Endnotes

Chapter One

On the Fourth — “Minutes of Acts of Marriage,” Divorce Papers, The National Archives: J 77/2080. C 450964. Hereafter National Archives (to whom I am grateful for permission to quote from these papers) will be referred to as NA.


Odd affinities — Ibid., 167.
She ... never — Ibid., 169.
I love walking — Ibid., 6.

the eminent linguist — William James referred to Saussure in 1892. For further discussion on Saussure’s visit to England in 1911, see John E. Joseph, “He Was an Englishman,” TLS (November 16, 2007): 16.


Over the Strand—Woolf, Mrs Dalloway, 152.


April was indeed—See the opening of “The Waste Land.”


Johannes Schad has—Metropolitan Police Special Report, January 7, 1925, Naturalisation Papers, NA: HO 144/ 6158. 230293.

Villains there must—Woolf, Mrs Dalloway, 190.

“We assign—Saussure, Course in General Linguistics, 107 / Cours de linguistique générale, 151.

Every man fell—Woolf, Mrs Dalloway, 148.


lifted her up—Woolf, Mrs Dalloway, 14.

that rubber made—Johannes worked in central London for Chautard, a Paris based rubber-trading company.

all down the—Woolf, Mrs Dalloway, 21–22.


“Honeymoon Land”—See The Recorder, for Palmers Green, Winchmore Hill and Southgate, December 7, 1914 (Consulted at Enfield Local Studies & Archive, to whom I am grateful for
permission to quote). Marie and Johannes moved to Powys Lane, Palmers Green in 1914.

_The Recorder_ — December 19, 1912.


_the ears of_ — Woolf, _Mrs Dalloway_, 22.

_boys in uniform_ — Ibid., 23.

_to be the_ — Ibid., 55–56.

_The Waiting List_ — Letter from War Office to Johannes Schad, August 22, 1914, Naturalisation Papers, NA.

_on the wireless_ — Remembrance Day’s two-minute silence was first broadcast on BBC Radio in November 1923. For more discussion on this, see Emma Hanna, _The Great War on the Small Screen: Representing the First World War in Contemporary Britain_ (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), 8.

_We Swiss are_ — _The Swiss Observer_, November 17, 1923.


_she had read_ — Woolf, _Mrs Dalloway_, 34.

_The Organ of_ — _The Swiss Observer_ called itself “the official organ of the Swiss colony in Great Britain.”

_Miss Lina Schwarz_ — _The Swiss Observer_, July 16, 1921.


_When a man_ — Woolf, _Mrs Dalloway_, 108.


_Christ … and Christess_ — Woolf, _Mrs Dalloway_, 109.

_A seedy-looking_ — Ibid., 31.

_she had seen_ — Ibid., 136.

_He started after_ — Ibid., 57–58.

_he … insisted_ — Ibid., 34.

The supreme mystery — Woolf, Mrs Dalloway, 140.
“No soul could — Stopes, Married Love, 72.
people were — Woolf, Mrs Dalloway, 72.
“girls who went — Recorder, November 10, 1907.
Nelly — According to the 1911 Census, Johannes and Marie had a
live-in maid called Nelly Harding, aged 17.
“Suppose — Saussure, Course in General Linguistics, 8 / Cours de
linguistique générale, 23.
“It would be — Ibid., 15 / ibid., 32.
On and on — Woolf, Mrs Dalloway, 58.
lips gaping wide — Ibid., 15.
“Do you — Recorder, November 17, 1907.
her qualifications — Marie had trained as a dentist in Paris, in
those years this was a four-year course. Her name is to be
found in Odontologie: revue mensuelle, 13–23 (1901), at which
point she seems to have already undertaken two years of
training. I am grateful, once again, to Jacques Blocher here.
Pneumonia in the — Woolf in a letter to Katherine Arnold-
Fraser, August 23, 1922, in Letters of Virginia Woolf, eds. Nigel
Nicolson and Joanne Trautmann, 6 vols. (London: Harcourt
Miss Kilman standing — Woolf, Mrs Dalloway, 140.
This Christian — Ibid., 137.
standing … upon — Ibid., 136.
Yes, Miss Kilman — Ibid., 135.
she would think — Ibid., 170.
“We must be — Saussure, Course in General Linguistics, 24 /
Cours de linguistique générale, 44.
“In Paris — Ibid., 31 / ibid., 54.
the letterbox — Recorder, November 5, 1912.
her mother was — See Police Report, Naturalisation Papers, NA.
this isle of — Woolf, Mrs Dalloway, 198.
also called Marie — Her maiden name was Faesch; she died in
1950.
Women must put — Woolf, Mrs Dalloway, 33.
crossed Oxford — Ibid., 59.
She made to — Ibid., 43.
They had just — Ibid., 6.

Dr. Holmes — Ibid., 73.

I do order — Appointment of Medical Inspectors, Divorce Papers. It should be pointed out that the date of this particular court order is May 27, 1924 and indeed that the medical inspectors appointed are Edwin Frances White of Putney and Leonard Stokes of Andover. It would appear, therefore, that the Court sought an additional examination of Marie, subsequent to that undertaken by Thomas George Stevens, almost as if it shared Marie’s concerns regarding his statement. However, the Schad v Schad Divorce Papers in the National Archives do not include any reports from either White or Stokes.

Like a nun — Woolf, Mrs Dalloway, 33.

From Basel one — In 1897, Theodor Herzl declared: “In Basel, I have founded the Jewish state.” Haumann, The First Zionist Congress, 134.

newly-married couple — Stopes, Married Love, 25.

Women … at — Woolf, Mrs Dalloway, 33.

“To speak of — Saussure, Course in General Linguistics, 90 / Cours de linguistic générale, 130. Here the word translated as “ghost” is fantôme.

Report on the — Medical Report, April 16, 1924, Divorce Papers, NA.

“I have come — Woolf, Mrs Dalloway, 49.

“men … who — Ibid., 162.

November 25, 1924 — This is the date of the decree nisi (Schad v Schad née Wheeler) hearing in the High Court. Divorce Papers, NA.


a nullity case — Ibid., 23.

A little independence — Woolf, Mrs Dalloway, 8.

a room of — “A Room of One’s Own” is an extended essay by Woolf based on lectures she gave at Cambridge in 1928.
Sir Thomas Horridge — Decree Nisi, November 25, 1924, Divorce Papers, NA. Sir Thomas Gardner Horridge (d. 1938) was married twice, with no children from either marriage.

The business of — Woolf, Mrs Dalloway, 97.

was it that — Ibid., 73.

“Marriage — These words were written by Lord Merrivale, Marriage and Divorce (London: George Allen, 1936), 15, who pronounced the Decree Absolute in the High Court on June 15, 1925. Divorce Papers, NA.

Perhaps, after all — Woolf, Mrs Dalloway, 111.

He has left me — Ibid., 51.


‘the result of — Saussure, Course in General Linguistics, 226 / Cours de linguistique générale, 311. I should point out that where Roy Harris uses the word “fall” in his translation the original French has the word “suppression.” Insofar as my reading hinges on the word “fall” then the “eminent linguist, Mr. X” (to quote William James, of course) is here not so much Saussure as Professor Harris; which is to say that the identity of Mr. X slips precisely as we might expect of Mr. X. In this connection we must never, of course, forget that even the “original” French text, Cours de linguistique générale (1916) was authored not by Saussure himself (he had died three years before), but by his students based on their notes from his lectures. In this sense Saussure, or at least the “author” of The Course, has always been Mr. X.

the letter h — Ibid., 30 / ibid., 53. I should point out that where Roy Harris uses the word “ghost” the original French has the phrase un être fictif. Here again, in this moment, the “eminent linguist” of my narrative is, you might say, as much Professor Harris as Professor de Saussure.

like a nun — Woolf, Mrs Dalloway, 33.

This killing — Woolf, *Mrs Dalloway*, 101.

In the midst — Ibid., 146.


Chapter Two


the Tabernacle — The Tabernacle name only came into use after 1922. Previously the church was known as *l’Eglise Baptiste de la Rue Meslay* or *Eglise Chrétienne Primitive*. For reasons of simplicity, though, I will, even when exploring these earlier days, usually refer to the church as the Tabernacle. For a detailed account of the church, see Sébastien Fath’s wonderful *Une autre manière d’être chrétien en France. Socio-histoire de l’implantation Baptiste, 1810–1950* (Genève: Labor et Fides, 2001), 389–439.

Marie’s husband — *Le Journal de Madeleine Blocher-Saillens* (unpublished), May 21, 1924, Archives Blocher-Saillens (hereafter abbreviated as Archives B-S). I am grateful to Jacques Blocher for permission to quote from these archives.

Uli Schad — This lineage is given as well-established fact in *The Swiss Observer*, December 16, 1955.


the bed in — *The Trial*, 7 / *Schriften*, 4.7.

the Advocate — Ibid., 209 / ibid., 4.258.

must clamber — Ibid., 181–82 / ibid., 4.221.

Examining Magistrate — Ibid., 64 / ibid., 4.81.

How Grete — Ibid., 61 / ibid., 4.77.

A man and — Ibid. / ibid.


Do you have — *The Trial*, 122–23 / *Schriften*, 4.144–45.

You belong — Ibid., 123 / ibid., 4.146.

“She clasped his — Ibid., 123 / ibid., 4.146.


“the general telephone — *The Trial*, 27 / *Schriften*, 4.34.

What case is — Ibid., 105 / ibid., 4.122.

“The real question — Ibid., 18 / ibid., 4.21.

“This arrest — Ibid., 27 / ibid., 4.33.


“empty … ink-bottles — Ibid., 94 / ibid., 4.108.

“There can be — Ibid., 54 / ibid., 4.69.

“There was a — Ibid., 207 / ibid., 4.238.


“the University on — Ibid., 90.


“experience of nothing — Ibid. / ibid.


“marriage [would be] — Ibid. / ibid.


“Dearest [Felice] — Ibid., 442 (translation modified) / Ibid., 9.275. It may be worth noting that the German word for “necessity,” as here used by Kafka, is Not.


“We were … in — Kafka in a letter to Felice Bauer, April 11, 1913, in Letters to Felice, 357 / Schriften, 9.165.

a certain meeting — I refer, of course, to the so-called Wannsee Conference at which senior Nazis met to approve the “Final Solution” to the “Jewish Question.”


“Kisses don’t — To Milena Jesenská [March 1922], in Letters to Milena, 183 / Briefe an Milena, 401.

some would say — For example, Jacques Derrida, who famously argues that all human attempts at communication (and thus even our kisses, one presumes) are haunted by the in-communication that, he argues, characterises writing: “our language, even if we speak it, has already lost life and warmth, it is already eaten by writing.” Jacques Derrida, Of Grammatology, trans. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1976 [1967]), 226. Derrida might well have Kafka’s kisses in mind when he elsewhere writes, “a letter can always not arrive at its destination.” Jacques Derrida, The Post Card, trans. Alan Bass (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 444.


Rafle du Vel — For more on this, see, for example, Julian Jackson, *France: The Dark Years* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).


first-ever Tabernacle — Numbers 4:15.

Dear Madeleine — Marie in a letter to Madeleine, January 5, 1942, Archives B-S. Marie and Sara’s kind hosts in Brittany were Adolphe Huck (a former Tabernacle evangelist) and his wife. Blocher in an email to the author, April 27, 2015.

the very bird — Exodus 16:13.


“when the final — Ibid., 515.

It is reported — Kafka, Sunday July 19, 1910, in *Diaries, 21 / Schriften*, 3.28.

Chapter Three


*the fine men* — The opening scene of this chapter is based closely upon a sequence from *Entr’acte*, the Surrealist film directed by René Clair, made and shown in Paris in 1924; see René Clair, *A Nous la Liberté and Entr’acte*, trans. Richard Jacques and Nicola Hayden (Simon and Schuster, New York, 1970), 129. For an excellent discussion of the film and mourning, see Christopher Townsend, “‘The Art I Love Is the Art of Cowards’: Francis Picabia and René Clair’s *Entr’acte* and the Politics of Death and Remembrance in France after World War One,” *Science as Culture* 18 (2009): 81–96.


“Strange destiny — Ibid., 109 / ibid., 97.

*Corsair Sanglot* — Ibid., 73 / ibid., 58.

“Take off — Ibid., 71 / ibid., 56.


*she had knocked* — The Tabernacle often did door-to-door evangelism, certainly in the late 1920s. Fath, *Une autre manière*, 393.


*half a world* — Marie Stopes writes, “By a single ejaculation, one man might fertilise nearly all the marriageable women in the world.” Stopes, *Married Love*, 50.


“From the top — Ibid., 51 / ibid., 32.

“Beneath the Bridge — Ibid., 51/ ibid., 33.

*even spilt seed* — Marie Stopes writes, “A virgin woman who plays with a man and thinks she is safe from the consequenc-
es forgets that … the mesh of a flimsy piece of silk or cambric is, in proportion to the vital spermatozoa, as large as a railway tunnel to herself, and that when the drops of moisture come into external contact they may transmit the spermatozoa which make her a pregnant woman, though technically a virgin.” Marie Stopes, *Marriage in My Time* (London: Rich and Cowen, 1935), 155.


Verdun — Of the Battle of Verdun, in 1916, Harvey Samuel Firestone writes, “In two weeks more than 190 thousand men were transported on rubber into the inferno of No Man’s Land.” Firestone, *The Romance and Drama of the Rubber Industry* (Akron: The Firestone Tire and Rubber Co., 1932), 4.

“The Awakening”—North America experienced what was called its Third Great Awakening from the 1850s to the early 1900s, whilst Wales experienced its “Great Revival” in 1904–5. With its founding pastor, Ruben Saillens, travelling to both the US and Wales, the Tabernacle was very much influenced by these movements. Jacques E. Blocher, “Ruben Saillens: Prophète Camisard,” *Théologie Évangélique* 4 (2005): 72–78.


“Salvation is nowhere”—This was a motto of Surrealism; cited in Gérard Durozoi, *History of the Surrealist Movement* (University of Chicago Press, 2002), 62.


*Rue Belliard* — The Tabernacle did not move to Rue Belliard until 1928, but had bought a plot there as early as 1921; this location was very deliberately chosen, Montmartre being “the
part of Paris with the most cinemas and the fewest churches.”
Fath, Une autre manière, 391.

“Bravo for darkened — Breton, Manifestoes of Surrealism, 46 / Manifestes du surréalisme, 62.


“lyrical misfits — Aragon, Paris Peasant, 59 / Le paysan de Paris, 72.

“We are the — Breton, Manifestoes of Surrealism, 63 / Manifestes du surréalisme, 82.

“The new — As Mark Polizzotti writes, “the [surrealist] game of ‘Exquisite Corpse’ [invented in 1926] was a variation on the traditional French game of “Petits Papiers”; it involved composing a sentence in collaboration with several others, no one having seen what was already written. The [surrealist version of the] game was based on the first sentence obtained: ‘the exquisite / corpse / shall drink / the new / wine.’”


 “[A] film heroine — Ibid., 40 / ibid., 50.

“A … girl — Ibid., 109 / ibid., 132.


“sweet woman — Aragon, Paris Peasant, 127 / Le paysan de Paris, 155.

“This woman — Breton, Manifestoes of Surrealism, 83 / Manifestes du surréalisme, 107.

“I get all — Aragon, Paris Peasant, 86 / Le paysan de Paris, 104.

“I have never — This excerpt is from “With Your Permission,” a collective Surrealist declaration made on October 23, 1927.
“Would Christ have — From a sermon given by Rubens Saillens, see The Keswick Week, 1925 (London: Marshall Brothers, 1925), 110. Although he gave the sermon at the Keswick Convention in England, Saillens, who had founded the Tabernacle in 1888, was both an honorary pastor and father-in-law of the then Pastor, Arthur Saillens.

“Jesus” — Mark 1:13.


“This cross — Aragon, Paris Peasant, 186 / Le paysan de Paris, 228.


“lead … a lobster — Breton, Break of Day, 13 / Le point du jour, 20.

“No theologian’s argument — Ernest Gengenbach, Surréalisme et christianisme (Rennes: Imprimerie Bretonne, 1938), 18.


“Is Suicide a — This question is posed in La Révolution Surréaliste 1 (December, 1924): 2.

In Margny-les-Cerises — Ibid., 13.

Toward 4 o’clock — Ibid., 20.


“She is the — Breton, Manifestoes of Surrealism, 99 / Manifestes du surréalisme, 126.
“Your heart is — Aragon, Paris Peasant, 86 / Le paysan de Paris, 105.
“Darling … — Ibid., 174 / ibid., 212.
“Perhaps, all — Breton, Manifestoes of Surrealism, 107 / Manifestes du surréalisme, 137.
“Marie’s marriage — Breton and Éluard, The Immaculate Conception, 56 / L’immaculée conception, 30 (emphasis mine).
“remarkable people — Desnos, Liberty or Love!, 109 / La liberté ou l’amour!, 97.
“On the blackboard — Ibid., 108 / ibid., 96.
“false … scholars — La Révolution Surréaliste 3 (April, 1925): 11.
“combat — Breton, Manifestoes of Surrealism, 129 / Manifestes du surréalisme, 159.
“thrones of chance — Aragon, Paris Peasant, 70 / Le paysan de Paris, 86.
“these days — Desnos, Liberty or Love!, 70 / La liberté ou l’amour!, 86.
“rubber heels — This advice from the early 1920s is cited in Austin Coates, The Commerce in Rubber: The First 250 Years (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 260.
“Happy is the — Desnos, Liberty or Love!, 57 / La liberté ou l’amour!, 39.
her first fiancé — I understand that he was called Carlton, though whether that was his first name or surname I do not know.
“Birds … have — Desnos, Liberty or Love!, 57 / La liberté ou l’amour!, 39.
“I think” — Breton, Manifestoes of Surrealism, 197 / Manifestes du surréalisme, 230.
“suspected of Surrealism” — Aragon, Paris Peasant, 66 / Le paysan de Paris, 81.
“wheel of becoming”—Ibid., 94 / ibid., 114 (translation modified).

the statues — The Surrealists were fascinated by the myriad statues in Paris. For an excellent discussion of this fascination, see Simon Baker, *Surrealism, History and Revolution* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2007), 147–230.


*beast of the field* — Ibid., 2.76–80. In this scene, Passy describes his attempt, from around 1926 and in the village of Fontette (180 kilometers southeast of Paris), to make real the Danish idea of a “rural university [université paysanne].” He did this each summer for three to four months, establishing a co-operative community that mixed learning, farming, gymnastics, music, and worship. This he called *Liéfra*: Li from *Liberté*, é from *égalité*, fra from *fraternité*.

*There is one* — *Le journal de Madeleine*, May 21, 1924.


*Brethren* — 1 Corinthians 7:29–33.


*desire-motor* — Ibid., 39 / ibid., 53.

*celibate machine* — Ibid., 51 / ibid., 69.

*“a motor car* — Ibid., 43 / ibid., 57.
“Hung Woman” — Ibid., 45 / ibid., 63.
“a shiny metal” — Ibid., 39 / ibid., 54.

the Office — The Office for Surrealist Research was opened in October 1924 and closed in April 1925. Paul Thévenin, ed., Bureau de recherches surréalistes. Cahier de la permanence (Paris: Gallimard, 1988).

being Sunday — The Office was indeed closed on Sundays. Sven Spieker, The Big Archive: Art From Bureaucracy (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2008), 93.


“Lovemaking chapels” — Aragon, Paris Peasant, 145 / Le paysan de Paris, 177.

“Glowing with Sunday” — Ibid., 159 / ibid., 195.

index cards — On the importance of the card index to the work of the Surrealist Office, see Spieker, The Big Archive, 85–103.

“Lodging-House” — This was Louis Aragon’s account of the purpose of the Surrealist Office, see ibid., 96.

a Bible — For the Office inventory, including a three-volume Bible, see Thévenin, Bureau de recherches surréalistes, 17.

“Secular dust” — Desnos, Liberty or Love!, 87 / La liberté ou l’amour!, 73.

“the intimacies of” — Aragon, Paris Peasant, 86 / Le paysan de Paris, 104.

a headless statue — Thévenin, Bureau de recherches surréalistes, 27.

a book pinioned — For a first-hand account of the pinioned book and suspended woman, see Aragon, A Wave of Dreams, 41 / Une vague du rêves, 32.

“The overwhelming law” — Aragon, Paris Peasant, 144 / Le paysan de Paris, 177.

“passion for reduction” — Breton, Break of Day, 12 (translation modified) / Le point du jour, 19.
“a sinister jester” — Ibid., 12 / ibid., 19.

Mademoiselle Terpsé — Thévenin, Bureau de recherches surréalistes, 62.

The Golden Book — Ibid., 39.


“We have nothing” — This is from the Office for Surrealist Research’s joint “Declaration of 27 January 1925.” Reprinted in Maurice Nadeau, The History of Surrealism, trans. Richard Howard (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968), 262.

“machine for” — Aragon, A Wave of Dreams, 41 (translation modified) / Une vague de rêves, 32.

“liable to sanctions” — Thévenin, Bureau de recherches surréalistes, 39.

At the moment — Desnos, Liberty or Love!, 121 / La liberté ou l’amour!, 110.

“Carisbrooke” — Petition for Nullity, April 22, 1924, Divorce Papers, NA.

Queen Marie — Antonia Fraser, Marie Antoinette (London: Wiedenfeld and Nicolson, 2001), 524.

“She keeps her” — Ernst, The Hundred Headless Woman, 299, 309.

Wimbledon — This is one of around twenty poems by Johannes that we have. It is in fact dated 1946. Despite what “Scholar Schad” may say, I myself love Johannes’ poems.

“fear that her …” — Ibid., 125 / ibid., 155 (translation modified).

“insulting a priest” — This is part of a caption beneath a photograph of Peret appearing to accost a passing Priest. La Révolution Surréaliste 8 (December 1926): 12.

“The Last Conversions” — La Révolution Surréaliste 7 (June 1926): 7. The photograph is actually by Eugène Atget and called “The Eclipse,” from April 1912. The crowd is, in fact, looking up at

falling for Jesus — Georges Ribemont-Dessaignes writes, in the following issue of the journal, that “Conversions are in fashion.” *La Révolution Surréaliste* 8: 23.

*l’Eglise Chrétienne* — At this time, “although the church knew itself as l’Eglise Baptiste de la Rue Meslay, it often used the name *Eglise Chrétienne Primitive* for the general public, and this was the name used on Paris street maps.” Jacques Blocher in an email to the author, March 2016.

Or so they — The Tabernacle records would indicate that this is Marie.


the 26th? — See Blocher-Saillens, *Témoin des années noires*, 236.

“four walls — Ibid.

“In cities where — Desnos, *Liberty or Love!, 33 / La liberté ou l’amour!,* 15 (translation modified). Desnos generously attributes the poem to Arthur Rimbaud, but since he had died in 1891, this is believed to be a surrealist joke.


“Please do not — Ibid., 2.83.


To hell with — Desnos, *Liberty or Love!, 77–78 / La Liberté ou l’amour!, 61–63.

“à rendezvous — Ibid., 78 / ibid., 63.

“I am ready” — *Le Bon Combat* (April 1948): 4, Archives B-S.

**Chapter Four**

*I am bringing* — Stéphane Mallarmé, *Collected Poems and Other Verse*, trans. and eds. E.H. and A.M. Blackmore (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 82, 83. The first page reference is to the French original and the second to the Blackmores’s translation; in subsequent citations I do occasionally modify the translation. I should here acknowledge my debt to Henry Weinfeld’s wonderful edition, *Collected Poems of Stéphane Mallarmé* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994). It is unusual, I realise, to read Mallarmé through or via World War One as I am doing in the chapter, but it is, in this connection, worth noting that his most famous poem, *A Throw of the Dice*, was not published on its own until 1914. See ibid, 264.

*that disagreeable* — Wensley Family Archive, Box 174/4/3, Bishopsgate Institute, London. I am grateful to the Institute for permission to quote from this archive.


107 Rue de Rome — Minutes of Acts of Marriage, Divorce Papers, NA.


*the glory* — Stéphane Mallarmé, *Collected Poems*, 216, 217 (emphasis mine).

*Take your stick* — Ibid., 222, 223.

“the postman’s”—Weinfeld, ed. and trans., Collected Poems of Stéphane Mallarmé, 94, 95.


Alfred Adloff — Letter from Sara Wheeler to Madeleine Blocher-Saillens, Archives B-S. Adloff fought for Germany in the War, before becoming a POW, when he was held in England. Adloff went on to be a pro-Hitler industrialist and own several military paint factories, despite remaining a member of the Tabernacle. Madeleine Blocher-Saillens, Témoin des années noires, 134.

Detective of the Future — G.T. Crook, ‘Detective of the Future,’ Daily Mail, May 24, 1920. For further details, see Frederick Porter Wensley, Forty Years of Scotland Yard: A Record of Lifetime’s Service in the Criminal Investigation Department (London: Kessinger Publishing, 2005 [1930]).

Flying Squad — Wensley was one of the first detectives to deploy cars. Anon, “Motor-Car Detectives,” Daily Mail, September 22, 1920.


erstwhile neighbour — It is worth noting that Madeleine’s elder brother, Emile Saillens (1878–1970), a close friend of Marie’s sister, Sara, was acquainted with Henry-D. Davray (1873–1944), a literary journalist who, as a young man in the 1890s, used to attend Mallarmé’s famous salon at his Rue de Rome apartment. Email to author from Blocher, March 8, 2018.
Marie times four — Mallarmé’s sister was called Maria, and his mistress Méry Laurent was originally “Marie-Rose.” Mallarmé was very aware of this accumulation of Maries (see Millan, *A Throw of the Dice*, 67), and so too are his commentators (see, for example, Weinfeld, ed. and trans., *Collected Poems of Stéphane Mallarmé*, 166, 244).

a violent red — Mallarmé himself compared, at the last, his face to that of “an exotic cockerel.” Millan, *A Throw of the Dice*, 317.


“Does … the poet” — Ibid., 272 / ibid., 406.


*Société Littéraire Francaise* — Meetings were held monthly. *The Recorder*, for Palmers Green, Winchmore Hill and Southgate, March 2, 1911, Enfield Local Studies & Archive.


“K” for King — Ibid., 103.

King’s own laundress — Ibid., 60.

“Switzerland” — Mallarmé in a letter to Cazalis, June 3, 1863, in *Correspondance*, 1.89–90.
“Marie is a — Mallarmé in a letter to Méry Laurent, August 15, 1889, in Correspondance, 3.343. The letter refers to Mallarmé’s wife Marie (née Gerhard), who was German.

“Poor Marie — Mallarmé in a letter to Cazalis, December 4, 1862, in Correspondance, 1.60.


St. Catherine — Writing in 1909, Marie remarks that “Sara appears to want to wear a St. Catherine’s bonnet.” She refers to the ancient French custom in which, on St. Catherine’s Day (November 25), unmarried women who are turning twenty-five years of age attend a ball in a hat made specially for the occasion. Sara was 28 in 1909. Marie in a letter to Madeleine, [Summer] 1909.

“Do not read — Fanny Desmolins in a letter to Mallarmé, October 17, 1866, in Millan, A Throw of the Dice, 345.

“Marie says you — Mallarmé in a letter to Cazalis, January 7, 1864 in Rosemary Lloyd, ed., Selected Letters (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1988), 28. Cazalis may have had grounds to question the status of Mallarmé’s marriage if only because he and Marie had lived together for several months before any ceremony took place, which was a Catholic service on August 10, 1863 in London, far from all family and witnessed by one widow and a six year-old choirboy. Even then it took several months before the legality of the London ceremony was officially recognised in France. See Millan, A Throw of the Dice, 83, and Roger Pearson, Stéphane Mallarmé (London: Reaktion Books, 2010), 38.

“You’ll tell me — Mallarmé in a letter to Cazalis, March 23, 1864, in Correspondance, 1.111.

“Marie was vexed — Mallarmé in a letter to Cazalis, March 24, 1871, Correspondance, 1.347.

“Why … not — Mallarmé in a letter to Cazalis, May 21, 1866, Correspondance, 6.129.

Dr. Pinard — Dr. Pinard refers to Adolphe Pinard (1844–1934), an eminent Paris gynaecologist.
Dans la maison — Marie Schad in a letter to Madeleine, [Summer] 1909, Archives B-S.


A good deal — The Baptist Times and Freeman (July 23, 1915), accessed at British Library. I am grateful to the British Library Board for the permission to quote.

The blankets — The Women’s League at New Southgate Baptist Church, the church attended by Marie and Johannes from 1905, collected and sent thirteen blankets to Baptist Church House. The Baptist Times, October 9, 1914, British Library.

worn in the middle — Ibid., October 9, 1914.

Baptist Touring Club — Ibid., August 14, 1914.

“All well” — Ibid., August 14, 1914. Engel translates as “Angel.”

the Open Letter — Ibid., June 7, 1918.

another letter — Arthur S. Langley, of Stoke-on-Trent, in a letter to the Editor offering a five-month old “motherless” boy for adoption by a Baptist Times reader. The Baptist Times, October 9, 1914.

The Wilderness — Ibid., October 30, 1914.

The Monthly Visitor — This was a supply of evangelistic tracks and was regularly advertised in The Baptist Times. See, for example, October 1, 1915.

Poor Mr. Pearce — Ibid., June 16, 1916. The soldier in question was Corporal Bernard Pearce.

Revival at the Front — Ibid., July 9, 1915.


“meetings with signs — The Baptist Times, April 14, 1916.

“We are witnessing — Mallarmé, Divagations, 201 / Œuvres complètes, 360.

“Meanwhile, not far — Ibid., 153 / ibid., 322.


“Perhaps, if — Ibid.
“It will be — Mallarmé, *Divagations*, 132 / *Œuvres complètes*, 304.

“The floor avoided — Ibid., 136 / ibid., 308.

“She dance[d] — Ibid., 129 / ibid., 303.


Threaten to leap — According to Madeleine, Marie had agreed to facilitate his request for a divorce, “fearing that otherwise Johannes would commit suicide.” *Le Journal de Madeleine Blocher-Saillens*, May 21, 1924, Archives B-S.

he who loses — Ibid. Madeleine also writes that Johannes “had lost his faith.”

*Tower Hill* — For centuries, Tower Hill hosted public executions. Chautard’s central office, at which Johannes worked, was located at 15/16 America Square, London EC3. The nearest underground station, if travelling from Palmer’s Green, was (and is) Tower Hill.


‘If you wish’ — Ibid., 202, 203.

*The flesh is sad* — Ibid., 24, 25.

*Johannes had read* — Johannes was an avid reader. He is known to have loved, for example, the work of Victor Hugo and of Francis Brett Young. Indeed, in 1948, he briefly corresponded with the latter regarding Young’s epic patriotic verse-novel on the history of Britain called *The Island* (1944), see Brett Young Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham — FBY/1939 and FBY/3258.

*The Rubber World* — The full title is *India Rubber World*.


“Calendar Rolls — Ibid.: ii.

“War — Ibid.: viii.
“We want the — See Daily Mirror, November 12, 1918.
“Raincoats — Ibid.: vi.
“Definition — Ibid.: ii.
Christian marriage — Stopes, Marriage in My Time, 25.
“Umbrella — India Rubber World 49–50: viii.
“the Book” — Mallarmé only got as far as planning the Book. For more on this, see Jacques Scherer, Le livre de Mallarmé (Paris: Gallimard, 1978). Here, what is being imagined is a more literal version of the Book, one containing all he ever wrote.
“The virgin folds — Mallarmé, Divagations, 229 / Œuvres complètes, 381.
one November — According to Dr. Stevens, of course, Marie “stated that she had not menstrated [sic] since November 1904.” Medical Report, Divorce Papers, NA.
Holland. Scandinavia. — Naturalisation Papers, NA.
Rev. Joynes — William Joynes was the Minister at New Southgate Baptist Church from 1898 to 1926 and is cited, in January 1925, as stating that he had “known the Memorialist intimately for over 17 years through the latter being a member of his Church and meeting one another socially.” Naturalisation Papers, NA.
an auditrice — Until one had undergone adult baptism, one attended the Tabernacle as, technically, an auditor rather than as a full member of the church.
“an uncut page — Mallarmé, Divagations, 227 / Œuvres complètes, 379.
“It’s only in — Mallarmé in a letter to Cazalis, May 9, 1871, in Correspondance, 1.354.
“He leaves the — Mallarmé, Œuvres complètes, 436.
Because the paper — Weinfeld, ed. and trans., Collected Poems of Stéphane Mallarmé, 188, 189.
Within a stately — “The Angel of Peace,” from the author’s family archive.
“for some time”—Weinfeld, ed. and trans., *Collected Poems of Stéphane Mallarmé*, 124, 125.

“a call at”—Mallarmé, *Divagations*, 59 / *Œuvres complètes*, 494.

biannual doctoring—In 1916, the Summer Time Act was passed, which meant all clocks in Britain were set at Greenwich Mean Time plus one hour, a change extended for the duration of the War.


“to annul”—Ibid., 227 / Ibid., 410.

“no one can”—Weinfeld, ed. and trans., *Collected Poems of Stéphane Mallarmé*, 196, 197.

“heaven’s beggars”—Ibid., 2, 3.

“fondness for”—Ibid., 124, 125.

“was obliged to”—Mallarmé, *Œuvres complètes*, 439–40.


“the song”—Ibid., 24, 25.

“sad festivals”—Ibid., 28, 29.

“to plough”—Ibid., 16, 17.

“the Sky”—Ibid., 22, 23. As Weinfeld observes, “the French language is unable to say ‘sky’ without simultaneously saying ‘heaven.’” *Collected Poems of Stéphane Mallarmé*, 163.

“the trees are”—Ibid., 83, 82.


“The Alien in”—Baptist Times, August 6, 1915.


“this tomb”—Weinfeld, ed. and trans., *Collected Poems of Stéphane Mallarmé*, 198, 199.

“the Germans”—Mallarmé in a letter to Léon Cladel, August 28, 1875, in *Correspondance*, 2.71. It is worth noting that “as a consequence of the Franco-Prussian war in which [his friend] Henri Regnault and members of his own family were killed, Mallarmé resolutely refused to visit Germany, despite having a German wife.” Millan, *A Throw of the Dice*, 351.
“he [Anatole] does”—Ibid., 14, 15.
“I am perfectly”—Mallarmé in a letter to Cazalis, May 14, 1867, in Correspondance, 1.240. For a brilliant discussion of Mallarmé’s “I am dead,” see Leo Bersani, The Death of Stéphane Mallarmé (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).
“dead … less”—Mallarmé, Divagations, 287 / Œuvres complètes, 418.
“my pockets are”—Mallarmé in a letter to Cazalis, June 4, 1862, in Correspondance, 1.30.
“One day”—Weinfeld, ed. and trans., Collected Poems of Stéphane Mallarmé, 92, 93.

pantomimic Pierrot—Pierrot’s mimed performance of the murder of his wife is the subject of Mallarmé’s short prose text, “Mimique.” Mallarmé Divagations, 140–41 / Œuvres complètes, 310–11.

“little man”—Mallarmé in a letter to Odilon Redon, February 2, 1885, in Correspondance, 2.280.
“I hold”—Weinfeld, ed. and trans., Collected Poems of Stéphane Mallarmé, 44, 45.
“I love being”—Mallarmé, Divagations, 92 / Œuvres complètes, 521.
“I [am] afraid”—Ibid., 16, 17.
“A younger queen?—Johannes’s second Marie is, as Madeleine points out, “seventeen years younger than” the first. She makes this point as early as May 1924, six months before the annulment. Journal de Madeleine Blocher-Saillens, Archives B-S.
“Let us forget!”—Mallarmé, Divagations, 247 / Œuvres complètes, 394.

“terrible handkerchief”—Ibid., 94, 95.
“Please forget me” — Ibid., 26, 27.
“No one can” — Mallarmé, *For Anatoile’s Tomb*, 20, 21.

Chapter Five


“have expressed” — Ibid., 66–67. It is worth noting again that Émile Saillens, brother of Madeleine and close friend of Sara, was acquainted with Henry-D. Davray. As a young man, Davray got to know Wilde during his final years in Paris and, indeed, attended Wilde’s funeral. See Richard Ellman, *Oscar Wilde* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1987), 549. Johannes thus moved in circles that were not utterly removed from those of Wilde.


Hotel d’Alsace — For details of Wilde’s last hours and Catholic baptism, see Ellman, *Oscar Wilde*, 549.


It is absurd — Wilde in a letter to Robert Ross, late March 1900, in *Complete Letters of Oscar Wilde*, 177.

I attended — Wilde in a letter to Robert Ross, May 31, 1897, in ibid., 866.

a Dissenter — The friends are Ross and More Adey. Ibid., 866.

enthusiasm for baptism — Ellmann, Oscar Wilde, 18–19.

“a thing — For the complete quotation, refer to Wilde’s The Picture of Dorian Gray (1890), in Complete Works of Oscar Wilde, 3.50.

I am grieved — Wilde, Importance of Being Earnest, 67.


“refuted the views — Wilde, Importance of Being Earnest, 67.

But … I have — Ibid., 55.

Algernon, I forbid — Ibid., 67.

I beg your — Ibid., 61.


New Jerusalem — This dream was most famously expressed in the Anabaptist seizure of the German city of Munster in 1534–35. Jonathan Dewald, Europe 1450 to 1789: Absolutism to Coligny (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 2004), 51.


The fearful law — Oscar Wilde, Vera; Or, the Nihilists [1883], in The Complete Plays (London: Methuen, 1988), 572.


frequently invoked — For a discussion of the use of the legend of William Tell in 1653, see Andreas Suter, Der schweizerische
Conditional Baptism — On November 29, 1900, Father Dunne records in the Register of St. Joseph Church that Wilde was “conditionally baptised by me.” Wilde, Complete Letters of Oscar Wilde, 1225.

What on earth — Wilde, Importance of Being Earnest, 4.

One steamboat — Ellmann, Oscar Wilde, 548.

Can wordless hands — For a fascinating discussion of how Wilde may have used his hands to communicate his desire for baptism, see Ann Astell, “‘My Life Is a Work of Art’: Oscar Wilde’s Novelistic and Religious Conversion,” Renascence 65, no. 3 (2013): 188–205.

Looks like repentance — Wilde, Importance of Being Earnest, 57.


If you are — Book of Common Prayer, 313.


“palpable shams” — Ibid., 78.


Good heavens — Wilde, Importance of Being Earnest, 59.

La Maison de Rire — Mandell, Paris 1900, 65.

“Nature Disrobing — Ibid., 73.


To conclude — Wilde, “The Rise of Historical Criticism” (1879), in Complete Works of Oscar Wilde, 4.87.


And who is — Wilde, Vera; Or the Nihilists, in Complete Plays, 52.

Trottoir Roulant — For a superb series of photographs of the electrically-powered “Moving Pavement,” see Thomson, Paris Exhibition 1900, 271–76.

I cannot — Wilde, “The Happy Prince” [1888], in Complete Works of Oscar Wilde, 8.16.

November — The exhibition closed on November 12, 1900.


“Here we have — Hebrews 13:14.

a warehouse — This is Blocher’s understanding. Blocher in an email to author, August 21, 2015.

A thoroughly — Wilde, Importance of Being Earnest, 62–63.

Is that clever? — Ibid., 21.

The police should — Wilde, An Ideal Husband, 67.

It is what — Ibid., 111.

Oh that is — Wilde, Importance of Being Earnest, 20.

Jack? — Ibid., 36.

Twenty-eight — Ibid., 70.

Frederick Inderwick — Wilde, Complete Letters of Oscar Wilde, 820, 825.

UPON HEARING the — Appointment of Medical Inspectors, Divorce Papers, NA.


The . . . city — Wilde, Complete Works of Oscar Wilde, 4.31.

Twenty years — Wilde, Woman of No Importance, 25

I hope marriage — Wilde in a letter to Charles Spurrier Mason, August 1894, in Complete Letters of Oscar Wilde, 603.

In married life — Wilde, Importance of Being Earnest, 9
The Sultan — Wilde, “A Ride through Morocco” [1886], in Complete Works of Oscar Wilde, 6.98.
“This is not” — Wilde, Importance of Being Earnest, 58
Once a week — Ibid., 67.
Would you repeat — Holland, Irish Peacock and Scarlet Marquess, 50.
Have you been — Oscar Wilde, Lady Windermere’s Fan, ed. Ian Small (London: Ernest Benn, 1980 [1893]), 34.
Schad … appears — Police Report, Naturalisation Papers, January 7, 1924, NA.
His … sister — Ibid., 2.
God has given — Wilde, An Ideal Husband, 99.
The Primitive Church — Wilde, Importance of Being Earnest, 32.
Christ — Wilde, “The Burden of Itys” (1881), in Complete Works of Oscar Wilde, 1.64.
Yes, sir — Wilde, Importance of Being Earnest, 1–2
You read it — Holland, Irish Peacock and Scarlet Marquess, 106.
I admit — Wilde, Importance of Being Earnest, 68
May I say — Ibid., 339
Did you ever — Holland, Irish Peacock and Scarlet Marquess, 138.
I have carefully — Wilde, Importance of Being Earnest, 61–62.
Dear girl — Wilde, Lady Windermere’s Fan, 15–16.
I don’t like — Wilde, Complete Letters of Oscar Wilde, 1133.
The Swiss — Ibid., 1129.
the chastity — Ibid., 1139.
a married man — Uli was married in 1651. Andreas Heusler, Der Bauernkrieg von 1653 in der Landschaft (Basel: Neukirch'sche Buchhandlung, 1854), 70.

Dead? — Wilde, Importance of Being Earnest, 33

Gellert Hill — The site of the hanging, now part of a Basel suburb, can still be visited. I did so on a Sunday morning in late October 2017. I attempted a prayer.

July. The 7th — His death date is sometimes recorded as July 24, but that is according to the emergent Gregorian calendar, as opposed to the older Julian calendar.

Are you sure? — Wilde, Woman of No Importance, 28.


Charles Wooldridge — Wooldridge’s execution is the subject of “The Ballard of Reading Gaol” [1898], in Wilde, Complete Works of Oscar Wilde, 1.311.

There is nothing — Wilde, Lady Windermere’s Fan, 17


I will take — Wilde in a letter to Robert Ross [? late September 1899], in Complete Letters of Oscar Wilde, 165.


one half — “On November 13th, 1895, I was brought down here from London. From two o’clock till half past two on that day I had to stand on the centre platform at Clapham Junction in convict dress and handcuffed, for the world to look at …. For half an hour I stood there in the grey November rain surrounded by a jeering mob. For a year after that was done to me I wept every day at the same hour and for the same space of time.” Wilde, De Profundis [1897], in Complete Works of Oscar Wilde, 2.187.
Heaven — Revelation 8:1. “And when He had opened the seventh seal, there was silence in heaven about the space of half an hour.”

cannons — Mandell, Paris 1900, 88.
Were you with — Wilde, Importance of Being Earnest, 33.
Yes — Ibid., 67.
[Here] the shed — Wilde in a letter to Robert Ross, October 8, 1897, Complete Letters of Oscar Wilde, 956.
The weather — Wilde, Importance of Being Earnest, 42.
Whenever people — Ibid., 13.
Professor of Massage — Hyde, Trials of Oscar Wilde, 21.
Criticism can recreate — Wilde, “The Critic as Artist,” in Complete Works of Oscar Wilde, 4.201.
The only real — Wilde, “The Decay of Lying” [1891], in Complete Works of Oscar Wilde, 8.79.
Johannes … turned — Journal de Madeleine Blocher-Saillens, May 21, 1924, Archives B-S.
how horrid — Wilde, “The Canterville Ghost” (1887), in Complete Works of Oscar Wilde, 8.84.
I beg — Wilde, Importance of Being Earnest, 61.
It is the — Wilde, “Canterville Ghost,” in Complete Works of Oscar Wilde, 8.84.
The Permanence — Ibid., 8.85.
Mrs Schad states — Medical Report, April 16, 1924, Divorce Papers, NA.
“chemicals” — Ibid., 3.153.
“nitric acid” — Ibid., 3.313.
“an admirable — Ibid., 3.148.
“curious experiment” — Ibid., 3.145.
“the thing — Ibid., 3.137.
“The Indissolubility — Ibid., 3.xiv (emphasis mine).

Fell into the — Wilde, Picture of Dorian Gray, in Complete Works of Oscar Wilde, 3.349.

the very stairs — One can still see the stairs with one's own eyes, rather than just through Hopper's. This I did in May 2016. The church is still there.

Mr Hopper — Gail Levin, Edward Hopper: An Intimate Biography (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 49.

the very church — This is Blocher's understanding. Blocher in an email to author, July 21, 2015.


How steep — Wilde, “At Verona” (1881), in Complete Works of Oscar Wilde, 1.46.

Uli Schad is — Urs Hostettler, Der Rebell vom Eggewil. Aufstand der Emmentaler 1653 (Bern: Zytglogge Verlag, 1991), 332.

Every room — Wilde, “Comedy Theatre” [1887], in Complete Works of Oscar Wilde, 7.293.

Suddenly the — Holland, Irish Peacock and Scarlet Marquess, 227.

jump — Landolt, Untertanen, Revolten und Widerstand, 518, 523.

weep — Hostettler, Der Rebell vom Eggewil, 384.


It was a — Wilde, Picture of Dorian Gray, in Complete Works of Oscar Wilde, 3.101.

Families are so — Wilde, An Ideal Husband, 12.

[So,] what is — Wilde, Importance of Being Earnest, 71.

Most people — Wilde, De Profundis, in Complete Works of Oscar Wilde, 2.176.
Everyone should — Wilde in a letter to Ava Leverson, 1894, in Complete Letters of Oscar Wilde, 618.


I am not — Wilde, Importance of Being Earnest, 27.


Go ... about — Ibid., 3.352.

You do? — Wilde, Woman of No Importance, 76.


God hath — 2 Corinthians 1:22.

Is your name — Wilde, Importance of Being Earnest, 51.

Anything may happen — Wilde in a letter to Robert Ross, late March 1900, Complete Letters of Oscar Wilde, 1177.

Any woman — Wilde, Importance of Being Earnest, 14.

One always thinks — Wilde, De Profundis, in Complete Works of Oscar Wilde, 2.175.

An ideal husband — Wilde, An Ideal Husband, 140.


A lot of — Wilde, An Ideal Husband, 21.


A passionate celibacy — Wilde, Importance of Being Earnest, 66.


Love is never — Wilde, “Her Voice” (1881) in Complete Works of Oscar Wilde, 1.125.

To lose one — Wilde, Importance of Being Earnest, 18.

We hear nothing — Hostettler, Der Rebell vom Eggwil, 492.

The Schads have — Journal de Madeleine Blocher-Saillens, May 21, 1924, Archives B-S.

Johannes sometimes — Ibid.

Marie has — Ibid.

Not a year — Wilde, An Ideal Husband, 33.

*Stop!* — Wilde, *Woman of No Importance*, 484.


*Stop! Stop!* — Wilde, *An Ideal Husband*, 111.


Someone should — Wilde, *An Ideal Husband*, 71.

The Women’s Emigration — Wilde, “Literary and Other Notes” [1888], in *Complete Works of Oscar Wilde*, 7.64, 386n.

Mrs Jekyll — Wilde, *An Ideal Husband*, 76.

He is in every — Wilde, *Salome* [1891], in *Complete Works of Oscar Wilde*, 5.720.


Did you kiss — Holland, *Irish Peacock and Scarlet Marquess*, 146.

I am unmarried — Wilde, *Importance of Being Earnest*, 70.

I am a celibate — Ibid., 67.

My life is — Wilde, *Lady Windermere’s Fan*, 27.

I prefer living — Ibid., 76.


Love is never — Ibid., 1.125.

Chapter Six


*I want also* — *Journal de Madeleine Blocher-Saillens*, September 2, 1925, Archives B-S.

Mansfield (her fiction, her diaries her letters, her notebooks) are italicised.

**Father would never** — Ibid., 2.271


**There had been** — Ibid., 2.281

**There was a** — Ibid., 2.233.

**He was killed** — Kathleen Jones, *Katherine Mansfield* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), 247–49.


**After the War** — Ralf Roth and Colin Divall, eds., *From Rail to Road and Back Again? A Century of Transport, Competition and Interdependency* (London: Routledge, 2015), 175.


**One gets mortally** — Mansfield in a letter to Richard Murry, August 9, 1921, in *The Collected Letters of Katherine Mansfield*, 4.262.


**I would love** — Mansfield in a letter to Anne Drey, [May 19, 1921], *The Collected Letters of Katherine Mansfield*, 4.231


**People do bang** — Mansfield in a letter to Richard Murry, [February 16, 1918], in *The Collected Letters of Katherine Mansfield*, 2.74.


“Will you marry — Ibid., 1.142.

They were asked — Minutes of Acts of Marriage, July 4, 1905, Divorce Papers, NA.


On March 2nd — Jones, Katherine Mansfield, 98–103.


Professor of Speech — In the 1911 Census, Bowden declares himself to be a “Professor of Voice Culture.”

Man’s vocal apparatus — Saussure, Course in General Linguistics, 10 / Cours de linguistiques générale, 18.

an accident — Saussure once remarked, in a lecture, that “language [langage] is in reality … completely accidental.” Joseph, Ferdinand de Saussure, 378.


“Love in False — Ibid., 2.148

In London — For an excellent discussion of not only Mansfield’s work as a film extra but her relationship to film as a writer, see Maurizio Ascari, Cinema and the Imagination in Katherine Mansfield’s Writing (Houndmills: Palgrave, 2014).


Wrong house — Ibid., 2.211, 2.124.

False coins — Ibid., 2.124, 2.132.
[The] old man — Ibid., 1.442.


“My Father’s House” — John 14:12.


I saw myself — Ibid., 2.146.

Damnation take — Mansfield in a letter to Dorothy Brett, [May 1, 1918], in The Collected Letters of Katherine Mansfield, 2.168.


If [only] Marie — Journal de Madeleine Blocher-Saillens, May 21, 1924, Archives B-S.


missed so many — Robert Wheeler had once been a leading figure in the Tabernacle, but toward the end of his life he rarely attended. Blocher in a conversation with the author, Paris, July 7, 2015.


Knockings at the — Ibid., 4.440.

Every man — Mansfield in a letter to Ottoline Morrell, [February 21, 1919], in The Collected Letters of Katherine Mansfield, 2.302.
a knock at — Ibid., 4.223.
Two shabby old — Ibid., 2.106.
“Madame does not — In France in the mid-twenties, this became a feminist, catchphrase response to the government propaganda designed to improve France’s very low birth-rate. For more discussion on this, see Mary Louise Roberts, *Civilization without Sexes: Reconstructing Gender in Postwar France, 1917–1927* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 131.
Harley Street — Ibid., 4.190.
Queen Anne Street — Ibid., 4.137.
“the history of — Medical Report, Divorce Papers, NA.
I hope to — Marie in a letter to Madeleine, [January?] 1909, Archives B-S.
Dr. Pinard — Adolphe Pinard (1844–1934) was “the uncontested master of French gynaecology.” Marc Decimo, ed., *Marcel Duchamp and Eroticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2007), 145.
Supposing — Ibid., 1.197.
Frau Lehman’s — Ibid., 1.179.
Aunt Martha — Mansfield in a letter to Richard Murry, [March 23, 1918], in The Collected Letters of Katherine Mansfield, 2.137. “Aunt Martha” was quite a common soubriquet for menstruation and certainly one used by Mansfield.
My husband — Ibid., 2.222.
Try for a — Mansfield in a letter to Dorothy Brett, [March 18, 1920], in The Collected Letters of Katherine Mansfield, 3.249.
wherever it is — Mansfield in a letter to Richard Murry, [March 2, 1918], in The Collected Letters of Katherine Mansfield, 2.101.
The context here is, “the warm South, wherever it is.”
The Swiss Cure — Ibid., 4.93 n.6.
I’ve never yet — Ibid., 2.117.
Without my clothes — Ibid., 2.118.
Can you aviate — Ibid., 2.40.
hoped to adopt — Mansfield in a letter to Richard Murry, December 4, 1919, in The Collected Letters of Katherine Mansfield, 3.133. The context is, “I want to adopt a baby boy of about one.”


Summer of 1932 — The two boys were awarded compensation upon turning twenty-one years old; in Dicky’s case, this was in February 1951. In April of that year he went to the High Court in the Strand to receive his compensation, £15 of savings certificates.


as a rule — Ibid., 2.489.


book for a — Mansfield, *The Collected Letters of Katherine Mansfield*, 4.74. A “rubber shop” was a shop that sold condoms and pornographic material.

“It is only — Stevens, *Diseases of Women*, 60.


why had he — Ibid., 2.49.
average British husband? — Ibid., 1.198.
corset-box that — Ibid., 2.274.
advertisement — Ibid., 1.238.
Marie wants to — Journal de Madeleine Blocher-Saillens, January 25, 1905, Archives B-S.
wear a crucifix — Ibid., 2.187.
every wife has — Ibid., 1.187.
Did you kneel? — Ibid., 4.321.
She was [though] — Ibid., 2.211.
She never undressed — Ibid., 2.353.
The Lord Jesus — The Keswick Week, 1925, 109–10.
I suppose you — Ibid., 1.298.
I hold you — Ibid., 1.410.
Christian trap — Ibid., 1.237.
“it was that — Fath, Une autre manière, 391.
The Lord has — This is cited in Blocher, Madeleine Blocher-Saillens, 93, 104.
Neither married or — Mansfield in a letter to Dorothy Brett, [October 27, 1918], in *The Collected Letters of Katherine Mansfield*, 2.284.


It was in — Blocher, *Madeleine Blocher-Saillens*, 68.


Someone ... said — Ibid., 3.130.


On the doorstep — Ibid., 2.197.

As the night — Mansfield in a letter to Jeanne Beauchamp, January 1, 1912, in *The Collected Letters of Katherine Mansfield*, 1.110.


I am not — Mansfield in a letter to Anne Drey, [May 19, 1921], in *The Collected Letters of Katherine Mansfield*, 4.232.

I ... do — Mansfield in a letter to Richard Murry, [October 24, 1920], in *The Collected Letters of Katherine Mansfield*, 4.82.


These modernist pastors — Blocher, *Madeleine Blocher-Saillens*, 93–94. The term “modernism” was, initially, used more as a theological than artistic term.


*She had her* — Mansfield in a letter to Richard Murry, [April 25, 1920], in *The Collected Letters of Katherine Mansfield*, 3.292.

*Racing along a* — Ibid., 1.228.


“an absurdity” — Ibid., 16.

*reading in Genesis* — Ibid., 23.

“in the arms” — Ibid., 25.

“gliding” — Ibid., 20.

“locked” — Ibid., 25.

“was able to” — Ibid., 27.

*This* — Mansfield in a letter to Annie Burnell Beauchamp, [November 20, 1907], in *The Collected Letters of Katherine Mansfield*, 1.32.


*sat in the* — Mansfield in a letter to Garnett Trowel, [October 16, 1908], in *The Collected Letters of Katherine Mansfield*, 1.73.


*I’ll ... come and* — Ibid., 1.513.

*monster big* — Ibid., 1.24.


“Nobody is going” — Ibid., 2.382.

“at the door” — Ibid., 1.246.

“miracles have not” — Adloff in a letter to Arthur Blocher, February 4, 1918, Archives B-S. Adloff was, by this point, a prisoner of war and being held in Britain.

“It is” — Mansfield in a letter to Ottoline Morrell, [early May 1919], in *The Collected Letters of Katherine Mansfield*, 2.317.

“one must have” — Mansfield in a letter to Dorothy Brett, [December 19, 1921], in *The Collected Letters of Katherine Mansfield*, 4.341.


“a drowned person” — Ibid., 12.

“to stop everything” — Ibid., 19.

“a demon” — Ibid., 20.

*We came back* — Mansfield in a letter to Garnett Trowell, [October 16, 1908], in *The Collected Letters of Katherine Mansfield*, 1.73.

“the miracle” — Mansfield in a letter to Hugh Walpole, October 27, 1920, in *The Collected Letters of Katherine Mansfield*, 4.86.

“one must have” — Mansfield in a letter to Dorothy Brett, [December 19, 1921], in *The Collected Letters of Katherine Mansfield*, 4.341.


“Every house ought” — Ibid., 1.134.
John is downstairs — Mansfield in a letter to Virginia Woolf, [late April 1919], in *The Collected Letters of Katherine Mansfield*, 2.314.


Chapter 7


La Maison de Verre — For an excellent visual guide, see Olivier Cinqualbre, *Pierre Chareau: Maison de Verre (Maison Dalsace)* Paris, France, 1928–32 (Tokyo: ADA Edita, 2012). For a brilliant exploration of the myriad subtexts that may be read within the Maison de Verre, see Emma Cheatle, *Part-architecture. The Maison de Verre, Duchamp, Domesticity and Desire in 1930s Paris* (London: Routledge, 2017). Of particular pertinence to this present book are the ways in which Cheatle: reads the house as a mirror image of Duchamp’s “The Bride Stripped Bare”; speculates on the unknown history of the many women who would have attended the clinic; meditates on why Benjamin does not give the name of Dalsace in
his letter to Adorno; and considers whether Benjamin’s reservations regarding glass as a building material were a factor in his not giving the lectures.


“In Paris even” — Benjamin in a letter to Carla Seligson, Freiburg, June 5, 1913, in *The Correspondence of Walter Benjamin, 26 / Briefe*, 56.

*mass-produced* — The work “Central Park,” written between April 1938 and February 1939, went unpublished in Benjamin’s lifetime. The full citation is: “in big cities, the woman appears … as a mass-produced article [Massenartikel].” Benjamin, *Selected Writings*, 4.188 / *Gesammelte Schriften*, 1.686.


“I have been” — Benjamin in a letter to Julia Radt, Paris, April 8, 1926, in *The Correspondence of Walter Benjamin, 296 / Briefe*, 419.

“The eroticist”— Ibid., 4.25 / ibid., 1.547.

“Love at last”— Ibid., 4.25 / ibid., 1.548.

“Taking a stroll”— The work “Letter from Paris (2),” written November to December 1936, went unpublished in Benjamin’s lifetime. Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings, 3.327 / Gesammelte Schriften, 3.495


“The triumphant encounter”— The work “Even the Sacramental Migrates into Myth,” written around 1923, went unpublished in Benjamin’s lifetime. Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings, 1.402.

“Dora has opened”— Benjamin in a letter to Gerhard Scholem, Paris, February 4, 1939, in The Correspondence of Walter Benjamin, 594 / Briefe, 802.

“I have just”— Benjamin in a letter to Theodor Adorno, Boulogne sur Seine, December 4, 1937, in The Complete Correspondence, 234 / Briefwechsel, 305.


“The women we”— The work “On the Concept of History,” written between February and May 1940, went unpublished in Benjamin’s lifetime. Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings, 4.390 / Gesammelte Schriften, 1.693.

“The ... women who”— Ibid., 4.389. / ibid., 1.693.


“Magical reading?” — The work “Doctrine of the Similar,” written between January and February 1933, went unpublished in Benjamin’s lifetime. Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings, 2.2.697 / Gesammelte Schriften, 2.209.

“Magical criticism?” — The work “Criticism as the Fundamental Discipline of Literary History,” written in 1930, went unpublished in Benjamin’s lifetime. Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings, 2.2.415 / Gesammelte Schriften, 6.173.

“I was once — Benjamin, “Berlin Chronicle,” in Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings, 2.2.614 / Gesammelte Schriften, 6.491.

“It is — Benjamin in a letter to Gretel Adorno, Paris, January 17, 1940, in The Correspondence of Walter Benjamin, 625 / Gretel Adorno and Walter Benjamin, Briefwechsel 1930–1940, eds. Christoph Gödde and Henri Lonitz (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 2005), 399.


“It is less — Benjamin in a letter to Gerhard Scholem, Frankfurt am Main, c. May 20–25, 1925, in The Correspondence of Walter Benjamin, 266 / Briefe, 379.

“The conventional — Benjamin in a letter to Ernst Cohen, April 7, 1919, in The Correspondence of Walter Benjamin, 140 / Briefe, 208.

a book — The book is Ursprung des deutschen Trauerspiels (1928) translated as The Origin of German Tragic Drama by John Osbourne (London: Verso, 1998). In 1925 Benjamin submitted the book to the University of Frankfurt as his Habilitation thesis, a post-doctoral qualification needed for university teaching. In the end, he was advised to withdraw the
thesis “to avoid the unpleasantness of public refusal.” George Steiner, “Introduction” in ibid., 11.

“Nearly the saddest — The work “The Role of Language in Trauerspiel and Tragedy,” written in 1916, went unpublished in Benjamin’s lifetime. Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings, 1.59 / Gesammelte Schriften, 2.137. Benjamin is here remarking that a tragic drama, or mourning play (the more literal translation of Trauerspiel) is not quite the saddest thing in the world. He does not make clear what is.

“My wife — The Origin is “dedicated to my wife.” Benjamin, The Origin of German Tragic Drama, 25.

“In the Princess — Benjamin, “Berlin Chronicle,” in Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings, 2.2.609 / Gesammelte Schriften, 6.484.


“In the universities — Benjamin, “The Life of Students” [1915], in Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings, 1.44 / Gesammelte Schriften, 2.84.


“Pornography” — Benjamin, The Arcades Project, 855. Also appears in Gesammelte Schriften, 5.1024.

“More or less — Benjamin in a letter to Kitty Marx-Steinschneider, Paris, April 15, 1936, in The Correspondence of Walter Benjamin, 525 / Briefe, 711.

“I have no” — Benjamin in a letter to Gretel and Theodor Adorno, Boulogne sur Seine, October 2, 1937, in The Complete Correspondence, 219 / Briefwechsel, 298.


“an aggregate of” — Ibid., 410 / ibid., 5.517.

“The purer Paris?” — Ibid., 137 / ibid., 5.198.

Dalsace and wife — The Dalsaces moved to the département de l’Allier in central France, where Dalsace helped to organise the resistance. Cheatle, Part-architecture, 35.

too expensive — Dominique Vellay and Francois Halard, La maison de verre (London: Thames & Hudson, 2007), 146.


If I can’t build — Benjamin in a letter to Florens Christian Rang, Berlin, September 28, 1923, in The Correspondence of Walter Benjamin, 209 / Briefe, 302.


the manuscript — Ibid., 667.

Like Madeleine — Blocher-Saillens, Temoin des années noires, 49–55. See also Blocher ed., Madeleine Blocher-Saillens, 132.
centrifugal force—Benjamin in a letter to Hugo Hofmannsthal, Tours, August 16, 1927, in *The Correspondence of Walter Benjamin*, 318 / Briefe, 449.

“They were afraid”—Blocher-Saillens, *Témoin des années noires*, 61. With all the fighting and bombing around Paris, there were, in fact, severe risks in leaving the city. As Blocher points out, Madeleine’s escape was undertaken “at peril of her life.” Blocher, *Madeleine Blocher-Saillens*, 132.


We … are resurrected—Ibid., 1.12 / ibid., 2.99.

Jewish girl—This was in August 1943. Blocher-Saillens, *Témoin des années noires*, 174.

Yesterday, I went—Ibid., 78.


Herr Adloff was—Blocher-Saillens, *Témoin des années noires*, 134.

I flee—Benjamin in a letter to Theodor Adorno, November 2, 1937, in *The Complete Correspondence*, 222 / Briefwechsel, 288.

As one leafs—Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, 549 / Gesammelte Schriften, 5.682.

To be found—Ibid., 48 / ibid., 5.99.


The gas-mask — Benjamin in a letter to Gretel Adorno, January 17, 1940, in The Correspondence of Walter Benjamin, 625 / Briefe, 842.

Green and violet — Benjamin in a diary entry, Ibiza, 1932, in The Storyteller, 36 / Gesammelte Schriften, 6.447. Fromms Akt was the brand name for a condom made from liquefied rubber by the chemist Julius Fromm who, as a Jew, fled Germany for England in 1939.


Three to be — This is June 27, 1942. Blocher-Saillens, Témoin des années noires, 136.

a yellow star — Madeleine makes clear that the young man was wearing l’étoile jaune. Blocher-Saillens, Témoin des années noires, 136.

Madame T. — Ibid., 138–41.

Monsieur T. abandoned — Ibid., 141. Madeleine believed he had done so.

Hitler is doomed — Benjamin in a letter to Gerhard Scholem, Paris, November 25, 1939, in Correspondence of Benjamin and Scholem, 259 / Briefwechsel, 312.

Try to see — As Madeleine writes, “we are trying to help him see God, His power, and the work [l’œuvre] He has for him to do in the camp.” Blocher-Saillens, Témoin des années noires, 140.

largely formal — Madeleine wrote that, by the time they got married, Johannes had “lost his faith” and Marie “had only a formal piety [piété de forme].” Journal de Madeleine Blocher-Saillens, May 21, 1924, Archives B-S.

His return — In a sermon given at the Tabernacle on October 24, 1941, Madeleine remarks of the Second Coming, “everything seems to indicate that it is near [proche].” Blocher, Madeleine Blocher-Saillens, 167.

a New Testament — This is in November 1940. Blocher-Saillens, Témoin des années noires, 74.


bookshops on the — Ibid., 922 / ibid., 5.1343.

“I have …grasped — Benjamin in a letter to Gerhard Scholem, c. September 10–12, 1933, in *Correspondence of Benjamin and Scholem, 76 / Briefwechsel, 100.

“Gare Saint-Lazare — Benjamin, *The Arcades Project, 831 / Gesammelte Schriften, 5.998.


The denunciations — Benjamin in a letter to Gerhard Scholem, Paris, December 7, 1933, *Correspondence of Benjamin and Scholem, 89 / Briefwechsel, 115.


Theology … by whispers — Benjamin in a letter to Gerhard Scholem, June 12, 1938, in *The Correspondence of Walter Benjamin, 565 / Briefe, 763. The German reads Flüsterzeitung, meaning “rumour newspaper.”


the Pyrenees — See Eiland and Jennings, *Walter Benjamin, 656.


Among the Jews—Madeleine mentions one particular Jewish woman who had thrown both herself and her child of eight from a window. Blocher-Saillens, Témoin des années noires, 138.


Early on in—Blocher-Saillens, Témoin des années noires, 84.

“The telephone”—Ibid., 236.

“Danton 9037”—This was Benjamin’s telephone number at the time. Benjamin in a letter to Theodor Adorno, Paris, June 10, 1935, in The Complete Correspondence, 101 / Briefwechsel, 134.

“You misunderstood me”—Benjamin in a letter to Julia Radt, Paris, April 8, 1926, in The Correspondence of Walter Benjamin, 295 / Briefe, 419.


I was told—Blocher-Saillens, Témoin des années noires, 236.

I am standing—Benjamin in a letter to Gerhard Scholem, Paris, June 1, 1938, in The Correspondence of Walter Benjamin, 563 / Briefe, 761.


Every second is—The work “On the Concept of History,” written between February and May 1940, went unpublish ed in Benjamin’s lifetime. Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings, 4.397 / Gesammelte Schriften, 1.704.
We have just — Le Bon Combat (Tabernacle Newsletter), written by Madeleine herself, Archives B-S.


“Court reduced”— Benjamin, The Origin of German Tragic Drama, 93. Also appears in Gesammelte Schriften, 1.271.


“I noticed that”— Benjamin in a letter to Gretel Adorno, Nièvre, October 12, 1939, in The Correspondence of Walter Benjamin, 615 / Briefe, 830.

The late Mme — Le Bon Combat, April 1948, Archives B-S.

“Its elongation”— Benjamin in a letter to Gretel Adorno, Nièvre, October 12, 1939, in The Correspondence of Walter Benjamin, 615 / Briefe, 830.

“It was”— The work “May to June 1931” went unpublished in Benjamin’s lifetime. Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings, 2.2.484 / Gesammelte Schriften, 6.440.

“Please forgive”— Benjamin in a letter to Theodor Adorno, Lourdes, August 2, 1940, in The Correspondence of Walter Benjamin, 639 / Briefe, 862.


Afterword

the lives of — Woolf, The Diary of Virginia Woolf, 2.37.

What is laid — Kafka, Aphorisms, 27.

to see the — Wilde, Complete Works, 4.159.