

# The Times *Broadsheets*: A Canon for the Front

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We could not think of ourselves as they do, magnificently, for years together; some one would be sure to laugh.<sup>1</sup>

With this analysis of the essential difference between British and German culture Sir Walter Raleigh, introduced the series of broadsheets which was published by *The Times* newspaper in late 1915 for the use of soldiers and sailors on active service. Raleigh's somewhat flippant comment (which is quoted more fully below) sums up the basis of selection of this interesting canon of literature which has not previously been the subject of serious study. Indeed, the broadsheets are not mentioned in either of what I think are still the most valuable books on the war and literary culture, Paul Fussell's *The Great War and Modern Memory* and Samuel Hynes's *A War Imagined*.<sup>2</sup>

The broadsheets are extremely rare but a two-volume selection was published in 1928 and 1929.<sup>3</sup> I do not think, however, that the relative obscurity of these texts is the sole reason for the lack of critical attention that they have enjoyed. Rather, the selection that is to be found in them does not easily fit into any of the three canons which seem to me to be most commonly identified as the 'orthodox' canons of war writing. These are the jingoist-patriotic, the oppositional-pacifist and the modernist.<sup>4</sup> Raleigh's remark on the light-hearted nature of Englishness demonstrates his belief that literature could provide inspiration and succour as part of the war effort while eluding the excesses of the propaganda effort and the censorship imposed by the Defence of the Realm Act.<sup>5</sup> This attitude is certainly in accord with Raleigh's cynicism concerning 'literary culture's ambitions for bringing about social

change' and complicates our understanding of the nature of his later support for the war.<sup>6</sup>

The first broadsheets were printed during the autumn of 1915 and appeared on 30 August. They were designed to meet a need that had first been expressed in a letter sent to *The Times* by Lionel Curtis. Curtis described the inspirational effects that favourite passages of literature had had on soldiers home on leave and asked if *The Times* might publish a suitable anthology. On 23 March 1928 Curtis wrote to the editor, George Dawson, setting out the circumstances in more detail:

[Sir William] Morris began reading aloud great passages of English Literature from books taken from my shelves. As he read we all felt as though a great wind was sweeping away all the prevailing cloud of gloom and the sunlight was breaking through. One of the Officers said, 'What a splendid thing it would be if we could have stuff like this in the trenches.'

Here we see a very specific moment of the war. In 1915 the campaign had hardly gone well and the realities of prolonged stalemate and modern weaponry were becoming clear. The broadsheets would provide a moral and morale boosting injection of optimism to an exhausted and depressed fighting force.

The job of organising the scheme fell to Bruce Richmond, the editor of *The Times Literary Supplement*, and he enlisted the help of Sir Walter Raleigh to make the selection. On the 17 August Raleigh wrote to Evan Charteris setting out the rationale of the scheme:

Also I am preparing 'broadsheets' for the trenches. It's better fun than I knew. I wish you would send me references of anything that occurs to you, from bits of the Book of Job to accounts of a Prize-fight. No standard except 'good of its kind'. We shall blossom this week or next. I covet enormous variety ... I have just put in some extracts from the 18th Cent. Life of Elwes the Miser – a splendid work. There is room for everyone's pets, except elephants. And (what I didn't know) there is real demand. They sicken of the parlourbogs [sic] excitements that fill the magazines and papers ... So for a time at least, I've got a job.<sup>7</sup>

The broadsheets, then, were to be an anthology of good writing and not an exercise in propaganda or patriotic hysteria.

This letter is striking given the context of the literary establishment's commitment to supporting the war. In the previous year C. G. F. Masterman of the Ministry of Information had ensured the support of such figures as Barrie, Bennet, Bridges, Chesterton, Galsworthy, Hardy, Kipling, Masfield, Newbolt, Quiller-Couch and Wells in 'the organization of public statements of the strength of the British case and principles in the war by well-known men of letters'.<sup>8</sup> Such statements were duly forthcoming and, after the

Wellington House meeting of 2 September 1914 when many writers were brought together, a host of others, including Haggard and Pinero, joined the cause. On 18 September a manifesto appeared in *The Times* which set out the principles required and affirming:

That destiny and duty, alike for us and all the English-speaking race, call upon us to uphold the rule of common justice between civilised peoples, to defend the rights of small nations, and to maintain the free and law-abiding ideals of Western Europe against the rule of 'Blood and Iron' and the domination of the whole continent by a military caste.<sup>9</sup>

These are not bad principles but they were inextricably confused with a propaganda effort designed to portray German culture as militaristic and founded on a brutal cult of blood and blind obedience.

It is interesting to note that Raleigh was not invited to Wellington House and I take it that the last sentence of his letter to Charteris refers to his lack of involvement at this point. On the 30 August 1915 he wrote to *The Times* to introduce the broadsheets as providing the soldier with 'something to read, not merely when he is in the reserve or hospital, but when he is actually in the firing line'. Raleigh developed this laudably practical aim with some comment on the relative merits of English and German culture:

I confess I like the idea of this library. Apart from its main use it seems to me to symbolise the cause for which we are fighting. The Germans are right when they call us frivolous, if it may be permitted in the name of politeness to assume that by frivolous they mean playful. They are right; we have playful minds, and they have not, so that we have often been embarrassed in our converse with them. They are full of a simple unquestioning faith in Germany, in things German, in the great deeds they have done and the great deeds they are about to do, in all that is large, heavy, solid and persistent. ... They do not want Heine in their trenches; there is a danger that he might not be serious. We could not think of ourselves as they do, magnificently, for years together; some one would be sure to laugh. ... We believe in freedom and we mean to keep it. We will fight as long as we can stand, so that the world may still be a place where spontaneous and playful persons especially women and children, may lead a life free from fear. There is no better expression of freedom, in all its senses, than English literature.

However, the broadsheets were not exclusively composed of selections from English literature. It would have been impossible to have included German literature but a response to Raleigh's letter that was published in *The Times* the next day reminded readers that Goethe's *Faust* was both 'grave and gay' and hoped that the broadsheets would 'be so too' as 'we believe that both will appeal to our men'.

The broadsheets were designed to be as light as possible so that they could be included in letters. They were printed on thin paper of roughly A4 size

and were published in sets of six. Each set came in an envelope decorated with an image of a soldier on its right-hand side and a sailor on its left. The images are not particularly inspiring and one must agree with the Archbishop of Canterbury who, on 7 September 1915, wrote:

The one criticism I should venture upon is the woodcut of the hero in the trenches. His depressed appearance may be due to the obvious inadequacy of his rifle, which is not a very handy weapon! His sailor brother is more businesslike.

The broadsheets were sold at seven shillings (35p) per hundred sets in envelopes or 65 shillings (£3.25) per thousand. They could also be bought loose at one shilling (5p) per hundred or six shillings (30p) per thousand. An internal memo (8 September 1915) records that the first series sold one million but after this sales dropped off until the project was discontinued with a selection of Christmas pieces at the end of December. In the first six weeks twenty-four sets (144 broadsheets) were produced but between mid-October and the end of the year only another six sets (36 broadsheets) came off the presses.

The broadsheets were designed not only for individual use but also for bulk purchases by the various voluntary groups working to support the armed forces and for officers to distribute to their units. For example, Lord Derby (who throughout the war worked, as Director General of Recruitment, to encourage enlistment) fostered distribution of the broadsheets via the Commanding Officers of various Territorial battalions. In addition the YMCA, the War Library, the Camps Library, the Overseas Club and the Church of England Temperance Association circulated sets of the broadsheets as part of their work. The National Institute for the Blind reproduced the sheets in braille for hospital use.<sup>10</sup> Any profit from the project was to go *The Times* Red Cross Fund.

Given the large scale of the print and the willingness of the distribution network it is worth asking why the project seems to have been brought to such a hasty conclusion. Letters to *The Times* from the front do suggest that the broadsheets were popular with some soldiers at least and the Archbishop of Canterbury, writing on 7 September, said that he would 'certainly suggest them for sick beds' as 'I can speak from personal experience of their potency there'. However, as early as 12 September Lord Derby had written with criticisms of the selection. The very next day Dawson pointed out that:

The main criticism so far has been that they may be rather over the heads of the rank and file.

An unheaded memo of 27 September (presumably from Dawson) to Bruce Richmond argued:

I think there is no doubt that we have been a bit above the heads of the average soldier whose existence we refuse to admit.

This criticism was, so far as I can judge, directed at the project exclusively by its initially enthusiastic and influential supporter Lord Derby. On 27 September, Richmond, no doubt prompted by the memo quoted above, wrote to Derby in the following terms:

I had quite come to the conclusion that the first selection was a little too stiff, and as a matter of fact the later series already contain literature of a much lighter kind. The subjects were chosen, as you know, by Sir Walter Raleigh, whose views of the private soldier's mental digestion are perhaps rather sanguine.

The selection was, as we have seen, not the exclusive work of Raleigh and it is doubtful whether the broadsheets were, in fact, originally intended for unmediated consumption by other ranks. Curtis's original letter had described the reaction of a group of officers and Raleigh himself noted that:

Mr Lionel Curtis, who, I believe, first suggested your scheme has told me that for him one of the great moments of the S. African War was the reading of Bacon's Essay on Gardens from a copy of the *Essays* which someone chanced to have by him.<sup>11</sup>

It was thus somewhat disingenuous of Richmond to place at Raleigh's door the responsibility for the difficulties that Lord Derby had in understanding the rationale of selection. The pieces had come from many sources. One contributor was E. V. Lucas. He was one of the original Wellington House group and kept a complete set of the broadsheets after the war. In a letter to Dawson (7 July 1927) he described the project as constituting 'an admirable anthology for schoolboys'.<sup>12</sup> Furthermore, the nature and style of the extracts offered kept faith with Curtis's original suggestion. We might speculate that Lord Derby's true objections to the project lay not so much in the sophistication of the selections as in the difficulty of aligning them with current ideas about the role of literature in the conduct of the war and propaganda. Raleigh, after all, had argued that the selections should show 'the familiar delights of peace'.<sup>13</sup>

Having described the processes by which the broadsheets came into being and the debate that they immediately aroused it is now time to discuss their content and the ways in which they form a coherent canon designed to appeal to a specific readership. They represent a wide selection of cultures, periods and national literatures.<sup>14</sup> The most popular author, with twelve selections, is Dickens. Shakespeare has eleven. Modern literature is represented by Kipling (twice), Conrad (twice), Hardy, Barrie, W. H. Hudson, Quiller-Couch (twice), Captain Scott, Andrew Young, Dobson, Somerville and Ross (three times) and a selection of war poems.

The foreign authors are Abraham Lincoln, Bernal Diaz (twice), Cervantes, Dumas, D'Arbalay, Turgenev, Tolstoy, Marco Polo and Boccaccio. Two broadsheets contain selections from Sir George Dasent's translations of Old Norse tales. The classical writers are Plato, Herodotus (twice) and Pliny the Elder. It may be surprising that the classics are so poorly represented but perhaps we should remember the reaction of Raymond Asquith who, in August 1916, while defending a Grenadier Guards officer on a charge of homosexual conduct, noted that one of the witnesses, himself implicated, had 'aroused everyone's suspicions by knowing Latin and Greek and constantly reading Henry James' novels'.<sup>15</sup>

Some broadsheets were designed to appeal specifically to Irish and Scottish troops. Burns had two broadsheets to himself while one broadsheet consisted of poems by Mangan, Emily Lawless and Moira O'Neill. There were broadsheets containing Australian and Canadian poems (three and five respectively). The Navy had its own broadsheets which included selections from Captain Marryat, Southey's *Life of Nelson*, Naval Ballads, the Old and New Testament, Sir Walter Raleigh, Captain John Smith, Browning, Conrad and the *Admiralty Instructions Relative to Horses and Dogs*. It is not surprising that the Old Testament should be better represented than the New and it is an irony that one selection contains the passage from *Ecclesiasticus* that begins 'Let us now praise famous men'. This includes, in its comment on those who have no graves, the line 'their name liveth for evermore' which was chosen by Kipling to be carved on the monument placed in every British war cemetery.

The broadsheets are not confined to imaginative literature: this occupies only about two thirds of the selections. There are four selections from Macaulay, three from Borrow, and extracts from a range of authors including, among others, Dr Johnson, Burke, Charles Darwin, Cobbett, Gilbert White, Walton, Carlyle, Bacon, Halifax and Hazlitt. There is a strong urge towards the representation of Englishness. We find John Nyren on the early cricketer David Harris and descriptions of the Isle of Wight from Geikie and of the Upper Thames from William Morris.<sup>16</sup> The piece from Cobbett is a rural ride entitled 'The Winchester Country' and this is particularly poignant in its depiction of what seems to have been regarded as the quintessentially English town. When the great cemetery of Tyne Cot was set out on Passchendaele ridge the landscape was made as English as possible by modelling the walls on those which surround Winchester College. Macdonnell's comic dissection of post-war society, *England, Their England*, which starts in a pill box on the Western Front, ends with a climactic vision of English authors seen from the hills above Winchester.<sup>17</sup>

The poetic canon has a strong bias towards Romanticism. Wordsworth and Shelley each have several selections and one broadsheet is devoted to eight of Blake's *Songs*. There are also poems by Peacock while, in prose, Lamb and Scott have three pieces each. Some broadsheets had a specific

theme. For example, one is devoted to 'Trees' with poems by Landor, Wordsworth, Shelley and Peacock. Another addresses 'Sleep' with pieces from Diaz, Sidney, Thomas Sackville, Shakespeare, Charles Mackay and Cervantes. One interesting broadsheet (No. 37) relates to 'The Vision of the Angel Guards' with pieces from the second *Book of Kings*, Diaz and Macaulay. The legend of the Angels of Mons had been started when Arthur Machen published his short story 'The Bowmen' in the *Evening News* of 29 September 1914. This was reprinted in book form in August 1915 just as the plans for the broadsheets were being developed.<sup>18</sup> It is well-known that Machen's story created a sensation and was taken as fact by so many that it became 'unpatriotic, almost treasonable, to doubt it', but here we find a broadsheet, significantly aimed at the fighting soldier rather than the home market and published as early as September 1915, explicitly setting the legend into a literary context.<sup>19</sup>

We may now turn to comment briefly on the ideological aspect of the broadsheet canon. The sceptical attitude to patriotic rhetoric implied by the 'Angel Guards' broadsheet described above offers a lead to what is most signally lacking, against expectation, in a collection of this kind: explicit war material and jingoistic patriotism. Since 1914 *The Times* and other newspapers had published dozens of poems about the war almost all patriotic in tone and almost all written by non-combatants. Only one broadsheet (one of the first six) is devoted to modern war poems and consists of Kipling's 'For All We Have and All We Are', Julian Grenfell's 'Into Battle', Binyon's 'To Women' and Chesterton's 'The Wife of Flanders'. Of these only Kipling's might be seen as explicitly patriotic while the contributions of Binyon and Grenfell are strongly reminiscent of the '1914' poems of Brooke. Chesterton's poem is essentially about sacrifice and even Kipling's is concerned more with ideas of freedom and fortitude than with hatred of Germany. 'Into Battle' had caused something of a stir when it was published in *The Times* in May 1915 (the month of Grenfell's death on the Western Front). Raleigh had said of it at the time that 'It can't be done again' so its inclusion in the broadsheets constituted a reminder of the immediacy of the war.<sup>20</sup>

There is much evidence to suggest that, even at the worse points of the war, most British soldiers considered that the war was worth fighting and accepted the necessity of carrying it through.<sup>21</sup> This does not mean however that most, or many, believed the propaganda campaigns which were waged on their behalf and many found patriotic representations of their horrific experience either sickening or amusing or both.<sup>22</sup> Sir Walter Raleigh was, unlike many of his office-bound contemporaries, able to pick up the scent of the 'parlourbogus' and avoided it in what might have been an attempt to carry the propaganda war to the front itself. War is represented in the series but usually at a considerable distance: we find, for example, Macaulay on the Armada, Drayton on Agincourt, the battle of Ramoth-Gilead from the *Book of Kings*, and Napier's description of the fusilier brigade at Albuera.

Similarly, patriotism makes itself felt through idealised images of Britain rather than in the anti-German rants of the official propaganda. Letters to *The Times* testified to the success of this strategy. One officer wrote that he would 'take the Izaak Walton one to the 86th on the Tigris. The beggars are so keen on fishing that they make rods of the centre rib of the date palm.'<sup>23</sup> One broadsheet author recalled her partner's pleasure in the use made of her work:

Nothing gave Martin more pleasure than that passages from the 'Irish R.M.'. It should have been included among the Broad Sheets that *The Times* sent out to the soldiers. It was in the last summer of her life, little as we thought it, that this honour was paid to our stories, and, had she been told how brief her time was to be, and been asked to choose the boon that she would like best, I believe that to be numbered among that elect company of consolers was what she would most gladly have chosen.<sup>24</sup>

It is this notion of literature as a consolation in itself, as a force to distract fighting men from the horrors of their situation, which underpins the ideological position of Raleigh and his collaborators. This is what makes them distinctive among the various projects, both official and oppositional, which attempted to bring literature into the war effort. I believe that it was Raleigh's implicit refusal to become involved in propaganda that led to the demise of the series rather than the failure of the selections to appeal to the common soldier. Indeed, by 1928, the editor of *The Times* fervently denied that this was ever the case:

There was never any question of the popularity of the broadsheets among those for whom they were originally put together.<sup>25</sup>

In 1928 and 1929 a selection of the broadsheets was published as 'a reproduction ... of the pocket literature provided by *The Times* for the men in the trenches during the early days of the War.'<sup>26</sup> On the 7 July 1927 Dawson wrote to the publishers Methuen and argued that 'we ought to insist that the Broadsheets are published as a whole or not at all for the whole point of them is their selection and their variety.' So, whatever the feelings about the project in 1915, when the pressure to contribute to the official manifestations of the war effort was intense, the cooler atmosphere of post-war grief and remembrance had legitimated the attempt to use literature as a less instrumental force.

During the Second World War and its immediate aftermath another series of broadsheets was produced. As a coda to this essay I will briefly discuss this second series which shows not only changes in attitudes towards the way in which literature could be used at the front but also in the selections made. The broadsheets were published between November 1943 and August 1946.

Thirty-three sets, each consisting of eight broadsheets, appeared and these were edited by C. W. Brodribb until his death in June 1945. The work appears then to have been taken over by R. McG. Barrington-Ward, editor of *The Times*. Barrington-Ward's posthumously published edition of the entire series appeared in 1948.<sup>27</sup> Thus, the academic amateurism of Raleigh and his correspondents was replaced by the single controlling energies of experienced professional journalists. However, the initiative for the series came, once again, from Lionel Curtis who, as early as 1940, was lobbying for the project of 1915 to be repeated.<sup>28</sup>

A centralised and official network replaced the voluntary mode of distribution adopted in 1915. As Barrington-Ward explained:

The earlier series of broadsheets had in the main been bought and distributed by the public ... But that was in the days when a publishing concern could manufacture its own wares and offer them for sale with no serious anxiety about its raw material. The more straitened circumstances of the second world war confronted *The Times* with the formidable barrier of Paper Control.<sup>29</sup>

When a licence was finally granted the broadsheets were supplied direct to the War Office which then circulated them to the various theatres of operation via the Army Education Service.<sup>30</sup> On 28 July 1944 *The Times* announced that sales would also be made direct to the public at home with the profits going to charity and these commenced on 2 August. However, as an internal memo from the editor shows (12 December 1947), this scheme was not a success:

We stopped the sale of broadsheets to the public because they were rather a flop.

It is interesting to note that in 1948 the same editor claimed that the discontinuation of these sales was due to the alleged violation of the law that no new periodicals could be started in wartime and so 'the official monopoly [was] restored'.<sup>31</sup>

The selection of texts for the second series was different from that for the first.<sup>32</sup> In the second series Shakespeare is by far the most popular author with nine selections while Dickens, Milton and Dr Johnson are second with five each and Wordsworth and Cowper third with four each. All Biblical selections are from the Old Testament. German is represented this time with a single sentence from Kant added to broadsheet 16. This broadsheet is entitled 'Nocturnal Reconnoitre' and consists largely of a passage from *Far from the Madding Crowd* ('The starry sky as seen by Thomas Hardy, poet and novelist (1840–1928)') and a verse from Addison. Kant's single sentence comes third:

Two things fill me with ever new and increasing wonder and awe – the starry heavens above me and the moral law within me.

So German culture could be recuperated especially when set together with an unimpeachably English response to the natural world. Italy appears with passages from Dante and the early balloonist Lunardi. The classics were less suspect in 1944 than they were in 1915.

What is dramatic however is the growth of modern pieces. At one level this is not surprising, as more of the twentieth century had passed, but the scale and kind of the modern selections does require some comment. Most of the pieces are not strictly literary but are taken from all kinds of topographical, philosophical, historical and biographical works. Thus we have Cherry Kearton on Africa, Trevelyan on the Battle of Hastings, Jebb on Richard Bentley and T. R. Glover on the life of Jesus. The purpose of the series as both education and entertainment comes through very clearly in the 'non-literary' orientation of the chosen extracts. This is surely a function of the greater control exercised in the selection when compared with the methods of 1915.

As with the earlier series war is not glorified for its own sake: indeed one of the few pieces dealing with war is a passage from Sassoon in which he describes being accidentally shot by one of his own men. This is in broadsheet 197, which would have appeared in a set distributed just after the end of the war. I doubt if such a piece would have been permitted in the 1915 series although W. S. Gilbert's 'Major General's Song' was. There is also a stress on positive and nostalgically pastoral images of the home country: there are extracts devoted to cricket (three), football, horse racing, rowing, hunting and fishing (two) among other more bucolic pastimes. The Navy is not so obviously represented though – as in 1915 – one broadsheet is devoted specifically to Nelson with a passage from J. R. Thursfield and a short poem by Sir Walter Scott. There is very little overlap between the two series: Kipling's 'Puck's Song' and Wordsworth's 'The Happy Warrior' are the only two that I have noted.

What is clear from a comparison of the two series of broadsheets is that by the 1940s there was far more interest in using them as an explicitly educational tool than there had been in 1915. The role of the Army Education Service in disseminating them makes this very clear. The greater mobility of the war and the consequently more fragmented experience of the soldier made this inevitable but so did the lessons learned about propaganda and the use of literature in the Great War. Another difference between the two series is that while the earlier broadsheets were presented to their public unadorned the second series often had short prefaces that set the scene and occasionally guided the readers' response. For example a ballad from Percy's *Reliques* is introduced thus:

This excellent old song, the subject of which is a comparison between the manners of the old gentry, as still subsisting in the times of Elizabeth, and the modern refinements affected by their sons in the reigns of her successors,

is given, with corrections, from an ancient blackletter copy in the Pepys Collection.<sup>33</sup>

This is the introduction to a selection from de Tocqueville:

Count de Tocqueville wrote this analysis of revolutionary movements just after the fall of Louis Philippe, under whom he had served as a Minister. Since then France has passed through four more revolutions, including that of 1940 and the changes consequent on Liberation.<sup>34</sup>

The general impression given by the second series is of a programme of reading designed for the citizens of a modern social democracy that is founded in a clearly delineated and long-recorded history.

*The Times* broadsheets offer an insight into the mental world of specific readers which is quite different from that offered by other kinds of anthology. An analysis of the 1915 series shows that scholarly orthodoxy on the role of literature in the Great War and the possible arrangements of the early twentieth-century canon that derives from it does not necessarily stand up as a completed model. If Sir Walter Raleigh did set out to use the broadsheets to evade the stifling weight of propaganda while remaining true to the war effort the nature and history of the project would suggest that he succeeded. The second series of broadsheets show a programme of control in operation through a highly bureaucratised system of production and distribution. Taken together, the two projects represent an interesting exercise in the artificial creation of canons and an unusual opportunity to see an essentially ephemeral phenomenon in its operation from beginning to end.

## Notes

The author gratefully acknowledges the permission of News International to use material from its archive. He also records his thanks to the archive staff for their help in locating material. All memos and letters that are quoted with a specific date in the body of the essay are to be found in the archive.

1 Walter Raleigh, letter to *The Times*, 30 August, 1915.

2 Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (London, 1975); Samuel Hynes, *A War Imagined* (London, 1990). J. M. Winter's *The Great War and the British People* (London, 1985) looks in some detail at cultural issues but does not mention the broadsheets. In fact, I have not found any mention of the broadsheets in any scholarly work on the Great War. See also Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge, 1995).

3 When the plan to publish the two selections was formed there was some debate over the title. Dawson wrote to E. V. Rieu on 21 November 1927 pointing out that: 'An "English Anthology" will hardly stand in view of the fact that many of the selections are taken from the Hebrew, the Greek etc'. I believe that only three sets of the original broadsheets still survive. Two of these are in the archive of News International.

4 See, for example, Bernard Bergonzi, *Heroes' Twilight* (London, 1965); John Silkin, *Out of Battle* (London, 1972), John Lehmann, *The English Poets of the First*

*World War* (London, 1981); David Graham, *The Truth of War* (Manchester, 1984); E. Svarny, *The Men of 1914: T. S. Eliot and Early Modernism* (Milton Keynes, 1988); E. A. Marsland, *The Nation's Cause* (London, 1991); F. Field, *British and French Writers of the First World War* (Cambridge, 1992); Franz Stanzel and Martin Loschnigg (eds), *Intimate Enemies* (Heidelberg, 1993); Allyson Booth, *Postcards from the Trenches* (New York, 1996); Trudi Tate, *Modernism, History and the Great War* (Manchester, 1997). Cecil D. Eby, *The Road to Armageddon: The Martial Spirit in English Popular Literature 1870–1914* (Durham, NC, 1988); I. F. Clarke (ed.), *The Tale of the Next Great War 1870–1914* (Liverpool, 1997) and Robert H. Macdonald, *The Language of Empire: Myths and Metaphors of Popular Imperialism* (Manchester, 1994) show how a patriotic/nationalistic climate was created through popular literature and other cultural manifestations.

5 Twenty-six years later Orwell made a similar observation: ‘Why is the goose-step not used in England? There are, heaven knows, plenty of army officers who would be only too glad to introduce some such thing. It is not used because people in the street would laugh ... military display is only possible in countries where the common people dare not laugh at the army’ (George Orwell ‘The Lion and the Unicorn: Socialism and the English Genius’ in George Orwell, *Non-Fictional Works* (London, 1980), pp. 531–32). Raleigh himself subsequently became more blood-curdling in his depictions of Germany and described its University culture as ‘mere evil’. See Chris Baldick, *The Social Mission of English Criticism* (Oxford, 1983), p. 88.

6 For a valuable discussion of Raleigh’s career and politics see Baldick, *The Social Mission*, pp. 75–80. In the later years of the war Raleigh published a number of his lectures: *The War of Ideas: An Address to the Royal Colonial Institute, delivered 12 December 1916* (Oxford, 1917), *The Faith of England: An Address to the Union Society of University College London, delivered 22 March 1917* (Oxford, 1917), *Some Gains of the War: An Address to the Royal Colonial Institute, delivered 13 February 1918* (Oxford, 1918), *England and the War: Being Sundry Addresses delivered during the War and now first collected*, (Oxford, 1918), *Shakespeare and England: The British Academy Annual Shakespeare Lecture* (Oxford, 1918), in which he demonstrated his patriotic support for the war. He also contributed the first volume to *History of the Great War based on Official Documents: The War in the Air*, 7 vols, 1 (Oxford, 1922–1937).

7 Sir Walter Raleigh, *The Letters of Sir Walter Raleigh*, edited by Lady Raleigh, 2 vols (London, 1926), 2, p. 440.

8 Samuel Hynes, *A War Imagined*, p. 26.

9 See D. G. Wright, ‘The Great War, Government Propaganda and English “Men of Letters” 1914–1916’, *Literature and History*, 7 (1978), 70–100.

10 I am not aware that any of the braille sets has survived.

11 Sir Walter Raleigh, letter to *The Times*, 30 August, 1915.

12 E. V. Lucas was instrumental in the publication of the two volumes edited by Dawson. He is probably best known today for his writing on eighteenth-century cricket.

13 Sir Walter Raleigh, letter to *The Times*, 30 August, 1915.

14 The selections are distributed as follows: English : Medieval (2), C. 16/17 (39), C. 18 (22), C. 19 (118), C. 20 (13), traditional (3); Bible: Old Testament (23), New Testament (4); foreign: USA (1), Spanish (3), Italian (2), French (2), Russian (2), Old Norse (2); classical: Greek (4), Latin (1). This count is based largely on the number of appearances of selections from individual authors. Passages have been assigned as far as possible to the century in which the text was published rather than that in which the author died. Thus Hardy’s contributions are counted with the nineteenth-century broadsheets although he was plainly considered to be a modern author.

I have adopted the same method for the count of the Second World War broadsheets (below). It may be instructive to list the complete contents of the final set (issued Christmas 1915) to give a flavour of the whole: No. 175 – Isaiah cap. IX, v. 60, Luke cap. II, *Hamlet*, I i, Milton, ‘Nativity Ode’ – No. 176; Christmas poems by Rossetti and Crawshaw, the ballad ‘I sing of a maiden’, Tennyson ‘Ring out wild bells’ (from *In Memoriam*); No. 177: Christmas pieces from Froude and Emerson; No. 178: selection from *A Christmas Carol*. No. 179: ‘Christmas in the Antarctic’ from *Scott’s Last Expedition*. No. 180: Hardy: The Mellstock Carols (from *Under the Greenwood Tree*).

15 Hynes, *A War Imagined*, p. 225.

16 See G. Dawson, *A Book of Broadsheets* (London, 1928), p. xiv.

17 A. G. Macdonnell, *England, Their England* (London, 1933).

18 Arthur Machen, *The Bowmen and other Stories* (London, 1915).

19 Fussell, *The Great War*, p. 116.

20 See J. J. Johnston, *English Poetry of the First World War* (Princeton, N. J., 1964) p. 41 for an account of the contemporary reaction to this poem.

21 See for example the material in T. Wilson, *The Myriad Faces of War* (Cambridge, 1986) especially pp. 154–155 on recruitment and p. 519 on working class attachment to the war. Michael Paris, ‘Boys’ Books and the Great War’, *History Today*, 50 (2000), pp. 44–49 offers a concise account of the popularity of the war as measured through books which continued to have a popular currency until well into the 1930s.

22 This view is, of course, best exemplified by the best known of the war poets, especially Owen and Sassoon but it is noteworthy that this spirit of scepticism was precisely the thing that Raleigh had picked up as early as 1915.

23 G. Dawson, *A Book of Broadsheets* (London, 1928), p. xv.

24 Quoted in G. Dawson, *A Second Book of Broadsheets* (London, 1929), p. xvii.

25 G. Dawson, *A Book of Broadsheets*, p. xv.

26 *Ibid.*, p. xi.

27 I have attributed the 1948 edition to Barrington-Ward although he died in Dar-es-Salaam harbour on board the Llangibby Castle on 29 February 1948 before the work was completed. The main part of the introduction was found in his cabin ‘pencilled in his clear and dignified handwriting’ (R. McG. Barrington-Ward, *The Times Broadsheets* (London, 1948), p. ix.

28 *Ibid.* p. viii.

29 *Ibid.* p. vii.

30 The sets were circulated as follows: October 1943–August 1944, 7,000 sets per month; September 1944–July 1945, 10,000 sets per month; August 1945–May 1946, 12,600 sets per month, April – July 1946, 10,000 sets per month.

31 Barrington-Ward, *The Times Broadsheets*, p. viii.

32 The selection of texts in the second series was as follows: English: Medieval (2), C. 16/C17 (47), C. 18 (37), C. 19 (110), C. 20 (96); Bible: Old Testament (4); Foreign: USA (3), S. African (1), French (7), Italian (2), Spanish (1), German (1), Russian (1), Norwegian (1); Classical: Greek (13), Latin (8).

33 Broadsheet 2.

34 Broadsheet 173.

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