Introduction

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[title]Chapter 1: Introduction

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This is the first collection of essays to be published on the prolific, intelligent writing of the British novelist and woman of letters, Rose Macaulay (1881-1958). The essays work on a number of levels. Many draw on Macaulay's writing to establish connections between two movements that are usually separated by literary-critical demarcations: modernism and the middlebrow. Macaulay is placed in relation to writers from these movements to illustrate how her work mediates between these two modes of writing. The essays focus on gender and genre using key texts to explore how Macaulay's negotiation of modernist modes and middlebrow concerns produced writing that navigated the perceived gulf between 'feminine', middlebrow writing inflected by popular culture, and more 'masculine', elitist forms of modernism.

In 1946 the historian C V Wedgwood described Macaulay's writing voice as 'unmistakeable along writers of our time. Sharp with implied criticism, edged with wit'. [1] Alice Crawford notes that Macaulay's work 'is one of the great barometers of twentieth-century English fiction, both registering and often forecasting shifts in cultural pressure'. [2] The ungendered writing of sex and gender, as we will see in these chapters, was a continual concern for Macaulay as an author. Later in her life, she claimed not to know what 'the feminine role' was, professing bemusement at a psychologist's accusation that she was rejecting this in her novels. [3] Yet Macaulay's lifelong use of gender-neutral names for her characters encourages the reader to ignore the accident of biological sex identity. Her biographer Sarah LeFanu explains: 'Throughout the pages of all Rose Macaulay's novels stroll heroines with boys' names: John, Cecil, Neville, Rome, Stanley,

Denham, Carey, Julian and Laurie' and men with 'feminine' surnames: 'Margery, Ruth, Jayne and Vere'. [4] These suggest how central the considerations of gender are to an understanding of Macaulay's work, since the reader will engage deeply with some characters, yet might never know if they are a woman or a man. Such identification, Macaulay seems to be saying, is irrelevant for the story, or for the wider appreciation of art and living. Macaulay was an expert manipulator of discourses that transcended the sex of the speaker, and gender performance – in the sense of masculinity, or femininity, or points on a continuum in between - was important in her writing. This is exemplified by her use of discourses of middlebrow femininity and her modernist subversion of gender expectations in narrative voice and focalising characters.

In Macaulay's best-known novel, *The Towers of Trebizond* (1956), readers do not know until the end of the novel whether the narrator's lover, Vere, is a man or a woman, just as they cannot know the sex or sexual orientation of the narrator Laurie. Such obscuring of the matter of gender was a deliberate authorial choice: Macaulay expected her readers to understand that in these novels, gender was obscure, and not of paramount importance. In a letter to her sister Jean, Macaulay reported that a friend 'told me today that he supposed Laurie to be a man till the mention of Vere: he thought Vere a male name so that L must be female. Actually, Vere, like Laurie, can be either'. [5] It was more important for Macaulay that readers understood and felt Laurie's chief emotional desire throughout the novel, which was to be with Vere, without the accident of pronouns setting up judgments about sex and gender (see also Chapter 10).

Just before Macaulay died, she had begun writing a new novel, *Venice Beseiged*, which was to address the counter-culture of the late 1950s. It sets the experiences of young women and men against the life wisdom of Danby, an older and more sophisticated woman with an androgynous name. The lineage of this character type in Macaulay's fiction originates with the character Anne

Vickery of *Views and Vagabonds* (1912), and recurs in several novels. Macaulay's fondness for reusing this type of older woman, who was single, intellectual, emotionally independent and expresses her opinions dispassionately, reinforces the type's gender-neutral characteristics that are echoed in the unexpected uses of other gender markers in her fiction. Considering Macaulay's writing through an awareness of how she resisted gender essentialism is the unifying strand of argument in these essays.

Virginia Woolf mocked Macaulay as a 'successful lady novelist',[6] which draws attention to Macaulay's sex as an author in a way that Macaulay rarely did herself. The remark suggests the serious novelist's disdain for the trivia and trite emotion of the mass-market novelette (a category which Macaulay herself satirised in *Potterism*, 1920). Woolf's phrase echoes the title of George Eliot's essay 'Silly Novels by Lady Novelists' (1855), an influential attack on Victorian novels written by 'literary' women without sense or intelligence, 'a composite order of feminine fatuity'.[7] Macaulay's highly literate fiction in which her exuberant narration conveys an eager interest in understanding how people think and act could indeed, by an irritated critic, be considered the work of, in Eliot's phrase, an 'oracular literary woman'.[8]

In externals, Macaulay fitted the model of a female modernist writer. Unlike many women writers of the time, she remained single, maintained financial self-sufficiency, and thus had the room of her own and an income to live on from which to create art. In this sense she was what Gillian Hanscombe and Virginia L Smyers call 'anti-conventional', since Macaulay ignored all her life 'the overwhelming social expectations […] that a woman should marry, bear children and remain both married and monogamous'.[9] She was also anti-conventional in that she took a married lover, but kept the relationship a secret from all but a very few people until her death and long after his. Like the pioneering modernist author Dorothy Richardson, Macaulay was

'fascinated always by the nature of language: by etymology, grammar, semantics and comparative linguistics'[10] (see Chapters 9 and 10, in 'Genre in Language'). Yet in many other respects Macaulay did not follow the modern stereotype of an independent and self-supporting woman: she was heterosexual, she was devoted to her family and her demanding mother, she wrote energetically for middlebrow magazines and mass-market newspapers for the income she needed. While challenging the convention of marriage as the end of a woman's story, in *Dangerous Ages* (1921) and in *Crewe Train* (1926), she used the marriage plot routinely in all her novels. This is an aspect of the mediation strategy mentioned above, by which Macaulay navigated commercial success and critical innovation in markets – middlebrow and modernist - in which she needed to succeed to earn a living, yet with whose norms and expectations she did not necessarily agree.

In her fiction Macaulay moved effortlessly between genres, mastering multiple forms: poetry, the novel, journalism, the parody and the pastiche, the familiar essay, the academic study, biography and the travelogue. An example of her playful approach to the exploration of genre may be seen in her 1935 essay 'Following the fashion', in which she parodies particularly modernist genres. [11] She pastiches the 'tough-guy story' by writing casually and brutally of a hit and run murder in the style of Ernest Hemingway, to show how a fashionable genre uses indicative markers to signal certain messages to the reader. When she writes 'tough-guy poetry', a parody of T S Eliot's *The Love Song of J Alfred Prufrock*, her purpose is to make the reader laugh, wince (slightly), and consider how easily the demarcations of genre can be reappropriated to make a point about style. Her approach is also a function of the materialist use of genre, in which she creates what Margaret Cohen calls 'an integrated way of addressing questions of literature and society simultaneously'. [12]

Macaulay ignores the demands set out by Hayden White as the 'essentialising discourses' of genre purity [13] by deliberately deploying 'the mixed genre, the fragment, the para genre, and the metageneric genre' [14] throughout her writing. Her essays and parodies give her the most space to explore the confines of genre, because in these she speaks in her own voice, and takes no responsibility for the voices of her characters. She could break the confines of genre distinctions within her fiction. In her 1930 novel, *Staying with Relations*, while betraying some ignorance about the fruit and vegetables of Guatemala (one character is said to be 'munching on an alligator pear', that is, an avocado), [15] Macaulay demonstrates her full awareness of genre markers by moving her characters through iterations of the Western, the learned disquisition upon a spoof textual discovery (anticipating Eco's *The Name of the Rose* by many decades), the treasure-hunting quest, the marital melodrama, the pulp thriller, and the Fitzgeraldian introspective about relationships and life. Her expertise with these sub-genres' indicative markings and narrative codes produces the modern cinematic effect of characters walking though different film sets as the picaresque plot evolves. Macaulay's experimentation collapses genre barriers, with the effect of showing how the relationships, dialogue and settings of the novel are most crucial as genre markers since they are secondary to the common, primary factors of characters and action.

Perhaps because of its genre instability, *Staying with Relations* did not sell well and is little-known. It has a role to play in genre theory in showing how Macaulay pushed her readers to consider why genre exists and how genres differ from each other. Its relative lack of commercial success indicates that her established readers did not concur, and her novel did not attract supporters from a more experimental readership. Genre is thus tightly linked to the discussion of 'brow', since, as we still see today, the market expectations of consumer and distributor resist

experimentation that deconstructs the market's self-imposed demarcations. Macaulay's experimentation was taking place in the middle of the inter-war years, a period when the British class system and social conventions were evolving faster than had been experienced before. Social ideologies were threatened, so it is possible to read Macaulay's interest in removing genre barriers at this time as a removal of the 'imaginary matrices (Bakhtin's chronotopes)' that confine and describe such ideologies. Hayden White cites Fredric Jameson in describing 'genre, genericization, and genre-fication […] as crucial elements of ideology [… by] which real social conflicts can be given possible resolution in ways conformable to class aspirations and ideals.' [16] If Macaulay was disrupting such a method of resolving class and ideological conflicts, this may have been an example of what Alice Crawford, above, calls 'forecasting shifts in cultural pressure'. [17] The 1930s was a decade of rapid political change in British society, with a rise in the Fascism that Macaulay deplored (see below) and increasing divisions in income and opportunities. By drawing attention to the essentially secondary nature of genre definitions, Macaulay calls for closer attention to be paid to what is truly important: in fiction as well as in life.

The chapters in this volume draw on current scholarship in modernist and middlebrow literary studies, on the historical novel, on ruins and on the narrative of travel. By presenting a range of approaches in one volume, they show how Macaulay's fiction is integral to modern British literature of the period, by its aesthetic concerns, its technical experimentation, her concern for the autonomy of the individual and the financial and professional independence of the woman. Manifold connections are shown to exist between her writing and contemporary theology, popular culture, the newspaper industry, pacifist thinking, feminist rage, the literature of sophistication, the condition of 'inclusionary' cosmopolitanism, and a haunted post-war

understanding of ruin in life and history. Her literary peers crowd around the arguments in these essays: Vera Brittain, Rupert Brooke, E M Forster, Aldous Huxley, Storm Jameson, J B Priestley, Mary Renault, Hugh Walpole, Rebecca West, Sylvia Townsend Warner, and Virginia Woolf. Her literary influences include Jane Austen, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Joseph Conrad, George Gissing, Dorothy Osborne, George Bernard Shaw, Robert Louis Stevenson and Oscar Wilde. Sarah LeFanu's discussion of Bonnie Kime Scott's 'golden mesh', the literary and personal connections among the subjects of Scott's *The Gender of Modernism* (1990), notices that Macaulay's presence in this Anglo-American network of writers and artists embeds her firmly among the protagonists of modernism. [18] Approaches used in the chapters include the thinking of Freud and Lacan on sexuality and the self, T S Eliot on the Metaphysical poets, Judith Butler on performativity and gender, W G Sebald on ruins, Alois Riegl on art history and György Lukács on the historical novel. This rich and interdisciplinary combination sets a new agenda for studying Macaulay, and reformulates contemporary ideas about gender and genre in English literature before and after the world wars.

[A]Life

Born in Rugby in 1881, the second daughter in a family of seven children, Rose Macaulay lived in Italy with her family for seven years during her childhood. These were deeply formative for her sense of identity, and for her future fiction. LeFanu notes that there was a 'lack of distinction' between how the Macaulay girls and boys were brought up, and that, on the family's return to England in 1894 when she was thirteen, 'it wasn't that Rose wanted to be a boy, it was that she didn't recognise what it meant to be a girl'. [19] This is an important observation for considering how Macaulay handled gender in her fiction. We may need to think not whether her female characters acted as male, or vice versa, but how they acted according to the gendered

conventions in Macaulay's day for how males and females should behave. That formative part of her life when there were few gendered distinctions in how one behaved thus becomes important for understanding how she depicted gender-neutral characters, and the relationships between characters who were siblings, parents and children. Throughout her fiction characters who resist gendered roles are set in opposition to social conventions, encouraging the consideration of how Macaulay's fiction dealt with society's policing of gender roles.

After returning from Italy as an adolescent, Macaulay went to school in Oxford and attended Somerville College, where she was awarded the equivalent of a degree in history in 1903. [20] In 1901 the family had moved from Oxford to live in Aberystwyth, on the mid-west Welsh coast, at whose university George Macaulay taught as Professor of English Language and Literature. When Rose Macaulay left Oxford to move to rural Wales, to be again a daughter at home, she began writing and publishing poetry and, later, novels. This would have offered her an intellectual escape from enforced domesticity, and the dominance of her mother's views about how young women at home should conduct their lives, from which Macaulay had managed to free herself while living in college as an undergraduate. In 1906, two months before her first novel was published, the Macaulays moved from Aberystwyth for Great Shelford, a village south of Cambridge, where George now taught English literature at Trinity College.

In 1912 Macaulay's sixth novel, *The Lee Shore*, won a Hodder & Stoughton literary prize of £600 (equivalent to nearly £48,000 in 2017), finally giving Macaulay financial independence. She moved to London in 1913, and her next novel, *The Making of a Bigot* (1913), represents her impressions of the literary, artistic, church-sampling and social-working circles in which she was now moving. In wartime Macaulay became a trainee ward assistant and nurse in the Voluntary Aid Detachment in Cambridgeshire from May 1915, but switched to being a land girl from

February 1916. From the details given in the biographies, Macaulay appears to have been an energetic and high-spirited, if a not very dextrous volunteer. As well as her novel *Non-Combatants and Others* (1916), her poetry records her most immediate responses to war. 'Many sisters to many brothers' (1914) was first published in the *Saturday Westminster Gazette*, as a response to a poem that had appeared a week earlier by H Hutchinson, called 'Any grandsire to any grandson'. The final stanza of Macaulay's poem (discussed in another context in Chapter 2 by Gildersleeve) has been held to represent her views, of a sister missing her childhood playmate brother while he is at war, giving rise to a mistaken assumption that Macaulay was unable to understand the gravity of the war at this early date (as most people in Britain were unable to understand).

> In a trench you are sitting, while I am knitting
>
> A hopeless sock that never gets done.
>
> Well, here's luck, my dear; ― and you've got it, no fear;
>
> But for me . . . a war is poor fun.

The phrase 'poor fun' damns Macaulay's attitude as juvenile and self-centred, especially as this stanza was unchanged on its book publication in 1915, when public awareness of trench conditions had altered greatly. Yet the earlier Hutchinson poem shows that Macaulay's response was about the different perspectives of the non-combatant and the combatant, a theme to which she would return in 1916 with *Non-Combatants and Others*. George Simmers points out that in an essay published in the same month, drawing on a visit Macaulay had made to her brother's Alberta farm in August 1914, she showed that she was fully aware of the contrast between farming at home and fighting abroad. [21]

After nearly a year of working in the Women's Land Army Macaulay succeeded in her application for an office job. From January 1917 she worked in the War Office on cases of exemption from military service and conscientious objectors. [22] Her poem 'The Shadow' (1917), about an air raid, is a complex poetic response to an act of war, with overtones of Classical imagery: a sophisticated response to working in a city under aerial attack.

The end of the war released Macaulay to revel in prolific publication as a professional woman of letters. She published twenty-two books between 1919 and 1939: half of these were novels. The others are two carefully selected anthologies from English literature that reflected her taste for seventeenth- and eighteenth-century poets and playwrights, two scholarly studies of Milton and E M Forster, several collections of her own poetry and of her essays and collected journalism. In 1924 she wrote most of a three-act play, 'Bunkum', satirising the sensational distortions of modern life in the popular press and women's popular fiction of the time as well as at the intellectual pretensions of literary and dramatic critics and members of literary societies. [23] The tone of this piece – never published or performed, and apparently unfinished - was entirely in keeping with her journalism of the period, and her preoccupation with challenging the intellectual failings of society. In 1926 the American critic Stuart Sherman drew attention to Macaulay's 'scathing insight' and her 'hard, realistic thrust which is feminine – the special characteristic, it seems, of the full-fledged feminine Intellectual'.[24] This observation of her literary characteristics, coupled with Melissa Sullivan's assessment that 'at the height of [Macaulay's] literary fame, in the mid-1920s, her publisher promoted her as the "wittiest woman writer of the day"', [25] goes some way to explain why Macaulay attracted censure from her peer and rival Virginia Woolf.

Macaulay's fiction, and indeed also her journalism, revelled in her knowledge, packing in concepts with the casual 'Oxford manner' assurance that all her readers would understand and appreciate her theological, historical, linguistic and metaphysical references (see Florio's demonstration of these in Chapter 10). She wrote vigorously for *The Spectator* and *The Listener*, among many other periodicals. Catherine Clay summarises Macaulay's activity in this period as being 'against Fascism […] resisted the pressure of the Establishment, challenged the decisions of leaders […] she was an active member of the National Council for Civil Liberties, and a sponsor of the Peace Pledge Union. [… Her] literary work, journalistic activity, and politics were intertwined'. [26]

In 1927 and 1928 Macaulay was also active in the new medium of radio, performing readings on the BBC's Home Service from her own writing and speaking in radio debates. [27] In 1926 Woolf, who changed her opinion about Macaulay many times in their long and uneasy friendship, was exasperated at Macaulay's self-publicity, which she saw as unfitting and irrelevant for a serious novelist: 'Why should she take the field so unnecessarily?' [28] Woolf reported to Vanessa Bell that Macaulay 'can talk of nothing but reviews, yet being the daughter of a Cambridge don, knows she shouldn't'. [29] Such sustained sniping suggests that Macaulay's writing as well as her personality irritated the less confident Woolf.

Margaret Lawrence commented in 1936 that Macaulay's defining characteristic as an author was 'complete disillusionment' with the stupidity she saw all around her. [30] This is reflected in M J Farrell's novel *Devoted Ladies* (1934), in which a waspish confidant accuses his cousin Hester, who is faced with a social problem, of being likely to step 'about the difficulty acid and aloof like a Rose Macaulay heroine'. [31] In a recently published letter from 1937 Sylvia Townsend

Warner reveals further impressions of Macaulay. She describes a trying time working on a fund-raising book stall:

> 'I was selling at the stall of autographed books, and Miss Rose Macaulay has presented us with several copies of her various works, duly signed. And at intervals she came around to see how they selling. It was terrible, for they were not selling well. She became arider and arider with each visit, until Valentine and I were reduced to sneaking volumes off the stall and sitting on them, whenever we saw her in the offing.' [32]

In the Second World War Macaulay drove ambulances and was bombed out of her home, losing all her possessions, at the age of sixty. She continued to research and publish, and described herself as too busy in 1948 and 1949 when Leonard Woolf repeatedly asked her to consider writing a biography, of Byron or any other subject she chose, for the Hogarth Press series. [33] From 1945 she was the *Time and Tide* radio critic, and was appearing regularly on the BBC's Home Service, the Light Programme and the new Third Programme, as a critic and reading her own talks and essays. [34] In 1955 her genealogy was the subject of a discussion by Noel Annan as a quintessential representation of 'the intellectual aristocracy' of Britain. [35] *The Towers of Trebizond* (1956), her twenty-third novel, and thirty-ninth book, was the triumph of her career and a popular best-seller that made her a household name among the general public rather than the literati. Towards the end of her life Macaulay was able to report with pleasure that 'in the [*Times*] *Lit. Sup* I am fairly often mentioned in general literary articles, besides getting nice long reviews when I publish a new book. … I sometimes think I get *more* than my fair share of appreciation' (emphasis in original). [36]

[A] The critical response

Three of the four German studies of Macaulay published during her lifetime focus on her feminism as well as her fiction, indicating that she was known internationally as a writer who engaged with the problems and struggles of women in the modern world. [37] Aside from book reviews and occasional assessments of her accumulating oeuvre in the trade press, [38] the critical response in English to her work began in 1916, when a chapter on her poetry appeared in *Studies of Contemporary Poets*, [39] and in 1920, when she was discussed seriously in comparison to Jane Austen and Dorothy Richardson. [40] In 1925 and 1927 her relative ubiquity may have encouraged two critics to conflate the opinions of her characters with her own as a way to denigrate her skills as a novelist, [41] but in 1926 the American critic Stuart Sherman suggested that Macaulay was the natural and more brilliant successor to Samuel Butler and H G Wells. [42] After this her critical reputation was left in peace.

Macaulay died in 1958. Ten book-length studies of her life and work have been published since then: three biographies, in 1972, 1991 and 2003; four edited volumes of her letters, in 1961, 1962, 1964 and 2011; and three scholarly studies, in 1969, 1988 and 1995. Interspersed with these has been the regular publication of scholarly articles, book chapters and doctoral theses on Macaulay's work (see Annotated Bibliography). Since 2011 the rate of publication has increased – eighteen publications in the five years between 2011 to 2015, compared to thirty-four in the fifty-four years from 1957 to 2011, approximately a five-fold increase. Academic interest in Macaulay is on the rise, in academia and among mainstream readers. The subjects dwelt on by this upsurge in critical examination fall into clear categories: the First World War (Boxwell 1993, Smith 2000, Cohen 2002, Matz 2007, Andree 2014, Kennedy 2015); the Spanish Civil War (Boxwell 1982, Smith 2005, Mazlin 2011); Macaulay's interwar writing (Lassner 1989, Thomas 1994, Port 2006, Hinds 2009, Sullivan 2012b, Jin 2014a, Jin 2014b); the Second World

War (Skilton 2004, Anderson 2007, Stonebridge 2007, Feigel 2013, Feigel 2015); *The World My Wilderness* (Lassner 1988, Boxwell 1999, Pong 2014, Whittington 2016); ruins (Mellor 2011, Viney 2011, Highmore 2013); and *The Towers of Trebizond* and Anglicanism (Stewart 1961, Moore 1978, Coates 1987, Hein 2006, Hein 2011, Sborgi 2011, Lock 2012, Sullivan 2012a, Maltby 2012).

The chapters in this collection complement these themes by suggesting others that are significant for Macaulay's own writing, and by positioning her within her literary context. They contextualise Macaulay as a writer who skilfully inserted herself within and played with the conventions of both the middlebrow and modernism, while deploying gender to illuminate restrictive social conventions. This book discusses Macaulay's journalism, her fiction, her essays, her linguistic innovation and her travel writing, showing how she is part of the group of British novelists who have resisted classification into one group or the other, whose writing cannot be categorised solely in terms of a 'brow' position, or by their readers or marketing. Macaulay, like Eric Ambler, Elizabeth Bowen, John Galsworthy, Stella Gibbons, Grahame Greene, Storm Jameson, Somerset Maugham, T F Powys, Sylvia Townsend Warner, Evelyn Waugh, H G Wells, Rebecca West and T H White wrote novels, short stories and journalism, to be read by educated people for pleasure, for information and with discrimination. Some of these authors and their novels can be placed in what Kristin Bluemel has defined as the intermodernist mode, [43] which tended to focus on working-class protagonists and radical politics. All shared the intermodernists' tendency to be non-canonical, unclassifiable and to embrace a mass readership.

Macaulay did not align herself with any movement or coterie in her Edwardian salad days, though she could legitimately be called a Georgian poet for her collections *The Two Blind Countries* (1914) and *Three Days* (1919). She did not join any literary group during the war, the

interwar years, or in her old age among the angry young men of the 1950s. Macaulay simply *was*: a prominent and active British literary figure, and after the Second World War also an important Anglo-Catholic thinker, a cultural commentator in public broadcasting and a public intellectual. She was made a Dame in the year of her death, which was a public and Establishment recognition for her importance in British literary life. One year earlier, holidaying with her young god-daughters at a Butlin's holiday camp, she watched television for the first time, reporting that 'one programme, which showed a panel of 4 famous people in a game of guessing "Who wrote that?" to my surprise quoted something from me (but I don't know where I said it) … no one guessed me; when they were told, they had to discuss its truth or otherwise, and on the whole they agreed with me. My two children were delighted by this'. [44] Such appeal across cultures positions Macaulay's oeuvre across conventional scholarly classifications, ignoring critical demarcations. It supports the claims that the essays in this volume make for her importance as a mediating figure in British literary culture.

[A] Modernism, middlebrow, gender and genre

Our intention with this book is to reinstate Macaulay as a significant British literary figure of the twentieth century. The essays are organised to reflect five thematic approaches to Macaulay's fiction, establishing the connections between her work, the literary movements of her day and theoretical frameworks which demonstrate the robustness of Macaulay's work under critical scrutiny. Her works are discussed under the headings of 'The body and the mind' (Chapters 2 and 3); 'Public and private gender identity' (Chapters 4 and 5); 'Women in society' (Chapters 6, 7 and 8); 'Genre in language' (Chapters 9 and 10), and 'Landscapes in Genre' (Chapters 11 and 12). The book's focus thus moves outwards, from the interiorised self and the psyche's relations with the body, to gender identity, then to the role and purpose of women in society, followed by

how women, and Macaulay, used language in their strategies for generic self-expression, and the environment in which Macaulay's characters, and she herself in real life, lived and worked. The novels and non-fiction works discussed have been chosen for their importance in Macaulay's oeuvre in demonstrating the concerns that each chapter discusses. The discussion of *Non-Combatants and Others* and *The Towers of Trebizond* in more than one chapter shows their richness and centrality for critiquing Macaulay's writing. They supply multiple and layered evocations of her concerns, and are presented through different critical lenses to demonstrate the power of her literary invention. Thus these chapters present Macaulay's work in several important critical fields, legitimising her career by her longevity, invention and muscular intellect.

[B] The body and the mind

In Chapter 2, 'Hyperaesthesia and futile rage: Gender, anxiety and protest in *Non-Combatants and Others*', Jessica Gildersleeve discusses this 1916 novel in terms of its pacifism, its argument that by resisting war a way can be found out of despair and that 'a recognition of the need for democratic intervention and peaceful protest' will help rehabilitate those who cannot serve into those who will work to end war. Alix the artist cannot serve in the war effort, since her sex and her damaged hip both prevent her from joining the armed forces or becoming a nurse. In what LeFanu calls 'the cool, authorial voice that Rose Macaulay was beginning to use with increasing confidence' [45] the plot moves through multiple social settings and perspectives, and expresses different points of view on whether Britain should be fighting, whether one should join up, how one resists the war as a pacifist, the role of art and literature in resisting war, and how misleadingly the war was mediated to those at home (see Lonsdale on wartime journalism in

Chapter 4). *Non-Combatants and Others* is a story about pacifism written in wartime, a rare

dissenting voice amid the combat narratives so prevalent at the time.

Gildersleeve argues that Alix, the novel's female protagonist, is suffering from 'hyperaesthesia',

an increased sensitivity to one's environment, and an excess of emotion. Her nervous reactions,

her stammers, shivers, illnesses and silences provide key examples of the writing of anxiety. In

this chapter Gildersleeve argues that those nervous symptoms function in both the form and the

content of Macaulay's novel as a gendered protest. Women are the primary population of non-

combatants, and Gildersleeve suggests that Macaulay saw the duty of the non-combatant, the

woman, as leading the act of protest. Alix's initial engulfment by war is shown through its

impact on her body and in how society instructs her to act. Alix's imaginings of the war, the

female strategies of distraction and the destructive effects of newspaper reportage on the non-

combatant's ability to think, are examined in this essay to explore Macaulay's influence on later

expressions of war and anxiety, situating her as an innovator in the representation of trauma

within the narrative.

Chapter 3, Cynthia Port's 'The dangerous ages of Rose Macaulay', explores how Macaulay

moved on to consider different perspectives on psychological influences on the physical body in

her novels *Dangerous Ages* (1921) and *Keeping up Appearances* (1928). *Dangerous Ages* is an

early feminist novel in which two generations of women look at their lives when they find they

can no longer compete with society's expectations of their social roles, which are subjugated to

the third and youngest. *Keeping Up Appearances* is constructed around Macaulay's brilliant

technical achievement in narrative in which one person written as and enacting two personas

lives separate lives that must not meet, satirising the media's new obsession with women, their

age, and their appearance. Both novels reveal the serious material and emotional costs of a

generational divide and an emerging gendered cult of youth. Port's analysis draws our attention to how this devaluation of age and experience in women coincides with - and to some degree disrupts - the twentieth-century's first steps toward women's economic and professional empowerment.

The recalibration of age and value also had a damaging effect in an aesthetic environment in which 'making it new' implied 'keeping it young'. Port shows how the fracturing effect of anxieties about aging on women's lives and psyches is articulated through the technique of narrative splitting. In *Dangerous Ages* the storyline shifts its focus from a middle-aged protagonist to a romantic rivalry between her younger sister and her daughter, whereas the central character in *Keeping up Appearances* is divided between alter egos of different ages. Satirizing psychoanalytic approaches to understanding subjectivity, Port shows how Macaulay exposes the social factors, such as economic dependence and restricted life choices, that contribute to women's keen sense of identity loss over time, and reveals the consequences that result when energy that might have been directed toward personal growth is invested in fruitless resistance against the appearance of ageing.

[B] Public and private gender identity

In Chapter 4, '"Imprisoned in a cage of print": Rose Macaulay, journalism and gender', Sarah Lonsdale uses *Non-Combatants and Others* and *Keeping up Appearances,* two of the many Macaulay texts that she discusses to explore how Macaulay depicted women journalists and the unthinking, female reading public. She observes that Macaulay herself, a professional writer in 'that hazy and contested zone between highbrow and middlebrow, the intellectual and the popular', had an agonistic relationship with journalism. It provided her with income but was a

constant source of frustration. She was critical of the popular press, particularly of its 'idiotic' coverage of serious political events and of its treatment of women as some kind of strange new species. The press thus restricted women to the status of interesting curiosity, rather than serious-minded participant in political and social debate, and Macaulay saw this as a concerted backlash against the rising status of women through and after the War years.

In this chapter Lonsdale examines how Macaulay scrutinised the wartime and post-war newspaper industry for women were treated and what was decided were women's concerns. She shows how Macaulay works out a comprehensive, although at times contradictory critique of the way newspapers and journalists treat women, and women journalists. These depictions were not liberating or progressive, since they repress, circumscribe and restrict activities within 'a cage of print'. Women characters in Macaulay's novels are severely circumscribed by the newspapers' attempts to manipulate the correct gendered behaviour of women. Lonsdale argues that in Macaulay's fiction, newspapers appropriate women's bodies and personalities as fodder, 'a placard for the press' for a curious and omnivorous public that will consume anything put in front of it. With her discussion of women journalists and media representations in *Non-Combatants and Others* (1916), *What Not* (1919), *Potterism* (1920), 'Bunkum' (1924), *Crewe Train* (1926), *Keeping Up Appearances* (1928), *Going Abroad* (1934) and in Macaulay's study *E M Forster* (1938) Lonsdale shows how Macaulay decodes the stereotyping of women writers by newspaper editors and the consequent lack of opportunity for women journalists.

Lonsdale establishes how *Non-Combatants'* second theme of wartime journalism is constructed from characters reading, quoting from, writing for and depending on the views expounded by the newspapers, all commenting on the actions in the plot. She reads Macaulay's dystopian novel *What Not* (1919) as an anticipation of Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World* (1932) in its

speculative future of organised procreation and the classification of individuals by their genes rather than class, and in using the mass media to pillory personal choices. *Potterism* (1920) satirises journalism, post-war politics and the ethics of writing for money. *Crewe Train* (1926) plants an inarticulate social innocent in gossip-ridden, celebrity-worshipping London, and reflects the ills of that frivolous modern society in the torments it inflicts on the heroine who longs only to be left alone. In *Going Abroad* (1934) a failed beauty treatment is promoted relentlessly by charlatans in the press, to reinforce society's expectations of youth and beauty for their own profit. In examining how Macaulay engages with a powerful and widespread profession that was condescending to women by default, Lonsdale questions how complicity and duplicity may work together against gender solidarity.

Juliane Römhild's study in Chapter 5 of Macaulay's pastiche of the detective novel, *Mystery in Geneva* (1922), is a valuable exploration of the public implications for the private decision about gender identity. The novel concerns mysterious kidnappings at the League of Nations and the subsequent investigations by the journalists in attendance. Römhild shows how Macaulay destabilises gender and genre by exploring their practical limitations, and scrutinises Macaulay's famous phrase 'mentally neutral' in this chapter to reveal how she constructs a state of mind that resisted gender assignment. In this novel gender is chosen rather than embodied, and performativity becomes part of the plot: a very early example of what would exemplify Butlerian thinking. When characters perform their identity regardless of sex, literary conventions lose their definition and words lose their meaning in the incessant stream of speeches, statements and telegrams that characterises this satirical portrait of international diplomacy and media reportage. Bodies and actions also lose their significance in an atmosphere that thrives on speculations, accusations, suspicions and scandal rather than sex and violence. The staples of crime fiction and

the public figure of the journalist are ironically undermined in a novel based on cross-dressing and gendered roles.

Römhild asserts that, in this novel, identity is defined by language, and gender identity is determined by speech rather than physicalities. The concept of androgyny in Macaulay's novels that has attracted scholarly attention is embodied in the 'mentally neutral', the people whose talk is not defined by their sex, because they talk about books, politics, places, news, love and religion, rather than only babies or the stock market. However, the performative potential of utterances and the power of naming are also constantly undermined. Building on the scholarship on Macaulay's interest in androgyny, this chapter unravels the destabilisation of gender and language in *Mystery in Geneva*. This approach complicates the discussion of gender in the earlier chapters by linking Judith Butler's gender theory with the performance of Macaulay's protagonist Henry Beechtree.

[B] Women in society

This section continues the focus on the performativity of women in fiction and in the media with Chapter 6 by Melissa Edmundson, '"Thought is *everything*": Women's work in Rose Macaulay's First World War novels'. This discusses Macaulay's challenge to the idea of blindly accepting the world without questioning one's place in it. Her portrayals of intelligent, inquisitive women in three novels dealing with the war - *Non-Combatants and Others* (1916), *Potterism* (1920) and *Told by an Idiot* (1923) - critique the battlefield and home fronts as she challenges traditional notions of what women's work is, and what it should be, and makes her contemporary readers question their beliefs about women's place in society. Macaulay privileges women's intellectual potential in wartime, and in so doing, presents a progressive combination of female modernism

and war writing. She shows that although they are not allowed to fight alongside men, women can use their intellect in order to actively fight for a better world and a lasting peace. Edmundson posits a modernist reading of Macaulay's war-influenced fiction, since, like other modernist writers, Macaulay wanted to convey the fractured existence many women felt. This included the vulnerability of their social marginalization and physical inability to withstand what war was doing to their world.

In Chapter 7 'The domestic modern, the primitive and the middlebrow in *Crewe Train' (1923)*, Ann Rea continues this section's examination of how Macaulay revealed women's vulnerabilities under the juggernaut of interwar social expectations. The novel's title denotes an inevitable journey, since a 'Crewe train' means 'any and every train'. In this period when most travelling across Britain was done by train rather than by car, trains travelling west, south or north along the west coast of England went through Crewe, an important railway junction some 150 miles north-west of London. Macaulay's use of this now archaic British reference signals how we are to read the conflict in her plot between middlebrow and modern social behaviour and aesthetics, and the 'inevitable' natural impulses that lead to the ingénue protagonist's enforced socialization by marriage. Denham is completely vulnerable to the social forces at play in London since she has no natural defences, and is unable to understand and co-opt their values for her own defence, accepting, finally, at the end of the novel that '"life itself is the trap, and love the piece of toasted cheese"'. [46] Rea discusses Denham's complex relationship with sophistication, and her own lack of it in not understanding that her new family are 'all right in Chelsea [but] not quite fit for Bloomsbury'. [47] Passion converges with middle-class conventions, to produce the tensions that allow Macaulay to test the limits of bohemian tolerance for the primitive, and at the same time to parody bohemian affectations by showing them from the

perspective of the ingénue who misunderstands the evidence of sophistication. By exploring the depictions of sophistication in these novels, in relation to the female characters and the particular forms of domestication demanded of women in bohemian circles, we can see how sexuality and the public gaze determine the correct modulation of bohemianism to be as far away from the primitive and the 'natural' as possible. Far from actively enacting radical ideals, these bohemian characters reinstate a conventional version of domestic life, performing a socially sanctioned interpretation of how women must behave that denies intellectual freedom through imprisonment by convention.

In Chapter 8, Kate Macdonald discusses how Macaulay created a conscious self-fashioning of her public persona through her non-fiction writing. By reading Macaulay's essays and other non-fiction as a parallel stream of production to her novels, this chapter traces how Macaulay worked at presenting a particular public persona to the world while keeping the private aspects of her life hidden. The first third of the chapter surveys Macaulay's output, and contextualises her journalism and emerging scholarly work with her managed excursions into autobiography, her self-censorship, her reviewing, and her firm attitude to the cult of celebrity. More detailed examination of her essay-writing follows, beginning with Macaulay's public championing of feminist causes from the 1920s, and her insistence on women's right to hold their own opinions. The public iterations of her 1925 talk 'Women as news' are examined to show how Macaulay could promote an important point in the anti-feminist mass media.

Macaulay's keen attentiveness to the profession of writing, the mechanics of journalism and the role of the editor in creating and concealing 'news' reveals a conflict in her relationship with the public. Macdonald shows how Macaulay released information about herself as a response to her own enthusiasms, expecting her readers to follow her. Her writing about obscure and archaic

language first reveals her passion for scholarly exploration, but later in life becomes a reactionary stance, opposed to modern trends and youth's lack of interest in formal expression, and by extension literature, music and art. Macaulay regarded these as some of the most important representations of continuity in an uncertain post-war world, and expressed herself scathingly about the minds and mores of those who rejected them. This highly conservative response is at odds with the passion with which Macaulay demanded independence for women, in her carefully managed autobiographical writing, and in her polemics.

[B] Genre and language

This section signals a transition in this book from a focus on interiority to relating the self to the outer world. In Chapter 9 Diana Wallace considers how Macaulay evokes the pleasure of words: 'those precious gems of queer shapes and gay colours, sharp angles and soft contours, shades of meaning laid one over the other down history'. [48] As a novelist, Wallace writes, Macaulay's central pleasure in writing comes not from story, plot or character but from 'arranging words in patterns'. It is this pleasure in the 'ghosts of words' that is evident in Macaulay's historical novel about the English Civil War, *They Were Defeated* (1932) which delights in the 'peculiar' Devonshire dialect. In this novel, Macaulay writes in a prefatory note, 'I have done my best to make no person […] use in conversation any words, phrases, or idioms that were not demonstrably used at the time in which they lived.' Wallace explores the ways in which Macaulay's project deals decisively with a central problem of language in relation to the historical novel, and aligns her with Naomi Mitchison, Sylvia Townsend Warner and Mary Renault in how she evoked the narrative of history with innovative techniques. She discusses Macaulay's project as a modernist work arising from the tools and forms more commonly associated with the popular, that counters T S Eliot's championing of the metaphysical poets

with a defence of the ideals of Cavalier poetry, by placing Herrick, Suckling and Cleveland at the centre of her plot. Their role in the suppression of a would-be woman poet is shown to be analogous to the suppression of women's poetry in the modern period.

In its attention to language as well as its focus on what T.S. Eliot called the 'presence of the past', *They Were Defeated* can be read as a modernist novel. It is also a novel which is intensely concerned with the gendering of poetry and language. Macaulay's play with the possibilities of language to evoke the ghostly presence of the past can be seen as a form of modernist experimentation which foregrounds women's apparitional position in written history. Wallace shows how Macaulay developed the conceit of the 'ghostliness' of words and their associations into the idea of 'haloed' words, also discussed by Florio in Chapter 10.

Maria Stella Florio's argument in Chapter 10 is that *The Towers of Trebizond* evades the conventional parameters of both modernism and middlebrow so convincingly that it must be considered post-modern. She reads Macaulay's last published novel as a joyful response by a passionate scholar and traveller to the linguistic and gendered paradoxes inherent in the English language. This novel has also produced continuous debate over its genre. Is it a picaresque novel, a quest romance, or a love story? This critical perplexity derives from the novel's singular combination of scholarship, creativity, and linguistic humour. Thus Macaulay's most successful novel is still referred to variously as a 'travelogue', a 'parody', and 'her Anglican book'. Yet the lingering disagreement on its very nature, and the early conclusion that *The Towers of Trebizond* must be 'one of those curious works that does not fit into a category', makes further research on the text an imperative. Its unpredictability and variety in prose style, situations, and characterisations suggest a rich quantity of intertextual references embedded in the narrative.

Florio examines the novel's intertextuality and the function of some of Macaulay's references in the text. Her conclusions offer a new theory as to whether and to what extent Macaulay's use of allusions in *The Towers of Trebizond* comes directly from high modernism as the natural expression of 'our fearful and fragmented age', as Macaulay termed it at the end of her *Pleasure of Ruins* (1953), or whether her often humorous and flippant treatment of her allusions indicates a departure from modernism, and also from the conventions of fiction. The continuously generative vitality of the language in *The Towers of Trebizond* makes the gender of the 'quester', the indeterminate narrative voice of Laurie, irrelevant. Instead, Florio focuses on how this novel demonstrates the art of 'post-modern literature at its best: the marvellous and the fantastic, fiction and meta-fiction, high- and low-brow culture, word games and syllepsis, pluralism and relativism, faith and doubt'.

[B] Landscapes in Genre

In the final section, Christina Svendsen's Chapter 11, 'A Catastrophic Imagination: Rose Macaulay and the Cosmopolitan *Pleasure of Ruins',* discusses Macaulay's avant-garde voice in her monumental work of historical anthology and commentary, *Pleasure of Ruins* (1953). Macaulay's extraordinary discourse on broken monuments, which singlehandedly revived a Renaissance genre now under new critical scrutiny as the new Ruins studies, offers the joy of parataxis – the surprise when items forming a list are placed side by side to produce incommensurability. *Pleasure of Ruins* combines the parataxis of travel from the map and the itinerary, with the arbitrary, deadpan juxtapositions of an encyclopaedia. It sets place-names and physical and textual fragments side-by-side: literary quotations, diary excerpts, engravings, and architectural ruins. This geographic and temporal cosmopolitanism links Macaulay's project to the avant-garde.

Svendson argues that Macaulay's style reveals a deep sympathy with the theory of art historian Alois Riegl. The most obvious point of contact is their shared interest in ruins, and Riegl's concept of 'age-value', a modern aesthetic that values how monuments can make the passage of time physically visible through patina, erosion, and traces of use. Another is his concept of 'attentiveness', the relationship formed between a work of art and its beholder. Svendson's chapter explores Macaulay's 'attentiveness' to ruins, considering it in terms of her archaeological and philological sense for moments in the historical past, and situating it in the context of the Second World War's sudden, catastrophic ruins, during which period the book's composition began. Macaulay's interest in ruins is a larger interest in incongruity and fracture between the old and the new that, when juxtaposed, offers opportunities for new angles of vision – a type of temporal cosmopolitanism. Putting her writing in the context of artists and art historians such as Bernard Berenson and Jean Cocteau, this chapter sheds new light on Macaulay's interest in animation of description as a literary device.

In Chapter 12, Lisa Regan shows how Macaulay began to make a new name as a travel writer in the period of disillusionment following the Second World War, crossing between genres to traverse the cultural terrain between middle and highbrow. In so doing she was charting the representation of personal and cultural transformation in fiction and in travel writing. The palimpsest landscapes of Spain and Portugal give Macaulay solace and distraction, and reconcile her to the devastation and loss, both public and personal, inflicted by war. Her response to war through travel might seem to follow those travellers seeking pastures new after the Great War, but there is a distinctive tonal departure in her work. It is indignant and incredulous at the local prejudice she encounters as a woman travelling alone, and, at the same time, less self-assured about the authority an Englishwoman bears abroad. Regan pays close attention to how Macaulay

addressed feminist issues as a travel writer and novelist, and her critique of Islam and Christianity as being oppressive to women.

Macaulay's travel writing presents a shifting landscape, fluctuating between historical eras, shuttling between cultures and religions. Her incursion into a genre historically central to producing discourses of the 'other' is often surprising for its insistence on self-consciously foregrounding epistemological questions. Thus Chapter 12 traces how the woman traveller's spiritual quest for transformation disrupts the travel genre's textualisation of imperial form. It pays attention to her narrative voice, leitmotifs and structure, and contextualises Macaulay's writing within the travel writing tradition. It goes on to argue that Macaulay's ironic approach to the genre of travel writing informs *The Towers of Trebizond*. In concert with Florio in Chapter 11, Regan shows that after visiting the Levant in 1953 and Turkey in 1954, Macaulay created a productive distance from which to satirise the travel writing genre and its epistemological function for British culture, by writing a novel that many would assert was not one at all. Regan shows how *The Towers of Trebizond* unshackled British travel writing from its imperialist origins to evolve in a postcolonial age, with a nuanced but ultimately female voice.

The book concludes with Chapter 13, an annotated bibliography of works by and about Rose Macaulay. Macaulay's own books comprise Section 1, to be consulted in parallel with Section 2, which is the first bibliographical list of her essays and contributions to books. Read together, these lists record Macaulay's literary preoccupations over time. Section 3 consists of her collected letters and the biographical material, Section 4 comprises the critical studies, Section 5 the scholarly articles and book chapters, and Section 6 lists PhD theses on her work.

It is hoped that this bibliography will be an aid to scholars, and encourage readers to embark on a journey through the writing of Rose Macaulay with the expectation of reading sideways and more deeply into her fiction and non-fiction. The essays and the bibliography offer multiple ways to hear Macaulay's voice and observe her engagement with gender and genre over a writing career of fifty years: the critical material suggests how this journey can be continued.

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[1] C V Wedgwood, 'Os Inglezes' [Review of *They Went to Portugal*, by Rose Macaulay], *Time and Tide* 27:42 (19 October 1946), 999.

[2] Alice Crawford, *Paradise Pursued. The Novels of Rose Macaulay* (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1995), 57.

[3] Letter from Rose Macaulay to Jean Macaulay, 14 February 1954, in Constance Babington Smith (ed.), *Letters to a Sister from Rose Macaulay* (London: Collins, 1964), 159.

[4] Sarah LeFanu, *Rose Macaulay* (London: Virago Press, 2003), 2.

[5] Letter from Rose Macaulay to Jean Macaulay, 28 August 1956, in Babington Smith (ed.) 1964, 199.

[6] Jane Emery, *Rose Macaulay. A Writer's Life* (London: John Murray, 1991), 97.

[7] George Eliot, 'Silly novels by lady novelists' (1855), reprinted in *The Norton Anthology of English Literature: The Victorian Age*, 8th edition, Catherine Robson and Carol T Christ (eds), (New York & London: W W Norton & Co, 2012), 1361-68, 1361.

[8] Eliot 1855, 1364.

[9] Gillian Hanscombe and Virginia L Smyers, *Writing for their Lives. The Modernist Woman. 1910-1940* (London: The Women's Press, 1987), 13.

[10] Hanscombe and Smyers 1987, 54.

[11] Rose Macaulay, 'Following the fashion', in *Personal Pleasures* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1935), 223-27.

[12] Margaret Cohen, 'Traveling Genres', *New Literary History*, 34:3, (Summer, 2003), 481-499, 482.

[13] Hayden White, 'Anomalies of Genre: The Utility of Theory and History for the Study of Literary Genres', *New Literary History*, 34:3, (Summer, 2003), 597-615, 601.

[14] White 2003, 600.

[15] Rose Macaulay, *Staying With Relations* (London: Collins, 1930), 34.

[16] White 2003, 603.

[17] Crawford 1995, 57.

[18] LeFanu 2003, 303.

[19] LeFanu 2003, 26.

[20] Due to ill-health at the time of her exams she received an *aegrotat* degree, signifying that she had reached the standard at which she would have otherwise been expected to pass (LeFanu 2003, 56-7).

[21] I am indebted to George Simmers for his insights into the relationship between these poems. 'Rose Macaulay. Many sisters to many brothers', *Great War Fiction*, 2 April 2009, https://greatwarfiction.wordpress.com/2009/04/02/rose-macaulay-many-sisters-to-many-brothers/, accessed 17 May 2016.

[22] LeFanu 2003, 107, 112, 115.

[23] I owe thanks to Dr Blanka Grzegorczyk of Anglia Ruskin University, Cambridge, for her help with this text.

[24] Stuart Sherman, 'Rose Macaulay and women', *Critical Woodcuts* (New York: Charles Scribner, 1926), 83-93, 83, 84.

[25] Melissa Sullivan, 'A middlebrow Dame Commander: Rose Macaulay, the "intellectual aristocracy," and *The Towers of Trebizond*', *Yearbook of English Studies* 42: 1 (2012), xi, 168-185, 171, citing LeFanu 2003, 171.

[26] Catherine Clay, 'The woman journalist, 1920-1940', in *The History of British Women's Writing, 1920-1945*, Maroula Joannou (ed.) (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 199-214, 211.

[27] BBC Written Archives Centre Caversham, R Cont 1 / Rose Macaulay / Talks / File 1 / 1926-1948.

[28] Gloria G Fromm, 'Re-inscribing *The Years*: Virginia Woolf, Rose Macaulay, and the critics', *Journal of Modern Literature* 13:2 (July 1986): 289-306, 297.

[29] Fromm 1986, 297-8.

[30] Margaret Lawrence, *The School of Femininity* (New York: Frederick A Stokes Company, 1936), 203-209.

[31] M J Farrell, *Devoted Ladies* (1934), (London: Virago Books, 1984), 93.

[32] Peter Haring Judd (ed.) *The Akeing Heart. Passionate Attachments and Their Aftermath* (New York: privately printed, 2013), 40.

[33] Letters to and from Leonard Woolf and Rose Macaulay, 8 September 1948, 9 September 1948, 15 September 1948, 26 January 1949, 27 January 1949, and 31 January 1949. Records of the Hogarth Press, MS 2750/265, University of Reading Special Collections.

[34] BBC Written Archives Centre Caversham, R Cont 1 / Rose Macaulay / Talks / File 1 / 1926-1948.

[35] Sullivan 2012, 168.

[36] Constance Babington Smith (ed.), *Last Letters to a Friend from Rose Macaulay 1952-1958* (London: Collins, 1962), 192.

[37] Margarete Kluge, *Die Stellung Rose Macaulays zur Frau (nach ihren Romanen)* (Halle, Karras: Kroeber & Nietschmann, 1928); Bernhard Fehr, 'Die Dingkunst in der Ironie: Rose

Macaulay', *Die Englische Kultur der Gegenwart und die Kulturfragen unserer Zeit* (Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1930), 27-28; Margot Brüssow, *Zeitbedingtes in den Werken Rose Macaulay's (Romane, Essays, Gedichte)* (Griefswald: H Adler, 1934); Irmgard Wahl, *Gesellschaftskritik und Skeptizismus bei Rose Macaulay* (Bölze: Tübingen, 1936).

[38] Katharine Tynan, 'The Bookman Gallery: Rose Macaulay', *The Bookman* 51:302 (November 1916), 37-38; John Inglishman, 'Rose Macaulay' *The Bookman* 72:429 (May 1927), 107-110.

[39] Mary C Sturgeon, 'Rose Macaulay', in *Studies of Contemporary Poets* (1916) (London: George G Harrap & Co, 1920 revised and enlarged edition), 181-96.

[40] R Brimley Johnson, 'Rose Macaulay', in *Some Contemporary Novelists (Women)*, (London: Leonard Parsons, 1920), 65-79.

[41] Doris N Dalglish, 'Some contemporary women novelists', *The Contemporary Review* 127 (1 January 1925), 79-85; Patrick Braybrooke, *Some Goddesses of the Pen* (London: C W Daniel Company, 1927), 33-50.

[42] Sherman 1926, 84.

[43] Kristin Bluemel (ed.) *Intermodernism. Literary Culture in Mid-Twentieth Century Britain* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009).

[44] Babington Smith (ed.) 1962, 209.

[45] LeFanu 2003, 110.

[46] Rose Macaulay, *Crewe Train* (1926) (Bungay: Chaucer Press, 1986), 138.

[47] Macaulay *Crewe Train*, 25.

[48] Rose Macaulay 'Writing', in *Personal Pleasures* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1935), 377-81, 378.