

NEW YORK MINUTES: FORD'S NOTES ON THE CITY

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Introduction

In 1664, the English seized the City of New Amsterdam, extended its boundaries to include all of Manhattan Island, and gave this still miniscule area of land the grand name 'City of New York'. After a public vote in 1898, Manhattan's centrality, which was cemented by the area's English rule, remained intact. The area's governance and that of its surrounding counties and boroughs were consolidated and modern 'Greater' New York City was created. These Anglo-American amalgamations foreshadowed the microcosmic and summarizing ability of this irregular land-mass that would become the subject of prolific commentary.

'New' New York City replaced an old, sprawling, and fragmented world. While its geographic features and population have been variously limited and compartmentalised, the immense diversity contained in the finite space has been celebrated. Even prior to 1898, observers of the city explored this tension between variety and homogeneity. Over one hundred years of reportage and imaginative impressions of New York have been recorded by various writers who assign the city the role of national representative, omnipotent protagonist or who use it as an 'unsettled setting'. The city has served as both a productive context for the writers, and the explicit subject of the writing. Long-term residents and émigrés as well as passers-by have participated in the stenography that has yielded a flood of New York minutes: notes on a city that has recalibrated our sense of identity, space and time.

Ford Madox Ford's engagement with New York City as an early twentieth-century microcosm and megalopolis was not dissimilar to the ways in which literary travellers in the mid-nineteenth century, such as Charles Dickens and Anthony Trollope, visited the burgeoning metropolis, collected impressions and gave them multiple expression in various publications.¹ Rather than conforming to and praising their nineteenth-century trends of condescension or flouting and rejecting

their generalization, however, Ford experimented with forms and styles, vacillating between artistic and journalistic approaches and creating hybrids of fact and fiction. His New York writings are more than catalogues of newsworthy events or impressionistic moments; they probe for the reasons why visitors in the early decades of the twentieth-century may have struggled to find the diction and the form for what seemed like an unreadable and illegible environment. As Henry James lamented in *The American Scene* (1906) – his proud but poignant record of an uneasy homecoming – the metamorphic cityscape and shifting crowds constituted ‘that concert of the expensively provisional into which your supreme sense of New York resolves itself’.² Resolutions about New York abound; however, Ford, like James, constantly amended his thoughts, studying the city in search of ultimately elusive truths. Unlike James, Ford enthusiastically accepted what the city could offer: tentative impressions. Moreover, he maintained that ‘[...] for me New York is so intimately and solely the few miles of which I have so often spoken [...] along Fifth Avenue and Broadway from the Battery!’³

It is my aim to begin an overdue investigation of Ford and New York City. Within the scope of this essay I will suggest ways in which Ford’s view of the city as both a sensory and social maelstrom and as a creative sanctuary developed. To chart this, in section I, I have focused on some of the literary influences on and antecedents of Ford’s New York writing, such as James, H. G. Wells and the journalist W. T. Stead. Ford brought New York into focus in his contemporaneous discussions about the state of England. Non-fiction works such as the three texts comprising *England and the English* (1907, American edition) provide evidence of how his literary and professional activities shaped his ideas about Englishness, national identity and cosmopolitanism, and they all find outlets in his New York writing. In *An English Girl*, published by Methuen in 1907 (EG), Ford experimented with the paradoxical effects of New York on identity and an individual’s sense of duty both to family and ‘nation’. By reflecting in sections II and III on that work’s genesis, reception, themes and character sketches, I will show how the novel points to Ford’s later thoughts on the city.

Ford’s New York texts can also more generally be read as responses to British approaches to writing about America, as he moves away from the acceptable nineteenth-century synecdoche of the city for the entire nation. New York City’s status in his *oeuvre* has

previously been addressed simply in terms of a fixed scene that Ford occupied rather than as a force that shaped his work or as a general site for his commentary on American civilization. Perhaps the relative lack of supplementary resources (letters, newspaper articles, notebook entries) in which Ford directly addresses New York has discouraged all but a few scholars from investigating the city's role in his work.⁴

Ford participated in the ongoing interrogation of interlocking concepts such as modernity, identity and urbanism that preoccupied Edwardian writers. American and European approaches to urbanism fluctuated between devotion to national archetypes on the one hand and iconoclasm and rejection of traditions on the other. Ford's writing on cities is aware of the contemporary revolutions in thinking about cities and in thinking about identity. In the same year as New York City's consolidation, Ford had an illustrative conversation about nationality with E. V. Lucas, who observed glibly that Ford could not be English because he was not devoted to the magazine *Punch*. Ford's reaction, whilst being a touch dismissive, promotes a fluid sense of identity:

Till that day in 1898 I had never given the matter of my own nationality a thought. I gave it very little after that. There remained in my subconsciousness a conviction that must have grown stronger – that I was not English. Not English at all, not merely 'not really English.' I never had much sense of nationality. Wherever there were creative thinkers was my country.⁵

It might be objected that focusing on Ford's 'Englishness' within a consideration of Ford and multicultural New York City obscures his important interactions with other European and American writers. On the contrary, Ford's reaction to Lucas underscores the importance of the debate about Ford's nationality, not only because the reaction is a suspiciously easy dismissal of the author's own conundrum and of the concept of modern nationality, but also because it is precisely this satisfied disavowal of nationality that is disrupted by Ford's encounters with New York. A close reading of Ford's New York writings serves to identify this youthful repudiation of Englishness and nationality as preoccupations, while finding evidence of his desire to belong to (if not to lead) a 'republic of letters'. Moreover, Ford's desire to belong is fulfilled if we view British 'New York' writing and his contributions to it as constituting a virtual and mostly unwitting 'republic' – an intertextual space in which ideas bump democratically, if chaotically, into each other. Even though Ford's heart was firmly

placed in Provence by the time he engaged literarily with New York, he 'held his "courts" of literature in the U.S.A. which became his new horizon for the republic of letters'.⁶

Ford further revises his early declaration of 'un-Englishness' in a response that coincided with the publication of his collection of essays entitled *New York is Not America* in 1927. In a review of contemporary novelists, an American interviewer suggested that Ford might be a German or American citizen. Ford was moved to correct him in a letter to the New York *Herald Tribune*: 'I never became a German for legal or illegal reasons or for any reason. I should be flattered to be included among your countrymen, but I always was and shall always be a British subject'.⁷

Ford's sense of Englishness and his version of New York evolved considerably and in tandem during his lifetime. These changes can be traced throughout his writings on New York, which have previously been read in different contexts (i.e. in terms of genre, in terms of biography). Just like his fictional protagonists, Ford discovered firsthand that twentieth-century New York was not static and had not become knowable. The provisional quality of the City lends his project of writing New York as well as his image as a transatlantic literary figure an unfinished and temporal quality.

Influences and Antecedents

From puritanical preaching to nostalgic elegy to nightmarish prophesy, the plethora of thematic, formal and stylistic choices presented to Ford as a reader and writer of cosmopolitan commentary melded into a broader platform from which he launched his opinions. Ford's New York was a catalyst for commentary on modernity and identity; in particular, he sought to articulate its tendency to obscure and elide. New York was both a 'city of good times' and the 'city of dreadful night', a habitat and a hell, but even a quick look at Ford's city-centred novels and essays show that he hoped to present a balanced but personal portrait of a place that evolved through his meditation on it and through his wide reading and great awareness of other practitioners of city commentary.

In his founding of *The English Review* (1908), with its echo of Matthew Arnold's commitment to promoting 'culture' in criticism, Ford also echoed the mission of W. T. Stead, a vocal commentator on New York's civic culture. Stead was a target of Arnold's vitriol about journalistic sensationalism in the latter's essay 'Up to Easter' (1887). The melding of polar viewpoints, in this case Arnold's and Stead's, is

something Ford often achieved in his literary projects, though the views he drew upon were not always fully acknowledged.⁸

A prominent Victorian reformer, avid internationalist and spiritualist, Stead was the editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, which he later left in order to establish the highly-influential *Review of Reviews*, a monthly forum for commentary on the best written work published in the English language. Stead also published a controversial study of New York in a Christmas edition of *Review* entitled *Satan's Invisible World Displayed, or Despairing Democracy: A Study of Greater New York* (1898).⁹ Although Ford did not, as far as I know, acknowledge Stead's editorial or literary work when he founded the *English Review*, he was probably aware of the Victorian's far-reaching projects – including dramatic crusades against child prostitution and in support of internationalist policies, his scathing critiques of Tory politics as well as his paradoxical friendships with industrialists and imperialists such as Andrew Carnegie and Cecil Rhodes. Stead's tragic death on the *Titanic* filled the omnipresent British press with voluble reminiscences from both high-status supporters and opponents.

Ford's editorial mission departs from that of the *Review of Reviews* in that he did not manifest Stead's beliefs in a civic form of Christianity as panacea for social ills or in 'government by newspaper'. However, other goals for their respective *Reviews* were similar: creating an outlet for the very best contemporary writing in the English language, which would serve, in Ford's terms, to 'enjoin upon the Englishman a critical attitude' in a climate where critics seemed 'extraordinarily rare'.¹⁰ But Ford was wary of the appropriation of his writings as platforms for social, political and moral reform, and Stead's work on New York is a model which Ford may have had in mind when rejecting that kind of overt moralising. Nevertheless, *Satan's Invisible World Displayed* plays with allegory, character profiles and point of view, employing techniques that blurred the boundaries between fact and fiction – boundaries that Ford also challenged in his literary treatment of the city (and, through impressionism, elsewhere in his writing too).

In looking for a yet more apposite model for his type of New York commentary, Ford turned to his contemporary H. G. Wells, who in turn acknowledged Ford's trip to America at the end of his own study of *The Future in America* (1906).¹¹ Partially secularising the eschatological elements of 'sage-writing' so well illustrated by Stead's work, Wells presented New York as a manifestation of a nightmarish

but ultimately redeemable future. Wells stressed the apocalyptic ability of the city, observing the potential destruction that could result from its invincible growth, its 'threatening promise, growth going on under a pressure that increases, and amidst a hungry uproar of effort' but also its redemption through careful consideration of what 'Progress' should mean, rather than progress for progress's sake.¹²

Similarly, in his 1908 novel *The War in the Air*, Wells employed an inquiring Englishman, Bert Smallways, as his messenger of New York's destruction. A series of accidents allows Smallways to witness a German aerial bombardment on New York, which 'had long ousted London from her pride of place as the modern Babylon [...] and men likened her to the apocalyptic cities of the ancient prophets.'¹³ In short, Smallways unsuspectingly contributes to a Teutonic display of 'air power' that asserts technical prowess as they attack the city for its sentimentality, hubris and heterogeneity. However prescient the work, it is also sensitive to the longstanding tensions between imagination and reality, degeneration and progress, emotion and reason. These are further interrogated throughout Wells's body of work, and once again against the backdrop of New York in *The Shape of Things to Come* (1933), which yields a more pessimistic view of human interaction with the cityscape than his earlier works.

Of all of Ford's literary predecessors and contemporaries, none had as direct and problematic an influence on his New York writings as Henry James, a native New Yorker who became a British subject just a few months before his death in 1916. Reviewers freely acknowledged Ford's aesthetic debt to James, especially in *An English Girl*. In 1913 Ford published what can be read as a response to those observations: in *Henry James*, Ford both praises James's power of observation and tries to assert his independence from his influence. The six years that passed between the publication of *An English Girl* (1907) and *Henry James* (1913) allowed Ford to eschew imitation for a more complex relationship with the Anglo-American writer. Ford's non-fiction writing on England (such as *The Spirit of the People*, also published in 1907, the same year as *An English Girl*) can be viewed as the media in which he began to distance himself from Jamesian pastiche.¹⁴

In light of this, it is difficult to state without qualification that James's *The American Scene* – written after his visit to America in 1904 following an absence of over twenty years – influenced Ford's outlook on New York. Ford read the book in September 1907 whilst

completing the non-fiction trilogy reflecting on England's past, present and future.¹⁵ These volumes were first published separately as *The Soul of London* (1905), *The Heart of the Country* (1906), and *The Spirit of the People* (1907) in England and subsequently published in America in a New York omnibus edition by McClure, Phillips, entitled *England and the English*. James's restless analysis of the twentieth-century hub of modernity is performed by contrasting the nation of his youth and early manhood with the turn-of-the-century chaotic agglomeration of peoples and features – not dissimilar to the scope and angle of the composite texts of *England and the English*. Finding distance from James on the elder writer's literary 'property' was a task that seemed to haunt most of Ford's writing on New York.

W. H. Auden's intuitive introduction to the 1947 edition of James's elegiac text unearths concerns and paradoxes about 'writing America' and travel writing in general, with which Ford would have empathized:

Of all possible subjects, travel is the most difficult for an artist, as it is the easiest for a journalist. For the latter, the interesting event is the new, the extraordinary, the comic, the shocking, and all that the peripatetic journalist requires is a flair for being on the spot where and when such events happen – the rest is merely passive typewriter thumping; meaning, relation, importance, are not his quarry. The artist, on the other hand, is deprived of his most treasured liberty, the freedom to invent; successfully to extract importance from historical personal events without ever departing from them, free only to select and never to modify or to add, calls for imagination of a very high order.¹⁶

In Auden's judgment, James is the inventor of a dominant literary image of 'America', who has lost control of the events that play out in his old scenes but who cannot stand idly by and watch without protesting. James resists the journalistic demands that New York City makes on his observations, as the city forces him to remark on the present, pulling him away from the past. Like Auden, I do not see this as a failing; rather, James's deprivation and discomfort are signs of his significant engagement with the troubling subject of modernity as presented and governed by New York.

Although James describes scenes outside of New York City, four chapters of the book (approximately one hundred pages) are devoted to the city. Throughout the rest of James's commentary on the future of America, New York is never far from view.¹⁷ Dismayed by his

hometown's relentless urbanism, James laments the devaluation of history and of his authority over the space.

Progressive-era New York is also central to Wells's argument that society should not resist widespread mechanisation, which would obliterate the past that stands in the way of a utopian future. In fact, Wells was still working on his non-fiction impressions while reading James's magazine instalments of what would become *The American Scene*.¹⁸ As Wells and James approach America differently, with the former describing himself as 'a go-ahead Englishman,' *The Future in America* and *The American Scene* were probably seen by Ford as contentious archetypes as well as

companion texts [that] offer marked comparisons; the former is prescriptive, the latter descriptive. In part, this derives from Wells's vocation as prophet, whereas James was elegiac about his native land [. . .] Focus differs, as does tone; the voyagers arrive at polar 'new found lands'.¹⁹

Visible and vocal presences on the English literary scene, Stead, Wells and James presented options for Ford's approach to New York, some of which are markedly shaped by the threat, realities and spectre of European war and exile. As I have briefly noted, this trio – and others such as G. K. Chesterton, Rupert Brooke and the journalist Stephen Graham – directly and obliquely influenced his thematic, formal and stylistic decisions. Arriving at the subject of New York, Ford encountered a landscape that accommodated the polar and unstable visions of his literary predecessors.

Author's Notes: Ford's First Impressions

Ford had wanted *England and the English* to be titled *The Anglo-Saxons*, perhaps as a gesture towards the cultural and political bond between the two nations, and to make his work seem, paradoxically, less bounded by one country.²⁰ As assemblages of prose poetry, historical reminiscence, and modern prophecy, these volumes can be viewed as models for Ford's New York City writing. Presented to an American audience as a compilation of contemporary views on Englishness, *England and the English* is preceded by an Author's Note that curiously lists questions about New York and its function in shaping the way Ford viewed London and the English nation. He identifies two that arose while he walked in St. James's Park: Why is New York so unlike London? and why should a Londoner feel so at

home in New York? The 'two statements from which the two questions arise' seem to him to:

be so mutually contradictory that, as it were, there appeared to be no answer to either. For New York is unlike London – and the Londoner – the *true* Londoner – does feel at home in New York. I think he feels there more at home than in Manchester: I am certain that there he feels more at home than in Boston or Philadelphia. (EE xx)

This paragraph, and the entire 'Author's Note', can be read as the earliest formal articulation of Ford's need to use New York City as 'shorthand' for the conundrums and contradictions of modern cosmopolitan life. Ford draws attention to the paradoxical feelings that accompany his encounter: of strangeness and alienation versus the familiarity of a shared language; of authority to navigate the landscape and of paralysis felt when confronted by alien, shifting sounds and sights. Ford acknowledges the mystery surrounding the place as part of a shared phenomenon – with Londoners here but expanded to all Englanders in *An English Girl* and to a universe of English-speaking Anglo-Saxons in *New York is Not America*.²¹

The publication dates of *England and the English* and *An English Girl* (as said, both 1907) deserve especially to be noted when considering Ford's attempts to increase his American readership. Judging from the generic and thematic variety of Ford's writing in the first decade of the twentieth century, these years marked a significant confluence and entanglement of questions in Ford's mind about the state of England, the idea of New York and his potential career in America.

Transatlantic Impressionism: *An English Girl*

An English Girl considers not only the conflict between blood and social ties but also between impressions and facts. The protagonist – millionaire heir Don Collar Kelleg – is the son of British parents who emigrated to America, where the senior Mr Kelleg ruthlessly amassed the family fortune. Despite Don's English public school education and established position in London social circles, he is troubled about his identity and purpose. After receiving news of his father's death, Don departs for New York – what he calls 'the field of battle' (EG 214) – in order to restore dignity to the family by destroying its links to the avaricious Trusts that control New York City's financial and political prospects. Don's reflections on his duty to and place in society

endanger his fragile relationships with the legitimately 'English' Eleanor Greville, her father and her aunt, all of whom follow him to the city on various journeys of reconciliation.

A nearly complete version of the work was initially entitled 'The Reformers', and Don's ethical and philosophical dilemmas do come to dominate the published novel.²² Don adopts some Victorian attitudes towards metropolitan life, while trying desperately to save his artistic inclination from the banality of an overly realist perspective. Criticism of the novel has often privileged Don's development as a character over Ford's portrayal of Eleanor's relationship with the city, which merits greater consideration. Indeed, the title of the novel reminds readers that Eleanor's experience is as central to the development of the narrative as Don's bitter homecoming. Its structure serves as a series of parallel encounters that reform how we view what has been called the 'tragedy of [Don's] fluid temperament': a popular Edwardian theme that develops in *An English Girl* against the backdrop of New York City.²³

Don's pessimism and frustration towards New York's social ills are complicated by his desire to reform the behaviour and aspirations of the locals. In contrast, Eleanor is happy to have attained a 'sort of irresponsibility' in having left England to tour New York. She feels responsible, however, for reconciling Don to America. Soon both she and her father realize that Don's reformist visions actually blind him to the 'trend of time and a nation like this'; as a result he will never 'appreciate what [he] can't like' (*EG* 235-6). Don's personal and public conflicts are contrasted continually with Eleanor's nervous but increasingly comfortable impressionistic experience of the city, facilitated by her employment of a stenographer: the 'half Irish, half Manhattan Dutch' Miss Dubosc. Dubosc serves as a 'native' guide and an empathetic companion for Eleanor as she negotiates interviews with the 'high society' press corps, hungry as it is for her impressions of the metropolis (*EG* 259).

Methods for 'coping' or 'dealing' with New York life are dissected, but Eleanor's self-assured impressionism is presented as the more successful strategy for surviving the onslaught of social stimuli and self-preservation. Don's fluid temperament has been viewed as tragic because it paralyses him in every environment, whether native or adopted. In contrast, Ford seems to champion Eleanor's solid 'Englishness'. Her self-assuredness allows her to perceive the spirit of New York as that which 'makes things happen,' whereas Don likens it

to 'rigging' – specifically that of the market but, when extended, 'rigging' implies widespread fallaciousness and entrapment rather than true progress (EG 262-3, 255).

Stasis is held up as a virtue by both Don and his unlikely ally, Mr Greville, who exclaims to Eleanor that Don is

'like me in being hopelessly out of date with his time [. . .] Don is acting precisely as I've acted all my life. He hates modern circumstances. I don't say that he wants what *I* want. He doesn't. He isn't for the Tory Party right or wrong. But he *is* for Aestheticism right or wrong. He *does*, really, want the American people to go in for certain European virtues – for Poetry and the Higher Thought and Rational dress. Well, they can't! How can they? America is made up of men who've fled from him just as much as they've fled from me [. . .] The point is that Don isn't, really, any more the proper person to regenerate New York than I'm the person to regenerate London [. . .]' (EG 268, 270)

Don supports Mr Greville's presentation of his state of mind and this bolsters the joint attack on Eleanor's optimism. Ironically and cruelly, she is first persuaded by her father to encourage Don's reformism and later berated for it. Confident of his authority in commentating, Mr Greville declares the futility of their collective exercise of learning about New York, which he conflates with America:

'How could any one ever understand America or the future of America? You can't tell anything about it [. . .] the best thing [Don] could do – the most heroic action – is to have the self-restraint to abstain from muddling.' (EG 270)

Just as James mourned the loss of the old city in *The American Scene*, Ford's male protagonists in *An English Girl* question to what extent the cult of change in America has eroded sanity, morality and judgment. Thwarted in his attempts to make amends and frustrated by the growing philistinism of American society as presented to him by the New York press and financial institutions, Don resolves (in Mr Greville's words) to 'abdicate' (EG 268) to England to live as a 'gentleman-artist'. He concludes that America 'couldn't use him as an artist' (EG 258), whereas he declares that Eleanor sees 'a poetry in these things that [he doesn't] see [...]' (EG 266), in the simplicity of the sensory pleasures of New York that he finds bewildering and horrifying:

He had been simply appalled at New York – at its squalid back streets, at its hard voices, at its hideous language, at its physical recklessness, and at the

fact that he hadn't discovered, anywhere, a trace of desire for anything morally better. (EG 271)

In an attempt to repair his relationship with Eleanor, he nevertheless seems to be placing blame for his failure to conquer or connect with New York on her:

'Why,' he began again suddenly, tenderly and humorously: 'what a folly to think that you could teach me to love New York? [...] Wasn't it you who've made me yearn for spirit and fineness? Wasn't it you?' (EG 287)

In a reversal of his presentation of this strong, assured witness to events, Ford highlights Eleanor's main 'virtue' just as all three visitors prepare to leave New York. He has her articulate her belief that 'tenderly nurtured Englishwomen' must 'be ready to make the best of things [...]' (EG 288). She likens the regretful departure – which takes place in the aptly-titled section 'Thicker Than Water' – to the passing of a friend: 'a frail, small, chattering, fluttering, bright person that has died and that one regrets' (EG 295). Once back in England, Eleanor notes with a mixture of defeat and renewed understanding of the impact of place that New York City's surplus of humanity hid its surfeit of 'tenderness, a sort of humility', a quality that she feels is in abundance in London (EG 295). Although she stops short of championing one city over another, the moment instils in her alone the ability to love New York and admire her own country equally and without paradox.

Conclusion

From *An English Girl* to his 1927 non-fiction collection *New York is Not America* to his novels *When the Wicked Man* (1931) and *The Rash Act* (1933), Ford's treatment of New York City underwent shifts determined by the Great War, changes in Anglo-American relations, and debates about aesthetic principles and the writer's profession with his collaborators. Ford's New York was transformed from a fearsome frontier or 'field of battle' into a 'charmed circle of Gotham' (NYNA viii). The inclusiveness of this chosen shape for the 1920s city signifies his increased comfort in the city that became another one of his foreign homes. Alluding to the magicians' community, Ford also acknowledges his privileged access as well as the extraordinary value

and power of the information he has acquired by observing the transitions of the enchanted city.

Although Ford insisted in the 'Author's Note' to the English edition of *When the Wicked Man* (published first in America) that it is not a novel of New York or American manners,²⁴ that text and *The Rash Act* contain allegories about the dangers of the American financial and publicity machines that run off the energy of New York. Both novels also trace the impact of the city on identity and destiny, especially in their treatment of the fluid nature of self as suggested by doppelgängers. New York City, as presented in *The Rash Act*, dismantles ethnic differences, scrambling the truths about individuals. As Paul Wiley has noted, Ford's late work presents American scenes and central characters in a more tolerant, disinterested way, compared with his treatments of them in *An English Girl*, *The Good Soldier*, and his war period writings. This shift might be explained by Ford's desire both to 'extend the international mode in fiction' and as a 'bid for an American audience'.²⁵

Without the complication of Ford's direct denial of New York's significance in *An English Girl*, one can approach that novel as an example of 'New York fiction' with more confidence – if not with the assurance of a generic definition. Answering the question 'What is New York literature?' is not the aim of this essay but the analyses contained here indicate that Ford grappled with it directly and creatively and with an awareness of the British writers who walked the same streets before him and alongside him.

NOTES

- 1 For example, *American Notes for General Circulation* (1842) and *The Life and Adventures of Martin Chuzzlewit* (1844) by Charles Dickens; *North America* by Anthony Trollope (1862).
- 2 Henry James, *The American Scene, Together with Three Essays from 'Portrait of Places'*, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1946, p. 77.
- 3 Ford Madox Ford, *New York is Not America*, New York: Albert and Charles Boni, 1927 – hereafter cited as NYNA, p. 133. Note: throughout this essay all ellipses in brackets are mine; all others are Ford's or the quoted author's.
- 4 Ford did, however, include detailed accounts of his life in New York City when writing to Stella Bowen in Paris. These letters give a sense of Ford's schedule, the company he kept, and his opinion of the contemporary cultural scene. For more on

- these accounts, see Sondra Stang and Karen Cochran, eds, *The Correspondence of Ford Madox Ford and Stella Bowen*, Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1994.
- 5 Ford Madox Ford, 'Not Really English,' *Your Mirror to My Times: The Selected Autobiography and Impressions of Ford Madox Ford*, ed. M. Killigrew, New York: Holt, 1971, p. 274.
 - 6 Dominique Lemarchal, 'Ford Madox Ford's Moveable Provenance', Conference Abstract for 'Ford Madox Ford and The Republic of Letters', Bologna, 11-14 January 2000. For more on Ford's engagement with England and America, see Sergio Perosa, 'Ford, England and the American Scene' in Vita Fortunati and Elena Lamberti, eds, *Ford Madox Ford and the Republic of Letters*, Bologna: Clueb, 2002, pp. 131-41.
 - 7 Letter to the Editor of the New York *Herald Tribune Books* (15 February 1927), *Letters of Ford Madox Ford*, ed. Richard M. Ludwig, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1965 – hereafter cited as *LF*; p. 172.
 - 8 For more on Arnold's attack on sensational journalism, see Matthew Arnold, 'Up to Easter,' *The Nineteenth Century* CXXIII (May 1887), 629-643. For more on Ford's engagement with Matthew Arnold's philosophy and its impact on *The English Review* see Paul Peppis, 'Conjuring new character: *The English Review*, Wyndham Lewis and the reconstruction of Englishness', *Literature, Politics and the English Avant-Garde*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
 - 9 There are no lengthy treatments of Stead's writing on New York but for a consideration of his earlier journalist crusade in Chicago that prompted him to continue eastward, see Joseph O. Baylen, 'A Victorian's "Crusade" in Chicago, 1892-1894', *Journal of American History*, 51 (December 1964), 418-34.
 - 10 Ford Madox Ford, *The Critical Attitude*, London: Duckworth, 1911, p. 5.
 - 11 H. G. Wells, *The Future in America: A Search After Realities*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1906. Wells writes in 'The Envoy':
My friend Mr. F. Madox Hueffer was here a day or so ago to say good-bye; he starts for America as I write here, to get *his* vision. As I have been writing these papers I have also been reading, instalment by instalment [sic], the subtle, fine renderings of America revisited by Mr. Henry James. We work in shoals, great and small together, one trial thought following another. We are getting the world presented. It is not simply America that we swarm over and build up into a conceivable process, into something understandable and negotiable by the mind [. . .] Collectively, this literature of facts and theories and impressions is of immense importance. Things are done in the light, more and more are they done in the light. The world perceives and thinks... (pp. 256-7).
 - 12 Wells, *The Future in America*, p. 36.
 - 13 H. G. Wells, *The War in the Air* (1908), London: Penguin, 1976, p. 120.
 - 14 For more on Ford's negotiations with James's models see Kathryn Curle Rentz, 'Ford Madox Ford and the Jamesian Influence,' Doctoral Dissertation, Univ. of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1986, Chapter 3.
 - 15 Max Saunders, *Ford Madox Ford: A Dual Life*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996, Vol. 1, p. 230.
 - 16 W. H. Auden, Introduction to *The American Scene, Together with Three Essays from 'Portrait of Places'* by Henry James, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1946, p. v.

- 17 For a reading of James's *The American Scene* in the greater context of city literature, see Jeremy Tambling, *Lost in the City: Dickens, James and Kafka*, London: Palgrave, 2001, especially Chapter 7.
- 18 Harold Beaver, 'In the land of acquisition', *Times Literary Supplement*, September 18-24, 1987, 1020-1021.
- 19 Beaver, 1020; Nicholas Delbanco, *Group Portrait: Joseph Conrad, Stephen Crane, Ford Madox Ford, Henry James, H. G. Wells*, London: Faber, 1982, p. 151.
- 20 In a letter to James B. Pinker in August 1906 Ford mentions how he proposed to his publishers (McClure, Phillips and Co.) that they should publish the three volumes in one 'called, say, *The Anglo-Saxons*'; *LF* 23-24.
- 21 Going beyond my consideration here of New York City's influence on Ford, Harriet Y. Cooper suggests that *England and the English* may have influenced the American playwright Israel Zangwill's use of the term 'melting pot' – Zangwill has long been credited with coining this term. For more on this see Cooper's essay, 'The Duality of Ford's Historical Imagination', *History and Representation in Ford Madox Ford's Writings*, ed. Joseph Wiesenfarth, Amsterdam, New York: Rodopi, 2004, pp. 189-99.
- 22 David Dow Harvey, *Ford Madox Ford 1873-1939: A Bibliography of Works and Criticism*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1962, p. 108.
- 23 Sandra Kemp, Charlotte Mitchell and David Trotter, eds. *The Oxford Companion to Edwardian Fiction*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002, pp. 117-18.
- 24 Ford, *When the Wicked Man*, London: Jonathan Cape, 1932, p. 9.
- 25 Paul L. Wiley, *Novelist of Three Worlds: Ford Madox Ford*, Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1962, p. 250. Wiley also goes on to say that Ford is not concerned with local events by the 1930s; rather, he is concerned with the placement of America within the large scale cultural map that to the end of his life he was striving to design, for which reason in the late novels American scene and character tend increasingly to occupy an orbit which includes that part of the continent of Europe which Ford thought worth salvaging from the waste land. The rescue of an 'ersatz-civilization' from further ruin makes necessary the creation of a bond between America, as the new leader of Anglo-Saxondom, and the remaining vestiges of a Provencal Mediterranean tradition (p. 252).