

“12.45 a.m. put away my “English Words in War-Time” of which I was paging several volumes: put on shoes and great coat, & armlet. Took Special Constable’s warrant-ticket in my pocket; and sallied forth” (Andrew Clark, “Echoes of the 1914 War”, 29th December 1914). For Andrew Clark, as the preceding quotation from his diary suggests, war was to be a period of unrelenting industry. Rector of the small parish of Great Leighs in Essex and, at fifty-eight, far too old to volunteer for active service, he ‘sallies forth’ not only as a ‘Special Constable’, but as a consummate historian of life on the Home Front. His war diary, initially headed “Echoes of the 1914 War in an Essex Village”, exists in ninety-two volumes (and some three million words) spanning August 1914 to December 1919.ⁱ Like the “little bit of ivory (two inches wide)” which Jane Austen chose to detail in her novels,ⁱⁱ Clark’s intellectual canvas was to be deliberately restricted in breadth if not in depth. As Munson (1985: xx) stresses, the diaries provide a “unique record” based in the collective history of a small community in war-time Britain.

As the extract above indicates, however, Clark would, in tandem, also undertake a second project in which war and history closely intersect. Clark’s “English Words in War-Time” of which some ten volumes were complete by December 1914, sought to document linguistic rather than social history, tracking the shifting patterns of words and meaning by which war was represented. Clark’s focus, as we might expect from his war diaries, was not on great writers or, indeed, trench poets. Instead, in ways which parallel his interests in the minutiae and transformations of ordinary life, he chose to examine language and its changing forms as used in ephemera, advertising, and news discourse using a range of sources from *The Scotsman* to the *Star*. Assembled evidence in the Words in War-Time archive reflects not just the changing techniques and idioms of war or the percolation of trench slang into wider domains of use, but also engages with war as a force for change in areas such as gender and identity, of food and fashion, or ideology and propaganda. Clark’s first notebook, headed “Newspaper cuttings for single words A-Z in the months of August and first half of Sept.

1914”, was densely packed with over a thousand entries. His second notebook, which was complete within a further two weeks, covers words beginning with *A-R* as used in the second half of September 1914. Even then, as Clark added in a later note on the opening page, “This volume is much too crowded. When the slips were pasted in, I was hopelessly in ignorance as to the number of possible cross-references”.

By 1919, some 90 notebooks and associated files would combine to provide an extraordinary and still largely unexplored record of language in the First World War (Mugglestone 2009).ⁱⁱⁱ These document single words, as in the methods Clark adopted in his first two notebooks as well as providing – via thematic notebooks on topics such as the changing language of flight, or motoring, or recruiting – a set of wider subject-specific explorations of words and usage within a period of significant change. “It is plain that the written language is being reconstructed”, Clark commented in 1914 (M.S. Eng.lang.e.8.: 37). Almost everywhere he turned his gaze some form of alteration seemed underway, whether with reference to the introduction of new words or the modification of those which had long existed in the language.

Clark wrote, importantly, as historian as well as linguist, paying close attention to the status of evidence as well as the models of history which might be used in investigations of this kind. Clark’s edition of Wood’s seventeenth-century *Survey of the Antiquities of the City of Oxford* had, for example, been published in 1888-9; the five volumes of Wood’s *Life and Times* followed in 1891-1900 alongside a masterly study of the antiquarian John Aubrey (Clark 1898), another influential writer for whom history was widely refracted through the details of ordinary life. “I have, according to your desire, putt in writing these minutes of lives, tumultuarily, as they occur’d to my thoughts or as occasionally I had information of them”, as Aubrey wrote of his own principles of collection (Clark 1898 I: 10). “Minuteness”, and an acute awareness of the kind of historical information that might easily be lost to future generations, guided Aubrey’s work. It was a point of view to which Clark would, as we will see, prove intensely sympathetic. As Clark had noted in editing Wood, what might otherwise seem “trivial ... is often of help towards understanding the matters and habits of the time” (Clark 1891: 5). Aubrey’s “tumultarious” processes offered similar precedent for the cumulative collection of details which Clark’s notebooks attest.

Clark’s interest in “historical principles”, and the ways these might be applied to language itself, had moreover long informed his work as a volunteer on the *Oxford English*

Dictionary.^{iv} The “historical method” and its “application...to the life and use of words” was central to the *Dictionary*, as James Murray, editor in chief of the *OED* between 1879 and 1915, had affirmed (1888: v). In the *Dictionary*, Clark’s work in editing Wood and Aubrey was, for example, put to good use, providing vital documentary evidence of the diverse operations of words in time. As in the *OED* entries for *print shop* and *propinque* precisely dated citations from Aubrey inform the lexical biographies that characterise the *Dictionary* and its methodology. Clark’s editing of *The English Register of Oseney Abbey* (1907-13) and *The English Register of Godstow Nunnery* (1905-11) offered similar resources. Both had been undertaken for the Early English Text Society, established in 1864 by Frederick Furnivall in order to provide authoritative early texts for the benefit of the *OED*. Clark’s editions reveal a firm consonance between narratives of history and the life of words, documenting, say, the first evidence of words such as *sherifhood* or *sententiously* as meaning ‘According to the sense; not word for word’ (*OED Online*, *sententiously* (adv.), sense 1) or of *remitting* used as a verbal noun.

As war came ever closer during 1914, Clark was, in fact, hard at work in drawing up another “Index of Words”, taken in this instance from his editing of the *Lincoln Diocese Documents, 1450-1544* (another project he had undertaken for the Early English Text Society). Collating his “Index” with relevant information as provided by the *OED* as it then existed, Clark began, however, to note down another range of words and senses. These, however, documented not the history of sixteenth-century Lincoln, but focussed instead on contemporary events, and the intersections of language in what would prove the critical prelude to conflict. Evidence of this kind, as Clark swiftly realised, could diverge in marked ways from the “inventory of the language” – and the “*lexicon totius Anglicitatis*” (Trench 1860: 4; 64) – which the *OED* had been intended to provide. *Acclimatise*, recorded in an early notebook on language (and before the Words in War-Time archive formally began), provides a useful example. The “endeavour to compel Alsace-Lorraine to become Prussian in sentiment and aspirations” seemed, Clark observed, to be a new and distinctive meaning for this and related words. His suggested definition operates in the light of on-going historical circumstances, aligning history and an early sense of the responsiveness (and topicality) which language might reveal. The relevant entry in the *OED* had, in contrast, been published in 1884 in the very first fascicle of the dictionary (which covered words in *A-Ant*). “The process of acclimatizing, or of being acclimatized, or habituated to a new climate”, Murray had stated in explanation; supporting evidence within the entry terminated in 1880. Yet as

Clark's reading in early 1914 suggested, history and language had alike moved on. "The Imperial Government has for forty years pursued the policy of "acclimatisation", but ... the two provinces are still far being absorbed or acclimatised", *The Scotsman* declared, for example, on 15th February 1914.^v Clark's scrutiny of language and "minuteness" identified sharply temporal meanings in the transferred uses of *acclimatise* and *acclimatisation* which appear in texts of this kind..

Clark's occasional notes on language and history, made across the spring and early summer of 1914, would by August of that year hence emerge into the distinct, and distinctive, project of "English Words in War-Time". *OED* methodology – with its emphasis on objectivity and a careful empiricism -- was reappropriated to different ends, documenting history as an on-going process in a language which was, in a variety of ways, revealing new patterns of adaptation and change. "Make a quotation for *every* word that strikes you as rare, obsolete, old-fashioned, new, peculiar, or used in a peculiar way", Murray had written in the "Directions to Readers for the Dictionary" which he issued in 1879: "Take special note of passages which show or imply that a word is either new or tentative, or needing explanation as old or archaic, and which thus help fix the date of its introduction or disuse" (Murray 1975: 347). Clark's notebooks reveal a careful attentiveness to desiderata of this kind. As for *acclimatise*, clippings from news discourse, war-advertising, posters, or propaganda were widely constituted as lexicographical "slips" which follow Murray's advice -- quite literally - - to the letter. Full bibliographical information is provided wherever possible, and relevant headwords and semantic nuances are carefully identified. Clark offers tentative definitions, as well as other comments on frequency and use where these are deemed necessary.

Clark's work serves to confirm a range of critical departures with reference to the *OED* and the information it had provided. "Putting together what I read in these papers with what I remembered of the N.E.D. [New English Dictionary]", it was, as Clark later records, swiftly "impressed on me that the English language, as found in 1914 in ordinary morning and evening newspapers, was moving along lines which had received very scanty notice in the big dictionary" (*Words* XXX: 4). Striving for authenticity (and at least the illusion of truth), news discourse would, for instance, increasingly include reported conversations from the Front, as well as extensive excerpts from letters sent to family and friends at home. "It was", Clark remarked, "abundantly plain that the English language as spoken by the members of the British army in the field was of a type scarcely recognised in N.E.D." Real language, in these and other respects, seemed at some remove from the documentation of the *Dictionary*.

Interesting, too, as Clark stressed, was the apparent renegotiation of “Englishness” itself whereby loanwords of various kinds assumed a new (if perhaps temporary) currency in the language. As he commented in 1915, “the close intimacy of our troops and newspaper writers with foreigners in France inevitably led to a very free use of loan-words and half-assimilated words, used sometimes almost in jest, to remind friends at home of the writers’ unusual surroundings, but more often as the actual term applied to the actual thing, for which an English equivalent need not be sought” (*Words* XXX: 7). While, as he admits, the longevity of such forms was by no means assured, this could, for Clark, remind of the need for careful observation, and attendant documentation, before they disappeared once more: “It is, of course, doubtful if any of these will survive, and it may be questioned whether they deserve to survive, but this occurrence may be noted”. As the notebooks variously confirm, the resulting patterns were tracked with assiduity, yielding further testimony to the cross-currents of history and the linguistic ramifications which might, by extension, be involved.

It was perhaps inevitable that a number of the conclusions advanced by the *OED* would seem distinctly premature when seen from perspectives of this kind. *Platoon*, a word which Clark documents from September 1914, had, for example, been given as obsolete in one of the more recent fascicles of the *Dictionary*.^{vi} “N.E.D. says “obs”, but much in use in 1915”, Clark countered, providing widespread evidence of its continuing role as adjective as well as noun. “Whole platoons rushed to the rescue and emptied their magazines into them, and not a few were bayoneted. ... ‘Bravo!’, shouted my platoon commander as he watched the carnage through his field glasses”, as an article he extracted from the *Daily Express* on 1st September 1914 had declared with patriotic zeal (see Mugglestone 2014). *Terrace*, another recent entry in the *OED* (it appeared in a fascicle published in 1911) was similarly awry. “N.E.D. says ‘obs.’ but re-introduced as a loan-word”, Clark contends, providing supporting evidence from the *Evening News* on September 8th 1914. ‘N.E.D does not sufficiently recognize that it is naturalized’, he comments to similar effect against the word *caution*, here as attested in the *Evening News* four days earlier: “The German officer rushed off to Tim Flanagan, the biggest caution in the whole regiment”. *Caution*, as Clark elaborated, was used in informal and colloquial registers as a slang word “meaning rough but clever fellow”.

It is this marked sense of contemporaneity which often provides a distinguishing feature of Clark’s work. Terms such as *bottle up* and *caisson*, as Clark confirms, assume new patterns of prominence. “An expression much in use Sept-December 1914”, he states for the former, for example, explaining that “to bottle up troops is to suffer them to be hemmed in so

as to be unable to take to the field". The *OED*'s definition, written in 1885, seemed markedly inadequate: "To store up as in bottles; to keep under restraint (anger or other feelings", as it had stated of the figurative and transferred uses which *bottle up* might yield (see *OED*1, *bottle* (v.), sense 2). "As I said yesterday it is and must be the first duty of the Allied Commander to run no risk of any large section of his army becoming "bottled up" in Paris or in any other fortified or unfortified centre", the *Evening News* had instead reported, providing a citation which Clark carefully extracted for his notebooks in September 1914. *Caisson* (identified in the *OED* as "A chest containing ammunition; a wagon for conveying ammunition") was, as Clark likewise adduced, "in continual use as a military term 1914-15". He documented a new familiarity for this word (alongside meanings in which, in an increasingly motorised war, the *OED*'s specification of "wagons" proved equally obsolescent). *Debacle*, as the notebooks confirm, was yet another conspicuous form in the diction of 1914, being used with connotations that are very different to those dominant today. "In constant use at this period = a smashing defeat", as Clark states, for example, against another clipping which he took from the *Evening News* on 8th September 1914: "Everything points to the whole Austrian field army being on the brink of total destruction. The only question is, what portion of it may escape the debacle". A *debacle* was "A sudden breaking up or downfall; a confused rush or rout, a stampede", the *OED* had earlier noted. War, as Clark argues across the archive, would impact on connotations, as well as core areas of meaning, in patterns of change which influence both usage and distribution.

Words, in Clark's notebooks, can, for example, repeatedly rise and fall in frequency, in tandem with events and the changing processes of understanding and allegiance. He documents in close detail, for instance, the emergence of "to do one's bit". This was "a stock phrase in Sept-Dec 1914", he hence comments against relevant citations in which it was used to signify "to do their share of a dangerous, toilsome, or disagreeable duty". Clark adds a further comment in a later notebook on its continued currency. "To do one's fair share of a task, to do one's duty honestly [much in army use, and in recruiting use, in 1914-15]". Clark's interest in propaganda led, however, to a wider examination of its coercive use. As his assembled evidence attests, illustrative quotations in the popular press would often demonstrate an exemplary bravado, and strategically positive connotations. "DID MY BIT", states the heading of one of Clark's excerpts from the *Daily Express* (dated 12th November 1914). The personal consequences of "doing one's bit" are minimised; as the first-person narrative in the accompanying article expounds: "Another chap with his forearm nearly shot

away told me with great pride and a beaming face, while he sucked a cigarette I gave him, “Well, sir, I suppose it was my turn, but I did my bit. I did in fifteen of ‘em myself this morning”. As the notebooks widely confirm, “doing one’s bit” seeped into the popular consciousness of war, deftly reinforcing a rhetoric of participation and shared obligation.

Other patterns of prominence are perhaps less predictable. *Back number*, a term which the *Dictionary* had not included,^{vii} offered particularly interesting forms of use. This was, Clark declared, “an epidemic in 1914-15”, especially in figurative uses by which it referred to “an effete and negligible power”. Like other prominent collocations such as “contemptible little army” (another leitmotif of these early months of war), it often appeared in contexts in which Britain’s strength was patriotically emphasised. “The efficiency shown by Britain – naval, military, and civil – showed that she was not yet a back number”, as an illustrative citation from *The Scotsman* on 8th October 1914 confirms. *Refugee* and *frightfulness* were other conspicuous forms in these early months. *Refugee* was, of course, by no means new, and had been defined in the *OED* in 1905 (see *OED1: refugee* (n)). The original entry, however, had made no reference to conflict and the patterns of displacement which might ensue. Instead, refugees were linked to the consequences of religious persecution or political trouble (references to history within the entry drew on the French Huguenots after the Edict of Nantes in 1685 and the “American revolutionary war”).

“There are 20,000 French and Belgian refugees now in Folkestone, and many of the exiles have passed on to London”, the *Evening News* instead recorded in September 1914 in another clipping that Clark gathered up for the Words in War-Time archive as evidence of on-going change. “Some of them have seen towns and villages laid waste amid circumstances of incredible cruelty, others have fled before the black legions come upon them”, it continued. *War refugee* often appeared as a particularising form in these early months: a *war refugees* committee was announced, for example, in the *Daily Express* on 12th September 1914 while the *Evening News* commented on charitable endeavours in the form of a “matinee tea in aid of war refugees” in October. Other endeavours by which “no fewer than six one-act plays are to be performed by well-known actors and actresses in aid of the war refugees” were drawn to public attention, here in the *Evening News* on 18th September 1914. *War* as a modifying element nevertheless quickly proved redundant. To be a *refugee* within the First World War was, of itself, to be someone who had sought refuge from the enemy, and the conflict which had ensued. “I have seen thousands of refugees on the roads flying from the enemy, carrying all their worldly possessions on their backs”, as a letter in the *Evening News*

on 19th Sept 1914 – sent by Corporal Street, based in the British Expeditionary Force headquarters in France -- had reported. Similar was the use of *refugee* in other collocations which, unknown before the war, also appeared at this time, such as *refugee set* which, the *Daily Express* explained, ‘compris[ed] a child’s frock, a child’s petticoat, a little boy’s day shirt, and a woman’s blouse’. These, as it added, were urgently required.

Entries of this kind often exemplify the kind of “minuteness” that Aubrey had commended – taking us into an often forgotten litany of words by which the realities of history, and life on the Home Front, can be vividly evoked. While the *OED* would later emend its entry for *refugee*, adding war as one of the explicit circumstances which might prompt migration of this kind (see *OED Online, refugee* (n)),^{viii} the extent to which dictionaries can reflect the precise semantic textures of WWI can, in other ways, remains open to debate. As Clark explores, a *refugee* was not, in WWI, merely one who had sought refuge but someone who was, in contemporary uses, often inevitably embedded in a wider discourse of good and evil. As in recruiting posters which urged readers to “Remember Belgium”, *refugee*, and the connotative values it assumed, would readily occupy the moral high ground, providing symbols of innocence as set against the operation of German “frightfulness” (a loan-translation of *schrecklichkeit*) – here in another pervasive form which offered marked topicality during 1914-18. If English *frightfulness* and German *frightfulness* look, at least superficially, the same, a clear semantic dissonance marked their operation in contemporary use. German *frightfulness*, as a range of citations in the archive confirms, was strategically associated with the capacity for wilful violence and destruction (see Mugglestone 2015a). ‘The German generals declared it was absolutely necessary to punish people who had dared to defend their own country and to prevent a continuation of their opposition by a wholesale frightfulness, as the *Daily Express* (19th December 1914) observed in an early attestation of this kind.

As Clark came to realise, this was indeed a war of words in which abundant textual resources documented, on a daily basis, a complex pattern of response and representation. “No war before 1914 had been so written about, no war after 1918 would be so uniquely captured by a single medium”, as Huw Strachan later commented of print culture (and news discourse) at this time (Palmer and Wallis 2003: ix). Or as Clark himself stressed, here in a notebook entitled *Miscellaneous Notes* (n.p.), “there has never been a war in which such an enormous number of Englishmen have been in the field, or in branches of service subsidiary to operation in the actual fighting line, so there has never been a war in which so many

English men and women, who remained at home, have had so direct and personal an interest. Little was read, little was talked about, except the army and navy and other forces.”

As Clark explored, the colonization – and patterns of elaboration – which attended particular areas of discourse could, in this respect, often seem particularly striking. Looking back at the First World War, it can, with hindsight, seem all too easy to perceive it as a time in which terms such as *trench warfare*, *shellshock*, and, say, *trench foot* rose into seemingly inevitable prominence. Clark’s achievement in his almost daily examination of language in use is instead often to reveal the flux and hesitations before such collocations are fully established. As Clark’s notebooks attest, for example, the diction of the *siege* and *siege war* was surprisingly prominent in the first autumn of the war (see Mugglestone 2014b). As in the quotations Clark provides from the *Evening News* in September 1914, such terms were often used in depicting the stasis of the western front before *trench warfare* (another word absent from the first edition of the *OED*) came to consolidate core areas of meaning and representation in this respect. “The “siege warfare” of the river Aisne continues”, the *Evening News* hence reported on 25th September 1914. “We are slowly advancing in the region of the Vosges ... where a regular siege-war has been in progress for two days’, it had stated some two weeks earlier. Clark carefully abstracted evidence of this kind, seeing – as for Wood and Aubrey -- evidence of the “life and times” of a nation at war, here as manifested in the linguistic temporalities of use. *Siege-war*, omitted from the *OED* both then and now, was, as Clark confirms, “a compound noun much in favour Sept-Nov 1914”. Similar was *underground war*, eloquently used in the *Evening News* on 1st October 1914: “The Germans are already fighting what may be termed an underground war with winter on the horizon; their men and guns lie buried out of sight. An invisible foe faces us, a foe who must virtually be dug out with bayonet or blown out with one of our Long Toms”. *Trenchland*, *trench soldiers*, *trench men*, *trench helmets*, *trench waders* (another local response to “trench feet”), *trench plague*, *trench fever*, and *trench periscopes* meanwhile testify (among others) to later aspects of lexical elaboration in this respect. As the archive confirms, one could, in turn, become *trench-hardened*, as well as gaining facility in what the *Daily Express* described as a *trench-learnt language*.^{ix}

War – and its linguistic manifestations – was, of course, by no means restricted to active conflict. The diction of the *black-out*, often associated with WWII, offers, for example, useful illustration of Clark’s interest in the changing dynamics of usage on the Home Front. If “war in the air”, as the *Scotsman* had stressed on 8th September 1914, had hitherto been the stuff of imaginative fiction rather than military reality, the possibility of aerial attacks on locales remote from actual battlefields would, in a new era of “total war”, present new sources of anxiety as well as strategic response. Even Clark’s first notebook of August–September 1914 was replete with new combinatory forms which evoked the salience of the “conquest of the air” (here in another collocation which proved of interest in Clark’s work).^x *Air raids, air raiders, air pirates, air duels, air offensive, aerial enemies, air reconnaissance, reconnaissance flights, and soldier-aviators*, alongside scores of other related forms – many of which still remain absent from the formal lexicographic record of English- were all to be assembled, together with appropriate evidence, in Clark’s archival records. “We shall no doubt hear more of the desperate missions our fancy has usually associated with work of the soldier-aviator”, as a telling citation, extracted from the *Scotsman* on 18th August 1914, had, for example, presciently declared. “Bomb-Dropper over Paris again”, the *Daily Express* announced on 2nd September 1914.

“A compound noun much in ... use in Sept. 1914”, Clark commented with reference to the latter, drafting an appropriate definition as: “a man who drops bombs on a town from an aircraft flying over it”. *Bombs* in the *OED*, in a section published in 1887, had been fired from the ground. Clark would in contrast track a range of associated forms such as *bomb-dropping* and *bomb-throwing* which are in themselves reflective of the changing patterns of material culture in this respect (alongside its continued absence of mechanization, as Clark’s drafted definition above also serves to confirm). *Bomb-drill*, as Clark notes, offered other newly distinctive meanings, not least in its application to civilians as well as combatants. “Definite instructions as to what is to be done if bombs are dropped on a town”, he explained against an article describing “Antwerp’s Bomb Drill” in the *Evening News* on 4th September 1914.

The language of *lights-out orders*, together with a range of new rules on *dimming* and *darkening*, would all emerge in response to threats of this kind. An article in *The Scotsman*, included in the archive, hence describes the custom of “Bringing in the New Year” at the Tron Church in Edinburgh. “The old custom of bringing in the New Year at the Tron Church,

Edinburgh, was unaffected by the tragedy of the times”, it stated, noting, however, that the sole difference was that:

“This year, owing to the “lights-out order,” the face of the Tron clock was not illuminated. The fitful moonlight was not sufficient to reveal the movement of the hands, and as owing to the confused murmur of voices below, the sound of the bell above is never heard, the crowd had great difficulty in determining to a moment when 1914 slipped away and 1915 entered on the scene” (*The Scotsman*, 1st January 1915).

Even earlier evidence, however, can be used to track the gradual changes of policy and practice in this respect. As Clark notes, the profession of “illuminating engineer” – used in the *Daily Telegraph* and *The Scotsman* in October 1914 (and unrecorded in the *OED* as it then existed) assumed a new salience. “Illuminating engineers are finding much food for thought in the present state of partial lighting of London at night”, *The Scotsman* stressed on 13th October 1914. The diction of *partial lighting*, *semi-darkness*, and *light restriction* – other forms which Clark records as absent in the *OED* -- widely evoke the ways in which language and historical response could work together. “The conditions of semi-darkness” have been “wisely enforced by the authorities with the aim of thwarting any night attack by air on the Metropolis”, *The Scotsman* affirmed. Similarly useful, for Clark’s purposes, was an article in the *Evening News* on 4th September 1916. “There are three elements in our scheme of defense against Zeppelins – darkening, anti-aircraft guns, and aeroplanes. All three played their part. The more complete darkening, which had just come into force in the metropolitan area, caused the enemy to slow down and fumble vainly for their bearings’. “Headlight dimmer” is a further aspect of such uses, documented in the *Daily Express* in 1916 in admirably domestic detail: “twopence-halfpennyworth of Epsom salts dissolved in a teacupful of water provides the neatest and most efficient “headlight dimmer” for motor-cars so far proposed”.

As for Aubrey and Wood, history can, as here, be meaningfully located in the details of the everyday -- and embodied in the kind of diction which might otherwise remain unrepresented and forgotten. Across Clark’s archive, what he describes as “war-enthusiasm” can, in similar ways, be documented via the diction of *cartridge buttons* and *bayonet belts* (see Mugglestone 2015c). Constituting newly fashionable female accessories in the spring of 1915, both attest patterns of signification which still remain outside the *OED*. Conversely, here in other absences from conventional lexicography, opposition to those who resisted

ongoing participation in the war can be refracted through the dismissive *peacette* or *peace-plotter* or the still more condemnatory *bleater*. *Bleat*, as Clark elaborated, was “much in use, contemptuously”, as, in fact, was *pacifist* (another form for which no record existed in the contemporary *OED*).^{xi} *Peace-plotter* and *peacette* still remain unrecorded, in ways which further testify to the salience of what Clark achieved, here in exploring the negative construction of campaigns for peace in the spring of 1915.

As Clark argued with reference to his policies of selection, it was in fact ad-hoc coinages or new-forged neologisms – and their occurrence in popular rather than literary discourse -- which could thereby often serve to refract the historical moment with resonant precision. *Zeppelinphobia*, another coinage which appears in the autumn of 1914, offers one such example, not least in the ways in which it confirms with telling acuity an early (if unwarranted) confidence that fears of this kind were entirely groundless. ‘Many people are suffering from Zeppelinphobia, among them some who ought to know better’, as an article in the *Daily Express* announced in October 1914. Form and intended meaning would intersect with precision; *phobias*, as the *OED* had recently confirmed, were to be seen “abnormal” and “irrational” even if they might indeed be “caused by a particular object or circumstance” (see *OED1*, *phobia* (n.)). *Zeppelinphobia* both evoked – and dispelled – contemporary anxieties in this respect. That Zeppelins might advance on Britain was seen as, quite literally, far-fetched.

Language and historical process would nevertheless display an interesting parallelism in this respect as the war advanced. By January 1915, *Zeppelinphobia* had, for example, been joined by the rather different *Zeppelinism* -- an equally telling form which appeared in the wake of the first Zeppelin attacks on East Anglia in which four people were killed (and a number of others injured). *Zeppelinism*, as the *Evening News* explained, hence denoted a ‘new affliction of the eyes’ in an epidemic which had now “broken out on the East coast”. It was, it added, caused by the relentless scrutiny of the sky in anxious anticipation of another Zeppelin attack (see further Mugglestone 2015b). By 1916, a wide range of associated forms and collocations had been established. While the contracted *zep* and *zepp* hence widely confirm the familiarization of attacks of this kind, Clark’s notebooks variously record (among other forms) the existence of *Zeppelin barometers* (which linked weather patterns to the likelihood of a Zeppelin attack), *zeppelin attack*, *zeppelin raid*, *zeppelin insurance*, as well as *zeppelin blinds* (which were advertised in *The Scotsman* in April 1916, here as a further manifestation of the public concern for *darkening*). *Airship frightfulness* meanwhile testified to other images of *schrecklichkeit* as deployed on British soil.

What Clark described as his ‘word-work’ (*Words* XXX: 23) would, in such ways, achieve a scope and scale which clearly have seemed unprecedented when he began. “When I began collecting these slips”, he confessed, “I had not the faintest idea that they would extend beyond a dozen volumes at most” (*Words* XXX: 27). Language in Clark’s notebooks would, in a range of ways, reveal the problems of representing – and negotiating -- experiential reality as war took Britain in often unprecedented directions. Remembered for its destructiveness and the loss of hundreds of thousands of lives, the First World War, for Clark, was, paradoxically, to be a domain of often striking fertility; *gas*, first used in April 1915, yoked a new capacity for human damage with new instances of lexical (and semantic) productivity. Similar were the strategic extensions by which *gaps in the line* or *wastage* signalled the realities of death and injury, or the euphemisms by which lines were variously *readjusted* or *puttied up* or in which, as Clark noted, with some acerbity, a *regrettable incident* came to signify “a costly blunder, unexpected defeat”. This, too, was, he added, “an affected phrase in common use 1914-15”. Language could, on many counts, be made a strategic vehicle for war, and the ways in which it might be understood.

The sheer abundance of information in the Words in War-Time archive means, of course, that a single essay can by no means provide a full account of Clark’s achievements. His interest is all-encompassing – notebooks, bundles of advertisement, collections of posters, alongside a range of other forms of ephemera – all complete with Clark’s distinctive forms of annotation and comment – remain in the Bodleian Library as a treasure trove of words in use in a time of war. The “troughs” in the *OED*’s representation of language at this time have, as Beal (2004: 31) comments, long remained a puzzle, leading to the problematic conclusion that “war does not stimulate lexical innovation”. Clark’s distinctive “minuteness” can, in this light, both resolve some of these issues, as well as serving to present a stalwart defence against the kind of “oblivion” of which Aubrey warned with reference to the ephemeral and ordinary forms by which history is enacted in daily life. “Tis pitty that such minutes had not been taken 100 yeares since or more: for want whereof many worthy men’s names and notions are swallowed up in oblivion”, as Aubrey had lamented (Clark 1898 I: 11). While, as Clark was well aware, the notebooks cannot provide a complete record of language at this time,^{xiii} his profound awareness of historical fragility, and the ease by which the details of history can be lost, remains a key aspect of his own approach to the life of words, embodied here in an archive of extraordinary detail and range.

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ⁱ Andrew Clark's manuscript war diaries and his notebooks headed *English Words in War-Time* can be found in the Bodleian Library, Oxford at, respectively, MS Eng.hist.e.88-177c, and MS Eng. Misc.e.265 -e.329; an extensive range of ancillary collections by Clark (in which he also comments on language at this time) also form part of the Bodleian holdings for Clark. The citation given in the epigraph to this chapter can be found at MS Eng.hist.e.95: 3^r. A selection from the diaries was edited by James Munson and published (in one volume) as *Echoes of the Great War. The Diary of the Reverend Andrew Clark 1914-1919* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985). I would like to thank Colin Oberlin-Harris and Alison Mackenzie for permission to cite from the Clark archive. Throughout the chapter, the *Words in War-Time* notebooks will be referenced as *Words*, giving also volume number and page number.

ⁱⁱ Jane Austen to James Edward Austen, 16th-17th December 1816 (Le Faye 1995: 323).

ⁱⁱⁱ See also <https://wordsinwartime.wordpress.com>, a project funded by the John Fell Fund, Oxford, which examines a range of Clark's findings in terms of language and historical change between 1914-19.

^{iv} The first edition of the *OED* was published serially between 1884 and 1928 under the title of a *New English Dictionary on Historical Principles*. Clark was thanked by name in a number of the individual fascicles; see e.g. Murray (1901: vii) who draws attention to Clark as one of the "friends" of the *Dictionary* deserving "particular mention" because of their assistance "in the treatment or investigation" of particular sections of vocabulary. Clark regularly corresponded with Murray, commenting on proof sheets and sending in new material. On the making of the *OED*, and the impact of war, see especially Mugglestone (2005).

^v Conventions within this chapter use italics to indicate headwords, and underlining to indicate Clark's annotated forms as used for the citations in the archive.

^{vi} See *OED1*, *platoon* (n.). The entry had been written in 1907.

^{vii} It was first included in the *OED Supplement* (Craigie and Onions 1933).

^{viii} The relevant section of the entry was revised in Craigie and Onions (1933). Usage in relation to war was traced back to 1914, and given as a new sense. Later revision for *OED Online* (in September 2009) has, however, elided this as a separate sense, placing war amid other circumstances which might lead to the process of becoming a refugee. See *OED Online*, *refugee* (n.), sense 1b.

^{ix} The *OED* would later include entries for *trench fever* and *trench periscope*, but the other forms given here remain absent. See *OED Online*, *trench* (n.). The entry was revised in June 2014.

^x See e.g. a citation Clark extracted from the *Star*, September 5th 1914: "the conquest of the air has served to cloak the most infamous stain in contemporary history. It has demonstrated that the means of flying, in the hands of barbarians, have brought into prominence their savage, terrible, and ignoble brutality".

^{xi} This was first added to the *OED* in Craigie and Onions (1933). Clark's gloss of the intended meaning of *bleater* as "whining sentimentalist" illuminates the kind of "war-enthusiasm" he documents, with a certain scepticism, in the popular press.

^{xii} As Clark admitted in Volume 30 of his notebooks, "these newspaper notes are very far from what I intended them to be". The ideal – for a historian of language – was 'leisurely selection, day by day, of characteristic slips; then, after these have accumulated for perhaps a couple of years, sorting them into heads; and writing a conclusive judgment on each head'. Practically that had proved "impossible for a student to attempt, who had other duties to serve, and other clamant interests to attend to, who could give to this word-work only uncertain fragments of time at irregular intervals".