Impressions of War: The Private Propaganda of Ford Madox Ford and Virginia Woolf

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Abstract

In this thesis I will explore the relationship between modernist fiction, the world wars, and British war propaganda, with its foundational distinction between soldier and civilian experience. This exploration will focus on the novels of two modernist authors who seem to fall on either side of this distinction: Ford Madox Ford, a soldier, veteran, and propagandist, and Virginia Woolf, a self-proclaimed anti-war civilian. Existing scholarship on Ford and Woolf has served to reinforce British war propaganda's guiding distinction between experience on the war front and the home front by examining Woolf as an apolitical female civilian and Ford as a conventional soldier writer. However, this binary fails to acknowledge the full spectrum of war experience, which unfolds both on the front and at home in similar ways, resonating in the lives of both soldier and civilian figures within and beyond fiction.

This thesis examines these resonances and challenges existing critical accounts of Ford and Woolf through a comparative representational analysis of Ford's *The Good Soldier* (1915) and *Parade's End* (1924-28), and Woolf's *Mrs. Dalloway* (1925) and *Between the Acts* (1941), revealing that these novels challenge the state-sanctioned opposition between soldier and civilian experiences. Through the analysis of three "formal-experiential constellations" central to these novels—cyclical temporality, fragmentation, and stream of consciousness—I will argue that Ford and Woolf's fictional representations of war experience, and the modernist devices they use to capture these experiences, serve both to evoke the lived experience of war, and to undermine the false propagandist model of war experience. Together, these devices communicate a model of war experience that more closely aligns with a lived experience that is often cyclical, fragmentary, and intersubjective. In this process they create a pluralistic, shared, and distinctly modernist vision of war: a kind of private propaganda.

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Introduction

> But it was summer now. She [Lucy] had been waked by the birds. How they sang! attacking the dawn like so many choir boys attacking an iced cake. Forced to listen, she had stretched for her favourite reading – an *Outline of History* – and had spent the hours between three and five thinking of rhododendron forests in Piccadilly; when the entire continent, not then, she understood, divided by a channel, was all one; populated, she understood, by elephant-bodied, seal-necked, heaving, surging, slowly writhing, and, she supposed, barking monsters; the iguanadon, the mammoth, and the mastodon; from whom presumably, she thought, jerking the window open, we descend (13).

In this extract from Virginia Woolf's *Between the Acts,* Lucy Swithin muses on time, her mind wandering through the expansive prehistoric past and millions of years of evolution in the space of just two hours. There is a clear juxtaposition between external time, or "actual time," dictated by the linear progression from three to five o'clock, and internal time, or "mind time," a boundless space inhabited by prehistoric creatures and Lucy's interior consciousness, which are both untethered from the linear narrative of the outside world (14). Interior time takes over when a modern Piccadilly is replaced by an ancient rhododendron forest. Exterior time reasserts itself when Lucy abruptly opens the window, returning the reader to the present, her presence, the house, and the plans for the pageant around which the plot crystallises. These temporal shifts, and Lucy's remark that it is from this other time and these early creatures that modern people "descend," collapse the past and present within a cyclical mode of time that informs every register of *Between the Acts*.

These experiments in cyclical temporality evoke, and are inextricable from, the cyclical temporal experience of modernity, which was accelerated and modified by cultural change (Gillen and Ghosh 2007). Indeed, together, the temporal experiments of modernism

and the temporal experience of modernity that they represent constitute what we might call a "formal-experiential constellation:" the meaningful pattern that emerges from the intersection of modernist form and modern experience. Responsive to these connections, critics have traced Woolf's modernist representations of time to many different elements of experience within modernity. For example, Kate Haffey focuses on the kiss between Clarissa Dalloway and Sally Seton in *Mrs. Dalloway* as a moment that "[ruptures] the forward flow of time in the narrative" and undermines "dominant narratives about heterosexual development," connecting temporality and sexuality (138, 137). Conversely, Martin Hägglund views Woolf's temporal experiments as connotative of the "finitude" of life in modernity, and his analysis "proceed[s] from the structural possibility of trauma, rather than from the specificity of certain historical traumas" that will form the crux of this chapter (60, 61).

Yet *Between the Acts* situates this constellation not only within Western modernity more generally, but within the specific temporal disruption of the world wars that frame the novel, from the title itself, to the significant setting of 1939, to the suggestion in the above extract that before modernity and modern war, England was "not then . . . divided by a channel," but instead "was all one" (Woolf 13). This unified vision of the past is juxtaposed with the disunity of the present: a temporal space unsettled by the Great War and soon, World War II. This disunity is undoubtedly enforced by the binary understanding of soldier and civilian experience that informs most narratives of war in the twentieth century, including the perception of time. The cyclical representation of time in this extract is thus temporally symptomatic of war's disruptive effects, even as it undermines linear accounts of war experience. However, with the notable exception of Karen Levenback and Mark Hussey, these critics have largely overlooked the centrality of war to Woolf's modernist experiments with cyclical time.

My thesis will expand this claim to include multiple novels by Virginia Woolf as well as Ford Madox Ford, setting cyclical time alongside two other formal-experiential assemblages: fragmentation and stream of consciousness. I will argue that these assemblages must be understood as both symptoms of, and challenges to, what I will call the "military-discursive complex" of war, and particularly the foundational distinction between soldier and civilian experience upheld by British war propaganda within this complex. The military-discursive complex is composed of both the reality of war as a lived experience, and the ideologies and narratives surrounding this experience, namely war propaganda. There is a tension within this complex as the lived experience of war is often concealed or distorted by the false model of war experience enshrined in war propaganda. By representing the lived experience of war, modernist writers have the potential to undermine these false narratives of war experience. In order to make this argument, I will focus on four novels by a pair of modernist authors who span the soldier and civilian spectrum: Ford Madox Ford and Virginia Woolf. A comparative analysis of Ford's *The Good Soldier* (1915) and *Parade's End* (1924-28), and Woolf's *Mrs. Dalloway* (1925) and *Between the Acts* (1941) will illuminate the similarities between their individual formal-experiential constellations, and by extension, the literal and literary connections between soldier and civilian experiences of war. Focusing primarily on the representation of cyclical temporality, fragmentation, and stream of consciousness, I will show how these representations both evoke, and are inextricable from, central elements of experience within the military-discursive complex, namely the temporal disruption of war and propaganda, war and propaganda's psychologically fragmenting effects, and the isolating/unifying logic of war and propaganda. In these ways, Ford and Woolf's novels proffer a shared vision of war that has been obscured by both the misrepresentation of lived experience and the soldier-civilian binary of war propaganda, and even contemporary literary criticism.

Literature Review

Many modernist literary critics have investigated the legacies of war and propaganda as they are represented within modernist fiction. However, critical orthodoxy has largely focused this investigation on the public realm of the war front and male modernist writers such as Ford, whose fiction bears the indelible mark of first-hand battle experience. Fordian criticism has emphasized his role as a soldier, veteran, and propagandist in conjunction with the militaristic overtones of *The Good Soldier* and *Parade's End*, whose autobiographical edge presents a soldier's perspective of war, both within and beyond fiction. Soldier-art such as Ford's is read alongside the factual history of the world wars, and continues to inform popular narratives surrounding war in the twentieth century. A key voice in this conversation, Paul Fussell focuses on combatant fiction in *The Great War and Modern Memory*, scrutinizing the modern soldier's artistic reaction to the Great War. Fussell argues that fiction produced by modernist writers who participated directly in the battles of the Great War, such as Ford, is distinguished from that of non-combatants, such as Woolf, by new formalist traditions and devices through which their unutterable trauma might find expression, particularly irony (29). Sara Haslam's *Fragmenting Modernism* is similarly preoccupied with the effect of war on modernist soldier-writers, arguing that the catastrophe of frontline battle fractured the artistic impulse of Ford in particular (2-3). Although these works provide invaluable insight into the influence of war experience on modernist representation, their exclusive focus on combatant fiction fails to suggest just how far this influence extends, and thus captures only one facet of the prismatic reality of war.

In order to appreciate the full impact of war and propaganda on modernist fiction, critics must look to those authors whose works were produced from the private sphere of the home front, where the other half of war took place. It is there that Woolf wrote *Mrs.*

Dalloway and *Between the Acts*. However, because of her position as a woman, a civilian, and a pacifist, earlier criticism of Woolf tends to overlook the significance of war and politics in her works. Rather, these critics illuminate her treatment of gender inequality and sexuality; class divisions and mobility; questions of empire and politics; and issues of the self and subjectivity (Madden 2006, Montgomery 2000, Howard 2007). Some critics have expanded the borders of the conversation begun by Fussell and Haslam to encompass not only the fiction of soldiers such as Ford, but that of civilians such as Woolf. In *Virginia Woolf and the War,* Mark Hussey marks the change in literary scholarship on Woolf from the late twentieth century onwards as one that widened in scope and magnified her contributions to the discourses emerging from the intersection of politics and war (2-3). For example, in "Of Two Minds: Woolf, the War and 'Between the Acts'," Karen Schneider observes that criticism surrounding Woolf's final novel often reads it as a reflection of Woolf's own conflicted feelings towards British society and a "despairing surrender of previous ideals" in the face of war (94). Writing in the same vein as Hussey, Schneider seeks instead to read *Between the Acts* as a triumphal study in "ambiguity and ambivalence:" strategies that can be found in the works of both soldier and civilian modernist writers (94). Schneider excavates *Between the Acts* in order to uncover the personal and artistic effects of war on Woolf, aligning with the aims of many of Ford's critics, and indeed my own thesis. It is upon the conceptual foundations laid down by these contemporary Woolfian critics that I will build my own argument that the experiences of soldiers and civilians, and therefore the art that they produce in the form of the modernist novel, are not as disparate as they might first appear.

Many key New Modernist critics have questioned the divide between modernist literature, such as Ford and Woolf's novels, and popular culture, such as British war propaganda, prevalent in earlier traditions of modernist literary criticism (Huyssen 1988, Mao and Walkowitz 2008). This critical divide obscured the many connections that coupled

modernist fiction with the cultural matrix in which it was created. While Fussell, Schneider, and Haslam examine the place where modern war and modernist fiction meet, others have scrutinised the role of popular British war propaganda within this relationship more closely. In *Modernism, History, and the First World War*, Trudi Tate examines modernist responses to a war that was witnessed through a lens altered by the "ignorance, fear, confusion, and lies" espoused by war propaganda (10). Tate asserts that the lines drawn between modernist literature and war literature are blurred upon closer inspection, and that modernist literature written beyond the Great War begins to resemble "a peculiar but significant form of war writing," pre-empting my own attempt to locate a distinctly modernist propaganda at the heart of both Ford and Woolf's works (12). Peter Buitenhuis' *The Great War of Words* focuses on modernist writers who dissolved the boundary between high modernist fiction and popular political culture by creating war propaganda under the auspices of government. Buitenhuis glimpses in Ford's post-war fiction a sense of doubt towards the very propaganda that he had helped create, highlighting the simultaneously collaborative and oppositional relationship between modernist literature and modern propaganda (17).

Developing this relationship further, Mark Wolleager examines the aesthetic consequences of British war propaganda for literary modernism in *Modernism, Media, and Propaganda*. His argument hinges on the notion that highbrow, autonomous works of modernist fiction, and propaganda as a body of politically charged and manipulative discourses, evolved as "mutually illuminating" reactions to modernity (Wolleager 11). Wolleager insists that both modernist fiction and modern propaganda forge "new forms of coherence" in the face of "new experiences of chaos" catalysed by war and the nascent information age (13-14). Unlike earlier critics, Wolleager explores the opinions of both Ford and Woolf on art and propaganda. However, his literary analysis repeats the soldier-civilian binary, for although he studies Ford's *The Good Soldier* within the context of British war

propaganda, he considers Woolf's *The Voyage Out* in relation to pre-war forms of propaganda and the colonial endeavour, overlooking her crucial engagement with propagandist discourses of war. These discourses propagate the very binary between soldier and civilian experience ultimately upheld by an overarching critical failure to synthesize Ford and Woolf's artistic responses to the Great War and propaganda simultaneously.

Although critical orthodoxy has in some instances considered the novels of Ford and Woolf in relation to the legacy of war and propaganda, most critics have studied these novels and their authors in isolation from one another. Where Fordian and Woolfian critics have analysed their novels in isolation—and even where they are considered within the same framework—there remains an unexplored connection between the ways in which the modernist soldier and civilian experience, engage, and articulate the reality of war and the unreality of propaganda. My thesis will contribute to the burgeoning body of criticism which recognises that modernist novels written by soldiers and civilians alike are haunted by the spectre of war, and can be read as undermining the reductive propagandist binary between soldier and civilian on every register. A veteran of the Great War, Ford expressed disillusionment with civilians following his return to society, whose "indifference and callousness" set him apart and rendered him an outsider (Buitenhuis 159). These feelings of otherness recall Woolf's repeated, self-proclaimed position as an "outsider" in her own class and country, blurring the lines drawn between soldier and civilian experiences of war and the post-war world (*Three Guineas).* By filling a critical gap of comparison, my thesis will shed new light on old works, allowing the novels of Ford and Woolf to illuminate one another, and retrieve them from this isolating 'otherness' via a shared vision of war. Vincent Sherry concludes that modernist literary criticism should encompass the "private crises of individual writers" (8). My own thesis will proceed from this assertion, examining Ford and Woolf not as oppositional emblems, but as individuals responding to the cataclysm of war and the

fallacies of propaganda in ways that reflect one another, despite their outward differences. Eric Leed suggests that a non-remembrance of the Great War was catalysed by a "public silence" on the event in the years that followed (91). This critical silence will be countered in my own thesis by the private voices of those who experienced war on the battlefront and at home, both within fiction and without.

Methodology

Working within the territories of New Modernist Studies and New Historicism, my intervention into this field will involve the study of fiction and propaganda, drawing meaning from both text and context. My primarily methodology will be the comparative analysis of the representations of temporality, fragmentation, and stream of consciousness within my four chosen novels: *The Good Soldier, Mrs. Dalloway, Parade's End*, and *Between the Acts*. A focus on structure, narration, theme, imagery, analepsis and prolepsis, foreshadowing, juxtaposition, repetition, and free indirect discourse will reveal similarities in the novel's representations of the ways in which time, the mind, and consciousness were altered and experienced before, during, and following war. These similarities will dismantle the soldier-civilian binary enforced by the propagandist narrative of war within the military-discursive complex, which is often reflected and perpetuated by critical orthodoxy. As I compare these novels to one another, I will also compare them to British war propaganda posters generated by Wellington House and the Ministry of Information, accessed from the British Library and the Library of Congress. I will analyse visual elements such as imagery, symbolism, metaphor, metonym, and juxtaposition, as well as the implications and connotations of linguistic elements such as terminology, phrasing, and repetition. This method will elucidate the various ideologies enshrined in war propaganda, from a teleological understanding of

time, to a fragmenting vision of masculinity, to a paradoxically unifying and isolating narrative of war, all of which differentiate between soldier and civilian experience. When read alongside Ford and Woolf's novels, this propaganda will reveal an as-yet unexplored relationship between them, as modernist fiction unconsciously engages with and undermines the propagandist model of war experience.

My methodology will also employ a range of secondary texts, from biographical works and critical literary sources to contemporaneous theories. I will draw extensively from a wider network of Ford and Woolf's non-fictional works, namely Ford's autobiography *It Was the Nightingale*, as well as Woolf's diaries, essays such as *Three Guineas* and "A Room of One's Own," and texts such as *Thoughts on Peace in an Air Raid*. These works will contextualise my interpretation of the fictional representations of soldier and civilian experience, placing them within the reality of Ford and Woolf's personal thoughts, opinions, and memories of war and its aftermath. In order to contextualise my interpretation of modernist fiction even further, I will draw from contemporaneous material that circulated throughout Britain in the period that Ford and Woolf wrote, such as landmark works in the fields of science, psychology, and philosophy which may have influenced both popular attitudes and the course of modernism. Such sources will be vital to my exploration of the soldier-civilian binary upheld by British propaganda and perpetuated by popular culture, as they will allow me to create a foil to the private experience that underpins Ford and Woolf's novels. Secondary critical material, particularly from the New Modernist Studies tradition, will reify my own claims about the relationship between the novels and this contextual material.

Chapter One

War-Time: Modern Memory and Temporality

In this chapter I will explore the formal-experiential constellation of cyclical time at the heart of many modernist novels that were written under the shadow of the world wars. In Virginia Woolf's *Between the Acts*, a pageant is held in an unnamed English village as it has been held every year before, celebrating English culture and history. In one scene, the children sing of an anthropomorphised Time: "Our act is done, our scene is over / Past is the day of crone and lover / The bud has flowered; the flower has fallen / But soon will rise another dawning / For time whose children small we be / Hath in his keeping, you shall see / You shall see" (Woolf 114). This lyric epitomizes a cyclical conception of time. While the opening lines suggest a conclusion that is linear in nature, the final act of a play, the lines that follow suggest an oppositional continuation: a rebirth that the present audience, privy only to the ending, has yet to witness. The final line, "you shall see," foreshadows this as yet unknown future beyond death, its repetition mirroring the repetition of life, events, people, and places that such an understanding of time entails. This conception of time as a cycle is endemic to the temporal vision of many works of modernist fiction. Despite the inherently linear nature of the novel, which must always begin and end in one way or another, a cyclical impression of time is achieved by a variety of structural, narrative, and thematic techniques. Textual devices such as repetition, analepsis, prolepsis, foreshadowing, and imagery emulate the concentric cycles of nature and astrology that inform human experience of the world, such as the seasons, night and day, and birth and death. More complex techniques such as the binary construction of memory, non-linear chronology, narrative sequencing, multiple character perspectives, and the juxtaposition of internal and external time thematically reinforce cyclical time, destabilizing linear time in the process. Together, these devices

emphasize the inextricability of the past, present, and future, creating a temporal impression of war experience. These cyclical representations arise from the traumatic disruption of war itself, and at the same time, refute the teleological narrative of war enshrined in war propaganda.

This cyclical construction of time is one to which writers and philosophers alike have turned in order to make sense of the world for centuries, forming the foundations of many belief systems and canonical literature. Religions such as Hinduism, Buddhism, and Sikkhism, as well as the cultural mythologies of the ancient Greeks and Romans, Native Americans, and Māori all draw upon cyclical tenets such as reincarnation and the wheel of time (Greenhouse 1996, Kellerman 2012, TenHouten 2015). Conventionally underpinning Eastern philosophical perspectives on time, the universe, and story-telling, Friedrich Nietzsche's theory of eternal recurrence is one example of a Western conception of time as cyclical, arguing that "if the universe was finite, and if time was infinite . . . then it was inevitable that the same events would happen again and again" (Morris 24). It is this alternative and radically experimental perception of time to which modernist novelists Virginia Woolf and Ford Madox Ford return in works such as *The Good Soldier*, *Mrs. Dalloway, Parade's End,* and *Between the Acts*, although what exactly inspired this temporal shift from linear to cyclical remains a site of critical contention.

Critical orthodoxy most often—and not incorrectly—traces the origin of Ford and Woolf's temporal experimentation to the broader metamorphoses of modernity. Indeed, many critics have situated modernist representations of time as a cycle within the new conceptions and questions of time that were generated by cultural, technological, scientific, and political changes such as industrialisation and urbanisation, which in turn 'accelerated' daily life (McQuire 1997, Gillen and Ghosh 2007). These developments led in many quarters of modern society to what critics have deemed a crisis of representation, as traditional creative

methods could no longer sufficiently nor authentically articulate the new self and society which had formed, bound by new kinds of time (Wohl 611). An artistic impulse to "Make it New" sought to align life and art once more, and can be glimpsed in modernist movements that reject static Victorian realism and linearity in favour of self-referential abstraction and temporal experimentation, reshaping the poesies of fiction and time (Pound 1935). For example, Paul Tolliver Brown argues that the distinctly cyclical treatment of time in much of modernist fiction suggests that the "radically changing sense of spatiotemporal perception" integral to modernity played a significant role in the formation of what we now recognise as the modernist zeitgeist ("The Spatiotemporal Topography" 29). Peter Childs is more specific, attributing Woolf's temporal experimentation to the burgeoning conflict between the interests of the individual and wider society at the height of modernity. He argues that Woolf's artistic representations of time emphasize "the importance of the individual against the social" in a time of cultural upheaval (Childs 171). Gene M. Moore similarly suggests that in Ford's *Parade's End*, the "changes and continuities" of Christopher Tietjen's character reflect a "social vision of historic continuity-in-change:" a view of the modern individual and modernity itself hinged on new understandings of time (50).

However, when viewed through the lens of the arrival of the Great War and the imminence of World War II, it might be argued that Ford and Woolf's representations of time take on more concise meaning, as they simultaneously embody the private cyclical experience of war and undermine the propagandist model of linear war experience: two versions of war-time that are at odds within the military-discursive complex. Certainly, the timing of their novels seems significant. Just as they were laying the groundwork for the modernist style so recognisable today with novels such as *The Benefactor* and *The Waves*, the cataclysm of total war loomed, and would bring with it moral and physical destruction on a wider and more deeply penetrating scale than Britain had ever known. That the war might

occur at all is clear in the prescient timing of Ford's *The Good Soldier*, which is both written and set in the years immediately preceding the Great War. That the event might be repeated less than a quarter of a century later is equally evident in the portent that is Woolf's *Between the Acts*, the title of which alludes to the dual theatres of the world wars and the insidious interval which separates them. The temporal form of their novels in terms of chronology is equally significant. Indeed, the imprint of these monumental historical conflicts on time and the mind in post-war society is reflected, prism-like, in the fractured surface of *Mrs. Dalloway* and *Parade's End*, which occupy in both real and fictional time the dark days leading up to World War II.

This chapter, then, will argue that in order to understand the full ramifications of the way in which time is presented, explored, and altered, these novels must be viewed in the shadow cast by both the lived experience of war, as well as the false teleological narrative of war proffered by British war propaganda. In order to do this, I will begin by examining the origins and implications of cyclical time's ideological opposite, linear time, and how these two central temporal concepts relate to one another and to the military-discursive complex. Unpacking established theories of time and modernity, I will posit that Ford and Woolf's representations of cyclical temporality emerge simultaneously *from* the disruption of the horror of war and *against* the distortion of propaganda's teleological message, creating a temporal formal-experiential constellation. Polemical to the linear progression promoted by the state within such propaganda, this alternative and privatised war-time underpins all four narratives and is shared by both soldier and civilian characters, suggesting a shared temporal experience of war and its aftermath. Furthermore, while this is an argument more readily advanced of Ford, a soldier, than of Woolf, a civilian, this chapter reads the two authors in conjunction, dissolving the binary opposition of soldier-art and civilian-art to show how both authors' experiments with time bear the imprint of war.

In order to understand the cyclical time governing the fiction of Ford and Woolf, we must first understand the oppositional conception of time as linear. The notion of time as linear, deterministic, and teleological has existed for centuries, both within fiction and without. Imagined teleologically, time is defined by linearity, progress, and advancement: a unidirectional and irreversible movement into the future and away from the past. Such an understanding of time dominates most Western cultures, disseminated largely through the expansion of Judeo-Christian religion and the distinctly apocalyptic narrative of the beginning (Creation) and the end (Judgment Day) on which it is built: a narrative whose linearity "derives from the geometric connection between these two end points" and suggests that the beginning, middle, and end of time are bound by causation, from one moment to the next (Greenhouse 20). This continuous forward movement has led to the association of linear time with ideologies of progress and endeavours of civilisation, and implies the evolutionary primacy of the future over the past. The teleological progression from beginning, middle, and end guides most Western narratives, whether natural, religious, political, or ideological. The governing bodies of British history in particular have employed these teleological constructions of time. Indeed, notions of progress were repeatedly manipulated in order to condone the authority of first the Church and then the State, rationalising the actions of colonial expansion and war throughout. Carol Greenhouse elaborates on the hegemonic past of British rule:

> If linear time dominates public life in the West, then, it is because its primary efficacy is in the construction and management of dominant social institutions, not because it is the only "kind" of time that is culturally available. The meanings of linear time are inseparable from its cultural history of use. Linear time was popularised in the West by the church in an active course of conversion, by monarchs engaged in building nation-states, and eventually by other elites who found in an image of unidirectional progress the central symbol for their legitimacy (23).

This overarching linear philosophy inevitably shaped fictional narratives, too, from ancient plays to modern poetry and prose. Its influence can be seen in concurrent fictional temporalities and theories on fiction, many of which continue to influence fiction writing today. For example, written in c. 335 BCE, Aristotle's *Poetics* marks the earliest extant model of literary theory, and establishes an enduring classical conception of the linear plot through the lens of tragedy. Frank Kermode asserts that since the ancient times in which Aristotle wrote, the apocalyptic fictions delineated by Judeo-Christian religion "impose[d] other patterns on historical time" and created eschatological narratives around which the fear of teleological death crystallise (35). Here, teleological death denotes the inevitable end-point within a linear conception of time, which is synonymous with the end of life itself, oppositional to understandings of linear time as synonymous with progress and evolution. Within his conception of the linear plot, Peter Brooks similarly characterises fictional narratives as bound not only by the laws of time but by the cessation of time itself. He concludes that the linear plot constitutes the "internal logic of the discourse of mortality," for "only the end can finally determine meaning" (Brooks 22). Within the framework of linear time and literature it is thus the close of the narrative that imparts significance to the whole: what exactly this ending connotes is determined by the author.

This teleological vision of time is reflected in contemporary British war propaganda that identifies the end of the world wars with a glorious victory for Britain and her Allies. This optimistic temporal perspective is embodied in and by the repetition of propagandist slogans such as "the war to end all wars," as well as the popular belief that the conflict would be over by Christmas of 1915 (Kingsbury 15). These notions of progress and linearity are encompassed by the propagandist images and literature that circulated throughout Britain both before and during the world wars, plastered across both Woolf's London and Ford's Sussex. Many examples employ and repeat key words that imply this notion of positive

progression, with slogans such as “Forward! Forward to victory” (see fig. 1), as well as quotations such as “The moment the order came to go forward, there were smiling faces everywhere . . . Enlist To-day” (see fig. 2):

Fig. 1. *Forward! Forward to victory. Enlist now / L.K.W. ; printed by David Allen & Sons, Ltd., Harrow, Middlesex.* Parliamentary Recruiting Committee, 1915. Photograph. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, www.loc.gov/item/2003663182/.

Fig. 2. *Come along, boys! Enlist to-day / W.H. Caffyn ; The Haycock-Cadle Co., London, S.E. London*. Parliamentary Recruiting Committee, 1915. Photograph. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, www.loc.gov/item/2003662913/.

Such statements are accompanied by visual cues which reinforce this positive progression. Slogans are inscribed upon images of soldiers in straight, uniform lines moving in one direction, goal-oriented (see fig. 3); a row of soldiers march towards a vivid sun whose rays spell "victory" setting on the horizon, emblazoned with the date "1915" and promising "A Happy New Year" and the end of war—"you can make it certain if you join now" (see fig. 4):

Fig. 3. *Step into your place / printed by David Allen & Sons Ld., Harrow, Middlesex*. Parliamentary Recruiting Committee, 1915. Photograph. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, www.loc.gov/item/2003663196/.

Fig. 4. *"A happy new year to our gallant soldiers!" You can make it certain if you join now / designed and printed by Johnson, Riddle & Co., Ltd., London, S.E.* Parliamentary Recruiting Committee, 1915. Photograph. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, www.loc.gov/item/2003668179/.

Although it does not inform a strictly binary perception of soldier and civilian, this understanding of time nonetheless fails to acknowledge—and indeed negates—all other perceptions of time and the suffering endured by the individual within a lived experience of war, collapsing the spectrum of soldier and civilian experience into a single totalising and teleological narrative.

In the light of this discussion, it becomes clear that there is an ideological tension between the two temporal versions of war experience offered by the formal-experiential constellation of modernist fiction and modern propaganda within the military-discursive complex, which are manifested in cyclical time and linear time, respectively. As William Dowling observes, novels "are self-contained worlds with their own laws and their own logic, subject to distortion when made to answer to ideologies or doctrines external to themselves" (95), echoing Aristotle's remark that creative writing "is more philosophical and more serious than history: in fact poetry speaks (*legei*) more of universals, whereas history of particulars" (Carli 303). Indeed, the sense of eternal or infinite time which inevitably arises from Ford and Woolf's cyclical temporal model places it in direct opposition to the predominantly Christian-Western and propagandist conception of time as an arrow; goal-oriented, finite, and apocalyptic. Throughout historical and literary criticism, and indeed within fiction itself, cyclical and linear times are "consistently theorized as reciprocal, the one undoing the other," suggesting that modernist cyclical time has the power to undo propagandist linearity within the fictional world (Greenhouse 30). Ford and Woolf's cyclical impressions of war-time may more accurately communicate the temporal reality of a lived experience of war, in opposition to the propagandist model of war experience. At the same time, by exploring individual temporal perspectives of the war, their novels challenge the totalising ideology posited by teleological propaganda, retrieving the authentic and varied experiences of soldiers and

civilians characterised not only by a cyclical understanding of time, but by a revision and rejection of teleological time itself.

Throughout modernist fiction, the rejection of linear time and the reclamation of cyclical time as a more accurate temporal mode through which lived war experience might be represented is explored at the most basic structural and narratorial level. Despite his own position as a propagandist working under the auspices of the British government, Ford's experience as a soldier inflects the structure of his novels and reveals a cyclical understanding of time and war at odds with the linearity of the propaganda that he produced. Linear narratives are typically presented in chronological order, and mimic the timeline of events as they occur. Cyclical narratives, on the other hand, are not bound by temporal causation, and their structure moves freely between past, present, and future events via the narrator. This movement is exemplified by John Dowell, the sole and famously unreliable narrator of *The Good Soldier* who recollects the story of his complex relationship with his wife Florence and an American couple, Edward and Leonora Ashburnham. Dowell attempts to understand the events which have passed, such as how the couples met each other and one another; their trips across Europe; their infidelity; and Florence's death, as well as those which occur in the narrative present, such as the madness of Ashburnham's young muse Nancy; his suicide; and Dowell's own dawning understanding of events. Dowell admits that this "rambling" method of story-telling renders navigation nearly impossible "through what may be a sort of maze . . . when one discusses a [long, sad] affair—one goes back, one goes forward," mimicking the cyclical and transient nature of memory creation and recollection far more accurately than linear precedents (Ford 134). This simultaneously current and retrospective narrative style forges a complex timeline from which a concentricity arises, as Dowell comes to multiple ends in the form of conclusions and realisations, telling his story "not in chronological order, but compulsively, going over the ground in circles," his repetition generating a coil narrative

(Holmes 48). Dowell's attitudes towards Florence, Leonora, and Edward are ever-changing as a result of this concentricity. He deems their relationship a "minuet" one moment and a "prison" the next, solidifying a distinctly prismal perception of events, people, and the past (Ford 90). The nature of Dowell's consciousness, and therefore the novel's narrative, is captured by a theory of time and the mind posited by Henri Bergson:

> Whilst I was experiencing them [these states of mind] they were so solidly organised, so profoundly animated with a common life, that I could not have said where any one of them finished or where another commenced. In reality no one of them begins or ends, but all extend into each other . . . This inner life may be compared to the unrolling of a coil, for there is no living being who does not feel himself gradually to the end of his role; and to live is to grow old. But it may just as well be compared to a continual rolling up, like that of a thread on a ball, for our past follows us, it swells incessantly with the present that it picks up on its way; and consciousness means memory (3).

Like Bergson, Dowell returns repeatedly to the past, each instance from a different angle or perspective, opening a dialogue with Albert Einstein's theory of relativity popularized during the modernist era (Brown, "The Spatiotemporal Topography" 21). This prismal narrative arises partially from the conflation of Dowell's own thoughts and memories with those that others have revealed to him, collected and filtered through his narratorial consciousness:

> I call this the Saddest Story . . . just because it is so sad, just because there was no current to draw things along to a swift and inevitable end. There is about it none of the elevation that accompanies tragedy . . . here, then, were two noble natures, drifting down life, like fireships afloat on a lagoon and causing miseries, heartaches, agony of the mind and death. And they themselves steadily deteriorated. And why? For what purpose? To point what lesson? It is all a darkness (Ford 123).

The traditional apocalyptic and unidirectional plot as defined by Aristotle is not to be found here, as there is no distinct beginning, middle, and end in regards to the events themselves,

which lack both cohesion and climax. The lack of a current suggests a lack of forward movement towards the "inevitable end;" there is no "elevation" or climax which, as he notes, defines the archetypical tragic plot. The first-person narrative spun by Dowell is therefore influenced by his internal perception of both events and time, which do not always align with either factual chronology or 'official' external time dictated by the use of dated entries. Many critics have pointed out that these dates do not always correlate to facts and figures. Thus the narrative and the narrated events do not always align, and the timeline becomes "compressed," casting doubt on the efficacy of this attempt at keeping external linear time (Skinner 291).

The temporal and narrative structure of Ford's later novel, *Parade's End,* is similarly cyclical, the past continually informing the present. The tetralogy follows protagonist Christopher Tietjens as he struggles to maintain Edwardian values in twentieth century England. His life is marred by war and marriage, both of which take their physical and psychological toll. He refuses to divorce his spiteful and unfaithful wife Sylvia, even as he falls in love with a young, anti-war suffragette named Valentine Wannop. As in his earlier work, Ford's *magnum opus* returns to the same events from multiple positions and perceptions, forming a temporal labyrinth in which rumour, lies, and misunderstanding obscure truth. For example, the death of Christopher's father is at first considered an accident; later, influenced by rumours of Christopher's shameful money troubles and his brother's own doubts, a suicide. Christopher's marriage to Sylvia and his relationship with Valentine are variously interpreted in the same way. Sometimes Christopher is portrayed in the wrong, concealing a secret child with his mistress Valentine and spending all of his money on women and alcohol; at others, he suffers at the hands of these women, who represent both "kill" and "cure" (Ford 137). Sometimes Sylvia is portrayed as a manipulative deviant; at others, a chaste and ideal wife. The effect of these changing positions and

perspectives parallels the effect of propaganda upon the temporal existence of war, as it distorts reality in accordance with characters' motives. Although, unlike *The Good Soldier*, the tetralogy permits the voices of multiple characters to contribute to the story—free indirect discourse allowing the thoughts of Christopher, Sylvia, and Valentine to colour the narrative—it is nonetheless apparent that once again the factual history of the Great War is filtered through the minds of the characters, and is therefore altered by the "doubts, worries, prejudices, faulty memory, or the agonizing near-madness of the trenches" which define these minds, and suggests that an alternative perception of war and time is in the possession of both soldier and civilian characters (Moore 51). In these ways, Ford's novels become less a "factual or chronological frame of reference" for the Great War and more "a source of subjective impressions" on the minds of those who survived (51).

Structural and narratorial cyclicality are not exclusive to Ford's work, forming the temporal foundations of Woolf's own novels. For example, the temporal structure of *Mrs. Dalloway*—originally and tellingly titled *The Hours*—is divided between an external and an internal time space, which function as an upper and lower register of the text. The tension between these two time spaces exemplifies the tension between propagandist time and modernist time: the former is public and linear, and the latter is private and cyclical. The external time of the novel spans less than 24 hours, and is demarcated hourly by the exclamation of Big Ben, a metonym for the British state and the teleological discourse of its propaganda apparatus. The novel's eponymous protagonist, introspective socialite Clarissa Dalloway, spends the day planning that evening's party. She remarks on the way that the clock forms an essential element of daily life in London, the centre of England, where "one feels even in the midst of the traffic, or waking at night . . . a particular hush, or solemnity; an indescribable pause; a suspense . . . before Big Ben strikes. There! Out it boomed. First a warning, musical; then the hour, irrevocable. The leaden circles dissolved in the air" (Woolf

4). The chime that marks each hour is not just background noise, then, but forcibly interrupts and eradicates the preceding hour, as forward movement is key in this time*line*. Big Ben thus demarcates the regimented passage of external time, signalling the end of the war, British victory, and the "inevitable and unidirectional passage into the future" (Brown, "The Spatiotemporal Topography" 23). The clock's role in governing external time is so integral to the story that it becomes less an object and more a character, the "extraordinary vigour" of its sound reminiscent of "a young man, strong, indifferent, inconsiderate . . . swinging dumb-bells this way and that" (Woolf 41).

Internal time, on the other hand, is possessed by both soldier and civilian characters. It is a distinctly psychological and emotional space, and juxtaposes sharply with the mechanical, precise, and militaristic Big Ben, who constantly intrudes on the organic flow between past, present, and future that defines internal time. For example, when Clarissa is speaking with Peter Walsh—an old friend and ex-lover from her youth in Bourton—the voice of Big Ben at the half-hour "[strikes] out between them," pushing them apart (40). Such interruptions illuminate the chasm between official public time and the private time of the autonomous individual's mind, and thus the chasm between the lived, private temporal experience of war and the false, public temporal version of war experience enshrined in propaganda. Peter Childs suggests that this conflict between internal and external time mirrors that between "the time of history," an official temporality that is linear, chronological, and monolithic, and internal time, an unofficial temporality that "encompasses those times in a life which are significant to an individual," and thus vary dramatically from one person to the next (49). He goes on to claim that "because individuals order reality differently from external time, Modernists had to represent the individual's actual experience," including the experience of war, which conflicts with the teleological "historical time" informing war propaganda (50). This chasm is best exemplified by Clarissa's double,

Great War veteran Septimus Smith, whose narrative runs parallel to hers until the end of the novel. Within the timeless interiority of *Mrs. Dalloway*, Septimus experiences a vision of his friend and fellow soldier Evans, who was killed in the war:

> "It is time," said Rezia. The word "time" split its husk; poured its riches over him; and from his lips fell like shells, like shavings from a plane, without his making them, hard, white, imperishable words, and flew to attach themselves to their places in an ode to Time; an immortal ode to Time. He sang. Evans answered from behind the tree. The dead were in Thessaly, Evans sang, among the orchids. There they waited till the War was over, and now the dead, now Evans himself (Woolf 59).

The rapid change from the past to the present tense suggests that Septimus is not tethered to any one moment in time. Episodes such as this are many, and bely the significance of time to Septimus, who does not conform to the regimental contours of the official temporality bestowed hourly by Big Ben; rather, he possesses a "divisionless sense of duration" within which he is able to "[span] the distant past and [see] into the future" (Brown, "The Spatiotemporal Topography" 29). Other characters resist Big Ben's teleological authority through their constant return to the past in the form of fond memory. In one passage, for example, Clarissa is transported back in time to a fresh and exhilarating moment in her youth, thinking "[w]hat a lark! What a plunge! For so it had always seemed to her, when, with a little squeak of the hinges, which she could hear now, she had burst open the French windows and plunged at Bourton into the open air" (Woolf 3). Nursing his infatuation for Clarissa, Peter is equally prone to becoming lost in his memories of London as it was before the war. On a walk he thinks, "[t]here was Regent's Park. Yes. As a child he had walked in Regent's Park – odd, he thought, how the thought of childhood keeps coming back to me – the result of seeing Clarissa, perhaps; for women live much more in the past than we do," his own wandering mind contradicting this last statement (47). Both Clarissa, a civilian socialite, and Peter, an Indian Army veteran, are drawn constantly and inexplicably into the past,

suggesting a shared temporally cyclical perspective of life and death following the Great War.

The structure and narrative of Woolf's final novel, *Between the Acts*, indicate that it is perhaps the most temporal-conscious of all four novels. Set on the eve of World War II, the story follows a group of characters who organise an annual pageant in a country house in rural England. Its structure is derived from *Mrs. Dalloway's*, as two conflicting temporal modes compete: the external, teleological progression of the pageant contrasts with characters' internal musings on war, and the past, present, and future. The pageant around which the plot is organised is a celebration of a linear model of British history presented in four acts: a romantic Shakespearean piece, a parodic Restoration comedy, a scene set in the Victorian era, and "Present Time: Ourselves," which reflects, literally, on the present day and audience. As in *Mrs. Dalloway*, the official exterior temporality of *Between the Acts* is governed by a machine. This time, a gramophone provides music and narration for the pageant, as well as an unrelenting teleological authority. Despite its sporadic outbursts, the gramophone's "tick, tick, tick" chimes "accurately, insistently," and indicates that "time was passing" throughout *Between the Acts* (91, 100). However, the teleological progression implied by the gramophone and the obvious linearity of the pageant's narrative and themes are undercut by the audience itself, which thinks constantly and as one, back to the war which has passed and forwards to that which is imminent. For example, the owner of the house, Bartholomew Oliver, is an Indian Army veteran. In the opening pages of the novel, the narrator explains through the perspective of Bartholomew's dog:

> But the master was not dead, only dreaming; drowsily, seeing as in a glass, its lustre spotted, himself, a young man helmeted; and a cascade falling. But no water; and the hills, like grey stuff pleated; and in the sand a hoop of ribs; a bullock maggot-eaten in the sun; and in the shadow of the rock, savages; and in his hand a gun. The dream hand clenched; the real hand lay on the chair arm, the veins swollen but only with a brownish fluid now (24).

The apparent inability of Bartholomew to forget and move on from his war service leads him to reflect, if hazily, on the harrowing past. Several characters do not simply return to the past, as in *Mrs. Dalloway*, but fixate on the present. Bartholomew's sister Lucy responds to the sound of the gramophone with the assertion that such time "doesn't exist for us . . . We've only the present," suggesting a philosophy of presence as the ultimate refutation of teleological narratives and British war propaganda (101). Later, when visitor Colonel Mayhew interrupts the pageant performance to ask, "Why leave out the British Army? What's history without the Army, eh?" his companion concludes that "very likely there would be a Grand Ensemble, round the Union Jack, to end with," illuminating the teleological authority over the construction of history held by the British Army and government, metonymically suggested here by the Union Jack (184). The characters' unified consciousness remains within the present—"meanwhile, there was the view. They looked at the view"—and undermines the teleological and blindly victorious ending of the war that the Grand Ensemble would imply (185).

It is not only the structure and narrative of Ford and Woolf's works that proffer a cyclical mode of understanding and articulating war, but the ways in which temporal motifs at the thematic level suggest the significance of time and exaggerate the concentricity at their heart. In Ford's novels, this is achieved through the repetition of cyclical motifs and images. *The Good Soldier* is composed of dated entries, chronology playing a large part in Dowell's telling of the saddest story. One particular motif directly serves the cyclical temporality of modernist war fiction: August 4th. Perhaps a portent of the looming cataclysm of World War which itself commenced on August 4th, 1914, the date recurs throughout Dowell's story as an emblem of both beginnings and ends, particularly with regards to his wife, Florence. It signals her trip around the world; her first encounter with the Ashburnhams; the beginning of her marriage with Dowell and the beginning of her infidelity with Jimmy; her birth and her

death. This congregation of beginnings and ends on the very same moment in recorded time suggests a concentric temporal reality with no definitive place at which to open or close. The spatiotemporality of *Parade's End* points to a similar cycle of birth, death, and rebirth. On Armistice Day, Christopher's brother Mark returns to the motif of August 4th established in *The Good Soldier* when he wonders: "What was to hinder endless recurrences of what had happened near a place called Gemmenich on the 4th of August, 1914, at six o'clock in the morning?" (Ford 774). Mark relies on an even more exact location in time, positioning Ford's later novel in the same cycle of eternal recurrence hinged on the Great War.

Indeed, *Parade's End* does not simply borrow the temporal motifs of *The Good Soldier*, but introduces its own distinctive motif that draws from the pastoral tradition. In one passage Christopher conjures a pastoral image of himself and Valentine as they wander through the countryside. The "honourable, clean, [and] upright" Christopher accompanies his "virtuous, clean, [and] vigorous" companion "through Kentish grass fields: the grass ripe for the scythe . . . God's England! . . . Land of Hope and Glory," painting an idyllic picture of England unspoiled by war (107). This image brims with nationalistic overtones, the "man" and "maid" at its centre symbolic of a traditional way of life that disintegrates over the course of the tetralogy and the Great War, exposing the decaying effects of linear war-time within British war propaganda. During his bleak time on the war front, Christopher constantly imagines the rural idyll of the past, which provides peace and solace in the face of war's industrial violence. However, the image of the rural idyll does not simply mark the corruptive influence of linear time, but is redeployed at the end of the tetralogy to indicate the restorative properties of cyclical time. The way of life that this image of pastoral England represents is one to which Christopher and Valentine return in the final novel, *Last Post*, as husband and wife in a countryside cottage, described with awe by Sylvia:

> It was extravagantly green, sunk in greenery and the grass . . . was filled with hiding profusions of flowers that were turning to seed. The four counties swept away from under her, hedges like string going away, enclosing fields, to the hills on the very distant horizon; the country near at hand wooded. The boy beside her took a deep breath as he always did when he saw a great view (711).

Toby Loeffler argues that this moment can be read as a sign of England's "rebirth," the novel and Christopher himself "participating in a postwar reconstruction of English tradition that requires a return to the very landscape from which a modernity of war and empire has alienated it" (2). This return to the pre-war pastoral idyll is only made possible by the cyclical mode of time that Ford's narrative adopts, and directly defies the linear narrative of war enshrined in propaganda, which is characterised not by restoration and new life, but by destruction and decay.

Cyclical motifs are equally prominent in Woolf's novels and manifest primarily in palimpsest imagery, symbolically defying the linearity of war experience proposed by propaganda. In *Mrs. Dalloway*, it is not only the traumatised soldier figure Septimus whose temporal perception is radically altered in the wake of the Great War. Indeed, this post-war articulation of time is instilled in the palimpsest imagery conjured by Woolf's many civilian characters such as Clarissa and Septimus' wife Rezia, who struggles to communicate with her 'shell-shocked' husband. For example, in two separate passages Rezia's thoughts enter into the subterranean depths of both the land and time:

> ...perhaps at midnight, when all boundaries are lost, the country reverts to its ancient shape, as the Romans saw it, lying cloudy, when they landed, and the hills had no names and rivers wound they knew not where [. . .] Through all ages – when the pavement was grass, when it was swamp, through the age of tusk and mammoth, through the age of silent sunrise, the battered woman – for she wore a skirt – with her right hand exposed, her left clutching at her side, stood singing of love – love which has lasted a million years" (Woolf 21, 69).

An alternative, experimental, and distinctly modernist temporality emerges from these palimpsest portraits of pre- and post-war life, which are layered over both the sprawling urban scape of London and the rolling rural countryside. Such observations magnify traces of past civilisations on the present landscape and form a stratified world which collapses "time and topography" (Brown, "The Spatiotemporal Topography" 20). Characters are equally aware of the past's presence in *Between the Acts*, and constantly observe temporal palimpsests in the world around them. For example, at one moment Bartholomew describes the location of the current cess-pit on his property where the pageant is held as one upon which "you could still see, plainly marked, the scars made by the Britons; by the Romans; by the Elizabethan manor house; and by the plough, when they ploughed the hill to grow wheat in the Napoleonic wars;" at the next, his sister Lucy reveals that the Barn to which they retire for the interval of the pageant "had been built over seven hundred years ago and reminded some people of a Greek temple, others of the middle ages, most people of an age before their own, scarcely anybody of the present moment" (Woolf 8, 119). Such images suggest that time does not simply operate cyclically, but multiple timelines overlap and converge, the ancient past intertwining with the modern present. The narrator of *Between the Acts* insists of the characters that "the future shadowed their present, like the sun coming through the many-veined transparent vine leaf; a criss-cross of lines making no pattern" (136). The pattern is in fact one of repetition, and its contours are emphasized by the birds which fly to their region every year from Africa just as they came "when the Barn was a swamp," and by Lucy's belief that the Victorians were not Victorians at all: just themselves, the very same people, in different clothes (123, 203). The overlapping of the past with the present and future makes it difficult for Lucy to distinguish between her internal musings on prehistory and her own mundane present, even as it illuminates the chasm between the rigidity of external time and the timelessness of the internal mind:

> It took her five seconds in actual time, in mind time ever so much longer, to separate Grace herself, with blue china on a tray, from the leather-covered grunting monster who was about, as the door opened, to demolish a whole tree in the green steaming undergrowth of the primeval forest (13-14).

"Actual time" and "mind time" are thus temporally and ideologically opposed, yet overlap in the novel's present. The natural and human history overlaying the modern landscape of England throughout *Between the Acts* suggests the inextricable connection with not only the past, but the future too, inevitable within a cyclical mode of time:

> 1833 was true in 1939. No house had been built; no town had sprung up. Hogben's Folly was still eminent; the very flat, field-parcelled land had changed only in this – the tractor had to some extent superseded the plough. The horse had gone; but the cow remained. . . . Most days it was the same . . . "That's what makes a view so sad," said Mrs. Swithin [Lucy] . . . "And so beautiful. It'll be there,' she nodded at the strip of gauze laid upon the distant fields, "when we're not" (65-6).

The final passages of Lucy's musings and of *Between the Acts* do not close upon the chronological end of the story, but return to the very beginning of human history itself. She resumes reading her *Outline of History*, exploring the prehistoric state of England, which "was then a swamp. Thick forests covered the land. On the top of their matted branches birds sang . . . Prehistoric man . . . half-human, half-ape, roused himself from his semi-crouching position and raised great stones" (254-55). The juxtaposition of the prehistoric figure, still bound closely to nature, and the elitist English customs just explored, presented, and parodied by the pageant—"great stones" of modern civilisation—implies the devolution that man is about to experience at the advent of World War II, poised for destruction.

In order to undermine the teleological narrative of war enshrined in British propaganda, Ford and Woolf replace its optimistic narrative of the end as synonymous with victory, exposing the reality of war's ending: suffering and death obscured beneath a banner

of 'progress.' This process can be gleaned from studies of the connection between fiction and mortality in conjunction with the biographical realities of Ford and Woolf. Many studies of fiction have illuminated the psychological significance of narrative endings in relation to human mortality. The psychoanalytical element of fictional conclusions as they relate to teleological death is expanded by Martin Hägglund in his exploration of the chronolibido within modernist fiction. He coins the term chronophobia against its foil, chronophilia, the former defined not simply as a desire to transcend the linear, apocalyptic temporalities identified by Aristotle, Brooks, and Kermode, but as an impulse "generated by the investment in a life that can be lost" (Hägglund 8). This impulse is intensified during wartime and periods of mental instability induced by war trauma, evident in the autobiographical writings of Ford and Woolf. Ford observes his fear of teleological death and the frailty of life following the war, exposed and compounded by his own experience on the frontline:

> You may say that everyone who had taken physical part in the war was then mad. No one could have come through that shattering experience and still view life and mankind with any normal vision. In those days you saw objects that the earlier mind labelled houses. They had been used to seem cubic and solid permanences. But we had seen Ploegsteert where it had been revealed that men's dwellings were thin shells that could be crushed as walnuts were crushed. Man and even Beast . . . all things that lived and moved and had volition and life might at any moment be resolved into a scarlet viscosity seeping into the earth of torn fields . . . Nay, it had been revealed to you that beneath Ordered Life itself was stretched, the merest film with, beneath it, the abysses of Chaos (*It Was the Nightingale* 48-49).

Before the war, peace prevailed, embodied in the physical and ideological fortification of objects, people, and places. Afterwards, the closeness of these things to the "scarlet viscosity" of death is fully realised and vividly imagined. The "Ordered Life" may refer to the normalised teleological progression of war within British propaganda: a guise which hides beneath it the gruelling reality of time as decidedly *un*ordered and unstable within the

"abysses of Chaos" that war creates, and which form the lived experience of war within the military-discursive complex. This process of remembering time before the war places the past in startling juxtaposition with the post-war present. Indeed, Ford often observes the Manichean division between the past and present in the image of his home:

> The London that I had left had been gay . . . Now it was as if some of the darkness of nights of air-raids hung in the shadows of the enormous city . . . one had the sense that vast disaster stretched into those caverns of blackness. A social system had crumbled. Recklessness had taken the place of insouciance. In the old days we seemed to have ourselves and our destinies well in hand. Now we were drifting towards a weir . . . (48).

The conflict that Ford draws out between feelings of gaiety and misery, destiny and doom, and confidence and uncertainty, reinforces the same conflict which arises between pre- and post-war life. This altered perspective is not exclusive to soldiers. In one diary entry after the Great War, Woolf records her similarly altered temporal perception of the very same city, which she once described as "liberating & refreshing" (*Diary of Virginia* 276). Like Ford, and despite the fact that she did not take part in the physical battles of war, Woolf's view of the past and the present is undoubtedly influenced by the temporal interruption of war:

> We were in London on Monday. I went to London Bridge. I looked at the river; very misty; some tufts of smoke, perhaps from burning houses. There was another fire on Saturday. Then I saw a cliff of wall, eaten out, at one corner; a great corner all smashed . . . A complete jam of traffic; for streets were being blown up. So by tube to the Temple; & there wandered in the desolate ruins of my old squares; gashed; dismantled; the old red bricks all white powder, something like a builders yard. Grey dirt & broken windows; sightseers; all that completeness ravished & demolished (353).

Woolf's image of London, once characterised by its "completeness," has been "burned," "eaten," "smashed," and "demolished" by the arrival of war. These passages reflect the binary memory mode that the interruption of war instils in those who survive, recalling Paul

Fussell's definition of modern memory, which operates on the division between "Time Before" and "Time After:" between "prewar idyll" and "wartime nastiness" (80). Such haunted memories lend credence to Karen Levenback's contention that "at no time had the temporal reality of death been more in evidence than the Great War," and nowhere is this phenomenon clearer than in the words of those who lived through it, both autobiographical and fictional (14).

These literary and literal perspectives on teleological death and time extend into modernist fiction itself, where the same binary memory mode forms two distinct time periods with clear connotations: life before the war, and the death that is war's end. As Ford's narratives shift between the past, present, and future, each period is crafted in contrasting optimistic and pessimistic terms. This binary memory mode is captured in one of Christopher's many prophetic thoughts:

> His mind was at rest because there was going to be a war. From the first moment of his reading the paragraph about the assassination of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand he had known that, calmly and with assurance. Had he imagined that this country would come in he would not have known a mind at rest. He loved this country for the run of its hills, the shape of its elm trees and the way the heather, running uphill to the skyline, meets the blue of the heavens. War for this country could only mean humiliation, spreading under the sunlight, an almost invisible pall over the elms, the hills, the heather, like the vapour that spread from . . . oh, Middlesbrough! (Ford 199-200).

Here, the divine image of a British landscape praised for its vitality through natural and homely images of "hills," "elm trees," and "heather" is in one moment overshadowed by the almost iconoclastic "pall," "humiliation," and "vapour" of the Great War. A fear of teleological death infects the narrative, and forms a clear schism between pre- and post-war understandings of time and memory. Gene Moore argues that the four novels that constitute the tetralogy seek to "restore a lost sense of continuity by salvaging what was demonstrably

valid from the halcyon days before Armageddon;" to restore pre-war peace and transcend the untimely death that war brought not only to British people, but to the nation's great customs and traditions which are confined to the past (49). This sense of peace, combined with Christopher's valiant but futile efforts to retain Edwardian values in a rapidly changing world, juxtaposes sharply with the fragmentary aesthetic of his frontline experiences which are scattered throughout, employing what Fussell's study of modern memory calls the versus habit. Fussell explains that "the mode of gross dichotomy [between soldier and enemy on the battlefield] came to dominate perception and expression elsewhere, encouraging . . . the modern *versus* habit: one thing opposed to another, not with some Hegelian hope of synthesis involving a dissolution of both extremes . . . but with a sense that one of the poles embodies so wicked a deficiency or flaw or perversion that its total submission is called for" (79). In this context, the world following the war occupies the latter pole of corruption and anguish, lending pre-war memories a feeling of peace and purity that they would not otherwise have, becoming Eden before the Fall. Such juxtaposition is as jarring as it is purposeful, and it is not exclusive to Christopher. Suffragette Valentine is similarly struck by the violent onset of the war, which in a single moment transforms her warm family home into a space of cold brutality on the part of both her mother and her brother:

> On the next day came the war. That was a nightmare of pure suffering, with never a let-up, day or night. It began on the morning of the fourth with the arrival of her brother from some sort of Oxford Communist School . . . her mother had only chuckled . . . The war changed that. Both seemed to be filled with a desire for blood and to torture; neither paid the least attention to the other. It was as if – so for the rest of those years the remembrance of that time lived with her – in one corner of the room her mother, ageing, and on her knees, from which she only with difficulty rose, shouted hoarse prayers to God, to let her, with her own hands, strangle, torture, and flay off all his skin, a being called the Kaiser, and as if, in the other corner of the room, her brother, erect, dark, scowling, and vitriolic, one hand clenched above

> his head, called down the curse of heaven on the British soldier, so that in thousands, he might die in agony, the blood spouting from his scalded lungs (Ford 248).

Such recollections are defined by their extreme violence and hatred, emphasizing "the power [of the versus habit] to shape later recall" of the war (Fussell 80). Christopher and Valentine are crafted as foils, the former a soldier, a veteran, and a propagandist; the latter, an anti-war woman and a civilian. These passages indicate that the trauma of war and its schismatic effect on temporal perception is, despite these essential differences, a suffering that they share.

Although Fussell goes on to argue that the division of the world into "known and unknown, safe and hostile, is a habit *no one who has fought* ever entirely loses," the fictional juxtaposition of the peaceful pre-war period and the harrowing reality of the post-war world is a facet of both Ford and Woolf's works (80, my emphasis). In many instances, Woolf's use of binary memory and her focus on the complexities of time and death in relation to war is perhaps even more overt than Ford's own. For example, in *Mrs. Dalloway*, Clarissa's joy upon hearing Big Ben's chime—a signal, at first, that the war is over—quickly dissolves when she remembers the final cost of war:

> The War was over, except for someone like Mrs Foxcroft at the Embassy last night eating her heart out because that nice boy was killed and now the old Manor House must go to a cousin; or Lady Bexborough who opened a bazaar, they said, with the telegram in her hand, John, her favourite, killed (Woolf 5).

Big Ben is no longer portrayed as a progressive marker of victory, then, but a malevolent harbinger of death: the true nature of war's end. Indeed, Clarissa is later overcome by revulsion towards time and the aura of death it has delivered to Lady Bruton, a woman heavily symbolic of traditional Britain. She declares in no uncertain terms that she "fears time itself, and read on Lady Bruton's face, as if it had been a dial cut in impassive stone, the dwindling of life; how year by year her share was sliced" (26). The passage of teleological time is decidedly inorganic: life within its confines is not gently given, but "sliced,"

portioned, and abruptly ended. In *Between the Acts*, too, the large cast of characters ponder time and war's deadly effect directly, simultaneously, and constantly under the promise of World War II, strengthening the ties between the two concepts. For example, Isa—Bartholomew's daughter-in-law and Giles' wife—reminisces on the annual course of life which had, until the war, unfolded in exactly the same way:

> Every summer, for seven summers now, Isa had heard the same words; about the hammer and the nails; the pageant and the hammer. Every year they said, would it be wet or fine; and every year it was – one or the other. The same chime followed the same chime, only this year beneath the chime she heard: 'The girl screamed and hit him about the face with a hammer' (29).

Here, war's deadly interruption of life operates in tandem with linear time's interruption of cyclical time, so that the two concepts cannot be disentangled. The mundane conversation of cyclical peacetime, concerned with the pageant and the weather, is cut violently short by the intrusive image from a war article Isa reads at the beginning of the novel, in which a French girl attacks her rapist, a soldier, with a hammer. The connection between linear time and war—and the death for which both are responsible—is further articulated throughout by the coupling of their respective sets of images. When they first meet, William discloses to Isa that "the doom of sudden death hang[s] over us . . . There's no retreating and advancing . . . for us as for them," the immediacy of death foregrounded by the pendulum-like oscillation between militaristic retreat and advance that informs William's fears (136). The close association between war and death throughout Woolf's novels stems from both soldier and civilian memories of the Great War, the scale of which would soon be dwarfed by World War II. These passages do not simply refer to the past, then, but predict the near future: a time that will be defined not by national glory, as propaganda suggests, but by death and destruction once more.

The official teleological history endorsed by British war propaganda rhetoric equates war with progress, civilisation, and victory, and fails to acknowledge the spectrum of trauma, death, and individual loss inevitable within a lived experience of war. By contrast, the literary "revision of time in wartime" undertaken by the formal-experiential constellation of time in the novels of Ford Madox Ford and Virginia Woolf serves to "make the history of war more sensitive to the full range of experience of both men and women," and soldiers and civilians alike (Hussey 4). Many critics have attributed this revision of time within *The Good Soldier, Parade's End, Mrs. Dalloway* and *Between the Acts* to the general metamorphoses of modernity, as conceptions of time were indeed challenged by a collection of societal changes, from secularisation and urbanisation to advances in technology and medicine. However, a comparative and contextual analysis of Ford and Woolf's novels, their worlds, and the military-discursive complex in which they lived illuminates the central part that war and propaganda play within this change. This chapter has explored the many ways in which modernist cyclical time *embodies* the lived temporal experience before, during, and after war, even as it *undermines* propaganda's false linear vision of war experience on a structural, narratorial, and thematic level. Teleological symbols such as Big Ben and the gramophone are dismantled by cyclical motifs such as the pastoral return and the palimpsest, while a binary memory mode reveals the full and fatal effect of war on the world and the mind, challenging propaganda's monopoly on war-time as linear and progressive. A new war-time is proposed, defined by temporal continuation and the overlapping of the past, present, and future. As in almost every other facet of fiction writing, Ford and Woolf embrace an ancient conception of time and "Make it New" again (Pound 1935). Indeed, their distinctly modernist temporal form marks a return to pre-modern and often non-Western cyclical modes of story-telling and history-making. The innumerable temporal similarities in their works reflect a shared response to the temporal disruption of the Great War and to its inevitable second act,

as well as a shared reaction against the propaganda which sought to obscure this reality and steady England's projection into a 'progressive' future. Mark Hussey observes that this restructuring of time allows Ford and Woolf's novels to move beyond "the exceptional, marked event, which takes place on a specifically militarized front or in public and institutionally defined areas" such as propaganda and conventional war history, shifting into "the private domain and the sphere of the mind" through which the lived experience of war is filtered (4). As Jay Winter asserts, "battle does not end when the firing stops; it goes on in the minds of many of those who returned intact, or apparently unscathed, and in the suffering of those whose memories are embodied, enacted, repeated, [and] performed" (61). Such memories are made both in battle and the home; in the minds of both soldiers and civilians; in both the real world, and in fiction.

Chapter Two

The Mind Divided: War Neurosis and the Modernist Novel

Now we turn from the modernist treatment of time as a lived experience and a literary feature to the modernist treatment of fragmentation as a psychological state and a textual form. Throughout critical commentary on modernist literature, the term *fragmentation* refers to the disjointed or nonlinear form that arises from the use of disruptive literary techniques across multiple registers of the text, from structure and language through to theme and imagery. For Paul Tolliver Brown, the structural fragmentation of the modernist plot is undertaken by temporal devices of discontinuity such as analepsis, prolepsis, and foreshadowing, which re-sequence or pre-empt events and create an *in media res* narrative that shifts backwards and forwards in time ("Relativity" 43). Together, these techniques give the impression of a story scattered in parts across both space and time, the pieces of which must often be put together by the reader or protagonist, or both. For Damon DeCoste, the formal fragmentation of modernist language is solidified by devices such as repetition and ellipsis, which lead to stuttering passages, fragmentary gaps in the reader's knowledge, and broken sentences (429). These techniques interrupt the flow of dialogue, thought, and narration, resulting in a shattered mirror of meaning. For Sara Haslam, the thematic fragmentation of the modernist vision is achieved through juxtaposing or reflective imagery, which creates a dual view of characters, consciousness, places, events, and objects (51-2). Such motifs form a kaleidoscopic impression of a world on the "nadir of dissolution and collapse," as seen through the eyes of the modernist (6). When utilised together, these devices forge a fragmentary form that permeates every level of the narrative, becoming a major hallmark of modernist authors such as Ford Madox Ford and Virginia Woolf (Brown and Theodore 74).

Yet while both Ford and Woolf employ fragmentary form in their novels, existing literary criticism has represented their engagement with modernist fragmentation in very different ways. On the one hand, like critics focused on Ernest Hemingway and William Faulkner, those focused on Ford have tended to trace the fragmentary elements of Ford's fiction directly to his frontline experience, which took place within the public sphere of war and politics (Fussell 2000, Holmes 2015). A formal-experiential constellation arises, in which 'fragmentary' textual representations reflect a 'fragmentary' psychological perception of the world. These representations both embody the psychologically fragmenting lived experience of war and undermine the cohesive propagandist version of war experience. It is this constellation that male modernists are consistently entangled with, as critics continually draw connections between the psychologically fragmenting experience of the frontline and the turn towards literary fragmentation in the years surrounding the Great War. Such arguments hinge on the fact that male modernists not only participated in physical battle, but transformed these experiences into war-inspired artworks, giving a clear origin to fragmentary representations within. Indeed, many critics have framed the violent and fragmentary juxtaposition of pre- and post-war England in Ford's works as a formal reaction to the divisive effect of war on the psyche, arguing that the experience "equips the survivors of war [such as Ford] with a double past . . . linked but incommensurate:" a duality that inevitably informs his fiction (Leed 89). Some critics have located Ford's fragmentary representations in a disconnection between war front experience and the seemingly unaltered home front, where the apparent insensitivity of civilians themselves compounded a "sense of fragmentation" exclusive to veteran soldiers (Haslam 32-3). Others have pointed to a similar disconnect between the fragmentary reality of war's effects, particularly 'shell-shock,' and the cohesive masculine ideology enshrined in war propaganda, which is thought to have exerted extreme psychological pressure on soldiers, manifesting in their fragmentary fiction (Hawkes 2012). Within such arguments, a

fragmentary aesthetic originating in war experience is attributed to the soldier-writer alone, the critical void on civilian-writers perpetuating a binary vision. This is the art of the soldier.

On the other hand, critics have tended to trace Virginia Woolf's fragmentary representations almost exclusively to the vicissitudes of life on the home front, creating a formal-experiential constellation that is detached from the military-discursive complex. Indeed, Woolf's focus on the private sphere led to accusations of "political quietism" by prominent critics such as Quentin Bell, E. M. Forster, and Wyndham Lewis (Benziman 53). As Michele Barrett observes, many of her critics have approached Woolf's fiction from the belief that she, and therefore her writing, are "constrained by her class and gender," becoming "elitist, trivial" and "narrowly feminist in scope" (145). Paul Fussell, one of the above critics who focusses exclusively on male modernists, declares that Woolf was "not involved in the war" in any significant capacity beyond *Jacob's Room* (52). Many more critics have since observed Woolf's works through a broader and more fruitful lens of feminist counter-culture that has dominated literary scholarship since the 1970's (Lee 2010, Burns 1994, Briggs 2006). However, these discussions tend to attribute the fragmentary aesthetic and fleeting impressions that are the hallmark of her style to what has been identified by both Woolf and her commenters as a conflict between the private and the public, rather than to war's fragmenting psychological effects (Snaith 2000). This conflict reflects and extends the divide between the gendered Victorian societal spheres not fully dissolved in Woolf's day, as well as the tension between the internal and the external self that underlies both her worldview and her fiction. In many critical analyses, Woolf's fragmentary representations are attributed to the fragmenting divide between men and women that emerges from the conceptual dichotomy of the public and private spheres, and is narrated through female characters whose access to the public and distinctly masculine realms of politics and war is limited (Snaith 3). Woolf's fragmentary form has also been viewed as an

articulation of the fragmenting effects of the English class system, which served to stratify society and divide people even further (Mills 220). Many critics have diverged from the path set by this orthodoxy, renewing interest in other realms of Woolf's fragmentary fiction such as the significance of urbanisation and the modern city, technology, music, science, and imperialism (Harrison 2014, Humm 2003, Varga 2014, Brown 2009, Phillips 1994). However, her contributions to these discourses and particularly those of war are continually made from the private sphere and the hearth of the angel, her anti-war, elitist reputation obscuring her meaning. This is the art of the civilian.

These different genealogies of the use of textual fragmentation within Ford's soldier-art and Woolf's civilian-art no doubt retain significant critical merit, and will continue to do so. What is striking about them, however, is the extent to which they recapitulate the binary soldier-civilian logic that animates British war propaganda. This logic opposes the soldier and the civilian, giving license to reductive understandings of gender in the twentieth century, particularly masculinity. Yet the pluralistic nature of war experience cannot be explained in the binary terms that propaganda relies upon, and which previous critical orthodoxy has unintentionally perpetuated in the isolated study of soldier-art and civilian-art. In this chapter, then, I will argue that both Ford *and* Woolf create 'fragmentary' representations of a psychologically 'fragmenting' experience of war and that, moreover, these formal-experiential constellations overlap, profoundly dismantling the totalising distinction between soldier and civilian experience that is enforced by the reductive gender ideologies enshrined in British war propaganda. To advance this argument, I will first lay out the various understandings of masculinity which circulated during the modernist era, from war propaganda and seminal psychoanalytical theories, to popular attitudes towards 'shell-shock' following the Great War. Central to this discussion are the biographical realities of Ford and Woolf, both of whom endured the physical and psychic wounds inflicted by war. Susan

Grayzel explains that "as the First World War raged around them, regardless of their geographical position, imagining the war and sharing their tales of war . . . enabled the men and women of war-torn Britain . . . to transcend the gender-bound categories – to bridge the gap between divided fronts – in which they had been placed" (49). Turning towards these tales of war, I will undertake a comparative analysis of the fragmentary representations of the fragmenting psychological experience of war within *The Good Soldier, Parade's End, Mrs. Dalloway,* and *Between the Acts*, in order to illuminate a mutual and distinctly modernist vision of war. In the process, I recast Ford and Woolf not as antithetical figures whose engagement with modernist techniques of fragmentation stem from vastly disparate life experiences, but as individuals whose novels speak in the same staccato voice of the shock of war both at home *and* on the front; to the loss that is both public *and* private; and to the war propaganda which sought to diminish these connections. In this process, the fragmentary form of modernist fiction and the literary devices therein, which have for many years elicited profound analysis, will take on even greater significance when the critical and ideological divide between soldier-art and civilian-art is collapsed.

To understand what modernist literary fragmentation seeks to communicate, we must first historicise the psychologically fragmenting effect of the cultural conception of masculinity in Britain during this time. The early twentieth century was a time of intense consolidation of British ideological systems, including the ancient dichotomy between masculinity and femininity and their associated binary roles. The arrival of the Great War served only to intensify and expand these roles, which in this new context became tied to an emerging soldier-civilian binary. The cultural symbol of man in particular became increasingly normative and potent within the burgeoning military structures of a society engaged in war. Indeed, this symbol of "manliness" and the features of a "true man" become more sharply defined, as did his function as guardian of a society in a state of flux (Mosse

101). Built upon notions of courage, honour, and strength, this culturally entrenched masculinity was threatened by signs of cowardice, hysteria, and impotence which had for many years marked the 'other,' the 'outsider' of British society. Within this abstract understanding of man the "unity of body and mind" is integral for cohesion, both of man himself and society at large, the one reflective of the other (102). In his autobiography, *It Was the Nightingale,* Ford comments on this essential difference between 'real men' and the male 'other' associated with feminine creativity, who was not deemed fit for war: "The normal Englishman did in those days . . . seriously believe that too much study of the Arts would make the youth of England effeminate or that we should fare badly in our next war" (61). It was therefore crucial that men continued to display masculine cohesion, especially in a time of war, which threatened fragmentation on both a private and a global scale.

Over the course of the Great War, British war propaganda drew heavily from this increasingly problematic definition of masculinity, forging its own propagandist model of masculinity. Indeed, the world in which Ford and Woolf lived and wrote was characterised by an uncertainty engineered by the misinformation and manipulation of war propaganda, which is founded upon what Judith Hicks Stiehm identifies as three "Myths Necessary to the Pursuit of War:" the first "that war is manly," the second "that warriors protect," and the third "that soldiers are substitutable" (qtd. in Hussey 2). A quick glance at propagandist material from the Great War reveals that these myths underpin many of the messages generated by both image and text. One poster decares that "There is still a place in the line for you. Will you fill it?":

Fig. 5. *There is still a place in the line for you. Will you fill it? / The Haycock-Cadle Co., London S.E.* Parliamentary Recruiting Committee, 1915. Photograph. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, www.loc.gov/item/2003662901/.

A row of soldiers stands in a perfectly uniform line, virtually indistinguishable from one another. No one man is an individual, but is absorbed into a homogenous entity. They flank a space reserved for "a fit man:" the poster's target audience. The visual emphasis on the word "man" suggests that what they want is not simply men, but all that the word implies—courage, honour, and battle prowess: *war is manly.* A prominent 1915 poster commissioned by the Parliamentary Recruiting Committee and created by Arthur Wardle employs the gendered metaphor of the lion and his pride:

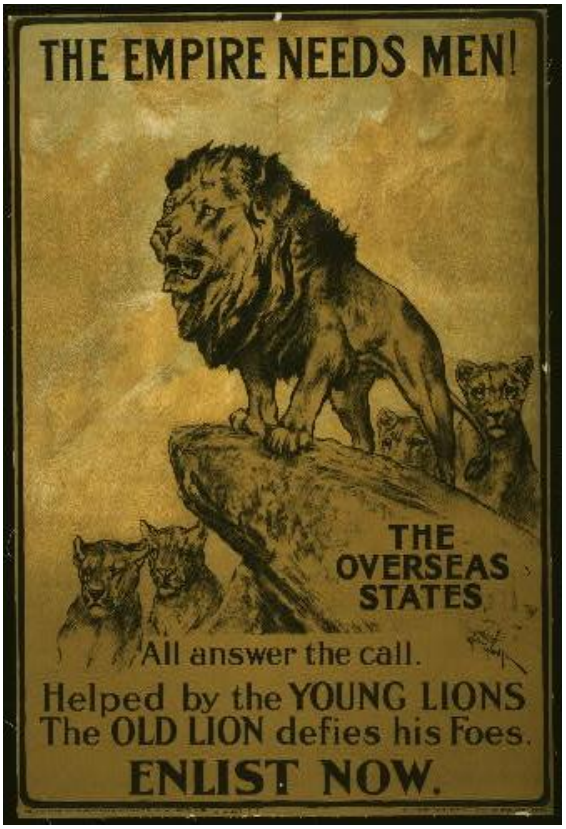

Fig. 6. Wardle, Arthur. *The empire needs men! The overseas states all answer the call. Helped by the young lions the old lion defies his foes. Enlist now / Arthur Wardle ; printed by Straker Brothers Ltd., 194-200 Bishopsgate, London.* Parliamentary Recruiting Committee, 1915. Photograph. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, www.loc.gov/item/2003663156/.

The dominant exclamation that "The Empire Needs Men!" carries connotations of masculinity as synonymous with man himself. Below these words, a single imposing lion stands atop a rocky outcrop, mouth agape and teeth visible, ready for battle. His pride of lionesses, diminutive by comparison in size and role, sit beyond the rock and the lion, literally foregrounding his guardianship over them as well as his superior strength, position, and sexual virility above other men: *warriors protect*. In another example, it is the female figures who dominate the foreground and their male foils who retreat into the background:

Fig. 7. *Women of Britain say - "Go!" / E.P.? Kealey ; printed by Hill, Siffken & Co. L.P.A. Ltd., Grafton Works, London, N.* Parliamentary Recruiting Committee, 1915. Photograph. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, www.loc.gov/item/2003663093/.

They are not simply retreating, but heading to war in a uniform line, indistinguishable from one another as they cut the same profile of army helmet, backpack and rifle: *soldiers are substitutable*. This 'official' version of war and masculinity divided soldiers and civilians, as those at home were "unable to grasp the descriptions offered to them [by returning soldiers] in place of the flannel blindfolds fabricated by the government's propaganda apparatus" (Tylee 351-2). Thus the struggle for modernist fiction writers who lived through the Great War crystallises around the distinction between "witnessing and seeing . . . how one is placed in relation to a history one has lived through and not seen, or seen only partially, through a fog of ignorance, fear, confusion, and lies" which enveloped almost everyone involved (Tate 10). Indeed, the misleading light cast by such propaganda, and particularly the propagandist version of masculinity presented as the only option, led to a situation in which "almost no one who was touched by the Great War had any reliable information about it," as posters lauded

the ideal soldier and civilian as mutually exclusive. This totalising ideology obscured the prismatic reality of war experience and masculinity, both on the front and at home (53).

The fragmenting psychological impact of propagandist masculinity is reflected in the representation of men within modernist fiction, which reveals not only the inconsistency of this definition, but its emotional effects. Throughout Ford's works, male characters are repeatedly measured against the propagandist rubric of maleness, and often fall short of the standards set by their hyper-masculine and warlike foils. In *The Good Soldier*, this duality of maleness is embodied by the two central characters, John Dowell and Edward Ashburnham. Dowell's passivity, asexuality, and obliviousness towards Florence's infidelity are cast in high relief by Ashburnham's polemical role as cuckolder and soldier, both of which can be interpreted as pinnacles of manliness, signifying sexual and military prowess respectively. Confronted by Ashburnham's masculinity, Dowell wonders:

> Is the whole thing a folly and a mockery? Am I no better than a eunuch or is the proper man—the man with the right to existence—a raging stallion forever neighing after his neighbor's womankind? I don't know. And there is nothing to guide us. And if everything is so nebulous about a matter so elementary as the morals of sex, what is there to guide us in the more subtle morality of all other personal contacts, associations, and activities? (Ford 32).

In the light of propagandist masculinity, it seems that cuckolded men such as Dowell have no right even to life itself, so extreme are its expectations, and so limited are alternative options. Here, the morality of sex is connected to the morality of war, where men are equally encouraged to transform into "raging stallions." Indeed, Ashburnham's perceived masculine superiority is grounded in his military career as an Indian Army officer. Dowell repeatedly comments on the perfect propagandist picture that he paints, wondering if he has successfully "conveyed to you the splendid fellow that [Ashburnham] was – the fine soldier . . . the extraordinarily kind, careful and industrious magistrate, the upright, honest, fair-dealing, fair-thinking, public character? [. . .] He was . . . the model of humanity, the hero, the athlete, the

father of his country, the law-giver" (80, 92). Ashburnham is patriotic, incorruptible, physically and mentally strong, and undeniably heroic. Such exorbitant praise juxtaposes with Dowell's eventual knowledge of Ashburnham as "anything but straight, upright and honourable" in the light of his multiple affairs, including with Dowell's own wife Florence. A more accurate Dorianesque portrait emerges, which Dowell suppresses until "the memory of his innumerable acts of kindness, of his efficiency, of his unspiteful tongue" rise again to the surface of the text (93). Dowell's conscious suppression of the good soldier's true character parallels the methodology of war propaganda, which favours nationalistic ideals over disillusioning truths within the military-discursive complex. The truth uncovered here is simple: Ashburnham's masculine exterior hides his real character, which is selfish, dishonest, and disloyal, exposing the fallacy not only of Ashburnham himself, but of the propagandist masculinity that he represents. For Dowell, the tension that arises between "his own self-conception and his new understanding of masculinity" proffered by Ashburnham forges the "central crisis" of his identity, inspiring the fragmented form of his thought processes and character constructions (Hoffman 30).

The same ideological struggle between propagandist masculinity and the emotional reality of lived war experience is faced by Christopher Tietjen's in *Parade's End*, and results in the same fragmentary disconnect between representations of the self and cultural expectations. Like Dowell, Christopher struggles with his own sense of masculinity when his wife Sylvia engages in multiple and varyingly public affairs, one of which is rumoured to have produced their child: the ultimate mark of impotence. Confronted by the unabashed behaviour of the ostensibly virile men who have slept with his wife, as well as the illicit affair of his closest friend Vincent Macmaster with Mrs. Duchemin, Christopher regularly questions the nature of his own masculinity in the transient world of the early twentieth century. While thinking of Valentine in the trenches, for example, Christopher compares

himself to the corpse of a fellow soldier whose wife was also having an affair, declaring them both to be "eunuchs" and "impotent," both at home and at war (Ford 333). The connection between war and sex is made once again when Sylvia opines that the Great War is merely an "agapemone," for "you went to war when you desired to rape innumerable women" (397). Valentine, too, "had an automatic feeling that all manly men were lust-filled devils, desiring nothing better than to stride over battlefields, stabbing the wounded with long daggers in frenzies of sadism" (250). It becomes clear that during the era of modernity, the successful integration of a propagandist definition of masculinity does indeed rely on such violent conquests. Karen Hoffman suggests that over the course of *Parade's End,* Ford

> …presents the operative definition of patriarchal masculinity in Late Victorian/Edwardian England as inextricably linked to the assumptions and practices of imperialism, likening the expectation that men transgress boundaries in order to possess ever more women to the scramble for colonies among colonial powers. While this imperialistic definition of masculinity grants a certain degree of power to those male characters that enact it, the definition not only limits the female characters but disables the male characters as well. Ford depicts late Victorian/Edwardian culture offering no alternatives to this definition of masculinity: the male characters either follow the definition compulsively, even at times against their explicitly stated wishes, or they do not compete and consequently are emasculated or destroyed (30).

Sylvia's unfaithfulness at home, and later his harrowing experience on the frontline, form the locus of Christopher's simultaneously public and private emasculation. His participation in the physical battles of war—as well as his contributions to the propaganda apparatus, in the form of his work for the Department of Statistics—allow Christopher to fit the definition of propagandist masculinity. For example, he assures himself that "the war had made a man of him! It had coarsened him and hardened him. There was no other way to look at it. It had made him reach a point at which he would no longer stand unbearable things" (Ford 723). In

Christopher's mind, his masculinity can only be restored and affirmed by his participation in the war. However, his actions are at odds with his anti-war sentiments—he deems the whole affair "a mug's game"—an attitude associated during this time with womanly cowardice (668). In truth, the war does not make him manlier, but fragments his mind even further, compounding the disconnection between his self and his society engendered by propagandist masculinity. Christopher's time on the front is not exclusively political, public, and masculine, as evidenced by the influence of the domestic, the private, and the feminine: namely, Sylvia's arrival in France in the midst of battle. The physical conflation of Christopher's war service and his service to his wife emphasizes "the permeability of the boundary between the allegedly safe and feminised home front and what were presumed to be the brutal facts of the masculine front line" (Grayzel 49). Grayzel continues, asserting that "the presence of women . . . in the so-called warzone and the presence of soldiers on leave suggest that the boundary between these zones was continually collapsing" (49). The effect of Sylvia's heightened domestic presence in the realm of war is therefore schismatic, interrupting and fragmenting Christopher's supposedly masculine war experience.

These fragmentary representations of maleness set in relation to the military-discursive complex are not exclusive to Ford's novels, as shown by Woolf's own fragmentary representations of the fragmentary psychological effects of both propagandist masculinity and the trauma of lived war experience. In *Between the Acts*, William Dodge is a first-time visitor to the pageant at the heart of the novel. His latent homosexuality and the way that other male characters judge him inconspicuously suggest the significance of masculine ideology in the years leading up to World War II. Indeed, like Dowell, William is confronted by the hyper-masculinity of men such as Isa's husband Giles, son of Bartholomew and an Indian Army veteran like his father. Giles, now a stockbroker, is internally lauded by William, who envies the "hirsute, handsome, virile, the young man in blue jacket and brass buttons, standing in a

beam of dusty light . . . here he was; and the muscular; the hirsute, the virile plunged him into emotions in which the mind had no share [. . .] *Armed and valiant, bold and blatant, firm elatant* – the popular march tune rang in his head. And the fingers of William's left hand closed firmly . . . as the hero approached" (Woolf 126-7, 132). The association in William's mind between Giles' heroic personality and military music and weaponry fortifies the association between masculinity and war predominant in England during this time. Against the backdrop of such figures, William's masculinity is threatened. Too afraid to confess his position out loud, William can only imagine revealing that he is "a half-man . . . a flickering, mind-divided little snake in the grass . . . as Giles saw:" like Dowell, William is symbolically castrated by the comparison (90). The image of a divided mind echoes Freudian conceptions of war neurosis and the fractured psyche, even as it suggests the cutting edge that expectations of maleness hold over men during wartime. The concurrent image of a "little snake" is far more overt in its sexual connotations, suggesting, or rather, accusing its subject of shameful sterility. Yet even Giles—a figure cut here as *exceptionally* sterile—is not objectively so, illuminating the inconsistency of this propagandist definition of masculinity. While watching the comedic scene of the pageant, "Where there's a Will there's a Way," Giles' father Bartholomew looks at his son "as if exhorting him to give over these womanish vapours and be a man, Sir" (157). These cultural expectations of maleness are intensified in the context of impending war, and are not only internalised, as in the case of William, but externalised and imposed on others. Bartholomew forces them upon not only his son, but his own grandson when he scorns his daughter-in-law at the beginning of the novel, before the pageant begins: "your little boy's a cry-baby . . . [I took the newspaper . . . sprung out from behind a tree on to the children] . . . And he howled. He's a coward, your boy is" (25). The inheritance of patriarchal power vested in the propagandist vision of the English soldier—signified here by Bartholomew, and passed on to his son and grandson—is subverted by the

revelation of Giles' own 'womanliness' and the 'cowardice' of his child. It is then thoroughly criticised by Isa, who defends her son: "he was not a coward, her boy wasn't," leading her to loathe "the domestic, the possessive; the maternal," and highlighting the instability of these conventionally feminine qualities, and by extension, their masculine counterparts in which war propaganda is grounded (25-6).

Woolf's earlier novel, *Mrs. Dalloway,* extends Isa's criticism in passages that undermine propagandist masculinity by revealing a private masculine sentimentality that is recognised by both soldier and civilian characters. At the advent of the Great War, Septimus conforms to the very qualities that define propagandist masculinity. He volunteers to go to France with a mind to "save an England which consisted almost entirely of Shakespeare's plays and Miss Isabel Pole in a green dress walking in a square. There in the trenches . . . he developed manliness" (73). This nostalgic description of England locates Septimus as patriarchal guardian of both English tradition and English women, and is saturated with a mixture of irony, cynicism, and pity that suggests the arbitrariness of the propagandist masculinity that Septimus attempts to uphold. Indeed, Septimus struggles to maintain this exterior of "manliness" following the physical and psychological battles of war, and although "it was cowardly for a man to say he would kill himself . . . Septimus had fought; he was brave; he was not Septimus now," the war having altered his very essence (20). The madness and suicide to which he is driven by his psychologically fragmenting experience of war is at odds with the propagandist masculinity that placed him there in the first place, which relies on cohesion of the self. This cohesive masculine façade crumbles beneath the fragmenting pressure of both war itself and the cultural responsibilities that propaganda imposes on Septimus. He goes beyond the stoic and emotionless expectations of propagandist masculinity when he weeps openly in public, moved not only by his traumatic memories of the war, but by the beauty of the natural world with which they conflict: "tears filled his eyes

as he looked at the smoke words languishing and melting in the sky and bestowing upon him in their inexhaustible charity and laughing goodness . . . beauty, more beauty! Tears ran down his cheeks" (18-19). This sentimental display—one of many in the novel—offers a private impression of a lived experience of war, and suggests an artistic "resistance to . . . manipulation of consciousness by the state," including the propagandist manipulation of culturally-entrenched and problematic expectations surrounding masculinity (Hussey 5-6).

It is not only Septimus who is affected by propagandist masculinity as a man, a soldier, and a veteran. The sentimentality that marks Septimus as an effeminate and incohesive 'other' within British society marks Clarissa's own post-war perspective of other men. For example, in the opening pages of *Mrs. Dalloway* Clarissa observes that her neighbour, Mr. Bowley, "was sealed with wax over the deeper sources of life but could be unsealed suddenly, inappropriately, sentimentally, by this sort of thing – poor women waiting to see the Queen go past – poor women, nice little children, orphans, widows, the War – tut tut – actually had tears in his eyes" (Woolf 17). The seal of propagandist masculinity is unable to contain the emotions catalysed by war's fragmenting psychological effects, which run against Mosse's cohesive image of manliness. Indeed, Mr. Bowley's sentimentality is deemed inappropriate, his tears admonished, not necessarily by Clarissa herself but by English state and society: a dominant institution embodied by the dark, faceless, and oblivious Queen who is thought to quietly pass by. Later, as she walks through the streets of London, Clarissa observes that "boys in uniform, carrying guns, marched with their eyes ahead of them, marched, their arms stiff, and on their faces an expression like the letters of a legend written round the base of a statue praising duty, gratitude, fidelity, love of England," alluding to a war memorial as yet unbuilt, the bleak future and reality of death obscured by the masculine tenets of British dogma (43). Clarissa's ironic representations of propagandist

masculinity, in tandem with Septimus' sentimental suffering, offer a final and resounding "mockery of manliness" (Henstra 177).

The fragmenting psychological effects of propagandist masculinity are illuminated not only by the oppositional vision of masculine sentimentality represented in Ford and Woolf's novels, but the simultaneous historical proliferation of 'shell-shock,' a psychologically fragmenting phenomenon recorded in professional and popular understandings of war experience. After 1914, men began to return from the war front or entered into army hospitals mute, paranoid, nonsensical, and hysterical, and the line drawn so definitively between 'real men' and the effeminate 'other' began to blur. In her watershed essay *Three Guineas*, Woolf remarks that "psychology would seem to hint that history is not without its effect upon mind and body" (8). Indeed, the medical phenomenon known in its earliest years of identification as 'shell-shock'—now more accurately known as post-traumatic stress disorder, or more specifically war neurosis—has long informed the characterisation and interpretation of soldiers, both within fiction and without. The war neurosis and associated post-traumatic stress disorders can be defined as "historical illnesses," in that unlike most other illnesses, they have causal roots in a specific event, place, and time, namely the war (Leed 85). In 1919, just one year after the end of the Great War, Sigmund Freud pioneered the first cohesive theory of war neurosis:

> The war neuroses, in so far as they are distinguished from the ordinary neurosis of peace-time by special characteristics, are to be regarded as traumatic neuroses whose occurrence has been made possible or has been promoted by a conflict in the ego . . . The conflict is between the soldier's old peaceful ego and his new warlike one, and it becomes acute as soon as the peace-ego realises what danger it runs of losing its life owing to the rashness of its newly formed, parasitic double. It would be equally true to say that the old ego is protecting itself from a mortal danger by taking flight into a traumatic neurosis or to say that it is defending itself against the new ego which it sees is threatening its life (Ferenczi et al. 208-9).

This convergence of the views of Freud, an Austrian psychoanalyst, and the views ingrained within British war propaganda reveals a detrimental symbiosis between popular beliefs and state lies which crystallised during this period (Haslam 104). This relationship is underlined by Elaine Showalter, who locates the possible origin of war neurosis in a tension between the expectations formed by propagandist masculinity and the prismal reality of lived war experience, for "when all signs of physical fear were judged as weakness and where all alternatives to combat – pacifism, conscientious objection, desertion, even suicide – were viewed as unmanly, men were silenced and immobilized and forced, like women, to express their conflict through the body," calling to mind the myth of female hysteria (171). This connection between 'shell-shock' and female hysteria is significant. The sudden increase in cases of war neurosis led to the sharpening of cultural definitions of propagandist masculinity in the early twentieth century:

> The manifestations of shell-shock seemed to fit already present social stereotypes . . . Such stereotypes could easily be used to explain so-called abnormal behaviour; they had, in fact, served for nearly a century to define the outsider as over and against society's norms. Ever since the beginning of the modern age, European society had represented itself through ideal types which had come to symbolize society's values – what society thought it wanted and needed – as well as through those types which represented the enemy who was thought to threaten these values, and who through its very existence helped society to define itself more clearly (Mosse 101).

In this cultural context, those who conform to propagandist masculinity are the "ideal type." Those who suffer from war neurosis display the "abnormal behaviour" that relegates them to the outside of British society, becoming an "enemy" figure. The soldier-civilian binary of war propaganda is maintained by Freud's theory and these contemporaneous cultural attitudes. Indeed, the conspicuous differentiation between the neuroses of wartime and the neuroses of peacetime correlates to those same ideological distinctions between war front and home front:

divisions that serve to "fracture . . . combatant experience and civilian perception" even further (Allyson Booth qtd. in Haslam 33).

The effects of neurosis can be seen in the private life of Ford, during both peacetime and following his wartime service. Ford suffered several nervous breakdowns in the decade before the Great War, first in 1904 and again in 1911, as a result of financial and marital struggles (Haslam 23). Against the backdrop of increasing international tensions, these breakdowns are described as "eidetic," and Ford's "strongly visual" modified perception of the world inflects the fragmentary representations within the fiction that followed (24, 23). Ford's experiences of professional psychological treatment following his war service and the development of his war neurosis are said to have "poisoned his mind against mental specialists in general, including psychoanalysts," recalling Woolf's own cool indictment of post-war British society and mental health, both in her diaries and at the apex of *Mrs. Dalloway* (24). Upon Ford's return home, the mental and physical after-effects of the war interfered with his memory and his ability to articulate himself through fiction as he had before, for he "found it nearly impossible to write about the psychological experience of war; the very nature of the experience seemed to escape his ability to represent it" (Bonikowski 58). Under the shadow of Ford's lived war experience, words darkened and lost their meaning, leaving the only alternative forms of expression fragmentary in nature: a fragmentation that informed the creation of both *The Good Soldier* and *Parade's End.*

Yet the figure of the 'shell-shocked' soldier represents just one half of the reality of war, for many British civilians exhibited the same symptoms of war neurosis, including Woolf herself (Tate 21). Aside from the inflammation of pre-existing mental disorders in civilians during wartime, the most notable example of a shared war neurosis is that of the recently theorised condition known as air-raid shock, a civilian equivalent to shell-shock.

Susan Grayzel details the specific case of British woman Mrs. Huntley, who allegedly killed her own child as a result of air-raid shock:

> It is difficult to ascertain whether – like the medical condition known as shell shock, which itself came into being during the war – "air raid shock" could result in such a total breakdown in a woman who, by all accounts, was a devoted and loving mother and yield such horrendous consequences. Did Mrs. Huntley fear that she was going to be killed in her home during an air raid, or did the fear-induced insomnia and injuries caused by repeated air raids trigger her "insanity"? Was she in any way akin to those on the battlefield who suffered from similar war or fear-induced mental anguish but who had less objectionable targets for their outbursts? . . . Under these circumstances . . . the blurring of the line indicating who exactly was under fire seems fully accomplished (48).

The psychologically fragmenting effects of air-raids on the home front have been acknowledged by Ford. In *It Was the Nightingale,* Ford recalls his own experience of an air-raid over London, which had destroyed many homes and lives: "In the line we used to consider that air-raids over London must be trifling enough. But I know I found that one sufficiently frightful and disagreeable, and hilarious and a nuisance and an occasion for prayer. With all the range of emotions of the line enhanced" (78). Ford's recollection suggests that not only did this air-raid conjure and sharpen the same feelings as physical battle, but may even have been more traumatic than some of his most devastating experiences on the frontline: "I prayed I might be back in places where you would be hit by a nice clean piece of shell-casing . . . The guns in Holland Park . . . made a noise which seemed to render memories of the first Battle of the Somme very pale affairs" (79-80). London, he concludes, had undergone its very own "baptism of fire" (82). Indeed, the emergence of air-raid shock and Ford's own accounts of war trauma on the home front blur the ideological line drawn between soldier and civilian experiences of war and war neurosis. For Woolf, like Ford, the act of writing became a struggle after 1918. During the conception of *Mrs. Dalloway* when it

was still titled *The Hours*, Woolf wrote in her diary on June 19, 1923, of the psychological difficulty that she faced while writing passages detailing Septimus' war-induced madness: "Am I writing *The Hours* from deep emotion? Of course the mad part tries me so much, makes my mind squint so badly that I can hardly face spending the next weeks at it" (qtd. in Bonikowski 138). This labour is emblematic of her own tenuous mental state in the years that followed the Great War, which worsened as World War II drew close. It is not only from the professional, popular, and private understandings of war neurosis that we can trace the origins of modernist fragmentation, but from literary works themselves. While these understandings continue to "present shell-shock from the outside," both Ford and Woolf are modernist authors and survivors of war, and are thus equipped to retrieve the experience of war from the *inside* (Bonikowski 57).

In order to present the fragmenting effects of war neurosis from the inside, modernist fiction writers turn to the dual construction of characters' consciousness. Wyatt Bonikowski wonders what kind of narrative might emerge from modernist sufferers of war neurosis, given the way that the condition disrupts "memory [and] speech," as well as "its intractable resistance to representation," tapping into the broader crisis of representation (57). The dual construction of consciousness within Ford's *The Good Soldier* suggests that the answer to Bonikowski's question is a fragmented narrative that reflects the psychological schism between the Freudian peaceful and warlike ego induced by war neurosis. Despite Dowell's position as a civilian, it is clear that throughout the novel he is suffering from a psychological shock in the events following Florence's suicide:

> I suppose that it was the shock that did it—the several shocks. But I am unwilling to attribute my feelings at that time to anything so concrete as a shock. It was a feeling so tranquil. It was as if an immensely heavy—an unbearably heavy knapsack, supported upon my shoulders by straps, had fallen off and left my shoulders themselves that the straps had cut into, numb and without sensation of life. I tell you, I had no regret. What had I to regret? I suppose that my

> inner soul—my dual personality—had realized long before that Florence was a personality of paper (Ford 97).

The Freudian severing of Dowell's mind can thus be traced to an initial "shock," not dealt by war itself but by a sexual revelation in the form of his wife's infidelity. In *The Good Soldier,* as in *Parade's End,* the morals of sex and war are often intertwined. Gerald Levin reifies this connection in his assertion that "the war that brings this [Dowell's] world to collapse is the result of lusts that civilisation has disguised as its 'parades'" (183). Dowell's neurosis emerges from the ruins of this collapse, and is captured in the image of an immense weight that is at once "tranquil" and "heavy," draining his mind of emotion until he is "numb and without sensation of life," echoing many soldier's accounts of war neurosis (Ford 97). On more than one occasion Dowell alludes to this same "inner soul" and "dual personality," suggesting the existence not of self but of *selves*, "the one I being entirely unconscious of the other" (87). Elaborating on his reaction to Florence's suicide and her affairs, he remarks that "I don't suppose I felt anything, unless maybe it was with that mysterious and unconscious self that underlies most people" (88).

This subconscious other half is not a simple subterranean register of the mind awakened by these shocking events, but slowly manifests as a separate character altogether: the good soldier, Edward Ashburnham. It is not only Dowell's individual mind that is fragmented by neurosis, then, but the novel itself is split across the "plural levels of human consciousness" manifested in the complimentary yet antithetical figures of Dowell, the civilian, and Ashburnham, the soldier (Haslam 85). Dowell's constant reference to the upstanding soldier figure of Ashburnham, an overt propagandist archetype, casts a dark and critical light on his own character and intentions, blurring the propagandist distinction between not only soldier and civilian, but ally and enemy. Within a propagandist framework, the portrayal of the enemy as degenerate and uncivilised reveals that "the negative qualities

we invariably assign to the enemy are reflections of. . . the shadow . . . the 'bad' self, which remains unconscious so long as it may be projected onto an enemy" (Kingsbury 17-18). These reductive binaries of British war propaganda collapse entirely when Dowell admits that "I can't conceal from myself the fact that I loved Edward Ashburnham – and that I love him because he was just myself," conflating not only their characters, but the soldier-civilian binary that they represent (Ford 175). Ashburnham's abrupt and violent suicide at the close of the novel is unprecedented, undercutting Dowell's optimistic vision of Ashburnham and allegorizing the discrepancy between the ideal propagandist soldier and the dark reality of war trauma. The fragmentary consciousness driving Ford's narrative is divided not only between the civilian Dowell and the soldier Ashburnham, but their parallel wives and lovers, Florence and Leonora. Dowell describes his alter-ego duo Leonora and Edward as "no more than tragic shades," suggesting their transparency or insubstantiality as fragments of his own mind within the narrative (175). Perhaps the most tragic shade of Ashburnham is his young admirer, ward, and muse, Nancy Rufford. Nancy is sent away to live with her father in India, so that Edward might resist embarking on yet another affair and preserve her innocence. Rendered virtually mute by the revelation of Edward's suicide while en route to India, Nancy enters into a catatonic state in which she is only able to utter the ostensibly meaningless word "shuttlecocks" over and over, her symptoms reminiscent of the 'shell-shocked' soldier (176). Indeed, the loss of Nancy's innocence is catalysed by the shock not only of Edward's sordid sexual history, but, like the 'shell-shocked' soldier, the sudden and traumatic visitation of death.

As in *The Good Soldier*, the narrative of *Parade's End* shifts between multiple levels of consciousness under the fragmenting pressure of the war. For the soldier Christopher, this pressure begins to mount with the death of O Nine Morgan. O Nine Morgan is a soldier under Christopher's command whose petition for leave is denied, ensuring his grisly death, which is

witnessed first-hand by Christopher. O Nine Morgan's ghostly apparition haunts him at various points throughout the tetralogy, and inspires an insidious fear that conjures further disturbing visions:

> What he dreaded at those normal times when fear visited him at lunch; whilst seeing that the men got their baths or when writing, in a trench, in support, a letter to his bank-manager, was finding himself unhurt, surrounded by figures like the brothers of the Misericordia, going unconcerned about their tasks, noticing him hardly at all. . . . Whole hillsides, whole stretches of territory, alive with myriads of whitish-grey, long cagoules, with slits for eyeholes. Occasionally one would look at him through the eyeslits in the hoods. . . . The prisoner! (550).

This image of the "prisoner" of war follows Christopher back to the home front. Valentine observes that, despite Christopher's return to the pastoral idyll of married life, his "mental torture could not be expelled," and nor could the "miles and miles of anguish in darkened minds" inflicted by the war (714). The fragmenting effect of war neurosis is suggested by fragmentary images of the self: after the war, Christopher looks into a mirror and sees "[a]n insolently calm man . . . the face divided in two by the crack in the glass: a naturally white-complexioned double-half of a face" (483). This fragmenting effect can also be glimpsed in Christopher's internal musings on the two independent levels of his own consciousness, the "double-half" of the war-torn mind. For example, like Dowell, Christopher becomes increasingly aware of his "surface mind" as distinct from the subconscious lower levels of cognition (93). His daunting experience on the French frontline leads him to speculate on the nature of this consciousness: "In every man there are two minds that work side by side, the one checking the other; thus emotion stands against reason, intellect corrects passion and first impressions act a little, but very little, before quick reflection" (93). This phenomenological theory draws direct parallels with Freud's own, wherein the mind is divided between the warlike-ego, which is emotional and passionate, and the peaceful ego, which is reasonable

and intellectual and, Christopher reminds himself, must control the impulses of the warlike ego. Indeed, Sara Haslam argues that "[a]s a metaphorical landscape, the war reanimated and heightened the fight between knowledge and ignorance, repression and liberation and opposing psychic manifestations and needs" (29). These opposing manifestations create a tension between the two levels of Christopher's consciousness. It is in his lower warlike ego that Christopher's war neurosis is most clearly manifested, temporarily obscured by the surface ego before taking over entirely: "He had, he knew, carried the suppression of thought in his conscious mind so far that his unconscious self had taken command and had, for the time, paralysed both his body and his mind" (Ford 85). This paralysis is joined by feelings of isolation and confusion following his frontline experience, and comes to define the increasingly despondent narrative of *Parade's End,* compounded by the accelerated circulation of rumour and lies that are both private and political in nature. The civilian mind of Valentine is similarly divided. While speaking to Sylvia on the phone, Valentine feels "as if a substratum of her mind of which she knew nothing must have been prepared for that very speech; so that it was not her own 'she' that answered" (289-90). This division can be traced to the psychologically fragmenting madness of Valentine's own war experience: she explains to an incredulous Mrs. Duchemin that "I've got a brother at sea; I've had a man I loved out there for an infinite time. You can understand that, I suppose, even if you can't understand how one can go mad merely at the thoughts of suffering at all" (277). Indeed, Edith Kurzweil observes that themes recurrent throughout modernist fiction—"loneliness, self-doubt, hypersensitivity, perversities of all kinds, [and] estrangement from the community"—mimic many symptoms of "the common neuroses" (qtd. in Haslam 7).

An excavation of the dual consciousness underpinning central soldier and civilian characters in Woolf's *Mrs. Dalloway* reveals the same asynchrony of experience as Ford's works, qualifying a trauma shared by both soldier and civilian characters. Clarissa, the

civilian, and Septimus, the soldier, are profoundly disparate figures in terms of gender, class, status, experience, and even plot, as their narratives run parallel to one another until the very end of the novel. Yet their individual minds are intimately interwoven, a connection forged by the synthesis of their fragmentary perspectives of the world following war. Both Clarissa and Septimus muse on feelings of alienation in the post-war society of London, which compounds a fragmentary existence. For example, at one moment Septimus reveals that he is "deserted. The whole world was clamouring: Kill yourself, kill yourself, for our sakes. . . Besides, now that he was quite alone, condemned, deserted, as those who are about to die are alone, there was a luxury in it, an isolation full of sublimity; a freedom which the attached can never know" (Woolf 120). The fragmenting effect of war neurosis leads Septimus to become detached from both reality and life, believing death to be the only escape from his mental anguish. There is a clear disconnection between the "world," the "attached," and Septimus' own internal consciousness which clings to the past and is detached from the present world. Dr. Holmes admonishes Septimus' suicide as cowardly. Clarissa, on the other hand, thinks to herself that "death is defiance. Death was an attempt to communicate; people feeling the impossibility of reaching the centre which, mystically, evaded them; closeness drew apart; rapture faded, one was alone. There was an embrace in death" (192). Despite their very different experiences of the war on the front and at home, both Septimus and Clarissa become fixated on their own alienation from those closest to them, such as Clarissa's husband Richard and Septimus' wife Rezia. They also think in the same way on death itself. Clarissa concludes that "[s]he felt somehow very like [Septimus] – the young man who had killed himself. She felt glad that he had done it" (194). These associative representations reveal that the war has altered both Clarissa and Septimus' understanding of death, which has the potential to communicate a lived experience of war.

Woolf's final novel, *Between the Acts*, relies on representations of a similarly fragmented consciousness as well as fragmentary imagery, which together articulate a shared vision of lived war experience. The fragmentation of *Between the Acts* is perhaps the most pronounced of all four novels, as the omniscient narrator is frequently interrupted by the voices of multiple and increasingly indistinguishable characters. This fragmentation of the narrative across plural consciousness is clearest in passages that focus on the pageant's audience, which is composed of many characters both known, such as Lucy, Bartholomew, Giles, Isa, William, and Mrs. Manresa, and unknown, namely unspecified local villagers. During the final act of the pageant, "Present Time: Ourselves," director Miss La Trobe has the entire cast turn a collection of mirrors onto the audience:

> And the mirror – that I lent her. My Mother's. Cracked. What's the notion? Anything that's bright enough to reflect, presumably, ourselves? Ourselves! Ourselves! Out they leapt, jerked, skipped. Flashing, dazzling, dancing, jumping. Now old Bart . . . he was caught. Now Manresa. Here a nose . . . There a skirt . . . Then trousers only . . . Now perhaps a face. . . . Ourselves? But that's cruel. To snap us as we are, before we've had time to assume . . . And only, too, in parts. . . . That's what's so distorting and upsetting and utterly unfair (214).

The audience member's individual reflections are fragmented across these mirrors, some of which are cracked and segment their image further, creating a shattered perspective of "Ourselves" in which no whole individual is distinguishable. The impression of the audience "in parts" inspires upset and righteousness that cannot be attributed to any single character. This phenomenological fragmentation is represented not only by the literal and narratorial fragmentation of the audience, but by the imagery that the audience conjures, which reveals a shared fragmentary perspective of the world. Despite being admonished as womanly by his father Bartholomew prior to the pageant, Giles is frustrated by the geographical division between the burgeoning front of World War II and the seemingly placid home front where the pageant is taking place. At first, Giles muses on the sixteen soldiers who were either shot

or taken prisoner "just over there, across the gulf, in the flat land which divided them from the continent," fragmenting the world into war and home front (58). The action of war seems so close, but ideologically it is so far away:

> Thus only could he show his irritation, his rage with old fogies who sat and looked at views over coffee and cream when the whole of Europe – over there – was bristling like . . . He had no command of metaphor. Only the ineffective word 'hedgehog' illustrated his vision of Europe, bristling with guns, poised with planes. At any moment guns would rake the land into furrows; planes splinter Bolney Minster into smithereens and blast the folly. He, too, loved the view. And blamed Aunt Lucy, looking at views, instead of – doing what? What she had done was to marry a squire now dead; she had borne two children, one in Canada, the other, married, in Birmingham. His father, whom he loved, he exempted from censure; as for himself, one thing followed another; and so he sat, with old fogies, looking at views (66-7).

The war is set to "rake," "splinter," and "blast" a unified England into sharp fragments that are both literal and figurative. Giles' anger at the state of the world is directed at civilian characters, who Giles believes are preoccupied not with the war but with the home front, symbolised by "the view" of rural England that will be destroyed. This attitude towards an ostensibly widespread incomprehension among civilians is one that both Woolf and Ford were keenly aware of. For example, Ford recalls that after his war service "we who returned were like wanderers coming back to our own shores to find our settlements occupied by a vindictive and savage tribe" (qtd. in Haslam 33). Giles is preoccupied with this same fracture between soldier and civilian attitudes towards the impending war. However, the planes poised in Giles' mind in the above passage, symbolic of the threat of war, enter into the external narrative later on. This time it is not only Giles, but all of the characters who are witness to the event:

> The word was cut in two. A zoom severed it. Twelve aeroplanes in perfect formation like a flight of wild duck came overhead. THAT was the music. The audience gaped; the audience gazed. Then zoom became drone. The planes had passed (Woolf 225).

The sound of the plane disrupts the narrative, cutting and severing the words as they are spoken, symbolizing the catastrophic interruption and fragmenting effect of war. That these characters will once again share the fragmentary suffering of world war is foreshadowed at the end of the pageant in the image of a rainstorm:

> But she had nothing. She had forbidden music. Grating her fingers in the bark, she damned the audience. Panic seized her. Blood seemed to pour from her shoes. This is death, death, death, she noted in the margin of her mind; when illusion fails. Unable to lift her hand, she stood facing the audience. And then the shower fell, sudden, profuse. No one had seen the cloud coming. There it was, black, swollen, on top of them. Down it poured like all the people in the world weeping. Tears. Tears. Tears (210).

The apparent failure of the audience to grasp the meaning of her pageant leads Miss La Trobe to curse them. The pageant's "illusion" of grand history and honourable tradition on which British war propaganda is based has failed. War arrives in the form of a metaphorical storm whose rain is a harbinger of death, which like the word itself will recur repeatedly. The fragmenting psychological effect of war does not discriminate, as the downpour of war both causes and reflects the tears of not only soldiers and civilians, but "all the people in the world."

The difficulty of post-war reintegration for both soldier and civilian sufferers of war neurosis is cast in high relief by the scathing modernist representation of British society, whose unified vision is shown to be incompatible with the fragmentary reality of war neurosis in all four novels. As we have seen, the trauma of lived war experience and the expectations of propagandist masculinity do not align and thus fragment the individual's psyche, which consequently does not fit into the 'cohesive' social structures of the post-war

world. In *Mrs. Dalloway*, the difficulty of post-war societal reintegration is narrated through Sir William Bradshaw, Septimus' psychologist, whose narrow ideas encapsulate the state of mental health in Britain following the Great War. Sir William's theory of post-war society is based on Proportion and Conversion. Proportion indicates the ordered, rational, and unified individual: to have Proportion is to fit into an equally ordered, rational, and unified society. The side-effects of war neurosis speak to a lack of Proportion. Many of Ford and Woolf's characters do not adhere to the conventions of Proportion, which "made England prosper, secluded her lunatics, forbade childbirth, penalised despair, made it impossible for the unfit to propagate their views until they, too, shared his sense of proportion" (97). Conversion is the process by which those who lack Proportion are forced to function within society. The tenets of Proportion and Conversion reflect the propagandist agenda, which is similarly grounded in order, control, and a reductive binary categorisation of humanity.

Sir William's treatise is extended in Ford's *Parade's End*. Suffering from war neurosis which manifests in amnesia and tremors, Christopher remarks on the intolerance of post-war society, which cannot stand the 'abnormal' behaviour instilled in him by his lived experience of war: "You see in such a world as this, an idealist – or perhaps it's only a sentimentalist – must be stoned to death. He makes the others so uncomfortable. He haunts them at their golf" (Ford 254). The suggestion of a neurosis associated with emotional outbursts and hysteria disrupts post-war society, which would rather carry on as if the war had never happened. This representation of the post-war world can also be found in Ford's earlier novel, *The Good Soldier*, when Dowell contends that "society does not need too many sentimentalists . . . Society does not need individuals with touches of madness about them" (166). Qualities of "madness" and sentimentality are exhibited equally by the soldier Ashburnham, whose excessive love leads to his suicide, and the civilian Nancy, whose excessive love leads her to madness, and suggests that a society engaged in a war conceived

by and within propaganda is unfit for those affected by it, and illuminates the "terrible implications of society's denial of shell-shock in post-war Britain" (Sim 56). The tension between war neurosis and propagandist masculinity in post-war Britain is symbolised by the penknife, owned by Indian Army veterans Peter Walsh in *Mrs. Dalloway* and Edward Ashburnham in *The Good Soldier*. Peter's habit of sporadically procuring and playing with his penknife suggests not only his sexual frustration—a consequence of his unrequited feelings for Clarissa—but a residual anxiety to conform to propagandist masculinity after the Great War (Woolf 40, 43, 45, 182). Meanwhile, Ashburnham turns his own penknife on himself, his violent suicide exposing the destructive effects of propagandist masculinity on sufferers of war neurosis who are unable to align with the propagandist ideal. Dowell concludes that "society must go on . . . and society can only exist if the normal, if the virtuous, and the slightly deceitful flourish, and if the passionate, the headstrong, and the too-truthful are condemned to suicide and madness:" a fate met not only by many of their characters, but to varying degrees, by Ford and Woolf themselves (Ford 175).

Studying the lives and the novels of Ford Madox Ford and Virginia Woolf, it becomes clear that the fragmentary representations scattered throughout *The Good Soldier*, *Mrs. Dalloway, Parade's End,* and *Between the Acts* have roots in a psychologically fragmenting military-discursive complex that stretches across soldier and civilian experience. Both authors were subject or witness to the pressure of British war propaganda's reductive understanding of gender, particularly masculinity. The oppositional portrayal of sentimental masculinity within these novels blurs the propagandist line drawn between 'real' men and 'other' men, as well as soldiers and civilians. Both Ford and Woolf endured the more direct fragmenting psychological effect of war neurosis, as evidenced by the dual or fragmentary construction of consciousness and imagery throughout their works. These fragmentary phenomenological representations illuminate a shared fragmentary perspective of life, death,

war, and the post-war world amongst soldier and civilian characters: a perspective which both embodies the lived experience of war, and undermines the binary understanding of soldier and civilian experience perpetuated within both war propaganda and contemporary literary criticism. These fragmentary representations allow both Ford and Woolf to retrieve the "individual memor[ies]" and "realit[ies]" of war that are otherwise obscured by the increasingly constructed nature of war history during modernity, which was informed by reductive cultural myths from which British war propaganda draws its distinctions (Levenback 1).

Chapter Three

The Mind Reunited: Crossing the Stream of Consciousness

While the previous chapters have drawn connections between soldier and civilian modernist fiction through an analysis of the representation of cyclical time and psychological fragmentation, this final chapter will do the same through an analysis of the representation of the "stream of consciousness." In the realm of modernist fiction, stream of consciousness is a narrative mode that captures the organic and often incoherent flow of thoughts in the human mind, relaying the "visual, auditory, physical, associative, and subliminal" impressions of the external world ("Stream of Consciousness"). Modernist representations of the stream of consciousness are achieved through textual devices that allow the internal consciousness of characters to inflect the narrative both directly, as in limited first person perspective, interior monologue, and soliloquy, and indirectly, as in free indirect discourse and omniscient description (Humphrey 23). The modernist representation of the stream of consciousness indicates "a realisation of the force of the drama that takes place in the minds of human beings:" a drama that I believe is particularly evident in the tension between lived war experience and false propagandist narratives within the military-discursive complex of the twentieth century (21). This chapter will offer a unique argument about this peculiar mode: that through their representations of the stream of consciousness as a psychological state, Ford Madox Ford and Virginia Woolf unite soldier and civilian characters, embodying the varied experiences of war while undermining totalising propagandist narratives that seek to divide and dictate these experiences.

To understand the force of this argument, however, we must return to the history and theory of this distinctive modernist mode. The first mention of the stream of consciousness in relation to modernist fiction came at the close of the Great War, in May Sinclair's 1918

criticism of the novels of Dorothy Richardson. Sinclair remarks that although "nothing happens" on the surface of Richardson's *The Pilgrimage* in the form of exterior action or dialogue, the interior monologue of the protagonist animates the narrative until "it is just life going on and on. It is [the] stream of consciousness going on and on" (58). According to Sinclair, this is an attribute of Richardson's work that allows her to come "closer to reality than any of our novelists who are trying so desperately to get close," thereby contributing to the rise of what would become known as psychological realism (58). L. C. Hartley argues that, by recording the structureless and associative thought processes of their characters, proponents of the stream of consciousness are no longer simply authors of fiction, but "psychologists and pathologists" as well (85). Indeed, it is in part thanks to the powerful effects of the stream of consciousness mode that many critics cite psychological realism as a truly realistic literary genre, as it turns away from action-driven Victorian 'realism' towards character-driven studies (Wood 2009). Yet while Sinclair's review marks the first time that literary stream of consciousness is defined as such, simulation of the stream of consciousness can be glimpsed in many early modernist novels. Indeed, writers such as Ford and Woolf had begun to experiment with fictional representations of the stream of consciousness experience, creating a phenomenological formal-experiential constellation. In *The Common Reader*, Woolf advocates for the use of the stream of consciousness mode, which she describes in pseudo-scientific terms as follows: "Let us record the atoms as they fall upon the mind in the order in which they fall, let us trace the pattern, however disconnected and incoherent in appearance, which each sight or incident scores upon the consciousness" (212). Adopted by herself and Ford over the course of the modernist movement, from *The Good Soldier* to *Between the Acts*, the stream of consciousness would become one of its signature features.

Yet, even prior to the uptake of Sinclair's application of the term to describe a specific form of modernist fiction invested in capturing the flow of individual conscious experience,

the notion of the "stream of consciousness" already had an established profile in philosophical and psychological circles. As early as the 5th century BCE, Buddhist philosophers conceived of *citta-saṃtāna,* "the stream of the mind" (Keown et al. 62). This stream is thought to have "a momentary nature" and is constantly in a "state of flux" upon an "eternal continuum," and can be transferred from one life to the next within a Buddhist framework of reincarnation, or *saṃsāra* (Wallac 97). This conception of the human mind is not exclusively philosophical, nor is it exclusive to Eastern ideology, entering into Western psychology in the late nineteenth century. Perhaps the most significant influence on Western accounts of the human mind as a "stream" is William James, the father of American psychology and the brother of proto-modernist novelist Henry James. James was the first to coin the most well-known and widely used Western phrase and theory of the stream of consciousness in his watershed work *The Principles of Psychology*, published in 1890. Within the territory of psychology and James' theory specifically, stream of consciousness refers to the continuous flow of thought in the conscious human mind: a radically empiricist conception which differed significantly from traditional understandings of thought as a chain reaction (Stevenson 105). James posits that human consciousness "does not appear to itself as chopped up in bits . . . it is nothing joined; it flows. A 'river' or a 'stream' are the metaphors by which it is most naturally described. In talking of it hereafter, let's call it the stream of thought, consciousness, or subjective life . . . The wonderful *stream of our consciousness*" (James 239-43, my emphasis). James' theory emerged from a burgeoning interest in questions of subjectivity, the human mind, and human experience which came to define the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Important to note for the purposes of my argument, however, is that within the parameters of modernist fiction, criticism, and broader philosophical and psychological theories of human consciousness, the stream of consciousness operates according to a dual

logic of isolation *and* unification. The stream of consciousness is defined not only by the flow of thoughts in the mind, but by the isolated and unknowable nature of these thoughts. In other words, the stream of consciousness is a singularly isolating phenomenon through which we can only ever know our own selves and our own minds. This understanding of the mind emerges from philosophical solipsism, which posits that only the individual mind exists, and all other minds either do not exist at all, or exist but are entirely unknowable. In *The Principles of Psychology*, James explains his own solipsistic understanding of the stream of consciousness:

> In this room . . . there are a multitude of thoughts, yours and mine, some of which cohere mutually, and some not. They are as little each-for-itself and reciprocally independent as they are all-belonging-together. They are neither: no one of them is separate, but each belongs with certain others and with none beside. My thought belongs with my other thoughts, and your thought with your other thoughts . . . Each of these minds keeps its own thoughts to itself. There is no giving or bartering between them. No thought even comes into direct sight of a thought in another personal consciousness than its own. Absolute insulation, irreducible pluralism, is the law . . . Neither contemporaneity, nor proximity in space, nor similarity of quality and content are able to fuse thoughts together which are sundered by this barrier of belonging to different personal minds, the breaches between such thoughts are the most absolute breaches in nature (225-36).

Within James' theory of the mind, streams of consciousness can never cross one another; their waters never touch. They remain entirely individual, strictly flowing within—and strictly available to—the mind in which they exist, so that we may never experience the stream of any other consciousness besides our own. In "A Room of One's Own," Woolf elaborates on the inevitably isolating effect of the stream of consciousness when understood in this way:

> The mind is certainly a very mysterious organ … about which nothing whatever is known, though we depend upon it so completely. Why do I feel that there are severances and oppositions in the mind, as there are strains from obvious causes on the body? What does one mean by "the unity of the mind"? … Clearly the mind has so great a power of concentrating at any point at any moment that it seems to have no single state of being. It can separate itself from the people in the street, for example, and think of itself as apart from them, at an upper window looking down on them (623).

Here, Woolf is perplexed by the division between her own mind and the minds of those around her, questioning the existence of intersubjective unity.

Yet while the notion of the stream of consciousness as an isolating force is one understanding, it exists alongside a very different understanding of the stream of consciousness as a unifying force. It is no accident that, although she is primarily concerned in "A Room of One's Own" with the *dis*unity of the mind as "severed," "separate," and "apart" from others, Woolf goes on to suggest that despite these divisions, the mind "can think with other people spontaneously, as, for instance, in a crowd waiting to hear some piece of news read out," hinting at the possibility of a profound unification of multiple streams of consciousness (623). The potential convergence of the streams of consciousness can also be found in James' essay, "A Pluralistic Universe," published in *The Meaning of Truth,* almost twenty years after *The Principles of Psychology.* In contrast with his previous solipsistic and isolating conception of the stream of consciousness, James' later theory suggests that the static and singular mind is merely a myth, and as Woolf suggests, the mind has "no single state of being" (623). Not only is the mind a stream, then, but each new thought which enters into the stream changes its course and therefore changes the mind, altering the very essence of that person. According to James, our perception of external phenomena is particularly crucial to the stream of consciousness, as "the relations between things, conjunctive as well as disjunctive, are just as much matters of direct particular experience, neither more so nor

less so, than the things themselves" (280). Experience is not composed solely of sensations which begin and end in the mind alone, then, but the connections that the mind makes between phenomena in the external world: a process that imbues the world outside of the mind, and everything and everyone in it, with a connective significance to the individual stream of consciousness. This unified conception of the mind relates to the philosophy of intersubjectivity, the opposite of solipsism. Intersubjective discourse is led by theorists such as Edmund Husserl, the founder of phenomenology, whose conception of transcendental idealism suggests that the mere existence of other minds is proof that our shared experience of the same world forges a harmonious connection between individual streams of consciousness (Cerisano 31). Continuing her earlier commentary on the mind in "A Room of One's Own," Woolf recalls watching a couple get into a taxicab from her window, and remarks that after being divided, the mind

> . . . had come together again in a natural fusion . . . One has a profound, if irrational, instinct in favour of the theory that the union of man and woman makes for the greatest satisfaction, the most complete happiness. But the sight of the two people getting into the taxi and the satisfaction it gave me made me also ask whether there are two sexes in the mind corresponding to the two sexes in the body, and whether they also require to be united in order to get complete satisfaction and happiness? . . . The normal and comfortable state of being is that when the two live in harmony together, spiritually co-operating (623-24).

Salvaged from a state of "severance" and fragmentation symbolised by the physical and emotional bifurcation of the sexes prevalent in her day, Woolf posits that unity within the individual mind engenders the unity of separate minds, allowing them to exist harmoniously with one another and form intersubjective connections. Indeed, in his exploration of metaphysics, Henri Bergson explains that within his own stream of consciousness he can detect "a common life" that extends individual thoughts into one another to the point that they are almost indistinguishable (3). This "common life," philosophical intersubjectivity,

and psychic unification inform the psychological experience of modernity, which is captured by the unifying representation of the stream of consciousness experience at the heart of Ford and Woolf's novels.

To fully understand the force of the dual isolating/unifying logic of the stream of consciousness, we must situate it against the backdrop of British war propaganda, which, produced during the same era, also operated according to principles of unification and isolation. However, within this context the implications of this binary logic are profoundly reductive, as the individual lived experiences of war extolled in modernist fiction are subsumed into totalising binary narratives. The *unification* of soldier and civilian experiences within these rigid narratives catalyses an *isolating* experience of war. British war propaganda's unifying rhetoric is drawn from a deeply embedded nationalism that forms the backbone of Britain's vast colonial history. The onset of the world's first major international conflict in the form of the Great War threatened the integrity of British culture, as both internal and external forces encouraged self-reflection at an individual and national level. The British government quickly realised that those central tenets that were thought to unify the nation—loyalty, courage, righteousness—had to be preserved in order to maintain morale and ensure victory. In *Propaganda and Mass Persuasion*, David Welch explains that nationalistic rhetoric governed most war propaganda, stoking patriotic sentiments that had been ignited by the Great War. Within the confines of this nationalism, the private individual is absorbed into the public mass, creating a totalising narrative of war that relies on reductive binary categories under the heading of soldier and civilian, such as man and woman, war front and home front, and ally and enemy. These essentialist categories are conveyed by essentialist imagery. For example, propagandists utilised national symbols in a Manichean simplification of the belligerent nations. Aside from the obvious Union Jack, British flag, and royal crown, animal symbols such as the British bulldog and the lion, representing strength and defiance;

the German eagle, representing a predatory foe; and the French or Belgian cockerel, representing liberty, insinuate the perceived polemical qualities of each nation (*Propaganda for Patriotism*):

Fig. 8. Thiriar, James. *Belgians, are you ready?* Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, 1914. Photograph. Retrieved from the British Library, https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/belgians-are-you-ready.

Iconic national figures, both cultural and religious, are also deployed. The mythology of Saint George and the dragon recurs, emblematic of the Allied Powers and Central Powers—and later, the Allied Forces and the Axis Powers—and suggests that they are ideologically and morally opposed:

Fig. 9. *Britain needs you at once / printed by Spottiswoode & Co. Ltd. London E.C.* Parliamentary Recruiting Committee, 1915. Photograph. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, www.loc.gov/item/2003675387/.

Propaganda sought to fortify British nationhood against the danger not only of defeat, but of German and socialist influence, and later, the clutches of communism. The binary experience of war proposed by propaganda is exemplified in a poster that portrays a British man who represents army, war front, and soldier. He is supplicated by an anthropomorphised and feminine Britain, her contrasting pale form reflecting her beauty, purity, and vulnerability, as well as her need for protection behind a patriarchal military force. Underneath, the message—"Your motherland will never forget"—adds yet another role to the woman's repertoire, manifesting civilian, home front, mother, sister, and daughter all at once:

Fig. 10. Simpson, Joseph. *Your motherland will never forget.* Canada in Khaki, 1916. Photograph. Retrieved from the British Library, https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/your-motherland-will-never-forget.

Such fixed binary categories reduce the complexity of war by failing to acknowledge the full spectrum of lived war experience, unifying two distinct and exclusive narratives of the soldier and the civilian. Paradoxically, these unified narratives engender feelings of displacement, alienation, and most significantly, isolation. Throughout British war propaganda, there is thus a tension between the desire for unity and the reality of fragmentation that this desire creates. Modernist writers sought to capture this situation within a formal-experiential constellation of the stream of consciousness. That is, the modernist representation of the stream of consciousness as an isolating psychological state evokes the isolation catalysed by both the lived experience of war, as well as war propaganda's attempts to unify solder and civilian experiences. These isolating representations suggest a shared, intersubjective soldier-civilian

experience within the military-discursive complex, allowing for a higher unification and the formation of a private and distinctly modernist phenomenological vision of war.

Focusing on the novels of Ford and Woolf, this chapter will argue that modernist representations of the stream of consciousness as a psychological state capture the isolating experience of war within the military-discursive complex, even as they undermine the totalising binary logic of war propaganda by unifying soldier and civilian characters. Conducting a comparative analysis of representations of the stream of consciousness throughout *The Good Soldier, Parade's End, Mrs. Dalloway,* and *Between the Acts*, I will begin by exploring the isolating logic of the stream of consciousness, which serves to allegorize the isolating effects of war propaganda's binary narrative of soldier and civilian experience, as well as the general feelings of isolation induced by war. The isolating logic of the stream of consciousness established, I will then explain how the modernist stream of consciousness follows an oppositional unifying logic. My analysis will reveal that the modernist stream of consciousness has just as often served to unify its characters as it has served to mark their isolation from one another under the shadow of war. This unification of the streams of consciousness occurs when characters forge intersubjective connections with one another through shared emotions, perspectives, and thoughts, particularly those relating to the tortuous reality of lived war experience, and the isolating effect of false propagandist versions of this experience. Finally, I will argue that from the point where individual streams of consciousness meet, a single unified consciousness emerges, mending not only each individual's isolated and fragmented mind, but the soldier-civilian schism itself within the narrative.

The isolating logic of the stream of consciousness as a psychological state is highlighted by its representation in Ford's *The Good Soldier*, where the chasm between individual streams of consciousness is apparent at the most basic narratorial level. In his

essay "On Impressionism," Ford asserts that experience within the mind is "altogether momentary" and "passing," and it is this experience that his fiction seeks to capture (266, 268). As the sole first-person narrator, John Dowell's consciousness is the filter for all other characters. Their words, their experiences, and even their thoughts, desires, fears, and fantasies are relayed through Dowell's presiding consciousness. This perspective grants Dowell an ostensibly omniscient knowledge that casts doubt on his reliability as a narrator: he authoritatively presents the internalisations of other characters, despite having no authorial access to them. For example, towards the end of the novel Dowell explains Nancy Rufford's situation as Edward and Leonora's ward, in which she is torn between her love for Edward and her unwillingness to destroy his relationship with Leonora:

> One evening she went into Edward's gunroom . . . On the table beside his chair there was a decanter of whiskey. She poured out a wineglassful and drank it off. Flame then really seemed to fill her body . . . The bed reeled beneath her; she gave way to the thought that she was in Edward's arms; that he was kissing her on her face that burned; on her shoulders that burned, and on her neck that was on fire . . . I know that she pictured herself as some personage . . . in a clear white room, watering flowers or tending an embroidery frame (Ford 159).

Dowell imagines Nancy's thought processes in great detail, and despite the fact that she never once confides in him, claims to know her precise feelings of "anguish," "duty," "shame," and "sympathy" (159). The legitimacy of Dowell's versions of events and people is compromised by his ever-changing representations of Florence, Leonora, and Ashburnham: a fluctuating narrative that betrays an "inclination toward a restricted and subjective narrative mode [that] implies a more limited and tentative conception of the way man knows," and particularly of the way man knows other minds beyond his own (Hynes 225). The limited view of *The Good Soldier* suggests a "limited theory of knowledge," as the reader is only witness to "one consciousness," so that "other human beings are simply other events outside" (226). Dowell's

distortion of the thoughts of auxiliary characters might implicate him as a manipulative liar, and perhaps even as a murderer whose narrative of betrayal seeks sympathy for his actions without acknowledging them directly. However, this distortion can also be read as a comment on the prevailing sense that one can never *truly* know another person: a central modernist conundrum. The isolation of Dowell's own mind from those around him is exemplified by his extreme obliviousness over the thirteen years in which he is married to Florence and friends with Leonora and Edward. As secrets are revealed—that Florence's heart condition was an elaborate ruse to manipulate Dowell; that Edward and Florence had an affair for many years; that Edward is not the honourable friend that he believed him to be—it becomes clear that Dowell, if his version of events is to be believed, truly knows nothing of the minds of other people, including those closest to him. Dowell laments this phenomenological isolation, asking "[w]ho in this world can know anything of any other heart – or of his own?" (Ford 92). He equates true knowledge of another person with their capacity for truth, insisting that "the instances of honesty that one comes across in this world are just as amazing as the instances of dishonesty. After forty-five years of mixing with one's kind, one ought to have acquired the habit of being able to know something about one's fellow beings. But one doesn't," echoing an earlier sentiment that he had "never sounded the depths of an English heart" (1).

In Ford's later novel, *Parade's End*, the struggle to connect with others during wartime is compounded by the struggle to reconcile one's own mind with propagandist ideology. These military-discursive disconnections are communicated through isolating representations of the stream of consciousness as a psychological state. Christopher Tietjen's stream of consciousness, flowing calmly under the auspices of his peace-ego, is violently interrupted by the frontline, which has a profound impact on his memory, cognitive function, and social interactions on the home front. In many instances Christopher encounters obstacles

between his own mind and those around him, which are particularly apparent with non-combatant characters such as Lord Port Scatho, who "affected him with some of the slight nausea that in those days you felt at contact with the civilian who knew none of your thoughts, phrases, or preoccupations," proffering a sense of the soldier-civilian binary that affected Ford himself (193). The isolating impact of this soldier-civilian binary is foregrounded when Christopher questions why he was "born to be a sort of lonely buffalo outside the herd," for he is "not artist, not soldier, not bureaucrat, not certainly indispensable anywhere; apparently not even sound in the eyes of these dim-minded specialists," an "exact observer" who is unable to fully occupy the role of either soldier or civilian (137). In the propagandist scheme, Christopher's liminal position is both physical, as he moves between home and war front, and ideological, as he participates in the war even as he condemns it, generating alienation in post-war society. This sense of psychological alienation is not exclusive to the soldier, but extends into the realm of the civilian. Christopher's largely unsympathetic wife Sylvia is similarly haunted by the inaccessible minds that exist forever outside of her own. In one passage, Christopher informs her that he has remembered some of the lyrics to a song which brought Sylvia to tears when she first heard it at a charity concert years earlier. Indeed, "she had read, afterwards, the words in the programme and had almost cried again. But she had lost the programme and had never come across the words again. The echo of them remained with her like something terrible and alluring; like a knife she would some day take out and with which she would stab herself . . . *Somewhere or other there must surely be / The face not seen, the voice not heard*" (215, my emphasis). These lyrics suggest that people everywhere are not seen and not heard, and echo her own fraught relationship with Christopher, which is both defined and destroyed by a lack of communication, connection, and understanding: the realisation drives Sylvia to both tears and violence.

Throughout Woolf's novels, soldier and civilian characters alike are increasingly preoccupied with the void that exists between their own minds, thoughts, and feelings, and those of the people around them, who are in some instances elusive to the point of tragedy and madness. In *Mrs. Dalloway*, Septimus' entire character is emblematic of the perpetual struggle to understand others and communicate the self, which following the Great War and through the haze of war neurosis becomes a labour of Herculean proportions:

> Look, the unseen bade him, the voice which now communicated with him who was the greatest of mankind, Septimus, lately taken from life to death, the Lord who had come to renew society, who lay like a coverlet, a snow blanket smitten only by the sun, for ever unwasted, suffering for ever, the scapegoat, the eternal sufferer, but he did not want it, he moaned, putting from him with a wave of his hand that eternal suffering, that eternal loneliness (Woolf 27).

This passage utilises free indirect discourse, the depressive flow of Septimus' stream of consciousness seeping into the third person narrative. An unattached voice speaks to Septimus from within his own mind, condemning him to an "eternal loneliness" that he is already experiencing as a result of his war neurosis. Like Dowell, passages in which Septimus' mind take centre stage are rambling and often nonsensical, short sentences following on from one another until they become entire paragraphs with no pause or obvious point, the point being the very psychic isolation that they emulate. In *Mrs. Dalloway*, this idea of an "eternal loneliness" catalysed by the forever unknowable other is rendered explicit when the narrator explains that Septimus' civilian shadow Clarissa has a theory, one of many, which seeks to "explain the feeling they had of dissatisfaction; not knowing people; not being known. For how could they know each other? You met every day; then not for six months, or years. It was unsatisfactory, they agreed, how little one knew people" (111). This feeling of dissatisfaction, endemic to all characters within the novel, is intensified by an ocean metaphor that she later conjures: "She had the perpetual sense, as she watched the taxi cabs,

of being out, out, far out to sea and alone; she always had the feeling that it was very, very, dangerous to live even one day," intimating that even in the bustling post-war city of London, Clarissa is marooned in her own stream of consciousness (7). The repetition within this representation emphasizes the extremity and endlessness of the feeling, which is a combination of loneliness and wariness that follows Clarissa to the end of the novel.

In Woolf's final novel, *Between the Acts*, the isolating logic of the stream of consciousness is explored through the persistent disconnection between individual characters, as well as that between them and the pageant; between audience and art. The fraught relations between Giles, who pines after the older and provocative Mrs. Manresa, and his wife Isa, who pines after a local farmer Haines; the nostalgic widow Lucy and her domineering brother Bartholomew; and the newcomer William's ostracisation generate a pervasive sense of social isolation in which characters hate, judge, or simply misunderstand one another. The "contained" violent nature of these personal tensions "embody similar forces in a microcosmic setting," as for Woolf, war "meant the conflict between individuals as well as between nations," reflecting the wider isolating forces of a world at war (Zwerdling 222). This isolation is emphasized throughout the pageant by the gramophone, which sporadically and repeatedly declares "dispersed are we," a sentiment that echoes in each individual mind:

> At that, the audience stirred. Some rose briskly; others stooped, retrieving walking-sticks, hats, bags. And then, as they raised themselves and turned about, the music modulated. The music chanted: *Dispersed are we*. It moaned: *Dispersed are we*. It lamented: *Dispersed are we*, as they streamed, spotting the grass with colour, across the lawns, and down the paths: *Dispersed are we* […] "Dispersed are we," Isabella followed her, humming. "All is over. The wave has broken. Left us stranded, high and dry. Single, separate on the shingle. Broken is the three-fold ply . . . Now I follow" […] *Dispersed are we,* the music wailed; *dispersed are we*. Giles remained like a stake in the tide of the flowing company (Woolf 115-16).

The audience moves and thinks as one, bar two distinct figures, Isa and Giles, whose troubled marriage divorces them from both each other and everyone else so that they are "single, separate on the shingle" on the shore of the stream of consciousness. Miss La Trobe is the eccentric director of the pageant, and a manifestation of the classic Woolfian female artist. As the pageant progresses La Trobe becomes increasingly frustrated as she toils to communicate the pageant's unifying message to the audience. When the village actors begin to sing "not a word reached the audience," and Mrs. Manresa observes "a vast vacancy between her" and those on the stage (95). The use of free indirect discourse crafts the audience as a mass in which individual voices and disembodied thoughts clamour together, suggesting a lack of cohesion and connection: "Their minds and bodies were too close, yet not close enough. We aren't free, each one of them felt separately to feel or think separately, nor yet to fall asleep. We're too close; but not close enough. So they fidgeted" (81). The pageant's intended message is one of "unity and harmony in poetry," and it is continually undermined by the dissonance of the audience and the interruptions that disturb artistic continuity (De Gay 40). These interruptions take the form not only of audience chatter, which serves to "slip the noose" that divides the audience into "scraps and fragments," but the clamorous sounds of impending war which are echoed in the teleological gramophone, the aeroplane overhead, and the sudden and sorrowful downpour of rain (Woolf 110). La Trobe resigns herself to the idea that her artistic endeavour is "a failure" when the pageant's final act, "Present Time: Ourselves," elicits immediate confusion and bewilderment. She laments: "If they had understood her meaning; if they had known their parts; if the pearls had been real and the funds illimitable – it would have been a better gift" (129). Like Woolf herself, La Trobe sees the isolation of her audience and the world at large. La Trobe's efforts to unify the audience through her art reinforces Woolf's keen belief that

> …social and aesthetic harmony are interrelated, for La Trobe's desire to generate social cohesion goes hand-in-hand with [Woolf's] attempt to preserve the unity of her work. She realises that she must unite the disparate crowd which assembles to watch the play . . . and strives to preserve the unity of the crowd and the play against the 'torture' of interruptions (De Gay 42).

The tension between art and audience is clear, as the unity of the audience is contingent on the pageant, just as the unity of the pageant is contingent on the audience.

While the phenomenological isolation induced by both war propaganda and lived war experience within the military-discursive complex informs much of modernist fiction, there are moments in Ford and Woolf's works in which characters are unified by these very forces. The unifying function of the stream of consciousness is foregrounded in Ford's *Parade's End* when the psychological and physical divisions grounded in the soldier-civilian binary are rectified. The geographical division of the war into exclusive fronts is central to *Parade's End*. Indeed, Christopher moves between the French frontline and his home in England on more than one occasion, struggling to navigate their practical and ideological differences. By the time Christopher completes his first service he has come to embody the typical 'shell-shocked' soldier, while Sylvia has come to embody the typical callous civilian, oblivious to the disastrous ramifications of war and upholding the propagandist distinction between soldier and civilian, as well as the war and home fronts that they conventionally represent. When Christopher is sent to the French frontline for the second time and Sylvia follows him, these distinctions begin to waver. Checking into the hotel next to Christopher's camp, Sylvia enters from the private and domestic sphere of London into the public and masculine sphere of war and politics. This unity of fronts dawns on Sylvia while speaking to Christopher's superior and godfather, General Campion, and she is forced "to scream against the noise [of the anti-aircraft guns and planes]; she was no more responsible for the blasphemy than if she had lost her identity under an anaesthetic. She had lost her identity . . . She was one of this

crowd!" (Ford 474). By losing her civilian identity and merging with the military "crowd," Sylvia alters the war front, injecting it with the anxieties of home. Paul Saint-Amour observes that while "Woolf . . . recorded how home had become, disastrously, another front, Ford's message is the obverse: that, in the midst of the front, we are disastrously at home" (289). This convergence does not only take place on the public level of war and home fronts, but on the private register of Sylvia's relationship with Christopher:

> The room where they were dancing was very dark. . . . It was queer to be in his arms. . . . She had known better dancers. . . . He had looked ill. . . . Perhaps he was. . . . Oh, poor Valentine-Elisabeth. . . . What a funny position! . . . The good gramophone played. . . . *Destiny!* . . . You see, father! . . . In his arms! Of course, dancing is not really. . . . But so near the real thing! So near! . . . "Good luck to the special intention! . . ." She had almost kissed him on the lips. . . . All but! . . . *Effleurer*, the French call it. . . . But she was not as humble. . . . He had pressed her tighter. . . . All these months without. . . . My lord did me honour. . . . Good for Malbrouck *s'en va-t-en guerre*. . . . He *knew* she had almost kissed him on the lips. . . . And that his lips had almost responded. . . . The civilian, the novelist, had turned out the last light. . . . (Ford 477)

As they dance and the war continues around them, the individual thoughts and disjointed exclamations of Christopher and Sylvia merge into one another, connected by constant ellipsis in a single paragraph. She remarks that she "had almost kissed him on the lips;" at the next moment, "he knew that she had almost kissed him on the lips," suggesting a single-mindedness, or a single mind, unified.

It is not only with his wife that Christopher unites, but his young muse Valentine. Not long after meeting Valentine, Christopher insists that her perspective of war is one that they share, despite their polemical positions as anti-war civilian and soldier: "We're perhaps not so very far apart! You mustn't think you're the only one that sees all the deaths and all the sufferings. All, you see. I, too, am a conscientious objector . . . [we] are like two people . . .

You and I are standing at different angles and though we both look at the same thing we read different messages. Perhaps if we stood side by side we should yet see a third" (250, 254). These two perspectives bisect when they marry at the end of the novel, ending a long, dark, and deadly era of isolation marked by both personal and national turmoil. It is then that Valentine imagines "the arms of [Christopher's] mind stretching out to enfold her," and the unspoken emotional and psychic connection between their streams of consciousness is given tangible effect (271). This third angle is absent in Ford's earlier novel. Indeed, the restricted view of *The Good Soldier's* first-person narrative renders any genuine unification between characters impossible:

> But the real fierceness of desire, the real heat of a passion long continued and withering up the soul of a man, is the craving for identity with the woman that he loves. He desires to see with the same eyes, to touch with the same sense of touch, to hear with the same ears, to lose his identity, to be enveloped, to be supported. For, whatever may be said of the relation of the sexes, there is no man who loves a woman that does not desire to come to her for the renewal of his courage, for the cutting asunder of his difficulties. And that will be the mainspring of his desire for her. We are all so afraid, we are all so alone, we all so need from the outside the assurance of our own worthiness to exist (68).

However, if we are to believe his words, Dowell perceives that men are not complete without the love, or at least the company, of a woman. Without it, they are "afraid," "alone," unworthy, and isolated, both within themselves and the world. To be fulfilled is to be united with and by a woman, becoming one and the "same."

In *Mrs. Dalloway*, an intersubjective connection is forged between Septimus and Clarissa's individual streams of consciousness in moments when they unknowingly share a fear that crystallises around loneliness and death, as well as in moments when this fear is transcended. Both Clarissa and Septimus are initially imprisoned by their mutual fear of death, which can be traced to their lived experiences of the Great War. Indeed, as Woolf

remarks in *Thoughts on Peace in an Air Raid,* "[w]e are both prisoners tonight – he boxed up in his machine with a gun handy; we lying in the dark with a gas mask handy . . . We are equally prisoners tonight – the Englishmen in their planes, the Englishwomen in their beds" (2). It is not only a fear of death and isolation that binds Clarissa and Septimus, but the realisation of a transcendental theory that emerges over the course of the novel. This theory is summarised in a pivotal thought that Clarissa has while travelling on the bus:

> . . . she felt herself everywhere; not 'here, here, here'; and she tapped the back of the seat; but everywhere. She waved her hand, going up Shaftesbury Avenue. She was all that. So that to know her, or any one, one must seek out the people who completed them; even the places. Odd affinities she had with people she had never spoke to, some woman in the street, some man behind a counter – even trees, or barns. It ended in a transcendental theory which, with her horror of death, allowed her to believe, or say that she believed (for all her scepticism), that since our apparitions, the part of us which appears, are so momentary compared with the other, the unseen part of us, which spreads wide, the unseen might survive, be recovered somehow attached to this person or that, or even haunting certain places, after death. Perhaps – perhaps" (Woolf 111).

Within the design of Clarissa's theory, the "unseen part of us"—an internal space cut through by the stream of consciousness, carrying all thoughts and feelings along—lives beyond the isolating fear of death, and death itself: an immortality owing to a conscious connection to the world, nature, people, places, and things. The climactic moment in which Clarissa learns of Septimus' suicide is the moment that their separate narratives finally meet. It is the first time that she has ever heard of him, and her knowledge of his death allows him to enter into her stream of consciousness, forging the very connection beyond death on which her transcendental theory relies: "A young man had killed himself. And they talked of it at her party – the Bradshaws, talked of death. He had killed himself – but how?" (133). Clarissa's sudden preoccupation with Septimus and his final act illuminates and solidifies the subtle

connections made between them throughout the novel as they echo each other's thoughts and feelings, generating a sense of unity and wholeness in Clarissa's own mind. She escapes from the public party into the privacy of a smaller room to ponder the effect of Septimus' death:

> She felt somehow very like him—the young man who had killed himself. She felt glad that he had done it; thrown it away. The clock was striking. The leaden circles dissolved in the air. He made her feel the beauty; made her feel the fun. But she must go back. She must assemble (135).

It is only through Septimus' death that Clarissa finds clarity and unity, as well as the ability to "assemble" others herself, where before she felt only disconnection. The heaviness of her "leaden" mind is "dissolved:" like Septimus, Clarissa is finally free, though she lives. This positive symbiosis, the unifying balance between soldier and civilian and life and death, recalls Woolf's belief of the androgynous mind as the most cohesive of all. In "A Room of One's Own," she suggests that "[i]n each of us two powers preside, one male, one female…The androgynous mind is resonant and porous… naturally creative, incandescent and undivided" (Woolf 116).

While she was in the process of writing *Mrs. Dalloway*, Woolf's initial instinct was to have Clarissa, and not Septimus, commit suicide: a kind of conventional solider-civilian role reversal which was ultimately undertaken not in fiction, but in real life. It was in fact Woolf, the 'tinselly' elitist, and not Ford, the 'shell-shocked' veteran, who, on the morning of March 28, 1941, wrote a final letter to her husband Leonard, weighted her overcoat pockets with stones, and stepped into the River Ouse. She had just finished writing *Between the Acts*, and the second act in the form of World War II had already begun, infecting what remained of her life with an obsession with death. This suicidal undercurrent is hidden in the civilian figure of Clarissa and exposed in the solider-figure of Septimus, and forges yet another connection between them. At one moment Clarissa wonders: "Did it matter that she must inevitably cease completely? All this must go on without her; did she resent it; or did it not become

consoling to believe that death ended absolutely?" (Woolf 7). The comfort of death felt here by Clarissa reverberates in Septimus' many hallucinatory sequences. Death is equated by both characters with a final attempt at communication, which in Septimus' mind is indistinguishable from "health" and "happiness" (69). In his life he struggles constantly to communicate to others, particularly his wife Rezia, who fails to comprehend the manifestations of his war neurosis, and his doctors, who are unwilling to acknowledge the full ramifications of his mental predicament. Septimus' struggle to communicate and reciprocally understand is portrayed by his own disconnection with the world around him:

> At once moment he looks up at the birds and thinks: they are signalling to me. Not indeed in actual words; that is, he could not read the language yet; but it was plain enough, this beauty, this exquisite beauty, and tears filled his eyes as he looked at the smoke words languishing and melting in the sky [. . .] He waited. He listened. A sparrow perched on the railing opposite chirped Septimus, Septimus, four or five times over and went on, drawing its notes out, to sing freshly and piercingly in Greek words how there is no crime and, joined by another sparrow, they sang in voices prolonged and piercing in Greek words, from trees in the meadow of life beyond a river where the dead walk, how there is no death (16, 28).

In one diary entry, Woolf reveals that during her own episodes of mental instability she herself thought she could hear birds speak in Greek (Spiropoulou 192). Her choice to instil these moments of madness—a facet of her eventual suicide—in Septimus, and not Clarissa, is telling, and speaks to the fallacy of the propagandist distinction between soldier and civilian experience, as well as the art that they produce.

Clarissa's theory of an intersubjective and transcendental stream of consciousness is realised in *Between the Acts*, when Lucy observes that "we have other lives . . . We live in others . . . We live in things," suggesting that the mind is not confined to the internal stream of consciousness, but brims over into other minds as well as the physical world (86). By confronting the audience with the reality of existence under the shadow of impending war

and its propaganda, Miss La Trobe's final act illuminates the fact of their isolation, before the art of the pageant "pulls them together again" (Wilkinson 59). The incongruity of each character is juxtaposed with their simultaneous unification under the spell of "Present Time: Ourselves:"

> Like quicksilver sliding, filings magnetized, the distracted united. The tune began; the first note meant a second; the second a third. Then down beneath a force was born in opposition; then another. On different levels they diverged. On different levels ourselves went forward; flower gathering some on the surface; others descending to wrestle with the meaning; but all comprehending; all enlisted. The whole population of the mind's immeasurable profundity came flocking; from the unprotected, the unskinned; and dawn rose; and azure; from chaos and cacophony measure; but not the melody of surface sound alone controlled it; but also the warring battle-plumed warriors straining asunder: To part? No. Compelled from the ends of the horizon; recalled from the edge of appalling crevasses; they crashed; solved; united. And some relaxed their fingers; and others uncrossed their legs. Was that voice ourselves? Scraps, orts and fragments, are we, also, that? (Woolf 220-21).

Here, multiple streams of consciousness overlap, interrupt, interject, and converge. The musical motif at the centre of this passage forms the axis around which meaning is created. Individual turmoil is crafted in terms of discord, captured in "chaos" and "cacophony," while the unity of the audience is crafted in terms of harmony, or "melody." The stream of consciousness alters course and transforms as both soldier and civilian characters experience thoughts and feelings simultaneously. The protagonist of *Between the Acts* is not one individual character, but all of them, "society as a whole, in the shape of an emblematic English community representing the nation at a time of crisis . . . individual subjectivities seem to operate in the text chiefly as constituents and emblems of a larger whole" (Benziman 54). This shift in the consciousness of the novel, which was previously defined by the conflicting thoughts and voices of disparate characters, is now defined by unity. As Reverend

G. W. Streatfield observes at the close of the pageant, "[w]e act different parts; but are the same," and La Trobe's message is finally deciphered when he asks, "surely, we should unite?" (Woolf 192). As in *Mrs. Dalloway*, this unity is alluded to throughout the novel, such as when Lucy claims to belong "to the unifiers," and when William is "made whole" by Lucy's empathetic company and understanding (Wilkinson 58). John Mepham suggests that throughout the novel there is "a battle between forces of dispersal and forces of togetherness, forces which tear things apart and those which, by bringing things together, produce and reproduce life and community," an ebb and flow that contrasts startlingly with the death and isolation credited to war and propaganda (200). Wilkinson remarks on this tension between isolation and connection, which are

> …identical, insofar as one logically "implies" the other: the isolation of each character implies the connectedness of all by virtue of their being related to the same problem. Separate particles of humanity and human consciousness they may be, but the stuff of their visions or the motives for their actions involve their connection to other characters or their wish for such a connection, even if the relationship is an entanglement (62).

In this way, *Between the Acts* suggests that the streams of consciousness are not necessarily doomed to the "eternal loneliness" that torments Dowell, Ashburnham, Clarissa, Septimus, Christopher, Valentine, and Sylvia, but that they might, in fact, have the ability to communicate, share, understand, and even converge (Woolf 27). In *Three Guineas*, Woolf comments on the temptation "to listen not to the bark of the guns and the bray of the gramophones but to the voices of the poets, answering each other, assuring us of a unity that rubs out divisions as if they were chalk marks only; to discuss with you the capacity of the human spirit to overflow boundaries and make unity out of multiplicity" (163). The psychological connection that this theory of unity entails begins to heal the fragmenting scars left upon both the individual and national psyche by the ideological and literal division of

home and war front, men and women, ally and enemy, and most significantly, soldier and civilian, within the realm of modernist fiction.

Examining the representation of the stream of consciousness throughout Ford Madox Ford's *The Good Soldier* and *Parade's End* in conjunction with Virginia Woolf's *Mrs. Dalloway* and *Between the Acts* reveals that "the human mind, especially the artist's, is too complex and wayward ever to be channelled into [the] conventional patterns" of preceding fiction (Humphrey 22). As a civilian placed beyond the machinations of propaganda and a soldier working from within them, Woolf and Ford represent the stream of consciousness as a simultaneously isolating and unifying psychological force, conjuring a shared vision of war experience that goes beyond war propaganda, whose binary ideologies sought to build an illusory "chasm" between them (Levenback 3). This chapter has shown how British war propaganda and the modernist stream of consciousness share a unifying and isolating function. While propaganda seeks to unify the nation, it does so by endorsing reductive binary categories such as soldier and civilian, home and war front, and ally and enemy, forcing the pluralistic nature of war experience into two distinct and exclusive narratives, and engendering a sense of isolation. Modernist fiction conjures a reactionary phenomenological formal-experiential constellation, in which the isolating element of the stream of consciousness conveys the isolating experience of war and this 'unified' binary narrative, before dismantling it through the unification of individual characters with one another and the world around them. My analysis of the representation of the stream of consciousness within modernist fiction has argumentative consequences for stream of consciousness as a literary device, as it traces individual techniques directly to an experience of war familiar to both soldiers and civilians. In *Three Guineas,* Woolf promotes a society unified against oppressive and isolating ideological structures such as propaganda, insisting that "we are not passive spectators doomed to unresisting obedience but by our thoughts and actions can ourselves

change that figure. A common interest unites us; it is one world, one life," drawing on Husserlian intersubjectivity and her own fictional theory of a unified and transcendental consciousness (163). Unification thus signals preservation, not only of one's life under the shadow of war, but of the world itself. In *Parade's End*, Christopher declares that "war for this country could only mean humiliation . . . We were fitted neither for defeat nor victory; we could be true to neither friend nor foe. Not even to ourselves!" illuminating the fallacy of these isolating binary distinctions in the face of an equally isolating war (Ford 200). Victory is determined not by someone else's defeat, then, but by the revelation and celebration of a shared experience of war: a convergence of the streams of consciousness, which holds the potential for unification in the face of destruction, and transcendence even of death itself. Within Ford and Woolf's novels, the unifying logic of the stream of consciousness is oppositional to the isolating logic of war propaganda. Both are equally a matter of ideology, and create a tension between the public propaganda of the state, and the private propaganda of the modernist novel.

Conclusion

Through analysis of the novels of Ford Madox Ford and Virginia Woolf, this thesis has shown that three "formal-experiential constellations" central to both modernist fiction in general, and to Ford and Woolf's work in particular, simultaneously embody the lived experience of war and undermine propagandist models of war experience within the military-discursive complex. As I have shown, critical orthodoxy has viewed these constellations in two distinct and largely exclusive ways. On the one hand, Ford's critics have explored *The Good Soldier* and *Parade's End* through the lens of war directly, interpreting his experiments in cyclical time, the fragmentary construction of characters and imagery, and the portrayal of the stream of consciousness in relation to Ford's own position as a soldier, veteran, and propagandist. On the other hand, Woolf's critics have explored *Mrs. Dalloway* and *Between the Acts* through the lens of the home front, displaced from the public realm of war and politics which undoubtedly shaped the temporal structure, fragmentary narrative, and intersubjectivity of her works. Although some of Woolf's notable critics have written extensively on the representations of war experience in her civilian-art, these studies are often conducted in isolation from soldier-art, and thus do not paint a cohesive picture of the relationship between war and modernism in the twentieth century.

Challenging this account, this thesis has viewed these novels through the lens of what I have called the "military-discursive complex," which encompasses war as both a lived experience and an ideological narrative. Through this lens, the barrier between war front and home front falls away, allowing a connection to be made between soldier and civilian experiences of war and the art that these inspire. By applying this lens, I have been able to read Ford and Woolf together as the source of a distinctly modernist vision of war. More specifically, I have argued that the use and treatment of temporality, fragmentation, and

stream of consciousness endemic to both Ford and Woolf's works are indicative of a shared, soldier-civilian experience of war within the military-discursive complex. The meaningful pattern that arises from the modernist representation of time, trauma, and the mind must be understood as *embodying* the lived temporal, psychological, and phenomenological experience of war for modernist individuals such as Ford and Woolf. At the same time, it must also be understood as *undermining* the false temporal, psychological, and phenomenological experience of war enshrined in the reductive narratives of British war propaganda, and particularly the foundational distinction between soldier and civilian experience. In advancing this argument I have reassessed Ford, Woolf, and their novels in the light of both one another and the military-discursive complex, revealing in the works of both authors an alternative understanding of war: a private propaganda.

In describing this private propaganda, I have used a variety of methods. My intervention into our understanding of three of modernism's central formal-experiential constellations has been conducted primarily through a comparative analysis of the representations of a lived experience of war in the novels of Ford and Woolf. This analysis of *The Good Soldier, Mrs. Dalloway, Parade's End,* and *Between the Acts* has revealed that Ford and Woolf communicate their own lived experiences of war as a soldier and a civilian via these novels, and that these experiences resonate with one another. Indeed, this analysis has revealed the many connective similarities between their assemblages of modernist form and modern war experience, from imagery and chronology to characterisation and plot. This primary comparison has been supplemented by a contextual comparison with examples of British war propaganda. Setting the fiction of both novelists against the rigid, reductive, and binary representations of time, the mind, and consciousness in war propaganda, this thesis has shown how Ford and Woolf undermine these representations in order to reclaim a more accurate and distinctly modernist vision of war.

Chapter One uncovered Ford and Woolf's similar experiments in narrative time, which both inscribe and represent a cyclical temporality that defies the teleological message of war propaganda and exposes the harrowing reality of the end of war as synonymous not with national victory, but with individual loss. This alternative temporal model of war permeates every register of these novels, and every character, too; both soldier and civilian figures perceive the world and time in a similarly cyclical way. Cyclical time also allows the novels to both expose and transcend the teleological death inherent within a linear understanding of time. Chapter Two examined the formal practice and representation of psychological fragmentation in all four novels, which mirrors the psychological fragmentation inflicted by both the trauma of war and the distortive properties of war propaganda, particularly as they relate to masculinity and war neurosis. As this chapter showed, this fragmentary constellation is not exclusive to the characterisation of conventional 'shell-shocked' soldier figures, but influences the minds of civilians who become their psychological doubles. Chapter Three revealed that this psychological and representational fragmentation may be a temporary state, as the stream of consciousness within both modernist and philosophical frameworks follows a dual logic that is at once isolating *and* unifying. War propaganda's desire for unity engenders isolation, and this isolating experience is shared by soldier and civilian characters within the military-discursive complex. I have shown how this shared isolation paradoxically encourages intersubjective unification in modernist fiction, thus reflecting and deflecting the binary soldier-civilian narrative enshrined in war propaganda, popular wisdom of the day, and even contemporary literary criticism.

In the process, this thesis has changed our understanding of the ways in which lived experiences of war are articulated within modernist fiction, illuminating the connections between the lives and the art of two influential modernist authors who are often considered within a reductive soldier-civilian binary. I hope that it has also enriched our understanding

of Ford and Woolf as individuals and as authors, contributing to the criticism that continues to crystallise around them and their works. The notion of a formal-experiential constellation that has driven this thesis might prove a relevant and potentially useful concept to those writing within the same field, as it clarifies the intrinsic link between text and context, particularly at the intersection of art and war. Together, the notion of a formal-experiential constellation and the cohesive conception of the military-discursive complex may contribute to knowledge of the relationship between fiction and history. While the history of war in the twentieth century has primarily been told by nonfictional historical narratives in conjunction with soldier-authored fiction, this thesis has revealed that a more inclusive vision of history might emerge from comparative studies that consider the works of both soldier *and* civilian survivors of war, for as Ford remarks, "all novels are historical, but all novels do not deal with such events as get on to the pages of history" (Hynes 523). It is these private impressions of war on both soldier and civilian figures that are integral to our understanding of war and its effects, both within fiction and without.

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