the call for military reform brought about by poor British military performance in South Africa, were key motivating factors behind Erskine Childers' composition of *The Riddle of the Sands* (1903). This book is still regarded as 'the best written and most convincing novel of the invasion genre', and one which has since become an acknowledged classic in its own right.⁴⁴

Erskine Childers' (1870–1922) only novel has been subject to simplistic misinterpretation – as merely the first of a series of increasingly Germanophobic texts in the invasion genre – almost since it first appeared (something Childers himself sought to clarify in later editions).⁴⁵ This is somewhat surprising, for like George Chesney and other writers in the genre, 'that brave and chivalrous yachtsman' (Childers) made the precise purpose of his book very clear from the outset, in a 'statement of aims' which was to be a feature of the revitalised genre in the twentieth century.⁴⁶ In writing *The Riddle of the Sands* he was seeking to expose the 'pitiful inadequacy' of the British secret service, and the lack of any preparedness on the part of the British government for a full-scale European war (or even a small one).⁴⁷ Childers even made a point of emphasising the reasons why he selected the narrative form to present his highly political case. In a fictionalised introduction, he again

mirrors the earlier intentions of Chesney, speaking of the need to retain the 'warm human envelope' of narrative fiction rather than present a political case in bald, essential terms, so that he could best serve the 'purpose of entertaining, and of so attracting a wide circle of readers'.⁴⁸ Childers sought to galvanise support for the notion, seemingly made plain by the recent problems in the South African War, that given the dangerously over-stretched nature of British military and imperial power, was 'it not becoming patent that the time [had] come for training all Englishmen systematically either for the sea or the rifle?'⁴⁹

In *The Riddle of the Sands*, Germany, the nation already long in possession of such a system of national service, is simultaneously the 'model' for this military-based rejuvenation, and 'monster' or potential threat to be resisted, just as in Chesney's short story 32 years before. Childers selected Germany as the potential enemy for largely the same reasons as Chesney: recent events (for Chesney the Franco-Prussian War; for Childers the South African War) had illustrated to the British public the inadequacy of domestic military arrangements should they ever be pitted against a first-class opposition; the yardstick for military accomplishments being German in both instances. More obviously (and in this case, Childers differed from Chesney), the depiction of Germany as potential enemy also rested on the 'serious deterioration in relations between the two countries caused by the German attitude during the Boer War', which was fuelled largely by Anglophobic press reports of the South African situation, expressing 'burning partisanship for the Boers and bitter antipathy for the British' (and which contributed to Kipling's absolute rejection of the idea of an Anglo-German alliance in 'The Rowers').⁵⁰ However, it is notable that even under such conditions, the presentation of Germany in the novel is not as a nation composed of inhuman monsters but as 'a thundering great nation' worthy of the respect of Childers' protagonists Carruthers and Davies, thus making the case for some form of German-style national service in Britain all the stronger.⁵¹ The 'burning question of Germany' which inspired Childers' novel is not answered by his protagonists' discovery of a sinister 'Other' bent entirely upon Britain's destruction.⁵² Instead, knowledge of 'the strength and wisdom of [Germany's] rulers ... her intense patriotic ardour; seething industrial activity ... the forces that are moulding Europe', elicits from Davies and Carruthers a desire to emulate those traits in order to compete more effectively with the rival (rather than 'enemy') nation.⁵³

In keeping with this theme of simultaneous caution and yet admiration for Germany, the 'invasion' which Carruthers foils in the small hours of a 'fresh, wild night' in the North Sea is not the full-scale campaign which characterised Chesney's 1871 story (or ones later imagined by William Le Queux or 'Saki'), but merely a trial run, a military manoeuvre or 'war-game'.⁵⁴ Despite the almost incredible boldness of the scheme for a nocturnal descent on the East Anglian coast, Childers' intention was to paint these German

manoeuvres as merely the latest in a series of such preparations designed to perfect as far as possible their army's ability to wage a successful war under any circumstances. Indicative of this is the author's inclusion of Kaiser Wilhelm II among those senior Germans in attendance (though he is only ever named as 'one who, in Germany, has a better right to insist than anyone else'; or simply 'the Passenger'), as Wilhelm's apparent ubiquity at any form of military manoeuvre was well known in Britain at this time.⁵⁵ Moreover, the manoeuvres are not intended (as some have argued) simplistically as evidence of a long-term 'German plot to subvert Britain', but rather of the 'genius' of the German military and ruling house in constantly preparing itself for any contingency, including the possibility of future war with Britain over trade and territory.⁵⁶ The frustration of Childers is not with the Germans, but (like Chesney and George Meredith) with 'those blockheads of statesmen', who are so slow to move to modernise and reform British military institutions in line with model German policies, that they can be forced to act 'only when kicked and punched by civilian agitators'.⁵⁷

Childers was keen throughout his novel to point out the differences between his claims and those of the 'few persons' who 'hold that Germany is strong enough now to meet [the British] single-handed, and throw an army on our shores', and he made this even more explicit in the book's epilogue.⁵⁸ For the Germans of *The Riddle of the Sands*, enthusiasm for the invasion war games is tempered by the knowledge that execution of their plans is impossible to contemplate even within the span of a decade.⁵⁹ Even then, the invasion plans are only feasible in the case of Germany acting as part of 'a coalition of three Powers' along with those two – France and Russia – which had performed the traditional role of enemies in previous 'invasion literature'.⁶⁰ Childers' representation of Germany is therefore much more complex than often believed.

Unlike the 'contrived nightmare of *The Battle of Dorking*', Childers' novel did not produce an immediate rash of imitators.⁶¹ This is due partially to the very nature of the invasion genre itself, as works in this style tended only to appear in the wake of major international diplomatic crises.⁶² The German-based examples of the genre in Britain relied for their popularity on the patriotic and xenophobic feelings churned up by periodic skirmishes between the European powers, and not on any ingrained sense of Germanophobia in the reading public.⁶³ If this were the case, large-scale publishing sensations such as the sale of millions of copies of various invasion stories would have been consistent throughout the period, rather than isolated to 'bumper years' corresponding to upheavals on the international stage. Thus, though an English translation of the German story *Der deutsche-englische Krieg* (translated as *The Coming Conquest of England*) appeared in 1904, it was not until 1905, and the stir which resulted from the Kaiser's sudden descent on Tangiers (initiating the First Moroccan Crisis), that other British authors again took up the idea of a German invasion.

In the light of this diplomatic climate change, *The Riddle of the Sands* was seen to represent an image of the Germans which was far too positive for a good many of Childers' contemporaries, several of whom set out to write their own versions of what lay in the future for Anglo-German relations. Few if any of these would-be emulators of *The Riddle of the Sands* attempted to convey their concern with the state of British defences with anything like the seriousness of Childers. Instead many were content churning out 'blatantly propagandistic' tales with little moral to their stories except damnation of foreigners.⁶⁴ Though men like the newspaper proprietor Alfred Harmsworth (Baron Northcliffe from 1905) may have been 'impressed by German energy, discipline and ambition' the publications they sponsored or composed concerning the danger of future war with Germany often degenerated into straightforward caricatures of Teutophobia.⁶⁵ Nevertheless, the authors of those invasion novels which appeared following Childers' great success were never quite so xenophobic as to eradicate the themes of respect and approbation for Germany's military system, and the 'peculiar genius for organisation' reputedly possessed by the Germans that he had explored.⁶⁶

One key initiative came indeed from Alfred Harmsworth, who was himself less of a Germanophobe than a brilliant businessman.⁶⁷ He saw in a tale of German invasion the potential to recreate for his *Daily Mail* the success enjoyed by *Blackwood's Magazine* in 1871, and other publications in the 1880s and 1890s. To best handle this proven circulation-booster, he selected William Le Queux (1864–1927), the author of a number of similar stories, and 'already famous as the historian (in 1894) of the Great War in England (in alliance with Germany against France and Russia) in 1897'.⁶⁸ Called by his critics a 'tireless exploiter of any scare or anxiety that would "make a story"', Le Queux took to his task with relish, touring the sites for his proposed invasion for a full four months and consulting Field Marshal Lord Roberts for the military details.⁶⁹ The story was famously advertised by Harmsworth by the parading of 'veterans in spiked helmets and Prussian-blue uniforms' down Oxford Street, each bearing sandwich-boards detailing which towns were scheduled to be invaded with each new *Daily Mail* instalment.⁷⁰

Unlike the German contingency plans detailed in Chesney's story or Childers' novel, Le Queux's narrative centred around an undeniable 'long-contemplated blow at the heart of the British Empire' by a Germany with shadowy designs on Britain's position as the dominant world power.⁷¹ Though his view of Germany's ultimate intentions thus differed from that of his predecessors, Le Queux's message was essentially similar. The nightmares of his imaginary future could have so easily been avoided, for

if Lord Roberts's scheme of universal training in 1906 had been adopted, the enemy would certainly never have been suffered to approach our capital ... Alas! Apathy resulted in this terrible and crushing disaster, and

we have only now to bear our part, each one of us, in the blow to avenge this desecration of our homes and the massacre of our loved ones.⁷²

That Germany is the model for such a system of national rejuvenation is made clear throughout Le Queux's story, with pointed criticism of the British 'apology for a military system' being made in comparison to 'the magnificently equipped army of the Kaiser'.⁷³ In keeping with this, like Chesney and Childers, Le Queux did not indulge in stereotyping the German citizen-soldiers as anything less than decent men, and who because of their 'perfect training' conduct the war in an admirable and 'chivalrous spirit' until forced to take extreme measures by the action of British *francs-tireurs* (guerrillas, or irresponsible non-combatants).⁷⁴ Likewise, German officers are presented as possessing an ingrained decency owing to their military upbringing, treating the conquered British 'with every courtesy'.⁷⁵ Le Queux's wrath is instead reserved for the German government, who at the end of the novel unashamedly refused to repatriate German prisoners 'who had fought with such gallantry', simply 'because they had no use for men who had surrendered'.⁷⁶

Le Queux's characterisation of the German nation does much to confirm the widely-held historical view that in Britain in the early twentieth century, there was a developing distinction being made between 'a hostile regime and a friendly populace'.⁷⁷ This had not yet become fully entrenched in literary representations in the immediate aftermath of the South African War, when Childers had Davies say of the Kaiser that he was nothing less than 'a splendid chap'; however by 1905 and the beginnings of the surge in the popularity of invasion literature, the stereotype had become well established.⁷⁸ Thus in novels such as Le Queux's, the German people and their officer class are simultaneously lauded for their obedience to the orders of their superiors, and condemned for following the commands of the conspiratorial Kaiser and his government. This is most apparent in R. W. Coles' *The Death Trap* (1907), in which Wilhelm II is characterised as 'the originator and director' of all the sinister designs Germany is believed to have on the British Empire.⁷⁹ Cole's demonic Wilhelm speaks in the overblown language of the real Kaiser's speeches and unfortunately phrased public utterances, declaring to a conclave of his highest-ranking officials that Britain is the arch-nemesis of his empire and that it 'must be blotted out' before Germany can achieve her God-given mission of world domination.⁸⁰ When, at the conclusion of the story the Kaiser hears the 'knell of Doom', the good German people are freed from their oppressors, all of whom are taken into captivity by the British, and their French and Japanese comrades (the latter having somehow invaded Britain itself in support of their allies).⁸¹ Nevertheless, the Germans' culpability in obeying the orders to invade Britain results in the just punishment of a £500 million indemnity and the loss of their entire army to Anglo-French captivity.⁸²

A similar representation of the 'good' German enslaved by his obedience to higher authority appeared in Walter Wood's *The Enemy in Our*

Midst (1906), but with important differences. The insidious Captain Mahler (named for the Austrian-born composer) leads an army of German spies resident in London known as the 'Committee of Secret Preparations', all of whom are fiercely loyal to the Kaiser's plans for the destruction of Britain from within.⁸³ Nevertheless, the 'dark, silent' Captain Roon (named for the Prussian field marshal, 1803–79) is torn between his admiration for the British people who had shown him 'countless kindnesses' during his time in London and 'the God of War, the military idol whom all, from Emperor to private, fell down and worshipped ... one which showed no mercy'.⁸⁴ Despite his admirable features, Roon is 'helpless' in the knowledge that he must fulfil his duty to Kaiser and Fatherland, and assists Mahler in his task of raising the 'Alien Army' residing in the East End and elsewhere.⁸⁵ The legions of 'registered alien Germans' are represented as the most insidious of all the different kinds of German, an image which fed off and helped to exacerbate the 'anti-alien mentality' and xenophobic dislike of 'pauper immigrants' from Eastern Europe (primarily Russian Jews, whose presence had led to the Aliens Act of 1905).⁸⁶ Roon, as a career military man, is allowed some semblance of honour, but the thousands of Germans who had infiltrated Britain over the years, taking up civilian jobs and inciting the working classes to violence, are not spared Wood's absolute disgust.

It is an important factor to consider, for a twenty-first century audience so used to the heroism of professional secret agents, that in Victorian and early Edwardian fiction, heroes are hardly ever 'spies', but 'diplomats, amateurs, public servants' and the like.⁸⁷ Espionage 'represents the depths of villainy on the other side' in tales of imaginary conflict, and the title of 'spy' is reserved for the 'bounders and cheats' who seek to carry on a dishonourable war by other means and thus cannot be countered by the orthodox methods of statecraft.⁸⁸ Therefore the figure of the 'evil, ubiquitous and brilliant German spy' which evolved following *The Riddle of the Sands* is a far more distasteful version of the contemporary German than simply the military and power-political threat posed by Childers and Chesney before him.⁸⁹ The stock character of the foreign agent destroys the body politic from within in the manner of a disease, so weakening Britain that in the event of the arrival of the nobler kind of soldierly German so worthy of emulation, they may parade down Oxford Street with limited resistance.

The image of the German as agent of espionage dated back at least to Headon Hill's *Spies of the Wight* (1899), but it did not again become a major stock character in its own right until well after the end of the South African War.⁹⁰ Though Erskine Childers advocated the mimicking of German military practices in *Riddle of the Sands*, he felt uncomfortable condoning the use of professional espionage as somewhat abhorrent to civilised nations. It is significant that both his heroes Davies and Carruthers are amateurs and that their arch-enemy is the professional spy Dollman. While in Childers' novel this most despicable character may bear a German-sounding name

and be fluent in that language, and 'there may be a measure of understanding and forgiveness for a German officer doing his duty ... there is none for Dollman'; what makes him so absolutely distasteful is that he is a former Royal Navy Lieutenant, and therefore a traitor who is merely 'in the pay of Germany'.⁹¹

Nevertheless, in subsequent years, even the German spy came to be regarded with some form of admiration by British authors. Le Queux himself created professional secret agents to thrill his readers in *Secrets of the Foreign Office* (1903) and *The Man from Downing Street* (1904), though he was careful to maintain a distinction between British 'secret agents' and foreign 'spies'.⁹² Le Queux went on to connect the ideas which he (and his patron Northcliffe) had regarding national service to the supposed need for improvement of the intelligence services. The 'hundred or so spies' who worked for Britain's destruction in Le Queux's *Invasion* are seen merely as an extension of the German army; the latter's policy of universal military service thus making every one of the thousands of German men resident in fictional London a potential soldier.⁹³

Le Queux had always favoured making the 'armies of spies seeking always to plot and counter-plot' the chief focus of a major work of fiction, since his novels of the early 1890s.⁹⁴ Following his success with the *Invasion* (and the subsequent success of Wood and others with the theme), Le Queux took up the notion again in *Spies of the Kaiser* (1909): a series of loosely interconnected episodes in which he prescribed reform of the British secret service as the best defence against the 'grave danger of invasion by Germany at a date not too far distant'.⁹⁵ Though at the beginning of the novel his heroes are Childers-like amateurs, Le Queux's confused story eventually casts them as semi-professional public servants, to whom 'is left the real work of diplomacy'.⁹⁶ Taking a step further in *Revelations of the Secret Service* (1911), Le Queux created the figure of Hugh Morrice, 'a veritable prince of secret agents', who despite his official title as 'chief travelling agent of the Confidential Department of His Britannic Majesty's Government', nevertheless remained a true gentleman and a paragon of his class.⁹⁷

As in Chesney's narrative of 1871, British authors' perception of class played a major part in how they perceived and represented the German models of national service and efficiency in espionage (and other matters). In the simplistic world of the scaremongers, the German lower classes are kept in line by discipline and a higher sense of patriotism inculcated through the system of universal military service.⁹⁸ However, Le Queux's reactionary brand of Tory politics meant that he saw the British lower orders as eternally on the brink of disorder and revolt, awaiting only the genius of the German secret service to sow discord among them. In his earlier *Great War in England* (1894), Le Queux had the German Jew Beilstein foment a rebellion which saw 'the scum of the metropolis' rise up to 'wage war against their own compatriots' in the face of invasion by Franco-Russian armies.⁹⁹ So too in

the *Invasion*, he took great pains to emphasise the evils of socialism, which in his view 'had replaced the religious beliefs of a generation of Englishmen taught to suffer and to die sooner than surrender to wrong', and helped lead them to destruction at the hands of a fitter society in Germany.¹⁰⁰ Inspired in part by Walter Wood's skilful manipulation (in *The Enemy in Our Midst*) of the same fears of an army of resident foreigners, ready to take up arms against the nation that harboured them, Le Queux detailed in *Spies* the 'dastardly scheme' of the Germans to organise a 'great railway strike' to better cripple British resistance to their projected invasion.¹⁰¹

Just as in Chesney's story, however, it was not only the lower orders which drew Le Queux's wrath, but the 'weak, excitable population of the towns': the middle classes which had taken the place of 'strong aristocratic Government' over the course of the nineteenth century.¹⁰² This class-based narrative also fed back into pseudo-Darwinian notions about the fitness of the British masses who, 'enervated and stupefied through excessive leisure, were not fit to defend England from what was seen as a much healthier Germany'.¹⁰³ Though such notions were not referred to explicitly by Le Queux and others, they took centre stage in the most successful drama inspired by tales of invasion: Major Guy Du Maurier's *An Englishman's Home* (1909). In that story, the Brown family of suburban Wickham are subjected to the full consequences of the Boxing Day invasion of England by troops of the fictitious 'Nearland'.¹⁰⁴ The degenerate appearance of these English bodies 'gone "soft"' was intended to contrast strongly with Prince Yoland, the physically impressive leader of the Nearlanders: while 'fat', 'narrow-chested', 'rather pale' and 'suburban' are the epithets associated with the Browns, Yoland and his 'tall, fair' troops represent the true physical potential of a dominant race trained in the art of war.¹⁰⁵ That Yoland is also an aristocrat is designed to reaffirm his superiority over his petit bourgeois opponent in Mr Brown, reflecting again the class-based narrative of many of these invasion stories.

However, the denouement of the play – in which despite his lack of training and degenerate physical condition, Mr Brown 'becomes from instinct a fighting man' and succeeds for a time in holding off an attack by Nearland troops from the parlour of his home – showed to audiences the positive instincts of even a degenerate British race.¹⁰⁶ Du Maurier's chief aim, to show the absolute importance of fostering, through regular armed service, that innate fighting spirit of the nation, was further emphasised by the appearance of bumbling, untrained Volunteers. Led by a 'very excited, fussy, nervously important' Captain Finch, clad in uniforms which are half-complete, and unsure even of their precise position (or that of some of their men, of whom the Colour-Sergeant has apparently 'lost some'), the Volunteers are totally unable to prevent the Nearlanders from taking the Brown's house in a second assault.¹⁰⁷ The venom of the regular army officer du Maurier is palpable, demonstrating his complete lack of faith in British

amateurish defensive preparations, in the face of the ascendancy of their 'nearest' neighbours (in racial, religious and cultural terms): Germany.

An Englishman's Home was one of the most successful plays of the season, attracting a huge increase in recruits for the newly formed Territorial Force (later the Territorial Army).¹⁰⁸ The Prince and Princess of Wales were recorded as visiting Wyndham Theatre to imbibe its patriotic message, though they were doubtless not party to the raucous audience reaction which seemed to erupt at the conclusion of each performance.¹⁰⁹ Though the popularity of plays such as *Du Maurier's*, and novels like *Le Queux's*, was unprecedented, the heights to which the British naval and spy scares escalated in 1908–9 did not go entirely unchallenged. The scaremongers' version of Germany and the Germans was soon contested by authors of a more liberal persuasion, but who in seeking to oppose the notion of semi-absolutist, militaristic Germany as a model, found themselves in the 'tactically weaker position' both of swimming 'against the flood-tides of nationalism', and denying that Germany actually posed any threat to Britain.¹¹⁰

The initial challenge came through the outright mockery of the entire gamut of scaremonger imagery, best exemplified by one of earliest (and now rarest) works of P. G. Wodehouse.¹¹¹ In his short novel *The Swoop!* (1909), Wodehouse recounted the way in which an ordinary English boy rescued his country from foreign invasion. He framed his story as a ridiculous 'Boy's-Own' adventure and reserved a special degree of derision for Lord Baden-Powell's newly created Boy Scouts; one of the key creations of a nation obsessed with preventing national and imperial decline through military and pseudo-military training. Clarence MacAndrew Chugwater, the myopic but 'sturdy lad of some fourteen summers', is first alerted to the perils his country is facing by 'the excited voice of a newspaper-boy', waving a poster which headlines the cricket scores:

SURREY
DOING
BADLY

German army lands in England.¹¹²

Wodehouse chose to have Clarence learn of his nation's terrible fate in the same way as the population in *Le Queux's Invasion*, and indeed sets the opening chapter of his story in circumstances which replicate exactly the opening scene of *An Englishman's Home*. The members of Clarence's family are engaged in precisely the same activities as those of Mr Brown – 'playing diabolo ... reading the cricket news ... mending a Badminton racquet' – and Wodehouse has Clarence note bitterly that 'not a single member of that family was practising with the rifle, or drilling, or learning to make bandages'.¹¹³ Upon learning of the invasion, and tearing back to his home, Clarence is ignored by his family, who are totally uninterested until the servant announces the arrival

of 'Prince Otto of Saxe-Pfennig and Captain the Graf von Poppenheim', at which point Clarence's elder brother Reggie realises nonchalantly 'it must be the Germans ... the paper says they landed here this afternoon'.¹¹⁴ Mr Chugwater's reaction is to offer to let his house to the Germans 'on remarkably easy terms', while the rest of the family subject their visitors to such a barrage of lower middle-class ennui that the two are eventually forced to depart, mourning that they ever decided to invade.¹¹⁵

To make the story seem even more ridiculous, Wodehouse makes the Germans only one of a number of invading armies, including Russians under Duke Vodkakoff; Somalis under the 'Mad Mullah' (Mohammed bin Abdullah Hassan); the prince of Monaco; the Swiss; Chinese; and 'dark-skinned warriors from the distant isle of Bollygolla'.¹¹⁶ This parade of potential enemies mirrors both the earlier uncertainty of invasion novelists in deciding upon who was the greatest threat, as well as the sheer multiplicity of invasions and invaders in print at any one time (all of whom seem to be determined to arrive 'between one and two o'clock on the afternoon of the August Bank Holiday' for maximum surprise and effectiveness, just as Le Queux's invasion took place on a sleepy Sunday).¹¹⁷ After taking up their positions, Prince Otto curses the invasion novelists for having so popularised the notion of a surprise descent on Britain that he is forced to deal with competition in his subjugation of the country, and to gain an edge over his rivals, he accedes to Poppenheim's request to bombard London ('it's always done' – in every invasion story).¹¹⁸ The story's conclusion sees Clarence and his Boy Scout chums surround and destroy the various armies one by one, using 'catapults and hockey-sticks' to great effect.¹¹⁹

Despite Wodehouse's contribution, by 1909, the literary debate over Germany seemed already to be over. The realist case – as stated by the likes of Harmsworth and Le Queux – was firmly in the ascendant, in a Britain racked by spy and naval scares. However, the idealist case was about to find its greatest champion, and most able literary exponent. By 1910, the debate had become more evenly balanced, and was to continue until Britain's leap into the abyss of war forced an end to all discussion.

12

Looking into the Abyss?

While P. G. Wodehouse and others sought to attack their opposition head-on by ridiculing the rash fears of invasion, one of the major serious writers of the period was preparing to wade far more subtly into the controversy over how Germany and its inhabitants could and should be imagined. In doing so, he chose to avoid the issue of German military prowess almost entirely and instead chose to focus on the dire cultural consequences for Britain of what he saw as an ever-increasing move towards the 'wrong' German model of hyper-nationalism and 'national efficiency'. For him, Britain was in danger of becoming the very 'monster' the likes of Le Queux and Harmsworth were publicly pledged to resist.

Edward Morgan Forster (1879–1970) had been fascinated by Germany as a source of culture and ideas at least from his time at King's College, Cambridge (1898–1901).¹ In 1904, after sojourns in Italy and Greece, the lands of his Classical intellectual inheritance, Forster entertained 'the idea that there might be amusement and interest in finding a family with whom he could lodge and learn German', and in 1905 he took up a position as tutor to the three small daughters of *Gräfin* Elizabeth von Arnim, at the estate of Nassenheide in Pomerania.² Born Mary Annette Beauchamp in Australia, Elizabeth von Arnim (1866–1942) herself contributed a number of important fictional works to the debate over Germany, and in her relationship with 'the man of wrath' – her husband, *Graf* Henning von Arnim – was both a commentator on, and an example of, the best and worst of Anglo-German interactions.³ Forster enjoyed a summer at Nassenheide which would rank among the happiest of his life, and while there he also developed a keen interest in the changing relationship between the British and the Germans. This interest was put to one side upon his return to England in 1906, while he took up the writing of other novels including *The Longest Journey* (1907) and *A Room with a View* (1908).

Though there is no direct evidence for the assertion, Nicola Beauman has argued that the catalyst for Forster turning again to his interest in the Anglo-German relationship, and beginning *Howards End*, stemmed from his having

actually read *The Invasion of 1910* 'some time in 1908'.⁴ Beauman's assertion is not so far-fetched. Even if Forster never became one of the million or so people actually to purchase Le Queux's *Invasion*, he would have been hard pressed to remain unaware of the impact which the 1906 equivalent of *The Da Vinci Code* was having on his society.⁵ Regardless, it was shortly after completing *A Room With a View* that Forster again became fascinated by 'the links and the differences between the two countries' on which Le Queux's story was based, and this caused him to begin thinking about a novel which explored the 'Englishness of the English' in the context of their historical relationship with Germany.⁶ Working somewhat fitfully on the book from late June 1908 and through the naval and spy scares of 1909, Forster had largely completed *Howards End* by July 1910, and it appeared on 18 October to almost universal acclaim and a 'chorus of praise'.⁷ Though in its own time *Howards End* was never to achieve the sales figures of *Invasion* (it sold a 'mere' 9000 copies between October and December 1910), it nevertheless represents the most considered and in-depth challenge to the idea of Imperial Germany as a potential model for Britain since Gissing's *Crown of Life*, almost a decade earlier.⁸

While the book deals with a great many more themes than simply Germany – and therefore as Peter Firchow noted it cannot be considered his 'German' novel – it is certainly reasonable to regard *Howards End* as Forster's 'Anglo-German' novel.⁹ The Germany of *Howards End* is 'a rather unspecified "other"', if indeed it is so constructed at all.¹⁰ Like Gissing before him, Forster saw in Germany a distinct division between the nation of those poets, philosophers and musicians 'to whom Europe has listened for two hundred years', and the materialistic nation of Bismarckian and Wilhelmine imperialism (and one not delineated by the geographical North/South division).¹¹ The former characterisation of Germany is epitomised in *Howards End* by Forster's chief protagonists, the half-German sisters Helen and Margaret Schlegel, and who through their Anglo-German ancestry also serve as the ultimate expression of the novel's epigraph: 'only connect'.¹²

The very name which Forster selected for his heroines was itself a direct nod to the German Romantic tradition and the notion of Germany as a land of *Dichter und Denker*, 'Schlegel' being the name of several of Germany's greatest literary figures. In an earlier version of the novel, Forster actually went so far as to name Helen and Margaret's father Ernst as 'a distant relation of the great critic', but removed what was perhaps too obvious a connection before the final manuscript was published.¹³ However, Forster's representation of different kinds of German does not always follow the simple dichotomy presented earlier by Gissing, nor does it conform to the model Forster himself identified as being then in vogue in Britain: that of 'the aggressive German, so dear to the English journalist' versus the 'domestic German, so dear to the English wit'.¹⁴ In his description of Ernst Schlegel (deceased at the time the novel is set), Forster makes it clear that 'if one classed him at all', then

he belonged to neither of these categories, but was rather the deep-thinking 'countryman of Hegel and Kant, as the idealist, whose Imperialism was the Imperialism of the air'.¹⁵

In making this distinction between different kinds of German (and therefore, 'Germanies'), Forster like Gissing also intended there to be something of a chronological division between them, but it is perhaps too simplistic to argue that he believed the 'Romantic, idealist Germany' of Schlegel, Kant and Hegel was one which 'at the time the novel takes place, no longer exists'.¹⁶ Forster never indicates a belief on his part that the Germany of Goethe and Beethoven had been wholly subsumed by that of Bismarck and *Weltpolitik*, but rather that Mr Schlegel 'had belonged to a type that was *more prominent* [my italics] in Germany fifty years ago than now', implying that his sort of German was still very much in existence, though not as obvious.¹⁷ Similarly, the metaphor which Forster employs to describe the way Schlegel and the British view attitudes currently prevailing in Germany is one of 'clouds of materialism' which are temporarily, if very effectively, 'obscuring the Fatherland' of 50 years past.¹⁸ It is important to note that these clouds may cover the Germany of Mr Schlegel, but they do not obliterate the 'mild intellectual light' of that sun behind them, merely making its light less pervasive.¹⁹ That Mr Schlegel coexisted for a while alongside the 'haughty and magnificent nephew' who is an alternative German type, perhaps also speaks volumes, but it is of more obvious import that Forster has Margaret tell the (soon to be late) Mrs Wilcox in the present tense that while "[T]here is more liberty of action in England, but for liberty of thought go to bureaucratic Prussia. People will there discuss with humility vital questions that we here think ourselves too good to touch with tongues".²⁰

The 'haughty and magnificent nephew' of Schlegel (and his 'even haughtier wife') is of the type who is 'convinced that Germany was appointed by God to govern the world'.²¹ It was from this kind of mindset that Mr Schlegel had fled his native soil to become naturalised in Britain, even after his active career in helping to create the 'new' Germany. Schlegel is described as 'having fought like blazes against Denmark, Austria [and] France', but having witnessed the smashed windows of the Tuileries in Paris and 'the dyed moustaches of Napoleon going gray [*sic*]', he became aware that 'his' Germany had begun to change.²² Schlegel 'knew that some quality had vanished for which not all Alsace-Lorraine could compensate him', and Forster maintains that although this Germany – 'a commercial power, Germany a naval power, Germany with colonies here and a Forward Policy there, and legitimate aspirations in the other place' – might appeal to others, for Schlegel it was all too 'immense'.²³ Forster's view of German history since the 1860s is a telling one, as it seems therefore to distinguish the 'good' from the 'bad' in Germany. However Forster sought to go further in his novel of 'multiple dualisms' than simply to offer a critique of aspects of the Germany of his day.²⁴ For Forster, the importance of challenging the idea of

the 'scaremongers' to incorporate aspects of the 'bad' Germany into Britain itself led him to widen his analysis to include the 'good' and the 'bad' of his homeland as well.

For every 'German of the dreadful sort', with a belief in a divine appointment to world dominion and power in *Howards End*, there is also a British counterpart, 'convinced that Great Britain had been appointed to the same post by the same authority'.²⁵ In the novel, such Britons are epitomised by the Schlegel's Aunt Juley, and more importantly by the Wilcox family into which Margaret eventually marries, and whose members are themselves active in the enterprise of empire. To illustrate the insidious attraction of the Wilcox brand of Englishness, Forster initially has Margaret fall in love with its patriarch Henry Wilcox. She even seeks to impress upon her sister Helen that without that streak in the English character, civilisation as it had grown up in Britain would not exist, and that the two sisters would not be able to sit and indulge their philosophical sides 'without having [their] throats cut'.²⁶ While Forster has Margaret go further, to claim that in Darwinian terms, without 'Wilcoxism', 'life might never have moved out of protoplasm', by that stage he has already begun in the novel to detail the effects of Wilcoxism on the developed human organism, through his characters Leonard and Jacky Bast.²⁷ These degenerate 'suburban' figures echo the Brown family of *An Englishman's Home*, but unlike in that play, Forster's characters' salvation (or Leonard's at any rate) lies not in emergence from their multi-storey tenements to take up training in national service. Their regeneration is to be achieved by renewed contact with the English countryside and a reconnection with those cultural features (many imported from the Germany of the Schlegels) which have until Forster's time always formed the solid basis for the far nobler 'imperialism of the air'.²⁸

The issue of a creeping 'philistinism' regarding British culture is also a key concern in *Howards End*. In reporting a past conversation between Ernst Schlegel and his nephew, Forster has the naturalised Schlegel criticise 'our [British] Imperialism' in terms equal to his dislike of the nephew's 'Pan-Germanism', and just as in Germany it is the 'vice of the vulgar mind to be thrilled by bigness', the British are just as much in danger of falling under that same barbaric spell.²⁹ When Forster criticises the Germans' new-found desire to 'celebrate bigness' as leading inexorably to the death of the poets, philosophers, musicians and scholars 'to whom Europe has listened for two hundred years', he explicitly links his criticising to the same contemporary British trend, epitomised by poets such as Kipling and lyricists like A. C. Benson, in extolling the virtues of imperial expansion. Forster becomes even more explicit about the relative merits of contemporary British nationalist culture in 'one of the most celebrated descriptions of music in English literature': the visit to Queen's Hall for an evening of music.³⁰ After a series of pieces by Mendelssohn, Brahms and 'the most sublime noise that has ever penetrated the ear of man' (Beethoven's Fifth Symphony), Margaret Schlegel exclaims

that she cannot abide 'this Elgar that's coming'.³¹ This elicits a rebuke from her proudly British Aunt Juley, who has been engaged all the while in the nationalist mission of persuading a German visitor (Herr Liesecke) that English music is equal in status to anything produced in Germany.

Just as Gissing did in *The Crown of Life*, Forster made clear his view on what was the correct path for Britain to follow through the personal relations of his characters. Thus it is not the Wilcoxes, with their "'fetishes" of business, imperialism and Social Darwinism' that win out and inherit the eponymous property at the conclusion of *Howards End* (often seen as representing England itself), but the half-German Margaret Schlegel.³² In Margaret 'the two supreme nations, streams of whose life warmed her blood, but, mingling, had cooled her brain' have produced the cosmopolitan individual who is worthy of both the inheritance of the Germany of Goethe and Hegel, but also of the 'sacred space of Englishness'.³³

For Forster, England was being invaded by Germany in 1910, but it was through the pervasiveness of the 'new model' Germany of modernity, 'bigness' and empire to which even scaremongers like Le Queux – with their stated aim of resisting domination and displacement by the Kaiser's colossus – seemed to be perversely attracted. With his knowledge of Nietzschean thinking made clear throughout the novel, Forster may be seen as arguing (in similar terms to those with which I have prefaced this part) that in their quest to resist the perceived future enemy, the Wilcoxian scaremongers risk themselves becoming monsters of the same kind. Forster's own epigraph 'only connect ...' may therefore be read not only as imploring the two nations to look beyond material competition and ensure peace between their societies, but just as convincingly be interpreted as the cautionary 'only connect ...', and no more: England should not use this 'new' Germany as a model as it had the 'old' in the past, because that will lead to the destruction of 'the cultural specificity of England' and all that is good in Englishness.³⁴ In one of the few direct (though still veiled to a certain extent) references to the phenomenon of invasion literature in *Howards End*, Forster made it quite clear that he disapproved of the tendency of scaremongers (like Le Queux) to peddling the idea of the inevitability of conflict between the two powers; that 'the remark "England and Germany are bound to fight" renders war a little more likely each time that it is made; and is therefore made the more readily by the gutter press of either nation'.³⁵ Later in the novel, the absurdity of such notions is reinforced when Forster asserts that, in an overheard conversation "'Their Emperor wants war; well, let him have it," was the opinion of a clergyman'.³⁶ That such sentiments should be uttered by a Christian man of peace speaks volumes.

Forster's challenge to the notion of the 'new' Germany as a potential model for Britain was not the last word on the subject in the literary sphere, as tales of invasion continued to appear in response to the diplomatic crises between Britain and Germany before the outbreak of war. However, in

many ways the publication of *Howards End* may be seen as the beginning of a resurgence in the 'idealist' case against adopting the 'new' German model. Though initially arguing from a far weaker position, and possessing less support in the mass press than their scaremonger opponents, the liberal-idealist authors would appear to have begun to gain in strength and confidence after 1910, as people also became 'very easily bored' by endless tales of invasion and the associated call to adopt monstrous German means to fight the German monster.³⁷ This was assisted in no small way by the emergence of a 'far friendlier' tone in Anglo-German relations after the high-point of antagonism in 1909, as Erskine Childers himself noted in the preface to a new edition of *The Riddle of the Sands*, released in 1910.³⁸ In the wake of the crude Germanophobia of recent months, he also took the opportunity to refute that 'any intention of provoking feelings of hostility to Germany' had originally inspired him to pen his novel, despite feeling that such a disclaimer was 'scarcely necessary', given the 'unstinted admiration' for Germany which he expressed throughout, and which was now more fashionable.³⁹ Though invasion stories never again stirred the interest that they had done in the period 1905–1909 they nevertheless did not undergo what Morris described as a 'swift demise', as the Second Moroccan Crisis (1911), the Balkan Wars (1912–13) and continual increases in the German Navy, ensured that a steady stream of such tales continued to flow in the last years of peace.⁴⁰ Though as Clarke remarked 'there is little left to say' about their artistic development before 1914, their persistence as a genre meant that the literary debate over Germany was to continue despite the momentary ascendancy of the idealist case.⁴¹

Like Forster before them, other novelists of the period chose to tackle the issue of the 'new' German model in a more subtle and less explicit fashion than Wodehouse, and adopted a narrative form in which the differences between nations could be portrayed in the context of interpersonal relations. Most noticeably it was three women that took up the Anglo-German problem in 1911: Katherine Mansfield, Sybil Spottiswoode and I. A. R. Wylie. While Mansfield launched an all-out, almost bigoted attack on German society in her short story collection *In a German Pension* – safely observing Germany from the outside – Spottiswoode and Wylie explored matters from within a series of imagined transnational relationships. Just as in *Howards End*, Sybil Spottiswoode's *Her Husband's Country* and I. A. R. (Ida Alexa Ross) Wylie's *Dividing Waters* referred directly to the initial attraction of the 'new' German model only to decry its adoption automatically, instead indicating a preference for a more balanced, mainly English way of life.

Though both novels, and Mansfield's collection, involve what Firchow described as 'the loves of English women and German men', and were conceived as examples of romantic melodrama, their political overtones were significant contributions to the ongoing literary debate over Germany. Moreover both Spottiswoode and Wylie drew upon ideas of German masculinity (and

indeed, versions of modern masculinity in general) familiar to their readership, and which Mansfield made the explicit focus of much of *In a German Pension*. Though concerned with personal relationships and everyday life, one could hardly mistake Mansfield's first published work as anything but a piece of highly political commentary, penned during the years of successive spy and naval scares. This illustrates well how women were challenging – even in subtle ways – the assumed role of men in the world of international affairs (and incidentally something reflected in the more explicit contacts being made between British and German women's suffrage movements).⁴²

Mansfield presented an image of contemporary Germany in all its grotesquery, largely through an unnamed female observer or an omniscient authorial voice, who make comments of biting sarcasm on everything from the German obsession with class to the eating habits of 'Germans at Meat'. Hilarious in parts which would make Basil Fawlty look like a diplomat, some of Mansfield's tales are also serious feminist works of great power and genius. In 'Frau Brechenmacher Attends a Wedding' in particular, the comedic observation of a provincial Bavarian wedding (the matronly bride nonetheless wearing white) gives way jarringly to a portrayal of the German male as bestial tyrant. That the Brechenmachers have been attending a wedding, at which Herr Brechenmacher drinks to excess, is in many ways only the context for the story's conclusion, as Frau Brechenmacher prepares herself for rape by her husband. In the brief exchange which precedes Frau Brechenmacher lying back, arm over her face 'like a child who expects to be hurt', her husband chuckles and laughs at the thought of their own wedding night: 'the trouble you gave me ... such a clout on the ear ... but I soon taught you'. Such confronting stories are laced with details about the German state and politics, from Herr Brechenmacher being the town postman (and his wife therefore deserving of a certain degree of deference); to the pompous reassurance of the Herr Rat in another story, that 'we don't want England ... If we did we would have taken it long ago'.⁴³

Though drawing upon similar stereotypes as Mansfield, Spottiswoode and Wylie are less damning in their portrayals of international-as-interpersonal relations. Unlike the relatively crude xenophobic attacks of *In a German Pension*, it is possible to read in them an even more direct challenge to the 'realist' notions of inevitable war, and the need to adopt German methods, than in Forster's novel. Both describe an initial fascination with the strong, Prussian military type of man, only to have such illusions dashed either by the transformation of the respective husbands/lovers into brutes, or the failure of the heroine to truly understand her husband's country. This is made worse in both novels by the heroines' infatuation with gentlemanly British army captains (though not the volunteers of popular realist imagery).⁴⁴

Spottiswoode's *Her Husband's Country* details the development of Patience Thaile, who falls in love with the 'handsome and even dashing' Prussian Helmuth Rabenstadt; the two marrying and subsequently honeymooning in

the Black Forest.⁴⁵ There, Helmuth begins his transformation into a grotesque monster, ceases shaving and washing himself, and begins 'rapidly expanding into a fat German'.⁴⁶ While in the woods, Patience meets Helmuth's British counterpart Captain Cunningham Roper, to whom she realises she is truly attracted, but remains loyal to Helmuth despite his developing beer-fuelled obesity and the bestial sexuality he exudes. Patience's 'German nightmare comes to a sudden end' however when she loses her newborn German child and Helmuth dies in a fall from his horse, allowing her to return to England to marry Captain Roper. Uncomplicated as it is, Spottiswoode's story reflects well the underlying tension between perceived notions of British and German nationhood, and the choice of two soldiers as Patience's alternative paramours stems directly from the prominence of debates over national service in preceding years. That such ideas of nation are central to Spottiswoode's narrative can be divined from Patience's acknowledgement that 'she had been grossly unjust in punishing the individual for the faults and characteristics of his nation', and that had she realised 'from the first the radical and fundamental differences between the two nationalities' instead of being blinded by their affinities, she would never have put herself (and her late husband and child) through such pain and discomfort.⁴⁷

Wylie's 'considerably more sophisticated' novel deals in similar terms with the initial attraction of the Prussian-German male, and the loss of that feeling as the true nature of the German nation becomes apparent.⁴⁸ But while Spottiswoode elected to sever all of her heroine's attachments to Germany at the close of *Her Husband's Country*, Wylie chose to have her heroine Nora Ingestre find some degree of guarded affinity with the other nation, returning heroically to her stricken husband Wolff von Arnim after the latter has been mortally wounded in a duel. While through the duel Wylie sought to emphasise that the Prussian-German system of military honour is significantly flawed and unworthy of British emulation, it is significant that Wylie nevertheless refers to German military matters with guarded respect. For all its faults 'that mighty force', the German army, is contrasted favourably with the 'two-week soldiers' of Britain who are merely '*learning* to shoot and ride', and Wylie had Wolff's wounding come as a consequence of him stepping nobly into the place of Nora's cowardly brother Miles, 'without a word of reproach or anger' for his brother-in-law.⁴⁹ Furthermore, the despicable Miles repays Wolff's decency by treacherously absconding back to Britain with documents of the General Staff, with which the young *Junker* had been entrusted, challenging directly the notion of the British 'gentleman spy' present in so many of the scaremongers' novels.⁵⁰

Faced by the 'selfishness and muddling' of the Tory squirearchy at home in England, with its 'great, blundering' gentry and objectionable warmongers who 'blessed' the chance of war with Germany, Nora leaves her new-found companion Captain Robert Arnold and returns the documents to Wolff, finally impressed by the 'race that has all our virtues in their youth and

strength – all our tenacity, all our bulldog purpose, all our old stoicism'.⁵¹ Wylie had earlier (in 1909) admitted her political leanings towards some cautious accommodation or 'an *entente cordiale* with our [German] cousins', and in many ways her *Dividing Waters* may be seen as a Forsterian call for connection with, but not unquestioning absorption, of 'new' German ideas and models.⁵² Just as Forster had the Schlegels in *Howards End*, Nora's fate was to attempt to 'win a greater, nobler victory than any victory won with the blood of men', and to 'build a bridge' between the country of her birth and that of her adoption.⁵³

After 1911, other authors were to continue to sustain the liberal-idealist case for varying degrees of engagement with, but not assimilation of the 'new' German model. One of the last pre-war invasion stories in fact may be seen as a response to the relative decline in the influence of the spy and invasion stories, and partially (and belatedly) to the denigration of the genre by Wodehouse and others, within the context of a more substantial story of the perils of national deterioration. Also notable as the last original outgrowth of the genre, Hector Hugh Munro's *When William Came* (1913) is set in a Britain which has long since resigned itself to a place in a greater 'Empire of the West' alongside Germany and Holland, and in which the novel's hero Murrey Yeovil is forced like his countrymen to grit his teeth and listen to the tune of the 'bitter-sounding adaptation "Germania rules t'e waves"'.⁵⁴ In this story, the total annihilation of British national pride is foiled at the last by the refusal of the Boy Scouts to parade before the Kaiser. 'Saki' (as Munro pseudonymically called himself) has an unnamed young man attending the farcical rally at Hyde Park Corner feel ashamed that while his generation had been so complacent as to allow the Germans to conquer with scarcely a whimper of protest, 'in thousands of English homes throughout the land there were young hearts that had not forgotten, had not compounded, would not yield'.⁵⁵ The pathetic irony of this compounds the earlier revelation that the German rulers of Britain are to 'enforce military service' on the subject population, 'when they've no longer a country to fight for'.⁵⁶

In something of a nod to Wodehouse's story in particular, Munro has his hero declare that 'one might almost assert that the German victory was won on the golf-links of Britain' (in *The Swoop!* this is actually true, as the Germans march across the golf courses while the disinterested Englishmen play on around them); the lack of energetic sports is blamed for the degeneration of the sturdy middle classes, 'the only bulwark against official indifference'.⁵⁷ That Munro made such an effort to refer directly to the comic stylings of Wodehouse reflects the strength with which such liberal 'idealist' views of Germany had advanced since their almost untenable position at the time of Le Queux's *Invasion*. However, both inside and outside the literary sphere, the invasion issue was 'not drummed as hard [after 1911] as it had been on earlier occasions', partly because the popularity of

German-style conscription was again in the ascendant after something of a hiatus (caused in part by distractions of the Suffragist, budget, and House of Lords issues).⁵⁸ Even the notion which Gissing had inveighed against, the desire for a 'blustering Bismarck' to energise and reorder the British state, had found stronger support as H. G. Wells (1866–1946) noted when he wrote to the *Daily Mail* about the attraction of 'a strong, silent, cruel, imprisoning, executing, melodramatic sort of person'.⁵⁹

Right up to the German invasion of Belgium and France, debate continued in the literary sphere over 'the question of Germany' as model or monster; and even once the war had begun, the last vestiges of that debate continued to make themselves felt, through works that had been written largely before, but were published after the outbreak of the war. *Pointed Roofs* (1915), the first volume of Dorothy Richardson's semi-autobiographical *Pilgrimage* fits into this category, as it was more or less complete late in 1913, and thus shows 'virtually no traces of the war' in its view of Germany.⁶⁰ Like other exponents of the idealist view, Richardson's heroine Miriam Henderson is attracted to the 'inner life of the Germans', opposed to the English obsession with outward appearances, but nevertheless is confronted by the hyper-masculine militarism of Germany and rejects it, returning to an imperfect but ultimately more attractive Britain.⁶¹ Firchow argued that of the last liberal-idealist authors before the war, Richardson was best able to 'capture the contrary moods of attraction and repulsion' which like-minded British readers felt for Germany: suspicion of the Prussianised military culture, '[a]nd yet ... German music, a line of German poetry'.⁶²

As the war went on, marked changes in the representation of Germany became evident, some of which involved a new analysis of and the beginnings of a different kind of debate about, German social and political organisations. United by their opposition to all things German, Britain's other 'literary super-dreadnoughts' – such as Mrs Humphry Ward, Thomas Hardy, Arthur Conan Doyle (1859–1930), John Buchan (1875–1940), and the now naturalised Henry James – 'rushed to lend their pens and reputations to the cause'.⁶³ As noted earlier, Rudyard Kipling retained his pre-war role as a German-hater, believing that 'defeating the Hun is God's work'.⁶⁴ But other notables, previously vocal in their anti-German writings, and who might have been expected to thrive in the new atmosphere, now shunned the Germanophobia of their past work. Katherine Mansfield steadfastly refused to allow *In a German Pension* to be republished, and it remained so until after her tragically early death in 1923.⁶⁵

In the field of invasion/spy fiction, the war occasioned a key departure from the earlier form; with Buchan producing the first spy novel in which the Germans were truly evil, as they 'murder, bludgeon and blackmail their way across Britain', stealing secrets and threatening the life and limb of such fine upstanding men as Richard Hannay.⁶⁶ Older invasion novels too were reprinted with a new sense of their relevance to events, and the

debate over the 'Two Germanies' took on a new form. By the time Wells wrote *Mr Britling Sees It Through* (1916), the German system of organisation that had so impressed pre-war realists had come to be seen as rooted in backwardness, rather than modernity. It was no longer something to be admired or emulated, but destroyed; for '[t]hat is where Germany is still the most ancient of European states. It's a reversion to a tribal cult'.⁶⁷ Some nevertheless saw the war as a means of liberating the 'old' Germany from the 'new' (a view which eventually formed the bedrock of plans for peace in 1918); however Germans in Belgium were no longer seen as a nation of good people enslaved by their duty to higher authority, but rather as machine-creatures incapable of acting in 'spontaneous, passionate' ways, and 'raping women for disciplinary purposes' at Liège.⁶⁸ This new wartime view of Germany, and the sense of a recent change in feeling, is evident in the introduction to a late-1914 edition of *The Battle of Dorking*

To be at war with the countryman of Schumann and Beethoven, of Goethe and Ranke, is not that an affliction to the very soul of England, an outrage to feelings and instincts tangled up with the very core of our civilization? But we recognise ... that beneath the defective 'manner' of the Teuton lurks an element of crude barbarity with which we cannot pretend to fraternise.⁶⁹

Whereas before the war, there was scope for debate over whether one or other of the 'Two Germanies' could be held up as a model for Britain, that luxury was now gone.

Part IV

Punch, Judy and Deutsche Michel: Cartoons of Germany

The Kaiser was very fond of *Punch*, especially the political cartoons, in which he so frequently figured – as a sea-serpent, an organ-grinder, or just his imperial self with exaggerated moustaches ... His Majesty liked to thrust those embarrassing pictures under my nose. 'What d'you think of that?' he would say. 'Nice isn't it? Good likeness, eh?' It was difficult to find a suitable answer on the spur of the moment.

Anne Topham, 1916¹

13

‘Wilhelm in Wonderland’ – Germany in the Wars of Unification

The political cartoons of *Punch* and other satirical journals are among the most visible surviving British representations of Germany from before the Great War. Serious academic works, educational websites and undergraduate textbooks alike are peppered with cartoons of the period, and the familiarity of readers with such images has meant that one can hardly imagine the dismissal of Bismarck by Wilhelm II without Sir John Tenniel’s ‘Dropping the Pilot’ (Figure 13.1); or the German invasion of Belgium without F. H. Townsend’s ‘Bravo, Belgium!’ (Figure 13.2).² However, more often than not historians and other scholars have tended to treat cartoons as ‘mere illustrations’, rather than as important historical sources in their own right, and often have merely reproduced them in their books without comment.³ Relatively few studies have taken cartoons as their key focus, and interrogated either their meaning, the kinds of representations that they offer or the ways in which they were developed and produced. On the contrary, the idea that because of their highly partisan and satirical nature, cartoons are of limited value in serious historical scholarship, and are ‘inappropriate for use by the historian’ has persisted until quite recently.⁴ In the past few years, however, there has been a growing recognition that study of what a given society finds humorous reveals a great deal about those who produced the joke, and also about those at whom the joke is directed.⁵ There is therefore a greater acceptance of these otherwise mute witnesses as important sources for historical enquiry, and a willingness to translate their testimony to shed further light on the multifaceted and ever changing attitudes of past societies.⁶ Graduate students in particular have been at the forefront of studying Anglo-German relations via cartoons.⁷

While Roy Douglas’s assertion that the cartoon can help the student of history to ‘know what the past was really like’ is to bestow too much revelatory authority on this particular kind of evidence, cartoons can reveal much about the fluidity of the perception of key figures or events by societies over time.⁸ The tendency to use cartoons simplistically and selectively as illustrations of particular points of view has often robbed them of much of



DROPPING THE PILOT.

Figure 13.1 John Tenniel, 'Dropping the Pilot', *Punch*, 29 March 1890, pp. 50–51.



Figure 13.2 F. H. Townsend, 'Bravo, Belgium!', *Punch*, 12 August 1914, p. 143. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.

this original complexity, and of their true value as repositories of the 'spirit of the age' in which they were created.⁹ Perusal of many of the texts and websites in which cartoons do appear gives the impression that *Punch*, for instance, was from a very early date antipathetic to the growth of Germany as a world power and viewed its rulers as threats to the delicate international balance of power. As I argue in the following chapters, however, to persist in focusing only on those cartoons displaying a continuously negative image of Germany (or Wilhelm II or Bismarck) is to misrepresent the far more complex and constantly changing perceptions of British cartoonists and their audiences over time. Even in *Punch*, for every depiction of the Kaiser as an ogre or sea-serpent, there were as many representing him in a more positive light – as a dutiful grandson to Queen Victoria, or the recipient of 'Britannia's Valentine' (Figures 13.3 and 13.4). Thus, just as in the press more generally, images of Germany in cartoons were far more ambivalent than might otherwise be assumed, and display again the ongoing debate over what precisely Germany could and should mean for Britain across the 1860–1914 period.¹⁰

Punch was, of course, not the only periodical in which cartoons appeared. Yet historians have tended to concentrate exclusively on it, overlooking cartoons from the *London Charivari's* main competitors: including the avowedly Conservative *Judy*; the more liberal (almost radical) *Fun*, and *Moonshine*; and the downright reactionary *John Bull*.¹¹ The name adopted by *Judy*, or the *London Serio-Comic Weekly* (published 1867–1907) is indicative of its editors' intent to provide an ideological 'mirror' to the more liberal (and often openly pro-Gladstonian) *Punch*, a fact illustrated on the covers of later-nineteenth century editions of the magazine. *Judy's* almost blind adherence to the policies of the Conservative (and later Unionist) party justifies my use of the capital 'C' in describing its politics. *Judy* was certainly Conservative 'of the truest and bluest', but also appealed to the lower middle classes, being a full penny cheaper than its rival.¹² *Fun* (published 1861–1900) was also conceived as a mirror to *Punch*, but from the opposite extreme, the magazine's founder Henry James Byron seeing the *London Charivari* as too conservative.¹³ *Punch* was also the highest selling of its contemporaries, but *Fun* for instance managed a very respectable 20,000 readers in 1870, opposed to *Punch's* 40,000; *Judy* was not far behind.¹⁴ A detailed analysis of the cartoons printed in 'dimly remembered or forgotten journals' like *Judy*, *Fun* and other periodicals (including newspapers) shows that Germany was not represented simply as a nation which inspired increasingly negative caricatures as Anglo-German diplomatic relations underwent considerable stresses and strains between 1860 and 1914 (and particularly after 1900).¹⁵ In some cartoons, depictions of Germany and Germans are either decidedly positive or negative, but just as often they are ambivalent and indecisive.¹⁶ It was only with the coming of the First World War that such images took on a decidedly hostile form, when the 'negative image-creation' of the preceding period 'reached its apotheosis'.¹⁷



“GOOD-BYE, GRANDMAMMA!”

Figure 13.3 John Tenniel, 'Goodbye, Grandmamma!', *Punch*, 18 July 1891, p. 15. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.

It is essential to note here that the myopia concerning more positive cartoons of Germany is not entirely the fault of historians.¹⁸ Once the irruption of war made expressions of admiration or amity with Germany untenable, periodicals like *Punch* actively conspired in the rewriting of their own histories to expunge such unfashionable notions. In the 1919



Figure 13.4 Linley Sambourne, 'Britannia's Valentine', *Punch*, 10 February 1909, p. 101. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.

retrospective volume *Mr Punch's History of the Great War*, Charles Graves protested that if in the past *Punch* had expressed feelings of admiration or amity then this was only because, like the rest of the world, the magazine had been deceived by the 'treachery of Germany's false professions' for a period of over 50 years.¹⁹ Moreover, the first seven pages of *Mr. Punch's History* were taken up with evidence of those 'lucid intervals of foresight' in which the magazine's cartoonists had discerned Germany's steady and deliberate preparations for 'the Day', dating as far back as 1864 and the Second Schleswig-Holstein War.²⁰ Nor was this the only example of early revisionism. As will be explored in more detail later, *Punch* released a series of supplements designed to show the consistency of its attitude towards Germany down to the outbreak of war.²¹ Therefore not only were new, decisively negative images of the 'Horrible Hun' created in cartoons produced during the war years, but images from as early as the 1850s were recast and reprinted alongside wartime characterisations in order to strengthen the political case against Germany.²² The creation and recreation of such images is perhaps understandable given the trauma wrought by the Great War. However it is essential for the historian to note that

their emergence from 1914 helped inaugurate a *new* image of Germany, significantly different from that which went before, as a nation possessed of long-standing and often diabolically-inspired designs on Britain's position at the pinnacle of world power. It is these images that have more readily come down to historians of the twenty-first century, clouding the more complex views which were actually produced in the past, in a period of debate, rather than clarity.²³

Cartoons, like other forms of visual evidence (such as the maps examined in Part I) are complex sources and need to be read contextually in order to utilise them effectively. An understanding of the meanings within a cartoon is 'dependent on the social, cultural and world knowledge of the readers'.²⁴ Cartoons such as 'Dropping the Pilot' and 'Bravo, Belgium!' for instance, relied for their effectiveness as political commentary on particular metaphors (such as the notion of the 'ship of state' in the first case) which require some decoding by the historian.²⁵ In both these instances, the metaphor utilised is quite plain to the informed twenty-first century observer. In other examples, however, the need for decoding is far greater, as cartoonists often made allusions to cultural and social phenomena apparent to the intended audience but much less familiar to later readers. It is therefore important for the historian to interpret the cartoons within their context, reading between the lines, to explicate the meaning of particular themes and formulae employed by the image-makers, as well as to expose those assumptions and ideas of which the cartoonist was perhaps unaware, or regarded as too obvious to be fully conscious of.²⁶ It is important not to read too much into any given cartoon, as this can skew the meaning and implication of an individual image, or even a series of images. Just because a cartoon appears in a satirical magazine or depicts statesmen or other figures in caricature, one must not automatically assume the content to be ironic: 'humour is not a necessary weapon in the cartoonists' armoury'.²⁷ Cartoonists, particularly in this period, also served more sober functions (the solemn commemoration of events, or reaffirmation of national pride), so that though Sir John Tenniel believed he could often be 'really funny', many of his drawings required 'dignity, not impudence'.²⁸ Each cartoon must therefore be assessed in context for any irony to be attributed correctly.

Almost by definition, a cartoon expresses a point of view, and usually a political one.²⁹ But it is necessary to recognise that the 'politics' expressed in any given cartoon could be the result of complex negotiations. It depended on a number of factors, including most importantly the political persuasion of the artist and of *his* (very few women managed to break into this male-dominated world) editors; their perception of the public mood to which they were catering; and the purpose for which the cartoon was intended, whether persuasive or mere commentary. Moreover, the approach and political views of a particular cartoonist often varied greatly over the course of a career, so that an initial sympathiser with aspects of Gladstonian Liberalism

such as Sir John Tenniel had become much more conservative (and thus more critical of Liberal policy) by the end of his career at *Punch* (1901).

The case of Tenniel is useful to illustrate just how complex the task of divining the politics of any given cartoonist can be, as despite over a century of analysis, the attempt to place him on the political spectrum is an ongoing problem.³⁰ Tenniel himself claimed that he had no political opinions, or at least that if he did, was sure to 'keep them to [himself], and profess only those of [his] paper'.³¹ To add to the confusion over Tenniel's precise political adherence, it is worth noting that it was first proposed to grant Tenniel a knighthood during the last months of Salisbury's second Conservative government (1886–1892), but that the honour was finally bestowed (1893) under Gladstone's final Liberal ministry, suggesting that both parties felt sympathetic to his work over the years.³² There has also been a tendency to conflate Tenniel's views with those professed by successive liberal or conservative editors of *Punch*, or indeed to see in the mixture of views expressed over the course of his career a political judgement that was 'Olympian and impartial'.³³

Particularly in the wake of David Low's own left-leaning (and problematic) interpretation of Tenniel and his successors as bastions of the establishment, commentators have ascribed to him something of a right-wing liberal position, ambidextrously placed between the politics of Gladstone and those of Disraeli (and later, Salisbury), but nevertheless firmly right-wing.³⁴ In the most recent biographical study, Frankie Morris goes further, and ascribes to Tenniel a solidarity with the specific conservatism of the Conservative (later Unionist) Party which led him actively to subvert the avowedly 'Radical, anti-Beaconsfield, anti-Imperialist' stance of then *Punch* editor Tom Taylor.³⁵ Such a view raises another key problem regarding the political views of a given cartoonist: one which centres on a question about the agency of the cartoonist and whether he or she is the mouthpiece or puppet of his or her editor, or is rather an activist and independent agent, presenting his or her own views regardless of the politics of the periodical.³⁶ To further complicate matters, Frankie Morris has noted that though '[R]eaders assumed that Tenniel's cartoons represented his personal views', most contemporaries 'would probably not have known of *Punch's* cartoon conferences'.³⁷ He was referring here to the way in which the subject matter, and sometimes even the form, of the *Punch* cartoons were decided not by Tenniel in isolation, but by the editorial and artistic staff at their weekly dinner meeting, and often inspired by a 'suggester-in-chief'.³⁸ Though nowhere else so institutionalised as at *Punch*, the example of the editorial dinner of conversation indicates the degree to which the cartoons under examination here spoke to a wider series of ideas and attitudes than simply an individual cartoonist.³⁹ Cartoonists depended upon outside input from editors, friends and other media reports (sometimes even other cartoons) to make their message effective. Within this broad framework the degree of freedom of

interpretation would seem to have varied from case to case, but it was nevertheless significant that, even in the collectivist atmosphere of *Punch*, given the 'scanty specifications given him at the table' the responsibility rested in the hands of the individual cartoonist.⁴⁰

Despite the complexity often involved in their conception and execution, illustrated by the example of Tenniel at *Punch*, cartoons were nevertheless produced very quickly and were thus far more 'immediate' in their references to current events, as well perhaps as in their impact on readers, than were the maps or novels examined earlier.⁴¹ In some instances, cartoons were even produced in anticipation of events and when things failed to transpire precisely as the cartoonist imagined they would, a speedy recantation was required. The most famous example of this is a sequence in *Punch* of 7 and 14 February 1885, when Tenniel first asserted his own (and his editor's) confidence that a relieving force under Sir Garnet Wolseley would 'At Last!' reach General Gordon besieged in Khartoum, but was later forced to express his nation's horror and regret at Wolseley being 'Too Late!'⁴² This immediacy and proximity in time to the key events of the day also permeates the cartoons of Germany and key German political figures examined in the following chapters, as cartoonists were able to respond much faster than novelists or cartographers to the ups and downs of Anglo-German relations. In pursuing their craft, cartoonists found that 'yesterday's friend often bec[ame] tomorrow's enemy' (and vice versa), and often with startling rapidity.⁴³

It is worth noting also the impact which cartoons and cartoonists themselves could have on the diplomatic and political events of the period under examination. Quoted at the head of Part IV, Anne Topham's recollection that Wilhelm II himself felt the impact of Mr Punch's acid pen alludes particularly to several incidents in which *Punch* itself became a subject of tension between Britain and Germany (explained in more detail below).⁴⁴ In terms of impact and influence of a different kind, it is worthwhile noting the testimony of Winston Churchill, who spoke of the 'lifelong impression[s]' he gained as a youth, poring over old copies of *Punch* of a Sunday morning at his private school in Hove, on the Sussex coast.⁴⁵ In the days when students were not taught modern history, it was from the pages of *Punch* that Churchill had his first taste of the events of the recent past: Britannia 'giv[ing] hell' to the Russians in the Crimea; the British lion's vengeance on the Bengal tiger in the Indian Mutiny; Uncle Sam and Brother Jonathan struggling on the edge of the abyss during the American Civil War.⁴⁶ Most interestingly, Churchill traced his sympathy for the French to an adolescent fascination with the feminised image of France in the cartoons of the Franco-Prussian War. *La France* (or Marianne) was for Churchill 'beautiful and terrific in distress, resisting amid the explosions, sword in hand, a blonde and apparently irresistible Germania' (Figure 13.5).⁴⁷ While it is probable that Churchill was exaggerating somewhat, it is fair to assert, as the author of an anonymous review of an exhibition of cartoons did in



Figure 13.5 John Tenniel, 'The Battle of the Amazons', *Punch*, 8 October 1870, p. 151. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.

1895, that the influence of such images as 'a school for statesmen' was of considerable import for the way Churchill and his contemporaries came to understand Great Britain's relationship with powers such as Germany.⁴⁸

In the early part of the 1860s, cartoon images such as those presented in 'The German Fleet' (Figure 13.6), and 'The English Beef, the French Wine, and the German Sausages' (Figure 13.7), show the degree to which German political squabbles were seen to be small beer compared with the affairs of Britain, France and the other Great Powers. In both cartoons, the figures representing Germany are diminutive: in the first, Mr Punch in sailor's garb presents a very 'Small German' sailor with a single toy-like warship, urging him not to get into trouble. The reference to the German's size is also of course a comment on the infancy of the German Confederation's navy when compared with that of Great Britain.⁴⁹ The 'German Sausages' of the later cartoon are also minuscule in comparison with the French Wine (with the features of Napoleon III) and the English Beef (with the features of John Bull), who observe the little sausages fighting among themselves in a large frying pan labelled 'Schleswig-Holstein', and caution them against jumping out into the fire below.⁵⁰

It was not only the smaller German states which came in for this dismissive treatment by British cartoonists. Representations of Prussia (itself a Great Power, albeit regarded as one largely on sufferance) mirror this view of apparent weakness, particularly in the face of Napoleonic France, and hence show the realm of the Hohenzollerns in diminutive or vulnerable imagery. In 'Aesop's Lion and Prussia's Lamb' (Figure 13.8) for instance, the metaphor is quite clear: the approaching, innocently countenanced figure of Wilhelm I is in grave danger of joining the skulls on the floor of the lion's (Napoleon III's) cave. Similarly, though the figure of the 'Prussian butcher' in 'The Two Butchers' (Figure 13.9) two years later is of a similar stature to the figure representing Russia, it is the Prussian who is in danger of losing his 'Rhine Provinces' meat joint to the 'Artful Boy' Napoleon III. Some months later, Prussia is still only one of a number of small dog figures who fail to impress John Bull and Napoleon III (Figure 13.10), the 'Prussian cur' and with other national mongrels setting a poor example of behaviour in comparison with the serene 'British bulldog' and 'French poodle'. Despite its apparent vulnerability in the face of Britain's French bugbear, Matt Morgan (1837–1890) of *Fun* in particular showed little regard for the politics of the Prussian government, striving as King Wilhelm then was to maintain his dynasty's stranglehold on military policy. 'Stubborn Billy Pipeclay' (Figure 13.11) shows a donkey-eared king being nagged by his wife (just returned from a visit to Britain, and bearing 'Britannia's Advice') to mend his ways; while 'The Prussian Pig' (Figure 13.12) shows Wilhelm as the eponymous creature, sitting tight in the middle of a parlour.⁵¹ This latter cartoon is of further interest for the view it expresses regarding the nature of German and Prussian politics, and a perceived failure of due constitutional



Figure 13.6 John Leech, 'The German Fleet', *Punch*, 19 October 1861, p. 157. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.



Figure 13.7 John Tenniel, 'The English Beef, the French Wine, and the German Sausages', *Punch*, 9 January 1864, p. 15. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.

process: the old lady ('Vaterland' – referring to the German Confederation Diet in Frankfurt) is exasperated by the failure of her fire ('Patriotism') to burn the stick ('Von Werther' – Prussian Minister to Frankfurt), and hence to beat the dog ('Bismarck'), which would result in the movement of the stubborn pig-king from his intransigent policy.

The liberal views expressed in *Fun* reflect a broader British disdain for the continuing absolutist pretensions of the Prussian monarchy, which the late Prince Consort had sought to remedy through dynastic means. Albert 'the Good' had encouraged the marriage of his eldest daughter Victoria to Friedrich, the son of (then) Prince Regent Wilhelm of Prussia in 1858. The transmission of Albert's mantra of enlightened constitutionalism, instilled into his daughter from an early age, was in this new context 'designed to raise the Prussians from their reactionary backwardness', and effectively transplant the British model to Prussia.⁵² Such expressions of disapprobation were to be a regular feature of cartoons which aimed to comment on internal Prussian (and later, German) affairs, and together comprise one of the more important streams of continuity in British cartoons of Germany, continuing down to the outbreak of war.⁵³



Figure 13.8 'S', 'Æsop's Lion and Prussia's Lamb', *Fun*, 19 October 1861, p. 46.



Figure 13.9 Matthew Somerville Morgan, 'The Two Butchers', *Fun*, 28 March 1863, p. 15.



Figure 13.10 Matthew Somerville Morgan, 'The International Dog Show', *Fun*, 6 June 1863, p. 115.



Figure 13.11 Matthew Somerville Morgan, 'Stubborn Billy Pipeclay', *Fun*, 27 June 1863, p. 145.



Figure 13.12 Matthew Somerville Morgan, 'The Prussian Pig', *Fun*, 5 September 1863, p. 245.

Despite its apparent insignificance for Tenniel in 'The German Sausages' in early 1864, it was to be the Schleswig-Holstein question which thrust German affairs to the front of the public consciousness later that same year, and led to the replacement of comically small German sausages by full-sized characterisations of all the states involved.⁵⁴ Indeed, for *Fun* the 'Prussian pig' assumed gigantic proportions when compared with his opponent Christian IX in 'Plucky Pigmy' (Figure 13.13). Similarly, there is cynicism expressed in 'Old and True' (Figure 13.14), pointing to the ease with which Austria and Prussia could patch up their difficulties when faced with the potential for easy gain of territory or influence.⁵⁵ Generally, cartoonists of all persuasions met the invasion of Denmark with sympathy for the invaded, as the Austro-Prussian actions over Schleswig-Holstein were seen as the tactics of stronger powers bullying a weaker one into granting concessions. Nevertheless, it is important to note that instead of outright condemnation, *Punch's* comment was instead on 'Our Danish Difficulty' (Figure 13.15), in which Tenniel points out that Britain shared dynastic ties to both Prussia and Denmark, in the guises of Princess Victoria and Princess Alexandra, who plead their case to a pensive John Bull. Indeed, *Punch* seemed more concerned with the potential opportunity the crisis would afford other expansionist powers, with 'Nemesis' showing a sly-looking Napoleon III and Victor Emmanuel II poring over a map of Germany and wondering if they might not extend their own boundaries, to the Rhine and Venetian lagoon respectively.⁵⁶ As the war developed and cracks began to appear in the Austro-Prussian alliance, *Fun* too became concerned at the danger of a general conflagration being provoked by the war, and in similar style to *Punch* showed Napoleon making off with a package of 'Rhine Provinces' while the German powers battle over 'The Bone of Contention' (Figure 13.16).

Following this early period of uncertainty and divergent opinion, and following the Prussian seizure of Düppel in 1864, the attitudes of both *Fun* and *Punch* became much more firmly fixed against Prussia.⁵⁷ Content to reserve judgement until the events of 8 April, with 'The Reward of (De)merit' (Figure 13.17), Tenniel made it clear that *Punch's* attitude towards the chief German power underwent a turn for the worse. The image is unequivocal in its criticism of King Wilhelm's involvement in the war against Denmark, depicting a pantomime scene in which Mr Punch in full mock-royal regalia presents the Prussian monarch with 'the Order of St Gibbet'. This mock award was to reappear in subsequent cartoons of Wilhelm I, whenever the intent of the cartoonist was to criticise Prussia and its system of government, and interestingly not only in *Punch* but also in the cartoons of its key competitors (e.g. Figure 13.18). Appearing on the same day, *Fun's* response to Prussian actions in Denmark was even more strident in its criticism. Drawing yet again upon the 'Prussian Pig' metaphor established before the outbreak of war, Morgan's porcine image is extended to a most hideous extreme: In place of the stubborn, slightly ridiculous pig-featured Wilhelm I of previous cartoons,



Figure 13.13 Matthew Somerville Morgan, 'Plucky Pigmy', *Fun*, 13 February 1864, p. 219.



Figure 13.14 Matthew Somerville Morgan, 'Old and True', *Fun*, 19 March 1864, p. 5.



Figure 13.15 John Tenniel, 'Our Danish Difficulty', *Punch*, 13 February 1864, p. 65. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.

now a slaving Prussian boar toasts himself with a goblet (half a skull) labelled 'Blood', while empty bottles of 'Blood' and 'Dane Blood' lie at his feet (Figure 13.19).

In subsequent months, as a London Conference failed to bring a negotiated end to the war (Palmerston and Russell had been in favour of intervention, but met with strong resistance from Queen and cabinet), cartoonists represented Wilhelm I and Franz Joseph as robbers or butchers (Figure 13.20), taking advantage of the weaker, but no longer diminutive Christian IX (the Danish king was hence represented as a strong, noble, but tragic figure).⁵⁸ This was an image which lent itself well to ensuing events, as the gulf between the former allies Prussia and Austria widened and both *Punch* and *Fun* could express quiet satisfaction at the consequences of 'When Rogues Fall Out' (Figure 13.21).⁵⁹ As in early 1864, however, cartoonists were keen to represent the potential outcome of any inter-German squabbles as of secondary importance when compared with the ever present danger of Napoleonic intervention (Figure 13.22) and, given the Bismarckian alliance with Italy, the involvement of Victor Emmanuel II.⁶⁰ It is perhaps partly owing to the 'staggeringly short' duration of the Austro-Prussian conflict



Figure 13.16 Matthew Somerville Morgan, 'The Bone of Contention', *Fun*, 5 March 1864, p. 249.

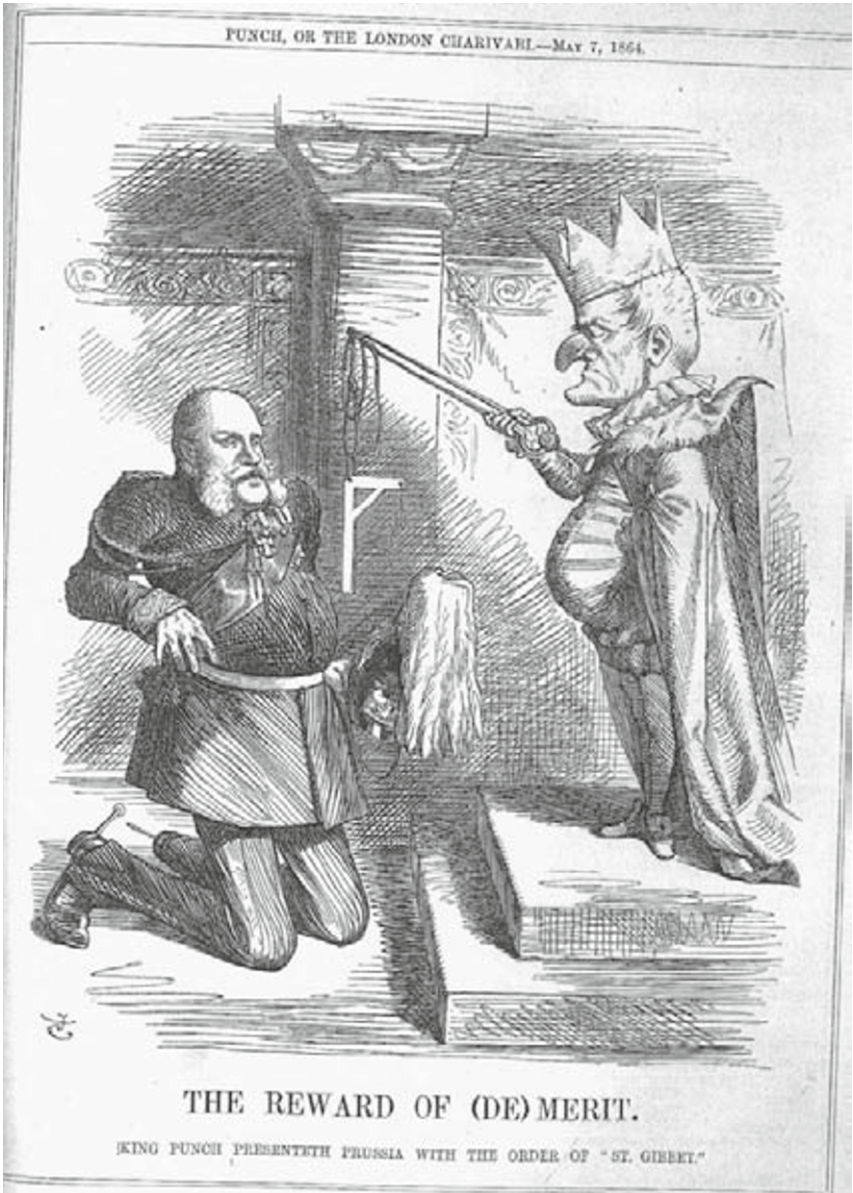


Figure 13.17 John Tenniel, 'The Reward of (De)merit – King Punch Presenteth Prussia with the Order of St Gibbet', *Punch*, 7 May 1864, p. 191. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.



Figure 13.18 William Boucher, 'About Time!', *Judy*, 5 October 1870, pp. 236–237.



Figure 13.20 Matthew Somerville Morgan, 'The Two Butchers', *Fun*, 14 May 1864, p. 87.



Figure 13.21 [Unknown], ‘When Rogues Fall Out’, *Fun*, 14 April 1866, p. 45.

of 1866 that there was no appreciable further development of negative cartoon images of any of the powers involved.⁶¹ The only notable exception is ‘The Three Witches’ (Figure 13.23), in which the Prussian, Austrian and Italian monarchs are seen in the guise of *Macbeth*’s trio of crones, brewing



Figure 13.22 [Unknown], 'A Peace Demonstration', *Fun*, 12 May 1866, p. 85.

a foul broth of 'War' which in turn emits a miasma of 'Pestilence, Famine, Ruin, Crime, Fire' and 'Slaughter'.⁶² Indeed the outright hostility expressed towards Wilhelm I during the Second Schleswig-Holstein War is noticeably absent from the pages both of *Punch* and *Fun*, with the former porcine gruesomeness from the latter being replaced by a series of semi-naturalistic (though still ironic) representations of the king, clad variously in chivalric garb or that of a London 'Bobby' (Figure 13.24), complete with the still-new 'coxcomb' policeman's helmet, first introduced in 1863.

In addition to the more deferential depiction of the Prussian monarch, cartoons of 1866 are notable for the importance cartoonists were beginning to attach to the Prussian Minister-President, Otto von Bismarck. While *Fun*'s cartoonists continued for some months to portray King Wilhelm as the main Prussian protagonist, Tenniel in *Punch* chose to present Bismarck as the foil to an alternately menacing, then ineffectual, Napoleon III (Figure 13.25).⁶³ The figure of Bismarck was to take on even greater significance in subsequent decades, as the true state of power relations between king and minister-president within the Prussian government became more and more apparent to British cartoonists and their readers. By late 1866, both *Punch* and *Fun* had settled upon Bismarck as both an equally meaningful representative figure



Figure 13.23 [Unknown], 'The Three Witches', *Fun*, 16 June 1866, p. 139.

of Prussian politics as the monarch, and the chief frustrater of the ambitions of France. Both 'Peace – and no Pieces!' and 'The Empire is Peace!' show an amused satisfaction at Napoleon's failure to extract territorial concessions from Prussia at the peace table in Prague; Tenniel representing the emperor as an ill-kempt *Chiffonier* [rag-and-bone merchant], and *Fun*'s cartoonist having Bismarck serve him 'Humble Pie' instead of the preferred 'Rhenish Dishes'.⁶⁴ This theme of Prussia now possessing the position and influence required to frustrate the knavish tricks of Britain's old enemy was continued into 1867, as the Emperor of the French sought to prop up his increasingly unsteady regime by negotiating for the acquisition of Luxembourg.⁶⁵ Tenniel's comment upon the successful Prussian diplomatic rearguard action over its occupation of the Grand Duchy shows a towering Wilhelm I standing firm in the face of a nervous Napoleon III and his ridiculous-looking Dutch offside (Figure 13.26). The relative size of the scene's *dramatis personae* is a far cry from the images prominent at the beginning of the 1860s, but subsequent events were to occasion an even greater revolution in the way cartoonists represented German characters.

The irruption of the Franco-Prussian War occasioned a significant variety of reactions from the British comic weeklies. *Fun* was in no doubt which of the



Figure 13.24 [Unknown], 'The Latest Move On – P.C. Prussia Disperses the German Bund', *Fun*, 28 July 1866, p. 201.

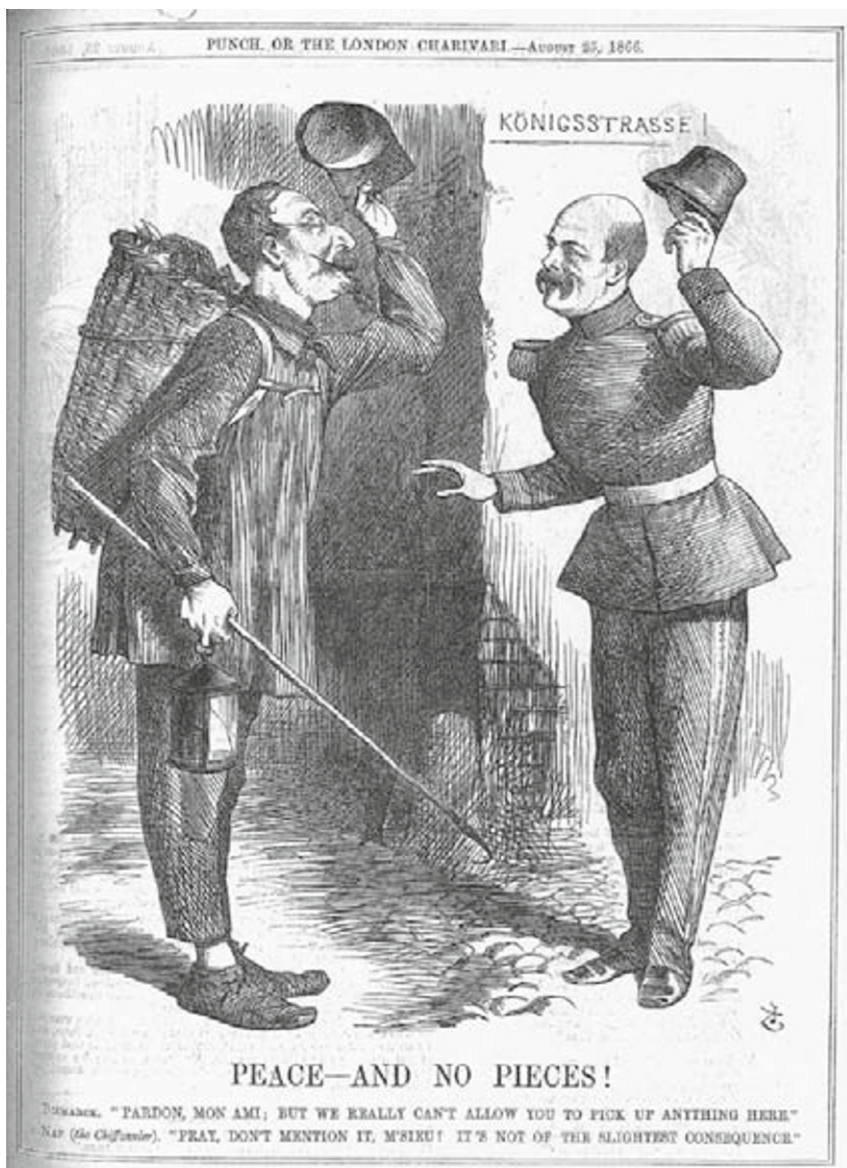


Figure 13.25 John Tenniel, 'Peace – and no Pieces!', *Punch*, 25 August 1866, p. 83. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.

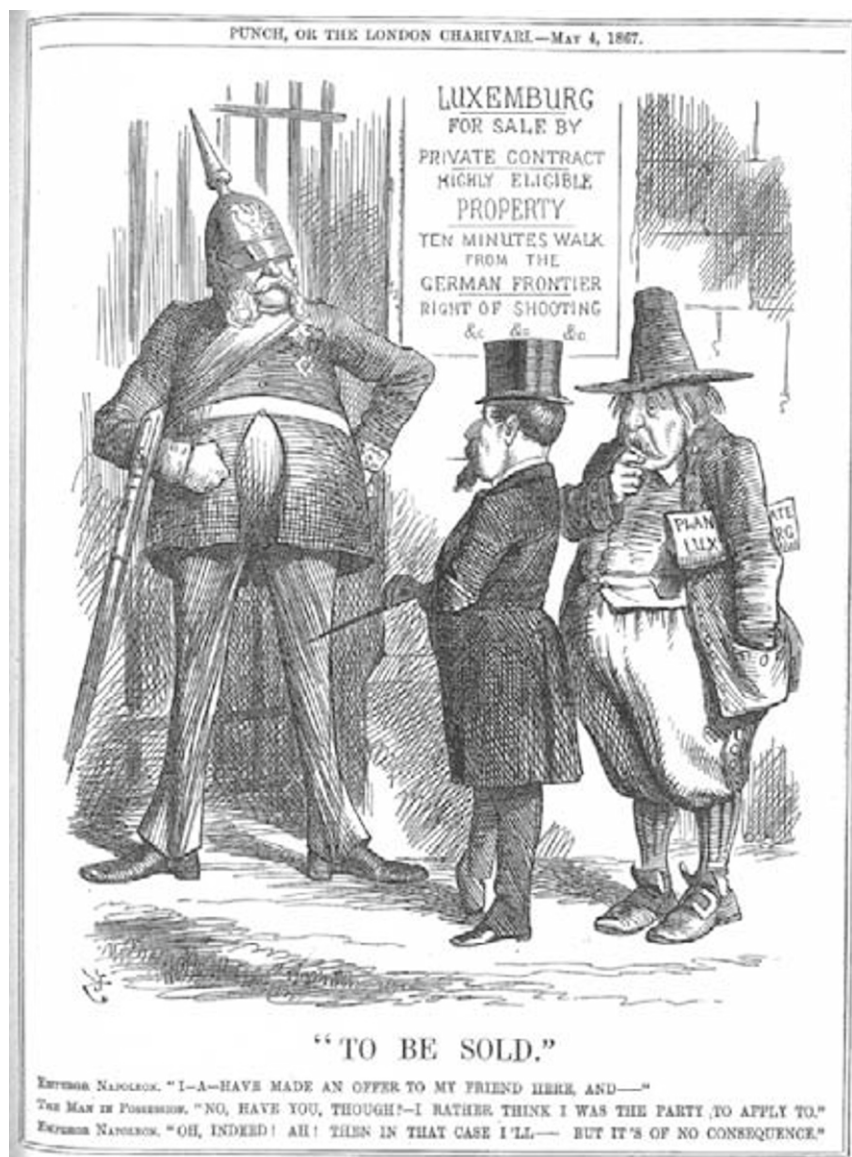


Figure 13.26 John Tenniel, ‘To Be Sold’, *Punch*, 4 May 1867, p. 183. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.

belligerents was to blame for the conflagration, and depicted Napoleon III as a vicious pantomime Roman emperor, evil grimace playing on his features and about to 'cry "havoc", and let slip the dogs of war'.⁶⁶ *Judy* (the *Serio-Comic Weekly* having commenced publication in 1867) was more concerned with the effects on the tourist trade (see Chapter 6), and with 'Exodus!' (Figure 13.27), William Boucher (1837–1906) showed holidaymaking Britons of all kinds fleeing the explosion of a monstrous cannon shell (and leaving a miscellany of *Murray's* guides, *Bradshaw's* timetables and assorted vacation detritus behind them). Following these initial reactions, it is interesting to see the speed with which both the left-leaning *Fun* and pro-Tory *Judy* adopted a much more balanced and impartial view. Indeed, in doing so they would appear to be mimicking the attitude expressed earlier by their great rival in *Punch*.⁶⁷ This 'balanced' attitude is perhaps best illustrated by Boucher's 'Six of One, Half-a-Dozen of the Other' (Figure 13.28), in which John Bull appears as Blind Justice, Napoleon III and King Wilhelm both brought into the judicial scales to attempt to tilt them in their favour.

Though keen to emphasise its impartiality, *Punch's* stance was actually more complex than would appear simply from perusal of Tenniel's 'A Duel to the Death', or even his own version of 'Six of One and Half-a-Dozen of the Other!' (Figures 13.29 and 13.30). Though the accompanying prose to the former cartoon is entitled 'Prussian Pot and French Kettle', and the unknown author speaks of 'exactly equal' feelings for one side as the other, in the latter case, the author displays a fearful ambivalence when it comes to the Prusso-German cause.⁶⁸ The John Bull of the rhyme feels '[o]ld German kinship, beating hot about his heart [and] Angle and Saxon fibres in his being claiming part', but perceiving a vision of the Prussian king's past misdeeds, and realising Bismarck's promises to be as brittle as those of any Bonaparte.⁶⁹ Perhaps even the slightest preference for the German case is discernible, for despite exclaiming 'blackguards both!' and resolving to keep his powder dry, John Bull is forced to concede that

Whatever dark-browed BISMARCK be, or may have thought or planned,
Not less JOHN BULL's heart leaps to them that rise for Fatherland!
France strikes the blow that Germany is one man to strike back,
And the German prayer will reach to Heaven, be BISMARCK ne'er so
black!⁷⁰

For a moment following the outbreak of war, therefore, the attitudes of key British cartoonists converged to a certain extent, just as had the attitudes of novelists and others (see Chapter 10). But as August turned into September, and Napoleon's armies were surrounded and destroyed on the field by Moltke's better-managed corps, opinions again began to differ, as the outcome of Tenniel's duel became a foregone conclusion (Figure 13.31).⁷¹ *Punch* sought to maintain a detached stance despite the developments at Gravelotte



Figure 13.27 'Exodus!', *Judy*, 27 July 1870, pp. 136–137.



Figure 13.28 William Boucher, 'Six of One, Half-a-Dozen of the Other', *Judy*, 3 August 1870, pp. 146–147.

and Sedan, preferring to urge the speedy signing of peace and to comment on the epic nature of the battle between France and Germany (now united in the person of 'Germania') (Figures 13.32 and 13.35). *Fun* too was content to remark at the epochal nature of the fall of the Second Empire, and to express a sneaking pleasure at the irony of Napoleon being swept away on a tide of blood he had sought to unleash in the first place.⁷² For the editors of *Judy*, however, there was no regard for the actions of German troops, even though they had toppled a regime which had been regarded with degrees of distrust and fear since being established. In a remarkable turnaround from urging peace in unbiased fashion before the Battle of Sedan, after September 1870, and in a series of 'highly serious, indignant cartoons', Boucher turned the full venom of his pen on the Prussian-led German army in 'Modern Warfare', depicting Wilhelm I as a repulsive ape, running amok in the palace of European civilization (Figure 13.33).⁷³ Such negativity had not been seen since *Fun's* 'Prussian pig' cartoons of the 1860s, and taken alongside the more muted expressions in *Fun* and *Judy*, is indicative of the wide disparity of views which greeted German military success.

By the time the Germans settled into their siege of Paris, each of the comic papers had adopted a stance which was to remain largely unchanged for the duration of the war. Boucher's and *Judy's* vehemently anti-Prussian idiom was to continue unaltered, as King Wilhelm appeared subsequently



Figure 13.29 John Tenniel, 'Six of One and Half-a-Dozen of the Other!', *Punch*, 6 August 1870, p. 56. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.

riding a double-headed eagle, blood dripping from its jaws (Figure 13.34); a robber accompanied by his henchman Bismarck (again reminiscent of the images current in 1864–6) (Figure 13.35); or the demonic Sheikh-al-Bahr (the Old Man of the Sea) of Sinbad fame, riding on the back of a Phrygian-capped Frenchman, through a wasteland of death and destruction.⁷⁴ In keeping with its pro-Conservative position (and contributing to Boucher's unfortunate reputation for allowing partisan politics to infiltrate his work), *Judy* also expressed its great disapproval at Gladstone's failure to intervene in the conflict and end what it perceived as the slaughter of a helpless French population.⁷⁵ The more liberal papers also considered the question of British intervention, though they did not follow Boucher in demanding military involvement on the French side. *Punch* was content with urging humanitarian intervention; Tenniel commenting on the impossibility of Britain siding with one side or the other and still maintaining an honourable course.⁷⁶ From a position of detached interest, *Fun* eventually began to adopt a tone critical of the Germans, and considering the desirability of British involvement to stop the bombardment of Paris.⁷⁷ A certain irritation at the German refusal to grant an armistice is palpable in the drawings of the latter part of

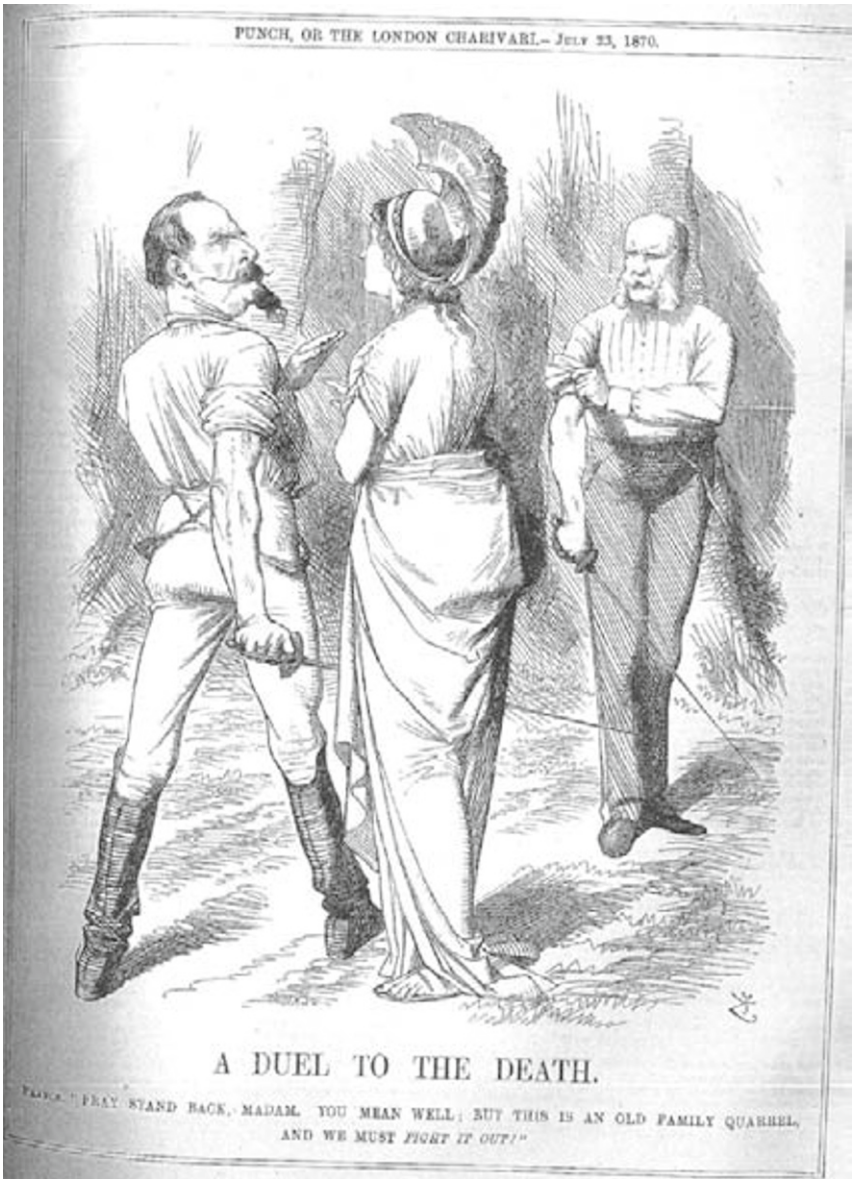


Figure 13.30 John Tenniel, 'A Duel to the Death', *Punch*, 23 July 1870, p. 37. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.

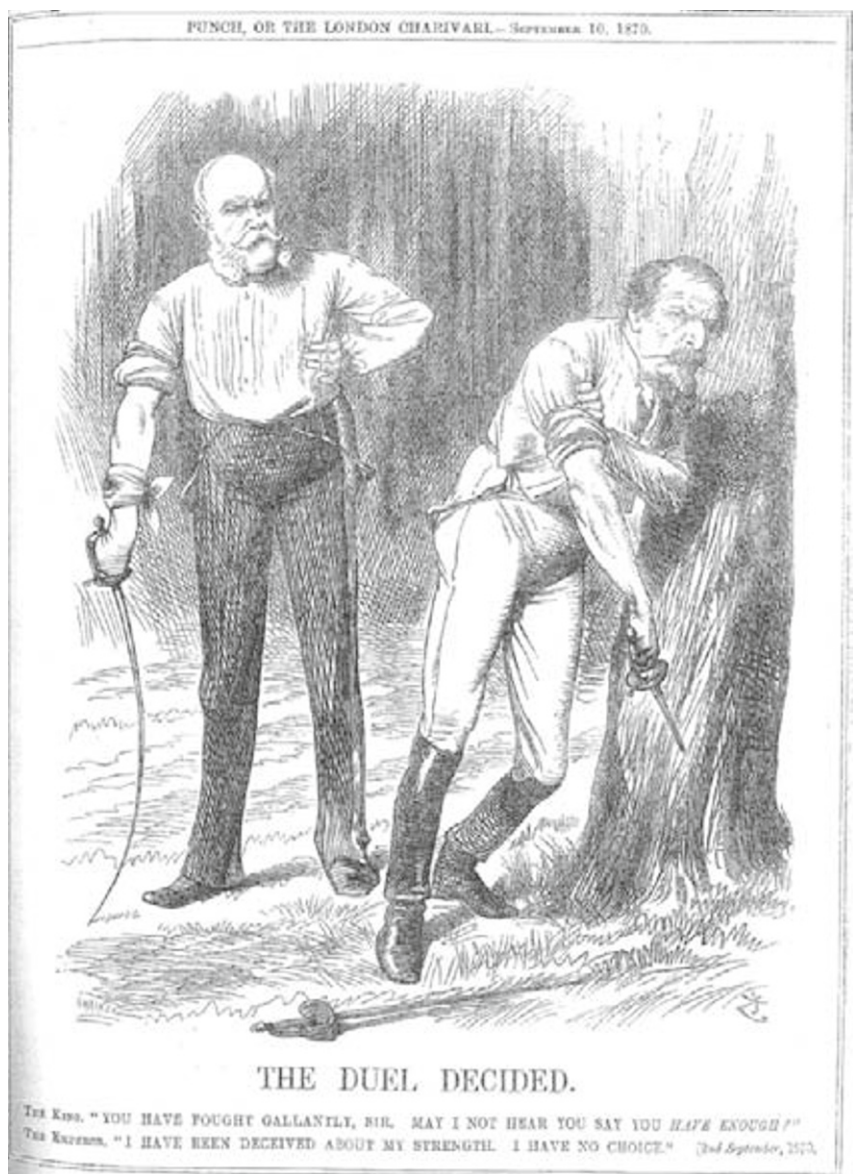


Figure 13.31 John Tenniel, 'The Duel Decided', *Punch*, 10 September 1870, p. 111. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.

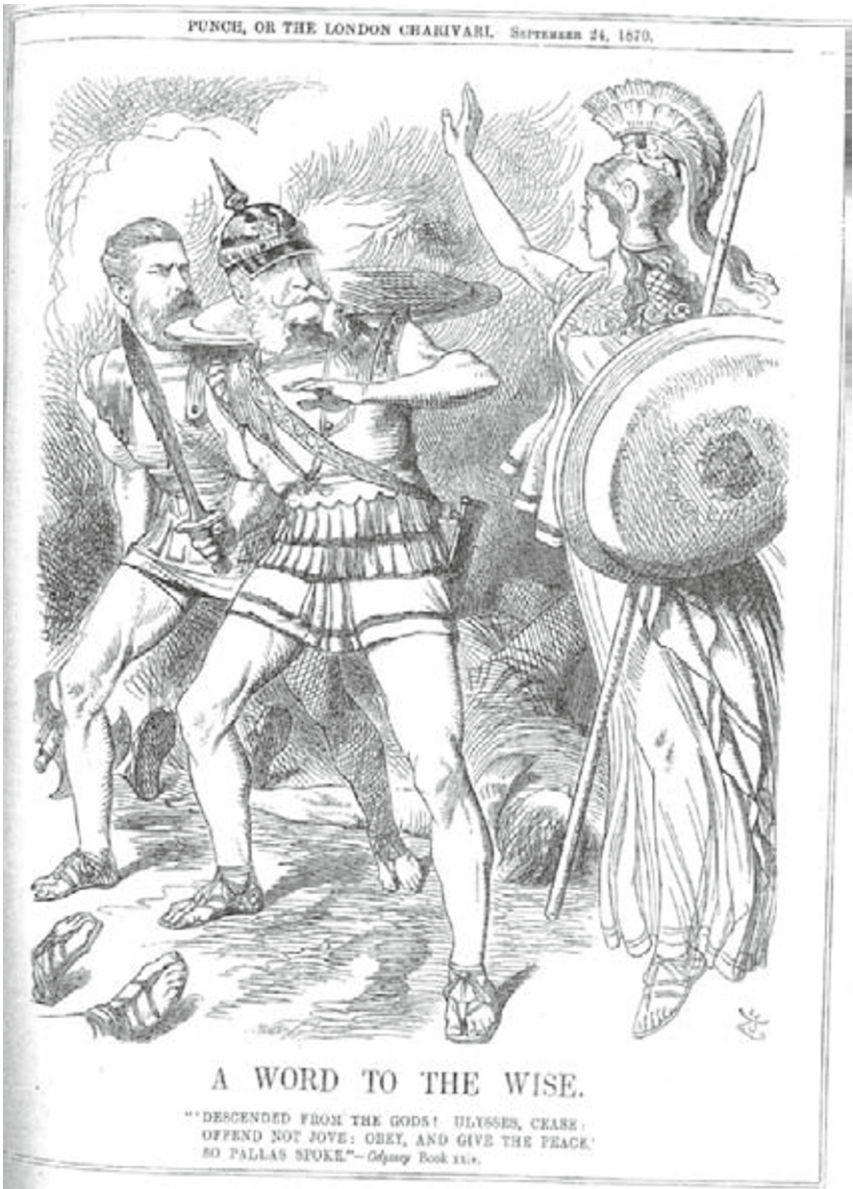


Figure 13.32 John Tenniel, 'A Word to the Wise', *Punch*, 24 September 1870, p. 131. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.



Figure 13.33 William Boucher, 'Modern Warfare', *Judy*, 7 September 1870, pp. 196-197.



Figure 13.34 William Boucher, 'The Eagle's Triumph', *Judy*, 14 September 1870, pp. 206-207.



Figure 13.35 William Boucher, 'Birds of Prey', *Judy*, 28 September 1870, pp. 226–227.

the conflict, as France takes on the appearance of a Classical goddess, beset by hardship (Figure 13.36), while German figures appear semi-ridiculous or sinister (something also taken up by *Punch*).⁷⁸ In another interesting inversion of earlier representations (though originally from *Punch*), 'German Cookery' shows Bismarck cooking with an immense frying pan, the small figures within representing the Parisians fighting among themselves, just as the German sausages had done in the early 1860s.⁷⁹

It was in the cartoons of *Punch* that the greatest ambivalence of feeling was maintained, as the journal seemingly vacillated between respect for the strength of Germany and compassion for the plight of the Parisians (and the French in general). In this period, as it became obvious that Germany would become politically unified under Prussian leadership, Tenniel adopted the convention of depicting Wilhelm I as a revived Roman or Holy Roman Emperor, seeking out appropriate metaphors which would help to express the ambiguities in *Punch's* stance. In 'Gaul to the New Caesar' for instance (Figure 13.37), the allusion is reminiscent of the great Classical theme of the 'Dying Gaul': the subject of numerous ancient sculpted studies, showing at once esteem for the bravery of a doomed warrior and respect for the might of the conqueror. Tenniel shows his Wilhelm I clad in the iron crown and robes of Charlemagne, with the figure of France a female with broken sword still raised in resistance. Two months later, as though scene two of the same drama, Tenniel alters his position by openly pleading for

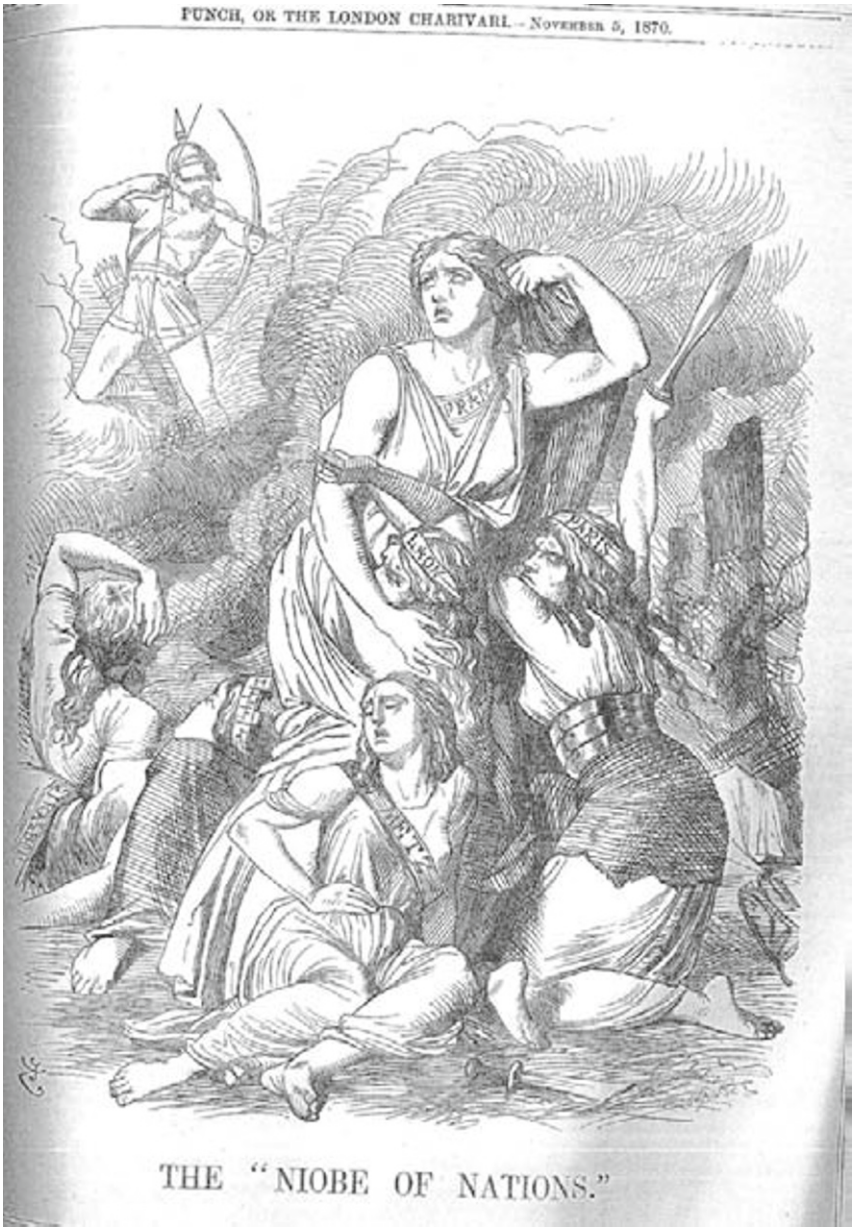


Figure 13.36 John Tenniel, 'The Niobe of Nations', *Punch*, 5 November 1870, p. 191. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.



Figure 13.37 John Tenniel, 'Gaul to the New Caesar', *Punch*, 17 December 1870, p. 256. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.

clemency for France, who is now seen as a vulnerable, defeated female, the victim of unnecessary cruelty visited by a grim-faced Kaiser (Figure 13.38). Interestingly, in his double-page cartoon 'Vae Victis!' (commemorating the eventual German victory), Tenniel changes his position slightly again. In similar style to the previous cartoons, the image is of a prostrate, feminised Paris shielding herself from the hooves of the conqueror's horse, which threaten to trample her – the Classical analogy again expressing both a sense of grim acceptance of the inevitable march of history, yet sorrow at the outcome (Figure 13.39). Importantly, the Kaiser of this picture is not the Roman, but the barbarian: the roles having been definitively reversed.⁸⁰ It was cartoons of this style which so struck the young Churchill, as the distressed yet defiant figures representing France stirred in him a lasting sympathy for the French cause.⁸¹ As Churchill found, the feminised France was intended by Tenniel to draw the sympathy of the reader. However the *Punch* cartoonist's version of Wilhelm I is not the bloodthirsty grotesque of Boucher, rather a grim but majestic demigod with a Wagnerian air; at once a representation of the new Kaiser himself, as well as the culminating manifestation of German history; the personification of the new Reich.⁸²

If the comic weeklies had spent most of the war producing contrasting images of Prussia and Germany and its rulers, then the peace terms dictated by the victors prompted them to unify their stance. Contemporaries were appalled by the massive indemnity demanded of France (5 billion francs to be paid over three years), and Boucher in *Judy*, saw little need to stray from a workable metaphor, and continued as he had for much of the war to depict Wilhelm I and Bismarck as robbers and brigands. Almost as soon as the armistice was signed, he was convinced that looting was now the Germans' aim, and depicted the Kaiser, 'flush'd with greed of gain' as a crowned thief, a sack of 'plunder' over his shoulder and now the holder of a decoration of *two* crossed gibbets, in place of that bestowed by 'King Punch' in 1864 (Figure 13.40). In 'Fallen Among Thieves', Wilhelm is joined by Bismarck and Moltke, all dressed in pantomime highwayman's garb, while *pickelhaube*-wearing minions spirit away bags labelled 'Plunder for Fatherland', '20 Years Revenue of France' and 'f400,000,000,000'.⁸³ Tenniel also condemned the severity of the terms, though in keeping with *Punch's* more restrained attitude, depicted Bismarck as an attorney, having filed an exorbitant claim relating to the assault of his client.⁸⁴ Interestingly, the figure of Justice does accept part of Bismarck's claim, illustrating that even after a war whose events had threatened to sunder completely any feelings of closeness to Germany, *Punch* could at least recognise that Prussia (and by extension Germany) was the wronged party. Indeed, the attitude of *Punch* was to swing even further back towards the German side in the aftermath of the war, as in the illustrations for the 'Preface' to Volume 61 of the magazine, the eponymous Mr Punch is depicted enjoying the triumphal celebrations in Berlin, riding alongside the Kaiser and Crown Prince Friedrich.⁸⁵



Figure 13.38 John Tenniel, 'Call off the Dogs', *Punch*, 4 February 1871, pp. 47-48. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.

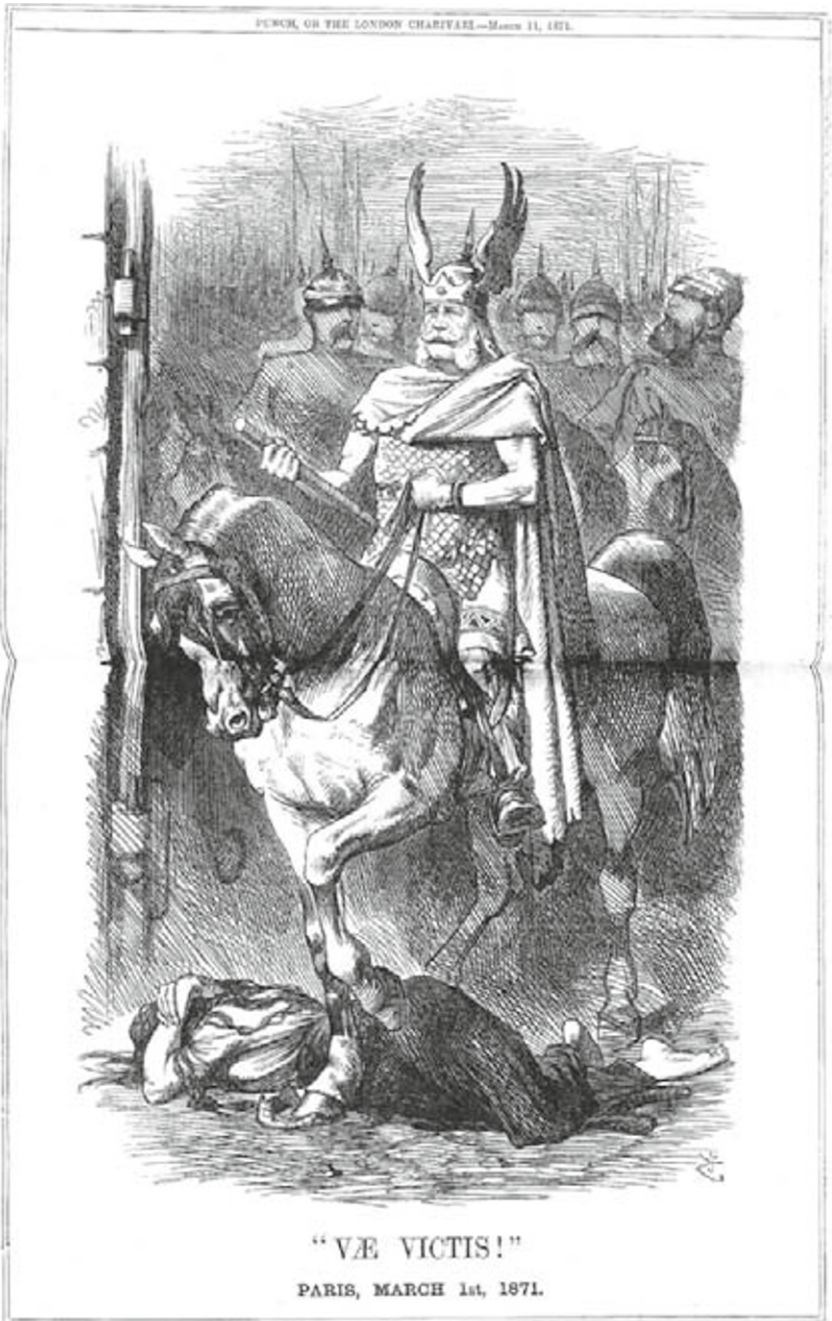


Figure 13.39 John Tenniel, 'Vae Victis! Paris, March 1, 1871', *Punch*, 11 March 1871, pp. 98–99. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.

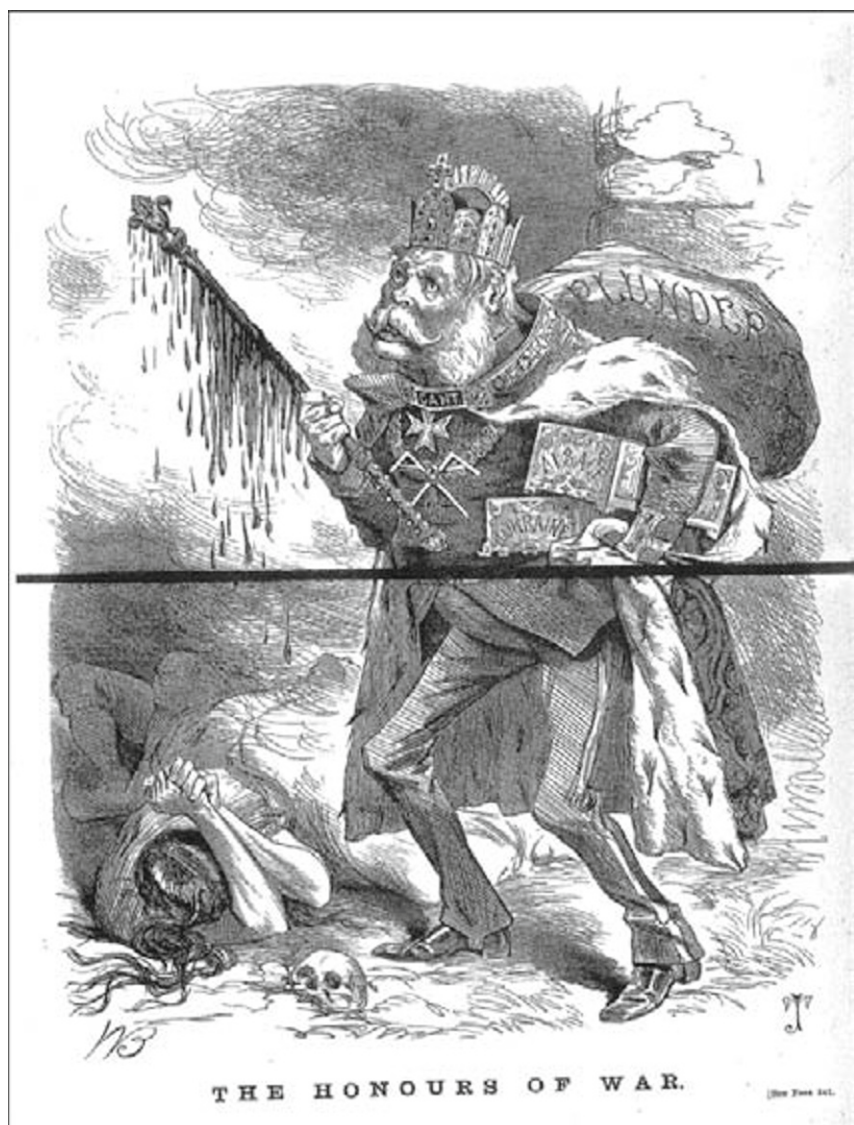


Figure 13.40 William Boucher, 'The Honours of War', *Judy*, 1 February 1871, pp. 136-7.



Figure 13.41 John Tenniel, 'Cardwell's Collapse', *Punch*, 12 August 1871, p. 59. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.

If the conclusion of the wars of the 1860s had resulted in a spectacular growth-spurt for cartoon images representing Germany in relation to other powers, then the successful conclusion of the war with France continued that development. In Boucher's comment on the signing of the Protocols of London, Bismarck is shown as the keeper of the Russian bear, holding its rope as it growls at a number of boys emerging from their schoolroom.⁸⁶ Among these diminutive figures is a young John Bull, the stature of the German chancellor now sufficient to dwarf even him. *Judy* was also keen to signal to its readers the greatly weakened position in which Britain now found itself by depicting the same boy John Bull asleep in a schoolroom full of rowdy Great Power classmates.⁸⁷ Bull snoozes under a map on the wall labelled 'Unprotected Ports of Great Britain', unaware that the German, Russian and American boys are studying it in great detail. This fear of Britain's military unpreparedness in the face of the might of the new Germany had been a subject of cartoons in *Punch* throughout late 1871. Tellingly, in much the same way as George Chesney had done in *The Battle of Dorking*, Tenniel used the prestige and obvious proficiency of Germany in such matters to hammer home his point. In 'Cardwell's Collapse' (Figure 13.41), the Secretary of State for War is seen slumped in a chair, overcome by the enormity of his labours, and asking Crown Prince Friedrich for his advice.⁸⁸ Similarly, the unknown author of some doggerel several issues later mourns the state of the British army, and expresses a yearning for a Moltke or Roon of their own; while Tenniel attacked the in-fighting of Cardwell and the Commander-in-Chief, the Duke of Cambridge.⁸⁹

14

Satiated and Satisfied? Bismarckian Germany

The conclusion of the Franco-Prussian War marked a further shift in the representation of Germany by British cartoonists. However there is little sense of the supposed turn towards apprehension at the new nation of 'Blood and Iron' – and away from older views of Germany – which is supposedly apparent to historians with the benefit of hindsight. Just as in cartographic and literary sources of this period, any sense of 1870–1 being a watershed is far more subtle, and less laden with judgements regarding Germany as a potential threat or enemy. The perceptible shift is rather one regarding the characters representative of the new Germany, away from Wilhelm I and towards the *man* of 'Blood and Iron'. No longer actively exercising the right of military command which had raised his profile in wartime, the Kaiser soon faded to become something of a *Schattenkaiser* (shadow-emperor), as he was firmly replaced as the personification of Germany by his nominal servant, Bismarck.¹ Yet the image of Bismarck was not a straightforward one. In the 1870s and 1880s, Bismarck was often seen as the arch-troublemaker, the puppet master par excellence, who stage-managed Great Power politics with ease. Normally, this led to him being portrayed as a cynical, distasteful figure, yet when such manipulations served British interests (or accorded with British ideals), Bismarck could be seen as an overwhelmingly positive character, even a partner for John Bull.

In this period, cartoon Bismarcks also began to take on some of the features of German Michael (*Deutsche Michel*), a personification of the German nation which derived from a much earlier period, and one associated with rustic simplicity or good-naturedness.² This is an interesting amalgam, as the Michael figure was employed as a stereotype to cover both positive and negative aspects of the supposed German character, including a basic dull-witted affability, but also a calculating propensity for acting in self-interest.³ Attributing the rustic side of *Deutsche Michel* to Bismarck therefore had the effect of accentuating the chancellor's *Junker* origins, characterising him as something of an uncultured, reactionary boor. Nevertheless, Bismarck's clear talent for diplomatic conniving meant that the hybrid image possessed little

of the original Michael's sluggish intellect. In so eliding the characters of Bismarck and Michael, cartoonists were transforming the Iron Chancellor from a figure chiefly representative of the real Bismarck to one who 'personally embodied the German nation' (Figures 14.1 and 14.2). This Germany was never seen as an outright enemy of Britain, but tensions over ideological issues and colonial expansion prompted criticism from British cartoonists who were unsure what to make of the new Germany.⁴

Bismarck's early moves against the self-proclaimed doctrinal infallibility of Pope Pius IX met with initial approval from Anglican Britain, as shown



Figure 14.1 [Unknown], 'Our Weekly One' [detail], *Judy*, 8 September 1880, p. 109.



Figure 14.2 [Unknown], 'The Events of the Week' [detail], *Judy*, 22 September 1880, p. 133.

most clearly in a series of cartoons by Tenniel in *Punch*.⁵ In 'Kaiser Christian and Giant Pope' (Figure 14.3), an allusion to Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, Tenniel has 'Christian' (Kaiser Wilhelm) happen upon the cave of 'Giant Pope' (Pius). The former, a fine figure clad in medieval armour, is not disturbed by the monster as he continues on his quest; 'Pio Nono' being far too old and decrepit to do anything but hurl abuse at the passing pilgrim. Tenniel's cartoon relies to an extent upon the then-current (semi-ironic) nickname of 'Wilhelm the Pious' for its effectiveness, but nevertheless in utilising Bunyan as a source for his portrayal of the pontiff, it is clear he meant to take the part of the Kaiser and of his government.⁶ In Bunyan's original rendering, Giant Pope is a horrible brute 'by whose power and tyranny the men, whose blood, bones and ashes &c., lay there, were cruelly put to death'.⁷ Support for Bismarck's attacks on ultramontaniam continued the next year in 'Bismarck and his Backer', in which the retired Earl Russell (Prime Minister, 1846–52, 1865–6) urges the chivalric chancellor on (armed with a 'No Popery' sword), though taking no action himself.⁸

It is important to note that while in these cartoons there is a recognisable affinity with Bismarck's efforts to curb papal power, nowhere do the cartoonists



Figure 14.3 John Tenniel, 'Kaiser Christian and Giant Pope', *Punch*, 1 November 1873, p. 175. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.

express sympathy for the *methods* by which he did so.⁹ The ‘May Laws’ of 1873 were seen as the tools of a semi-absolute regime, and widely regarded as harsh and oppressive of innocent Catholic subjects, when attention should have been focused on the machinations of the papacy and higher clergy.¹⁰

Attitudes towards Bismarck’s anti-socialist policies bore a similarity to the ambivalence regarding ultramontanism, and this feeling was to last until the late 1880s (Figure 14.4). In *Punch*, John Tenniel’s ‘Of One Mind (for Once)’, and the ‘Keeping it Down’ (Figure 14.5) of Edward Linley Sambourne (1844–1910), illustrate well this sense of general support for combating socialism, but disapproval of Bismarck’s specific methods. In the former, Tenniel comments on both the desirability for church–state collaboration in fighting social upheaval (as well as some frustration at the delay in such bipartisan action), while in the latter, there is a sense of satisfaction being expressed as Sambourne’s hideous jack-in-the-box is pushed back in by the chancellor.¹¹ Despite this, in both cases direct criticism of the means by which pacification is to be accomplished is made clear in the accompanying text.¹² Even so Conservative a journal as *Judy* also expressed misgivings about the chancellor’s anti-socialist measures in Boucher’s ‘A Dangerous Remedy’ (Figure 14.6). The grinning, diabolical figure of Socialism sits atop a barrel of gunpowder in a magazine filled with similar such barrels, as Bismarck advances upon him with the lighted torch of ‘Oppression’; the potential consequences of this need no spelling out.

Such concerns at the peculiarities of German politics cropped up throughout the Bismarckian period, and attention continued to be given to the backward (comparatively, for British observers) constitutional structure of the Reich. Though such sharp criticisms of the semi-absolute monarchy of Germany were not as common as they were in the 1860s (or were to be in the 1890s), nonetheless when they appeared, such attacks were strident and definite. For instance, in a metaphor which was to play a much greater role in characterisations of his grandson, Wilhelm I was portrayed as an autocratic child-figure, surrounded in his nursery by toy soldiers, and preparing to swallow the globe (this was following months of government bullying over issues concerning the military budget and new taxation) (Figure 14.7). *Fun*, having grown progressively more radical in its criticisms of all but the most limited forms of monarchy, went so far as to express quiet hope for revolutionary change in cartoons such as ‘The Meeting of the Emperors’ (Figure 14.8), in which Wilhelm I joins his fellow ‘despots’ of the *Dreikaiserbund*, Franz Joseph and Tsar Alexander III in a barrel of dynamite, fearful of being ‘Kaiser-bundled’ off their thrones by revolutionaries.¹³ Though some cartoons focused their ire on the person of the emperor, as noted at the head of this section, there was recognition by British cartoonists that true semi-autocratic power in 1870s–1880s Germany was actually wielded by the chancellor. In its Almanac for 1879 *Judy* predicted that dramatic upheavals would result from Bismarck’s repressive policies: the cartoon centrefold showing him applying

PUNCH, OR THE LONDON CHARIVARI.—MARCH 5, 1887.



THE KNIGHT AND HIS COMPANION.

(Illustrated by Albert Tilton's famous picture.)

Figure 14.4 John Tenniel, 'The Knight and His Companion', *Punch*, 5 March 1887, p. 115. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.

KEEPING IT DOWN!



Figure 14.5 Linley Sambourne, 'Keeping it Down', *Punch*, 28 September 1878, p. 143. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.

a bellows labelled 'Despotism' to a fire he kindles with 'Liberty of the Press' and 'Right of Public Meeting'; while in the smoke rising from the blaze, fists armed with assassin's daggers and revolvers attack a crowned shape.¹⁴

The oppressive measures of anti-socialist policy aside, particularly galling for British observers was the apparent complete disregard often shown for parliamentary process by Bismarck in the name of his Kaiser. Having lost control of the Reichstag in the elections of 1881, Bismarck had from the beginning of 1882 made several public statements in which he asserted the



Figure 14.6 William Boucher, 'A Dangerous Remedy', *Judy*, 25 September 1878, pp. 126–127.

supremacy of the royal prerogative in government, and the irrelevance of parliamentary politics.¹⁵ In a report on the most strident such assertion – the decree of 7 January claiming royal, rather than popular rights over the formation of policy – the attitude of *The Times* makes clear just how 'amazing and incomprehensible' such assertions must have seemed 'to any living Englishman'; in due course, *Punch's* reaction appeared, expressing a similar sense of scorn.¹⁶ While *The Times* had claimed the Kaiser to be the sole author of the document – Bismarck being compelled to sign the proclamation out of loyalty – John Tenniel was under no such illusions, seeing the chancellor as the mastermind behind a shrewd piece of political manipulation.¹⁷ In 'The Old "Business"' (Figure 14.9), Tenniel shows Bismarck in the garb of Pantaloon, the 'greedy and amoral clown' of pantomime fame; the chancellor proffering a red-hot poker labelled 'Absolutism' to a frail-looking Kaiser.¹⁸ Tellingly, and in true pantomime fashion, Tenniel has the clown-Bismarck handing Wilhelm the hot end of the poker, insinuating that the chancellor is manipulating his sovereign, who will suffer the consequences of any such reassertion of imperial power. Perhaps most revealing of all, however, is Tenniel's smaller cartoon which appeared in the same issue of *Punch*: 'Professor Bismarck's New German Puppet-show' (Figure 14.10), in which Wilhelm I is seen as a hand-puppet, manipulated by a grinning Bismarck who is just visible behind the curtain.



Figure 14.7 Linley Sambourne, 'Bismarck to His Parliament', *Punch*, 18 December 1875, p. 259. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.

Just as Bismarck was seen as a Machiavellian puppet master within his own country, this was an image which cartoonists found readily applicable to the Iron Chancellor's actions on the world diplomatic stage. Tenniel's 'O, Lovely Peace' is a neat illustration of Bismarck's perceived powers of both internal and external manipulation, as both the Kaiser and the Russian bear dance to the music being played by the chancellor.¹⁹ Later, following the renewal of the Three Emperors' League in 1884 after several years of hiatus, Bismarck was presented as holding the strings of all three emperors, Wilhelm, Franz Joseph and Alexander (Figure 14.11).²⁰ So pervasive did this image become that William Boucher used it to illustrate the opposite: that the European powers were not actually naive victims of Bismarck's schemes, showing only an Austrian sheep dancing to the music of 'The Latest Novelty in Peaceful Shepherds', while the others stand aloof, unimpressed.²¹ Such an image is, however, of most interest to the present discussion when observing how it was applied in cartoons of the Russo-Turkish Eastern Crisis and Berlin



Figure 14.8 John Gordon Thomson, 'The Meeting of the Emperors', *Fun*, 17 September 1884, p. 130.

Conference of 1877–1878, when circumstances allowed the presentation of a much more positive version of Bismarckian diplomatic skill.

The early cartoons responding to Russia's 1877 invasion of European Turkey expressed a fear that Germany, like Austria and the smaller Balkan states, might attempt to scavenge what it could from the carcass of the 'Sick Man of Europe', and contribute to the collapse of Britain's vital position in the Eastern Mediterranean (thus threatening the Suez Canal).²² Such cynicism also initially greeted Bismarck's offer of mediation as the crisis escalated following the Earl of Beaconsfield's (Disraeli's) dispatch of the Mediterranean Fleet to the Dardanelles. 'Everybody's Friend' (Figure 14.12) shows the chancellor at his desk, a sneaky smile on his face, and the



Figure 14.9 John Tenniel, ‘The Old “Business”’, *Punch*, 21 January 1882, p. 31. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.

accompanying text shows little regard for Bismarck’s claim to be ‘an honest broker’.²³ Yet as it became clear that Bismarck’s intentions were to limit (if not reverse) Russian gains in the Balkans, so too the imagery associated with him became more positive; for example he appeared as Aeolus containing the winds of war blowing from the East (Figure 14.13).²⁴ A more laudatory version of the image of the skilful manipulator is apparent in ‘Working the Points’ (Bismarck is about to pull the switch and avert the train wreck of a British and a Russian locomotive) and by the time the Berlin Conference opened, the Iron Chancellor was seen as a fully-fledged partner of Disraeli and the British delegation (Figure 14.14).²⁵

When seen in conjunction with the more negative images of Bismarck’s skill as a manipulator, these later cartoons betray the sneaking sense of regard which British cartoonists admittedly possessed for his abilities in the late 1870s. *Fun*’s ‘German Mesmerism’ (depicting Bismarck as a hypnotist, able to do whatever his audience pleases to the mesmerised Egyptian Khedive) shows that Bismarck was viewed as useful for Europe in general when involved in issues of common concern (Figure 14.15). Nevertheless, when this skill was later turned against perceived British interests, then regard was



Figure 14.10 John Tenniel, 'Professor Bismarck's New German Puppet-show – the Moveable Monarch', *Punch*, 21 January 1882, p. 33. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.

replaced with the misgiving which otherwise characterised depictions of Bismarck in the 1870s and 1880s. *Punch* was notable for the relative delay with which it altered its views between the end of the Berlin Conference and the beginning of the difficulties over Egypt. Representations of Bismarck as a partner to Gladstone or his Foreign Secretary Lord Granville persisted until mid-1880.²⁶ By that time, Germany's actions over the Egyptian imbroglio had revealed Bismarck to be just as shrewd and self-serving as before Berlin, and the image of the Iron Chancellor reverted to that of a calculating 'German Iago' (Figure 14.16); Germany to that of a vulture-like eagle, awaiting its chance to steal part of the British lion's kill (Britain having crushed an Egyptian revolt by shelling Alexandria and defeating a native army at Tel-el-Kebir).²⁷

The sudden German intervention in the 'Scramble for Africa', and colonial expansion beyond the Nile Valley, produced a similar series of images as had appeared in reaction to the other key developments of the Bismarckian period. Depictions of Bismarck as a pantomime clown, playing nasty tricks on other characters, was resurrected in 'The New Guinea Prig – a Specimen



THE THREE EMPERORS;
OR, THE VENTRILOQUIST OF VARZIN!

Figure 14.11 John Tenniel, 'The Three Emperors', *Punch*, 20 September 1884, p. 129. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.



Figure 14.12 John Tenniel, 'Everybody's Friend', *Punch*, 2 March 1878, p. 91. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.



Figure 14.13 John Tenniel, 'Aeolus (Ruler of the Storms)', *Punch*, 6 April 1878, p. 154. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.

of German Clowning', showing a bully-like chancellor having stolen the pet guinea pig (New Guinea) of a bawling toddler (Australia).²⁸ Bismarck-the-manipulator also returned in 'Bismarck's "Happy Family"' (Figure 14.17), in which he appears as a sideshow or circus entertainer, able seemingly to dominate a cowardly-looking British lion. Similarly, 'Setting the Bulldog a-thinking' shows Bismarck again as a circus animal trainer, feeding the French poodle crumbs in full view of the eponymous British Bulldog, who looks on hungrily, chained up in his kennel (Figure 14.18).²⁹ It is interesting to note that despite later adopting similar negative imagery to *Fun* and *Judy* in portraying German interference in Africa, *Punch* initially greeted Bismarck's proposals for what eventually became the Berlin West Africa Conference with enthusiasm. 'The Loving Cup' (Figure 14.19) shows all the powers (including a prominent John Bull) willing to drink 'Bizzy's brew' from the cup of 'Freedom of the Congo'. Nevertheless, when it became apparent that despite the high-sounding rhetoric being espoused in Berlin, the conference would not halt a renewal of the 'undignified rush for slices of the African cake', the old cynicism attached to Bismarckian scheming returned to the cartoons of Sambourne and Tenniel.³⁰ Bismarck



Figure 14.14 John Tenniel, 'Façon de Parler', *Punch*, 22 June 1878, p. 283. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.



GERMAN MESMERISM.

Professor General:—"HAVING BROUGHT HIM TO THIS CONDITION, WE WILL NOW PROCEED TO MAKE HIM DO ANYTHING WE PLEASE."

Figure 14.15 John Gordon Thomson, 'German Mesmerism', *Fun*, 25 June 1879, p. 26.



Figure 14.16 John Tenniel, 'A German Iago', *Punch*, 28 May 1881, p. 247. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.

appeared as 'the Greedy Boy', taking Johnnie Bull's slice of plum pudding (New Guinea) as well as his own (Angra Pequena), in a metaphor remarkably similar in inspiration to that of the guinea pig produced a few days before in *Fun* (and referred to above).³¹

What really seems to have struck British cartoonists was the sheer novelty (and even absurdity) of Germany's becoming a colonial power – rather than any threat posed to Britain – after such a long-standing and steadfast opposition to the idea from Bismarck himself.³² This is reflected in particular in one of Sambourne's more amusing contributions to *Punch*, as a ridiculous-looking Bismarck, in black-face and minstrel's gear (Figure 14.20), woos 'The African Venus' (eliciting looks of astonishment from the French and British figures in the background).³³ In a more famous cartoon by Tenniel, the Iron Chancellor is depicted as the worst kind of garishly clad tourist, pondering the next destination he will visit (Figure 14.21).³⁴ Since mid century, *Punch* had maintained a steady criticism of the phenomenon of mass tourism and made a clear distinction between the vulgar 'tourist' and the more respectable 'traveller', with many middle-class travellers living in dread of being mistaken for the other.³⁵ Thus, Tenniel's cartoon ridicules Germany as a



Figure 14.17 John Gordon Thomson, 'Bismarck's "Happy Family"', *Fun*, 21 January 1885, p. 25.



Figure 14.18 William Boucher, 'Setting the Bull-dog a-thinking', *Judy*, 21 January 1885, pp. 30-1.

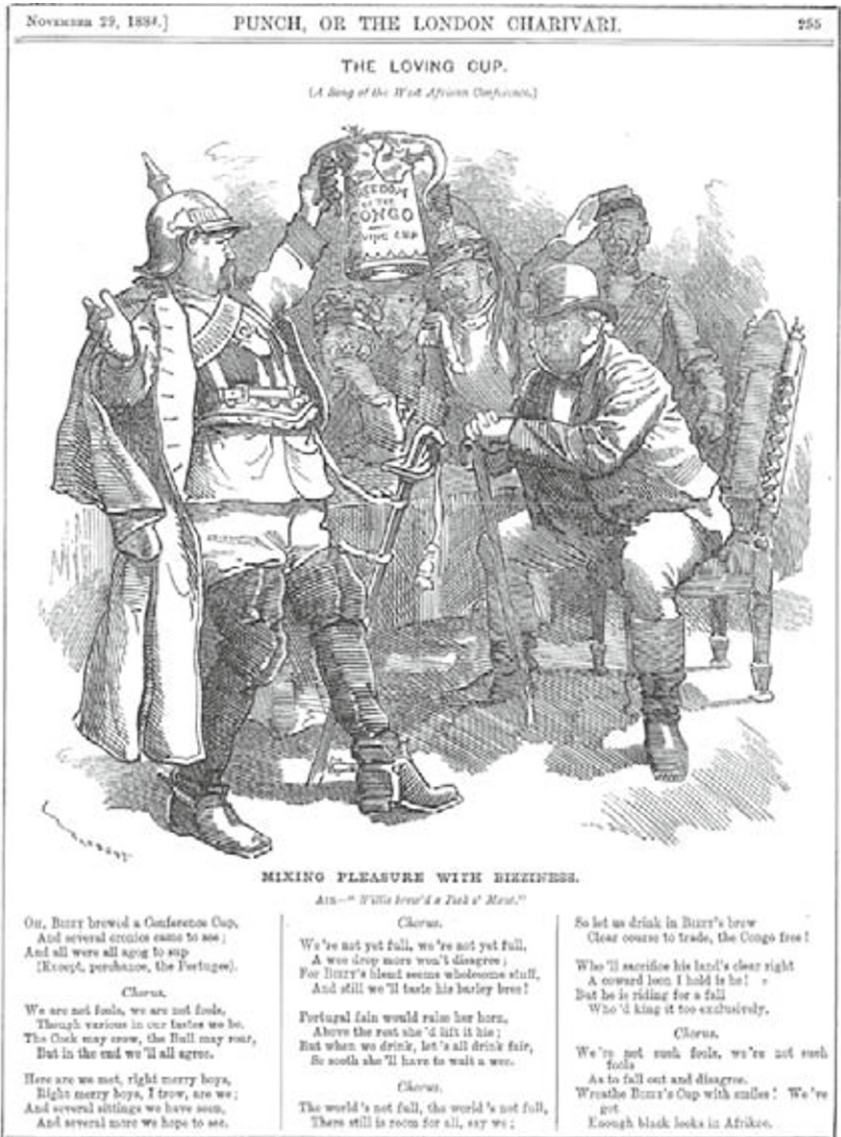


Figure 14.19 Linley Sambourne, 'The Loving Cup - Mixing Pleasure with Bizzness', *Punch*, 29 November 1884, p. 255. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.

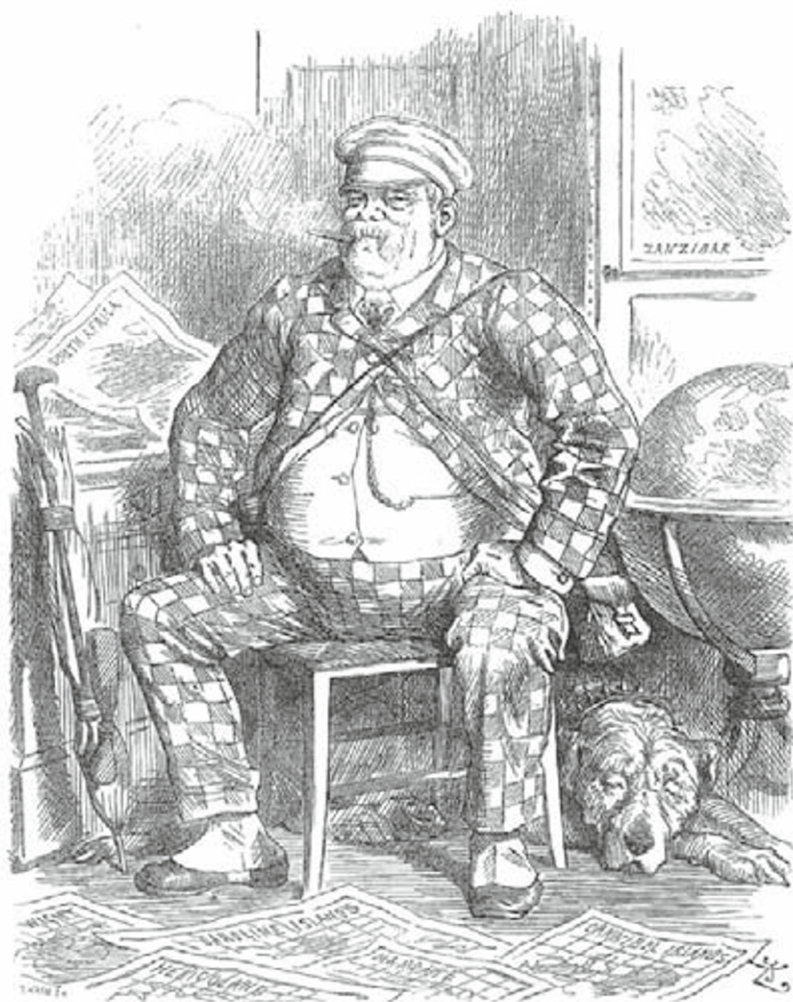


Figure 14.20 Linley Sambourne, 'The African Venus', *Punch*, 20 December 1884, p. 291. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.

parvenu in colonial matters, but also expresses concern that Bismarck has not finished his version of the 'Grand Tour', and may yet pop up to spoil Britain's enjoyment of another area of the world. In a similarly class-laden comment on the incongruity of a German colonial presence in the Pacific, *Fun* presented Bismarck as a member of the underclass who refuses to be 'moved along' by P.C. John Bull, instead clinging to his bag of 'New Guineas' and settling himself on a bollard labelled 'Annexation' (Figure 14.22).

After the initial shock of Germany's acquisition of a colonial empire, and for the remainder of the Bismarckian period, *Judy* and *Fun* – the former finding itself with a Conservative ministry to heap praise upon, the latter one to ridicule – paid relatively little attention to external affairs at all, let alone developments in Anglo-German relations. Bismarck's attempts at forging

PUNCH, OR THE LONDON CHARIVARI.—August 29, 1885.



THE "IRREPRESSIBLE" TOURIST.

Figure 14.21 John Tenniel, 'The "Irrepressible" Tourist', *Punch*, 29 August 1885, p. 103. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.

FUN.—JANUARY 14, 1885.



"LOITERING AND FREQUENTING."

Police Constable J. R.—"NOW THEN, ARE YOU GOING TO MOVE ON, OR ARE YOU NOT?"

Man.—"SHALL DO AS I PLEASE; I AINT 'FREQUENTING,' IM A-STOPPING HERE ALTOGETHER!"

Figure 14.22 John Gordon Thomson, 'Loitering and Frequenting', *Fun*, 14 January 1885, p. 15.

a reconciliation with France occasioned some ironic comment, as did the renewal of the Triple Alliance in late 1887, but this was a period in which British cartoonists seemed happy to let Germany go about its business, perceiving no threat to their country's interests from that quarter.³⁶ Such a lack of concern is evident from perusal of the pages of *Punch*, which did continue to comment on developments regarding the course of Anglo-German relations; which, in any case, took a turn for the better as Lord Salisbury gravitated towards the Triple Alliance as a means of checking French and Russian ambitions in Africa, the Pacific and Central Asia.³⁷

Despite perceiving no direct threat to British interests in this period of relative calm, British cartoonists did maintain a sense of concern at the increases in the German military budget put forward in the 1880s. *Judy* had expressed as much in early 1887, when it commented upon the visit of the estranged Tory demagogue Lord Randolph Churchill to a Continent of Great Powers seemingly armed to the teeth (Figure 14.23).³⁸ John Tenniel articulated his paper's concerns in 'The Modern Barbarossa' (Figure 14.24), in which a heavily armed and armoured figure (representing the medieval Kaiser Friedrich I as the personification of the German nation) is threatened by an onrushing torrent of water labelled 'Taxation'.³⁹ For added dramatic effect, the glowering sky behind is labelled 'War' and a raven, symbolic

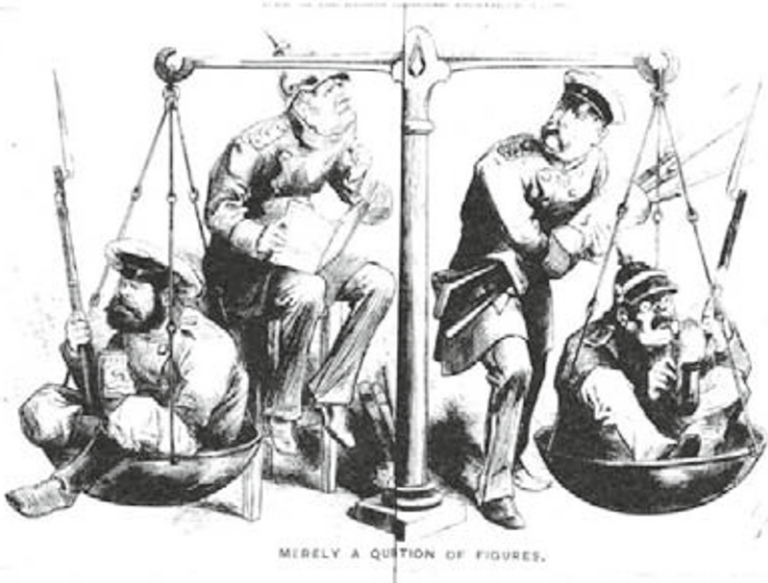


Figure 14.23 William Boucher, 'Merely a Question of Figures', *Judy*, 10 March 1880, pp. 114–115.



Figure 14.24 John Tenniel, 'The Modern Barbarossa', *Punch*, 18 December 1886, p. 293. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.

of death, flies over the scene, but the tone of the cartoon is ambivalent, expressing both concern at the pressure for an increase in armaments, and support for the sentiments of Field Marshal von Moltke, whose speech inspired the metaphor. Moltke had stated in the Reichstag that looking right and left, he found a Europe 'bristling in armour', and that at some point in the future, even wealthy countries would be unable to support ever increasing military budgets. Such concerns were restated with more force early in 1888, when in a parody of *Henry IV*, Tenniel depicted the Iron Chancellor proffering with the same hand the olive branch of peace and an order for 700,000 more men and £14 million worth in military funding.⁴⁰ The accompanying prose is indicative of the cynicism felt at Bismarck's claim to be acting in the name of peace, when in fact 'covert enmity, under the smile of safety, wounds the world'.⁴¹

Such concerns at German colonial ambitions and the increasing weight of armaments were temporarily shelved in the wake of the death of Wilhelm I. Time had seemingly healed the wounds of the Franco-Prussian War, as the cartoons which greeted Wilhelm I's passing are singularly lacking in any of the venom expressed at his involvement in events in France in 1870–1, or Denmark and Austria in the 1860s (Figure 14.25).⁴² For *Fun*, that England's mourning wreath should lie alongside that of the German Fatherland at the foot of the deceased Kaiser's marble bust seemed entirely appropriate: the black-bordered image shows a manly, yet grief-stricken Friedrich before the likeness of his father (Figure 14.26). *Judy* too, though not having recourse to a full-page cut to commemorate the occasion, also presented an imagined mourning scene. Accompanying the small cartoon of Moltke, Bismarck, and the feminised Germania, laying their wreaths at the plinth supporting a marble image, an anonymous author paid tribute to the dead monarch, speaking of the 'admired and venerated chief of his splendid army'; a 'diplomatist and politician of exceptional skill and sagacity'; and the inspired source of Germany's rise to the pinnacle of European power.⁴³ In *Punch*, John Tenniel represented a pathetic German eagle brooding over the death of its master, while absent again is any critical mention of the Kaiser's sanction of violence in the war with France, and the accompanying text speaks only of the greatness of his achievements in war and peace.⁴⁴

PUNCH, OR THE LONDON CHARIVARI.—MARCH 26, 1887.



“FATHER WILLIAM.”

“YOU OLD, FATHER WILLIAM?” CRIED PUNCH. “TIME HAS TWIBLED

Figure 14.25 John Tenniel, ‘Father William’, *Punch*, 26 March 1887, p. 151. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.



FROM FATHER TO SON.

Figure 14.26 John Gordon Thomson, 'From Father to Son', *Fun*, 14 March 1888, p. 109.

15

'Dropping the Pilot' – Kaiser Wilhelm II and the New Course

The rapid transitions between the dignified monarchy of Wilhelm I, to the brief, tragic reign of Friedrich, followed by the accession of the much younger Wilhelm II, produced a wide variety of reactions from cartoonists of the comic weeklies.¹ While the response to the death of Wilhelm I was uniformly respectful (and that towards the cancer-stricken Friedrich similarly courteous), the advent of the impetuous, energetic Wilhelm II was met with expressions ranging from ridicule or outright suspicion of the young monarch's military pretensions, to a quiet willingness to await the outcome of events before passing judgement on the new regime.² Just as in the Bismarckian, so too in the Wilhelmine period, the image of Germany itself became subsumed under representations of a single individual, and ideas about his personal character as well as political standing. But even more so than Bismarck (or the other monarchs who acted as 'deputies' (*Stellvertreter*) for their respective cartoon nations), Wilhelm II seemed not only a representative, but the very incarnation of the 'waxing vigour' of his nation; his upturned moustache and preference for personal display all but ensuring that he would become a favourite of cartoonists of all persuasions.³ The very youth of the Kaiser himself (he was only 29 when he ascended the throne), combined with his insistence upon inaugurating a 'Personal Regime' in Germany, and his status as the grandson of Queen Victoria, were all combined to form an ironic image of a child-Kaiser.⁴ Yet just as such an image was representative of the more negative aspects of Wilhelm's character (and that of his nation), so too in periods of deep affection, British cartoonists turned the autocratic brat-like figure into that of a dutiful youth, and a friend upon whom Britain could count in times of difficulty.

The cartoons which greeted Wilhelm's accession provide hints of the ambiguity to come. For Matthew Morgan in *Judy*, the loss of the promise of a liberal regime under Kaiser Friedrich was compounded by the militaristic pretensions of the new monarch: with the allegorical figures of Britannia, Germania and Peace weeping and laying wreaths before the bust of the 'Lost Hero' (Figure 15.1), Wilhelm II is seen, with drawn sabre, saluting an



THE LOST HERO!

A HERO AND EVERY INCH A KING, THE STORY OF HIS SUCCESSFUL INSURRECTION AND VICTORIOUS DEFEAT, AND HIS FINAL TRIUMPH, AS RELATED BY HIS OWN MOUTH.

Figure 15.1 Matthew Somerville Morgan, 'The Lost Hero', *Judy*, 27 June 1888, pp. 306-7.

assembled multitude and the rising sun of 'War'. In stark contrast to *Judy*, John Tenniel and his colleagues saw fit to depict the new Kaiser not as a harbinger of Armageddon, but simply kneeling in silent vigil beside the tomb of his father, and to hint at the great responsibility resting on the young man's shoulders (Figure 15.2).⁵ While the cartoons appearing in *Punch* and *Judy* are illustrative of a variety of reactions to this important watershed, of more significance for the long-term representation of the Kaiser and Germany was the first cartoon image of Wilhelm II to appear in *Fun*. There, John Gordon Thomson's image of the infantile Kaiser, disturbing the peace of a feminised Europe with his toy trumpet and drum (labelled 'War'), established the enduring British convention of depicting Wilhelm II as a troublesome child (Figure 15.3). The immaturity of the 29-year-old Kaiser seemed even more pronounced when compared with the men of Wilhelm I's generation who still dominated the German Empire, including Bismarck (73) and Moltke (88); as well as with many of his contemporaries as monarchs: Franz Joseph (58) and Queen Victoria (69). Wilhelm's position as grandson to Britain's own venerable monarch served to further emphasise his junior status; and indeed the Kaiser's desire to assert himself as a sovereign equal in standing to his grandmother caused significant tension within the royal family, and particularly with Wilhelm's uncle, the Prince of Wales.⁶ In the latter's case, such was the ill-feeling that Bismarck took the opportunity of making Lord Salisbury aware of the potentially damaging effects which might be produced by treating Wilhelm 'as an uncle treats a nephew instead of recognising that he was an emperor who, though young, had still been of age for some time'.⁷

The impetuous, energetic nature of the man himself only became more apparent to observers as time progressed, contributing to the image of what one later critic described as a 'flashy schoolboy of an emperor', full of youthful inconstancy, and seemingly emblematic of his nation's immaturity.⁸ Similarly, a combination of these personal and political factors also led cartoonists to use the image of 'an impulsive, disputatious, deliberate and despotic infant' [*ein impulsives, rechthaberisches, mutwilliges und despotisches Kleinkind*] to comment upon Wilhelm's own pretension to exercise near-absolute monarchy in Prussia and Germany.⁹ The child as a representative figure is by nature autocratic, expecting the world to revolve around his or her every whim and desire, and this aspect of the image of 'William the Little', or 'Wilful William' would not have been lost on readers of *Punch*, *Judy*, and *Fun*.

The appearance on the scene of the youthful Kaiser resulted in a significant (if brief) alteration in cartoonists' representation of Bismarck, and his constitutional position in Germany. So often shown as the crafty meddler or puppet master of previous cartoons, now the Iron Chancellor appeared as the voice of reason; an experienced statesman attempting to mollify the enthusiasms of his young imperial charge. It was in this guise that he appeared



Figure 15.2 John Tenniel, 'The Vigil', *Punch*, 23 June 1888, pp. 294–295. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.

in Tenniel's 'A Wise Warning' (Figure 15.4), showing Daedalus-Bismarck cautioning Icarus-Wilhelm against flying too close to the sun of 'Caesarism' and militaristic pretensions. Wilhelm's 'ardour for the Prussian army' had been given full vent shortly after his accession, with a series of regimental exercises, parades and other such activities.¹⁰ This love of military spectacle, combined with his rather boisterous conduct while visiting St Petersburg less than a month after his accession (and the recent 'reckless, unfeeling behaviour' shown towards his uncle the Prince of Wales), prompted the unknown author of the poem accompanying 'A Wise Warning' to place in the mouth of Bismarck directives for 'cautious flight': in directing his middle course, neither 'on the bear [Russia], nor on Boötes [the ploughman – possibly a reference to the *Junker* class] gaze, nor on the sword-arm'd Orion's dangerous rays'.¹¹ If Wilhelm were to accomplish this method of 'flying', then Mr Punch's editors expressed their rather patronising confidence that the



Figure 15.3 John Gordon Thomson, 'The New Emperor', *Fun*, 23 June 1888, p. 278.

'first part of [the] old fable' of Daedalus and Icarus would never have a sequel, with Icarus plummeting to his doom.¹² It is interesting to note that Bismarck himself viewed his new role in similar terms, claiming that the Kaiser was 'like a balloon. If you do not hold fast to the string, you never know where he will be off to'.¹³



A WISE WARNING.

(Printed on the first part of an old Fable, the sequel of which Mr. Peacock trusts may never apply.)

DIRELESS DANGER (Political Power of WILSON'S LEAD),
 "MY SON, OBSERVE THE MIDDLE PATH TO ELY,
 AND FEAR TO SINK TOO LOW, OR RISE TOO HIGH,
 HEAR THE SUN BELLS, THERE VAPORS RAMP YOUR FORCE,
 BETWEEN THE TWO EXTREMES SELECT YOUR COURSE.

"NOE ON THE BEAN, NOE ON DOOPER GAZE,
 NOE ON FURD-ARM'D ORION'S DANGEROUS BAYE;
 BUT FOLLOW ME, THY GUIDE WITH WATCHFUL EYE,
 AND AN I STEER, DURET THY CAUTIOUS FLIGHT."
 Ovid, "Metamorphoses," Book VIII., Fable 116

Figure 15.4 John Tenniel, 'A Wise Warning', *Punch*, 6 October 1888, pp. 162-163. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.

Similar imagery of Bismarck as a nursemaid to the child-Kaiser appeared in the pages of *Punch's* rivals, but the inability of Wilhelm II to tolerate the chancellor's 'interference' in areas he regarded as his own province meant that British cartoonists would have little time to develop this theme in their work.¹⁴ As if composed specifically to reflect the recognition that the balance of power between chancellor and emperor had altered, was Tenniel's 'Orpheus-Bismarck Lulls Cerberus to Sleep' (Figure 15.5). Though clearly derived from the convention of the 1870s and 1880s of depicting Bismarck as a skilled manipulator, Tenniel makes it clear in this cartoon that the old chancellor's abilities are not so potent as once they were: the head of the Triple Alliance-Cerberus bearing Wilhelm II's features keeps one wary eye open, and does not succumb as easily as the King of Italy or Franz Joseph to the soothing lyre of Orpheus-Bismarck.

Just six months later, the dismissal of the Iron Chancellor was recognised as an historical watershed by contemporary observers, but it was commemorated as a great event rather than with any real sense of the fault or otherwise of Wilhelm's actions. *Punch* cartoonist Linley Sambourne, whose diary entries are seldom filled with anything other than references to dinners, the development of photographs and occasional mention of his work, made a point of printing in thick, underlined ink 'Prince Bismarck Resigned' at the head of the entry for 19 March 1890.¹⁵ The editorial staff of *Punch* was particularly lucky in the timing of this event, as it coincided with its Wednesday dinner, at which the subjects of the coming week's cartoons and cuts were decided. Sambourne and others record that it was Gilbert à Beckett who suggested Tenniel immortalise the dismissal with the naval metaphor of 'Dropping the Pilot' (Figure 13.1), though Sambourne claims that it was he who suggested the chancellor be seen walking down a ladder at the side of the ship.¹⁶

As Richard Price noted, for all its brilliance and simplicity of message, 'Dropping the Pilot' was 'comment – and rather polite comment – on the internal affairs of another country, not a blow in any cause'.¹⁷ Similarly, *Judy's* half-hearted cartoon response to *Punch's* great commemoration – 'Closing' – was muted in its reaction, more concerned with taking cheap shots at Gladstone's Liberals than making comment on the event in question: as John Bull informs the retiring proprietor of 'Bismarck & Son' that he'd dearly like to shut down the neighbouring 'Opposition' emporium.¹⁸ It is worth noting that while the cartoon images themselves do not express any concern at recent events, the companion texts to both 'Dropping the Pilot' and 'Closing' give the impression of greater unease.¹⁹ Open cynicism greeted the replacement of the 'Man of Blood and Iron' with the 'Man of Nerves' (Count Leo von Caprivi), in *Judy's* short text on Bismarck's resignation, and the unnamed author goes on to express a concern that Germany's destiny now rests in the hands of 'him whom men are speaking of as the Young Man in a Hurry'.²⁰ The accompanying text of 'Dropping the Pilot'



Figure 15.5 John Tenniel, 'Orpheus-Bismarck Lulls Cerberus to Sleep', *Punch*, 19 October 1889, p. 187. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.

also expresses concern at the 'Impetuous youth [who] aspires to rear a realm and the state-bark to steer', asking rhetorically whether 'faith or fear fills the Old Pilot's spirit', and therefore whether Britons should be concerned at Bismarck's forced retirement.²¹

It was following the seeming removal of this last brake on imperial authority that British cartoonists began in earnest to exploit their now well-established paradigm of the child-Kaiser. Even the quiet reassurance of *Punch's* 'The Vigil' and the cautious hope expressed by 'A Wise Warning' was transformed in the era of the Kaiser's 'Personal regime' to a much more critical form. This became even more pronounced in the course of 1892, when the content of *Punch* itself became the cause of tension between the Kaiser and his British relatives. From the beginning of his reign, Wilhelm II had undertaken to give an annual address to the Brandenburg *Landtag* at their annual banquet at the Kaiserhof Hotel, during which the Kaiser usually ascended to near-prophetic flights of rhetoric. However in 1892, during the fifth such speech to the assembly (and during serious socialist-inspired rioting in Berlin), Wilhelm truly surpassed himself in the heights of his overblown oratory. One of the earliest English translations of Wilhelm's concluding crescendo was necessarily of Biblical proportions, as in addressing his 'brave men of the Mark' the Kaiser assured them that

[t]he firm conviction of your sympathy in my labours gives me new strength to persist in my work and to press forward on the path which Heaven has laid out for me. I am helped thereto ... by the Ruler of all ... Brandenburgers, we are called to greatness, and to glorious days will I lead you!²²

In the wake of the embarrassing oration, Wilhelm's own mother expressed to Queen Victoria a wish that she be able to 'put a padlock on his mouth' to prevent further incidents of the kind.²³ Nor was the Kaiser's speech well received by the German press, with the *Freisinnige Zeitung* going so far as to insinuate that Germany indeed had a child for a ruler.²⁴

Such apparent disobedience inspired a wounded Wilhelm II to initiate proceedings of lese-majeste against several German newspapers, and it was this act of semi-despotic whim that the editors of *Punch* selected as the subject for the cartoon of 5 March 1892.²⁵ Linley Sambourne produced an inspired image of a Jovian Wilhelm toasting himself on Olympus (complete with lightning-bolt speeches, no less), to accompany the edited, and suitably adapted, extract from Dryden's 'Alexander's Feast' (Figure 15.6):

With ravished ears, the monarch hears,
assumes the god;
Affects to nod,
and seems to shake the spheres!



Figure 15.6 Linley Sambourne, 'The Modern Alexander's Feast', *Punch*, 5 March 1892, p. 110.

Entitled the 'Modern Alexander's Feast', this cartoon produced in the avid, *Punch*-reading Wilhelm II a renewed sense of indignation. Sambourne's representation made him appear ridiculous rather than regal, and in a fit of pique, he proceeded to have *Punch* banned from all the royal palaces, Prussian court, and the imperial yacht *Hohenzollern*, for several months.²⁶ As though this weren't enough, the fuming Kaiser apparently wrote to his grandmother Queen Victoria to request that she take the extraordinary (and

constitutionally impossible) step of withdrawing *Punch* from publication. Her Majesty replied to Wilhelm that she didn't think such an act was 'quite within her province'.²⁷

Unfortunately for Wilhelm II, the ban on *Punch* was apparently too good an opportunity for the comic weekly to miss, and Sambourne recorded in his diary the fact that he began work almost immediately.²⁸ The knowledge of his cut's growing importance spurred Sambourne on to significant efforts, as he rose early the next day and worked 'hard and fast' on his drawing of Wilhelm II 'as a v. small boy' until 7 p.m. without a break for lunch.²⁹ In the event, the cut appeared in *Punch* in the edition dated 26 March. Entitled 'Wilful Wilhelm' (Figure 15.7), the cartoon was the most damning portrait of the Kaiser yet to appear in *Punch*, as the short-trousered little monster tears up the periodicals which dare to criticise him, breaking the glass in which they are framed, and tellingly, threatening even to upset the globe of the world in his rantings. Notable among the shredded documents are the offending 'Modern Alexander's Feast', and even so originally neutral a cartoon as 'Dropping the Pilot', by which Wilhelm, despite its naval metaphor, had also felt somewhat affronted.³⁰ The lengthy verse which accompanied 'Wilful Wilhelm' addressed the Kaiser directly, in the most patronising of tones:

My Wilful Wilhelm, you'll not win,
By dint of mere despotic din;
By kicking everybody over
In whom a critic you discover,
Or shouting in your furious way,
'Oh! take the nasty *Punch* away!
I won't have any *Punch* today!

The work on which the poem was based – *Struwwelpeter* by Heinrich Hoffmann – had first been translated into English in 1848, and by the time 'Wilful Wilhelm' was composed, was well known as a collection of cautionary tales for youngsters. Sambourne could be confident that, as in the case of Tenniel's earlier allusion to the Classically inspired 'unfortunate sequel' of Daedalus and Icarus, his readership would be fully aware of the story's implied ending. As in all the tales of Hoffmann, the subject of 'Wilful Wilhelm' – an amalgam of 'The Tale of Cruel Frederick' (*Die Geschichte vom bösen Friederich*) and 'The Story of Fidgety Philip' (*Die Geschichte vom Zappel-Philipp*) – would come to a sticky end if his behaviour did not improve. There is no record of Wilhelm II having read this direct – and most impertinent – rebuke. However it does seem that he could not be entirely without *Punch*; and it was reported in the British press soon after the incident that 'to save appearances, it arrived from London every week in an official-looking envelope, which was opened by the Kaiser's own hands, and by him duly stowed away in his library'.³¹

WILFUL WILHELM.

An Imperial German Nursery Rhyme. (From the very latest Edition of "Strawmopeter.")



Wilful Wilhelm. "TAKE THE EARLY PUNCH AWAY!
I WON'T HAVE ANY PUNCH TO-DAY!"

YOUNG WILHELM WAS A WILFUL LAD,
AND LOTS OF "CHECK" YOUNG WILHELM HAD.

HE DEEMED THE WORLD SHOULD HAIL WITH JOY
A SMART AND SELF-SUFFICIENT BOY,

AND DO AS IT BY HIS WAS TOLD;
HE WAS SO WISE, HE WAS SO BOLD.

Figure 15.7 Linley Sambourne, 'Wilful Wilhelm', *Punch*, 26 March 1892, p. 147.

While certainly illustrating very effectively the new convention of depicting the Kaiser as a spoiled child (because both of his own youth and that of his nation), what the incident between *Punch* and Wilhelm II also serves to illuminate is the British impression that the German monarch not only possessed real autocratic tendencies, but very weak constitutional limits on actual power. Just as 'The Modern Alexander's Feast' quite obviously referred to Wilhelm's pretension to possess a God-given, absolute power, the use of the device of the spoiled child to characterise the Kaiser also served to reinforce this. The unknown author of the doggerel which accompanied Sambourne's 'Wilful Wilhelm' also made this association in referring to a 'despotic din' thrown up by the child-Kaiser when he finds that he is not the centre of the universe and the idol of all. In an earlier number of *Punch*, Sambourne had already made equally clear the connection between childish autocracy and the Kaiser's pretensions to the same, as Wilhelm appeared there as 'The Imperial Jack-in-the-Box' (Figure 15.8): a figure that might appear anywhere and at any time [*der jederzeit und überall erscheint*] just as the Kaiser desired to do, in order to dominate all aspects of national life.³² According to Sambourne, the force of the imperial will is felt in the navy, at balls, in the church, and even in schools and universities. The Kaiser in fact had power 'over all appointments to the government, the bureaucracy, the Army and Navy, and the diplomatic corps', from the highest minister of state to the lowliest *gymnasium* teacher, regardless of the advice of the Reichstag.³³

Other representations of Wilhelm II which appeared in *Punch* in this period also emphasised the British perception of his absolutist ambitions (as well as the apparent flaws in the German constitution), notably in response to Wilhelm's very public gaffe in inscribing the Golden Book of the City of Munich with the legend

Suprema lex Regis voluntas!
[‘The Royal will is the supreme law!’]³⁴

John Tenniel alluded to this unfortunate assertion of unconstitutional power in 'The Little Germania Magnate' (Figure 15.9), in which the allegorical figure of 'Socialism', together with a now civilian-clothed Bismarck, struggle to prise the sceptre from the hands of the Kaiser, who stands before a banner emblazoned with the motto. Just as in the 1860s (see above, Chapter 13) *Punch* was illustrating a deeply held, and historic British suspicion of Continental absolutism and semi-absolutism, which contrasted sharply with a strong upper- and middle-class admiration for the limited monarchy of Queen Victoria. Though Wilhelm II was known to be bound by the constitution which Bismarck had forged 20 years earlier, it was also recognised that those constitutional milestones which had shaped the British system – Magna Carta, the execution of Charles I, the Glorious Revolution – had no equivalents in Germany, and



Figure 15.8 Linley Sambourne, 'The Imperial Jack-in-the-Box', *Punch*, 30 January 1892, p. 50. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.



Figure 15.9 John Tenniel, 'The Little Germania Magnate', *Punch*, 28 November 1891, p. 259. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.

the parliamentary system was both less powerful and less well-established there. That Wilhelm possessed the power to suspend the constitution itself and declare martial law only served to illustrate further the precariousness of German constitutional arrangements in the minds of many.³⁵

And yet, despite such open censure of the Kaiser's personal style of government, this was also a period in which Wilhelm's periodic expressions of admiration for Britain and its position of world power produced a much warmer reaction from British cartoonists. In response in particular to the many state and personal visits which the Kaiser made to Britain in the first years of his reign, cartoonists often turned the child-Kaiser metaphor on its head to depict Wilhelm rather as a dutiful grandson, and well-behaved youth possessed of admirable qualities. Such a rapid turnaround in attitudes is evidence of more than mere politeness at the visit of a foreign head of state, or a dynastic link with Britain's own monarchy; indicating an underlying wish to see the best in Germany and its rulers which resurfaced whenever conditions were right.

It was during the course of Wilhelm's first visit to Britain after his accession that filial warmth began to creep into cartoons of the Kaiser. *Punch* initially greeted the news of Wilhelm's elevation to Admiral of the Fleet with a continuation of the 'spoiled child' image, with 'Visiting Grandmamma' (Figure 15.10) depicting a diminutive Kaiser being told to play quietly with his new toy ships.³⁶ *Fun* also initially showed Wilhelm as an adolescent figure, fascinated by the military displays to commemorate his visit, but by the time Wilhelm departed less than two weeks later, the little brat of 'Visiting Grandmamma' and 'The Two Reviews' had been transformed into a fine, upstanding youth in 'The United Services; or, *L'Entente Cordiale*' (Figure 15.11).³⁷ While chiefly a comment on the reconciliation between Wilhelm and his uncle, the Prince of Wales, Sambourne's cartoon also gives a sense of the new sense of affection towards the Royal Navy's most recently appointed flag officer; and the use of the phrase which later came to characterise the Anglo-French rapprochement of the early twentieth century is particularly striking for the modern observer.

In something of a reversal of earlier roles, and in keeping with the magazine's liberal (even slightly republican) attitude, at the time of Wilhelm's 1891 visit, *Fun* actually depicted the Prince of Wales as the troublesome child of 'Mrs Happy and Glorious', while the Kaiser is an equally childlike, but better-behaved figure (Figure 15.12). While subsequent depictions of the Kaiser thus reverted to less flattering imagery (Figure 15.13 – 'L'Enfant Terrible! [*sic*]' again showing a little moustachioed monster rocking the boat of European stability; and Figure 15.14 – 'Nana Would not Give me a Bow-wow' illustrating his autocratic frustration at the Reichstag's intransigence on the new army bill), Wilhelm's continued visits to Britain occasioned outpourings of admiration and affection like 'Goodbye, Grandmamma!' (Figure 13.3), in which the little monster of only a year before was transformed into a gentlemanly figure of



Figure 15.10 John Tenniel, 'Visiting Grandmamma', *Punch*, 3 August 1889, p. 55. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.



Figure 15.11 Linley Sambourne, 'The United Services; or, *L'Entente Cordiale*', *Punch*, 17 August 1889, p. 74. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.

noble bearing. Both *Punch* and *Judy* commemorated Wilhelm's visit of 1891 with assertions that an Anglo-German entente was as good as formalised, and that such an agreement, strengthened by the dynastic link of 'Cousins German', was the best guarantee of world peace (Figures 15.15 and 15.16).³⁸

The period leading up to, and for roughly the duration of the Boer War, saw the most vivid illustrations of this feeling of admiration mixed with



Figure 15.12 John Gordon Thomson, 'A Visit to Grandma', *Fun*, 1 July 1891, p. 5.

antagonism. Wilhelm II's congratulatory 1896 telegram to President Kruger, over the repulse of a Cecil Rhodes-sponsored conquest of the Transvaal, prompted in the British a 'paroxysm of fury' for Germany and its emperor, which lasted for some time.³⁹ Cartoonists reflected the broader sentiment that Germany was interfering in a British sphere of influence, challenging its right to predominance in Southern Africa. And yet when Britain found itself actually mired in open military conflict in the Transvaal and Orange Free State three years later, it was to Wilhelm II that cartoonists (and many



Figure 15.13 John Tenniel, 'L'Enfant Terrible!', *Punch*, 10 May 1890, p. 223. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.

statesmen) looked as their 'friend in need'.⁴⁰ Simultaneously, cartoonists were forced to deal with the very real levels of animosity being directed at Britain by the German public and German press, and so a significant double-image of Germany began to appear, as a distinction was made between the admiration felt towards the Kaiser as a man and ruler and the antagonism felt towards his nation.

Reflecting the complexity of British views of Germany in the 1890s, the reactions of cartoonists to the Kruger Telegram incident were universally critical of Wilhelm II's actions, but varied in the severity of that criticism. *Punch*, in the last example of the child-Kaiser metaphor to appear in that magazine, presented a reprise of the *Tales of Hoffmann*, in which 'Fidgety Wilhelm' (Figure 15.17) looks set to upset the table of Europe, to the horror of his Italian and Austrian 'parents' (and Triple Alliance partners). *Fun*, less

"NANA WOULD NOT GIVE ME A BOW-WOW!"

A PUNNY LETTER SEND FOR PUNNY LETTER ENIGMAS.
(Latest Political Version of Mr. Joseph Taber's Popular Song.)

·REICHSTAG·



[The German Emperor is reported to have said, "It was impossible for me to anticipate the rejection of the Army Bill, so fully did I rely upon the patriotism of the Imperial Diet to accept them unreservedly. A patriotic minority has been unable to prevail against the majority. . . . I was compelled to resort to a Dissolution, and I look forward to the success of the Bill by the new Reichstag. Should this expectation be again disappointed, I am determined to use every means in my power to achieve my purpose."—The Times.]

Wife's Helms edge:—

You ask me why I do not smile; the reason you shall know;
I had a disappointment huge a day or two ago;
I asked my venerable Nurse to give me no more toys,
But just a little Dog of War to bite the other boys.

Spoken. But oh!

Audience (of Generals and Staff Officers). What?

Nana wouldn't give me that bow-wow!

Wow-wow!

The Reichstag wouldn't grant me that bow-wow!

Wow-wow!

No; she denied me—fal.

Now, what do you think of that?

And I'd set my mind on that bow-wow-wow!

Wow-wow-wow!

(After Mills.)

Figure 15.14 Linley Sambourne, 'Nana Would not Give me a Bow-wow!', *Punch*, 20 May 1893, p. 230. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.



Figure 15.15 John Tenniel, 'A Triple Alliance', *Punch*, 11 July 1891, p. 19. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.



COUSINS GERMAN.

Figure 15.16 William Parkinson, 'Cousins German', *Judy*, 15 July 1891, p. 31.



THE STORY OF FIDGETY WILHELM.

(Up-to-date Version of "Strausselpeter.")

"LET ME SEE IF WILHELM CAN
 BE A LITTLE GENTLEMAN;
 LET ME SEE IF HE IS ABLE
 TO SIT STILL FOR OONCE AT TABLE!"

"BUT FIDGETY WELLS
 HE WASN'T SIT STILL."
 * * * * *
 JUST LIKE ANY BUCKING HORSE,
 "WILHELM! WE ARE GETTING CROSS!"

Figure 15.17 Linley Sambourne, 'The Story of Fidgety Wilhelm', *Punch*, 1 February 1896, p. 50. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.

enamoured of the jingoistic reception which greeted news of Dr Jameson's failed raid, presented an image of the Kaiser which lay halfway between that of the child and of the dutiful grandson. In 'William the Silent (?)' (Figure 15.18), the tone of the cartoon is one of admonition, but admonition of a relative for whom one still feels some loyalty and affection: the Prince of Wales reprimands a downcast Kaiser for the folly of his actions. Initially *Judy* too adopted something of a reserved tone towards the Kaiser, presenting Colonial Secretary Joseph Chamberlain as Wilhelm's castigator in an untitled cartoon.⁴¹ *Judy* seemed content to make the Kaiser appear ridiculous in overblown military garb in this, and its sequel cartoon 'The Bone of Contention', but by October, they had settled upon a much more critical, Shakespearean-inspired image of Wilhelm 'the witch', concocting a brew of ill-will, strife, dissension, double-dealing, and enmity (Figure 15.19).⁴²

In subsequent years, and without the regular presence of Wilhelm II in Britain to soothe tensions as in the past, cartoon representations of Germany did take on a significantly negative trend.⁴³ Such criticisms varied according to circumstance, and were directed not only at the Kaiser or Germany itself, but towards those within Britain who were allowing foreigners to get the upper hand in trading or imperial matters. For the editors of *Judy*, Germany's apparent pretensions in the wider sphere of world trade prompted a series of attacks upon the apparent inability of British trade to compete with its German counterpart. Partly inspired by E. E. Williams's Protectionist tract *Made in Germany* (1896), supposed German shoddy workmanship and double-dealing were 'exposed' by *Judy's* cartoonists as an organised plot to weaken Britain at home and within the empire.⁴⁴ The renegotiation of a German trade agreement with Canada occasioned demands for a show of the Dominion's loyalty in August 1897 (Figure 15.20), while a month later, a German employer and his employee are shown to be conspiring together in a way not possible for British capitalists and workers, divided as they are over strike action (Figure 15.21).⁴⁵ Nor was the 'conspiracy' of German trade simply an affair of the supposedly united working and middle classes. *Judy's* editors went so far as to accuse the Kaiser of using the pretence of a personal pilgrimage to Jerusalem as a cover for German trade penetration in the Ottoman Empire, as the labels on his luggage in 'The Imperial Bagman' demonstrate.⁴⁶

Punch also made negative comment upon the German trade issue in this period, for instance showing an old matron (Britain) asleep while a German peddler takes the opportunity to snip some cloth from her dress (labelled 'British Trade') (Figure 15.22). The *London Charivari's* editors were also concerned at continued German involvement in South African affairs, with Sambourne pointing out the detrimental effects of 'Germania Arming Kruger' (Figure 15.23). Yet unlike *Judy*, the editors of *Punch* did not single out Germany as a special threat to Britain, suggesting rather that France and the United States would also benefit from the 'Ill Wind' blowing from any conflict between British labour and capital.⁴⁷ Similarly, Germany was



Figure 15.18 [Unknown], 'William the Silent (?)', Fun, 14 January 1896, p. 15.

JUDY: THE LONDON HUMOROUS JOURNAL.



"DOUBLE DOUBLE TOIL AND TROUBLE;
FIRL, BERN; AND, CAULDRON, BUBBLE."

Figure 15.19 RAB, 'Double double, Toil and Trouble ...', *Judy*, 14 October 1896, pp. 8101.



Figure 15.20 Hutton Mitchell, 'John Bull: Ah! ...', *Judy*, 11 August 1897, p. 379.

represented as just one of many powers impinging upon the interests of Britain in the wider world, with stereotypical German Michaels appearing alongside generic French, Russian and American figures during the (ultimately abortive) 'Scramble for China' from 1897 (Figure 15.24).⁴⁸ Those at *Punch* also saw the restless activities of Wilhelm II as far less a demonstration of the Kaiser's connivance in a German plan to supplant British commercial supremacy and much more a reflection of his impetuous character. For instance, Sambourne's comment on Wilhelm's Jerusalem pilgrimage (organised by none other than Thomas Cook, and described by Röhl as 'one of the strangest episodes in his not uneventful life') is directed more at the Kaiser's own theatrical pretensions at entering the Holy City in the manner of a conquering crusader (Figure 15.25).⁴⁹ That the 'Imperial Knight-Templar' should find himself expressing support for the modern 'Saladin' over issues then smouldering between Greece and Turkey (over Crete) was, for Sambourne, an hilarious historical coincidence, given Wilhelm's own propaganda linking his visit with that of Kaiser Friedrich II almost six centuries earlier (Figure 15.26).⁵⁰ The theatrical style of Wilhelm's personal diplomacy was something *Punch* was keen to lampoon in the late 1890s, with the Kaiser appearing often as a 'Manager-Actor', heading his own one-man show the world over (Figure 15.27).⁵¹



Figure 15.21 Hutton Mitchell, 'Capitalist: I cannot ...', *Judy*, 29 September 1897, p. 463.

Despite the negativity of the post-Kruger telegram years, and just as British attitudes towards Germany would otherwise seem to have settled into a steady downward spiral, developments at the diplomatic and dynastic level (including the return of Wilhelm II to Britain) occasioned a significant turnaround in outlook. The forthcoming 1899 visit of the Kaiser was smoothed somewhat by a series of bipartisan agreements between Britain and Germany, including cooperation in China, and a treaty negotiated in person between Wilhelm and Cecil Rhodes, which allowed the proposed Cape to Cairo railway passage across Germany territory.⁵² However there were also other factors that contributed to this period of détente between Wilhelm II and British cartoonists, partly stemming from Wilhelm's continued readership of *Punch*; he mentioned how funny he found Sambourne's depiction of him as a Chinese Mandarin – in 'A New Rôle' (Figure 15.28) – following the acquisition of the Chinese port of Tsingtao, and this story apparently found its way to the highest echelons of the British government.⁵³

Queen Victoria herself – perhaps recalling the demands made by Wilhelm in 1892 to stop the publication of *Punch* – took the extraordinary step of asking the chief journals and papers to tone down their criticism of the Kaiser.⁵⁴



Figure 15.22 John Tenniel, 'Caught Napping!', *Punch*, 5 September 1896, p. 114. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.

Victoria privately approached Sir Theodore Martin, who had produced the definitive biography of her late husband Prince Albert, asking him to call personally on the editors of all the major papers.⁵⁵ Though Martin did not go so far as to 'beg them to stop this baiting' of the Kaiser, his quiet words on the Queen's behalf had a powerful effect.⁵⁶ Almost immediately, Sir Theodore could report that he was

now able to assure Her Majesty that all the leading Journals will adopt a quite altered tone towards the Emperor of Germany and the German people ... They all feel that it would be quite unwise to create irritation, especially having regard to the very modified tone of the leading German papers. Even in today's papers Sir Theodore reads the good effect of having called attention to the danger that might arise.⁵⁷

It was not until some days later that Martin was able to contact *Punch* editor Francis C. Burnand, and schedule a meeting to discuss the 'very offensive ... treatment of the German Emperor'; the 'ridicule and caricatures' that caused so much pain to Wilhelm; and the 'war of sarcasm and invective' that had

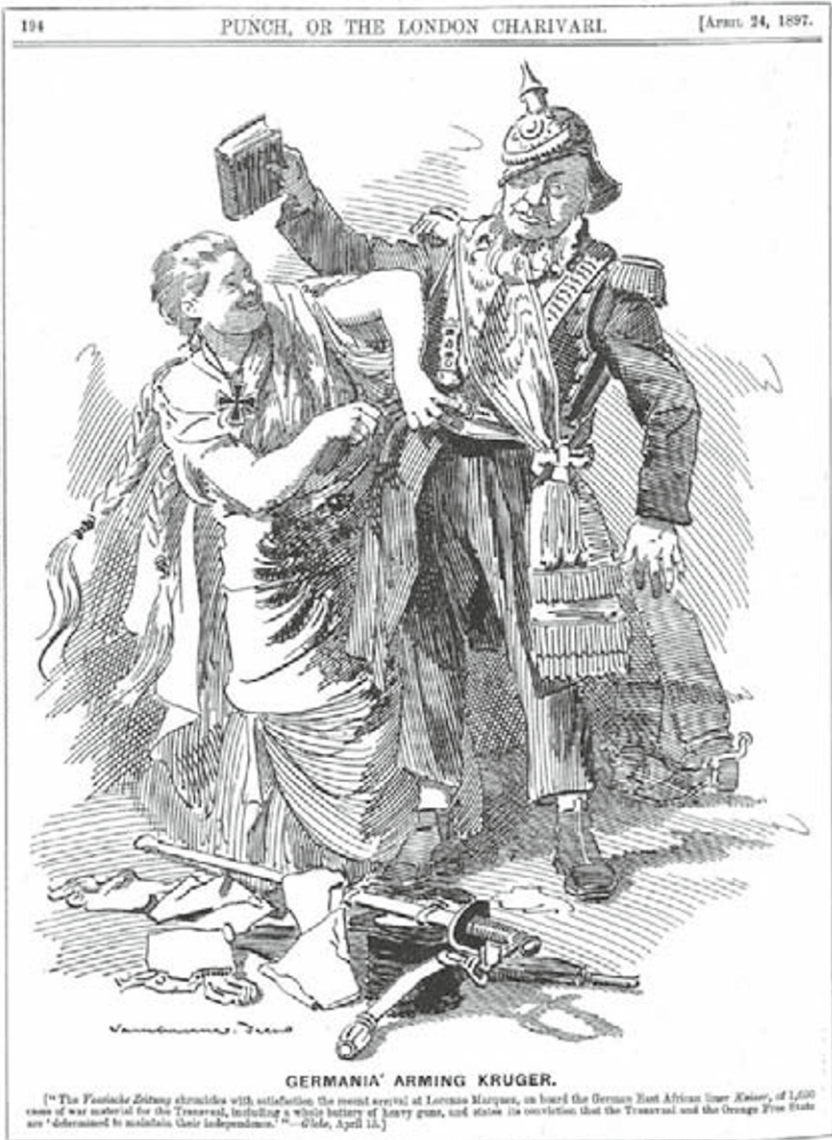


Figure 15.23 Linley Sambourne, 'Germania Arming Kruger', *Punch*, 24 April 1897, p. 194. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.



Figure 15.24 John Tenniel, 'The Incomplete Angler', *Punch*, 25 September 1897, p. 139. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.

been waged over many years. Following the meeting with Burnand, Sir Theodore could announce to Queen Victoria that he was

happy further to report that the Editor of *Punch* has promised to follow the same course as the leading journals. Sir Theodore regards this as very important, for caricatures are much more mischievous than newspaper paragraphs.⁵⁸

The transformation in *Punch's* depiction of the Kaiser was noticeable, and almost immediate. *Punch* was quick to commemorate the Chinese agreement with 'A Fresh Start' (Figure 15.29); the sense of reconciliation made stronger by the Kaiser having sent a 'Kruger-style' telegram to Queen Victoria regarding Kitchener's successes in the Sudan.⁵⁹ *Judy* commented on the remarkable turn of events by having the ghost of Bismarck (the Iron Chancellor having expired the previous August) express astonishment at how times were altering.⁶⁰ Though both *Punch* and *Judy* greeted news of the Rhodes agreement with some cynicism (*Judy* referring to 'William the Fickle' having abandoned



COOK'S CRUSADER.

Imperial Knight-Templar (the German Emperor—to SALADIN). "H'RAY!! THE CHRISTIAN POWERS PUTTING PREMURE UPON YOU, MY DEAR FRIEND!! HORRIBLE! I CAN'T THINK HOW PEOPLE CAN DO SUCH THINGS!"

Figure 15.25 Linley Sambourne, 'Cook's Crusader', *Punch*, 15 October 1898, p. 170. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.



Figure 15.26 John Proctor, 'The Modern Crusader', *Fun*, 25 October 1898, p. 133.



Figure 15.27 Linley Sambourne, 'Out of an Engagement', *Punch*, 17 October 1896, p. 182. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.



A FRESH START.

Kaiser. "YOU GOT MY WIFE ABOUT YOUR SUCCESS IN EGYPT, JOHN!"

Mr. B. "THANK YOU VERY MUCH; SO KIND OF YOU. BUT, FACTA BOV PEREA, YOUR IMPERIAL MAJESTY. HOW ABOUT ACTING TOGETHER IN CHINA?"

Figure 15.29 Linley Sambourne, 'A Fresh Start', *Punch*, 23 April 1898, p. 182. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.

his previous paramour in 'Miss Trans Vaal [*sic*]', the sense of Anglo-German rapprochement in the days following soon prompted expressions of great approval from cartoonists of all complexions.⁶¹ Nor were such expectations without foundation in political reality. Since early 1898, Count von Hatzfeldt had been engaged in clandestine talks with Joseph Chamberlain, the Colonial

Secretary, aimed at cementing some kind of Anglo-German agreement (even a military alliance), with the approval of the Kaiser.⁶² Chamberlain himself was quite taken with the idea, and communicated with a reluctant Lord Salisbury the advantages to Britain and Germany of 'establishing a friendly understanding', as both were in some way threatened by the increasing closeness of France and Russia.⁶³ The sense of expectation is quite neatly illustrated in one of Linley Sambourne's non-*Punch* cartoons, 'Disengaged' for *Black and White* (Figure 15.30): Miss Britannia waits expectantly, considering her potential dancing partners at a ball, and seems alive to the possibility of her 'cousin-German, William' asking her.⁶⁴

By the time the Kaiser arrived in Britain in November 1899, he was greeted more effusively than at any time since his visit of 1891.⁶⁵ *Fun* produced an image of Wilhelm greeted by the Queen and Prime Minister, and in the short rhyming commentary on the facing page, expressed not only a relief that '[n]o longer we class him with Great Britain's foes'; and described him as 'our William the great, and the modest and good'; but alluded directly to the potential fruits of Anglo-German cooperation: 'The Whale and the Elephant – mighty are they, If they speak with one voice, Europe's bound to obey' (Figure 15.31).⁶⁶ *Punch* and *Judy* also laid on their flattery with a trowel, with the former showing Wilhelm II strolling past a bearskin-hatted sentinel (Mr Punch), who gives his permission to enter: 'Pass, friend! And all's well!' (Figure 15.32). Further diplomatic agreements (over the Samoa question) prompted cartoonists to show Wilhelm II abandoning Britain's declared enemy in Kruger, and such was the general feeling of goodwill, that *Punch* even depicted the *Pickelhaube* – so often previously a symbol of distasteful German militarism – as something cherished by Britons (the helmet being comically altered to appear in the likeness of the Kaiser).⁶⁷

This is a notable headpiece of the finest modern German work, and is very popular in England, where its sterling qualities have always been recognised. It has many points of resemblance to some British Royal headpieces, and Mr. Punch, with becoming loyalty, is proud to rank it among [*sic*] his most cherished possessions.⁶⁸

As the British attitude towards the Kaiser warmed, it did not however escape notice that back in Germany, the press and public opinion was set firmly against Britain's role in the South African War.⁶⁹ Even Joseph Chamberlain, so eager to formulate an Anglo-German accord, could not deny this antipathy existed, and when he met with Bernhard von Bülow at Windsor (after the state banquet in Wilhelm's honour), he left no doubt in the mind of the Chancellor-in-waiting of its negative effects on British public opinion at such a moment of promise.⁷⁰ The Colonial Secretary had earlier met with Bülow's master, and had been frustrated by the Kaiser's refusal to commit to any concrete agreement.⁷¹ Still frustrated at the end of the month – and with



Figure 15.30 Linley Sambourne, 'Disengaged', *Black and White*, 5 June 1898, p. 34.

the Kaiser having left behind 'an almost universal feeling of reconciliation' – Chamberlain sought to use public opinion to force the issue, calling for 'a new Triple Alliance between the Teutonic race and the two great branches of the Anglo-Saxon race [referring to Britain and America]'.⁷² This was a miscalculation for Chamberlain, and he was generally berated in the press for treating the new-found rapprochement in an overblown fashion.⁷³ Though



Figure 15.31 William Duane, 'Welcome!', *Fun*, 21 November 1899, p. 165.



Linley Sambourne 1899.

Scoffed Punch. "WHO DOES THERE!"

German Emperor. "FRIEND!"

Scoffed Punch. "PASS, FRIEND, AND ALL'S WELL!"

August 14, 1912.

, The Kaiser prepares for the Millennium (Prussian Version).

Figure 15.32 Linley Sambourne, 'Pass, Friend ...', *Punch*, 8 November 1899, p. 218. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.

friendlier, Britons were still somewhat ambivalent towards Germany and its ruler, and *Fun* depicted Chamberlain as a ridiculous-looking Britannia, with Wilhelm II and Uncle Sam on either arm (Figure 15.33).⁷⁴

It would be a mistake to assume that popular British aversion to the idea of Anglo-German alliance signalled a turn towards outright antagonism. This was far from the case, as cartoons from the turn of the century can attest. While Paul Kennedy has asserted that official British policymakers continued to show a sense of ambivalence only until 1900 – thereafter adopting a more antagonistic position – for cartoonists not privy to the inner workings of diplomacy, the possibility of closer Anglo-German relations continued to be a major theme until much later.⁷⁵ As 1900 dawned, the durability of British enthusiasm which had greeted the Kaiser's return visit of 1899 underwent its first test, with three German transports being stopped and interned by Royal Navy ships cruising in South African waters. Interestingly, the cartoonist commenting upon the seizure of *Herzog*, *General* and *Bundesrath* in *Fun* did not direct his ire at the Kaiser, but at a stereotypical German Michael figure, who has been 'caught out' selling arms to Kruger.⁷⁶ The feeling expressed is moreover one of reprimanding a naughty child rather than outright anger at a hostile act. Similarly, the editors of *Punch* were content to reprint Sambourne's cartoon of April 1897, showing 'Germania arming Kruger', rather than commission Tenniel or Sambourne to admonish Germany anew.⁷⁷ News that Wilhelm II had refused to see a delegation of Boer statesmen seeking the intervention of a concert of Great Powers was also greeted with satisfaction by cartoonists – and most noticeably *Fun* – at a time when the German press was becoming increasingly pro-Boer.⁷⁸ This is not to say that Wilhelm II was always treated with such equanimity in 1900, and German involvement in China in that year prompted some short-lived criticisms of both Wilhelm and his subjects. The Kaiser's infamous 'Hun speech' to troops departing to crush the Boxer Rebellion, and German pretension to the leadership of the international relief force, was ridiculed as so much typical German military bluster, and something of the old Wilhelmine diplomatic theatricality (Figure 15.34).⁷⁹ Yet later in the year, further Anglo-German agreements over the ongoing Chinese imbroglio were also met with a return to enthusiasm for the Kaiser in *Punch* (Figure 15.35); *Judy* depicting John Bull and Wilhelm II standing guard over the 'Open Door' to Chinese trade; *Fun* imagining the same pair advancing on a duplicitous Russian bear.⁸⁰

An evident unwillingness of cartoonists to think ill of Wilhelm II, but to slap his subjects on their collective wrist, is indicative of the gap between how the German nation and its ruler were imagined, which widened again and even further following the death of Queen Victoria. Such was the Kaiser's desire to attend his dying grandmother that he departed Berlin in the midst of Prussia's bicentenary celebrations, and this was not lost on the general British public.⁸¹ *The Times* applauded Wilhelm's 'intense personal

DECEMBER 12, 1899.

FUN.

1899



NO FORMAL ALLIANCE; OR, IT GETS TALKED ABOUT.

(The Cartoon Years, on page 188)

Figure 15.33 William Duane, 'No Formal Alliance; or, It Gets Talked About', *Fun*, 12 December 1899, p. 189.



Figure 15.34 William Duane, 'Vengeance!', *Fun*, 17 July 1900, p. 21.

PUNCH, OR THE LONDON CHARIVARI.—October 31, 1900.



DARING DOGS!

BRITISH SAILOR. "WE DON'T WANT TO LIVE IN NO BLOOMIN' PAGODA, DO WE?"

GERMAN SAILOR. "NEIN! DOT SUBBOBIN' ODEI BARTIES VANTS TO OGGUBY HIM?"

BRITISH SAILOR. "WHY, THEN, WE BLOOMIN' WELL RESERVES TO OURSELVES THE RIGHT TO TALK IT OVER!"

Figure 15.35 John Tenniel, 'Daring Dogs', *Punch*, 31 October 1900, p. 317. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.



APPRECIATION. 1901.

Our King (to Kaiser Wilhelm). "GOD BLESS YOU, SIR! ENGLAND WILL NEVER FORGET YOUR GENUINE SYMPATHY!"

[On leaving of the Queen's illness, the German Emperor, Her Majesty's eldest grandson, putting aside all engagements bestowed at once to Odozero.]

Figure 15.36 George Roland Halkett, 'Appreciation. 1901', *Punch*, 30 January 1901, p. 99. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.



ALLIANCE?

LA FRANCE (to RUSSIA): "Alas! my friend, what do we behold? Our united efforts to keep them apart have failed. Now must we stand closer together, and thus thwart our perfidious foes!"

Figure 15.37 John Taylor, 'Alliance?', *Judy*, 13 February 1901, p. 77.

devotion to his royal grandmother, the ancestress of so many royal and imperial lines'; and the Kaiser recalled many years later the reverence with which one 'plainly dressed man' approached his carriage, bareheaded, to say 'thank you, Kaiser', to the applause of the crowd and his accompanying uncle (now Edward VII).⁸² *Punch* commemorated the end of an era in British history with a special, black-bordered edition, mostly composed of reprinted cartoons of the past 64 years. Tellingly, the single new cartoon to be printed in the collection (and appearing on the facing page to a reprinted 'Goodbye, Grandmamma!'), was 'Appreciation, 1901' (Figure 15.36), showing Edward VII grasping the outstretched hands of his nephew Wilhelm and thanking him for his genuine sympathy.⁸³ The Kaiser, much taken by the adoration of the public, lingered with his British relatives until early February. By this time, such was the positive feeling his presence had generated, that *Judy* again raised the likelihood of an Anglo-German alliance, showing Wilhelm II and Edward VII standing together, noble figures in the face of a skulking feminised 'La France' and stereotypical Russian Cossack (Figure 15.37). At the same time in *Punch*, it did not seem ridiculous for Bernard Partridge (1861–1945) – commenting on the persistent failure of British commanders to annihilate the Boer *kommandos* – to suggest that Britain's newest Field Marshal might be consulted on the matter.⁸⁴

16

The Coming of the 'Horrible Hun'

Positive depictions of Wilhelm II continued to appear in *Punch* and *Judy* for many months after his departure from British shores in 1901. As late as October, 1902 (Wilhelm having returned for a shooting holiday with his uncle), George Hebblethwaite could depict a lounge-suited Kaiser enjoying port and cigars with John Bull, and refusing to see a scruffy delegation of refugee Boer statesmen (Figure 16.1). This apparent fondness of Wilhelm for Britain (and Britain for Wilhelm) perturbed Chancellor Bülow and the imperial court when, upon his return to Berlin, the Kaiser continued to wear civilian clothes and affect English manners: a sure sign to his aides of his being infected by 'Anglo-mania' and 'un-German-ness'.¹

However even while Wilhelm could still be seen frequenting the palaces of his British hosts, cartoonists were turning their attention to criticising his subjects and his nation. In the same edition in which *Judy's* editors informed their readers that the king had made his nephew a field marshal, they noted that their sovereign's choice of the English name 'Edward' over his given name was far more suitable, as 'Albert' was 'too reminiscent of a German origin to be suitable for a British monarch'.² By the end of the year, *Punch* felt it necessary to address the series of anti-British typhoons which had recently hit the German press. In 'A Short Memory', Bernard Partridge showed his paper's support for the recent comments of Joseph Chamberlain, depicting a stereotypical German hard at work on an exposé of British 'brutalities'.³ The Colonial Secretary had advised German journalists to recall supposed 'atrocities' in the Franco-Prussian War before seeking to criticise Britain's actions in South Africa.⁴ German fury at such apparent 'slander' resulted in demonstrations in the streets and further accusations against Britain, which the British press (surprisingly) ignored.⁵ However, the irritation felt at German public attitudes did prompt some reaction from *The Times* and from *Punch*: Bernard Partridge showing John Bull insisting to a generic German figure that he is nothing like the bloodthirsty, dagger-wielding monster the German is painting (Figure 16.2).⁶ The Kaiser's inflated opinion of himself,

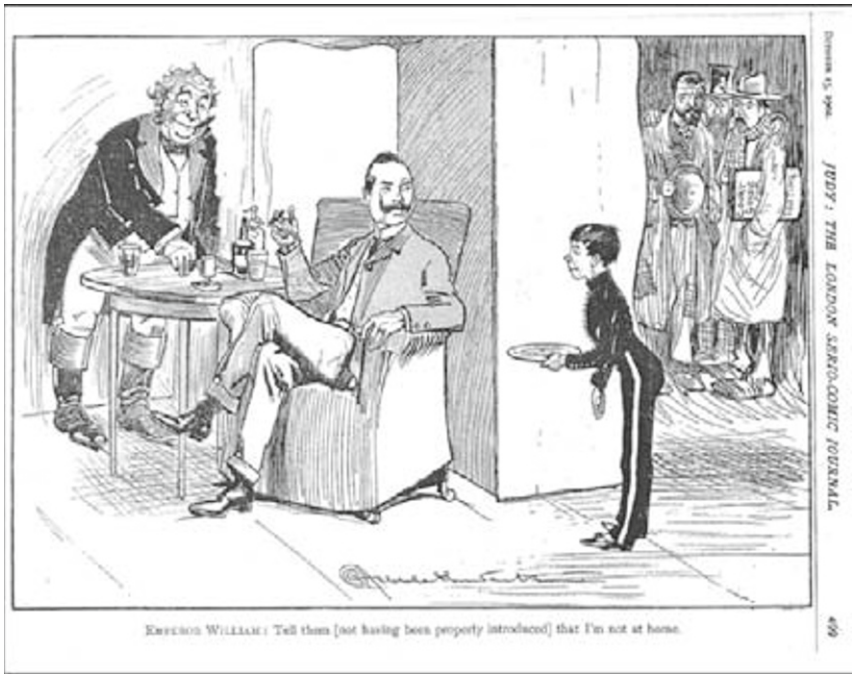


Figure 16.1 George Hebblethwaite, 'Emperor William ...', *Judy*, 15 October 1902, p. 499.

and his delight in being the darling of his uncle Edward's subjects led him to claim in late 1901 that

The press is awful on both sides, but here it has nothing to say, for I am the sole arbiter and master of German Foreign Policy and the government and country must follow me, even if I have to face the musick [*sic*].⁷

That Wilhelm was himself aware of the division between British views of himself and of his people is perhaps partially attributable to his having begun reading *Punch* again; satisfied that the negativity of 'Wilful Wilhelm' was now gone forever. However the Kaiser's assessment of the situation was both unrealistic and premature, as he himself had begun favouring an anti-British stance in order to promote his pet project: the building of a German navy.

The 'remarkable reserve' displayed by the British press over relentless German attacks over their South African policy points to a lingering sense of ambivalence, which by the end of 1901 had in fact begun to turn towards outright pessimism.⁸ Chamberlain having abandoned his last hopes of an Anglo-German alliance in late 1901 – largely the result of Salisbury's



Figure 16.2 Bernard Partridge, 'Out of Drawing', *Punch*, 11 December 1901, p. 417. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.

continued opposition – and a recognition growing of the German government actively seeking to foster Anglophobia at home, representations of Britain and Germany as potential partners began to fall away.⁹ By the middle of the Edwardian period, cartoonists were representing Germany as a potential enemy, to be feared and guarded against. Part of the reason why cartoons of the early twentieth century did display a good deal more suspicion at German motives was due to the changing nature of the art itself. In the 1900s, more and more newspapers began to carry cartoons, and to employ cartoonists on their staff.¹⁰ The generally negative, and often Germanophobic, attitude of mass-circulation dailies (such as those papers owned by Alfred Harmsworth, Lord Northcliffe) led to cartoons being published which mirrored the attitude of the paper. Nevertheless even in the Northcliffe press, and after the crises over Morocco, naval and invasion scares, there appeared images expressing a desire to end Anglo-German rivalry, so that by the last years of peace, British cartoonists were again beginning to treat Germany with more favour than earlier in Edwardian times.

While *Judy* maintained that Wilhelm II's visit to Britain in 1902 was further evidence of close cooperation, *Punch* was unsure whether the 'Purely non-Political Visit' might nevertheless result in some kind of diplomatic move.¹¹ Partridge has the British cabinet ministers examining their shooting partner warily, while Mr Punch wishes him well, whatever his purpose in visiting. Nevertheless, on the one occasion in the new century where the British and German governments did act in concert – over the Venezuelan crisis (1902–3) – public reaction from cartoonists and the press in general signalled the growing sense of distaste which many Britons felt for Germany and its methods. When British and German naval vessels were dispatched to deal with the Castro government's refusal to repay loans, *Punch* initially portrayed John Bull and German Michael as Bobbies of equal standing, threatening a childlike Venezuela from behind a fence (Figure 16.3).¹² In a reversal of the situation during Wilhelm II's visit, this time it was *Judy* which seemed more concerned at German involvement, showing John Bull restraining a Kaiser-like German all too willing to resort to violence against the child-Castro (Figure 16.4). By the New Year, and the German naval commander having taken unilateral military action in attacking Venezuelan shore installations, the outcry against cooperation with Germany was deafening.¹³ Hebblethwaite, in *Judy*, portrayed Wilhelm II as a piratical child figure, on the deck of a warship preparing to fire upon the Venezuelan shore forts (Figure 16.5).¹⁴ In yet another turnaround, *Punch* was even more prepared to express its revulsion: Sambourne's cartoon took as its theme Kipling's recent verse on 'The Rowers' (Figure 16.6), castigating Arthur Balfour's government for being so blind as to 'league anew, with the Goth and shameless Hun!' (in the first derogatory use of the term in English).¹⁵

If concerns at being allied to Germany had elicited semi-polite protestations of apprehension in 1899, by 1903 such concerns were becoming



Figure 16.3 Bernard Partridge, 'Cornering Him', *Punch*, 17 December 1902, p. 417. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.

openly more hostile. Also, the split in cartoons between positive depictions of Wilhelm II and negative ones of Germany itself was undone in the period following the Venezuelan crisis. In *Judy*, the figure which represented Germany in 1903–4 became a quite hideous amalgam of Wilhelm and the myopic German Michael; for instance seeking to cudgel a sleeping John Bull with a club labelled 'Progress' (Figure 16.7).¹⁶ The long détente between Wilhelm II and *Punch* also ended in 1903: the Kaiser appearing in the hunting mufti he wore when pursuing his favourite sport, only this time aiming to trap the British lion over the Baghdad Railway project (Figure 16.8).¹⁷ Arthur Balfour's moves to cooperate with Germany over this project led to outrage similar to that over Venezuela, while Wilhelm's descent on Tangier in 1905 (initiating the First Morocco Crisis) occasioned a return to the imagery of Kaiser-as-showman so prominent in the late 1890s, as well as some even more negative imagery (Figures 16.9 and 16.10).

This resurgence of suspicion was not unconnected with the Kaiser's open involvement with Germany's manifestly anti-British programme of naval



Figure 16.4 George Hebblethwaite, 'J. B.: Steady, Fritz ...', *Judy*, 17 December 1902, p. 615.



Figure 16.5 George Hebblethwaite, 'William ...', *Judy*, 23 January 1903, p. 43.

construction, begun in 1897 and greatly increased by a Second Navy Bill in 1900, designed to challenge 'even the mightiest naval power'.¹⁸ Indeed, after a long period of positive feeling, the Kaiser was to take centre stage as the incarnation of the new German naval spirit, viewed with negativity by

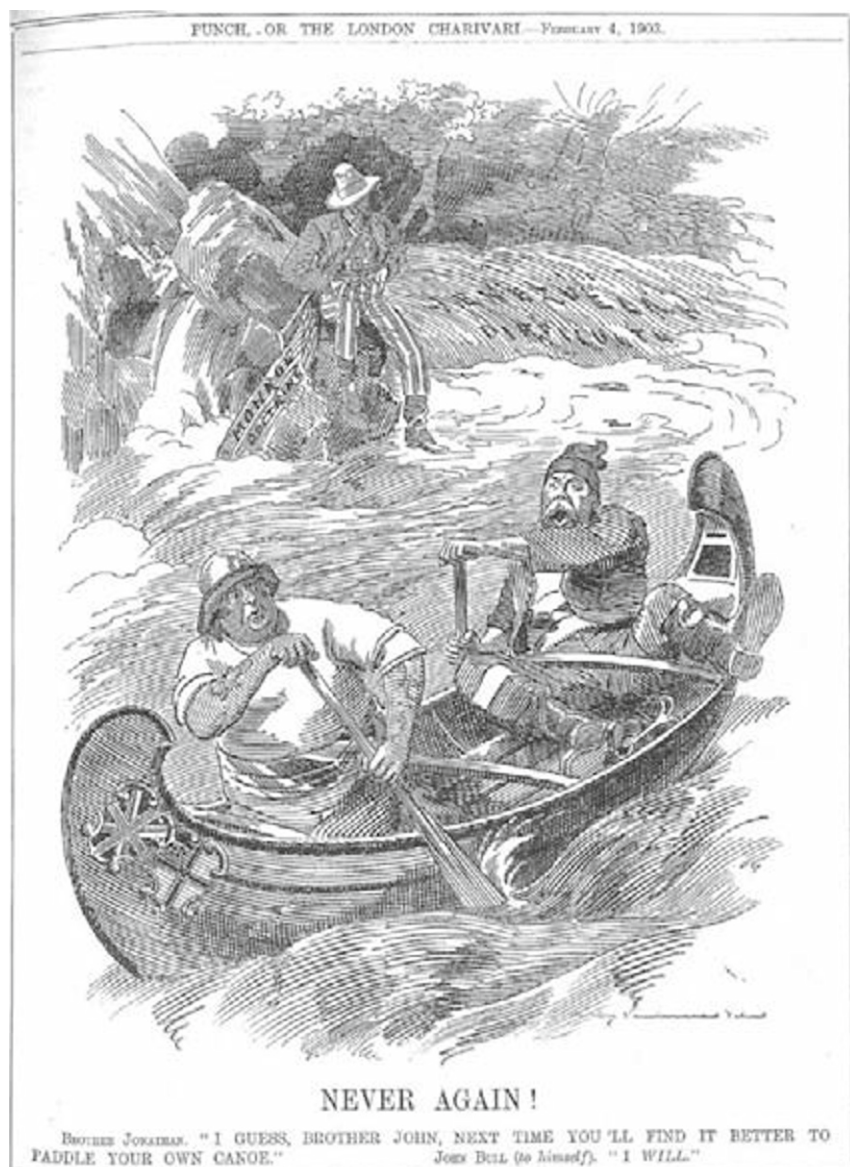


Figure 16.6 Linley Sambourne, 'Never Again!', *Punch*, 4 February 1903, p. 83. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.



IS HE REALLY SLEEPING?

GERMANY: Well! If he isn't going to sleep again! I wonder if I could wake him with this!

Figure 16.7 George Hebblethwaite, 'Is He Really Sleeping?', *Judy*, 9 September 1903, p. 427.

British cartoonists. Initial reactions to the German naval programme had been tongue in cheek, with *Fun* and *Punch* commenting on the reluctance of the Reichstag to approve new battleships. Concerning the 1897 programme, *Fun* showed the child-Kaiser image demanding more toy ships from his



Figure 16.8 Bernard Partridge, 'The Trap that Failed', *Punch*, 29 April 1903, p. 291. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.

governess, but being refused (Figure 16.11); while in 1899, *Punch* showed the Kaiser 'Trying a New Song', seated at a piano and trying to catch the interest of his horrified audience.¹⁹ While Sambourne's image of the Kaiser (in keeping with the then-current representation of him as a showman) is not alarmist, six months later *Punch's* editorship had begun to express a sense of unease. E. T. Reed's small cartoon of June 1900 shows Wilhelm II having presented Father Neptune with his new naval budget, the sea-god bemused that he will have to learn German so late in life (Figure 16.12).

From the early years of the twentieth century, concerns at German naval expansion increasingly began to occupy the minds of those drawing cartoons of Germany. Often, such a concern was handled subtly, with depictions of Wilhelm II in naval uniform becoming more and more common. Reed's and Sambourne's cartoons reflect this, commenting directly upon the naval bills before the Reichstag; while Hebblethwaite's comment on Venezuela, though concerning actual German naval action, would likewise have reminded readers of the latent antagonism towards any increase in

PUNCH, OR THE LONDON CHARIVARI.—April 5, 1905.



ON TOUR.

(Gangneung, March 31.)

Kaiser Wilhelm (as the Moor of Fiesole) sings:—

"'UNTER DEN LINDEN'—ALWAYS AT HOME,
 'UNDER THE LIME-LIGHT' WHEREVER I ROAM!"

Figure 16.9 Bernard Partridge, 'On Tour', *Punch*, 5 April 1905, p. 237. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.



THE SOWER OF TARES.

(After Millais.)

Figure 16.10 Bernard Partridge, 'The Sower of Tares', *Punch*, 23 August 1905, p. 137. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.

DECEMBER 14, 1897.

FUN.

189



WILLIAM ASKING FOR MORE.

WILLIAM: "GAWD, I WEE, HAV' WOOD SHINS!"
 MRS. GAWD: "DE, MASTER WILLIAM, YOU CAN'T AFFORD IT, YOU'VE SPENT ALL YOUR DOLLAR MONEY."

(For Cursive Lines see page 182)

Figure 16.11 John Proctor, 'William Asking for More', *Fun*, 14 December 1897, p. 189.



Figure 16.12 E. T. Reed, 'Father Neptune ...', *Punch*, 27 June 1900, p. 461. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.

the German navy. The threat to the Royal Navy's supremacy even began to infect comments upon the non-British aspects of German diplomatic affairs. It is no coincidence that in 'Melodrama in the Baltic' (Figure 16.13) – ostensibly a comment upon the short-lived Björkö treaty between Wilhelm II and the Tsar – Sambourne chose to depict Wilhelm and Nicholas II



Figure 16.13 Linley Sambourne, 'Melodrama in the Baltic', *Punch*, 2 August 1905, p. 83. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.

in theatrical pirates' get-up.²⁰ As late as 1906, with the launch of HMS *Dreadnought* initiating a new phase in the Anglo-German rivalry, cartoonists could still treat the issue flippantly. *The Pall Mall Gazette* for instance reverted to portraying Wilhelm II as a child figure when delivering its comment upon potential talks between Edward VII and the Kaiser at Cronberg, with little William being chided at his attempts to 'build a bigger boat' than his uncle's (Figure 16.14).

With the launching of the *Dreadnought*, however, and as the naval race became more intense, so too cartoonists moved away from subtle jibes and towards direct statements of antipathy for German pretensions to sea power.²¹ In one of the most damning images of Germany since the Kruger telegram (and the cartoon to which Anne Topham referred in the extract at the beginning of Part IV), 'An Under-rated Monster' showed a sea-serpent with the body of a battleship and the face of the Kaiser threatening to capsize Lord Tweedmouth (Figure 16.15). Frustration at the Admiralty not taking the threat seriously enough is apparent from the pitiful rowing boat of the First Lord, its flimsy frame no defence against the German serpent, which seems intent upon swallowing Britannia, who is out for a spot of sea bathing. Less alarmist at Admiralty inertia, 'Without Prejudice' was Bernard Partridge's way of taunting the Germans over their 'non-aggressive' construction programme: Britannia shows a shocked Kaiser the overwhelming superiority of British naval gunnery.²²

That the Kaiser's fleet programme was founded upon peaceful intent seemed an increasingly unlikely concept to a growing number of Britons, who gazed across the North Sea and saw only a new Armada threatening the nation's liberty and the empire's prosperity. For Britons of all political persuasions, the growth of the *Kaiserliche Marine* was a 'most sinister and disquieting fact', and one which required decisive action, including strengthening Britain's land forces.²³ Conservatives were particularly keen to hound the new Liberal government of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman after 1905, and that of his successor Herbert Henry Asquith from 1908; this was not least because the likes of Arthur Balfour and the former Foreign Secretary, Lord Lansdowne, had become convinced of the reality of the German threat.²⁴ In *Judy*, the policies of the new Secretary of State for War, Richard Haldane, were particularly targeted, and the editors took special care to emphasise Haldane's well-known love of German philosophy and culture when attacking him.²⁵ 'Not Likely!' sought to emphasise the ridiculousness of Liberal policy in reducing the strength of the army, showing the Kaiser in full cuirassier uniform chortling to himself at the good news (and admitting he will never follow suit).²⁶ Similarly, Haldane's supposed interest in army reform along German lines was lampooned in 'Borrowed Plumes', with the War Minister appearing ridiculous in *pickelhaube*, and about to put on his suit of armour.²⁷ *Punch*, itself drifting slowly to the right in this period, also poked fun at Haldane's German connections: – Sambourne with 'Berlin on

WHAT HAPPENED AT CRONBERG.



"Always busy, Nephew. What are you making now?"
"I'm making a bigger boat than yours, Uncle."
"An odd job, for a soldier, isn't it? Take an Old Salt's advice and drop it!"

Figure 16.14 George Roland Halkett, 'What Happened at Cronberg', *Pall Mall Gazette*, 16 August 1906, p. 2.

the Brain' (Figure 16.16) and Partridge with 'The Warrior Unbends'; though as is apparent from the invasion literature of the period, German-style reforms were not entirely anathema to those seeking the strengthening of the armed forces.²⁸

At the same time as displaying the alarmist sentiments occasioned by increases in the German battle fleet, cartoonists of this period also took delight in lampooning the internal troubles of the Reich. The upheavals surrounding the 'Hottentot Election' of early 1907 were the subject of the strange cartoon 'In the Clouds', as the incongruous alliance of Catholics and socialists pester Wilhelm II, riding a flying bicycle labelled 'South West Africa'.²⁹ *Punch* was also keen to bait the slippery Bülow, and Linley Sambourne belittled him in 'From Bismarck to Buelow' (Figure 16.17). In a direct reference to the earlier 'Keeping it Down', in which Bismarck forced the socialist Jack back into his box, this time Bismarck's successor (deliberately depicted as a much smaller character, wearing ill-fitting cuirassier's uniform)



AN UNDER-RATED MONSTER.

BRITANNIA. "THAT'S A NASTY-LOOKING OBJECT, MR. BOATMAN."
LORD TWENTY-THREE. "BLESS YOUR 'EART, MUM, 'E WON'T 'URT YOU. I'VE BEEN 'ERE, MAN AN' BOY, FOR THE LAST SIX MONTHS; AN' WE DON'T TAKE NO ACCOUNT O' THEM THINGS."

Figure 16.15 Bernard Partridge, 'An Under-rated Monster', *Punch*, 15 August 1906, p. 111. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.



Figure 16.16 Linley Sambourne, 'Berlin on the Brain', *Punch*, 12 September 1906, p. 191. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.



Figure 16.17 Linley Sambourne, 'From Bismarck to Buelow', *Punch*, 16 January 1907, p. 47. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.

howls in alarm as he is unable to prevent Jack from re-emerging, dagger in hand. The eventual triumph of anti-socialist parties in the German elections was greeted with a mixture of satisfaction and cynicism by *Judy*; their cartoonist showing 'Bill, the Giant Killer' as a ridiculous-looking armoured hero, sword thrust into the belly of the socialist monster.³⁰ For Sambourne in *Punch*, the triumph of the 'Bülow Bloc' in the Reichstag was greeted with a very telling cartoon: 'Socialism under Hatches' (Figure 16.18). The basic narrative of the cartoon is naval commentary: it shows the chancellor reporting to Wilhelm II that the socialist agitation has been settled; but of far greater import is Sambourne's choice of a naval metaphor, as *Captain* Bülow is informing *Admiral* Hohenzollern of the suppression of a mutiny. For *Punch's* readers, that the admiral can now order 'full steam ahead' would have been both a reminder of the beginning of the Wilhelmine period with 'Dropping the Pilot', as well as possessing a far more sinister relevance to the ongoing German naval programme, concern at which only continued to grow.

By 1908 the fear of the German naval build-up was reaching fever pitch, as shown by Leonard Raven Hill's 'Poker and Tongs' (Figure 16.19), and as noted earlier in Chapter 11. Providing clear advice on 'how we've got to play the game', the *Punch* cartoonist insisted that the only way to beat the Kaiser is to raise the stakes beyond what Germany can stomach.³¹ Public opinion seemed to have caught up with *Punch* the following year, when during the 'Great Naval Scare', a 'We want eight, and we won't wait!' campaign helped force Herbert Henry Asquith's government to acquiesce to a huge increase in naval expenditure.³² In its contribution to the 'We want eight' movement, *Punch* published 'Copyright Expires' (Figure 16.20), showing German Michael in sailor's garb singing the famous music-hall song of 1878:

We don't want to fight,
but 'By Jingo!' if we do;
We've got the ships,
we've got the men.
And we've got the money too!³³

That the song – the very epitome of British imperial and naval pride (and the origin of the term 'jingoism' for extreme nationalism) – should be sung by a German was an affront to national honour. The power of the cartoon is not in portraying Germany in *negative* fashion, but rather in *positive* fashion: a happy, triumphant seafarer, while John Bull is dejected and resigned.

The eventual resolution of the naval budget issue (resulting in the laying down of eight new capital ships) brought a relaxation in Germanophobia. The new warships were partly secured through the 'donation' of several vessels by the Dominion governments, including HMAS *Australia* and HMS *New Zealand*, the latter ship being the subject of Partridge's 'Call of the Blood'.³⁴ The cartoon demonstrates a sense of relief at this turn of events,



Figure 16.18 Linley Sambourne, 'Socialism under Hatches', *Punch*, 6 February 1907, p. 101. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.

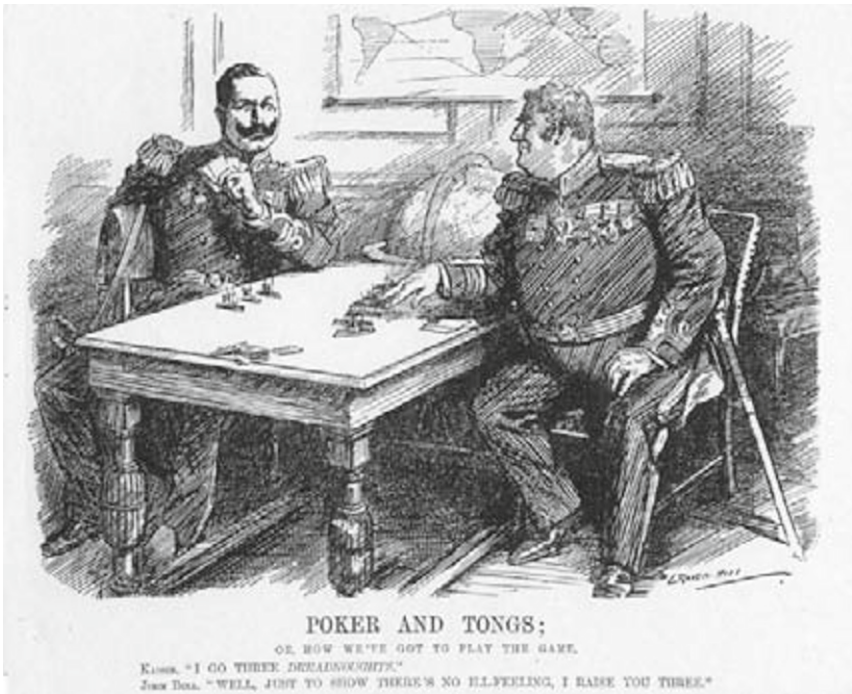


Figure 16.19 Leonard Raven Hill, 'Poker and Tongs', *Punch*, 8 January 1908, p. 21. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.

and has Germania sighing that she possesses no 'lion cubs' to rely upon. Nevertheless, 'Call of the Blood' perhaps says more about the internal politicking of 1909 and less about British views of Germany. A continued suspicion of German motives was indicated a few months later in 'The Force of Example' (Figure 16.21), which ostensibly depicts the ultimate turnaround in Russo-German relations after the failure of Björkö. Just as in Sambourne's 'Melodrama in the Baltic', Partridge chose to depict the Kaiser and Tsar in naval attire, and the banter between the two cartoon monarchs indicates a continued cynicism at German protestations of their navy being 'peaceful' in purpose. The unease at German construction rates, though never again referred to explicitly in *Punch* in 1909, was revisited in the *Almanac* for 1910. Based on Thumann's 'Art wins the Heart', a cartoon depicts the concern of Peace at Wilhelm II's carving of more and more battleships for his little fleet; yet it is interesting that this is the last cartoon for some time to contain any negative sentiment regarding the German fleet.³⁵

As negative as the cartoons dealing with naval matters seem, even cartoons produced at the height of the naval and spy scares of 1909 demonstrate a



Linley Sambourne del.

COPYRIGHT EXPIRES.

GERMAN TAR. "WE DON'T WANT TO FIGHT, BUT, BY JINGO, IF WE DO,
 WE'VE GOT THE SHIPS, WE'VE GOT THE MEN, WE'VE GOT THE MONEY TOO!"
 JOHN BULL. "I SAY, THAT'S MY OLD SONG."
 GERMAN TAR. "WELL, IT'S MINE NOW."

August 16, 1912.

* * The Kaiser prepares for the Millennium (Prussian Version).

Figure 16.20 Linley Sambourne, 'Copyright Expires', *Punch*, 24 March 1909, p. 209. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.

PUNCH, OR THE LONDON CHARIVARI.—June 23, 1909.



Figure 16.21 Bernard Partridge, 'The Force of Example', *Punch*, 23 June 1909, p. 435. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.

guarded, yet remarkable willingness to effect reconciliation with Germany, given favourable circumstances. These cartoons again focused on the perceived benefits of dynastic connections, with some even suggesting that the defunct Anglo-German rapprochement might be resuscitated through Edwardian personal diplomacy. 'A Momentous Interview' (Figure 16.22), showing an imagined scene of Edward VII and Wilhelm II relaxing at the Kiel Regatta, seems to show that although nephew and uncle actually avoided discussion of matters of state, some sort of expectation was attached to their meeting. The new right-wing weekly *John Bull* also made a comment upon the meeting between King and Kaiser, though its emphasis was more on the press's desire to know what was said at such a supposedly important event (Figure 16.23). Such sentiments were expressed even more forcefully in Linley Sambourne's commemoration of the state visit of Edward VII to Germany: 'Britannia's Valentine' (Figure 13.4). In this cartoon, the personification of Britain presents the Kaiser with a memento (bearing a portrait of King Edward and Queen Alexandra), as the sun rises across a calm sea: such sentiments are irrefutably warm. The cartoon therefore represents yet another moment when (just as in 1899–1901), in the face even of diplomatic antagonism, a sense of solidarity with the German emperor seemed to betoken the potential for a happier future. Even the visit of the German Crown Prince to India was greeted with some sense of the potential for rapprochement, despite the young Wilhelm's actual lack of influence with his father or the German government.³⁶ The Kaiser's state visit of 1907 also garnered praise from cartoonists; the otherwise rapidly Germanophobic *John Bull* commemorating the event with 'For He's a Jolly Good Fellow' (Figure 16.24), and 'A Peaceful Invasion' (Figure 16.25, an ironic comment on the popularity of Le Queux's *Invasion of 1910*).

Given the very real tensions which existed throughout the Edwardian period, not all responses of this kind were so even-handed, or kind to their subjects. The Kaiser's notable attempt to win friends in Britain by giving an interview to the *Daily Telegraph* backfired severely on the monarch at home, and was greeted with amusement in Britain.³⁷ Wilhelm had claimed not only to have formulated the plans by which Lord Roberts defeated the Boers in 1900, but insisted that he was 'a minority in his own land' in feeling admiration for Britain, accusing 'large sections of the middle and lower classes' of Anglophobia.³⁸ Such was the outcry in Germany that Wilhelm contemplated abdication; Linley Sambourne characterising the whole affair as 'An Unrehearsed Effect' (Figure 16.26): the magician Wilhelm conjuring not the dove of peace, but a hideous bat of 'German Indignation' from the *Daily Telegraph*. It is worth noting that, observing Wilhelm's troubles at home, a large portion of the British press expressed sympathy for the basically well-meant intent of the Kaiser, and criticised his German critics. Even his blunders seemed to elicit sympathy in Britain.³⁹

PUNCH, OR THE LONDON CHARIVARI.—JUNE 22, 1904.



A MOMENTOUS INTERVIEW.

Kaiser Wilhelm. "DELIGHTED TO SEE YOU, UNCLE, AT KIEL. AND NOW, AS THERE ARE NEITHER CABINET MINISTERS NOR REPORTERS PRESENT, I THINK I MIGHT PERHAPS MENTION THAT—THE SEA IS CALM, AND IT IS SPLENDID WEATHER FOR THE YACHT RACES."

Figure 16.22 Linley Sambourne, 'A Momentous Interview', *Punch*, 22 June 1904, p. 443. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.



Figure 16.23 Frank Holland, 'The Cronberg Mystery', *John Bull*, 25 August 1906, p. 285.

The 1907 state visit and ensuing press farce was not the only occasion to elicit mixed reactions from cartoonists.⁴⁰ Earlier, *Judy* imagined Wilhelm II as a pet dog of Edward VII (the king assuring a Britannia-like Madam Judy that in fact, the Kaiser's bark is worse than his bite); yet the cartoon also imparts a sense that Germany can be brought to heel, and is not as dangerous as usually imagined (Figure 16.27). Similarly, while maintaining a critical view of the Germans, Germany, or the Kaiser, some cartoonists did direct their barbs at those scaremongers who were actively seeking to foster a sense of mistrust between the two nations. This duality of purpose is apparent in Bert Thomas's (1909) 'The Kaiser through Mr Blatchford's Glasses': a cartoon depicting Wilhelm II, but primarily directed at the opinions being expressed by the socialist Robert Blatchford.⁴¹ Blatchford had railed against a supposed German wish to dominate Europe since early 1909, and while received relatively well in the heightened atmosphere of the naval crisis, by December his constant ranting had come to be regarded as somewhat farcical.⁴² Thomas's parody of the famous Pear's soap advertisement 'He won't be happy till he gets it!' (Figure 16.28) (itself in keeping with the image of the despotic child-Kaiser, and certainly an ironic comment upon his continued autocratic pretensions) gives the sense that by December of 1909 the same German threat which had been so worrisome earlier could now be safely laughed about; and that



"For he's a jolly good fellow."

Figure 16.24 George Jennis, 'For He's a Jolly Good Fellow', *John Bull*, 16 November 1907, p. 512.

paranoid scaremongers were just as ridiculous as the Kaiser they demonised. This was also a main theme for Edward Heath-Robinson, whose hilarious series of anti-scaremongering cartoons appeared throughout the spy scare of 1909, as an effective attack on the kind of invasion fantasies promulgated by the right (and explored above, in Chapters 11 & 12) (See the similar approach of Leonard Raven-Hill in Figure 16.29).⁴³

A PEACEFUL INVASION.



The Kaiser: "I THINK, AFTER ALL, I'D BE A COUNTRY GENTLEMAN."

Figure 16.25 George Jennis, 'A Peaceful Invasion', *John Bull*, 14 December 1907, p. 639.



Figure 16.26 Linley Sambourne, 'An Unrehearsed Effect', *Punch*, 11 November 1908, p. 352. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.

Just as in the case of the invasion fiction, expressions of scepticism regarding the true extent of German plans had only a short time to take hold, as tensions over Morocco again began to rise. The appearance of the SMS *Panther* off the port of Agadir was yet another clumsy attempt (this time by Bülow's successor, Theobald von Bethmann Hollweg, and the new Foreign Secretary Alfred von Kiderlen-Wächter) to assert Germany's claim to 'a place in the sun'.⁴⁴ Though certain that it was Germany which was at fault for the renewed crisis – Leonard Raven Hill has a fat German Michael waiting for the grenade he has tossed to explode at the approach of his French counterpart – from the beginning *Punch* treated the situation with some sense of calm.⁴⁵ Despite a sabre-rattling speech by David Lloyd George, and widespread expectations of a war, initially, Spanish interference in the Franco-German squabble was the chief focus of cartoons early in the crisis.⁴⁶ However as it became apparent that the German government was attempting to turn Britain against its French *entente* partner, cartoonists became more vocal in expressing their disapproval of German tactics.⁴⁷ Leonard Raven Hill stated emphatically that the Anglo-French partnership was 'Solid' (Figure 16.30), showing a generic German Michael clutching



" HIS BARK WORSE THAN HIS BITE."

THE KING TO MADAM JUDY: Well, Madam, I've been talking to him and I think he will be better friends now.

Figure 16.27 Sanders, 'His Bark is Worse than His Bite', *Judy*, 1 September 1906, p. 415.



THE KAISER THROUGH MR. BLATCHFORD'S GLASSES.

Figure 16.28 Bert Thomas, 'He won't be happy till he gets it!', *London Opinion*, 25 December 1909, p. 4.

at his injured foot (having just kicked at the *Entente Cordiale* rock, expecting it to be made of paper). The same figure appeared some months later, after German protestations of peaceful intentions had been greeted with cynicism by the international community, the German figure crying that 'nobody loves [him]' (Figure 16.31).

For *John Bull*, that Britain would assist France in showing Germany the door over the Moroccan issue was beyond dispute, with an overweight German Michael looking uncomfortable at John Bull's forceful gesture in



Figure 16.29 Leonard Raven Hill, 'I Spy!', *Punch*, 14 September 1910, p. 183. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.



Figure 16.30 Leonard Raven Hill, 'Solid', *Punch*, 2 August 1911, p. 73. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.



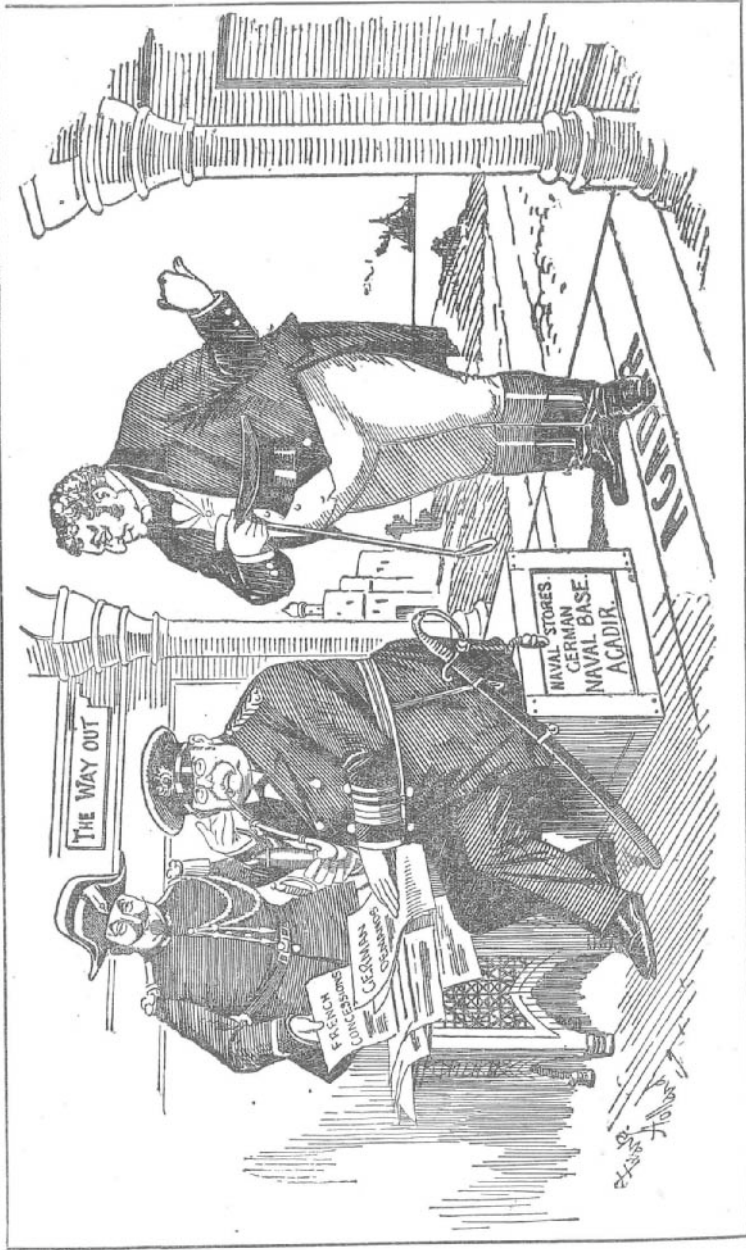
Figure 16.31 Leonard Raven Hill, 'Misunderstood', *Punch*, 6 September 1911, p. 171. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.

Frank Holland's cartoon (Figure 16.32). Such was the anti-German feeling occasioned by the crisis that *John Bull's* editor – Horatio Bottomley – also filled his paper with short articles about how 'Germany Means Mischief', and why 'Germany Must Be Stopped', and depicted Britain as quite justifiably the roadblock to German colonial expansion (Figure 16.33).⁴⁸ German tactics were also anathema to *Punch*: when Italy took the opportunity presented by Great Power distraction in Morocco to invade Turkish Tripolitania (Libya), *Punch* could only see Italy as following the German example (particularly as Italy was still nominally a party to the Triple Alliance with Austria and Germany).⁴⁹ Yet *Punch* was never so anti-German as to advocate outright war, for while the pro-French, anti-German position was maintained by Raven Hill in 'A Matter of Dignity' (the German eagle appearing pathetic compared with a powerful French chanticleer), the possibility of a German backdown was greeted by the *London Charivari* with relief as much as a sense of triumph (Figure 16.34). The ridiculous position of being on the brink of open war was satirised further by Bernard Partridge (Sambourne's successor as *Punch's* chief cartoonist) in his 'Rival Peacemakers', in which like the rival Montagues and Capulets from *Romeo and Juliet*, Britain and Germany are even willing to quarrel over how best to make peace.⁵⁰

After the peak in hostility over the Second Morocco Crisis, 1912–14 witnessed what historians generally agree was a period of stability, even (as William Mulligan has it) of improvement, in Anglo-German relations.⁵¹ Whatever the political and strategic realities of the post-Agadir period, it is safe to say that British cartoons of Germany yet again underwent a change towards a more positive aspect. Stalled Anglo-German armaments talks, which had been greeted with sarcasm (Britain itself coming in for equal criticism over an inability to agree with Germany), were renewed in the wake of the crisis (Figure 16.35). There was much anticipation in particular that Richard Haldane's mission to Berlin (in 1912), and a proposed 'naval holiday' might finally resolve the diplomatic antagonism between the two countries.⁵² J. A. Cross in the *Daily News and Leader* imagined the potential for such an agreement as possessing an almost Biblical significance; a dove of peace bringing back the 'Naval Agreement' olive branch across the sea of 'Anglo-German Naval Rivalry' (Figure 16.36). *Punch* was less flattering, imagining Admiral Tirpitz as a bookmaker, and Winston Churchill gambling on the outcome.⁵³

Dynastic ties were again viewed in this period as holding a potential key to unlocking tension. The wedding of the Kaiser's young daughter Viktoria Luise (Anne Topham's charge for some years) was hailed as an occasion on which such agreement might be able to flower; E. T. Reed's 'On Closer Inspection!' (Figure 16.37) depicting Wilhelm II, George V, and the German eagle and British lion meeting to shake hands. Likewise, Bernard Partridge showed a *Pickelhaube*-wearing cupid driving the 'Spirit of Mistrust' from the Royal Wedding.⁵⁴ Some misgivings were still expressed (particularly by the

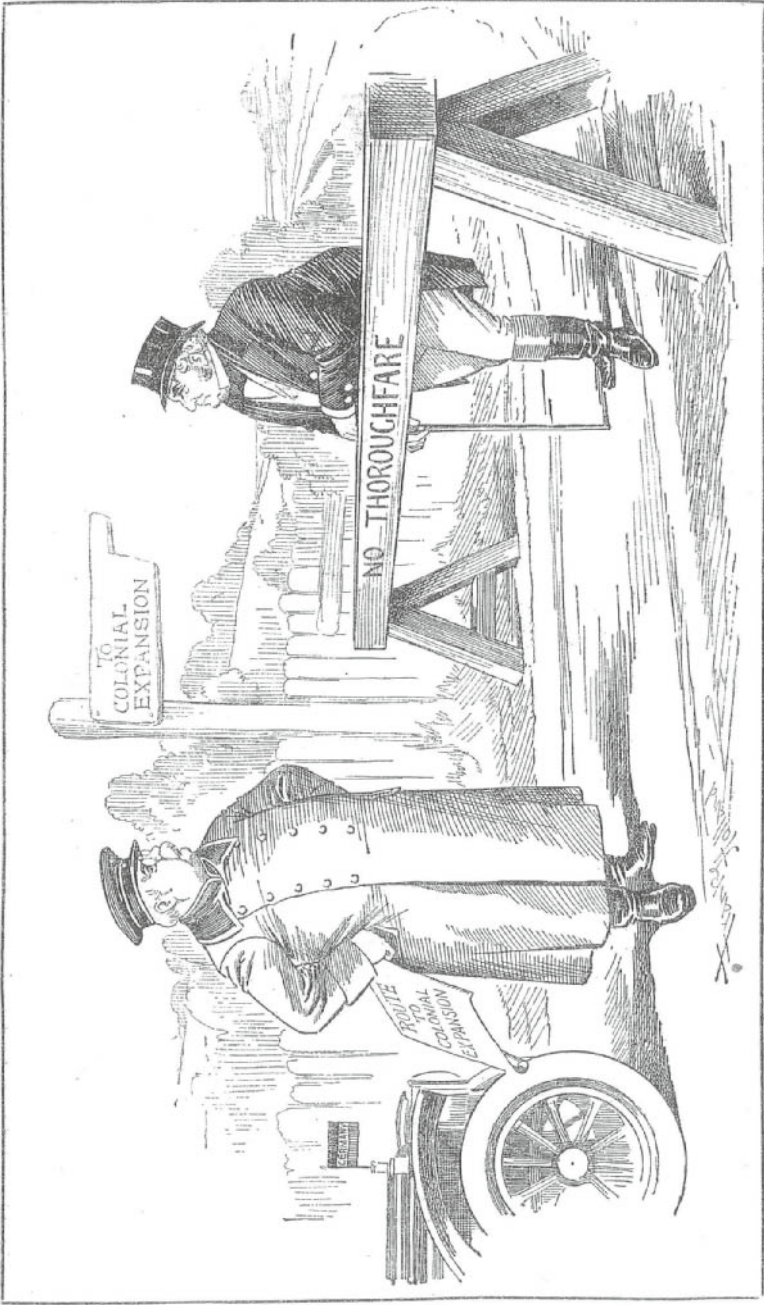
THE MOROCCO DIFFICULTY—



AND "THE WAY OUT."

Figure 16.32 Frank Holland, 'The Morocco Difficulty - and the Way Out', *John Bull*, 9 September 1911, p. 365.

BARRING THE ROAD.



THE ANGLO-GERMAN SITUATION.

Figure 16.33 Frank Holland, 'Barring the Road - the Anglo-German Situation', *John Bull*, 9 December 1911, p. 795.

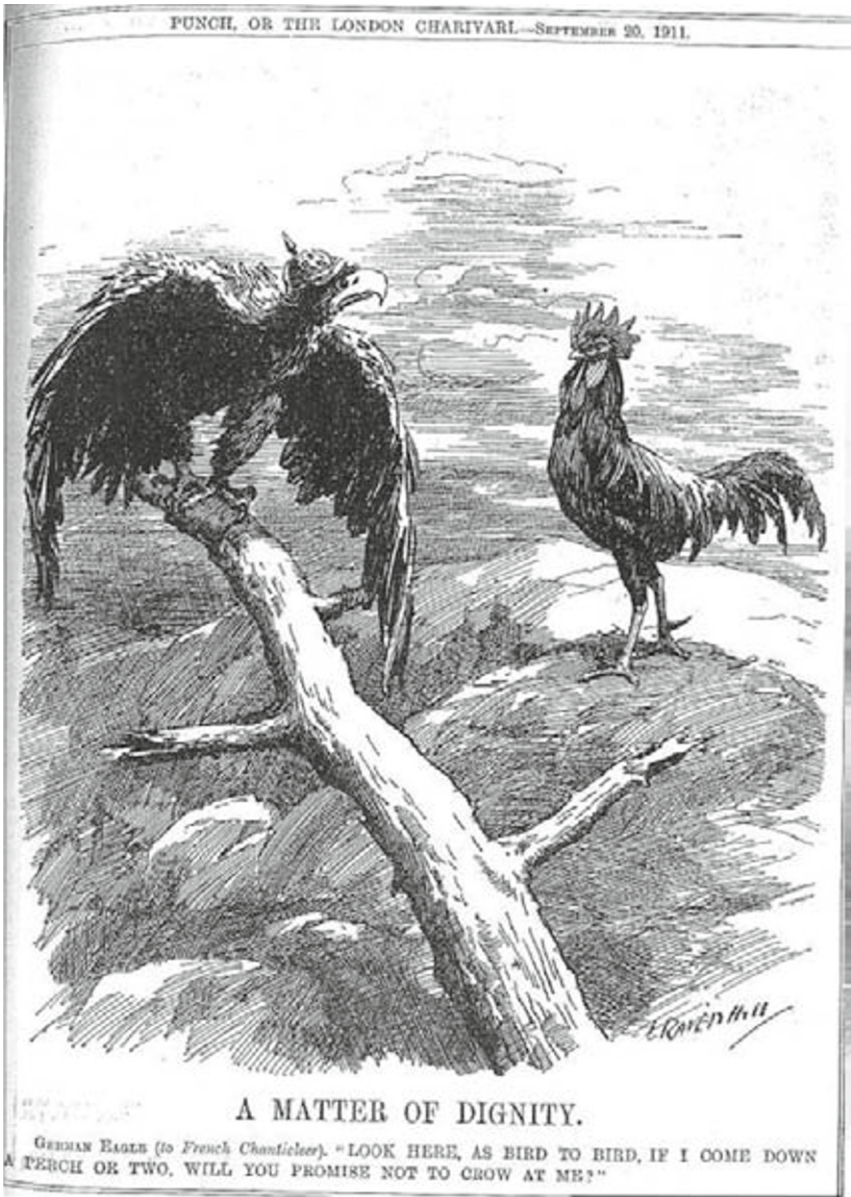
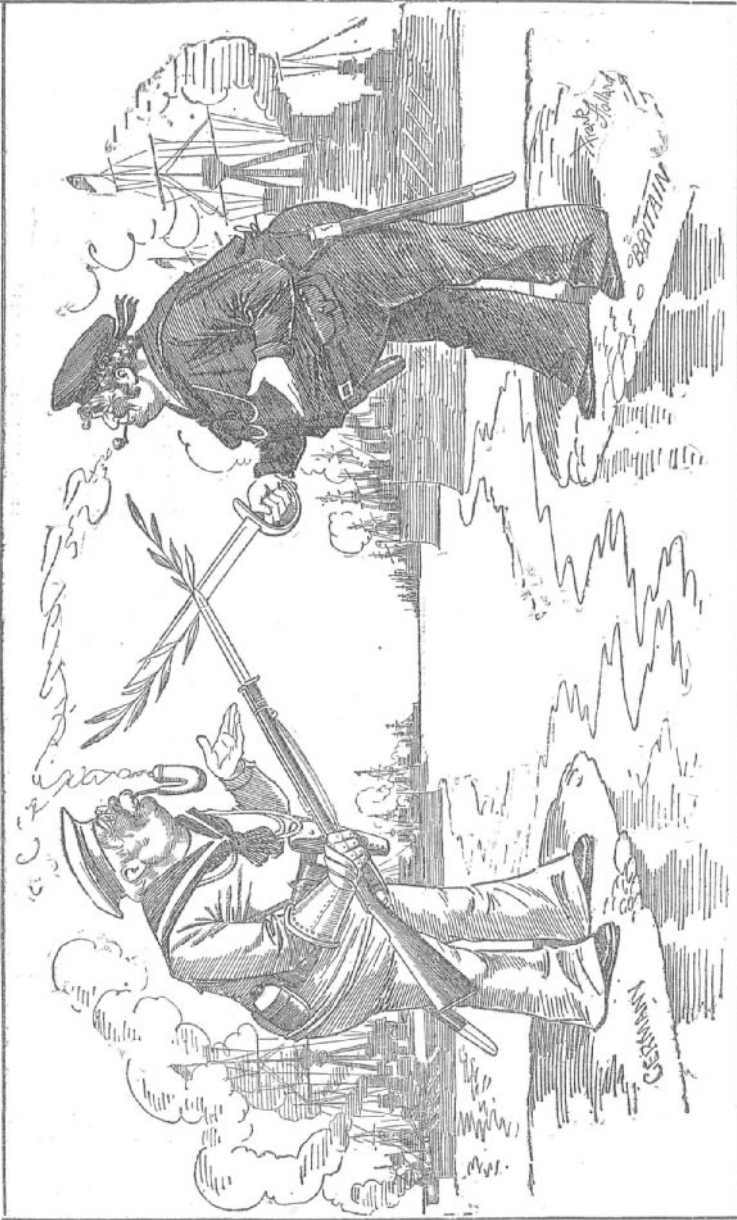


Figure 16.34 Leonard Raven Hill, 'A Matter of Dignity', *Punch*, 20 September 1911, p. 207. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.

SUCKING DOVES.



GERMANY and JOHN BULL (in unison): "After you, Sir!"

Figure 16.35 Frank Holland, 'Sucking Doves', *John Bull*, 25 March 1911, p. 473.



Figure 16.36 J. A. Cross, 'The Waters Abating', *Daily News and Leader*, 12 February 1913, p. 30.

ever suspicious *John Bull*) at the motives for a perceived German openness to negotiate, and the massive increase in armaments occasioned by the 1913 German Army Bill was not received well (Figure 16.38).⁵⁵ After news of its passage, Partridge showed German Michael (and a French figure) bent double under the weight of weapons (Figure 16.39); Frank Holland similarly depicted Germany marching blindly towards a precipice with an over-sized rifle (Figure 16.40).⁵⁶ John Bull and German Michael were, however, often depicted as partners in the (albeit ineffective) attempt to soothe troubles in the Balkans in 1912 (Figure 16.41), and the venom of Will Dyson in the *Daily Herald* was directed much more at scaremongering press barons than at the Germans they aimed to demonise.⁵⁷ In Dyson's case, as with the vast majority of cartoonists, a violent antagonism towards Germany really only erupted with the outbreak of war in August, 1914.

In her remarkable narrative history of the opening month of the First World War, Barbara Tuchman took special note of the appearance of F. H. Townsend's now famous cartoon in *Punch* of 12 August 1914, in which a small but determined Belgian child blocks the path of an old, stick-wielding

On Closer Inspection!

(BERLIN, MAY, 1913)



THE KAISER: "Why, I always thought your Lion was showing his teeth; I see, now, it's been intended for a grand smile all the time!!"

KING GEORGE: "Well, to tell you the truth, I thought your Bird was making very unpolissant play with his talons, but I realize, now, he's been wanting to shake hands, bless him!!!"

BY E. T. REED

Figure 16.37 E. T. Reed, 'On Closer Inspection!', *The Bystander*, 28 May 1913, p. 52.



Figure 16.38 Frank Holland, 'Not "Sold"!,' *John Bull*, 15 February 1913, p. 239.

German figure (Figure 13.2).⁵⁸ For Tuchman, 'Bravo, Belgium!' with its 'ludicrous rather than evil' German, was a turning point in British cartoon representations of Germany: an image of the now all-too-real Teutonic threat which was rapidly to disappear from the pages of *Punch*, and its imitators.⁵⁹ Neither this image of the generic, sausage-eating German Michael of 'Bravo, Belgium!' and earlier cartoons, nor the Crown Prince – an 'exaggerated fop with a pinched waist' – was to become the lasting image of the enemy, for

[t]he war was becoming too serious. [They] were replaced by the best-known German, the Supreme War Lord, whose name was signed to every order of OHL [*Oberste Heeresleitung* – High Command], so that he seemed the author of all German acts: the Kaiser.⁶⁰

Tuchman's observation is an astute one, for the image of Wilhelm II swiftly and almost completely supplanted the other representations of Germany which had appeared beside the cartoon Kaiser over the 26 years since the real Kaiser's accession. However this was not simply a shift back to a stock emblematic figure, with established characteristics unchanged from its pre-war incarnations; for as Tuchman noted, Wilhelm the 'pre-war mischief maker and sabre-rattler' was now replaced by a far more sinister version: a 'dark, satanic tyrant', the enemy of all that Western civilization stood for, and the very epitome of the 'Horrible Hun'.⁶¹ Gone was any hint of positive



Figure 16.39 Bernard Partridge, 'The Blessings of Peace', *Punch*, 26 February 1913, p. 163. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.

THE FOOL AND HIS FOLLY!



Germany has foolishly announced her determination to increase her already monstrous armaments by a special and additional expenditure of fifty millions pounds.

Figure 16.40 Frank Holland, 'The Fool and His Folly', *Reynold's Newspaper*, 9 March 1913, p. 2.

feeling for Queen Victoria's grandson, King Edward's nephew, or King George's cousin; gone any sense of hope that British and German sailors might settle their differences and drink with one another. The representation of Germany for cartoonists and their readers in 1914 became irrevocably that of a despised enemy, as cartoonists joined in the 'patriotic impulse towards unquestioning solidarity' with the national cause, and imagined a Germany which had always been warlike and evil, only now having cast aside its mask of peace (Figure 16.42).⁶²

In wartime, the impact of *Punch*, *John Bull* – and other periodicals and publications in which such negatively themed cartoons appeared – was felt more broadly than in past decades, as the circulation of such papers increased dramatically. The circulation of *John Bull*, for instance, had risen to an astonishing 916,000 in early 1915, and boasted 1.3 million by the beginning of 1916. Though not as spectacular, *Punch's* circulation had risen from 119,000 in the final week of 1913, to 150,000 by 1 January 1915.⁶³ The new demonic imagery also permeated the propaganda posters and other media of wartime Britain, breaking down old barriers between private and public spheres and ushering in the new politics of mass hate.⁶⁴ In *Punch* in particular, Bernard Partridge's heavily cross-hatched style lent itself perfectly to the new, darker imagery. His first large cut of the war established a precedent

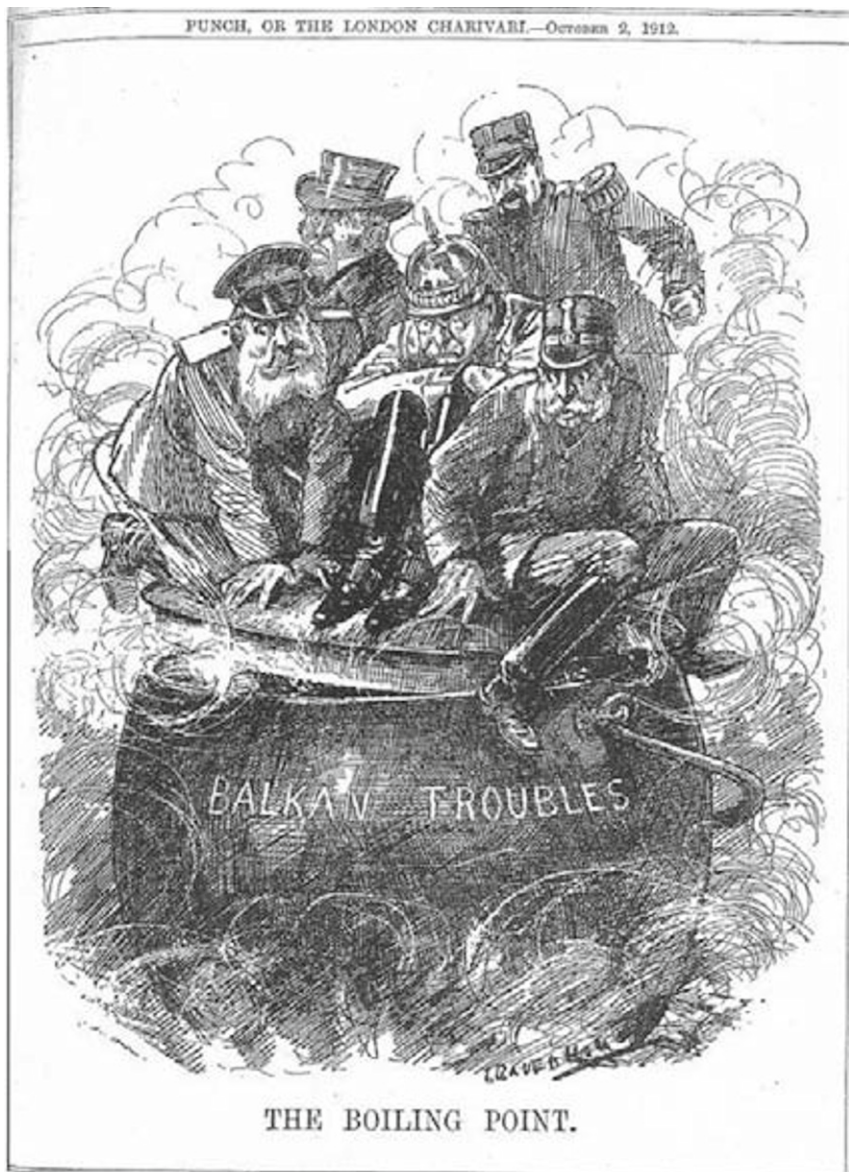


Figure 16.41 Leonard Raven Hill, 'The Boiling Point', *Punch*, 2 October 1912, p. 275. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.



LONDON:
PUBLISHED AT THE OFFICE, 10, BOUVERIE STREET,
AND SOLD BY ALL BOOKSELLERS.
1914.

Figure 16.42 Bernard Partridge, Frontispiece, *Punch*, Volume CXLVII, 1914. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.

for the conflict's duration: 'The World's Enemy' (Figure 16.43) showing the Kaiser in company with his 'only friend' – the allegorical figure of Carnage – and surrounded by death and destruction. Indeed, less than a month after its appearance, this image reappeared in 'The New Rake's Progress', a special supplement to the regular edition of *Punch*, 'illustrating the Kaiser's career'.⁶⁵ This first retrospective collection of cartoons purported to show the consistency of the *London Charivari's* past attitude towards Wilhelm II, and the steady downturn in Anglo-German relations wrought by the irresponsible and downright aggressive actions of a dangerous warmonger. Many of the cartoons analysed throughout these chapters reappeared in an entirely new context, as *Punch's* wartime readership was given the opportunity to reflect upon the megalomania portrayed in 'The Modern Alexander's Feast', or the image of Great Power diplomacy in 'Not in the Picture', with the knowledge of hindsight that Wilhelm's past indiscretions were but stepping stones on the road to the conflict in which Britons now found themselves trapped.⁶⁶

For the readers of 1914, Partridge's 'World's Enemy' would have been in keeping with the other contents of the volume, and uncannily similar in style to his 1905 cartoon 'The Sower of Tares', originally a response to Germany's dealings over Morocco, and thus supposedly illustrative of a far-sighted, decade-long suspicion of German intentions.⁶⁷ Now appearing not ten *years*, but fewer than ten *pages* apart, such images served to create an impression that the Kaiser's (and Germany's) diplomatic blunders were far more concentrated and deliberate than was apparent to earlier readers, observing them as they occurred over a quarter of a decade. To further reinforce the perception of a long-held enmity, *Punch's* editors saw fit to append single-sentence 'explanations' to each cartoon appearing in the supplement, further simplifying their meanings, and often serving to alter the original intention of the cartoon. For instance, when Raven Hill first produced 'Harmony', it was certainly designed to emphasise the militaristic ideals of Germany and its ruler, commemorating as it did the imperial patronage of celebrations for Krupp's centenary.⁶⁸ However, as it appeared in 'The New Rake's Progress', a subtle change in meaning was brought about by the addition of the legend: 'the Kaiser prepares for the Millennium (Prussian Version)' (Figure 16.44). While the change in meaning is hard to define exactly, 'Millennium' in this case does not refer to the relatively benign twenty-first-century notion of a thousand-year period, but rather to the Biblical 'Day of Judgement'.⁶⁹ Thus, a reader viewing an image of the Kaiser playing a pipe organ made from Krupp gun barrels would readily assume that Germany was preparing for the outbreak of war many years before the event, and the undoubted militarism of the German elite is presented in a far more deliberately aggressive form in 1914 than originally conceived of in 1912.

'The New Rake's Progress' was not a unique publication. *Punch* itself produced a follow-up supplement 'Punch and the Prussian Bully', which was



THE WORLD'S ENEMY.

THE KAISER. "WHO GOES THERE?"

SPIRIT OF CARNAGE. "A FRIEND—YOUR ONLY ONE."

Figure 16.43 Bernard Partridge, 'The World's Enemy', *Punch*, 19 August 1914, p. 167. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.

The New Rake's Progress.



HARMONY.

[THE GERMAN EMPEROR HAS BEEN PATRONISING THE CENTENARY OF KAUFF'S GUN FACTORY.]

August 16, 1912.

"The Kaiser prepares for the Millennium (Prussian Version).

Figure 16.44 Leonard Raven Hill, 'Harmony', in 'The New Rake's Progress', Supplement to *Punch*, Volume CXLVI, 16 September 1914, p. 14. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.



Figure 16.45 John Tenniel, 'Gaul to the New Caesar' in 'Punch and the Prussian Bully, 1857–1914', Supplement to *Punch*, Volume CXLVI, 14 October 1914, p. 9. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.



Figure 16.46 E. J. Sullivan, 'The Prussian Butcher', in E. J. Sullivan, *The Kaiser's Garland*, London: William Heinemann, 1915, p. 10.

composed of reinterpreted cartoons of Germany other than those simply representing Wilhelm II (including images of Bismarck, Germania and German Michael).⁷⁰ The effect was the same; *Punch* claiming 'the Prussian bully' simply had no sympathy for France in a reprinted 'Gaul to the New Caesar' (Figure 16.45) ignores the complexity of the original, which showed respect for both Wilhelm I and the French figure (who, it must be noted, was refusing to surrender: a nobler characteristic in 1914 than in 1871, when it prolonged a bloody conflict unnecessarily).⁷¹ Apart from *Punch*, Edmund J. Sullivan's 'wholehearted hymn of hate' – *The Kaiser's Garland* of 1915 – notably collected a series of the most gruesome anti-German cartoons; its pages filled with monstrous beasts, murdered cupids, and ubiquitous, *Pickelhaube*-d, animalistic Huns. The imagery of 'The Prussian Butcher' (Figure 16.46) or 'Crocodile Tears' was of a kind not seen since Boucher depicted Wilhelm I as a hideous ape, and nowhere was there a sense that attitudes were ever different in the intervening period.⁷² One cannot help

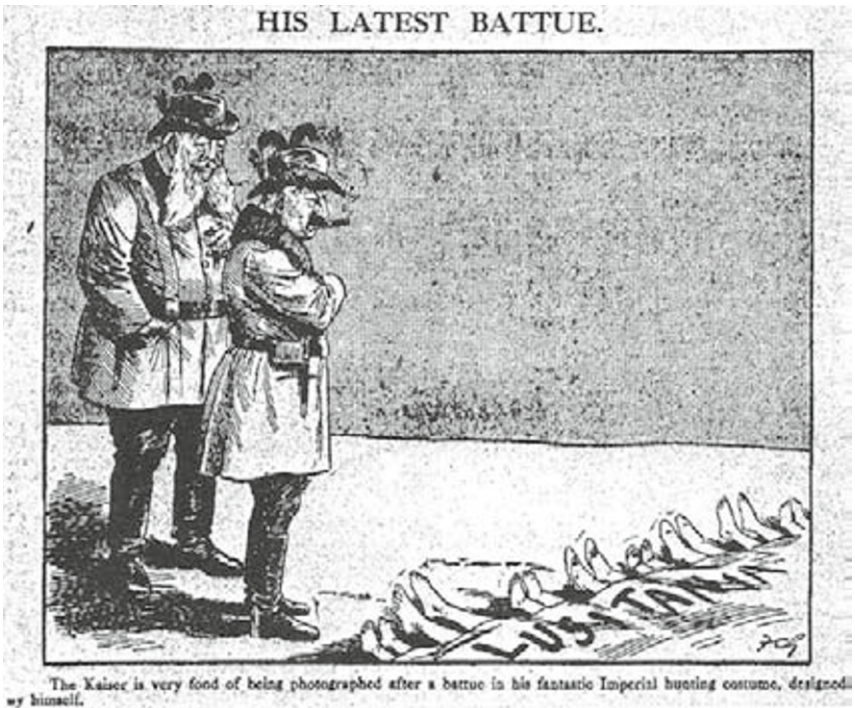


Figure 16.47 [Unknown], 'His Latest Battue', *Westminster Gazette*, 17 May 1915, p. 2.

but suppose that had *Judy* and *Fun* survived into 1914, a similar recasting of their cartoonists' attitudes to Germany and the Germans would also have taken place.

The impact of such images was also felt beyond the home front, as *Punch's* anti-German cartoons were reproduced in postcard format for consumption by both the domestic market and for use by the troops on the Continent.⁷³ In both the magazine form and Jerrold & Sons' postcard reproductions, there was no room for expressions of familiarity or admiration now that the Kaiser had permitted barbaric atrocities to be visited upon 'Little Belgium', or the passengers of the *Lusitania* (Figure 16.47).⁷⁴ As Tuchman noted, all the diplomatic intrigues of the past were now to be viewed only through the eyes of those who had witnessed 'what happened to Belgium', forgetting that the Kaiser was ever greeted rapturously by his grandmother's subjects, or that Bismarck and Disraeli had been partners in bringing peace in an earlier time.⁷⁵ Buoyed by the increasing market for propaganda images which vilified the enemy as 'baby-killers, rapists and mass-murderers' – and by

the enormous demand for postal supplies from millions of mobilised men desirous of staying in touch with the home front – Jerrold & Sons added more *Punch* cartoons to their series, which totalled 36 by 1916, and even included such originally neutral representations as 'Dropping the Pilot'.⁷⁶ These are the images which still dominate understandings of British representations of Germany in cartoons of this period, but obscure the feelings of ambivalence that mirror those found in cartography, travel accounts and literature.

Conclusions

In asking again to what extent Britons came to imagine Germany as their enemy 'Other' before the outbreak of the Great War, it is apparent that British perceptions of Germany were generally much more complex and multifaceted than has hitherto been fully appreciated. Rather than a straightforward transition from regarding Germany as a 'model', to a growing awareness of Germany as a 'monster', a far more ambivalent mixture of attitudes developed towards the end of the nineteenth century, as Britons debated what Germany could and should mean for them and their nation. The tendency (albeit with some reservations) to imagine Germany positively – as a model of excellence in education and culture, coupled with recognition of the racial, dynastic and religious ties which bound Britain to Germany – survived well into the period when diplomatically, relations between the two countries were becoming strained. These feelings continued to coexist alongside and interact with a newer sense of Germany as a competitor and rival of Great Britain: 'admired for its economic success and social welfare provision, it was also regarded as illiberal, militaristic, and technocratic'.¹ In the wider popular discourse, a significant debate raged over whether Germany itself might be considered an ally, or an adversary; and whether this new German model should indeed be accepted, as had the older one, as worthy of emulation. Even those most convinced of Germany's nefarious designs on Britain's trade and territories still held up German military and industrial practices as constituting *new* models for Britain to emulate; some even calling for an expansion of state power à la the *Kaiserreich*, or hoping for a dictator in the manner of Bismarck to better maintain the nation's imperial pre-eminence.

While this debate continued, Britons maintained and even strengthened their links with Germany and the Germans through travel and (like the Bartholomews and other cartographers) professional contacts. In cartography, the long-standing and very close 'freemasonry' between British and German mapmakers largely insulated this profession from many of the tensions arising from changes in the diplomatic sphere. Thus, the images of Germany appearing in British atlases (both domestically-produced and

through Anglo-German collaboration) retained a sense of racial and religious kinship between the two nations, which was consequently imparted to the broader reading public. At most, subtle reflections of the diplomatic situation – like the term ‘North Sea’ eclipsing ‘German Ocean’ – did filter through onto the maps produced towards the end of the period discussed, while the flourishing exchange of ideas and expertise continued until cut off by the outbreak of war. Travellers to Germany were also largely unaffected by any growing diplomatic difficulties between the nations, and the speed and manner in which the holiday season of 1914 came to an end surprised a great many. Though kept apprised of the upheavals of the international arena by their reading of the press, this did not prevent travellers and tourists from imbibing the parallel cultural and state-based versions of Germany found in the *Baedekers*. This was a view in which the ‘new’ and ‘old’ Germany were equally attractive and popular with Britons, and in which North and South (and Western Rhineland) formed inseparable parts of the whole, to be explored and enjoyed in tandem.

In areas supposedly more familiar to the historian – literary and cartoon depictions of Germany – it is apparent that a critical re-evaluation of the sources was needed to more fully appreciate the complexity of British feeling. To examine the ‘invasion’ fiction of the pre-war period without also examining the wider literary context (and vice versa) is to miss a vital area of cultural interplay. From as early as the 1860s, writers of varying persuasions were engaged in a long-term and multifaceted debate over precisely what ‘Germany’ could and should mean for Britain, and not merely passively receiving images of it as a future military opponent. In the case of political cartoons, a continued reliance upon a limited selection of these valuable sources, combined with the inherited short-sightedness of wartime collections, has also produced a skewed image of past attitudes. British cartoonists responded in a wide variety of ways towards German actions on the world stage, only one of which took the view of outright antagonism. It was only in 1914 that images of Germany took on the form so well known today, as older cartoons were reinterpreted as evidence for a long-standing tradition of German aggression.

Each of the bodies of evidence consulted here – cartographic, literary, travel, and cartoon-based – followed different chronologies throughout the period 1860–1914. Some (such as that presented by cartoons) adhered much more closely to the established patterns of diplomatic history than others, which presents in each field an altogether different image of the cultural aspect of Anglo-German relations. These differences serve to underline the importance of consulting a much broader sample of cultural evidence than in the past, in order to draw larger conclusions about British attitudes towards Germany in this key period (and for future researchers in other periods). It is also essential to appreciate the different factors which impacted upon those who produced these sources, and of the role of individuals – cartographers

and cartoonists, travellers and authors – in negotiating the way Germany was represented to the wider audience. Cartoonists for instance, were far more intent upon presenting a particularly loaded version of Germany than were cartographers, but each in their own different ways betrayed the assumptions and ideas which shaped one nation's view of the other.

Taken together, these fields show that almost paradoxically, the very building blocks of what constituted the exclusive 'British' nation (including a dominant, but not exclusively Protestant faith; a likewise dominant 'Teutonic' racial and cultural heritage; shared dynastic links, and the like) made the very idea of nation less of a potential barrier for Britons when imagining Germany and the Germans. As noted earlier, many of the aspects of presumed British national identity were shared with an emerging German nation-state, in which Protestantism of various forms maintained a precarious hegemony in an empire also containing a large Roman Catholic minority (something also shared with the United Kingdom, inclusive of Ireland). Similarly, ideas of Teutonism and of racial particularity emerged and strengthened their hold on ideas of nation in both Germany and Britain during the period covered by this book, as British (and American) enthusiasts of Anglo-Saxonism sought to trace their biological and constitutional origins in an historically constructed German Fatherland. Even the British monarchy, constructed from the eighteenth century as a focal point for national loyalty and defence against despotism and 'Popery', found its roots in links to its German counterparts. In the period covered by this discussion, notions of 'our German cousins' were therefore not all that far from reality, when the figureheads of each nation *were* (from 1910 in particular) first cousins.

Moreover, as this book has shown, the various discourses concerning Germany and the Germans in cartography, travel literature, fiction and political cartoons served to break down the notional barriers even further, allowing space for debate, and inhibiting the formation of straightforward, simplistic imagery. Considering the remarkable transnational relationships described in Part I, a high regard for the technical achievements of, and strong business ties between cartographic counterparts across the North Sea helped to transcend the boundaries of nation right up to the hardening of those lines in July–August 1914. For the Bartholomews and their German partners in particular, even while couching their mutual admiration in the language of nation, divisions between 'Britain' and 'Germany' (or 'Scotland' and 'Saxony'; or even 'Edinburgh' and 'Leipzig') were arguably less tangible than a shared connection in the world of commerce and science. Throughout the period discussed here, the lines they drew on the map suggestive of national frontiers were constantly blurred by the pinkish hues of shared racial and cultural inheritance, and were arguably far less important than those dotted and solid lines showing the steamship and railway routes, linking rather than separating Britain and Germany (indeed for Ian Bartholomew, on the cover of his 1907 Christmas letter home, such

national boundaries did not exist). The admiration for German cultural and intellectual achievements (and later, material and military achievements) expressed more generally in literary forms also served often to construct Germany as more a 'model' than a 'monster'. This in turn inspired many to visit the source of such flowerings through travel and tourism; a pastime reliant upon the maps and travel guides designed and produced to facilitate such movements. In doing so, British travellers found that many of the stereotypes of literature and the caricatures of political cartoons were less accurate (or at least less negative or threatening) than they appeared when observed from afar.

It has been a key outcome of this book to break down the national dichotomy between Britain and Germany present in much of our understanding of this period of history. But more importantly, the binary notions of 'model' and 'monster' as exclusive determinants of this multifaceted relationship have been shown to be inadequate. The British did not simply turn from admiration of the idealist Germany of *Dichter und Denker*, to antagonism towards the materialist, Prussianised Germany after 1871 (and particularly after about 1896). Though this has been the dominant discourse of cultural Anglo-German relations in this period (reflected in Mander's contrasting 'Germanys' at the beginning of this book), it has been my purpose to reinforce the newer view that no such easy transition existed for the British. This said, the analysis undertaken in this book was by no means intended simply to discount the evidence for a rise in antagonism provided by press reports and diplomatic documents. Rather, it has been my aim throughout this book to demonstrate the growing sense of debate, and ambivalence, in British imaginings of Germany and the Germans, rather than any simple transition from admiration to antagonism.

Throughout this period, Britons debated in various ways the potential benefits and dangers posed by the developing German Empire; a debate which was only settled by the outbreak of the Great War. Public perceptions like the ones covered here no doubt played their part in the decision-making processes that ultimately launched the war. Those closest to the levers of power, during the July Crisis of 1914 that led to Britain's declaration of war on Germany, were not insulated from such ambivalent and uncertain images as constructed by cartographers, travellers, novelists and cartoonists. Indeed in the light of this, it is perhaps now more appropriate than ever that a 'new Kennedy' seek to synthesise and make sense of the whole picture of Anglo-German relations uncovered since 2000; the challenge recently laid down by Jan Rüger awaits someone to take it up.² Other forms of evidence too may be needed to shed further light on the attitudes of Britons towards Germany. Much too needs to be said of the other side of the relationship explored here – the development of German images of Britain and the British – a task which would have required the length of yet another book (and more) to fully do it justice.

Similarly, while this book has sometimes looked beyond the bourgeois and aristocratic worlds, the attitudes dealt with here are primarily of 'middle-class' origin, leaving the attitudes of the working classes to others.³ Such attitudes and images are also largely male-dominated, leaving much to be said about interactions between British and German women. Similarly, in exploring external impressions of supposedly monolithic nations, I have paradoxically made 'Germany' and 'Britain' seem (in David Blackbourn's words) 'less internally coherent and more externally open-ended'.⁴ Scottish, Welsh, Irish (or specifically English) attitudes towards Germany are not yet well-understood, but deserving of closer attention. Was Keith Robbins correct in asserting that in relation to foreigners like the Germans, these and other groups really did think of themselves as 'British'?⁵

The period of the 'Rise of the Anglo-German Ambivalence' is a field of enormous complexity and ongoing historical significance, the full measure of which historians have only begun to appreciate. This book has been a further step in a new direction in exploring that vast and fascinating field.

Notes

Introduction – ‘The Beginnings’

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3 A 'Pink Link' – Race, Religion and the Anglo-German Cartographic Freemasonry

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5 Britain and Baedeker's Germany

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77. 'Intervention', *Fun*, 5 November 1870, p. 181.
78. 'The Modern Andromeda; will She be released?', *Fun*, 29 October 1870, p. 171; 'Intervention', p. 181; 'An Open Question', *Fun*, 12 November 1870, p. 191; 'Spenlow and Jorkins, German Translation', *Fun*, 26 November 1870, p. 210.
79. 'German Cookery', *Fun*, 15 October 1870, p. 149; 'The English Beef, the French Wine, and the German Sausages', p. 15.
80. Also see the earlier 'Demand thy Life!' (*Punch*, 12 November 1870, p. 200), in which France is more clearly the subject of sympathy and respect as a noble Christian knight, facing a barbarian.
81. Churchill, 'Cartoons and Cartoonists', p. 584.
82. Scully, 'The Other Kaiser', pp. 83–4.
83. 'Fallen Among Thieves', *Judy*, 8 February 1871, pp. 146–7.
84. 'Excessive Bail', *Punch*, 18 February 1871, p. 67.
85. Illustrations to 'Preface', *Punch*, Volume LXI, July–December 1871, pp. iii, v.
86. 'Who's Afraid? Or, the Glorious Results of the Russian Treaty', *Judy*, March 22, 1871, pp. 206–7; Holborn, *History of Modern Germany*, pp. 189, 220; M. G. Fry, E. Goldstein, R. Langhorne, *Guide to International Relations and Diplomacy*, London: Continuum International, 2002, pp. 137–8.
87. 'Looking and Longing – A Dream of the Future', *Judy*, 5 April 1871, pp. 226–7.

88. See above, part three for the comparison with Chesney's *Battle of Dorking*. Compare below, the cartoon of Friedrich's son Wilhelm II in 'One Who Knows', *Punch*, 13 February 1901, p. 127, for an interesting parallel.
89. 'Rehearsal of War', *Punch*, 16 September 1871, p. 114; 'Attention!', *Punch*, 21 January 1871, p. 25.

14 Satiated and Satisfied? Bismarckian Germany

1. Scully, 'The Other Kaiser', pp. 87–9.
2. Bryant, *World War I in Cartoons*, pp. 16–17; Mander, *Our German Cousins*, pp. 3–4.
3. W. F. Bertolette, 'German Stereotypes in British Magazines Prior to World War I', unpublished MA dissertation, Louisiana State University, 2004, p. 130, at http://etd.lsu.edu/docs/available/etd-06092004-150805/unrestricted/Bertolette_thesis.pdf.
4. For the 'German Revolution', see H. Pearson, *Dizzy: A Life of Benjamin Disraeli*, London: Penguin, 2001, p. 190.
5. On the *Kulturkampf*, see V. R. Berghahn, *Imperial Germany, 1871–1918: Economy, Society, Culture and Politics*, Revised edn, New York: Berghahn Books, 2005, p. 90, 244–5; Clarke, *Iron Kingdom*, pp. 568–76.
6. P. Wiegler, *William the First: his Life and Times*, London: George Allen & Unwin, 1929, pp. 42, 174, 275, 336.
7. J. Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress; with a Life of John Bunyan*, by Robert Southey, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1837, p. 135.
8. 'Bismarck and his Backer', *Punch*, 31 January 1874, p. 45. On Russell's anti-Catholicism: D. A. Kerr, 'A Nation of Beggars? Priests, People and Politics in Famine Ireland, 1846–1852', Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994, pp. 8, 330–2; S. Matsumoto-Best, *Britain and the Papacy in the Age of Revolution, 1846–1851*, Woodbridge: Royal Historical Society, 2003, pp. 91–3, 146, 161–6.
9. In non-cartoon form, *Punch* could be highly critical of the methods of the *Kulturkampf*, as in 'Persecution in Prussia', *Punch*, 15 November 1873, p. 200.
10. On the 'May Laws': Berghahn, *Imperial Germany*, p. 244; Kennedy, *Rise of the Anglo-German Antagonism*, pp. 106–8.
11. 'Of One Mind (for Once)', *Punch*, January 25, 1879, p. 31.
12. 'Of One Mind (for Once)', p. 30; 'Keeping it Down', p. 143.
13. 'Knickknacks', *Fun*, 7 January 1885, p. 7.
14. 'The Good Time Coming – A Bad Time for Some of Them', *Judy's Almanac for 1879*, December 1878, p. 8.
15. G. A. Craig, *Germany, 1866–1945*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978, p. 158; J. Steinberg, *Bismarck: A Life*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011, pp. 397–8.
16. *The Times*, 10 January, 1882, p. 9.
17. *The Times*, 11 January, 1882, p. 9.
18. Morris, *Artist of Wonderland*, p. 160.
19. 'O, Lovely Peace', *Punch*, 22 May 1875, p. 220.
20. Scully, 'The Other Kaiser', pp. 70–1.
21. 'The Latest Novelty in Peaceful Shepherds', *Judy*, 16 May 1883, pp. 234–5.
22. 'The Gathering of the Eagles', *Punch*, 22 December 1877, pp. 282–3.
23. A. J. P. Taylor, *Bismarck: the Man and Statesman*, London: Hamish Hamilton, 1985, pp. 170–1.
24. Homer, *Odyssey*, W. H. D. Rouse (trans.), New York: Signet, 1999, pp. 112–13 (Book X).

25. 'The New Leg', *Punch*, 6 July 1878, p. 306; 'The Schoolmaster Abroad', *Punch*, 13 July 1878, p. 7.
26. 'In Liquidation', *Punch*, 31 July 1880, p. 43; 'Suaviter in Modo', *Punch*, 15 May 1880, p. 223.
27. 'The Lion's Just Share', *Punch*, 30 September 1882, pp. 150–1; 'At the Mercy of Every Ruffian', *Judy*, 12 January 1882, pp. 294–5; 'The Conference Class', *Fun*, 9 July 1884, p. 17; 'The Mastiff and the Poodle', *Punch*, 20 September 1884, p. 142. For the background, see: Pakenham, *Scramble for Africa*, pp. 72–85, 123–40.
28. 'The New Guinea Prig – a Specimen of German Clowning', *Fun*, 7 January 1885, p. 10.
29. Also see 'The Birdcatcher', *Moonshine*, December 20, 1884, pp. 251–2.
30. Pakenham, *Scramble for Africa*, p. 240.
31. 'The Greedy Boy', *Punch*, 10 January 1885, p. 19.
32. Kennedy, *Rise of the Anglo-German Antagonism*, pp. 167–83; M. P. Fitzpatrick, *Liberal Imperialism in Germany: Expansionism and Nationalism, 1848–1884*, New York: Berghahn Books, 2008, pp. 116–17.
33. Similarly: 'Wooing the African Venus', 22 September 1888, p. 134 'Hands Off!', 9 February 1889, p. 62; 'Our Own Hurdy-Gurdy', *Judy*, 1889, p. 193.
34. H. Carr, 'Modernism and Travel (1880–1940)', in P. Hulme and T. Youngs (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002, p. 72; Pakenham, *Scramble for Africa*, p. 141.
35. J. Buzard, 'The Grand Tour and After (1660–1840)', and Introduction, Hulme and Youngs (eds), *Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, pp. 7, 49. Also see above, part two.
36. 'To the French Nation. These, Greeting', *Judy*, 19 October 1887, p. 188; 'Peace and Her Champions', *Judy*, 16 November 1887, pp. 234–5.
37. Kennedy, *Rise of the Anglo-German Antagonism*, pp. 184–204. Also see D. Steele, 'The Place of Germany in Salisbury's Foreign Policy, 1878–1902', in Birke, Brechtken and Searle (eds), *An Anglo-German Dialogue*, pp. 57–76.
38. 'Rhetoric Versus Armaments', *Judy*, 9 February 1887, pp. 66–7; R. Taylor, *Lord Salisbury*, London: Allen Lane, 1975, pp. 110–13.
39. J. J. Norwich, *Byzantium: The Decline and Fall*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1996, p. 161.
40. 'Enter Bismarck', *Punch*, 18 February 1888, p. 79.
41. 'Enter Bismarck', p. 78. W. Shakespeare, *King Henry IV*, Induction, Lines 1–40.
42. Scully, 'The Other Kaiser', p. 89; Untitled, *Judy*, 31 March 1886, p. 153.
43. 'The Emperor William', *Judy*, 14 March 1888, p. 130.
44. 'Germany, 9 March 1888', *Punch*, 17 March 1888, pp. 127–8.

15 'Dropping the Pilot' – Kaiser Wilhelm II and the New Course

1. Scully, 'The Other Kaiser', p. 89; R. Scully, "'A Pettish Little Emperor": Cartoons of Kaiser Wilhelm II in *Punch*, 1888–1901', in Scully and Quartly (eds), *Drawing the Line*, pp. 04.1–04.28.
2. 'The Noble Profession', *Fun*, 28 March 1888, p. 133; Cecil, *Wilhelm II*, 1989, pp. 88–95; MacDonough, *The Last Kaiser*, pp. 92–9, 103, 107, 112.
3. Rebutisch, *Die vielen Gesichter des Kaisers*, pp. 160, 193; Strachan, *The First World War – To Arms*, p. 6.

4. Scully, "'A Pettish Little Emperor'", pp. 04.4–04.6.
5. Tenniel's Wilhelm might almost have been kneeling at the foot of Gilbert's version of Friedrich's funeral bier: 'Requiescat –Potsdam, June 15, 1888', *Fun*, 20 June 1888, p. 263.
6. L. Cecil, 'History as family chronicle: Kaiser Wilhelm II and the dynastic roots of the Anglo-German antagonism', in Röhl and Sombart (eds), *Kaiser Wilhelm II*, pp. 100–1, 102–9. Also see K. Robbins, 'The Monarch's Concept of Foreign Policy: Victoria and Edward VII', in Birke, Brechtken and Searle (eds), *An Anglo-German Dialogue*, pp. 115–129; John C. G. Röhl, "'The Worst of Enemies": Kaiser Wilhelm II and his Uncle Edward VII', in Geppert and Gerwarth (eds), *Wilhelmine Germany and Edwardian Britain*, pp. 41–66.
7. Lord Salisbury, Letter to Queen Victoria, 13 October 1888, in Cecil, 'History as family chronicle', p. 101.
8. G. Saunders, Letter to W. Bell (Managing Director, *The Times*), 14 June 1902, quoted in *The History of the Times: Volume 3 – The Twentieth Century Test, 1884–1912*, London: Times Books, 1947, p. 365.
9. Rebentisch, *Die vielen Gesichter des Kaisers*, p. 174.
10. Cecil, *Wilhelm II*, 1989, pp. 128–30.
11. Queen Victoria, Letter to Lord Salisbury, cited in Cecil, *Wilhelm II*, 1989, p. 268; 'A Wise Warning', p. 162.
12. 'A Wise Warning', p. 162.
13. P. Kennedy, 'The Kaiser and German *Weltpolitik*', in Röhl and Sombart (eds), *Kaiser Wilhelm II*, p. 155. Also see Strachan, *First World War – To Arms*, p. 6.
14. 'Fun's Tip-topical touches', *Fun*, 11 July 1888, p. 10.
15. E. Linley Sambourne, Diary entry, 19 March 1890.
16. Sambourne, Diary entry, 19 March 1890.
17. R. C. G. Price, *A History of 'Punch'*, London: Collins, 1957, p. 130.
18. 'Closing', *Judy*, 2 April 1890, p. 167.
19. Dropping the pilot is, it must be noted, a perfectly natural action to take once a ship is safely at sea.
20. *Judy*, 2 April 1890, p. 165.
21. *Punch*, 29 March 1890, p. 54.
22. Wilhelm II, speech to the *Brandenburger Landtag*, quoted in 'The German Emperor on Grumbling', *The Times*, 25 February 1892, p. 5; E. Ludwig, *Kaiser Wilhelm II*, E. Colburn Mayne (trans.), London: G. P. Putnam & Sons, 1928, p. 282.
23. Empress Friedrich, Letter to Queen Victoria, 27 February 1892, in *Letters of the Empress Frederick*, Sir F. Ponsonby (ed.), London: Macmillan, 1928, p. 434.
24. Editorial, *Freisinnige Zeitung*, quoted in *The Times*, 25 February 1892, p. 5.
25. 'Germany', *The Times*, 5 March 1892, p. 11; M. H. Spielmann, *The History of 'Punch'*, London: Cassell & Company, 1895, p. 192.
26. R. Scully, 'Mr Punch versus the Kaiser, 1892–1898: Flashpoints of a Complex Relationship', *International Journal of Comic Art*, 13: 2, Fall 2011, pp. 553–78.
27. Scully, 'Mr Punch versus the Kaiser', pp. 566–7; Benson, *The Kaiser*, p. 146.
28. Sambourne, Diary entries Tuesday, 15–Wednesday, 16 March 1892.
29. Sambourne, Diary entry, Friday, 18 March 1892.
30. MacDonough, *The Last Kaiser*, p. 165.
31. Spielmann, *History of Punch*, pp. 193–4.
32. Rebentisch, *Die vielen Gesichter des Kaisers*, p. 197.
33. J. C. G. Röhl, Introduction to Röhl and Sombart (eds), *Kaiser Wilhelm II*, p. 15; Also see Articles 17 [law], 15–18 [appointment of officials], 50 [post office], 53 [navy],

- 56 [consular affairs], 63–64 [army], 'Constitution of the German Empire (1871)', in *Reports of the American Legation at Berlin*, Washington: US Government, 1871.
34. MacDonough, *The Last Kaiser*, Figure 13 (between pp. 212–13); J. C. G. Röhl, *Wilhelm II: The Kaiser's Personal Monarchy, 1888–1900*, S. de Bellaigue (trans.), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004, pp. 504–17.
35. Article 68, 'Constitution of the German Empire'.
36. Cecil, 'History as Family Chronicle', in Röhl & Sombart (eds), *Kaiser Wilhelm II*, pp. 101–2; J. Steinberg, 'The Kaiser and the British: the State Visit to Windsor, November 1907', in *Ibid.*, p. 122; Röhl, *Wilhelm II*, pp. 101–3.
37. 'The Two Reviews', *Fun*, 7 August 1889, p. 59.
38. Also: *Black and White*, 6 July 1891, in Rebentisch, *Die vielen Gesichter des Kaisers*, figure 82.
39. Röhl, *Wilhelm II*, p. 789.
40. L. Reinermann, *Der Kaiser in England: Wilhelm II und sein Bild in der britischen Öffentlichkeit*, Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2001, pp. 193–206; J. C. G. Röhl, 'The Kaiser and England', in Birke, Brechtken and Searle (eds), *An Anglo-German Dialogue*, pp. 97–113.
41. [Untitled], *Judy*, 15 January 1896, p. 343; 'The Bone of Contention', *Judy*, January 22, 1896, p. 355.
42. Compare above: 'The Three Witches', *Fun*, p. 139.
43. 'The Milkmaid of Cowes', *Punch*, 9 May 1896, p. 218.
44. Kennedy, *Rise of the Anglo-German Antagonism*, pp. 56–7, 318–19, 391.
45. Kennedy, *Rise of the Anglo-German Antagonism* pp. 262–4, 298.
46. 'The Imperial Bagman', *Judy*, 26 October 1898, p. 505.
47. 'It's an Ill Wind', *Punch*, 24 July 1897, p. 31.
48. 'Bull Baiting', *Punch*, 19 March 1898, p. 127; 'Hold on, John', *Punch*, 2 April 1898, p. 151.
49. Röhl, *Wilhelm II*, p. 944.
50. Röhl, *Wilhelm II*, p. 952; 'The Crusader's Return', *Judy*, 7 December 1898, p. 588.
51. 'His Very Latest Appearance', *Punch*, 16 October 1897, p. 178; 'The Imperial Crummles', *Punch*, 8 January 1898, p. 2.
52. Röhl, *Wilhelm II*, p. 987.
53. Röhl, *Wilhelm II*, p. 972.
54. Röhl, *Wilhelm II*, p. 972; Rebentisch, *Die Vielen Gesichte des Kaisers*, p. 172; Scully, 'Mr Punch versus the Kaiser', pp. 572–4.
55. Frank Hardie, *The Political Influence of Queen Victoria, 1861–1901*, London: Frank Cass & Co., 1963, p. 197.
56. Benson, *The Kaiser*, p. 146.
57. Sir Theodore Martin, Letter to Queen Victoria, 13 January 1898, in G. E. Buckle (ed.), *The Letters of Queen Victoria, Third Series: A Selection from Her Majesty's correspondence and journal between the years 1886 and 1901*, Volume III: 1896–1901. London: John Murray, 1932, p. 224.
58. Sir Theodore Martin, Letter to Queen Victoria, 16 January 1898, in Buckle (ed.), *The Letters*, p. 225.
59. Pakenham, *Scramble for Africa*, pp. 540–1, 547, 550.
60. [Untitled], *Judy*, 5 April 1899, p. 163.
61. 'Cape to Cairo', *Punch*, 22 March 1899, p. 139; [Untitled], *Judy*, 29 March 1899, p. 146.
62. J. Chamberlain, Memorandum, 26 April 1898, JC7/2/2A/7.
63. J. Chamberlain, Memorandum to Lord Salisbury, 23 July 1898, JC7/2/2A/10.

64. Douglas, 'Great Nations Still Enchained', p. 152.
65. 'A Friend in Need is a Friend Indeed', *Daily Mail*, 17 November, 1899.
66. 'Welcome!', *Fun*, 21 November 1899, p. 165.
67. 'Deserted!', *Fun*, November 28, 1899, p. 173
68. 'An Imperial Helmet', *Punch*, 15 November 1899, p. 237.
69. See Bender, *Der Burenkrieg und die deutschsprachige Presse*, pp. 232ff; William Mulligan, *The Origins of the First World War*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010, p. 144.
70. J. L. Garvin, *The Life of Joseph Chamberlain, Volume III: 1895–1900, Empire and World Policy*, London: Macmillan & Co., 1934, p. 504.
71. Garvin, *Life of Chamberlain*, III, p. 501.
72. J. Chamberlain, Speech of 30 November, 1899, cited in Garvin, *Life of Chamberlain*, III, p. 508; W. Mock, 'The Function of "Race" in Imperialist Ideologies: the example of Joseph Chamberlain' in Kennedy and Nicholls (eds), *Nationalist and Racialist Movements*, pp. 190–203.
73. Hale, *Publicity and Diplomacy*, pp. 211–16; P. T. Marsh, *Joseph Chamberlain: Entrepreneur in Politics*, New Haven: Yale University press, 1994, pp. 479–80; Kennedy, *Rise of the Anglo-German Antagonism*, p. 242.
74. Kennedy, *Rise of the Anglo-German Antagonism*, 239–41; Salisbury, Memorandum of 29 May 1901, in J. Joll (ed.), *Britain and Europe: Pitt to Churchill, 1793–1940*, London: Black, 1961, p. 200.
75. Kennedy, *Rise of the Anglo-German Antagonism*, p. 241.
76. 'Contraband', *Fun*, 16 January 1900, p. 21.
77. 'Punch Prophetic', *Punch*, 31 January 1900, p. 78. See above, Figure 15.23.
78. 'May Day', *Fun*, 1 May 1900, p. 141.
79. [Untitled], *Punch*, 22 August 1900, p. 131; 'The Pekin Concert', *Fun*, September 18, 1900, p. 93; 'Leaving the Concert', *Punch*, 26 September 1900, p. 221. For the *Hunnenrede*, see Wilhelm II, Speech to embarking troops, 27 July 1900, at http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=755, accessed 13 December, 2011.
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81. Massie, *Dreadnought*, pp. 296–303.
82. *The Times*, 20 January, 1901; Wilhelm II, *My Memoirs: 1878–1918*, London: Cassell & Co., 1922, p. 99.
83. Compare the reverse effect achieved by reprinting cartoons selectively in 'The New Rake's Progress', Supplement to *Punch*, 16 September 1914, pp. 1–16.
84. 'One Who Knows', *Punch*, 13 February 1901, p. 127; T. Rennell, *Last Days of Glory: the Death of Queen Victoria*, London: Viking, 2000, p. 219.

16 The Coming of the 'Horrible Hun'

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2. *Judy*, 6 February 1901, p. 62.
3. 'A Short Memory', *Punch*, 11 September 1901, p. 183.

4. J. Amery, *The Life of Joseph Chamberlain, Volume IV: 1900–1903*, London: Macmillan & Co., 1951, pp. 167–8.
5. Hale, *Publicity and Diplomacy*, pp. 241–9.
6. Kennedy, *Rise of the Anglo-German Antagonism*, p. 257.
7. Wilhelm II, Letter to Edward VII, 30 December, 1901, cited in MacDonough, *The Last Kaiser*, p. 268.
8. Hale, *Publicity and Diplomacy*, p. 249.
9. Mulligan, *The Origins of the First World War*, p. 45; Massie, *Dreadnought*, pp. 307–9; Hale, *Publicity and Diplomacy*, pp. 251–3.
10. This was a trend which began in the 1890s. See Bryant, *World War I in Cartoons*, pp. 7–8.
11. [Untitled], *Judy*, 15 October 1902, p. 499; ‘A Purely Non-political Visit’, *Punch*, 12 November 1902, p. 335.
12. Mulligan, *The Origins of the First World War*, p. 42.
13. *The Times*, 23 January 1903, p. 3; Hale, *Publicity and Diplomacy*, pp. 258–60.
14. [Untitled], *Judy*, 23 January 1903, p. 43. The toy cats tied to Wilhelm’s wrist bear the names of the German cruisers involved in the Venezuelan affray, including SMSs *Gazelle*, *Vineta* and *Panther*, the last of which was to become infamous during the Second Morocco Crisis in 1911.
15. Kennedy, *Rise of the Anglo-German Antagonism*, pp. 258–60. Rudyard Kipling ‘The Rowers’, *The Times*, 22 December, 1902, p. 9.
16. ‘The New Recruit’, *Judy*, 16 November 1904, p. 1171.
17. Sean McMeekin, *The Berlin-Baghdad Express: The Ottoman Empire and Germany’s Bid for World Power*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010, pp. 50, 263.
18. B. Ireland and E. Grove, *Jane’s War at Sea: 1897–1997*, London: Harpercollins, 1997, p. 68.
19. ‘Trying a New Song’, *Punch*, 20 December 1899, p. 290.
20. Kennedy, *Rise of the Anglo-German Antagonism*, p. 284; L. Cecil, *Wilhelm II: Volume 2 – Emperor and Exile, 1900–1941*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996, pp. 100–1.
21. On the political, military and cultural impact of the *Dreadnought*, see Robert J. Blyth, Andrew Lambert and Jan R uger (eds), *The Dreadnought and the Edwardian Age*, Farnham: Ashgate, 2011.
22. ‘Without Prejudice’, *Punch*, 26 December 1905, p. 453.
23. W. Churchill, Letter to W. Royle, 20 December 1911, cited in R. Churchill, *Winston S. Churchill: the Official Biography, Volume II*, London: Cassell, 1967, pp. 1336–7.
24. William Mulligan, ‘From Case to Narrative: the Marquess of Lansdowne, Sir Edward Grey, and the Threat from Germany, 1900–1906’, *International History Review*, 30, 2008, pp. 273–302.
25. R. B. Haldane, *Richard Burdon Haldane – An Autobiography*, London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1929, p. 201. Also see pp. 184–5, 200–7.
26. ‘Not Likely!’, *Judy*, 28 July 1906, p. 355.
27. ‘Borrowed Plumes’, *Judy*, 29 September 1906, p. 463.
28. ‘The Warrior Unbends’, *Punch*, 15 May 1907, p. 345.
29. ‘In the Clouds’, *Judy*, 2 February 1907, p. 65; Feuchtwanger, *Imperial Germany*, p. 145 and Table 9, p. 202; Pakenham, *Scramble for Africa*, pp. 625–6; Massie, *Dreadnought*, pp. 288–90.
30. ‘Bill, the Giant Killer’, *Judy*, 16 February 1907, p. 96.
31. R uger, *The Great Naval Game*, p. 220.
32. Massie, *Dreadnought*, pp. 609–25.

33. R. Hill, *War at Sea in the Ironclad Age*, London: Cassell, 2000, p. 190.
34. 'The Call of the Blood', *Punch*, 31 March 1909, p. 227.
35. 'The Kaiser's Naval Designs', *Punch's Almanac for 1910*, December 1909, p. 20.
36. 'Filibial Advice', *Punch*, 2 November 1910, p. 317; 'Towards the Rapprochement', *Punch*, 4 January 1911, p. 3.
37. T. F. Cole, 'The *Daily Telegraph* Affair and its aftermath', in Röhl and Sombart (eds), *Kaiser Wilhelm II*, pp. 249–68; Bösch, *Öffentliche Geheimnisse*, pp. 401–15; Mulligan, *The Origins of the First World War*, p. 67.
38. Wilhelm II, interview in *The Daily Telegraph*, 28 October, 1908. It should be remembered that Bernard Partridge had whimsically suggested the Kaiser be consulted to help stem the tide of war in 1901: perhaps the avid *Punch*-reading Wilhelm obtained the farfetched idea from there? See Chapter 15.
39. Lothar Reinermann, 'Fleet Street and the Kaiser: British Public Opinion and Wilhelm II', *German History*, 26, 4, August 2008, 478–9.
40. Steinberg, 'The Kaiser and the British', in Röhl and Sombart (eds), *Kaiser Wilhelm II*, pp.121–142.
41. *Times*, 14 December 1909, p. 7.
42. *The Times*, 7 April 1909, p. 22.
43. *The Sketch*, 20 April 1910, p. 49; 4 May 1910, p. 113; 18 May 1910, p. 179; 1 June 1910, p. 251; E. T. Reed ('Essence of Parliament', *Punch*, 15 July 1908, p. 49.
44. Massie, *Dreadnought*, pp. 715–43. The expression 'Place in the sun' is Bülow's. See: J. Holmes, 'Mahan, a 'Place in the Sun', and Germany's Quest for Sea Power, *Comparative Strategy*, Vol. 23, No. 1, January–March, 2004, p. 27; Wilhelm II, Speech to the North German Regatta Association, 1901, at *Modern History Sourcebook*, <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1901kaiser.html>, accessed 2 November, 2007.
45. 'A Free Hand', *Punch*, 3 May 1911, p. 317.
46. P. Rowland, *David Lloyd George – A Biography*, Macmillan: New York, 1975, pp. 250–1; Steiner and Neilson, *Britain and the Origins of the First World War*, pp. 75–82.
47. The Spanish figure in 'A Spanish Diversion' (*Punch*, 26 July 1911, p. 55) is treated with disdain.
48. 'Germany means mischief – AND WE MEAN BUSINESS'; 'Germany Must Be Stopped!', *John Bull*, 9 December 1911, pp. 777, 782.
49. 'The Shocked Shocker', *Punch*, 4 October 1911, p. 243.
50. 'The Rival Peacemakers', *Punch*, 6 December 1911, p. 417.
51. The degree to which this was a period of actual détente is however, a focus for debate. Some argue this was the case (B. E. Schmitt, *The Coming of the War, 1914*, Vol. 1, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1930, p. 74; Z. Steiner, *Britain and the Coming of the First World War*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1977, p. 145; S. M. Lynn-Jones, 'Détente and Deterrence: Anglo-German Relations, 1911–1914', *International Security*, Vol. 11, No. 2, Autumn, 1986, pp. 121–50, esp. p. 125; Weber, *Our Friend 'The Enemy'*, p. 223; Mulligan, *The Origins of the First World War*, pp. 78, 126); others see it as a false dawn (R. J. Crampton, *The Hollow Détente: Anglo-German Relations in the Balkans, 1911–1914*, London: George Prior, 1977, p. vi; Kennedy, *Rise of the Anglo-German Antagonism*, pp. 452–3; Robbins, 'The Foreign Secretary, the Cabinet, Parliament and the parties', p. 19; Rüger, 'Revisiting the Anglo-German Antagonism, p.614).
52. Haldane, *Autobiography*, pp. 238–45.
53. 'The Grand International', *Punch*, 19 February 1913, p. 135.
54. 'Barred Out!', *Punch*, 28 May 1913, p. 423.
55. 'The German Spy-Der and the British Fly', *John Bull*, 17 August 1912, p. 213.

56. *John Bull* was also concerned at German air power, see 'A Place in the Sun – and one in the shade', *John Bull*, 8 March 1913, p. 347.
57. 'The Boiling Point', *Punch*, 2 October 1912, p. 275; 'United they Fail', *Punch*, 16 October 1912, p. 315.
58. Tuchman, *Guns of August*, p. 294.
59. Tuchman, *Guns of August*, p. 294.
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Plate 1 'Europe' in W. & A. K. Johnston, *Royal Atlas of Modern Geography*, Edinburgh: W. & A. K. Johnston & Co., 1861, Map 3.



OF EUROPE



ETHNOGRAPHIC MAP OF EUROPE

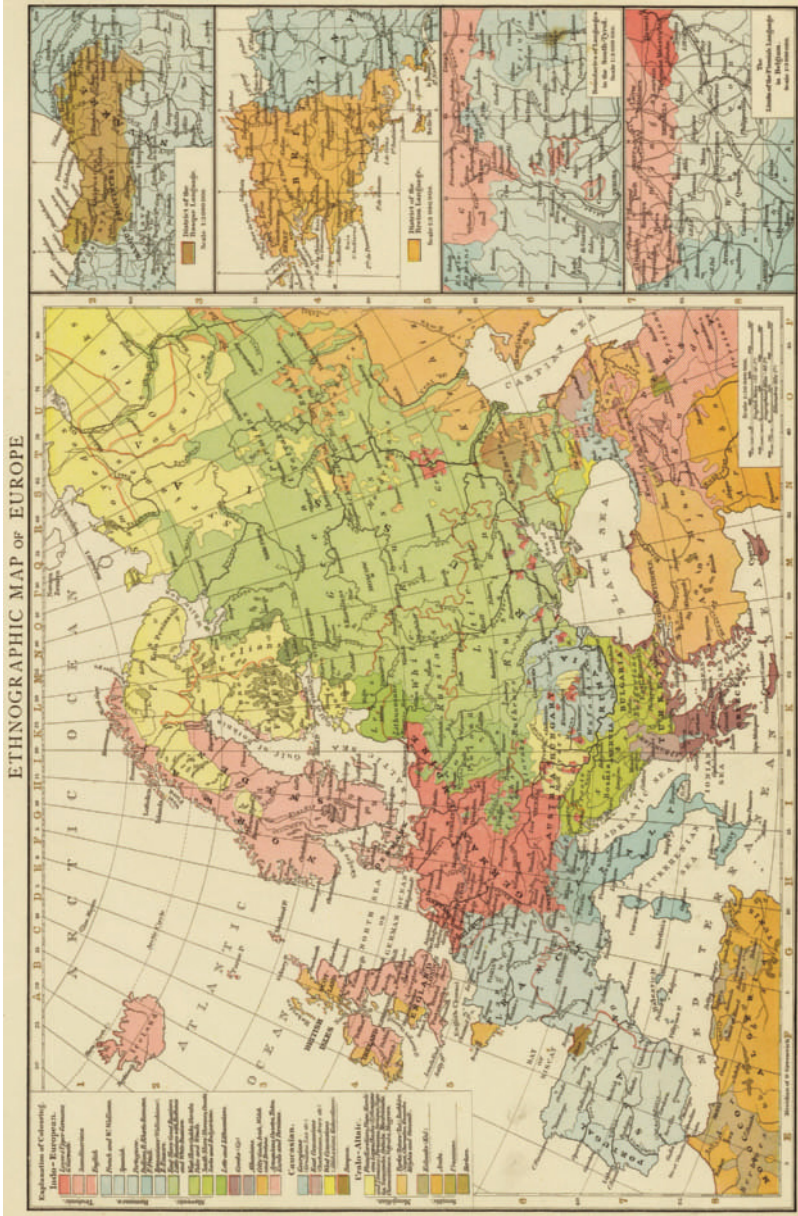


Plate 4 'Ethnographic Map of Europe', in *The Times Atlas*, London: The Times, 1895, Map 24. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.



Plate 5 Ian Bartholomew, 'Christmas Greetings from Leipzig', hand-drawn envelope, December 1907. Courtesy of Bartholomew Archive, Map Library, National Library of Scotland, reproduced by permission of the Trustees of the National Library of Scotland.

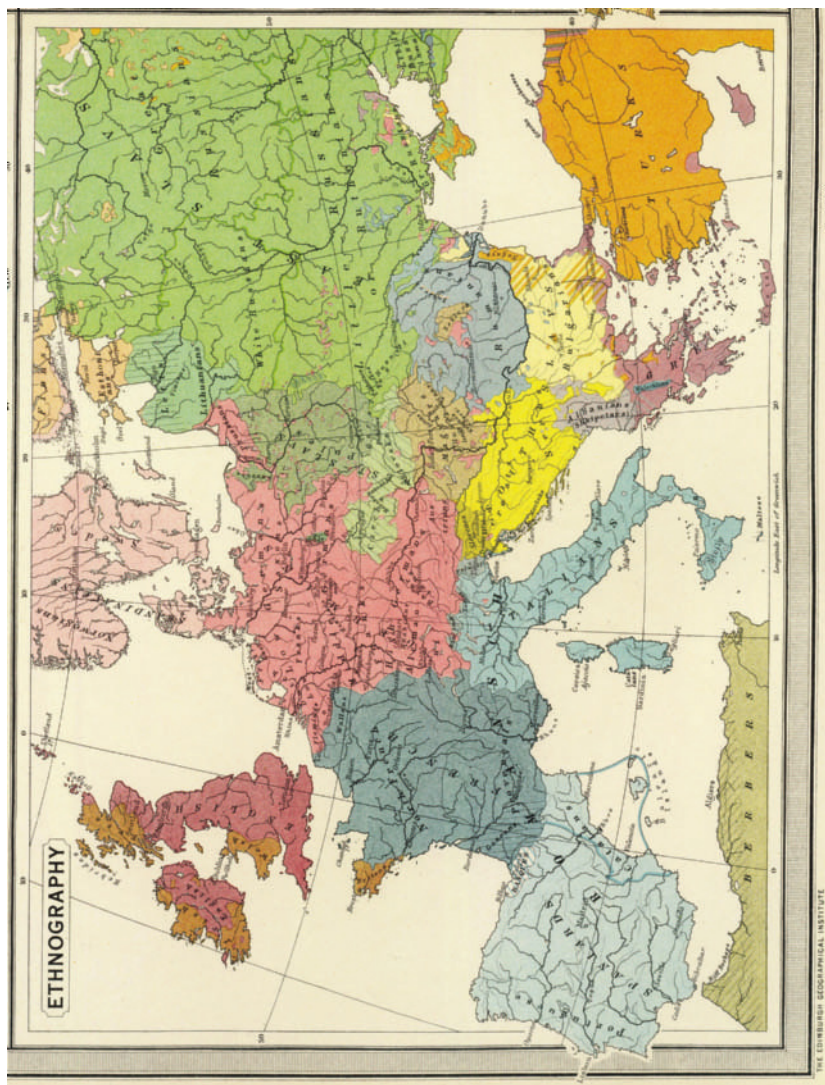


Plate 6 'Ethnography', in J. G. Bartholomew, *The Times Survey Atlas of the World*, London: The Times, 1922, Plate 11. Courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Monash University Library.