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Citation: Einhaus, Ann-Marie (2020) Wyndham Lewis, Cicely Hamilton, and Nazi Germany in Time and Tide. *Journal of Modern Periodical Studies*, 10 (1-2). pp. 76-97. ISSN 1947-6574

Published by: Penn State University Press

URL: <https://doi.org/10.5325/jmodeperistud.10.1-2.0076>  
<<https://doi.org/10.5325/jmodeperistud.10.1-2.0076>>

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## **Wyndham Lewis, Cicely Hamilton and Nazi Germany in *Time and Tide***

Ann-Marie Einhaus

### *Introduction*

British magazines of the inter-war period were spaces where cultural and political analysis, domestic and international perspectives intermingled and sparked mutually productive debate. Among these magazines, the broadly pitched general weekly reviews such as the *New Statesman*, the *Nation and Athenaeum* (merged into the *New Statesman and Nation* in 1931) and *Time and Tide* were prominent meeting points of political and cultural commentary and of a variety of aesthetic and ideological perspectives. The after-effects of the First World War had resulted in wide-spread fear of a wholesale “Decline of the West,” to use Oswald Spengler’s phrase, or at the very least fear of renewed war, while developments such as the League of Nations simultaneously sparked hope for a better future.<sup>1</sup> Responding to this climate of mixed anxiety and idealism, British periodicals sought to define, represent and debate their own and their readers’ understanding of and relationship to Europe. In the weeklies, preoccupation with the future of Europe manifested not only in political and economic commentary, but also in contributions that ostensibly dealt with literature and the arts, from critical essays and reviews to travel writing. This article focuses on a key moment in inter-war history, the National Socialist election victory in the German parliamentary elections of September 1930, as reflected in the weekly review *Time and Tide*. It explores the close entanglement of cultural and political analysis in this periodical by scrutinizing the work of two prominent contributors, Wyndham Lewis and Cicely Hamilton, before the backdrop of broader debates in the pages of *Time and Tide*. *Time and Tide*’s coverage of Germany at this crucial point is used as a test case for the periodical’s wider attitudes towards Europe between the wars. Reading Lewis’s and Hamilton’s contributions against each other

sheds new light on our thinking about weekly reviews as meeting places for diverse political and artistic opinions, and on the crucial role played by these reviews in negotiating Britain's course through the fraught political and cultural landscape of inter-war Europe.

Founded in 1920 by prominent Welsh suffrage campaigner, feminist and industrialist Lady Rhondda, *Time and Tide* covered literary and cultural events, current affairs, scientific developments and other issues for its progressive middle-class readership. It also published fiction and poetry. The magazine's pacifist, internationalist orientation stemmed from a feminist belief in international cooperation and an abhorrence of the destructiveness of war, witnessed at first hand by many of the periodical's editors and contributors.<sup>2</sup> Its feminist-internationalist outlook reverberated with the same sentiments expressed by Virginia Woolf in *Three Guineas* (1938), in that the editors and most of the contributors of *Time and Tide* saw it as a duty not only to their own country but to humankind to work for "peace and freedom for the whole world."<sup>3</sup> Indeed, Lady Rhondda's determination to publish a different kind of paper stemmed largely from her realization "how narrowly civilisation had escaped complete destruction" in the war.<sup>4</sup> In her recent monograph, Catherine Clay offers a detailed and illuminating examination of the magazine's first decades, and shows that its development was characterized by a desire to offer a feminist periodical capable of targeting a wide audience of women and men. This necessitated a strong marketing strategy, which included the courting of public controversy to expand *Time and Tide's* readership beyond a core feminist audience.<sup>5</sup> As part of this strategy, *Time and Tide* capitalized on the reputation of controversial figures like the artist, writer, critic and political polemicist Wyndham Lewis to stimulate debate and sales at the same time. *Time and Tide* published the first instalment of Lewis's notorious appraisal of Adolf Hitler and National Socialism, "Hitlerism – Man and Doctrine," in January 1931 with the following disclaimer:

Whilst we do not find ourselves in agreement with Mr. Wyndham Lewis's attitude towards the German National-Socialist Party and the political situation generally, the vivid picture of present-day Germany which he gives in this series of articles seems to us of such unusual interest that we do not hesitate to publish them. – EDITOR, *TIME AND TIDE*.<sup>6</sup>

Lewis's five articles were published in January and February 1931, and appeared in book form as *Hitler* with Chatto & Windus later the same year. Clay argues that the "publication of Lewis's 'Hitler' articles must be seen [...] in the context of *Time and Tide*'s commitment to representing a broad range of opinion, and its belief in readers' ability to think critically and independently themselves."<sup>7</sup> *Time and Tide* had commissioned Lewis to write these articles in the wake of the Nazis' September 1930 election success, and they were based on a visit to Germany to observe its political landscape at first hand in November 1930. These articles and the resulting book included some of Lewis's most notorious political pronouncements. However, although he was indeed far too reliant on Nazi propaganda, his views were in substance no more radical than those expressed by many other British commentators at this point.<sup>8</sup>

Lewis had no ties to *Time and Tide* beyond a friendship with regular contributors Naomi Mitchison and Rebecca West, who was also a long-serving director of *Time and Tide*. In her review of Lewis's *Paleface* for *Time and Tide* in May 1929, West had asked: "Why does Mr. Wyndham Lewis not produce a greater effect on his time?" West concluded that his influence was marred by his tendency to exaggerate his oppositional stance and deliver his analyses with "the irritability of one who is in the wrong."<sup>9</sup> *Time and Tide* most likely commissioned Lewis to write his articles on Hitler precisely because his well-known ability to provoke controversy fitted in well with the magazine's editorial strategy. Throughout the

1920s and 1930s, *Time and Tide* – like Lewis – scrutinized a range of different potential solutions to the threat of renewed war. Like Lewis, they had a persistent interest in European affairs, in defining Britain’s relationship to Europe, and the relationship of Europe to the rest of the world, particularly the United States. And also like Lewis, they eschewed dreamy idealism in favour of realistic scrutiny.

Besides publishing the views of occasional contributors like Lewis, whose reputation ensured healthy circulation figures, *Time and Tide* also relied on a range of regular contributors drawn from its own ranks of directors. Cicely Hamilton was a feminist, actor, playwright, novelist, journalist and travel writer, and is best known today for her suffrage play *How the Vote Was Won* (1909), co-authored with Christopher St John, and her war novel *William: An Englishman* (1919). In contrast to Lewis, who was brought in as an external *agent provocateur*, Hamilton’s links to *Time and Tide* were close, and she served on its board of directors from at least 1923 to the mid-1940s.<sup>10</sup> She initially reviewed books and plays for *Time and Tide* and contributed articles on various general interest topics. Her intimate knowledge of Germany found its way into the magazine’s pages more and more frequently as the first inter-war decade drew to a close, and she contributed regular articles about social, political and cultural developments in Germany. Increasingly, Hamilton – who also wrote prolifically for other publications, including the *Yorkshire Post*, the *Evening Standard*, the *Daily Express*, the *New Generation* and the *Daily Mail* – became one of the magazine’s main international commentators, reporting on political developments and publishing articles on and reviews of foreign literature and culture. *Time and Tide* played a major part in asserting Hamilton’s expertise on Germany, and capitalized on it to boost its own credentials as a weekly with an international outlook. Much of her coverage of Germany in *Time and Tide* was later revised for her book *Modern Germanies as seen by an Englishwoman* (1931).

### *Utilizing international expertise*

In the 1920s and early 1930s, *Time and Tide* sought to establish itself as a non-partisan, open-minded weekly aimed at a broader audience than were previous feminist publications. It was, as Clay shows, driven not only by a feminist agenda, but also by an understanding of “international movements and causes” that contributed to world peace as “a natural extension of [women’s] rights as global as well as national citizens.”<sup>11</sup> Barely two months after publishing Lewis’s articles on Hitler, in April 1931, *Time and Tide* announced the incorporation of Norman Angell’s journal *Foreign Affairs* as a special monthly supplement – a move that cemented its reputation as one of the principal periodicals to read for those interested in international developments. This announcement also explains Lady Rhondda’s motivation in commissioning Lewis’s articles, noting as it does that “[t]here has never been a time when the ordinary citizen was in more urgent need of a clear and unbiased [sic] knowledge of the events occurring and the movements developing in the larger world outside his own country.”<sup>12</sup> Whether Lewis provided “unbiased” knowledge is another matter, but his articles were certainly perceived to be illuminating and necessary by some, perhaps by most readers of *Time and Tide*. In a letter responding to Lewis’s first instalment on the Weimar Republic, correspondent Hubert A. Wootton (whose sympathies unfortunately seemed to lie rather too emphatically with Hitler) greeted the article as “a broad and a thoroughly well-informed *précis* of the great movement and the spirit of its equally great leader.”<sup>13</sup> Wootton also linked his approval of Hitler to a tacit disapproval of the League of Nations that faintly echoed Lewis’s own criticism of the League.<sup>14</sup> Another correspondent, Cecil Frank Melville (who later described Lewis as an “Intellectual Innocent Abroad”),<sup>15</sup> likewise greeted Lewis’s articles as a valuable contribution. Unlike Wootton, Melville did not approve of Hitler’s politics, but nevertheless felt that Lewis offered important insights into the turbulent political atmosphere of continental Europe. Melville saw the Hitler movement and its counterparts in

Austria and Hungary as “dangerous for the peace of Europe,” arguing that “[o]bjectively [...] we should know something about these movements, and *Time and Tide* is to be thanked for supplying the information.”<sup>16</sup> Lewis’s articles thus fitted into a broader editorial strategy on the part of *Time and Tide* that offered readers information on international matters by drawing on a wide range of expert commentators.

The coinciding of Lewis and Hamilton as experts on modern Germany in the pages of *Time and Tide* exemplifies the merging of cultural and political analysis in this weekly periodical. *Time and Tide* offered a forum for writers and artists to engage in both cultural criticism and political analysis, often at the same time. The treatment of Germany in *Time and Tide* around the September 1930 elections shows the periodical to be an ideal meeting place for different political, critical and ideological views at a time of increasingly polarized opinions. The editors and contributors of *Time and Tide* differed in opinion on details, but broadly shared a scepticism of easy solutions for securing a peaceful future for Europe. Though *Time and Tide* promoted the League of Nations, many of its regular writers (including Hamilton) acknowledged the League’s limitations, and these reservations were shared by occasional contributors like Lewis. Likewise, while *Time and Tide* saw knowledge of foreign languages, literatures and cultures as important for furthering transnational understanding, it recognized that such knowledge alone could not counteract conflicting national interests. Moreover, as Benny Morris notes, 1930s Britain was characterized by a “general lack of knowledge of German and of German affairs among the educated classes,” in contrast to more common knowledge of French language and culture.<sup>17</sup> Such shortcomings the journal set out to remedy. *Time and Tide* shared with Lewis and Hamilton a vision of a peaceful Europe based on informed citizens whose attitude struck the right balance between international understanding and recognition of national interests – a pragmatic brand of internationalism that acknowledged the troubled reality of inter-war Europe, yet sought to

mitigate its challenges. Despite their political and artistic differences, both Lewis and Hamilton fitted into *Time and Tide*'s editorial policy of promoting engagement with foreign affairs and foreign culture, and maintaining an open, non-partisan approach. This attitude owed much to their own international experience.

Lewis's biographer Jeffrey Meyers stresses his "cosmopolitan background" and quotes from Lewis's unpublished vita of 1949, in which Lewis observed of his early years: "At around the age of 6 I arrived in England, a small American, and left it for France about 11 years later as a young Englishman. I returned to England a European."<sup>18</sup> Lewis spent several years living and travelling in France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Germany and Spain in the early 1900s, and learned several European foreign languages. After his return to England in 1909, he still frequently travelled in Europe during the 1920s and 1930s before spending the Second World War in Canadian exile. Lewis's First World War service on the Western Front as a gunner and artillery officer gave him not only direct experience of war's destructiveness,<sup>19</sup> but also another opportunity of living abroad and observing wartime continental Europe at close quarters. After the First World War, Lewis capitalized on his internationalism and emphasized his ability to speak and read multiple languages by peppering his writings with words and phrases in French, German, Spanish or Italian (though these do not always hold up to grammatical or orthographic scrutiny). His writings on Germany also included lengthy quotations taken from German books and newspapers, which were generally left untranslated.<sup>20</sup>

Lewis's wartime experiences moreover had a profound effect on his political views, not least in relation to Germany and the League of Nations. His indulgent view of the Hitler movement was prompted not only by a fear of communism, but also by his distrust of the League of Nations, which he saw as an infringement upon national sovereignty. During the inter-war period, Lewis's criticism of the League was at times fanatical, and he opposed

centralization of power vehemently in his writings. Lewis's belief that the League of Nations, far from securing lasting peace, would in fact be the "proximate cause of this new Great War which is bearing down upon us,"<sup>21</sup> constituted a point of partial overlap with Hamilton's views. Hamilton was likewise sceptical of the League's power to prevent war, and in her novel *Theodore Savage* (1922) strove to show "that international organisations such as the League of Nations are powerless in the face of determined national aggression."<sup>22</sup> In Hamilton's case, her lack of faith in the League of Nation's peace-keeping abilities was rooted in her deeply pessimistic view of human nature as inevitably belligerent,<sup>23</sup> and her conviction that internationalism needed to be rooted in secure national identities rather than lofty idealism. Lewis was also, as Andrzej Gašiorek has shown, sceptical of the idea of a unified Western culture or tradition and dismissed the idea of "Western Man" as "the completest myth."<sup>24</sup> Although Lewis respected aspects of what we might call a European cultural tradition, he rejected claims of European "white racial superiority" and the idea of "Europe's 'civilizing mission'," as Nicholas Brown has pointed out.<sup>25</sup> Rather, Lewis proposed a notion of European-ness primarily as a practical safeguard against future war, or, as Paul Edwards describes it, "a European 'racial' identity that would be a vehicle of solidarity transcending nationalism" to "undermine fomenters of 'civil' nationalist war in Europe."<sup>26</sup>

As was the case with Lewis, Hamilton's international experience and her wartime service galvanized her European politics in the inter-war period. Hamilton's international experience began with boarding school in Germany, followed by regular travel abroad and war work in France and Belgium.<sup>27</sup> Fluent in German and French, Hamilton also spent time in the Rhineland after the Armistice as part of the occupying Allied forces. *Modern Germanies* was the first of nine travel books Hamilton published between 1931 and 1939, covering Germany, Italy, France, Russia, Austria, Ireland, Scotland, England and Sweden.

Hamilton's image-building as an expert on Germany in the pages of *Time and Tide* centred not least on her language skills.<sup>28</sup> Like Lewis, Hamilton placed great emphasis on her ability to speak and read German, abilities which also underpinned her portrayal of Germany in *Modern Germanies*, in which she frequently referred to conversations with friends and chance acquaintances.

Hamilton's attitude towards internationalism was one that balanced sympathy for other cultures and a desire to promote transnational understanding with a belief in the importance of national identity and a sober, even pessimistic view of human nature as fundamentally belligerent. In a March 1930 review of Hilaire Belloc's *Richelieu*, Hamilton criticized "what Mr. Belloc calls 'the old European fellowship'" prior to modern nationalism.<sup>29</sup> In Hamilton's view, such hankerings for the good old days of European accord were rose-tinted delusions given the "tribal, racial and dynastic conflict" common during the Middle Ages and the early modern period.<sup>30</sup> Yet despite her doubts as to the effectiveness of organizations such as the League of Nations to counteract the effects of flawed human nature, Hamilton's journalism and travel writing of the inter-war years were nevertheless intended as a contribution to maintaining peace in Europe. Her contributions on Germany in *Time and Tide* were increasingly prolific. A series of articles published in summer 1929 covered Cologne, Berlin, German day-tripping habits and the German Youth Movement respectively, showcasing Hamilton's long-standing knowledge of Germany and its history and whetting readers' appetite to go and see the country for themselves. Hamilton's article "Cologne, Then and Now" was half travel piece and half reflection, as it contrasted a recent visit to Cologne with Hamilton's time spent in the city in 1919.<sup>31</sup> In "Impressions of Berlin," she sought to redeem the capital as a worthy travel destination for her compatriots,<sup>32</sup> while "The New German Faith" constituted a reflection on Germany's youth politics, with particular emphasis on university students in the Weimar Republic.<sup>33</sup> The following year, a series running from

June to August 1930 entitled “The Temporary Country,” dealt with France and Germany just after the Armistice, and in these articles Hamilton again revisited the Rhineland and appraised current Anglo-German relations in light of British (and German) conduct during the occupation.

### *Modern Germany in Time and Tide*

As the breadth of Hamilton’s contributions shows, *Time and Tide*’s coverage of German politics, literature and culture exemplifies the magazine’s interest in furthering its readers’ understanding of international affairs. Recognition of Germany’s central role in Europe, for better and for worse, is visible in the volume and variety of contributions on Germany published in *Time and Tide*. Articles on current affairs make up a relatively small proportion of this coverage. In 1930, twelve of 592 items in the “Review of the Week” section which opened each number dealt exclusively with Germany. By comparison, India was covered in thirty items, and France likewise in twelve, though mostly in conjunction with broader developments, particularly its fraught relations to Italy and Russia. These explicit contributions on current events in Germany were only part of the coverage *Time and Tide* afforded the country, however. German politics and culture surfaced in a much larger number of articles that dealt with European developments, especially reparations, disarmament and the League of Nations, and German concerns also entered other categories, most notably reviews. For instance, between January and December 1930, *Time and Tide* reviewed thirty-four books translated from German, which constituted the largest number of books in translation in any one language that year.<sup>34</sup> These included biography (e.g. Emil Ludwig’s *Lincoln*), war books (Ernst Jünger’s *Copse 125*), memoirs (e.g. Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff’s recollections), fiction such as Heinrich Mann’s *The Little Town* and Clara Viebig’s *The Woman With a Thousand Children*, history and economic analysis. Books about

Germany were also reviewed: two travel books on the Rhine, the Black Forest and the Harz Mountains were covered for the summer holiday season, and Hamilton contributed a long review of James W. Angell's book *The Recovery of Germany* in February 1930.<sup>35</sup> A "Review of the Week" item on "War Tales" in March 1930 moreover reveals the centrality of German-language war literature to the British war books debate, citing Arnold Zweig's *The Case of Sergeant Grischa* (1927) and E. M. Remarque's *All Quiet on the Western Front* (1929) as yardsticks of high-quality war writing.<sup>36</sup> The drama section in 1930 included reviews of productions of Hermann Sudermann's play *Magda* and Max Halbe's *The River*; Edwin Evans discussed German musical habits in his music columns, and a short story by Anthony Bertram, "Empty Palaces," told of a fictional visit to Karlsruhe and an encounter with a lonely old woman who lost her husband in the war, prompting the narrator to reflect on the human cost of conflict.<sup>37</sup> Readers of *Time and Tide* thus encountered Germany (as they did other countries) in every section of the periodical. Given *Time and Tide*'s interest in Germany and the magazine's penchant for including controversial voices, the commissioning of Lewis's Hitler articles seems but a matter of course.

Despite his critical attitude towards political or ideological pan-Europeanism, Lewis was closely in touch with continental European culture. In his recent essay on Lewis and the European avant-garde, Sascha Bru outlines the many ways in which Lewis drew on, absorbed and utilized the influence of continental European artistic movements, and acknowledges that "[w]hile Lewis did not maintain much personal contact with avant-gardists in Europe, his writings are in incessant conversation with them."<sup>38</sup> Lewis's fiction, with its international cast of characters and literary references, was clearly at home in Europe, but Lewis's relationship to Europe is fittingly evoked by the detachment of his eponymous character Tarr from the cosmopolitan Paris artistic circles in which he moves despite his sexual involvement with German Bertha and Russian-German Anastasya. There is an analogy between Tarr's

aloofness and Lewis's scepticism of the emotional idealism which often characterized pan-Europeanism and internationalism in this period. Lewis's sceptical views mirrored Hamilton's pragmatic stance. In the final instalment of "Hitlerism – Man and Doctrine" in *Time and Tide*, Lewis observed: "A very great European, Cervantes in fact, said all this a long time ago; and *Don Quixote* contains the same order of criticism of the unpractical, dreamy European, in which I am engaged in these articles, and over which I have spent so much time in other books and papers."<sup>39</sup> Indeed, neither Lewis nor Hamilton believed that peace could be achieved through lofty sentiments. Like the editors and directors of *Time and Tide*, Lewis was keenly aware that mere knowledge of other languages and cultures could not eradicate humanity's tendency to resent and antagonize those whose views and habits differed from their own.

Lewis began his series on Hitler with an instalment that scrutinized the declining health of the Weimar Republic. He opened with a quote from Czech politician Edvard Beneš, a voice frequently quoted elsewhere in *Time and Tide*, who had written in *The Saturday Review* in December 1930 that "Germany holds the key of the New Europe" and that "What happens there within the next few months will decide the course of European politics for years to come."<sup>40</sup> Beneš noted with concern that in a country as pivotal to European politics as Germany due to its economic and geographical centrality, "7,000,000 citizens have just voted to put into power a movement which promised to tear up the treaties which are the basis of the European settlement and the foundation of the League of Nations."<sup>41</sup> Lewis's opening of his appraisal of Germany with Beneš's views aligned him with *Time and Tide*'s recognition of Germany's importance. In a lead article entitled "Europe" published in April 1921, only a few months into the periodical's existence, *Time and Tide* had stressed, like Beneš in 1930 and Lewis in 1931, that Germany was "the economic pivot of European life."<sup>42</sup> Part and parcel of Germany's perceived vanguard position was its dynamic and

diverse youth movement, which simultaneously represented hope for the future and a threat of exploitation by opposing political ideologies.

Hamilton's July 1928 article on the German youth movement, "The New German Faith," tapped into this topical inter-war concern. As Lewis subsequently documented in *Doom of Youth* (1932) – which, like his book on Hitler, originated in a series of articles for *Time and Tide*, published in June and July 1931 – the 1920s and 1930s saw an intense preoccupation with youth. In Britain, this preoccupation was epitomized in the generation of the "Bright Young Things" that Evelyn Waugh mocked contemporaneously in his novel *Vile Bodies* (1930), and was triggered by hopes (and a good deal of pessimism) as to the ability of the younger generation to overcome the mental and physical habits that had led to war. In Hamilton's view, Germany did not stop at sentimental admiration for youth, but was actively "training it, hardening it, fitting it for its task of reconstruction."<sup>43</sup> This appraisal, developed significantly further in her book, marked Hamilton's view of Germany at this point as a nation that had emerged from barbarism and suffering purged and ready to set an example for the rest of the Western world. The Nazi election success in the parliamentary elections of September 14, 1930, however, prompted Hamilton to qualify her hopeful appraisal of Germany's future. In the week following the National Socialist entry into the Reichstag as the second strongest party, *Time and Tide* published Hamilton's response to the election under the title "The Revolt against Internationalism – German Variety." In this article, Hamilton looked back at an encounter earlier the same year with a Nazi contingent pamphleteering among holiday crowds near Berlin. The article recognized the dangerous potential of harnessing youth for political purposes. Hamilton observed that "the boy element predominated" among the Nazis, and although she felt that individual young men seemed "a good type of lad," she noted the acute danger of a large organization of the very young "asking for an outlet for its energies and finding it – unfortunately – in a military-political

atmosphere.”<sup>44</sup> Despite Hamilton’s admiration for the German youth movement expressed elsewhere, she argued that its “one real peril” was its “tendency to foster partisanship at an age when partisanship is easily fostered.”<sup>45</sup>

The partisan nature of German youth culture was a point that Lewis, too, noted as early as the first instalment of his Hitler articles. The most devoted sections of the Hitler movement, Lewis observed, were “made up of young men who, were it not for the superior allurements of this religion of Hitler’s [...] would be equally fanatical adepts of the religion of Moscow and Marx.”<sup>46</sup> While his recognition of the political side of the German youth movement was cursory in the articles, he revisited this observation in much greater detail in *Doom of Youth*. He did not share Hamilton’s concerns, however, but applauded the National Socialists for recognizing the potential of youth in politics when he argued that the Nazis were “more characteristic of ‘Young Germany’ than any other party” and that the “great german [sic] Youth Movement” had in fact “become the Hitler Movement.”<sup>47</sup>

Hamilton herself was by no means overly alarmist in her appraisal, and at least temporarily reassured herself that all Germans were not likely to succumb to the attraction of Nazi militarism by reminding herself of the spirit of *All Quiet on the Western Front*. Yet she perceived the ready opening provided for Nazi agitation by the harnessing of youth in a time of turbulence and change, especially considering widespread German grievances about the political and economic effects of the Treaty of Versailles. Hamilton was sceptical of an internationalism that, in its very idealism, failed to account for what she saw as humanity’s inevitable instinct to band together, and she viewed Nazi agitation against “Jews and non-Germans” as a direct “reaction, as natural as inevitable, against the idealistic sloppiness of post-war internationalism.”<sup>48</sup> This likewise constitutes a point of overlap with Lewis’s views on German youth culture, since Lewis explained the Hitler Youth movement as a reaction to “a brief, artificial, internationalist wave that overcame the Youth of Germany at the

conclusion of the War.”<sup>49</sup> Lewis did not just consider inter-war internationalism as “sloppy,” however, but judged it as a potential threat to peace, claiming that “internationalism, or ‘pacifism,’ was just as political, or could have been turned to ends just as unpacific, as that of the Hitler organization.”<sup>50</sup>

Though Hamilton tried to keep an open mind and understandably did not foresee the full extent of Nazi atrocities to come, she did recognize very clearly the Nazis’ aggressive threat to Jews, and the fundamentally militant, anti-feminist policies of the National Socialists as “a fighting party” and “essentially a man’s” organization.<sup>51</sup> In her next article on “The Nazi Disturbances” following the opening of the Reichstag a month later, in October 1930, Hamilton warned *Time and Tide*’s readers more forcefully against the increasing threat posed by Hitler’s party. Quoting at length from the National Socialist party program, Hamilton highlighted their coupled anti-Jewish and anti-Big Business agenda to explain the attacks on Jewish-owned department stores, and pointed out Hindenburg’s increasing inability to weather the threats to democracy from “warring elements” that were gaining strength.<sup>52</sup> This contrasts sharply with Lewis’s subsequent attempts to minimize Nazi anti-Semitism and militarism. Although Lewis acknowledged Hitler’s troubling “attitude to the Jewish people” and the “full violence and ‘extremism’” of the “National-Socialist proposals for the ‘conquest of the Western soul’,” he notably put the word “extremism” in scare quotes, and pointed apologetically to the fact that “extremism of any sort” was “highly antipathetic to the Anglo-Saxon.”<sup>53</sup> In the only other instance where Lewis dealt with what he called “the ‘Jewish question’” or “*Judenfrage*,” he explained German anti-Semitism by taking recourse to anti-Semitic clichés when he cast it as a natural reaction of “the essential German, who is a born provincial” towards Jews characterized as “a glib metropolitan product” with an “ancient and dissimilar culture.”<sup>54</sup> In short, he felt Germans were reacting instinctively against Jews as outsiders, denied any claim to German-ness in line with Nazi blood doctrine.

Indeed, Lewis went as far as attempting to put a positive spin on “the National-Socialist doctrine of the *Blutsgefühl*” when he argued that “developing (rather than *relaxing*, as happens in the cosmopolitan West) the love and understanding of blood brothers [...] that is the only sane and realistic policy in the midst of a disintegrating world.”<sup>55</sup> Lewis juxtaposed his interpretation of Nazi blood doctrine with what he called the “Exotic Sense,” an infatuation with the racially and culturally other that Lewis slighted as passive, “non-creative” and feminine.<sup>56</sup> In Lewis’s view, this “romantic abandonment to ‘The Strange’ for strangeness’s sake” was the negative opposite of the virility, the “male insurgence and egoism” that he felt characterized Nazi doctrine.<sup>57</sup> This perhaps unsurprisingly contrasts sharply with Hamilton, whose appraisal of National Socialism repudiated the Hitler movement precisely because of its masculine chauvinism.

Hamilton was also the likely author of the portrait of Hitler in the regular “Personalities and Powers” column on September 20, 1930, which articulated the danger posed by Hitler to the young German democracy. The piece paid close attention to Hitler’s political strategy, and noted that if it came to fruition, “he could destroy parliament by the simple process of having it repudiate itself by the vote of his own henchmen, he, the leader, remaining outside until called in to assume the rôle of dictator-president.”<sup>58</sup> Such clear-sightedness is significant given that, in his study of the weekly press and appeasement in Britain in the 1930s, Morris notes that although “thousands of articles on Germany appeared in the weeklies in the course of the thirties,” only twenty-five “specifically set out to define, explain or analyse Nazi ideology.”<sup>59</sup> Morris also argues that, although *Time and Tide* continued to advocate appeasement until 1938, the periodical “revealed an early understanding of the meaning of Nazism and of the foreign policy ambition of the Reich.”<sup>60</sup> Neither *Time and Tide* nor Hamilton were in any doubt as to Hitler’s dangerous potential, though they were not yet alarmist in their coverage of Germany.

### *Shifting views of modern Germany*

Both Lewis and Hamilton had seen Germany and the Germans at their worst during the war, having witnessed the destruction on the Western Front, and both also had personal experience of Germany pre-dating the war, as well as having travelled in Germany in the 1920s and early 1930s. Their respective appraisals of Germany as a nation underwent consequent changes by the early 1930s, and *Time and Tide* became a temporary point of convergence for these altered views. The importance of wartime experience in contemporary appraisals of National Socialism and of Germany cannot be underestimated, as the desire to avoid future war colored not just Hamilton's and Lewis's views, but those of countless other veterans.<sup>61</sup> For a brief moment, before National Socialism revealed its full destructive potential, modern post-war Germany appeared as a possible model for overcoming the devastation of war. Both Hamilton and Lewis were determined to be open-minded towards Germany, despite disliking certain aspects of German culture. They also shared a predilection for independent thinking, for provoking controversy and challenging established and/or widely endorsed views, and *Time and Tide* offered fruitful ground to act on these impulses.

Lewis's Hitler articles in *Time and Tide* were not an unqualified endorsement of Hitler, and though they adopted the abrasive, polemical style typical of Lewis's political writings, most of the views he expressed in these articles and the subsequent book version were broadly in line with mainstream opinion at the time.<sup>62</sup> They were, however, positive enough and sufficiently beholden to Nazi propaganda to draw censure, both in reviews of the later book version and in the letter pages of *Time and Tide*. Hamilton and the *Manchester Guardian* journalist Frederick A. Voigt were the first to challenge Lewis's representations in *Time and Tide* in the correspondence pages. Voigt's criticism was aimed at the reliability of Lewis's political appraisal. He observed in his initial letter that "Mr. Wyndham Lewis has

simply been stuffed with Nazi propaganda” and condemned Lewis’s representation of National Socialism as “a collection made without the slightest critical insight and without the slightest knowledge of the German situation in general and of the Nazi movement in particular.”<sup>63</sup> Voigt’s criticism challenged Lewis’s status as an expert, and Lewis hit back at Voigt by drawing undue attention to Voigt’s perceived foreignness as “Herr-Mister Voigt,” and by accusing him of political partisanship in return, claiming Voigt was “armed to the teeth with communist argument.”<sup>64</sup>

Given Hamilton’s first-hand knowledge of Germany and her critical appraisal of National Socialism, it is not surprising to see her also disagree with Lewis’s articles. However, instead of critiquing, as Voigt did, Lewis’s parroting of Nazi propaganda, she limited herself to mocking his sensationalist descriptions of Berlin night life in the second instalment, “Berlin im Licht!,” of which, she observed, she had seen nothing during her own recent visit to Berlin’s West End. Hamilton noted that though she had read Lewis’s descriptions “with interest,” they had left her “feeling bitterly regretful that, during the weeks I stayed there last year, I saw so little of the lurid wickedness that rages in the Wittenberg Platz and its neighbourhood.”<sup>65</sup> It is symptomatic of both writers’ stances that Hamilton did not take issue with Lewis’s appraisal of National Socialism, but with his description of Berlin. Hamilton’s own article on the “fluid frontiers” between Germany and its Eastern neighbors appeared in the same issue as her letter and the third instalment of Lewis’s Hitler articles.<sup>66</sup> Her continued contributions on Germany further bolstered her claim of being an expert whose knowledge of the continental European situation rivalled and indeed exceeded Lewis’s. Although it is possible that Hamilton was simply happy to disagree with Lewis about National Socialism (as Lis Whitelaw notes, Hamilton was notorious for championing the right to disagree),<sup>67</sup> it seems more likely that she either saw their political differences as ones of degree rather than kind, or chose to cast doubt on Lewis’s picture of Berlin nightlife

as a subtle means of undermining the credibility of his political analysis. Lewis's representation of Berlin as a den of vice certainly contradicted her own endeavor to open Berlin to a class of visitor interested in more than sordid spectacle, and was thus a tempting target for her criticism. Where she strove to introduce Germany as a modern society worth visiting for its cultural achievements and hospitality, Lewis countered this with sensationalist images, pandering to a widespread fascination with the salacious aspects of Weimar society.<sup>68</sup> In Hamilton's eyes, this was an unproductive and limited view. Lewis was clearly nettled by Hamilton's suggestion that he did not understand Berlin's social scene because he recognized the extent of her expertise. When he called her "a noted authority upon all things German" in his response, this was not entirely sarcastic: Lewis subsequently cited Hamilton's "excellent book, *Modern Germanies*" to illustrate some of his own points in *Doom of Youth* (though not in his earlier *Time and Tide* articles on "Youth-Politics").<sup>69</sup> However, he dismissed her criticism of his Hitler articles by casting her as "a kill-joy" who "would go to Venice, I am sure, and come sniffing back, saying that as to the Adriatic, well the Serpentine looked much the same to *her*."<sup>70</sup>

Despite her choosing to critique Lewis's portrayal of Berlin nightlife rather than his representation of the Hitler movement, Hamilton was nevertheless, as we have seen, more critical of the Nazis than Lewis. This was not least based on her feminist appraisal of the role of women in Nazi ideology. She concluded her first article on National Socialism by pointing to its "anti-feminist" nature as an organization that had no "use for womenfolk, young or old, save as obedient followers" and promoted "domestic subjection of the pre-franchise era."<sup>71</sup> Yet Lewis himself was not, despite appearances, an ardent supporter of Nazi ideology either. Like Hamilton, he deplored the anti-Semitism of the National Socialists though he tried to minimize its importance, and both Lewis and Hamilton subscribed to the erroneous view that anti-Semitism was a Central European problem that was effectively non-existent in Britain

(or, as Lewis put it, in the “cosmopolitan and more democratic West”).<sup>72</sup> In line with other British commentators at this point, both hoped that Hitler would moderate his more objectionable views “[when] – and if” he “attain[ed] to majority power.”<sup>73</sup> Nevertheless, Hamilton saw the potential military threat the Nazis posed early on and described their “thoroughgoing military spirit” in no uncertain terms in her 1933 postscript to *Modern Germanies*, titled “The New Order.”<sup>74</sup> By contrast, Lewis remained convinced that National Socialism was fundamentally a peaceful movement well beyond March 1933, and argued as late as 1936 that to “point to Germany as the Bogeyman of Europe at this moment is merely to play upon the fears of the British public – fears inherited from a time when Germany was a rich and immensely powerful military nation, with redoubtable allies.”<sup>75</sup>

Lewis and Hamilton both used *Time and Tide* – one of the most outward-looking periodicals of the time – as a forum to stake a claim as experts on modern Germany. Their status as experts was linked not least to their wartime experience, and to their ability to compare present-day Germany with earlier experiences of Germans and Germany. It was also tied to knowledge of the German language and the ability to speak to ordinary Germans and read German political literature including pamphlets and election propaganda, showcased in both Hamilton’s and Lewis’s work by frequent inclusion of German terms, phrases and quotations. In their *Time and Tide* exchange, it was this claim to expertise that informed their dialogue, rather than fundamental disagreement over Nazi policy. Hamilton may have been warier of the Nazis than Lewis, but like Lewis, she still hoped at this point that Germany would weather the challenges ahead and remain committed to peace and reconstruction. Yet we can see an interesting distinction between the categorization of Lewis’s and Hamilton’s work. Hamilton’s signed articles in *Time and Tide* and her book on Germany were published as travel writing and were broader and less overtly political in aim than Lewis’s work, which centred primarily on Hitler and the Nazis, though Hamilton also pointed out that politics

could not be kept separate from other concerns.<sup>76</sup> Lewis's articles, on the other hand, were clearly labelled as political analysis, though they also capitalized on the exotic appeal of Berlin's nightlife to potential travellers. What united Lewis's and Hamilton's diverging opinions was a concern for the future of Europe and a commitment to pragmatic forms of internationalism that might help prevent renewed war. However, it is telling of the wider societal prejudice against women engaging in political analysis (a prejudice which Clay shows was felt keenly by Lady Rhondda) that even a women-run periodical like *Time and Tide* chose to package Hamilton's astute political appraisals of Germany as travel writing.<sup>77</sup> At the same time, this packaging also shows that *Time and Tide's* engagement with international politics was by no means restricted to overtly political contributions.

### *Conclusions*

Between the wars, *Time and Tide* encouraged exchange between different political, critical and ideological camps and promoted a pragmatic view of internationalism that appealed to writers as diverse as Cicely Hamilton and Wyndham Lewis. The case of Lewis's and Hamilton's convergence in *Time and Tide* on the issue of modern Germany at such a crucial point in inter-war European history shows that magazines like *Time and Tide* were key to fostering public awareness and debate, but we can also see that they allowed writers, artists and intellectuals to participate in and lead such debates. Neither Lewis nor Hamilton were political economists – both were primarily known for their creative and critical output. Yet their contributions to *Time and Tide* and other periodicals and newspapers allowed them to intervene in wider political debates and cast them as experts based on their first-hand experience as travellers and as war veterans. Looking at *Time and Tide's* treatment of Germany and the 1930 Nazi election success gives us an insight into the magazine's wider engagement with Europe in the inter-war period, and its strategies for promoting a brand of

internationalism aimed at well-informed, open-minded readers. These strategies relied heavily on input from writers, artists and intellectuals across the ideological and aesthetic spectrum. *Time and Tide*'s varied and substantive response to developments in Germany thus demonstrates the crucial role that periodicals played in informing and shaping public opinion and public debate – which included input from readers as well as writers via the correspondence pages. Political differences aside, a non-partisan magazine such as *Time and Tide* could pursue an outward-looking European policy by utilizing rather than excluding divergent voices in its mission to educate an outward-looking British public.

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<sup>1</sup> For a detailed account of inter-war pessimism, see Richard Overy, *The Morbid Age: Britain Between the Wars* (London: Allen Lane, 2009).

<sup>2</sup> Lis Whitelaw, *The Life and Rebellious Times of Cicely Hamilton: Actress, Writer, Suffragist* (London: The Women’s Press, 1990), 157–9.

<sup>3</sup> Virginia Woolf, “Three Guineas,” *A Room of One’s Own and Three Guineas*, ed. Anna Snaith (Oxford: Oxford World’s Classics, 2015), 186.

<sup>4</sup> Catherine Clay, *Time and Tide: The Feminist and Cultural Politics of a Modern Magazine* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018), 2.

<sup>5</sup> Clay, *Time and Tide*, 16, 20, 29, 33.

<sup>6</sup> Wyndham Lewis, “Hitlerism – Man and Doctrine: The Weimar Republic and the Dritte Reich,” *Time and Tide*, 12.3, January 17, 1931, 59.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 148.

<sup>8</sup> Out of five German publications referenced by Lewis in his articles, four were published by Nazis or Nazi sympathizers like Hugenberg. To put Lewis’s views in perspective, see e.g. Richard Griffiths, *Fellow Travellers on the Right: British Enthusiasts for Nazi Germany, 1933–9* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983); Julia Boyd, *Travellers in the Third Reich: The Rise of Fascism through the Eyes of Everyday People* (London: Elliott and Thompson, 2017).

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- <sup>9</sup> Rebecca West, “On Making due Allowance for Distortion,” *Time and Tide*, 10.21, May 24, 1929, 624.
- <sup>10</sup> Clay, *Time and Tide*, 12.
- <sup>11</sup> Clay, *Time and Tide*, 5.
- <sup>12</sup> “‘Time & Tide’ and ‘Foreign Affairs’,” *Time and Tide*, 12.14, April 4, 1931, 405.
- <sup>13</sup> Hubert A. Wootton, “Hitlerism,” *Time and Tide*, 12.4, January 24, 1931, 96.
- <sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 97.
- <sup>15</sup> C. F. Melville, *The Truth About the New Party* (1931), quoted from David G. Farley, *Modernist Travel Writing: Intellectuals Abroad* (Columbia, MI: University of Missouri Press, 2010), 22.
- <sup>16</sup> C. F. Melville, letter responding to “Hitlerism – Man and Doctrine,” *Time and Tide*, 12.5, January 31, 1931, 127.
- <sup>17</sup> Benny Morris, *The Roots of Appeasement: The British Weekly Press and Nazi Germany during the 1930* (London: Frank Cass, 1991), 5.
- <sup>18</sup> Jeffrey Meyers, *The Enemy: A Biography of Wyndham Lewis* (London; Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980), 1, quoted from “The Vita of Mr. Wyndham Lewis” (1949), 10, held in the Wyndham Lewis Collection, Department of Rare Books, Cornell University Library, Ithaca, New York.
- <sup>19</sup> See e.g. Ann-Marie Einhaus, “Lewis and War,” in *Wyndham Lewis: A Critical Guide*, eds. Andrzej Gašiorek and Nathan Waddell (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015), 49–63; Jamie Wood, “‘A Long Chuckling Scream’: Wyndham Lewis, Fiction, and the First World War,” *Journal of Wyndham Lewis Studies*, 1, no. 1 (2010): 19–42.
- <sup>20</sup> See e.g. the second instalment of Lewis’s Hitler articles: Wyndham Lewis, “Hitlerism – Man and Doctrine: Berlin im Licht!,” *Time and Tide*, 12.4, January 24, 1931, 87. Lewis also quotes a long, untranslated passage in French from the work of Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux in the same instalment (88).
- <sup>21</sup> Wyndham Lewis, *Left Wings over Europe: or, How to Make a War About Nothing* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1936), 32.
- <sup>22</sup> Whitelaw, *Cicely Hamilton*, 174.
- <sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 219.
- <sup>24</sup> Andrzej Gašiorek, *Wyndham Lewis and Modernism* (London: Northcote House in association with the British Council, 2004), 129.
- <sup>25</sup> Nicholas Brown, *Utopian Generations: The Political Horizon of Twentieth-Century Literature* (Princeton, NJ; Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2005), 130.
- <sup>26</sup> Paul Edwards, *Wyndham Lewis: Painter and Writer* (New Haven, CT; London: Yale University Press, 2000), 384.
- <sup>27</sup> Whitelaw, *Cicely Hamilton*, 137–59.
- <sup>28</sup> See e.g. her review of A. W. Wheen’s translation of E. M. Remarque’s *Im Westen Nichts Neues* (1929): Cicely Hamilton, “A German Best-Seller,” *Time and Tide*, 10.16, April 19, 1929, 458.
- <sup>29</sup> Cicely Hamilton, “Partisan History,” *Time and Tide*, 11.13, March 28, 1930, 408.
- <sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 409.
- <sup>31</sup> Cicely Hamilton, “Cologne, Then and Now,” *Time and Tide*, 10.26, June 28, 1929, 780–781.
- <sup>32</sup> Cicely Hamilton, “Some Impressions of Berlin,” *Time and Tide*, 10.28, July 12, 1929, 843.
- <sup>33</sup> Cicely Hamilton, “The New German Faith,” *Time and Tide*, 10.30, July 26, 1929, 898.
- <sup>34</sup> Thirteen of these were German-language books by Austrian and Czech writers. These figures must be seen in relation to the total number of books reviewed in 1930 (822), and reviews of books translated from other languages the same year (e.g. thirty-one translated

from French, incl. Swiss, Belgian, and Russian emigré writers; fifteen from Russian, as well as smaller numbers from Swedish, Danish, Spanish, Italian, Romanian, Finnish and Dutch).

<sup>35</sup> Cicely Hamilton, "New Germany," *Time and Tide*, 11.6, February 7, 1930, 181–2.

<sup>36</sup> "War Tales," *Time and Tide*, 11.10, March 7, 1930, 295.

<sup>37</sup> Edwin Evans, "Exporting Art," *Time and Tide*, 11.27, July 5, 1930, 872–3; Anthony

Bertram, "Empty Palaces," *Time and Tide*, 11.46, November 15, 1930, 1428–9.

<sup>38</sup> Sascha Bru, "Lewis and the European Avant-Gardes," in *The Cambridge Companion to Wyndham Lewis*, ed. Tyrus Miller (New York; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 22.

<sup>39</sup> Wyndham Lewis, "Hitlerism – Man and Doctrine: The Doctrine of the Blutsgefühl," *Time and Tide*, 12.6, February 7, 1931, 152.

<sup>40</sup> Lewis, "Hitlerism – Man and Doctrine: The Weimar Republic and the Dritte Reich," 59.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>42</sup> "Europe," *Time and Tide*, 2.17, April 29, 1921, 396.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 898.

<sup>44</sup> Cicely Hamilton, "The Revolt against Internationalism – German Variety," *Time and Tide*, 11.38, September 20, 1930, 1165.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 1166.

<sup>46</sup> Lewis, "Hitlerism – Man and Doctrine: The Weimar Republic and the Dritte Reich," 60.

<sup>47</sup> Wyndham Lewis, *Doom of Youth* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1932), 69.

<sup>48</sup> Hamilton, "The Revolt against Internationalism – German Variety," 1166.

<sup>49</sup> Lewis, *Doom of Youth*, 68.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 68.

<sup>51</sup> Hamilton, "The Revolt against Internationalism – German Variety," 1166.

<sup>52</sup> Cicely Hamilton, "The Nazi Disturbances," *Time and Tide*, 11.42, October 18, 1930, 1282.

<sup>53</sup> Lewis, "Hitlerism – Man and Doctrine: The Weimar Republic and the Dritte Reich," 59.

<sup>54</sup> Wyndham Lewis, "Hitlerism – Man and Doctrine: The Oneness of 'Hitlerism' and of Hitler," *Time and Tide*, 12.5, January 31, 1931, 120.

<sup>55</sup> Lewis, "Hitlerism – Man and Doctrine: The Doctrine of the Blutsgefühl," 151.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>58</sup> "Personalities and Powers: Adolf Hitler (the German Mussolini)," *Time and Tide*, 11.38, September 20, 1930, 1169.

<sup>59</sup> Morris, *Roots of Appeasement*, 6.

<sup>60</sup> Morris, *Roots of Appeasement*, 21.

<sup>61</sup> Boyd, *Travellers in the Third Reich*, 191.

<sup>62</sup> See e.g. Griffiths, *Fellow Travellers on the Right*; Boyd, *Travellers in the Third Reich*.

<sup>63</sup> Frederick A. Voigt, letter responding to "Hitlerism – Man and Doctrine," *Time and Tide*, 12.5, January 31, 1931, 126.

<sup>64</sup> "Mr. Wyndham Lewis Replies to His Critics," *Time and Tide*, 12.6, February 7, 1931, 159.

<sup>65</sup> Cicely Hamilton, letter responding to "Hitlerism – Man and Doctrine," *Time and Tide*, 12.5, January 31, 1931, 127.

<sup>66</sup> Cicely Hamilton, "The Fluid Frontier," *Time and Tide*, 12.5, January 31, 1931, 118–119.

<sup>67</sup> Whitelaw notes Hamilton's "extreme dislike of influencing people to her way of thinking" even in early life. See Whitelaw, *Cicely Hamilton*, 19.

<sup>68</sup> See Petra Rau, *English Modernism, National Identity and the Germans, 1890–1950* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 169–75.

<sup>69</sup> Lewis, *Doom of Youth*, 16–18, 252.

<sup>70</sup> "Mr. Wyndham Lewis Replies to His Critics," 159.

<sup>71</sup> Hamilton, "The Revolt Against Internationalism," 1166.

<sup>72</sup> Lewis, “Hitlerism – Man and Doctrine: The Oneness of ‘Hitlerism’ and of Hitler,” 120.

<sup>73</sup> Hamilton, “The Revolt Against Internationalism,” 1166. See also Boyd, *Travellers in the Third Reich*, 116–19.

<sup>74</sup> Hamilton, *Modern Germanies* (Autumn 1933 edition), 257.

<sup>75</sup> Lewis, *Left Wings over Europe*, 127.

<sup>76</sup> See e.g. Hamilton’s critical two-part appraisal of the German youth movement in *Modern Germanies*.

<sup>77</sup> Clay, *Time and Tide*, 242.