AMERICAN CULTURAL CRITICISM
EXPATRIATE VARIETY 1910-20

By

WARREN IRVING SUSMAN

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AN AMERICAN MAGAZINE COMMENTS ON THE EXPATRIATES IN PARIS
(Note the symbols used to characterize them)
LIFE (April 5, 1929)

FIRST EXPATRIATE AMERICAN: *Garcon, what was that piece the orchestra just played?*
"That, M'sieu, was 'The Star Spangled Banner!' "

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PREFACE

The decade 1920-30 was a period of great soul-searching among many American intellectuals, soul-searching in behalf of the United States and its problems. The term soul-searching is used advisedly, for central to their thinking was the problem of relating themselves as individuals to a complex and rapidly changing social order. Whatever else this period might have been, it was a decade of unique cultural criticism. By cultural criticism I mean general criticism of American: its institutions, norms, ideas, its social relationships, its cultural products. This essay is a study of part of that cultural criticism, that offered by a group of expatriate artist-intellectuals.

The central focus of this particular criticism was a problem unique to the members of this group because of their chosen profession. As artists or students of the arts, these men had an especially difficult task. The artist not only had to find himself a place in society as an individual, but he also had to discover a suitable relationship between his chosen work and that society. Plato created a special place in his Republic for the artist and a special function for his work; but, as on other issues, Plato's answer has not been accepted as a final solution to the problem.

The artist, as the term is used here, is a triple-

man. He is an individual in a society, politically, socially, economically; he may be a voter and will probably be counted in the census reports. Secondly, very often he is "man-thinking," an individual concerned with certain problems who uses his insights, intellect, and training to solve them. Finally, he conceives of a special function for his own work: perhaps he believes that the purpose of his art is to gain insights and meaning from experience, to cut through the "official version of life" to its "actual quality," to discover values in the world.[1]

The problem of the isolation of this artist from his community, his inability to find, in the period concerned, a suitable working relationship between himself, his art, and his society forms the central focus for the type of cultural criticism these men evolved. That isolation may be of two general types. The artist and his society may not be able to agree on the function of his work. In this type of the importance of modern science and the values attached to it can be demonstrated. Secondly, the artist may feel oppressed by the "official version of life." In this type of isolation the general values and social conventions of the middle-class served to alienate the artist

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1. This is a definition of the function of the novelist which was suggested by F. O. Matthiessen, "The Pattern of Literature," in Changing Patterns in American Civilization (Philadelphia, 1949)37.

from a society in which these values and conventions rule.

My major concern in this essay is with the general cultural criticism which was produced by some expatriates as they attempted to solve the central problem of their relationship to American society. Expatriation represents an extreme form of artistic isolation. The case study of Ezra Pound is used as a possible model and foil for later expatriate writings. The problems the Twenties' group dealt with were certainly not original with their generation.

In the major portion of my study, the three central chapters of exposition and contrast of cultural criticism, I have attempted to keep my focus on (1) the methods of criticism, the critical theories and frames of reference; (2) the key issues as they appear to these critics; (3) the success of their analysis in enabling us to better understand the culture of the period; (4) the success of their analysis in solving the problem of the art-society relationship, or in aiding us to understand that problem better; (5) the contrasts and similarities in viewpoints and suggestions (6) the general value of what they had to say.

It is my hope that this study will enable us to see more clearly some of the problems of the intellectual and social history of the period. Also it may help us to understand the nature of the idea of individualism as it was used in this period. I have included an introductory chapter which is an attempt to achieve an impressionistic

view of the climate of opinion by suggesting the key issues with which these men felt they were faced. I also include an analysis of the expatriation of the twenties in an attempt to clarify this part of the expatriate problem in our recent cultural history. In an appendix I have included the leading biographical details about the major figures I have considered in my discussion.

In most cases I have not used the literary or artistic products of these artist-intellectuals,primarily to avoid the pitfalls of many historians who do use such materials. I could have used much of Pound's poetry and many expatriate novels, but I feel I could not do so without a great deal of qualification in order to keep these works in proper artistic or literary perspective. Rather I have used the mass of prose commentaries, intimately connected perhaps with their literary productions, the critical works, the real primary material for the historian. For here are their general statements of aims, their discussions of function and other key critical issues which must be understood if their production is to be understood. The artistic product is, after all, refined through an artistic personality, through literary theories and the discipline of their craft. This "refining" process, therefore, often makes the final literary product somewhat less primary than commentaries on social and other problems.

The bibliography suggests the mass of material I have used for this study. In my exposition of theories and criticisms, I have chosen to illustrate from this material rather than to utilize extensive quotations. None of the figures discussed presented the public with a system of critical evaluation. For my purposes, it has been necessary for me to attempt such a systemizing without doing any injustice to the criticism I am discussing. In my exposition I have tried to be fair to the general spirit and the form of the criticism offered. As far as possible, I have attempted to present the major considerations of their criticism and not to present the case for or against any of them. Understanding demands their ideas and attitudes have a full hearing. Such a hearing has never before been given for many of those considered; I intend to give such a fair hearing.

It is not the general custom for a master's essay to list its various acknowledgements, but it seems quite essential for this one to make such an accounting. To the librarians of the New York Public Library a special debt is owed. Access to that institution's rich collection of "little magazines" made this essay possible. Thanks must go to the members of the Reference Department and its Periodical Division, especially to its head, Barron F. Franz and Miss Eugenia Patterson who expedited my researches in

every way and generally made my brief stay worthwhile. In addition I owe special debts to the librarians of the University of Chicago Libraries and the Chicago Public Library. Miss Marion Cameron of the former institution aided me in utilizing previously unused materials and enabled me to roam freely through the stacks. The curators of the Rare Book Room and the Harriet Monroe Modern Poetry Collection gave the author kind permission to use valuable manuscript materials and rare "little magazines." I am indebted to the Chief Librarian of The Chicago Tribune for the opportunity to use their file of their Paris edition, 1918-1932. Nor can I forget the kindness and generosity of Mrs. Thomas H. Robinson, Recorder, and Miss Helen A. Gaffney, Reference Librarian, of Hamilton College who provided me with transcripts and other important references in connection with my work on Ezra Pound. Miss Beatrice Osband of Detroit provided me with various pieces of material needed to complete certain phases of research from several library sources in Detroit. Thanks must also be extended to the Reference Librarians of the University of Wisconsin Library, especially Miss Winchester, who gave generously of their time and knowledge. I must also add my debt to various expatriate writers who answered my personal inquiries with helpful letters. In this connection I must especially express my gratitude to Mr. Ezra Pound and Mr. Glenway Wescott. Sister M. Bernetta, graduate student in English at

the University of Wisconsin, was kind enough to allow me to read the letters she has received from Ezra Pound and to discuss with me several problems concerning Mr. Pound.

It will be obvious to the readers of this essay the debt I owe to the historians of The Little Magazine. This work provided valuable bibliographical aid for my own work in those periodicals. I am especially glad to acknowledge my personal obligation to one of the authors of that work, Professor Fredrick J. Hoffman, whose course and seminar, as well as personal discussions, cleared up my background problems for me. Also a great personal debt is owed to the members of a unique seminar in American Intellectual History, of which I was indeed fortunate to be a member, and to its leader Professor Merle Curti. I must merely add my own name to that long list of workers in intellectual history who are already so much in debt to Professor Curti's pioneering work. To the seminar and its leader I especially owe inspiration and faith - two "victorian" but still meaningful words - which enabled me to do what ever I have done. It is to this seminar, its spirit and inquiring method, that this essay is humbly dedicated.

These fought in any case,
and some believing,
pro domo, in any case ...

Some quick to arm,
some for adventure,
some from fear of weakness,
some from fear of censure,
some for love of slaughter, in imagination,
learning later ...
some in fear, learning love of slaughter;

Died some pro patria,
non "dulce" non "et decor" ...
walked eye-deep in hell
believing in old men's lies, then unbelieving
came home, home to a lie,
home to many deceits,
home to old lies and new infamy;
usury age-old and age-thick
and liars in public places.

Daring as never before, wastage as never before.
Young blood and high blood,
fair cheeks, and fine bodies;

frankness as never before,
disillusions as never told in the old days,
hysterias, trench confessions,
laughter out of dead bellies.

There died a myriad,
And of the best, among them,
For an old bitch gone in the teeth,
For a botched civilization,

Charm, smiling at the good mouth,
Quick eyes gone under earth's lid,

For two gross of broken statues,
For a few thousand battered books.

From <u>Hugh Selwyn Mauberly</u>
by Ezra Pound

CHAPTER I

Introduction: Social and Philosophical Backgrounds

The decade before the first World War had seen the triumph of pragmatism and relativism over idealism in many intellectual circles.[1] Pragmatism offered a new hope for social progress and the solution of the major social problems that faced the United States in those years. In scholarship, relativism had already captured some of the leading historians; in literary criticism an aesthetic theory, represented by the followers of Croce, was being replaced by a sociological or historical theory. Relativism had taught us that nothing remained static, everything was in a constant flux. There could, therefore, be no "absolute" or "universal" ideas or concepts. No one set of principles could apply in every state or condition of mankind because of the flux and the ever-changing relationships among men and social and economic conditions. What had been considered "universal" or "absolute" was merely an idea, developed by fallible man, in particular conditions, because of individual or social needs. To assume that these ideas could always apply was sheer nonsense. The ideals of a society were like the myths of old. Changing social and

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1. See Brand Blanshard, "The Heritage of Idealism," in Changing Patterns of American Civilization (Philadelphia, 1949); George Santayana, Character and Opinion in the United States (New York, 1920) and Winds of Doctrine (New York, 1913); and Herbert Schneider, A History of American Philosophy (New York, 1947).

economic conditions affected men; they did not act on the basis of static and pre-conceived ideas alone, but often rationalized their action with theory and ideas that fit the occasion. No factor or individual was an isolated phenomenon in society; there was an inter-relation and inter-action between men and social forces.

In historical scholarship philosophical relativism was accompanied by a series of works which debunked the concept of the disinterested personality acting in history. Events, which previously had been considered as the action of men motivated by some complete disinterested ideals, were now looked at as the result of actions motivated by certain particular interests, social, political, or economic. There was an association between men's "ideals" and their "interests," direct or indirect, conscious or unconscious. "Individualism" might very well seemed threatened by a concept of the socially-conditioned personality.[2] The forces, social, and economic, in a society seemed more important than the individual members of that society.

When the Freudians and psychoanalysists examined the human personality, they did not discuss its social conditioning. Rather they spoke of psychic factors and forces

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2. For the moment I am side-stepping the question of the meaning of the term "individualism" and postponing it for discussion in a later chapter, "Generations in Contrast," where the idea shall be given some detailed discussion.

which dominated men's action. They looked at the individual, but not as a free agent. As much as the current philosophical relativism, Freudianism threatened the traditional concepts of "individualism."

For the artist these views had special significance. Was his art merely the product of "forces," not of individuals, disinterested practitioners of their craft? Could works of art be distinguished on the basis of formal merit, or must they be judged merely as the product of environments, conditions, or neuroses? Or must all works be judged on moralistic grounds? The New Humanists, for example, raised the later question in an age when religious views were disappearing among artists and intellectuals, and when pragmatism was offering a new ethics which seemed based on the actual facts of man's situation. Pragmatism was developing its own aesthetic theory which, its leaders hoped, also would be related to man's actual experience.[3]

But perhaps the question of "good" and "bad" art was meaningless. Positivism, so closely related with twentieth-century relativism and pragmatism, insisted in its more extreme form that "good" and "bad" were merely the expression

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3. The best brief survey of American criticism of this period is to be found in Fred B. Millet, Contemporary American Authors (New York, 1940) 181-206.

of individual preference.[4] If all the relativists did not go that far, they did insist that we could not judge who was correct in a disagreement over the beauty of a certain work of art. Such concepts as "beauty" and "goodness" in art was but an attitude or state of mind of an individual, conditioned by many factors. We cannot decide whether the man who calls the work beautiful and good or the man who calls the same work ugly and bad art is correct. "There is no question as to who is right or wrong; both are right since beauty is relative."[5] Then was not artistic judgment merely a matter of private preference, as the positivists most certainly stated?[6] There could be no universal standards of judgment, no absolute theory of artistic merit; in different ages different men liked different things. The difficulties the artist faced under such a position should be clear. He could not perfect his special techniques to meet certain standards, certain artistic goals, but merely to submit what he had done to a mass of personal preferences. Pragmatism was fast developing an aesthetic theory, but it seemed

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4. For the clearest statement of this position see Moritz Schlick, Problems of Ethics (New York, 1939) especially chapter 5. German edition was published in 1930.
5. A. S. Tomars, Introduction to the Sociology of Art (Mexico City, 1940)10. This book adopts the relativist view and states quite clearly that this coincides with the concept of personal preference.
6. I do not mean to imply that positivism, relativism, and pragmatism are synonimous, but the positions are clearly related. John Dewey's thought, for example, has elements of all three. See discussion of "Positivism," by Guido de Ruggiero in The Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, 12:260-5, especially statement on Dewey, 265.

alien to the artist as creator at first. No complete statement of this aesthetic came until 1930, and before that a more successful "New Criticism" was born.[7] This pragmatic theory might well suit the general public, but for the artist it would have to be modified considerably if it were to make his task meaningful.[8]

Those most uncomfortable of all among the artists-intellectuals were the people who saw the validity of relativism and even pragmatism in understanding and solving social problems, but were unwilling to apply such theories to the arts.[9] These people held out for a new critical theory which would treat the work of art itself; although they might well admit political leaders were not disinterested, they insisted that art could often be a disinterested product. The so-called "New Criticism" had, of course, to deal with such problems.[10] The problem of relating the work of the social relativists and the Freudians to intelligent criticism of the individual art work on the basis of its own form and technique is probably most clearly to be seen

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7. Horace M. Kallen, Indecency and the Seven Arts (New York, 1930) and John Dewey, Art as Experience (Cambridge, 1930). Dewey's Experience and Nature (New York, 1925) had aesthetic implications.
8. See how Kenneth Burke attempts such an ingenious modification, although I feel he does so against Dewey's will: "Intelliegence and Good," New Republic 64:77-9 (September 3, 1930).
9. A. S. Tomars, op. cit., "Introduction."
10. The best brief discussion of the problems of the New Criticism is R. W. Stallman, "The New Critics," in Critiques and Essays in Criticism, 1920-48 (New York, 1948) 488-506.

in the work of Kenneth Burke in the 1930's.[11] Current philosophical and psychological trends, then, presented certain difficult problems to the artist who wished to establish some working relationship between himself, his work, and his culture.

Philosophical idealism had been replaced by relativism and pragmatism. But the young generation who went off to the first World War did not all know that. They still could think of a disinterested war in behalf of such ideals as "democracy" and "freedom." When these men returned disillusionment followed. Social critics showed the relationship of the war for democracy with the profits for munition makers. Cynicism developed among the young. The Pound poem quoted as a preface to this chapter indicates some of that feeling. But if idealism had failed, so had pragmatism. Randolph Bourne was bitter that his former teacher, John Dewey, and other leading pragmatists had supported the war. There seemed to be no philosophical position worth holding, no answers to the social problems that faced this "Lost Generation." If the "Genteel Tradition" seemed at bay, the newer "relativistic tradition" was also at bay for the time-being. It was the "jazz age" and no one had suggested the "Lost Generation's" attitude better than F. Scott Fitzgerald:

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11. See discussion of Burke in A. E. Hyman, <u>The Armed Vision</u> (New York, 1948).

> "The ten-year period that, if reluctant to die outmoded in its bed, leaped to a spectacular death in October, 1929, began about the time of the May Day riots of 1919. When the police rode down the demobilized country boys gapping at the orators in Madison Square, it was the sort of measure bound to alienate the more intelligent young men from the prevailing order. We didn't remember anything about the Bill of Rights until Mencken began plugging it, but we did know that such tyranny belonged in the jittery little countries of South Europe. If goose-livered business men had this effect on the government, then maybe we had gone to war for J. P. Morgan's loans after all. But, because we were tired of Great Causes, there was no more than a short outbreak of moral indignation, typified by Dos Passos' Three Soldiers. Presently we began to have slices of the national cake and our idealism only flared up when the newspapers made melodrama out of such stories as Harding and the Ohio Gang or Sacco and Vanzetti. The events of 1919 left us cynical rather than revolutionary....."[12]

In place of a concern for social problems, many of the young artists of the generation turned more and more to a concern with problems of craft. For this concern prevalent critical theory and philosophy had little to offer in America. The artist felt he had to cut himself off from these to produce first-rate works. The "intelligent young men" were in many ways "alienated from the prevailing order."

Relativism was a philosophical position closely related to the rise of modern science. The artists of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century were able, in some sense, to incorporate the popular science of their time in their own work. But to the artists of the late nineteenth

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12. F. Scott Fitzgerald, "Echoes of the Jazz Age," in The Crack-Up (New York, 1945) 13.

and early twentieth centuries, modern science hurled a body-blow which, temporarily at least, winded the artist considerably.

The concepts of modern science were denying the validity of a whole range of previous artistic efforts. "The poets are entirely mistaken....Nature is a dull affair, soundless, scentless, colorless; merely the hurrying of material, endlessly, meaninglessly."[13] Krutch tried to explain the "modern temper" by suggesting that the belief that life was an art had been supplanted by a more modern concept that life was a science.[14] Science had become the only reality; art must be esoteric, meaningless. The artist often looked for values, while many followers of modern science insisted there were none to be found. Max Eastman judged this advance of science into fields previously dominated by the artist the "greatest intellectual event of our time."[15]

As a result of the claims of science that the only truths that can be known are those which can be objectively verified, modern intellectual history was radically altered. Idealism gave way to positivism and relativism and the artist found himself bewildered. He had assumed that there were "truths" that could be discovered through imagination,

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13. A. N. Whitehead, Science and the Modern World (New York, 1926) 80.
14. J. W. Krutch, The Modern Temper (New York, 1929) chapter 6.
15. Max Eastman, The Literary Mind (New York, 1931) vii.

through metaphor and symbol. But these "truths" could not be objectively verified in any scientific sense. In addition, there was a growing suspicion of emotive language. Truth was to be found in the objective world, and the world of the artist was essentially subjective. A revolution had occurred and the artist found himself isolated and out of step with current intellectual trends.[16]

Closely connected with modern science were the problems resulting from increased industrialization. The twentieth century was beginning to think in terms of "mass" not in terms of individuals. But art was always an individual production. Could art also be "mass produced"? The artist despaired of such a step. For art had meant more than abstract patterns on mass-produced ties. The industrial order was forcing man to live under the sign of the machine.[17] His life was being regulated by forces he could not control. He had created the machine, but the machine threatened to remake man - and to do so by making him but another impersonalized unit in the economic order. The division of labor was extended to almost every phase of the culture. What was to be the place of the artist in

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16. See Wm. Van O'Connor, Sense and Sensibility in Modern Poetry (Chicago, 1948) for an interesting synthesis of much of the key discussion on these points.
17. See especially M. Josephson, Portrait of the Artist as American (New York, 1930) "Introduction."

this division? Art had been denied a central place.[18]

Industrial capitalism had developed another serious division. Civilization and culture had once been considered as a unity. But now civilization was "mass production." "Culture" remained in the hands of a minority while mass civilization was under-way.[19] The implications of this idea play a crucial part in the intellectual and social history of our century.

America was defined as a "middle-class" society. Its interests and attitudes were defined by the large middle-class which controlled much of the economic life and established the norms and institutions which directed society at large. This middle class had been captured by the utilitarian concepts of modern science. Practicality was one of its key words, and traditionally-conceived art just wasn't "practical." Art could effect no changes like the telephone and the radio. Science had shown that art could give no truth, could not really help us to understand man's place in the cosmos. It must therefore have only entertainment value.[20] The artist might be the Roman Circuses of the Middle Class, if he so desired. He could have no other important function. The arts in America were con-

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18. Delmore Schwartz, "The Isolation of Modern Poetry," Kenyon Review, 3:209-20 (Spring, 1941).
19. F. O. Matthiessen, loc. cit., 36.
20. Melvin Rader, "New Wines and Old Bottles," Antioch Review, 1:156-74.

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sidered from a purely recreational point-of-view even by the sociologist who made their study of the same name.[21] The radio, movies, phonograph, cheap magazines and books - all the result of science and industrialism - had wrought significant changes in the status of the traditional arts. In the Twenties it was too difficult to imagine a successful reconciliation between the traditional seven arts and the new seven "lively" arts.[22]

This middle class not only insisted on the entertainment value of the arts, but also insisted that they be "moral." What was meant by morality was conformity to standards and values it had established and cherished (at least in public). It is doubtless true that "naughty" books made the best-seller lists, but often the mania for conformity and morality beat out the mania for entertainment. Censorship was an example of middle-class "Puritanism." Prohibition likewise was an attempt to assert conformity in the name of morality and reform. The middle class contained its "reformers" all right, but these reformers looked toward a total social conformity and a further distruction

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21. K. P. Keppel, "The Arts in Social Life," Recent Social Trends, Vol. II (New York, 1933) 958-1008 and R. L. Duffus and F. P. Keppel, The Arts in American Life (New York, 1932).
22. See for example G. Seldes, The Seven Lively Arts (New York, 1930). Also P. Slossan, The Great Crusade and After (New York, 1930) passim.

of individual will and initiative.[23] Reform had become a tool for conformity. In the name of high moral principles civil liberties were rapidly being destroyed. By his very individualized task, Ezra Pound held, the artist must be a champion of freedom.[24] Yet in America the artist seemed the least free of all citizens because of censorship.

A wave of "one hundred percentism" was sweeping the country. Nationalism was another cry of the day.[25] The artists were urged to be "American" and not to follow foreign leads and ideas. Expatriation was in some sense an extreme revolt against this type of nationalism. It denied international cooperation or the possibility that anything good might come from abroad. The alien was mistreated and alien ideas were considered poisonous. It was but one more attempt to achieve national conformity.

In the field of education this conformity was evident. The elective system of courses in institutions of higher learning was being modified. Many teachers were fired for criticizing existing institutions or for failing

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23. See especially F. J. Hoffman, "Philistine and Puritan in the 1920's," American Quarterly, 1:247-263. Also, on censorship, M. L. Ernest and Wm. Seagle, To The Pure (New York, 1928) and G. P. P. Sundry, Ed., Non-censorship (New York, 1922).
24. Ezra Pound, "America:Chances and Remedies," The New Age, 13:10.
25. See Merle Curti, The Roots of American Loyalty (New York, 1946) and his Growth of American Thought (New York, 1943) chapter xxvii.

to up-hold the present order. Not only was the educational system to teach the values of our "Business Civilization" to urge conformity to its standards, but it must insist that "practical courses" be given, that students would be prepared for certain jobs in the industrial order when they were graduated.[26]

Education in the arts was always poor in American institutions of learning. The emphasis on "practical" courses did not improve the quality of instruction. Creative work was almost never taught except on the most elemental level. Even schools which devoted themselves strictly to art failed to meet the high European standards.[27]

In American education there was very little to be offered to the potential artist. But while these middle-class norms and institutions urged the artist on toward conformity, the critics of the arts and of society were urging him on to another type of conformity. The attack on the middle class was launched by many critics. All intellectuals and artists were urged to join in this attack on "philistinism and puritanism." Those who did not join in such fruitless assaults were criticized as "young

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26. Ibid., and his Social Ideas of American Educators (New York, 1935) chapter 16.
27. R. L. Duffus, The American Renaissance (New York, 1928).

aesthetes."[28] The artist was not to be permitted to develop his craft in peace. He was urged to join the shockers of the American middle class. Craft and technique did not seem as important as waging war on the forces of evil.

American criticism was urging another type of conformity. The Humanists demanded obedience to the inner check (as they saw that check) and certain moral standards. The Menckenites were too busy attacking the sensibilities of the middle class to aid the young writer in any constructive way. The historical or sociological critics were too busy, delving into social and psychic forces and could not offer suggestions for improvement of the craft of the arts.

In addition, not only the average member of the middle-class but very often the supposed-critic (intellectual) often attacked and ridiculed any kind of active experimentation, anything that did not resemble the traditional products of art. The avalanche of abuse that fell upon the famous Armory Show of 1913, where examples of modern and revolutionary art was exhibited is illustrative.[29]

The writer is especially dependent on his ability to

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28. Ernest Boyd, "Aesthete: Model 1924," The American Mercury, 1:51-6. Boyd and his pal Mencken continued this attack and their attack closely resembled the kind of attack the "middle class" might make.
29. For a convenient summary of this show and its criticism see O. W. Larkin, Art and Life in America (New York, 1949) 366-7.

get his works published. His economic position in society is extremely important in determining his more general social relationship to that society. For example, he can write as an entertainer, aiming at the "middle-class" audience the things they want to read, and in this way effect a fairly good economic position. Best-seller lists and other studies of reading habits in the period indicate quite clearly that in most cases American reading habits were poor indeed. Magazine stories and articles that were most popular were often of the lowest caliber. Anita Loos' Gentlemen Prefer Blondes was certainly outselling the work of Glenway Wescott. Middle-class reading habits undoubtedly effected the publishing industry. Popular magazines would not take of the risk of publishing some experimental work.[30]

It is true that this period was the development of attempts to overcome this situation. The little magazines were introduced to publish some of the more experimental work, to gain certain writers a small but keen audience, a place to publish. In most cases, however, pay from this type of publication was usually small, if any payment was made at all. And most little magazines didn't last for a very long period or gain a very large audience.[31] Certain

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30. On reading habits see Millet, op. cit., 18-22, Keppel and Duffus, op. cit., Duffus, Books: Their Place in a Democracy (New York, 1930).
31. See E. J. Hoffman, Charles Allen, and C. F. Ulrich, The Little Magazine, (Princeton, 1946) passim.

publishers were interested in the work of fine craftsmen who might not sell, but whose names would bring prestige to their publishing house. Such a man was Alfred Knopf. Pascal Covici also sponsored many young artists, but the list is perhaps not a very long one. The publishing industry was not geared to the higher standards of the artist and intellectual but to the reading habits and attitudes of the middle class.[32] The author's economic position in this period was, for the most part, a poor one.[33] There were obvious acceptions to this rule. But there were comparatively few who could live by their art alone. If the artist as such seemed to have no vital place in the social organization of the community, his economic position was even more precarious.

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These various factors created a condition whereby the artist was isolated from his society and from modern life in the United States. What could the artist do in such circumstances?

He might submit to his assigned role as entertainer

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32. On the publishing business in this period see Duffus, Books; Duffus and Keppel, The Arts in America: H. Lehmann-Haupt, The Book in America (New York, 1939).

33. On the economics of Authorship see Spiller, et. al., Literary History of the United States (New York, 1948) 2:chapters 74, 75. 66, 67, and J. T. Farrell, "The Fate of Writing in America," pamphlet published by New Directions, 1941.

and expressor of the values and conventions which society wished him to memorialize. But if refused to accept this task, what else might he do?[34]

The artist could become a radical and seek the change of society, even to the point where Randolph Bourne summoned him, the complete distruction of the state as a symbol of that society. He could enter into all forms of political action to try to correct social and economic conditions which underlie his own peculiar position. But the artists of the Twenties largely shunned political movements, because they could see no possibility of success, and "reformers" because they had led the United States to a position where she was passing all sorts of repressive legislation.

He might adopt another extreme position, and participate in an "art-for-art's-sake" movement, and declare, like Whistler that "the master stands in no relation to the moment at which he occurs - a monument of isolation - ... having no part in the progress of his fellow men."[35] He might become a recluse and completely isolate himself from society like Emily Dickinson or Winslow Homer. The artist might seek to create his own society, a Bohemia in which

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34. Wm. Van O'Connor suggests several possible reactions to the problem in op. cit., 171.
35. Whistler, The Gentle Art of Making Enemies (London, 1924) 155.

the artist and his own conventions would rule.[36]

The artist might remain in society only to attack it bitterly as Sinclair Lewis did. Or he might write for one of the little magazines and vent his anger in a proud manifesto (which would probably be read only by those already in agreement with him): "The plain reader be damned."

The artist might seek some social institution, a party, a church, to which he could pledge his allegiance. He might search for a tradition, a past age whose values pleased him, and devote himself to that tradition. He might discover a local region whose traditional manners and mores might stand out in appealing contrast to those of society at large.[37] Several solutions might be attempted only in the end the artist learning there could be no real place for him. Then suicide might follow as in the case of Hart Crane and Harry Crosby. Exile, expatriation, actual removal from the confines and controls of a society is often/the most exciting form of reaction, the most dramatic and vital symbol for those artists who have already isolated themselves, or been isolated, spiritually.

It must be remembered that expatriation is really a grouping of reactions rather than a single reaction. For

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36. For a detailed study of this reaction see Albert Parry, Garrets and Pretenders (New York, 1933).
37. See D. Davidson, The Attack on Leviathan (Chapel Hill, 1938) 228-39.

when the artist goes into exile he does something: perhaps completely isolate himself, or join an art-for-art's-sake movement, become a Bohemian, or any other possible reaction. These reactions are not simply a question of one simple pattern, but of a complex grouping of reaction patterns.

The problem of this isolation and reaction is not merely one which concerns the arts. The sociologists have long been interested in the types of alienation of citizens from the prevailing order.[38] But the concept of revolt in the arts may have many important consequences in a society.[39] It indicates certain failures and deficiencies in that society. It suggests some grave social disproportionment might exist in the prevailing order. It points, perhaps, to certain philosophical as well as social deficiencies. The artist might well be a sensitive testing-tool by which we can gauge certain social successes and failures and better understand the problems facing a society as a whole.

Each form of revolt or reaction suggested above implies a criticism of that society. It is to the criticism of certain expatriates that we now turn.

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38. R. K. Merton, "Social Structure and Anomie," American Sociological Review 3:672-82 is a discussion with direct bearing on the artist-society relationship if some one wished to apply the concepts stated.
39. See O. M. Sayler, Revolt in the Arts (New York, 1930). This is an excellent survey of art and its problems in America and the significance of the revolt for society in general.

CHAPTER II

Ezra Pound : Portrait of a Cultural Critic
Propagandist for an American Renaissance

Ezra Pound remains one of the most enigmatic and exciting personalities in our literary history. For many Americans he has typified the expatriate: an artist living abroad since his twenty-second year, attaching himself to strange ideas and artistic programs, dressing like an exotic in velvet jackets, silk flowing-ties, and un-American hats, writing deliberately cultish and unintelligible poetry, extremely critical of America, and finally a traitor to his homeland. It would surprise many Americans to learn that this same Ezra Pound always considered himself a true patriot. ("A patriot," Rabindrath Tagore is said to have told Pound in 1912, "is bound to be unpopular.")[1] The irony of Ezra Pound is complete: the man who fought all his life to end thinking and writing in stereotypes has become, to most Americans, the stereotype of an evil expatriate.

It is the purpose of this chapter to dispel that stock characterization, to consider Pound as an individual concerned with certain important problems that faced him. He was one of the first artists to tackle many of the problems that faced his generation. He was a constant publicist

1. Quoted in an editorial by D. D. Paige, Quarterly Review of Literature, 5:103.

of his many ideas and criticisms. If he was a vituperative polemicist, he was also a keen student, a concerned critic who was willing to meet the various intellectual challenges he felt had been thrust upon him and his generation.

Ezra Pound is primarily an artist, an outstanding and brilliant poet. His general cultural critical develops from his attempt to solve certain key problems that face him as an artist, problems that arise from the culture itself. The twentieth century was fast becoming the age of a new science. As has been suggested in a previous chapter, the arts found themselves in a peculiar position because of that new science. It was commonly assumed among intellectuals that only in science and scientific investigation could any truth be discovered. If this were true, art would be completely isolated from the mainstream of life and thinking, or relegated to some inferior position. In 1926 I. A. Richards, English literary critic, psychologist, Semanticist published his essay "Science and Poetry," stating clearly the antagonism between the two, but trying to allow some psychological value for the reading of poetry, even if it could never establish any logical, valid truths.[2] Mr. Richards' work was a point of departure for many critics of the arts in England and America who tried to reconcile what appeared to be a grave split. To this key critical

2. In Science and Poetry, (New York, 1926).

problem Ezra Pound had also had to turn early in his career.

In 1914 in The Egoist Pound had published a key essay, perhaps the first extensive statement of his artistic creed. In "The Serious Artist" Pound tries to solve the problem in a very elemental sense. He affirms: "The arts, literature, poesy, are a science, just as chemistry is a science. Their subject is man, mankind and the individual. The subject of chemistry is matter considered as to its composition."[3] The data we receive from literature concern the psychology of man. The arts give us true knowledge as to the nature of man, the "ratio of his thought to his emotions," an intimate knowledge and understanding of personality, how man think, work and act.[4] Further he suggests that ethical theories should be derived from the arts because of the psychological data which they give. No other "science" can give such a precise picture of man.[5]

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3. Reprinted in Pavannes and Divisions, (New York, 1918)220.
4. Ibid., 229.
5. This essay stands up well from a viewpoint of 1950, it seems to me. However, I do not mean to suggest it was the first of its kind or earth-shattering in its implications. It marks another stage in the development of the "New Criticism," which was being developed in London at this time by T. E. Hulme, T. S. Eliot, and Pound and their "fellow travellers." It was this group and its fellows, I believe, who first tackled certain critical problems in the light of new knowledge and study. It marks a revolt against the romantic concept of the artist which had outgrown its critical usefulness. It demonstrates a willingness to meet head on new problems rather than merely bemoan what "science" had done to the arts.

On this basis Pound begins his central discussions of language and communication. Since poetry (as the other arts) must give us this useful data, it must be precise, accurate. Thus we can judge between good and bad art, moral and immoral art. It is just as immoral for an artist to give a false report as it is for a doctor or other scientist to do so. So the serious artist has a function in society and the critics of the artists have a touchsome for judgement. The parallel between the artist and the scientist is carried on through out Pound's work. The artist, like the scientist needs no audience. Their function is to present the data, not to argue, convince, in both cases. The data is to be made available to all to use if they wish.[6]

A student of modern American intellectual history has written "no one who studies the career of Ezra Pound can doubt that the search for obscurity was related to hatred of democracy."[7] No one who has taken the time to study Pound's career or read what he has written can doubt that both the assumptions of this statement (Pound sought obscurity) and its conclusion (he hated democracy) are false. I shall discuss Pound on democracy later in this chapter. At present let us examine Pound on obscurity.

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6. See "The Serious Artist," loc. cit., and "The Audience," Poetry 5:30 (October, 1914).
7. Henry S. Commanger, The American Mind (New Haven, 1950) 127.

The problem of communication and language are fundamental to Pound. The serious artist must be precise. Precision is what Pound as artist and critic is constantly searching for, not obscurity. His artistic theories, his participation in the imagist and vorticist movements indicate, not a cultist at work, but a student and an artist endeavoring to improve his art, to make it more precise and more communicative. For Pound believed that "an artist's technique is test of his personal validity. Honesty of the word is the writer's first aim, for _without it he can communicate nothing efficiently_."[8] This Pound clearly sees not only as an artistic need, but as an ethical problem as well. Technical improvement is merely a means to an end, an end always clearly stated: efficient communication. Communication is civilization, Pound constantly tells us. Any decline in communication will mark a decline in civilization.[9]

Language is the key to communication and literature is language charged with a maximum of meaning. Language serves as the basis of Pound's literary criticism - language

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8. "Civilization", in _Polite Essays_ (London, 1937) 193, italics added.
9. See for example "Provincialism the Enemy," in _The New Age_, 21:308 (August 2, 1919); "Date Line," in _Make It New_ (London, 1934) 3-19. This is a constant theme. _The New Age_ essays constantly point up this factor (1911-1922).

considered as an agency of civilization.[10] Good literature is a sign of a flowering civilization, because such literature has most fully and carefully utilized language and charged it with a maximum of meaning. It is therefore the most efficiently communicated. Language, in Pound's thinking, assumes an important place in human life and in social organization.[11]

Pound's emphasis on language leads him to a consideration of different logical systems, different methods of utilizing language. He became the literary heir of the work of Ernest Fenollosa who had made a study of the Chinese written-character from which had evolved the "ideogrammic method."[12] This method as developed by Pound was a revolt against traditional Aristotelian logic. This traditional method was found inadequate by Pound because it permitted the user to proceed "from *inadequate cognizance* to a *specious* and *useless conclusion*."[13] For example, an Aristotelian

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10. See especially "How To Read," in *Polite Essays*, 167, 169-70. This essay first appeared in the New York Herald Tribune *Books*, (January 13, 20,27, 1929) and was later elaborated into his *A B C of Reading* (London, 1934).
11. See especially "Date Line," in *Make It New*, 6-7.
12. See his *Instigations of Ezra Pound*, together with an Essay on the Chinese Written Character, (New York, 1920. I do not mean to suggest that the ideogrammic was or could be successful in all cases, even for nouns. Certainly it was no complete answer to all problems. There ought to be several ways to define reality, ways that complement each other. Pound's method was merely an interesting attempt to solve important problems.
13. "'Abject and Utter Farce,'" in *Polite Essays*, 106. Italics are mine. Each of the italicized words is extremely important.

definition proceeded on the basis of species and diferentia, that is the class to which the word to be defined belongs and the features of this particular genus from other members of the same class. But to define "red" as a color of such-and-such frequency in the spectrum can be meaningless. Pound looked to a definition that would be based on what we know, that would proceed from empirical knowledge to a useful conclusion. This was a revolt against "unintelligibility" and "obscurity" in language and thought. A logical system should be based on empirical knowledge not abstract and meaningless formulas and words.

In this connection it is interesting to note that the revolt against Aristotelian logic was occurring elsewhere in philosophical circles. The basis of this revolt, in large measure, was also a study of language. The so-called Vienna Circle of logical positivists is, perhaps, the best example. This group was operative immediately before and after the first World War. The logical positivists and later the logical empiricists were concerned with problems similar to those of Pound's concern. They tried to make language respond to the challenge of new science. These men and their followers began a whole new school of philosophical inquiry. They desired an empirically-based logic, a more accurate and meaningful language. The study of semantics became an important philosophical tool. Their work was largely based on an ethical assumption: that you

could improve man by improving his language.[14]

Pound's study of language and communication also had an ethical basis. It was also motivated in part by the challenge of twentieth century science. He must be understood as a pioneer in his interest in these important problems, a pioneer among men whose chief concern was art.[15] Yet if communication was Pound's major aim, the question can still be raised; communication for whom, between whom? He demanded a maximum of communication; but he would never force this communication. The artist, like the scientist, presents. He does not argue or force his "data" upon anyone. But his product should be made available for all who wish to use it, who wish to read what he has written.[16]

In the social division of labor the artist has his function. "Artists are the antennae of the race," the recorders, the "steam-gauges of that nation's intellectual life."[17] They present a certain body of data. In doing so

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14. The names of the outstanding men in this field who first cme to mind are Wittenstein, Schlick, Ogden and Richards in England, Charles Morris, Stephenson, Fiegel, and Max Black in the United States. For the latest discussion of these problems see Max Black, Philosophy and Language (Ithaca, 1950).
15. I do not wish to imply he was the first or that his work is the most important, but merely to place him in a period and suggest his interests and concerns. I can not even suggest his influence if any.
16. See for example "America: Chances and Remedies," The New Age (May 1, 1913) 13:10.
17. "The Teacher's Mission," in Polite Essays, 116.

they are the supreme communicators of a culture and between cultures. So the artists have charge of the language of a culture. It is their responsibility to use it efficiently, to improve it as an agency of communication. Their reports must never be falsified, must always be clear, intense, most charged with meaning. The artist can enrich the culture by his methods of utilizing the language.[18] So the artist experiments in his effort to arrive at the desired maximum in all ways. Artist experiment is therefore not directed toward obscurity but toward a heightening of communication.

Pound preached the "universality of the word," that language was the basis for criticism.[19] Literary works might be criticized on how language is used and cultures could also be criticized on the basis of the intensity, the effectiveness of the communication achieved. Although methods of use might constantly change, the concept of language and communication as a basis of criticism remains constant through the ages. Since "honesty of the word," efficient, meaningful, skillful utilization of language is a key to criticism, literature, in Pound's discussion, is never narrowly defined. It includes more than what is

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18. "Affirmations," in The New Age (February 11, 1915) 15:411, "America: Chances and Remedies," ibid., (May 13, 1913) 13:10 and "The Serious Artist," loc. cit., and "How to Read," loc. cit.
19. Polite Essays, 49-56, 193 and Make it New, 3-19.

traditionally known as "belle-lettres." In a history of American literature, the letters of the Founding Fathers, the various historical diaries, and other such material that meets the standards of "honesty of the word" must be included.[20]

Pound was not only closely connected with some of the major problems of his age, but also with the philosophical trends of that age. A modified relativism seems to be his own philosophical creed. Who is to judge the merit of a work of art? Pound himself has established certain critical canons, but in the last analysis each interested party must judge for himself. There can be no pre-ordained critical conclusion. In fact, the critical sin of major import is that of accepting another's opinion without questioning. To have a "license" to criticize one must be willing to evidence a personal conviction, and to support that conviction with intelligence.[21] The critical writer should always state the limits of his knowledge, his sources, and his basis for his judgement. The artist or the true critic can not and should not force a person to acknowledge the merit of one work, one way of writing over another. But he can show that there is not only one way, that there is not one kind but many ways and kinds.[22]

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20. "The Jefferson-Adams Correspondence," North American Review (Winter, 1937) 224:315.
21. "The Serious Artist," loc. cit., 240.
22. Make it New, 9.

In society nothing remains static; everything is contingent. The "word" alone is universal in the sense that it remains always the leading medium of communication. The methods of utilization change and should change to suit existing circumstances.[23] Events are always contingent: war and dictatorship, for example are contingent upon usury and ignorance.[24] It is the duty of the artist and the history to demonstrate these contingencies, to present the "luminous details" of the flux.[25] A theory of contingencies allows for progress; the intelligence can be used for ordering chaos, for solving changing problems. There is a "tradition of metamorphosis" which teaches us that things do not remain the same.[26] From this position he evolves a theory of the nature of intellectual history. Because of the flux, the use of ideas for given ends rather than as absolutes, the artist must be precise, must attempt to give certitude, to take us back to the truth. He must, like the historian, present the "luminous details" of the moment. These details remains a basis in fact for psychology. Each historian and each artist will "have ideas," theories which will differ among the historians and artists of his time and other times,

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23. "We Have Had No Battles But We Have All Joined In And Made Roads," in Polite Essays, 49-53.
24. Ibid., 52.
25. "I Gather the Limbs of Osiris," The New Age, 10:130 (November 30, 1911).
26. "Affirmations," in The New Age, 14:246 (January 7, 1915) and 14:277 (January 14, 1915).

but the details will presumably remain the same.[27] It is important to look at the facts of each generation, to take from previous generations that which will help us in solving problems raised in our own time.[28] Certain significant facts illuminate each age. These the artists and historians can give us. Interpretation will vary; the facts will be looked at differently, but they present a working basis for action.

And action is an important part of Pound's program. Ideas must be put into action. He even goes so far as to affirm: "Let us deny that real intelligence exists until it comes into action."[29] The existence of ideas is meaningless, unless those who hold those ideas are willing to attempt to put them into action. Pound is the opponent of speculators in the ivory tower unless they have the conviction of their beliefs. His relativism, his pragmatism denies the abstraction of ideas.

As a pragmatist and an empiricist, Pound looks to knowledge and intelligence to solve the problems that arise in daily living. "A good government is one that operates

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27. "I Gather the Limbs of Osiris," The New Age, 10:130 (November 30, 1911).
28. A Constant Poundian theme, see for example, Polite Essays, 51 and Make It New, 5.
29. Jefferson and/or Mussolini (London, 1935) 18. See also Chapter Iv which is an attack on "idees fixes." The book as a whole is a perfect relativisitic treatise against abstraction, for facing facts, meeting existing conditions.

according to the best that is known and thought. And the best government is that which translates the best thought most speedily into action."[30] The "best thought" is a pragmatic term; it implies the thought based on the most knowledge and that intelligence seems to believe will best solve the problems facing us. This does not mean one solution will last forever. Rather, intelligence, "the luminous principle of reason," should constantly be used to meet the changing problems. There should be revision and renovation. Pound takes his theme from the Chinese: "Make it new."[31] The process is never-ending; intelligence must always be used, changing problems must be met by changing solutions.

Pound's relativism extends to individuals and cultures. Men differ from one another, and cultures also differ. This is not something to bemoan, but something that we all should be delighted with.[32] Cultural relativism plays a major role in Pound's cultural criticism. He desires the greatest possible intercommunication between cultures, the greatest possible exchange between ideas and programs. Early in his critical writing he adopted a method in literary criticism of comparing and contrasting various works of art. This method extends to a comparison between

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30. Jefferson and/or Mussolini, 91.
31. See his collection of Essays of that name and Ibid., 112-3.
32. When he contrasts American and Britian, for example, he exclaims "Thank God they do differ." "Patria Mia," in The New Age, 11:635 (October 31, 1912).

various cultures, past and present.[33]

The comparative method is essentially a teaching method, and when applied to the treatments of cultures it nets the student better understanding of essential cultural features. This method provides a basis of judgment, a standard of value. Cultures can be compared as to "cultural products," the results produced in the arts, scientific discoveries, knowledge, and in social justice.[34] This provides a challenge to each existing culture. Their "products" can be compared, not only with the "products" of contemporary cultures, but with the results of previous social orders not only with unrealized utopias. This is the test of any social order; it must be able to equal or surpass the results of other social orders.

This presents a challenge to existing orders that should make for constant improvement, constant revision and change to meet this challenge. Pound never suggests that the social order should be imitated from a type of organization that seems to be producing better results in its "cultural products." In fact he denies the efficacy of such imitation. Fascism, for example, he presents as such a challenge to

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33. In literary criticism see "How to Read," loc. cit., or Make It New, 4 for example. In cultural criticism his New Age essays stress the comparative method. See for example "Patria Mia," or "Through Alien Eyes."
34. See his editorial in The Exile, no. 1:89 (Primavera, 1927).

America.[35] But the United States should not attempt to imitate the fascist order, even if it desired to do so. Local conditions and attitudes make imitation undesirable. Cultures, individuals, nations differ, and these differences will, in part, determine the type of social organization. Such comparisons and challenges merely offer incentive for us to examine our own social organization, too improve upon it and constantly renew itself.

With this general framework in which we may view Pound's more specific criticism and suggestions, let us turn to a consideration of Pound as a critic of America.

The importance of the idea of communication in the thought of Pound has already been discussed. The idea has an ethical implication which is made quite clear: intercommunication (civilization) is good; anything that interferes with that intercommunication is evil. The free exchange of all ideas is an essential factor in civilization; anything which limits this exchange is an enemy of that civilization. On this essential ethical basis, Pound attacks the rising forces of restriction of thought and the free flow of ideas in the United States and elsewhere.

He launched his attack on these restrictive forces as an artist, a thinker, and a citizen. In all ways these forces seemed evil. Censorship leads the list of evils.

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35. Jefferson and/or Mussolini, 104 and 98.

Pound never gave up his fight against any censorship, and he waged his battle in the name of communication and individual freedom. He was a constant publicist in behalf of free publication, free teaching, free speech.[36] He objected to any interference with the artist, teacher, or thinker and he considered rising censorship and the decline of academic freedom as dangers to the cultural development and possible achievement of the United States. The tariff on printed matter is likewise attacked. This is an obvious limitation of free communication.[37] Passport regulations also come in the same category when they hinder free travel.[38] In addition to the amassing of such restrictive legislation in the United States, Pound is upset because of copyright laws do not protect the artist's work and livlihood.[39] Restrictions are passed where they do only harm; where protective legislation in behalf of the artist is concerned nothing is done. The particular restrictions that Pound attacks so frequently, in articles, in letters-to-the-editors of various magazines, in his own magazine editorials are especially

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36. See any of his editorials in The Exile 1927 where these things are constant themes, or "The Classics 'Escape'," The Little Review, 4:32-4 (March, 1918), or "The Teacher's Mission," Polite Essays, 121. These are but a few examples.
37. See for example "Tariff and Copyright," The New Age, 23:348-9, 363-4 (September 26, October 3, 1918).
38. See for example "The Passport Nuisance," The Nation, 125:600-2 (November 30, 1927).
39. See for example "Copyright," The New Age, 23:363 and The Little Review 5:24-5 (November, 1918).

those with which the artist would be concerned. But he also protests restrictions on general learning and inter-play between various cultures, like the United States policy on foreign students, which will not admit them unless they have a certain amount of financial backing.[40]

Individualism, as we shall see later, is essential to Pound's own creed. The restriction of the individual is also an evil to be avoid. Prohibition is such an evil. How could democracy allow such a thing to come about - the regulation of "an individual's eating habits?"[41] But Pound fears prohibition, not only as a sample of the decline of freedom, but because he believes that such restrictions are designed to keep people from concerning themselves with really important social problems, for preventing thought about "economics and the abuses under which labour suffers."[42] The prohibition amendment is the type of legislation which makes civic or social life impossible. This is not because of the particular infringement on liquor, but because of the idea of limitation of the individual freedom.[43]

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40. "The European in America," Poetry, 41:273-5 (February, 1933).
41. "Coste Piu Della Divina Commedia," Hound and Horn, 4:571-2 (July, 1931).
42. "Mike and Other Phenomena, "The Morada," no. 1:47 (Autumn, 1930).
43. "Summary of the Situation," The Exile, no. 2:119 (Autumn, 1927).

Pound took a keen interest in American political life. Through out his years in Europe he was a daily reader of the Congressional Record and often corresponded with members of Congress on issues close to his own interest like censorship and economics.[44] The degeneracy of American political life constantly upset him. Log-rolling, special interest groups, restrictive legislation, refusal to concern themselves with the key social issues - these are the charges Pound makes against our politicians, our political leaders from 1914-1932. Responsibility to the "public convenience" is missing; irresponsible interference has taken its place.[45] Politicians do not have the conviction of the words they speak. Democracy, like Christianity, has become the meaningless slogan that is used to condone every act of oppression.[46] "Reform" has degenerated into "nuisance;" the state is failing to produce either social justice or permanent cultural products. The language is in the hands of politicians who make it meaningless and ineffective as an agency of communication; international misunderstandings result and at home people are lead like sheep.[47]

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44. Samuel Putnam, Paris Was Our Mistress, (New York, 1947) 139-61. This is a memoir by one who knew Pound well and it gives excellent insights into Pound's personality.
45. Editorial in The Exile, no. 1:89 (Pimavera, 1927).
46. "Provincialism the Enemy, "The New Age, 21:268-9 (July 19, 1917).
47. "Mike and Other Phenomena," The Morada, no. 5:43-7 (Autumn, 1930).

Pound himself felt, as an artist, he could take no part in political action. As a creator, the artist was always ahead of any revolution or any reaction. No program of any party ever contains enough of his own program to give him the least satisfaction. Rather, political parties, the people, must follow the lead of the artist.[48] It is quite clear that Pound believes the artist must concern himself with essential political and economic problems and suggest solutions. He can do so partly because his work gives him understanding of individual psychology and of the nature of relationships between men. This understanding and knowledge should be the basis of any ethics or political theorizing.[49]

The goal of an intelligent political effort should be to avoid the use of "force," whether that force be physical or spiritual.[50] Coercion is an evil to be shunned, but the United States, he felt, was pursuing a policy of coercion against its citizens and especially against the arts. It was Pound's belief that the American genius was opposed to the use of any force. "Of course," he said, I am a pacifist; every American is a pacifist." He sought to keep international channels of communication up, to assure for all peoples a maximum of this free exchange of

48. Editorial in <u>The Exile</u>, <u>loc</u>. <u>cit</u>., 91.
49. "The Serious Artist," <u>loc. cit</u>., and "I Gather the Limbs of Osiris," <u>The New Age</u>, 10:130 (December 7, 1911).
50. "Provincialism the Enemy," <u>loc. cit</u>., 268.

ideas. This was Pound's moral solution to part of the problem of war. (He saw the destruction of usury and the economic system which permitted it as a solution to another part of the problem.) But Pound supported the first World War (as so many relativists did in this country) because he saw, in Germany, examples of the greatest enemy of all, that enemy that menaced civilization. That enemy was provincialism. Provincialism consisted of an ignorance of the manners, customs, and nature of peoples living outside our own village, parish, or nation. This often lead to a desire to coerce others into uniformity. "Provincialism is more than ignorance, it is ignorance plus a lust for uniformity."[51]

German provincialism was manifested is racism, "Kultur," a demand for arbitrary orthodoxy, a narrowly conceived of nationalism, and a vicious dehumanizing education system.[52] Pound's nationalism was internationalism - another Poundian paradox easily explained. He considered himself the heir of Henry James as an enemy of provincialism. He believed one of his functions as an artist must be to explain "one race to another." The artist must aim at understanding between all men, must be the constant and unrelenting enemy oe provincialism. The artist often makes statements about his detachment from the world, his "objectivity." But the

51. Ibid., 244.
52. Ibid., 245, 289.

artist is involved in this struggle; he can not avoid it. The weapon of the author is his ability to show human variety. The struggle against provincialism is not only the struggle for communication and civilization, for understanding, but it is also the struggle for "the rights of personality."[53] In this struggle the artist must fight against any concept of men being used, must fight for the "survival of personality," a phrase which might very well be a key to much of Pound's thought.[54]

But the fight on provincialism could be made in behalf of the ideas of the native national state. The artist was an internationalist by virtue of his function in the realm of communication. But that did not mean he could not be loyal to a set of national ideals. "Letters are a nation's foreign office," he told the British readers of The New Age. The artist does his greatest service to his nation when he can provide it with exportable literary products, products of such merit that they will bring honor to the nation.[55] This is her patriotic, his civic duty.

Pound denied anglophilism.[56] He insisted on his es-

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53. Ibid., 268-9. See also "Retrospect: Interlude," in Polite Essays, 131.
54. The phrase is from a letter to Margaret Anderson, reprinted in her My Thirty Years War (New York, 1930) 171.
55. "Patria Mia," The New Age, 11:516 (September 26, 1912).
56. Ibid., 12:34 (November 14, 1912) and elsewhere in this long essay. He explains (in this place cited) that no matter how hard he may try, an American can not become another nationality. American-ness is more than skin deep.

sential American heritage. In The New Age he published his autobiographical "Indiscretions," his reflections of his very American family background - a background he seemed very proud of indeed.[57] His New Age essays often attempt an analysis of American character and promise, and these studies, in which the comparative method is often a major analytical tool, are among the most provocative and worthwhile of all his work. Since his essay, "Patria Mia," is almost entirely unknown, I should like to trace its development in an effort to better understand some of Pound's key ideas and his attitudes toward his native land.

What are the qualities of the American? (How many critics have tried to answer that question?) The American has "the delicacy of Whistler, the financial ability of Morgan, the rapacity of Elihu Root, the insincerity of Aldrich, the virtues of Abraham Lincoln, the precipiate and precipitating enthusiasms of Roosevelt, and the stupid provincialism of ten thousand nameless lights of nameless villages, of nameless nations hidden within America...."[58]

The British have a fetish for property. American still maintains a primary desire to preserve its human resources.[59] Change in physical and economic conditions,

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57. "Indiscretions," The New Age 27:56-7, 76-7, 91-2, 105-6, 124-5, 140-1, 172-3, 187-8, 204, 221-2, 336-7 (May 27-August 12, 1920).
58. "Patria Mia," The New Age, 11:445 (September 5, 1912).
59. Ibid., 12:12 (November 7, 1912).

constant flux, rapid rise in status - "you can't under these conditions breed a belief that all welfare depends on having a certain amount of capital invested at three percent."[60]

The most dangerous American quality is the average willingness to quote authorities. "Nine out of every ten Americans have sold their souls for a quotation. They have wrapped themselves about a formula of words instead of about their own centers."[61] Pound again calls for individual conviction and opinion. He wants Americans to judge for themselves on the basis of facts and experience, not to merely refer to Emerson or Mrs. Eddy. This willingness to accept the opinions of others is especially bad because of the nature of the American press. Pound, through out his career, has fought the evils of the American press and magazines. They mislead the people, do not present the facts or do not present them clearly. The press is not connected with proper authorities in various fields, does not rely on the latest discoveries presented by scholars, scientists, and artists.[62] There must be some force to relate the facts discovered to the public, to the essentially "intelligent, over-busy public, _bonae voluntalis_," in a

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60. _Ibid._, 12:12.
61. _Ibid._, 11:445 (September 5, 1912).
62. _Ibid._, 12:12. Also see "America: Chances and Remedies," _loc. cit._

civil, considerate, efficient, communacative form.[63]

He is glad that Americans do not have any respect for unapplied intelligence, but that they do respect the expert in a given field who can demonstrate his merit.[64] Here lies the hope for the acceptance of the artist in America. The day will come when the artist has learned his craft well enough and put it into practice. When this day comes, perhaps, the artist will also be respected as an expert.[65] But the American can not take his art seriously because of the condition of that art in the America of 1912. What art is to be found is bad, imitative and confused.[66] The American magazines are in part responsible for this condition. Their standards are low; they present the public with "dry rot," not with new, alive art. They believe they can keep a high circulation at the expense of worthwhile artistic efforts. The desire for profit above quality in American publication is one of the forces which makes the artist's lot in America such a bad one. It is not primarily the reading habits of the people; they are given very little but "dry rot" to read.[67]

The revolt against the popular magazines is important in the work of Ezra Pound and his career. It led Pound to

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63. "I Gather the Limbs of Osiris," loc. cit., 10:130.
64. "Patria Mia," loc. cit., 11:445.
65. Ibid., 11:587.
66. Ibid., 11:516, 587.
67. Ibid., 11:516, 539.

be a leader and supporter of the "little magazine," and with the recent history of these magazines Pound was intimately connected.[68] The strangle-hold commercial magazines had over literature was always a concern of Pound's, and he considered the "little magazine" as a weapon to free literature from this control. With pride Pound announced in 1935: "Twenty years ago little magazines served to break a monopoly, to release communication mainly about letters, from oppressive control...."[69]

Pound makes no pretense: the conditions of the artist in America - economically and socially - are intolerable.[70] America has been the kind of a place that loses Henry James and "retains to its appreciative bosom a certain Henry Van Dyke."[71] Not only have magazine editors been responsible for this condition, but educational institutions and critics of literature seem to offer nothing of value for the understanding or the development of the arts. The artistic impulse is present; there are no forces to discipline or encourage such impulses.[72]

The American people do not speak of art because they frankly know nothing about it. The American must have know-

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68. See Hoffman, et. al., The Little Magazine (Princeton, 1946) Passim. Also Pound, "Small Magazines" English Journal (Col. Ed.) 19:689-704 (November, 1930).
69. "The Individual and His Milieu," The Criterion, 15:30 (October, 1935).
70. "Patria Mia," loc. cit., 11:445.
71. Ibid., 11:611.
72. Ibid., 11:587.

ledge before he can speak, and such knowledge is lacking in America.[73] Still other reasons are given for the lack of art in America. Almost everyone is engaged in business, and this is an exciting field since it is constantly in flux. Participants become interested in the game of watching the flux and predicting which way things will go. This has taken most of the attention of those of mental ability. Politics also offers another such fascinating field for those of ability.[74]

Pound next opposes frontier America with modern capitalistic America. Pound's own background was mid-western and his ancestors were part of the frontier tradition, as his "Indiscretions" clearly show.[75] There is a glowing picture of the individual that the frontier created. This individual is contrasted to the modern business man. On the frontier problems were solved by meaningful combat with nature and relationships on a man-to-man basis. The frontier product had "personality," individuality. But the modern business man deals with slips of paper, not with his fellow man. Pound dates the change as beginning in 1870. This is a fateful change for Americans. Frontier mobility, self-reliance, individuality, personal spirit, is being replaced by an automatic regime, and in this new regime the danger

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73. Ibid., 12:12.
74. Ibid., 11:515.
75. Loc. cit.

lies.[76]

It is to the frontier that America owes its spirit, its energy, its creative impulse. It is to modern usury-capitalism that Pound looks for the forces that will destroy artistic achievement or the possibility of such achievement. I shall briefly discuss his economic position later in this chapter. Let us now look to Pound's hope for an American renaissance. "I believe in our future," Pound states. "I trust the national chemical," "the temper of the land."[77] It is the impulse based on individualism that will make America supreme in the arts, in political organizations, and in other fields. It will take time, but such a day will come as knowledge is accumulated and the artists work to increase the possibilities of communication among all men.

The great American tradition shows the way: Lincoln with his willingness to destroy an evil and perverse institution even though the South was "undoubtedly Constitutionally in the right;" Whistler, who taught us that America can produce a great artist that will be respected abroad; Whitman, chaotic Whitman, with all his faults, who demonstrated a true Americanism, a generosity, a hatred of the sordid, an ability to forget the past for the sake of the whole future, a desire for largeness, a refusal to adopt conventional methods and ideas and a willingness to criticize

76. "Patria Mia," loc. cit., 11:515-6.
77. Ibid., 11:539, 12:33.

while affirming a worthwhile tradition. (Whitman "goes bail for the nation" when one is living abroad.)[78]

America retains her desire to preserve her human resources; she still thinks in terms of individuals. From this general American temper will come the awakening that will revolutionize arts and life. The concept of this awakening is fundamental in Pound's cultural criticism. From his earliest criticism he has considered himself a propagandist for such a renaissance. For the spirit, the impulse, is not enough. Propagandists for such an awakening are needed, and the artist and critics must fill such roles in the present instance. They do so by criticism, by suggestion of new changes, and by their own art, their own improvement of language.[79] To the end of such a renaissance, these propagandists must study their history, learn what principles and ideas motivated previous awakenings, what programs have been the most effective, what history can teach us to make our own renaissance come about.[80]

Pound's study of that historical material convinced him that a small, active, fighting minority, with its eyes fixed firmly on the desired end can accomplish the objective,

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78. Ibid., 12:33-4.
79. See especially "America:Chances and Remedies," loc. cit., and "The Renaissance," Poetry, 5:227-33, 283-7 (February, March, 1915).
80. "Patria Mia," 11:564 and "America:Chances and Remedies," 13:9.

given the basis of the American temper. Once Americans learn what the best is, they will never be content with second-rate. Beside individual artistic improvement, Pound looks over existing institutions and suggests some changes which will effect such a renaissance.

America needs a cultural center, a place where artists and scholars can consult each other if they desire, where intellectuals can have their ideas challenged by other ideas and programs. Paris is the model for such a center or the possibility of such an "urbis." Such a center would turn American eyes and interests from foreign centers, would create a cultural capital that would produce the leading ideas and works of arts which would be the basis for the renaissance.[81]

Reformation of the educational system is a primary plank in Pound's platform for the renaissance. He feared that America was imitating the German educational system. Such a system was dehumanizing in its method.[82] Education should bring men closer together, should be a force for humanizing.[83] It should show the variety of men, nations, organizations and the values of this diversity. It should

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81. I discuss this concept in more detail in Chapter V. See his "The Approach to Paris," The New Age, 13:551-2 (September 4, 1913) and "Patria Mia," 11:445.
82. "Provincialism the Enemy," loc. cit., 21:245.
83. "America:Chances and Remedies," loc. cit., 13:34 "Patria Mia," loc. cit., 12:33.

aid in creating the conditions for a maximum on intercommunication and the end of all provincialism. Men should be taught to think for themselves, not to hand back outworn opinions of others. Teachers have in their hands the health of the national mind.[84] Their programs should be directed toward the better understanding, increased contact between men. This should be done to improve the general intellectual life of the country. Education should never be abstraction. It should be tied directly with leading social problems and made to effect changes in the intellectual life of the nation. The scholar should be allowed to present all the facts and force his students to examine them. Programs should be directed toward individual achievement, for each in the last analysis education must be an individual matter. The system offers the challenge. He wants education to be based on actual observation and comparison of particular specimens, particular facts and situations.[85] But scholarship fails if it presents all facts of equal significance. German scholarship is especially dangerous since it makes man a slave to his data, and the individual scholar is merely a unit in an educational system, a researcher without an individual personality and intelligence playing on important problems.[86]

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84. "The Teacher's Mission," in Polite Essays, 116-124.
85. Ibid., and "America:Chances and Remedies," loc. cit.
86. "Provincialism the Enemy," loc. cit.

Graduate programs are especially criticized.[87] Research as it is carried out continues to make men slaves to their data. These students seldom understand or are made to consider the significance of the facts they assemble. He suggests that theses should not be published unless they have special merit. They should be left in manuscript form in the student's university library. But every candidate for a higher degree should be required to make a synthesis of his research which would demonstrate the significance of his studies for further work, and its relationship to life and society.

The present educational system aims at mediocrity, not producing top-rate individuals. The colleges and universities talk democracy, but breed snobishness, a petty cultural monopoly that nets only mediocrity, and churches the individual personality.[88] Too often Pound found that the educational system was directed almost entirely to preparing men for jobs, not for living or for adding to the important cultural products of a society.[89]

The reformation of the educational system must be connected with changes in other institutions. Arts schools and academies should be brought into contact with the universities. For knowledge and understanding is the basis of

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87. "America:Chances and Remedies," loc. cit., 13:83.
88. "America:Chances and Remedies," loc. cit., 13:34.
89. "The Teacher's Mission," loc. cit. and ibid., 34, 57, 83.

all worthwhile art, and in this way the artist could gain needed knowledge and the "facts" discovered by the universities could be illuminated by a creative talent.[90] In addition, the press should also be brought in closer contact with the universities. The statements of significance in connection with research work should be published in the press. In this way the public could learn about the latest and most important knowledge in all fields and in that way the press could have at its call some of the best talent and authorities in all fields.[91] This inter-relation is very important to Pound. It marks still another step in increasing intercommunication which Pound considers so vital. The press must be made effective, honest, authoritative. It stands high on the list of institutions which can aid in the coming awakening, but it must be made an organ of real learning and understanding.

Pound is very concerned about the endowing of the arts and education. He often suggests that this should be the function of the wealthy of a society.[92] This is about the only suggestion he makes about endowments, although he suggests the development of a national academy.[93] The endowment of the arts should never be considered charity,

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90. "America:Chances and Remedies," loc. cit.
91. Ibid.
92. "Patria Mia," loc. cit., 587, "America:Chances and Remedies," loc. cit.
93. "America:Chances and Remedies," loc. cit., 35.

for the arts make their contribution to society. If the men of means, for example, do endow the arts they are fulfilling a responsibility they have to the society which provided them the opportunities to make their fortunes. Great art is essential to a great state.[94] Conditions must be created in which such an art can thrive.

Scholarship and creative work must be closely correlated in the universities. Pound himself suggested a course for the artist and the critic (or potential critic) or the intelligent reader in his "How to Read" and A B C of Reading.[95] The comparative method is considered the best possible approach. Criticism of modern works should be based on the study of the best of all world art, all that has been produced everywhere.

The educational centers should attempt to be small cultural capitals. They would be experimental stations for techniques in the arts and in the sciences. All ideas might freely be criticized. Of course, I point out again that the focus of Pound's criticism and suggestions is the problem of the relationship of the artist to his society. The artists are "the antennae of the race" and the teachers maintain the "health of the national mind." From these factors social benefits will follow. In his economic theory he con-

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94. "Mike and Other Phenomena," The Morada, no. 5:44.
95. "How to Read," loc. cit., and A B C of Reading (London, 1934).

sidered such cultural products as knowledge, scientific discoveries, art works as permanent economic goods.[96]

As part of his function as propagandist for an American renaissance, Pound believed it was his duty to offer the challenge to America at all times. The propagandist must criticize, must compare results produced in his native land with the products of other nations and cultures, past and present. He believed Whitman was such a critic, and he followed in this general tradition. Pound's special enemy was provincialism. Part of that provincialism was demonstrated in American complacency. It is this complacency, perhaps, that most disturbs Pound. Where was the critical thought in America? Why did Americans tolerate all such restrictions and abuses of their freedom? Where are the new ideas to challenge the old? Why did Americans allow themselves to be tricked into prohibition? Why didn't Americans "kick"? He was determined to "blast" this tolerant attitude in America and Britain,[97] and to urge new thought and action on by a challenge to accepted ideas and the accepted order. Much of Pound's more vituperative polemics man only be understood with this fact in mind. He

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96. Editorial in _The Exile_, no. 1:89-90 and _A B C of Economics_, passim.
97. "Kick," _The Morada_, no. 1:11 (Autumn, 1929) and Letter to the Editor _Forum_, 80:156-7 (July, 1928) and see his little magazine _Blast_ or a reproduction of a _Blast_ cover in Hoffman, et. al., _op. cit._, 23.

was aiming to shock, to disturb, to create action and thought; it was a technique to achieve a desirable end, and that technique must never be considered an end in itself.

We turn now to a consideration of Pound and the American democratic tradition. Instead of speaking in shibboleths, slogans, and meaningless phrases, instead of attacking without examining, let us examine Pound's actual position. Pound had his own concept of the democratic state. He never considered democracy as degenerate, but he feared certain degenerative forces which he felt would destroy a democratic system unless checked.

"Individual" versus "mass" is the first creed of Pound's thinking. Art is always individual; thought and opinion must be individually arrived at; the formation of individuals is one of the functions of the educational system. All this has already been suggested. Pound condemned "the public" conceived as a mass. "The taste of the public is always bad. It is bad because it is not an individual expression, but merely a mania for assent, a mania to be 'in on it.'"[98] Unless ethics is based on an understanding of individual differences as well as similarities, and political theories are based on an understanding of the inter-relationships between individuals, these concepts can be unable to net efficient results in practical action. Economic and

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98. Imaginary Letters, (Paris, 1930) 2.

social organization will not succeed unless individual capacities are considered and organization arranged accordingly.[99] Efficiency, general good, happiness cannot be achieved unless individual factors are considered, and these differences between individuals utilized to effect the best possible social order.

Socialism and industrialism are both considered dangerous because they consider men as units, not as individual personalities with different capabilities and attitudes. The greatest danger directed against democracy is the economic system erected after the Civil War. Not only is these usurious system based on exploitation of individuals, but it constantly treats men as mass not as individuals.[100]

Pound's stress on the individual is in an interesting tradition. He believed that private virtue, individual morality must be a leading force in the republic. The improvement of the self would lead to an improvement of the state; an internal improvement in a nation would add to the betterment of the world. Reform begins within the individual.[101] The tradition can be traced back to the Stoic

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99. A B C of Economics, passim, "Mike and Other Phenomena," loc. cit., Social Credit: An Impact (London, 1935).
100. "Provincialism the Enemy," loc.cit., 21:288.
101. The development of this tradition is my own interpretation. Pound shows an admiration for the enlightenment, Confucius, and the Founding Fathers. I have never seen him trace the whole of this tradition in these terms or state it quite this clearly but it is obvious to anyone who has read much of Pound. See for example "The Jefferson-Adams Correspondence," loc. cit., and Jefferson and /or Mussolini, 112-3.

philosophers and the Senecans who carried that tradition on in Rome. The enlightenment in France continued this tradition. This was part of the "paideuma," the habit of thought that Pound most admired.[102] This tradition, this emphasis on the individual, was adopted by the American founding fathers from the tradition of the enlightenment. The enlightenment also rediscovered Confucius and translated him. His concept of the "whole of the social order," contained this same concept of individual reform as the starting-point for all social action. Confucius has become important in Pound's own thinking and work, and he is responsible for some of the best and the only English translations of his philosophical work.[103] And so the individual is the center of all Pound's social and artistic thinking. His own artistic theories convinced him of the truth of this philosophical postion.[104]

From this concept of private virtue as a leading force in the state, comes Pound's second charge to democracy: the need for responsible leadership. Pound bemoans the fact the American political life contains so few outstanding

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102. "The Jefferson-Adams Correspondence," loc. cit., and "For a New Paideuma," The Criterion, 16:205-13 (January, 1938) and "Mang Tsze," The Criterion, 17:603-25 (July, 1938).
103. See the bibliography for his Chinese translations.
104. I would like to suggest here that almost all the major themes in his amazing Cantos which can be considered an intellectual autobiography.

leaders, so few men of "private virtue" who are willing to devote themselves to serving and leading the state. He is caustic indeed about the caliber of men who have lead the American people from the first World War to the Roosevelt "New Deal."[105] You cannot make a man like Coolidge a leader or an intellect by electing him President of the United States.

Pound never attacked majority rule (although he did hold that the value of a program could not be determined by how many people voted for it).[106] Rather he condemned the intellectuals, the men of private virtue and the best knowledge and training for not serving their government. He believed that "the 207 literate Americans alledged by scientists to exist, ought to be compelled to serve in the national legislature now and again, in spite of popular choice."[107] This was an extreme statement of Pound's view. Representative government was good - but it was only as good as its representatives. The aim to create the conditions whereby men of the best ability could be elected to serve in the best interest of all. Pound's view comes close to the "natural aristocracy" concept suggested by Jefferson

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105. This is another constant theme. See most of Pound's writing for this: for example, his editorials in *The Exile*.
106. "Patria Mia," *loc. cit.*, 564.
107. "The Exile," *The Exile*, no. 2:104.

to Adams early in our national history. Conditions should be created, through education and widespread knowledge and information, whereby the voters would send such men to represent them in the government. It might interest those who think of Pound as "anti-democratic" to note his objections to the League of Nations.[108] He wished to see established some international organization, but the League would not do. The idea of representing _nations_ was incorrect as a basis. Representatives should be sent to an international Chamber of Representatives, but these should not be appointed by executives or "governments," but _elected_ by the people whom these men would represent.

There was nothing wrong with the American _system_ of government; but something was wrong with the people for letting such "a good system of government go to hell."[109] The sense of responsibility among office-holders, officials, representatives, intellectuals, and the voters seemed to have disappeared. If democracy no longer favored such a sense of responsibility, it had better beware. In the 1930's he saw both communism and fascism developing a rule by an extremely small aristocracy, a group of men who seemed "pragmatically" the best, the most capable, the most know-

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108. "The Revolt of Intelligence," _The New Age_, 24:90-1, 106-7, 153.
109. "Mike and Other Phenomena," _loc. cit._

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108. "The Revolt of Intelligence," The New Age, 24:90-1, 106-7, 153.
109. "Mike and Other Phenomena," loc. cit.

ledgible, and the most active. These systems were developing such a sense of responsibility and producing some good results. These offered, then, a challenge to America. Could the democratic system revitalize itself and produce such a sense of individual responsibility? Pound hoped so, but he looked with horror at elections figures which showed such a small percentage of eligible voters participating.[110]

The sense of responsibility must be demonstrated by the intellectuals by active participation in political affairs and by supporting an active, critical evaluation of the United States and facing its problems boldly. He is contemptuous of the "intellectual elements" in America for not doing their part. He sees Mencken and the Communists alone offering an effective challenge.[111]

Mediocrity threatens democracy. This results from two features apparent in America: the utter indifference and pessimism of the leaders and the rest of the people, and an unwillingness to face the facts, the serious problems confronting the nation.[112] The true leader is a creative artist, he wills order out of chaos, he constructs. Pound was de-

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110. "The Revolt of Intelligence," loc. cit., and Ibid. See also "Fungus, Twilight or Dry Rot," The New Review (1931).

111. "Summary of the Situation," The Exile, no. 1:92.

112. Jefferson and/or Mussolini offers this view of Mussolini as creator and the reason for Pound's praise of him. He was willing to face the major problems of his epoch and do something about them.

lighted with the possibilities of the "New Deal." They threatened at last to "make things new" and utilized some of the most capable men of the nation. Roosevelt looked like a creative leader at last.[113]

Economic problems always had a central place in Pound's thinking. The solution of economic problems so concerned him that he once decided to give up all his artistic efforts and concentrate on a study of economics. He was insistant that everyone must understand such problems, and he offered his own variation of Major Douglas' credit theory as his solution. The major evil was the abuse and exploitation of a system of usury. This led also to the exploitation of labor and individuals, and such abuses threatened the whole social order.[114] Capitalism had set no value on "fine perception or on literary capacity," and it favored nothing social or mental.[115] His own experiences in the world of publishing and finance convinced him that capitalism was murdering the arts.[116] In his later years he concentrated more and more on the economic difficulties of the artist. It was the function of civilization to "depreciate material values and to build up values of in-

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113. See preface to American edition for his admiration of early New Deal.
114. "See "What America Has to Live Down," The New Age, 23:329 (September 19, 1918).
115. "Mr. Eliot's Solid Merit," in Polite Essays, 101.
116. "Murder by Capital," The Criterion, 12:585-92 (July, 1933).

tellegence."[117] But how could this be done if the artist and others had to fight a vicious economic system merely for existence? In a system of usury the one who works and produces does not gain. He is the victim of the banker and the money lender always. The capitalistic state was also the imperialistic state, and Pound denounced such interference and resulting wars.

The basis of the economic attack is also Pound's own concern with the arts. The artist, under capitalism, is always unemployed. The artist is never a part of the social and economic order then. In addition, the work-day is so long that men do not have the time in which to enjoy or to cultivate the arts. He believes a credit economy will solve many of these problems. He wants a better distribution of the jobs that have to be done. The people most capable to do a certain type of work should be allowed to do that work; the artist should be allowed to work as one of the many employed in the state. From Allen Upward and Major Douglas, Pound draws the idea of a guild of artists and intellectuals as one of the many such guild of "workers" in a well-organized state.[118] The artist needs leisure if he is to produce. Such production is for the good of the state, and so the

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117. "The Revolt of Intellegence," loc. cit., 301.
118. "Credit and the Fine Arts," The New Age, 30:284 (March 30, 1922) and "Allen Upward Serious," The New Age, 15:779-80 (April 23, 1914).

artist should be subsidized.[119]

Pound has presented his detailed economic program in several places.[120] I have merely tried to outline the problems he saw and the direction he went in answering them. He was convinced that a system of free government could not exist with economic freedom, especially freedom from usury and exploitation. He was likewise convinced that the artist must be made an intimate part of the social and economic organization of society. I doubt if a case can be made for Pound as a brilliant or original economist, but his general aims are interesting. In addition to those listed above he desired: a more equitable and free-flowing distribution of goods and services, the distribution of work among all each to his best capability; sufficient leisure time should be planned for; efficiency in all economic matters for the public convenience.

Pound was a secularist and a cosmopolitan. He condemned any authoritarian orthodoxy or tradition and barrowed freely from the thought of all ages and places. Usually the expatriate is associated with the adoption of a foreign and alien tradition. This was never true in the case of Ezra Pound. When he found it necessary to support his

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119. In addition to _ibid_., see also "The Subsidy Business," _Poetry_, 35:212-4.

120. _Social Credit_: An Impact (This is especially interesting since Pound draws from the experiences of the frontier West) and _A B C of Economics_.

thinking with a tradition, he returned to his version of an American tradition, a democratic tradition. He turned to Thomas Jefferson and John Adams, men who represented his idea of private virtue for the public good, leaders and creators, constructors of an excellent system of government.[121]

These men were "civilized men," that is they were willing to face the serious problems their age presented them, and to offer serious solutions to those problems. They were not an isolated phenomena in their America. They were elected by their fellows in a democratic system. Jefferson and Adams exhibited a depth of thought, a spread of curiousity which Pound admired. Thomas Jefferson was the heir of the French enlightenment. He demonstrated that same "paideuma," that habit of thought from the rich Mediterranean tradition, a sense of order, a system of gradations, a heirarchy of values.[122] He saw the total, had a sense of the whole social order, all the inter-relationships. Jefferson saw the need for economic freedom, freedom from a system of paper and usury. He never used pre-ordained views or opinions, but adopted all ideas to the existing conditions of his time and place. He had a sense of responsibility, a

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121. The major source here is "The Jefferson-Adams Correspondence," loc. cit.
122. It is interesting that Jefferson also rejects Plato and Aristotle and goes to the Stoics for the basis of his own ethical creed, as I have suggested Pound does.

willingness to serve, a faith in the natural aristocracy.

Pound used both Adams and Jefferson, and later Martin Van Buren, because from these men he could extract quotations which would seem to support his own economic position. (This citizen of sources was adopted after Pound had already formulated his views. He finally seems to have decided the only way you could convince a quotation-oriented society was to offer them quotations.) But he saw more in them that such support. They represented an outlook, an individualism, a sense of reform that sprang from the reformation of the individual first, the concept of private virtue for the benefit of the republic.

It could be argued that Pound was misusing American history in his comparison of Jefferson with Mussolini.[123] It is certainly true he was extracting qualities and values from history which he believed to be the most important and the most valuable. Isn't this what most historians do? Hasn't relativism in historical theory convinced us that this is inevitable? Pound exaggerated events and their importance, but he very often hits upon the key concepts envolved. Pound and Jefferson would certainly agree on the importance of education and the press, responsibility in government, and many other issues. I believe Pound is closer to Jeffersonian democracy than many will dare acknowledge.

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123. Jefferson and/or Mussolini.

The question we must ask is: is Pound's adoption of this view of Jeffersonian democracy sufficient to be applicable in our own age? Pound thinks it must be made so if democracy is to triumph and art is to thrive.

But it is significant that Pound feels this view of the world and its problems can still be best seen and practiced within the American tradition. It unites Pound once again with the America for which he had such high hopes and for which he considered himself a propagandist.[124]

What are the distinguishing features of Pound as a cultural critic?[125] He considered himself a propagandist for an American Renaissance, and directed his major criticisms of America to that end. Intercommunication was civilization, for Pound, and his criticism was directed to keep clear the paths of that communication. He spoke for understanding between individuals and nations. He attacked all provincialisms, all orthodoxies, all dehumanizing forces. He put his trust in the ability of the artist to lead nations out of chaos by increasing communication between them, by

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124. I have left some parts of Pound's thinking for another chapter, especially his comments on the expatriates and their functions.

125. What follows is not so much conclusion and summary as general opinion based on my observation and study of the bulk of Pound's criticism. If my criticisms seem too stringent and not to follow from my exposition in the main I cannot document these comments, and in some sense they do not belong here. I add them for a more complete picture. Chapter V will contain my general conclusion on Pound and others.

making the language vital and important. He had faith in the possibilities of education and believed in the possibility of progress, especially American progress. Philosophically, he believed in the tradition of metamorphosis, that nothing remained static, everything was contingent and in flux. His criticism had an ethical implication on almost every issue. He gave the arts a function in society and demanded a place for them. He dealt with the economic issue as fundamental to the artist's problem. His comparative method and challenge-to-America concept were important analytical and propaganda tools. He stressed individualism and pointed to some very serious problems that democratic thinkers must face. Pound demanded thought and action; he insisted on "facing facts" as they presented themselves. He looked to intelligence and education as guides to help us determine what thoughts were worthy of being put into action. He was an empiricist who refused to look to utopias for solutions, but suggested rather an examination of past history for methods and ideas, while relying always on the individual intelligence to bring up original solutions to new problems. Changing conditions must be met by changing programs; ideas must be tested in action. The remaking of thought and systems, a constant change because of changing conditions, was part of his creed. He sought certitude in the arts as well as in the sciences. His own career showed a willingness to tackle important problems that faced him,

and a willingness to declare himself as a publicist for the American awakening.

What were his most serious limitations? Pound tended to affirm rather than to clearly analyze, to assert rather than to pursue problems logically, methodically to their conclusion. His central focus as an artist overbalanced his critical statements. It is to his credit that he attempted to answer so many problems, but he tended to spread himself thin. He could clearly see many of the more "flagrant disportions of his age," but his solutions often were not solutions, but stop-gaps, suggestions casually tossed to the reader.

He failed to present a clear structure of philosophy and criticism. This evolves only after all his work is examined in historical perspective. His own concept of his role as publicist and "blaster" ofter limited his effectiveness as a thinker. But he saw that the artists' relationship to his society was but one of many intricate social relationships. He brought back into focus the Stoic concept of private virtue as the pillar for the republic. His view of democracy pointed out fundamental problems, and he offered American's concepts they could find within their own tradition. He admitted his limitations as to knowledge and experience, although even after making these admissions he often ventured into fields without such necessary experience and knowledge.

But Ezra Pound, cultural critic, clearly pointed up several major problems of his age and ours. His methods and aims clearly establish him in an American critical tradition. The comparative method and the challenge-to-America concept are still worthwhile analytical tools. He was honest always to himself and his own creed. As we shall see he pointed the way for many cultural critics that were to follow him. He remains the enigmatic and exciting personality I described at the beginning. He championed the "survival of personality" in a world which threatened to destroy individuals for the "mass; he championed understanding in a world split apart by misunderstanding. No personality is more worthy of understanding and discussion than he.

CHAPTER III

Expatriation in the Twenties: An Analysis

The expatriate artist-intellectual has been singled out as the most dramatic manifestation of the relationship of an individual to his society. In considering their role and place in society from a vantage point across the seas, these artist-intellectuals presented general cultural criticism of their homeland. Before discussing the criticism offered by the post-war expatriates, let us attempt to analyze their expatriation with a view toward placing their general problems in our cultural history.

The term "expatriate" has been loosely applied to many citizens who choose, for various reasons, to live outside their native land for all or part of their lives. It must be remembered, however, that this term is too general to serve as a valid mark of identification without some qualifications. Expatriation has its legal overtones, implying renunciation of citizenship. Examples of legal change of citizenship are not common among the artist-intellectuals I am discussing.[1] But the term "expatriation" can be an extremely emotive word. In a nationalistic society the term has evil connotations, whether an actual change of citizen- occurs or not. The emotive qualities of the term are to be

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1. Henry James in the outstanding example of the artist who adopted a foreign citizenship, but his action had a special significance. See Ezra Pound, "What America Has to Live Down," The New Age, 23:314.

avoided if we are to understand the real significance of the expatriate problem.

Still further qualifications seem in order. Expatriation of the artist is not solely an American phenomenon. Turgenev, James Joyce, Rimbaud are but a few European examples.[2] The settlements of expatriates in Paris, Berlin, and Rome were all international in character. R. P. Blackmur has made the very suggestive statement that there are certain values connected with expatriation which can be considered fundamental to the arts at certain stages of their relations with whole cultures.[3] In this sense expatriation is an international phenomenon, and once connected with no single period of human history.

The concept of expatriation in the arts could be traced back to antiquity.[4] Certainly the twenties or the twentieth century have not been the first periods of history to witness this action of the artist. Whistler, Henry James, Story are only a few examples of artist-expatriates of the late nineteenth century in America. Matthew Josephson has discussed the American expatriates in an attempt to illustrate common background problems that concerned them all in

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2. See W. Y. Tyndall, "Exiles: Rimbaud to Joyce," The American Scholar, 14:351-4.
3. R. P. Blackmur, "The American Literary Expatriate," in David Bowers, ed., Foreign Influences in American Life (Princeton, 1944) 141.
4. An editorial, "Expatriates," in The American Parade, no. 4:6 (October, 1926) does just that.

post-Civil-War America.[5] The very act of expatriation would certainly tend to unite all the artists who adopted this solution to their problems. But despite the fact that many expatriates of different generations attempted to meet certain similar problems, a statement or generalization made concerning one generation cannot, in many cases be applied to all such generations. In discussing the late nineteenth-century expatriates, one student of American nationalism has suggested that "their expatriation was objective evidence of a willingness to subordinate any loyalty they felt for America to other values, to another culture."[6] This essay, I believe, will show that such a statement cannot be applied to all the men discussed here, to the members of the "Lost Generation."

Although the central focus of this essay is the artist-expatriate, it should be remembered that expatriation is not confined to the artist alone. The American in Europe has been well chronicled in our literature.[7] There have been Americans living abroad for many years with no artistic

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5. Matthew Josephson, Portrait of the Artist as American (New York, 1930).
6. Merle Curti, The Roots of American Loyalty (New York, 1946) 146.
7. The literature of such expatriation is great. The theme has been used by Henry James, Edith Wharton, Ernest Hemingway, Eliot Paul, and many others including Somerset Maugham in his The Razors Edge.

leanings at all.[8] Perhaps the motivating forces behind this expatriation are easier to discover. Social aspirations, the search for titles, the desire for stable and essentially aristocratic institutions, the concern for "society," and the general attachment to the "finer things" of foreign cultures seem to be the general reasons for this type of expatriation.[9]

But it can be said that all these various types of expatriation seem to bear out the contention of one student that the very act was offered as a criticism of American civilization, whatever the point of view of the expatriate.[10] The first chapter of this essay suggested some of the reactions of the artist to society. Expatriation was one of these possible reactions. But it must be remembered that those who went abroad often reacted in different ways. Some expatriates were positively searching for something, perhaps a tradition, a set of institutions. Some were merely fleeing certain conditions. Some completely became part of a foreign culture; some carried their "Americanism" almost

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8. For example see J. Wechesberg, "The Self-Exiled," *The New Yorker*, May 7, 1949, 66-73.
9. See *ibid*., and M. P. Child, "Expatriated Americans," *Saturday Evening Post*, June 13, 1925, 22.
10. Curti, *op. cit.*, 141.

as a chip on their shoulders.[11]

Expatriation implies a voluntary withdrawal from a society. It should be noted, however, that many of these expatriates considered themselves exiles from their societies. The concept of the artist as an exile is an important one in modern literary history and criticism.[12] This concept will have to be considered in our final reckoning of the significance of the expatriation movement.

The twentieth century has become the century of the wanderer. Two world wars, local civil wars, chaos have uprooted millions from their homes and homelands. But the tragic wanderers, characterized most vividly in the D. P. of our own generation, are not alone in their homelessness.

In the literature of our century the wanderer is a key figure. Two great master-works stand out. They were both written by exiles-expatriates from a native land not because of war and its resultant chaos or because of force. These two works in question are studies of wonderers. Both literary masterpieces take as their base an ancient myth

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11. The case of Julian Green who became a leading light in modern French letters is interesting in this connection. French is even his "native" language. See Bernard Fay, "Julian Green, Francophile," Saturday Review of Literature 3:915 (June 18, 1927). In the non-literary field there are other cases to illustrate this point.
12. See for example W. Y. Tyndall, Forces in Modern British Literature (New York, 1948) Chapter I; G. Haines IV, "The Concept of the Artist as Exile," Epoch 2:277-289 (Winter, 1950) and Wm. Van O'Connor, op. cit., passim.

upon which the authors have erected a significant study of contemporary life.

James Joyce, exile from his native Dublin because he felt he could no longer serve that in which he no longer believed, be that his family, his church or his native land, wanderer through out much of Europe, gave the twentieth century a modern <u>Ulysses</u>. In careful contrast to the great and heroic age of Ulysses, Bloom searches for "home" in a novel especially meaningful in light of twentieth-century conditions.

T. S. Eliot, exile from St. Louis, Missouri (by way of Harvard University) has described another wanderer, the seeker of <u>The Waste Land</u>, searching for some sort of holy grail in the desolation of the twentieth century.

The myths, the exile, the search, and the cries of "obscurity" which met both of these works stand as eloquent testimony to perhaps the key social and intellectual problem of our period - and the exile is perhaps the symbol of that problem. This is added to high-light the discussion of the expatriate and his problem - the essential consideration of the relationship of the individual to his society. This brief introduction and series of qualifications leads us to a consideration and analysis of some of the leading problems related to a study of their "exile."

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Was expatriation in the arts, after all, significant

in the Twenties? A survey of the careers of 219 contemporary American authors discussed in Millet's book[13] indicates that 67 of these 219 - over one-fourth of the total - spent two or more years abroad. Two years certainly doesn't indicate a long detachment from their homeland, but it is characteristic of most of the so-called expatriates of the Twenties that they did not remain abroad long. This list would include many artists who are considered in an essentially "American" tradition. F. Scott Fitzgerald, who at least began his greatest novel in Paris and wrote another one on the expatriates, and Robert Frost, whose first book of poetry was published in England, would be included in such a listing. But the fact that these men lived abroad, that many went to Europe for play, for work or study, adds to the significance of the problem under discussion.

Paul Bixler discovered that 139 of 540 little magazines and 43 of 96 "fellow traveller" magazines discussed in the history of the little magazines, were published outside

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13. Fred B. Millet, Contemporary American Authors (New York, 1940) contains brief biographical discussions and excellent bibliographies of these literary men and women as well as an excellent short critical survey of the literary history from 1900. I do not mean to suggest that men like Fitzgerald or Frost should be considered "expatriates," but merely to suggest the importance of some life abroad to many of our writers. I shall attempt what seems to me a more significant definition of the "True Expatriate" in Chapter V of this essay.

of the United States.[14]

A survey of the European Edition (Paris) of The Chicago Tribune gives evidence of the life of a large American colony. Perusal of that publication from 1918-1925 tends to confirm the statement that the Americans had annexed Paris without due authority from the State Department. At least Parisian police feared this was so when they counted the numbers of "permanent" Americans in Paris at 40,000. The American Chamber of Commerce, however, could find only about 10,000 when it undertook to make a directory of such residents in Paris in the Twenties.[15] Reading the Tribune one gets some sort of a picture of a real American colony in Paris. There were reproductions of many American institutions and clubs. The art page of the Tribune listed the activities of American writers and artists in Paris, and reading these pages for several years one reads of many who attempted work in the arts who never reached the fame or eminence that would enable Millet to list them in his study.

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14. Paul Bixler, "Little Magazines, What Now?" Antioch Review, 8:63-4, a discussion of Hoffman, et. al., The Little Magazine.

15. Al Laney, Paris Herald (New York, 1947) 143. Support is given in the European Edition of the Chicago Tribune, 1918-1925, which I was kindly allowed to examine in the library of the Chicago Tribune, Chicago. I was unable to use the Paris edition of the New York Herald. For my study and have relied on Laney's discussion of that newspaper.

The importance of expatriation in the lives of some of our better known artists and the great numbers of unknown American artists who lived in Paris suggests that the movement was significant, if only in numbers.

It has been suggested that expatriation itself was a criticism of America and American civilization. Can this contention be proved in regard to the expatriates of the Twenties? In many cases this position is quite evident. The leading accounts of the expatriation of the period stress the theme of revolt and protest by flight.[16] Blackmur shrewdly suggests that "men went away....because they couldn't stand themselves in America - though some of them thought it was America that was intolerable."[17] Disgust with America as a motive for expatriation is often too obvious. Frank O'Malley, newspaper reporter, before expatriating himself, handed his fellow countrymen a long list of his grievances against the United States.[18] The following chapter will clearly indicate that many expatriated were extremely critical of America, and their disgust with the

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16. Malcolm Cowley, Exile's Return (New York, 1934) and Samuel Putnam, Paris Was Our Mistress (New York, 1947). Both these books were written after a return from exile and were reflective memoirs.
17. Blackmur, loc. cit., 128.
18. "'Pan America!'-The Cry of the Expatriates," Literary Digest 102:46. Mr. O'Malley's charges are reprinted, September 7, 1929, from his own attack in the Sunday New York Sun of the week before. Our library does not have the Sunday Sun.

America they knew lead them often to take the path of expatriation.

We must guard against unqualified generalizations, however. Personal and personality factors must also be considered, as has been suggested by the Blackmur quotation above. Herald Stearns, whose dramatic withdrawal from the United States after concluding his inquiry into Civilization in the United States,[19] attempted to leave no doubt that his major reasons for leaving were critical ones.[20] But a reading of his own autobiography written three years after his return, suggests that there may very well have been personal reasons envolved in his expatriation. He left, for example, after he had been tragically upset by the death of his wife in childbirth.[21] He also suggests a personal lack of assurance in himself, difficulties in his sex life and other personal features which very well may have lead in part to his action. Glenway Wescott has warned against "high-brow generalizations" in dealing with the expatriate question.[22] His own expatriation, he suggests, was the result of a trans-oceanic pursuit of the woman he loved and in no way reflected any criticism of American civilization or any

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19. Harold Stearns, ed. Civilization in the United States (New York, 1920).
20. See especially his "Apologia of An Expatriate," Scribners 85:338-41. (March 19, 1928).
21. The Street I Know (New York, 1935) Chapters X-XII.
22. Letter to the Author, March 25, 1950.

criticism of anything. Others who left went abroad because they had an opportunity to study there. Malcolm Cowley is but one example. Many American artists on Guggenheim grants went abroad for study and a change in setting. Going abroad for study and travel had long been deemed the "important" thing for artists and others to do. There was little new in this desire. At least one expatriate changed his mind on the reasons for such action. In a defense of the expatriate, Eugene Bagger originally considered the act the only step possible because of American conditions. A few years later, under the obvious influence of Adlerian psychology, he decided that it must be psychic difficulties within the individual expatriates that make them leave the United States.[23]

Yet even when allowances have been made for personal and personality factors, the critical consequences (and often intent) of expatriation are clear.[24] Mr. Wescott's sharp disavowal of any attempted criticism of America is clearly challenged by his own work while abroad. "Good-bye Wisconsin," a short story-essay written to introduce a group of his early short stories, clearly indicates a critical

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23. Eugene Bagger, "Uprooted Americans," Harpers Magazine 159: 474-84 (September, 1929) and his "Expatriates in Time," Harpers Magazine 167:363-74 (August, 1933).
24. I am certainly not capable to analyze these personal factors in any psychological detail. I can merely suggest the possibility of their existence.

concern for America and her problems and a deep-rooted interest in the problems of the artist and writer in such a society as the American middle-west has to offer.[25] "The future of American Civilization," he suggests, "is a genuine riddle. The riddle of a sphinx with the perfect face of a movie star, with a dead-leaf completion which is the result of this climate, our heating system, our habits..."[26] Other stories in the collection deal with other American problems, with the results of the area and its culture on the inhabitants. One story is directly concerned with the problems of the artist in America and with expatriation as a possible solution.[27] The collection was published in 1928, but some of the stories appeared in other publications as early as 1923, the year Mr. Wescott arrived in France to settle after making the grand tour of Europe.[28]

One does not have to turn to Wescott's fiction to find a preoccupation with cultural and other problems. Fear and Trembling is a direct attempt to discuss some of these problems and to offer some possible solutions. It is a critical discussion of the state of civilization, especially

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25. In his Good-Bye Wisconsin (New York, 1928). Many of the stories in this volume were written much earlier.
26. Ibid., 37.
27. "The Whistling Swan," in Wescott, op. cit. See also the story "Prohibition" in the same volume.
28. See biographical appendix for details of his career.

American, and the problems which confront that civilization. War and peace, industrialism, individualism, religion, the role of women and other problems are discussed in Wescott's own way.[29] Mr. Wescott may very well have gone to Europe in pursuit of fair lady, but he stayed to concern himself with many of the critical problems that other expatriates felt they were faced with, and to offer some penetrating discussion, in fiction and non-fiction, about the nature of American civilization.

I have used Mr. Wescott as a "control case." This case illustrates the difficulties facing anyone who attempts to discover or fix a "cause" for the expatriation movement of the Twenties. In addition to the concept of revolt and flight, the expatriates themselves insisted that the reason behind expatriation was largely economic. Louis Bromfield clearly states: "The reason for the migration of young writers is simple enough: it is merely economic."[30] Economic freedom of the artist abroad is constantly stressed in accounts published in American periodicals and newspapers of the period.[31] Glenway Wescott suggests that he remained in Europe (after he failed

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29. Fear and Trembling (New York, 1932).
30. Louis Bromfield, "Expatriate - Vintage 1927," Saturday Review of Literature 3:658 (March 19, 1929).
31. See for example H. A. Phillips, "In Defense of Our Literary Expatriates," Bookman 65:412-5, H. A. Loen, Foreign Exchange," Broom, 2:176-181 (May, 1922).

to get the girl) because he was able to live, by taking advantage of the exchange rate, on what he earned by his writings alone.[32] He felt he couldn't have done so, or at least done so as well, in America. The origin of some of the little magazines abroad can also be related to economic factors. The history of Broom clearly shows that it was published abroad because it could be done so more cheaply than in America.[33] Malcolm Cowley tells us of "following the dollar," playing the exchange rate to live, even if that meant living away from the United States.[34] The stress given to economic factors by the expatriates themselves clearly indidates the importance of these factors at least in keeping the expatriates in Europe. The favorable foreign exchange rate afforded American dollars and the cheaper living conditions in Europe gave excellent reasons for remaining abroad. In this regard, the expatriation of the Twenties is distinctly different from previous expatriation. Henry James, for example, never found himself bothered by questions of economics, of living cheaply. If earlier expatriates were bothered by this problem, they never cited it as the reason for their expatriation or their remaining abroad. Even Ezra Pound who was so concerned with economic

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32. Wescott, Letter to Author, March 21, 1950.
33. See Hoffman, et. al., op. cit., 102-3 and H. A. Loeb, "Broom:1921-1923," Broom 5:56-7.
34. M. Cowley, "Valuta," Broom 3:250 (November, 1922).

questions never justified his expatriation on the basis of economic expediency. Undoubtedly the economic question was a vital one for these later expatriates, as they themselves insisted. Also, as I have suggested in the first chapter, there was much more thinking being done in terms of economic determination of actions and events. Perhaps for this reason, too, the economic question was given considerable build-up.

In reality the economic issue was still another criticism of American civilization, as the next chapter will show. Samuel Putnam suggested this quite clearly when he concerned himself with "whom America has failed."[35] She had failed the artist, but not by being crude, materialistic. This the artist expected in a young, fast-growing nation. Rather America has failed the artist because she did not afford him a proper living as an artist. And so Americans remain in Paris, not because they hate America, but because "well, where in America can you find a suit of clothes, which even a Greenwich Village poet would wear, for $13.60?"[36] The economics of authorship had become a vital question for the American artist.

But the economic motives are even given stronger basis when we examine the return of the expatriates. The mass

35. "Whom America Has Failed," Literary Digest 97:23-4 (May 26, 1928).
36. Ibid., 24.

return from Europe did occur after the depression had brought down the exchange rate. Many American commentators cynically discussed the return to America since the exchange rate no longer made their American-made dollars so popular in Europe.[37]

Economic reasons, in this case, do not tell the whole story. How can we, on economic grounds, account for those who remained in Europe, penny-less, without a means of employment? How can we account for Harold Stearns who was suffering, by his own statement, actual privation, and yet, even on the offer of a good job in America, refused to return. He would rather remain in Europe, lonely, without friends and money, than return to America.[38] Many authors were forced to take jobs on the American newspapers that were published in Paris. They could not all live on their writings, as Wescott did. Some men who worked for these newspapers were not paid in dollars, but were paid in French francs.[39]

We might better understand some of the other reasons

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37. See for example "Re-Expatriates," <u>The New Outlook</u> 163:56 (January, 1934) also J. C. Furnas, "The Vanished American," <u>Saturday Evening Post</u> (December 8, 1934) 23. Discusses the exchange rate as source of return to America and also mark lef on Paris by the expatriates.
38. See his autobiography, <u>op. cit.</u>, and "Apologia of an Expatriate," Scribners, 85:338-41 (March, 1929).
39. Al Laney, op. cit., passim and Stearns, <u>The Street I Know</u>, Chapters XIV-XX.

for expatriation if we consider the capital that drew these expatriates, the symbol of what these expatriates sought. Paris was generally considered the center of fashion, gaiety, pleasure. In that phrase of the Twenties, the city was "naughty but nice." Steamboat companies advertised the splendors of this center of culture. Historic Paris offered thrills, traditions, fashion, and fun.[40] In 1928 the American Legion held its annual convention in that prohibition-less city, probably to recall gay Army times when on leave. The expatriates were certainly not immune to the charming features of the town which draw thousands of American tourists each year and the American Legion.

If America was the land of Puritan inhibitions, Paris was the city of unrestrained freedom. Paris is constantly identified with individual freedom and liberty by the expatriate group.[41] The city was a symbol, then, for what the expatriates wanted and why they fled America. It was the perfect antidote to American growing restraint. In Paris, the individual personality was respected, his pecularities uncommented upon, his private life not interfered with.[42]

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40. See ad of the White Star Line, for example, Life April 5, 1929.
41. See Eliot Paul, The Last Time I Saw Paris (New York, 1940); the work of Harold Stearns previously cited; the Symposium "Why Do Americans Live in France," transition no. 14:97-119 (1928).
42. E. V. Saunders, "America Invades Europe," Broom 1:89-91.

Paris remained unmoved by the trends toward collectivization and regimentation. She still stood for the older ideals of Western Civilization as opposed to the rising mechanical-industrial order.

If Paris meant opposition to Puritanism, it also meant humanism as opposed to the machine. Gertrude Stein has paid loving tribute to that Paris. She was certain that the Twentieth Century belonged to the Americans and to their order. But what America needed to be really great was the "background of Paris."[43] This background was quite simply civilization - refinement, culture, fashion, the interest in art and ideas. Here was the essential background, the tradition of freedom, which America needed if she was to grow great in all ways - a Paris, not to copy from, but to learn from the secret of how to grow up beautifully.

In addition, Paris was the city in which the arts were appreciated for themselves, and in which the artist was admired and respected for his occupation. Miss Stein found that Paris afforded the artist special privileges. How different this was from The America Vachel Lindsey bitterly attacked as destructive of the artist's own self-esteem, the America in which the poet was given no respect

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43. Gertrude Stein, Paris, France (New York, 1940). The whole book is important for placing Paris in the expatriate movement.

but treated as a freak.[44]

For the artist, the man who had come abroad to learn more about his craft, Paris seemed the ideal place. It provided the perfect background to the arts. Paris was an international settlement of the arts. Here scholars and artists from all over the world could be found; artistic theory and practice abounded for all who were interested. Learning could proceed through mutual criticisms, discussions, exhibitions, lectures. It was the cultural capital that Pound had defined and wished America to develop for herself. Here artists could meet, whether at Sylvia Beach's bookshop or their favorite left-bank cafe, to discuss common problems and to learn from one another. Here were the little magazines which would print experimental writing; Miss Beach's Shakespeare and Company, the Crosby's Black Sun Press, and the Three Mountain Press, among others, stood ready to publish experimental works which could often not receive publication elsewhere.[45] For a time, Mr. Pound's

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44. Vachel Lindsey, "What It Means to Be a Poet in America," Saturday Evening Post, 12-13 (November, 1916) no. 11.
45. This Paris background is no where sufficiently discussed, but see Hoffman, et. al., passim, Margaret Anderson, My Thirty Years War, John Gould Fletcher, Life Is My Song, and Harold Stearns' autobiography, op. cit. There is a good chapter in Al Laney, op. cit., XVI, "Left Bank, Fabulous 20's." Miss Beach published Joyce's Ulysses and the Three Mountain Press published some of the earliest Hemingway.

and Miss Stein's blue pencils were available for young aspiring talent to better their own work by excellent criticism.

Paris was indeed a laboratory of the arts, or as Pound said, "Paris is the laboratory of ideas; it is there the poisons can be tested, new modes of sanity discovered. It is there that the antiseptic conditions of the laboratory exist. That is the function of Paris."[46] Here was the true cultural capital; a place to work and to study. It is probably quite true that the early expatriates like Stein and Pound and their presence in the city offered incentive for many of the other and later expatriates to follow them.[47]

Paris was indeed the mistress of the expatriates, and they loved her for what she taught them about life, philosophy, and their craft. Here was a brilliant and critical audience assembled from all over the world, willing and eager to listen to any new idea. Here there was a tradition and yet the birth of all sorts of "modernism," fads, philosophies, theories - and the expatriate was free to pick and choose. There can be no doubt that the mistress was often made a fetish, that even ugliness was tolerated or adored as beauty as long as it was in Paris.[48]

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46. "Remy de Gourmount," in Pavannes and Divisions (New York, 1920) 116.
47. Hoffman, et. al., op. cit., 79.
48. For example, see Elmer Rice's treatment of this kind of fetishism in The Left Bank (New York, 1931) written by an author with "left bank" experience.

There certainly were perils evolved in falling in love with the mistress - exaggeration, romanticism, meaningless dissapation. She might often prove too much for the boy from the drab Wisconsin farm or the Iowa corn field.

We have no tools to measure the gains made by the artists who expatriated themselves to Paris. Certainly some eminent literary productions were written during Paris days or under the influence of such an expatriation. But could these not have been done at home, and perhaps done better under the influence of America, as some critics of the expatriates suggested? The question cannot be answered satisfactorily within the scope of this essay.

By 1930 the great Paris center had largely disbanded. Pound was off to Rapallo, while most of the expatriates had been driven home by the depression. Even Gertrude Stein had moved to the outskirts. But for ten years, at least, Paris had meant something to a host of American writers and artists, to a whole generation. The following chapter shall discuss the detailed cultural criticism offered by this generation from their view-point in Paris. Perhaps after a discussion of that criticism, we shall be better able to weigh results of this expatriation. But it is important to remember that Paris was the center of this general expatriation of the Twenties. Previous expatriation tended to establish itself in London or Rome (at least in the case of literary expatriates. But there can be no doubt of the

central place of Paris in the expatriation under discussion.

Recent American scholars have tended to shrug their shoulders at the expatriate movement of the Twenties and insist, in a good nationalistic tradition, that it wasn't nearly as significant as the flocking of exiles from Europe to the United States during the second World War.[49] But what was the reaction to the expatriates in the American press and magazines during the period of most outstanding expatriation? The frontspiece to this essay reproduces an outstanding cartoon of the Twenties which neatly summarizes a certain critical attitude toward these expatriates - all the favorite symbols, drunkeness, adoption of foreign mannerisms, transition, a leading little magazine, which stood for all the peculiar literary experimentation, The Sun Also Rises, most famous of the expatirate novels, written by and about one of these silly creatures, and above all making fun of their complete renunciation of America.

The expatriates were often the butt of jokes and some-

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49. See for example H. S. Commanger, The American Mind (New Haven, 1950) 64-5. Mr. Commanger shows his American indignation. He successfully avoids their significance by not mentioning one important expatriate of the Twenties. He thinks it "perverse" of Josephson to call his study of American expatriates and their problems Portrait of the Artist as American. See also Horace M. Kallen, Art and Freedom (New York, 1942) 2:846, 882-5. Mr. Kallen's useful study fails to see, strangely enough, the relationship between expatriation and freedom for the arts. He thinks expatriates are "delicate....culture-hounds."

times the object of patriotic indignation.[50] Their experimentation in the arts was mocked; their little magazines mimicked or parodied.[51] But the press abuse and mockery never reached the level of the blast which had been previous hurled at the New York Armory show in 1913, although a similar intolerant attitude was often evident. Newspaper reaction to the expatriate was slight indeed. Occasionally, a blast like O'Malley's attack on the United States received an answer in the editorial columns of the American Press.[52] Most of this comment chose to defend the United States rather than to attack the expatriates. Some admitted some of the charges, but suggested the answer was not expatriation, but assuming a sense of responsibility in society, not to loose a sense of humor and go running off after false "utopias." Bernard De Voto called these exiles "escapists from reality," and the psychological critics of expatriation had a field day.[53] Others compared the United States with other places. "Is the United States worse than any other place," asked the

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50. See for example the cartoons and comments in Life, April 5, 1929.
51. See the parody on Pound's The Exile, "L'Exil, A Tertiary Review," in The Sewanee Review 40:415-24 (November, 1932).
52. "'Pan America!'-The Cry of the Expatriates," Literary Digest 102:46-51 (September 7, 1929) reprints much press comment from all over United States.
53. B. De Voto, "Exiles from Reality," Saturday Review of Literature 10:721-3 (June 2, 1934) and Eugene Bagger, "Expatriates in Time," loc. cit.

New York World?[54] Some critics deplored the dangers of expatriation for the exile-artists. McBride of the New York Sun was annoyed that the expatriates felt everything was intolerable about the United States but her dollars. He warned that adopting an artificial and imitative style would not overcome an inferiority complex. He found it hard to understand why our artists should go abroad when all Europe "was trying to learn the secret of our success."[55]

Some of the little magazines published in America commented on their fellows in Europe. The American Parade found an interesting parallel between the present American expatriation and the period of the development of Roman civilization "where Athens played the part Paris does now in the minds of the self-exiled American writers." Very sagely, the Parade desires to let it be known that there are dangers in such an attachment to a foreign capital, but that there are also interesting signs which can be seen from the historical parallel.[56] Perhaps the most interesting attack on the expatriates appeared in an expatriate magazine and was written by a man who himself had been such an exile, but who now considered it his duty to warn all such exiles

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54. "'Pan America!'" loc. cit., 46.
55. Quoted in "Shall Artists Run to Europe" Literary Digest 100:23-4 (March 2, 1929).
56. "Expatriates," The American Parade No. 4:6 (October, 1926).

that they were chasing false shadows.[57]

There were those American magazine writers who felt that these men of letters who went to Europe ought to return to America and its inspiration, that their work would gain from such contact even if their technique might not improve.[58] There were "spiritual" qualities in America that could not be gained elsewhere. Of course, The American Mercury and Ernest Boyd lambasted the expatriate as aesthete and therefore an object of ridicule.[59] But the expatriates were also defended in various articles in the magazine literature of the time. Henry Hazlitt attacked the "stock conception" of the expatriate, and showed the expatriate tradition in the arts from antiquity on.[60] He urges a more serious consideration of the expatriate, his problems and his accomplishments. The first expatriate was, after all, Adam for the "Lord didn't want his children provincial." One writer defended expatriation as a necessary "safety-valve" for our discontent in the arts.[61] He also believed that the expatriate was really the best propagandist for America abroad

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57. Matthew Josephson, "Open Letter to Mr. Ezra Pound, and other 'Exiles,'" transition no. 13:100-102 (1928). Of course, Josephson is attacking a certain type of expatriate, what he calls the "Don Juan of the Arts."
58. "Re-Expatriates," The New Outlook 163:56 (January, 1934).
59. Boyd, loc. cit.
60. "In Defense of Expatriates," "Quarterly Comment" in Century 102:8-9 (Winter, 1930).
61. Henry Albert Phillips, "In Defense of Our Literary Expatriates," Bookman 65:412-15 (Italy, 1924).

since they spread American ideals, discuss American life, constantly write of the American scene.[62] Expatriation seemed to have only beneficial results. He urged Americans not to worry about their "black sheep." Paris is a work-ground as well as a playground: They are turning our excellent work. James Hall carries this concept even further. The expatriates must be judged only on the basis of what they produce. He condemns psychological criticism of the expatriate as meaningless.[63]

Even when the expatriate tried, in some cases, to forget his American background he couldn't. Perhaps he was like Archibald Higbie of Edgar Lee Masters' Spoon River who hated uncultured America and expatriated himself to devote himself to his art, only to find no matter how hard he tried to sculpture a statue of Apollo, it always vaguely resembled Abe Lincoln.[64] But most Americans did not go to adopt completely a foreign culture. They went because the life of the artist was more pleasing outside the United States and because they wanted to learn, and Paris was a great university. It is not surprising that they wrote about things they had left behind. But it is interesting to note in how

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62. The expatriate as American propagandist is a desired good in the eyes of Ezra Pound, see his "What America Has to Live Down," loc. cit.
63. J. N. Hall, "Expatriates," The American Review 5:185-90 (May, 1935).
64. E. L. Masters, Spoon River Anthology (New York, 1914) 194.

many cases these works were so much better than those being written "on the spot."

The criticism of the expatriate in America presents an interesting problem. The earliest critical notices, comments, on the expatriates that could be found were dated 1924 (the Phillips article quoted below). The bulk of such discussion, however, centers in the period 1929-34, when most of the expatriates were returning. The attack on the little magazines abroad does not really get under-way until the publication of transition (in some sense the most daringly experimental of all the little magazines) beginning in 1927. The period 1920-5 was a time of a great expatriation and of great expatriate activity in their littl magazines and elsewhere. But why should the expatriate problem in America be especially treated in the very late years of that expatriation, at a time when most expatriates were coming home? The question can not be answered in this essay, but investigation of this problem might have suggestive results in the light of American cultural and intellectual history of the period.

Expatriates will have to be judged on the basis of results. Their place in our literary history will have to be discussed elsewhere; their place in our social and intellectual history lies in pointing-up the problem of the artist

and his relationship to his society and in the cultural criticism that was forthcoming from a consideration of that problem. Expatriation offers a unique cultural problem, and a very important one.

CHAPTER IV

Expatriation of the Twenties : Resulting Criticism

This chapter will attempt the exposition of the leading critical ideas prevalent among some expatriates in the Twenties. The first section of the chapter will outline the criticism of America that could be found in various little magazines published abroad in this period. No one magazine to be discussed survived throughout the whole period; not all magazines published abroad concerned themselves with cultural criticism. In order to illustrate some of these critical ideas held at various periods and by various expatriates through the decade, certain magazines have been selected as illustrative of certain periods of the Twenties. It must be remembered that in each case the ideas expressed were those of the individuals concerned; it is possible, however, to arrive at some formulation of general attitudes as expressed by one group in one magazine. Ideas expressed in certain magazines can not be said to be held by all or even most expatriates in the period. But these magazines remain an important source for cultural criticism in the period as offered by certain expatriates. Although only the leading magazines which offered a considerable body of this criticism are to be discussed, when ever possible the documentation will indicate similar ideas held by other expatriates in other magazines. It will be

impossible to trace the histories of these magazines or to discuss their general appearance or literary contents. The history of these magazines and their place in our literary history have been thoroughly discussed elsewhere.[1]

The attempt will be made here to discuss those key ideas which the critics and editors writing for these magazines presented, the ideas held in common. For despite any conflicts which existed between these various writers and magazines about literary and other matters, despite the change of emphasis at different times, the degree of unanimity on matters of cultural criticism is much more important for our purposes. Understanding the ideas held in common will enable us to define better the expatriate and his contributions to our intellectual life.

The second section of this chapter will concern itself with certain individuals, who in addition to their contribution to the expatriate magazines offered other indications of their criticism at home and abroad. In this way we will be able to see the full development of certain essentially expatriate ideas. In addition to the men who were physical expatriates for some part of this decade, a brief discussion of the ideas of a "fellow traveller" who remained at home will be included to act as a "control case" in this study.

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1. See Hoffman, et. al., op. cit., on the various magazines in this chapter, especially Chapter V.

A. The Little Magazines Abroad

The Broom in American History (November 1921 - January 1924)

Broom belonged to the body of "little magazines" - that is magazines concerned largely with literary and artistic questions and problems which appealed to a small audience - which the historians of these magazines called "tendenz" journals.[2] These are the periodicals which flourished in the decade of the Twenties which attempted to "fashion a synthesis from diverse materials." The editors searched for meanings in the apparently meaningless years after the first World War. They attempted to state the nature of culture at the time, to forward the direction of thought and culture, and to predict what it would all be like in the future.

This particular magazine that concerns us was initially conceived of in New York by Harold Loeb and Alfred Kreymborg. The editors went abroad to edit and publish the magazine because publishing was so much cheaper in Europe and the exchange rate was so favorable for American money.[3] Broom was first published in Rome in November of 1921; the last issue was published in New York in January, 1924. The magazine itself illustrates the fate of many expatriates and of other expatriate magazines. Broom was finally killed

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2. Ibid., 84, 101-7. I have relied heavily on this history and discussion for the background material necessary.
3. Harold A. Loeb, "Broom: 1921-1923," Broom 5:56-7.

by the very force that so many of the expatriates revolted against - the censor.

Broom was the particular voice of a particular group of expatriates, although, as we shall see, many of the ideas and attitudes expressed here were shared by other expatriates in other magazines. Broom is especially worthy of study because of the conscious attempt made by the various editors and writers to summarize certain feelings and to define their own attitudes clearly and precisely.

The Broomites concerned themselves with the economic position of the artist in society. This problem was constantly on the minds of many expatriate writers, and their discussion of the problem also offered an excuse for their own expatriation. Malcolm Cowley in his nostalgic poem "Valuta" suggests the expatriate was

> "Following the dollar O following the dollar I learned three fashions of eating with a knife and ordering beer in four languages from a Hungarian waiter while following the dollar around the 48th degree of north latitude where it buys most there is the Fatherland...."[4]

Loeb, the chief editor, gives much thought to the economic problems facing the artist. His long editorial on the American artist was significantly called "Foreign Exchange."[5] America has seen fit to pay the highest rates

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4. Broom 3:250 (November, 1922).
5. Harold A. Loeb, "Foreign Exchange," Broom 2:176-187.

known to man for some special qualities, but most artists can not secure such high rates. The pioneer-artist especially does not seem to serve the needs of the hard-working business man who can not make the mental effort to understand any artistic effort that does not follow the rules laid down in American primary schools. Thus men of the greatest importance to the cultural progress of America are faced with the dilemma of doing deadening hackwork or a flight to "follow the dollar."

The deeper significance and causes of the entire expatriate movement are also considered by Loeb. He sees the emergence of a new literary generation bound together by similar reactions to their oppressive environment. "Another settlement of pilgrims is finding its voice, for, like the Mayflower excursionists, they have crossed the ocean to escape economic oppression and spiritual coercion."[6] They have come to France and to Europe so they may give meticulous attention to literary form and from their new vantage point to reevaluate their America.[7]

It is impossible for us not to stress the concern among the Broomites with the primary aesthetic task: writing well. The contents of Broom offer sufficient evidence of this concern, and no discussion of this magazine would be complete without stressing this point.[8] This point must

6. Ibid., 176.
7. Ibid., 177-8.
8. See Loeb's comments of this in his "Broom:1921-1923," loc. cit.

always be remembered in connection with these little magazines. Whatever cultural criticism was offered, was essential by-product or background for the primary task of perfecting themselves as literary craftsmen.

But what were the characteristics of that America in which these exiles felt themselves spiritually oppressed? The Broomites complain about the whole series of restrictive legislation passed in the United States in this period. Somehow the writers for Broom felt, as so many expatriates felt, that this restrictive legislation, censorship, prohibition, was brought on by the extension of the democratic idea. The attack was issued on the "Rule and Worship of the Average."[9] The Dollar plus Democracy have yielded a strange sum: mediocrity. The extension of the principle of majority rule led to measures like the initiative and referendum which attempted to create a state that would efficiently reflect the will of the majority. But this extension of democratic principles neglected to consider the fact that ability among men vastly differed; for example, "according to the U. S. Army tests 47 per cent of the draft were morons, adults below the mental age of thirteen."[10]

"Crowd democracy" was an actual menace because it stressed merely "the spirit of Numbers as over against the

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9. E. V. Sanders, "Fourth of July Crackers," Broom 2:287-292 (May, 1922).
10. Harold A. Loeb, "Foreign Exchange," loc. cit., 177.

spirit."[11] Art represented this individual qualitative spirit; the absence of Art "is proof of the Absence of Freedom. For where there is Freedom for the mind, the soul, for self-manifestation, for spiritual besides the practical experiments, and for creative emotion - there Art must grow...Europe had freedom - but no liberties. America had liberties - no freedom."[12] Instead of nature and culture the American mob only has liberties, conveniences, and information. The Broomites often distinguish between "freedom" and "liberties." I take freedom to mean a natural, spiritual, non-interference and tolerance: liberties seem to be legislation passed to assure individual privileges or rights. War is waged, then, in the pages of Broom against a theory of majority rule that limits spiritual freedom for the mind and that oppresses an artist minority with its censorship and narrowness.

A large-scale assault is also launched against the American intellectual typed by Malcolm Cowley as "Young Mr. Elkins."[13] It is worthwhile picturing this Mr. Elkins at length because he embodies brilliantly so much that Broom wished it could sweep away. American civilization produced this young man

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11. Sanders, loc. cit., 292.
12. Ibid., 290.
13. Broom 4:52-56 (December, 1922).

"It suckled him with Shredded Wheat,
"It drapped Kuppenheimer Klothes about his shoulders.
"It gave him an Underwood typewriter (model 5) and convenient magazines.
"It sent him to Harvard as a classmate of Walter Lippmann....
"It inspired young Mr. Elkins to thunder against billboards, Billy Sunday and Methodism, proportional representation, Comstock, elevated railroads. One year with a special fulgurance he thundered against the commercial ugliness of cities. American civilization listened and moved uneasily like a sleeping volcano. Stung finally into action by his criticism is spewed forth city planning commissions, commissions especially trained at the Beaux Arts and specially delegated to make Paris, Okla. the replica of Paris, France in miniature...
"Young Mr. Elkins places an evident value on his facts and yet collates them around a simple, almost childish thesis; a single thesis concerning America and Puritanism: Puritanism is bad; America is Puritan; therefore America is bad. He has never tried to define Puritanism or America....."[14]

Harold Loeb said there was one trait that connected all these expatriates of the Twenties: "a whole-hearted disapproval of the generation that proceeded them."[15] To that generation must be added their contemporaries who wrote the famous Inquiry of Thirty Americans on the nature of Civilization in the United States. The major grievance of the Broomites against these intellectuals seemed to be their admiration for things European, their inability to see things of value in America, and their contention that things

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14. Ibid., 52, 53-4, 54-6. In this wonderful satire that hits so much that irritated the expatriates it is possible to identify many of the Young Intellectuals who wrote for Civilization in the United States (New York, 1922) which was published a few months before this article appeared.
15. Loeb, "Broom: 1921-1923," loc. cit., 56.

would be better if America were only France.[16] The expatriates "may like bill posters no more than does Van Wyck Brooks, but they do not contend that such things are done better in Europe."[17]

The major task of the Broomites, as cultural critics, seemed to have been the discovery of an American culture. They were not quite sure what this culture should be, but they were all convinced that it must be no imitation of European culture. They feared America was being misled by its intellectuals into merely adopting European methods.[18] The intellectual in America seemed to be a real menace to artistic expression in America since the basis of their criticism was that "America is not Europe."[19] The Broomites reject the consequence that this true statement has led to among American critics - that American culture must be but a poor imitative branch of European civilization.

The main currents of American writing in the period received abuse at the hands of the Broomites as well. Part of this literature was a reaction against the period pre-

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16. For a perfect illustratinn of what they are criticizing here see the Bibliography on Literature written by Van Wyck Brooks for Civilization in the United States in which Brooks suggests the reader see a host of European authors to see what is wrong with American letters.
17. Loeb, "Broom: 1921-1923," loc. cit., 57.
18. Matthew Josephson, "The Great American Billposter," Broom 3:305.
19. H. A. Loeb, "The Mysticism of Money," Broom 3:115.

ceeding the Twenties, the era Munson called the "neo-Puritanic era," It was during this time that the vigorous plutocracy of America sapped its energies and middle-class moralists weighed down the creative spirit. The American author had allowed himself to become "the morally-minded business-serving professor-preacher," a tool of the plutocracy. Now the American business man was unable to see any other role for the artist in America.[20]

Briefly the general trends in the history of American literature were traced by the Broomites. In the early days our writers gloried in the virtues of American and attempted to expound its distinctive qualities.[21] Then came the literature of the business mind bowing to the rising plutocracy. The reaction to this era resulted in the disillusioned "realists" or muckrakers. These crusades against social evils smashed all ideals with equal indifference. They sacrificed every principle of literary craft, but in the end, the so-called realists seemed to be merely voicing their own belly-aches, acting like the little boys who grew up believing in Horatio Alger and being terribly upset when they discovered his falsity.[22]

The Broomites looked for a new artist, one willing to

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20. Gorham B. Munson, "The Limbo of American Literature," Broom 2:250.
21. Loeb, "Broom: 1921-1923," loc. cit., 56.
22. Loeb, "The Mysticism of Money," loc. cit., 181.

move with the age. He must not be cowed into submission by popular taste, but he must combine a vision of truth, a perfection of form, courage of his convictions, and a wide comprehension of his own, his American civilization "too marvelous to be entirely hateful."[23]

Then what was there in America which the Broomites saw as a possible basis for a real indigenous culture? In answering this question by a study of many of the articles which appeared in the magazine, it is easy to see what these expatriates gained from their exile, what they learned from their new contracts and new viewpoints in France. It is perhaps something they had to come to France to learn. Loeb quotes a French author as saying, "Your intellectual America, yes, it bores me, but that other America of the sky-scraper, of the movies, of the streets, that is admirable."[24]

This becomes the keynote of much of the Broomites' work. They rejected intellectual America but searched for this other, this "admirable" America. Matthew Josephson sounded the keynote in his attack on the Thirty Americans who studied our civilization. These intellectuals must be silenced; American civilization must be based on those amazing new arts, the movies, the radio, jazz, steel-

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23. Loeb, "Foreign Exchange," loc. cit., 181.
24. Ibid., 178.

structure sky-scrapers. The billposter should not be bemoaned for it is indeed the "most daring and ingenious literature of the age." It is creating a folklore for modern times.[25] Josephson repeated his plea in several articles.[26] He saw the age of mechanism with all its problems, as comparable to the age of the Renaissance.[27] A whole new world awaited the capable artist. In realizing the truth of the social and individual evils that had been created by the machine, the intellectuals were forgetting the amazing store of fresh artistic materials that age had uncovered.[28]

Josephson saw the problems of the age and the decline of individualism quite clearly. However, he rejected political action as a solution to any living problem. Rather he called upon intellectuals to approach political problems with an aesthetic.[29] Intellectuals, protesting politicians, reformers had too negative an approach; their attempts often led to distribution rather than creation.

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25. Josephson, "The Great American Billposter," loc. cit., 309. In this light it is interesting to note the actual use James Joyce did make of the device of newspaper headlines in one book of his masterpiece *Ulysses*.
26. See Will Bray (Matthew Josephson) "Comment," *Broom* 5:122-3, and also his article "Henry Ford," *Broom* 5:137-142 (October, 1923). In the Twenties many of these magazines were half-playboy, half-serious. It is often hard to tell when the reader is having his leg pulled, but Josephson appears to be quite serious.
27. Bray, "Comment," Loc. cit., 123.
28. Ibid.
29. Josephson, "Henry Ford," loc. cit., 137.

The aesthetic is always creative. Through this aesthetic problems would be seen and solved by an art striking to the core and to the certain truth, based on the actualities of modern existence.

Although the Broomites look forward to a new and great American culture, this does not mean they were willing to adopt the attitude of Stuart Sherman's The Genius of America. In his defense of his environment, Professor Sherman ignored the aesthetic and falsified history, as far as the Broomites were concerned. Sherman examined American history and discovered that the true genius of America was a "profound moral idealism." In reviewing this work, the Broomites cynically point out that America had not been moved by adherence to ideals, but by personal desires and greed. The reviewer clearly accepted the new relativistic historical works as his basis for attack on Sherman. He found that the Genius of America was for economic organization, quantity production, national sales. This was itself something worth considering, something our artists and intellectuals might well ruminate over. For it "is certainly their business to define, somehow or other, their present environment and to express it, inasmuch as their own lives are enmeshed in it."[30]

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30. Unsigned Review of The Genius of America, Broom 5:120 (September, 1923). I believe I can attribute this review to Josephson since it expresses the fundamental position he has taken in other articles. Mr. Josephson has never answered my inquiry on this point, however.

Moral idealism was clearly rejected in many instances. New interpretations of history were accepted, and the relativistic analysis of social and political problems seemed the only worthwhile approach. But still, the Broomites were not willing to let the situation go at that. Harold Loeb insisted that the intellect evaluated the world about him in terms of some conceptual scheme (sometimes known as a religion) which was expressed in certain forms (that is the essence of art).[31] The chaos he perceived in America was due in part to the refusal to acknowledge any such scheme of eternal values. He quoted Nietzsche with approval:

> "The prerequisite of all living things and of their lives is: that there should be a large amount of faith, that it should be possible to pass definite judgments on things, and that there should be no doubt at all concerning values."[32]

Mr. Loeb believes that such a scheme could be found, that it did in fact exist unrecognized in its full implications, a "mysticism of money," utilizing the new devices of the language and culture and "inspired" or motivated by the hope for monetary reward.[33] Loeb attempted to take the relativistic view of the significance of economic factors in human motivation and to make from this some system of eternal values. He quoted Chaplin who claimed his art was directly

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31. Harold Loeb, "The Mysticism of Money," loc. cit., 117.
32. Quoted in ibid., 117.
33. Ibid., 126-129.

inspired by the hope for financial reward and that that hope enabled him to create a form of humor of universal appeal. And so, we are told, we should not only look at the slavery of capitalism, but at the possibilities of creating a great spiritual order and artists of great excellence by that systems key device: incentive for profit.[34] It is obvious that Loeb was both bitter and ironic in parts of this article; nevertheless, the attempt was made by both Loeb and Josephson to create a culture within the capitalistic system, to leave the question of the possibilities of culture surviving in modern capitalism open, to find within that very capitalistic system aesthetic advantages rather to overthrow the system for its social failures, which they also clearly recognize.

The Broomites were concerned about the artistic relations between America and the rest of the world. America should never imitate any foreign model, but Americans could learn from the French and other Europeans. Americans should not adopt the foreign viewpoint or try to express a foreign state of mind, but "if they could remain Americans, not narrow and bigoted Americans, and acquire French clarity,

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34. In this connection it is interesting to look ahead in Loeb's career to his return to America and his active connection with the Technocracy movement which renounced the price system, incentive system entirely. Both he and Josephson became more and more critical of capitalism, especially after the depression set in.

ease, and style, it would be all to the good."[35]

The American spirit must take from other cultures but still retain its own qualities; it must become universal. Europe must look to America and the American spirit must be so all embracing that Europe, too, will be revitalized by it.[36] America had the mission of making all men brothers, as indeed Whitman was trying to do earlier.[37] American expatriates, already annexing Paris and possibly Rome to the United States, seemed to look forward to the complete annexation of all the Western World under the "American spirit."

There is a strong feeling among the Broomites that a new culture was being forged in America - that this was really the first time Americans had consciously attempted to formulate an American culture. There lay the beginning of an American Renaissance. For these reasons the plea was made for a universal spirit, not a narrow imitation of other cultures. Europe has many old cultures, a variety of cultural forms, and so she could _afford_ a France which experiments, which takes from all cultures and all forms, including those American.[38]

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35. Harold Loeb, "Foreign Exchange," _loc. cit._, 179.
36. E. V. Sanders, "America Invades Europe," _Broom_ 1:89-93 (November, 1921).
37. See especially letter (anon.) from "Distinguished present-day American poet and critic," in "Broomides," _Broom_ 1:285. This letter congratulates _Broom_ on its mission.
38. E. V. Sanders, "America Invades Europe," _loc. cit._, 90.

It is the artist, in reality, who creates America and that America changes every day. That means the artist must look for himself, must not imitate old ways and old forms if he is to find his America. America is a conception that must be renewed every day. The artist must see and record these constant changes, must show all the many "conceptions" that America is, for one idea, one adjective (like Puritan) can not define her.[39] In addition, the expatriate artist must seek to bridge the gap between "high brow" and "low brow" if American literature is to become something more significant than surface ornamentation. By using the language, the idiom of the existing and ever-changing culture, and experimenting with new forms and new ways, perhaps this could be accomplished. Great writing expresses its times. "American literary prose records frustrated ideals, inhibited sex, petty squalor. Our civilization is more than these."[40]

Broom, published first in Rome, 3266 miles from New York, 4264 miles from Chicago, and 6227 miles from San Francisco, was nevertheless close always to fundamental American problems and interests.

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39. Malcolm Cowley, "Pascin's America," Broom 4:136-7 (June, 1923).
40. Harold Loeb, "Foreign Exchange," loc. cit., 179.

This Quarter (1925-1932); The Transatlantic Review(1924-1925)

These magazines did not devote themselves to any detailed analysis of the American scene or American culture. However, both magazines made significant editorial and other comment which we must briefly examine if we are to understand how these expatriates thought. The Transatlantic Review shows the expatriate in perhaps his most self-conscious state. That is, he feels necessary to look back at the America he has left behind if only to justify his own expatriation. As part of its coverage of cultural news from many world capitals, almost each issue of The Transatlantic Review carried the column, "And From America?" written by various people concerned with American problems. It is also true that often editorials commented on censorship and especially on copyright difficulties,[41] but the magazines were essentially internationalist in make-up, edited by Ford Madox Ford, who now considered himself an Englishman, and taking contributions from a host of writers: American, French, British. It is to "And From America?" we look for indications of criticism of America.

Jeanne Forster commented on the Americans in Paris who would not acknowledge their Americanism. She thought this strange because of previous cultural inter-change be-

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41. See for example the editorial in Transatlantic Review 1: no. 3:75-6.

tween outstanding Americans and the French. The ghosts of Franklin, Paine, and Whistler were called upon for evidence. There was a tradition of cultural inter-relationship between the two republics, and it was an excellent tradition indeed. American expatriates must assert their Americanism in the name of that tradition.[42]

Harold Stearns continued in the same vain, suggesting what America could learn from France. He would like all American "reformers," meddlers, "sin-finders," and forward lookers to spend just a few months in France, to learn the ways of freedom and non-interference. He extolled the French background, a background of freedom and respect for the individual.[43]

The expatriates really had to leave America in order to really find it, to discover its essence. This concept was always important to expatriates when they spoke of what they have learned in France. For it is clear that many of the expatriate writers, for example, went to France only to write, with much insight, about the America they left behind. (Glenway Wescott is but one outstanding example.)[44]

The critics in The Transatlantic Review were upset

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42. Jeanne Forster, "Chroniques III And From America?" 1: no. 1:88-92.
43. Harold Stearns, "Chroniques III And From the United States," 1: no. 3:69-75.
44. Jeanne Forster, "Chroniques III And From the United States," 1: no. 3:70.

by the evidences of American immaturity. Not only did prohibition and censorship upset them greatly, but the general attitude that persists in America of scandal, law violation, and such seemed to be indicative of extreme immaturity.[45] The pictures given of the United States stress an American worth staying away from.[46] And for the writer the situation in America was even worse. Critics of literature abounded, but none of them offered any insights or intelligent instruction. America had become the land of the critics, but of no authors. These American critics were lambasted in no uncertain terms, and it was in this review that Hemingway suggested that "critics are the eunuchs of literature."[47] It was an unhealthy America that produces a hoard of bad critics but very few even fair authors.[48]

This Quarter demanded that people realize that the artist "as well as golf clubs, and scientific colleges, and new parties are building civilization."[49] Here again was the plea for recognition of the artist's place in society. The editors of this magazine were concerned with American conditions which made it impossible for the artist to make his

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45. John Mitchell, "A Note of Prohibition," 1: no. 6:477-9.
46. Kenneth Jewett, "And From the United States," 1: no. 4:205-7.
47. Ernest Hemingway, "And From the United States," 1: no. 5:355.
48. Ibid., 355-7, and Jewett, loc. cit.
49. E. W. (Walsh) "Editorial," This Quarter, I: no. 1, 261 (Spring, 1925).

contribution to that building process. Even many American little magazines failed to foster an attitude in which this could occur; other little magazines failed financially.[50]

The editors of <u>This Quarter</u> were concerned with the changing attitudes in the United States. They looked back to the era of Ben Franklin when there was freedom and a free cultural interchange between the United States and France. In 1930, America would probably deny a visa to Voltaire and would certainly deny <u>Candide</u> admission. The chief difference between the two periods was not materialism. Franklin was a petty capitalist, but that did not change his outlook, his serenity, his search for the truth, his willingness to experiment and listen to new ideas. The difference lay in the degree of practical liberty which existed. Today that has been replaced by a vicious, despotic morality.[51]

The United States should not allow itself to remain provincial. It could be great enough to absorb from all existing and past cultures and still make its own great contribution. She needed greater contact with the Romance Civilizations. The fate of Romance Languages in the United States was tragic, and it must be corrected if America was

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50. Anon., "The Plight of Yvor Winters," 2:189-192 (Oct.-Nov.-Dec., 1929).
51. E. W. T. "A Span of History," (editorial) 2:372-378 (Jan.-Feb.-March, 1930).

to grow great. She will gain only good will and increased wisdom if she attempts greater contact with these rich civilizations.[52]

It is in This Quarter that is found the first concern about fascism, outside the work of Ezra Pound. Putnam was concerned with the problem fascism raises, the challenge it presented to America. The age was bringing increased collectivization; Democracy had indeed broken down and failed in so many places. Fascism, Putnam believed, was a natural result of "pragmatic relativism" which already existed in the United States. It was the reaction against Renaissance individualism, a reaction also occurring in America. So it represented a challenge to the decadent liberal state and "Democracy." This challenge could not be met by our "watery-eyed liberals of the Nation and the New Republic." There seemed to be no intellectual opinion in America that could respond effectively to this challenge. The fact that in Italy artist and intellectuals were now drawn together by the support they give to the Fascist movement, and were given an important place in the new society was an important phenomenon which certainly America could not produce at this work.[53]

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52. Hugh A. Smith, "Romance Languages in the United States," 2:749-756 (April-May-June, 1930).
53. S. P. (Samuel Putnam) "The Truth About Fascism," This Quarter, 2:563-5 (April, May, June, 1930).

But both This Quarter and The Transatlantic Review offered little new or important cultural criticism. To complete our picture of the decade in expatriate little magazines, we must turn to a magazine that, like Broom in the early Twenties, offered a significant body of this cultural criticism.

transition with the Small "t" (1927-1938)[54]

By 1927 certain changes were effected in general cultural criticism. Certainly there were still objections to restrictive legislation in the United States and to the gross violations of the artist's rights in the matter of copyright.[55] There were also objections to "democracy" and the extension of majority rule without regard to individual ability.[56] But disgust with American political institutions had already reached its height. True the editors let forth a blast against the general political scene. "The general laws," they declared, "are framed by crooks, if money is envolved,

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54. Although Transition existed throughout this ten-year period, I am only considering the period to 1932. For brief introduction to this magazine, in addition to material in Hoffman, et. al., op. cit., see introductory comments by Eugene Jolas and Gilbert Stuart in E. Jolas, ed., Transition Workshop (New York, 1950). I am considering in my study of this magazine mainly the work of the editors, Eugene Jolas, Eliot Paul, and Robert Sage (see biographical appendix).
55. See for example, Anon., "The Pursuit of Happiness," transition, no. 8:179-80 and the discussion and letters concerning copyright no. 9:177-190.
56. See for example Eugene Jolas, "Transatlantic Letter," Transition, No. 13:274-7.

and by bigots, if it is a case of morals. They are voted into effect by nincompoops in exchange for local bridges, post offices, or even Fourth of July seats upon reviewing stands. They are enforced by delinquent relatives and friends of men who passed them, except in cases where they might inconvenience the men who drafted them."[57] This disgust and cynicism was nothing new in expatriate criticism. It was evident in Broom much earlier. The result of this attitude was the complete rejection of political action as a solution to any problem in society.

It is interesting to note the change in emphasis that occurred by the end of the decade. This criticism of democracy and "economic and spiritual coercion" had become relatively unimportant in expatriate cultural criticism. There are certain evidences of this same attitude, as has been indicated above. But by 1927 the editors of transition could say that the artist had always been harrassed by laws and economic pressures. Great experimental works of art were often not grasped by the general populace. There were always those who wished to mix art and commercialism. There was nothing essentially new in this state of affairs, and these conditions offered no ground for despair.[58]

The editors of transition were certainly not pleased

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57. Editors, "The Pursuit of Happiness," transition, no. 8:180.
58. Editors, "Introduction," transition, no. 1:136.

at the status of art in America. However, they looked to other features of American culture upon which to direct their fire. First, America was the example of the evil of the machine. The whole economic and social structure had been changed by the machine. Industrialism had led only to a false type of progress at the expense of the value of the individual personality.[59] Everything was now geared to the concept of mass, a concept in which art was completely ignored. Art was always a lonely and personal function; it could never be collectivized. The mass method was a complete failure in art or knowledge.[60] Individualism must be preserved if art was to survive. In addition, "old-fashion liberalism" also could not apply in the light of new mass-realities. Industrialism and the machine forced us to think in mass terms; but the artist could never think in such terms. Here, indeed, was the dilemma that faced the Transitionists.[61]

In addition to these results of industrialism and the machine, other dangerous results were noted. The machine favored intellectual laziness, "the greatest danger modern

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59. Eugene Jolas, "On the Quest," transition, no. 9:191-196.
60. Matthew Josephson, "American Letter:Some Contemporary Themes," transition no. 14:56-64, and E. Jolas and E. Paul, "A Review," no. 10:139-47.
61. Best statement in the Josephson article, loc. cit. Josephson was not usually associated with this magazine, and his views in this letter does agree in large measure with comments of the editors themselves.

civilization faces."[62] Mediocrity, quantity, mass-production influenced the world more and more. Every cry of the individual spirit was battered down; materialistic concepts fight any attempt to express the spirit, the beauty of life.

The general concern of intellectuals at home were also attacked. The war made American intellectuals cynical. They had no philosophy, no faith, no important mission. The three leading enemies of the "transitionist", seemed to be Frued, the war, and H. L. Mencken.[63] Criticism in America had reached a new low. The war had destroyed all vital conflicts; there were really no vital conflicts on social, political, or economic matters. Literary criticism was as sterile and as unconnected with the realities of the situation as social criticism.[64] Mencken distorted American literature; there were no intelligent critical canons which offered the artist anything.[65] The artists in America had produced nothing worthy of artistic consideration; rather, under the influence of the war, Mencken, and Freud (to say nothing of Marx) the American novelist, for example,

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62. Eliot Paul, "The New Humanism," _transition_, no. 2:164-166.
63. For one example, Robert Sage, "Libes for Realism," no. 8:8:175-8.
64. Bernard Smith, "American Letter," _transition_, no.13: 245-247.
65. Anon., "Mr. Mencken Tells Europe About U. S. Literature," no. 13:176.

"blundering once more, mistook for a lifetime arrangement what should have been a weekend house-party."[66] American criticism is the greatest detriment to the development of a real literary movement in the United States.[67]

The position of the artist was always an unhappy one in society, the editors of <u>transition</u> maintained with characteristic exaggeration. In any age the artist was detracted, abused, without a place.[68] But the editors rejected categorically any political solutions to any problems. They called for the anarchistic frame-of-mind.[69] Art was always the expression of individual revolt from an accepted order; the artist by his very nature was undermining the social order, the traditional institutions. Art was itself action and revolution; by being the upholder and definer of "I" in relationship to the cosmos, the artist-as-individualist fought collectivization.[70] The position of the artist, then, was always the position of a rebel. That was his great function in society. He need not engage in political action which was essentially meaningless. This rejection of

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66. Robert Sage, "Libes for Realism," <u>loc. cit.</u>
67. E. H. P. (Paul), "Glossary," <u>transition</u>, no. 10:147-151.
68. Anon. introduction to a letter from Yvors Winters, no. 7:173.
69. Jolas, "On the Quest," loc. cit., 196, "Transatlantic Letter," <u>loc. cit.</u>
70. E. Jolas, "Super Occident," <u>transition</u>, no. 15:14.

political action, as has been suggested, was a constant theme throughout expatriate writings.[71]

The editors fought contemporary relativism and positivism which were considered sterile philosophical positions. What was needed was a new faith, a new man.[72] They were frankly searching for a new absolute in art.[73] Through an aesthetic all problems could be resolved, the human spirit freed from the bondage of the machine and mechanical positivism. The American spirit must be freed from these forces which then directed it.[74] The editors searched for a new faith and a new mythos that could be applied in the Twentieth century. They urged acceptance of the realities of the present, a willingness to talk in contemporary terms and in contemporary language.[75]

The possibilities of America were always before these men. They frankly loved her for her potentialities and her promise, not for her present existence.[76] They looked forward to creating the conditions where great art could thrive in America and so they offered their criticisms which have been

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71. In this connection see above and also magazine <u>Tambour</u> (1930) which also demonstrates this theme - devotion to art is the greatest means of revolt or action.
72. Jolas, "On the Quest," loc. cit. and "Super Occident," <u>loc</u>. <u>cit</u>.
73. Editors, "Suggestions for a New Magic," <u>transition</u>, no. 3:160.
74. Jolas and Paul, "A Review," <u>loc</u>. <u>cit</u>., 139.
75. Jolas, "Super Occident," <u>loc</u>. <u>cit</u>.
76. <u>Ibid</u>., 16.

outlined above. They devoted themselves to this task - but not a strictly nationalistic task as we shall see. America was the land of steel and jazz, here perhaps, lay the roots of an American spirit and an American culture.[77] A great literature, a great art was again used as the measure of a great culture and civilization.

It was from France and from the French that Americans have learned of their nation's potential. Transition's Inquiry into the Spirit of America is very illuminating.[78] It was made among many outstanding French artists and intellectuals, and gives us much indication of what these men thought of the United States and of what the expatriates learned from these French contacts. These Frenchmen demonstrate the influence that America had on French letters and thinking, and what valuable features they see in American life. The problem of American influence was treated elsewhere by the "transitionists" as well.[79] They found much admirable about the United States and its spirit when they examined what foreigners thought about the United States.

The American spirit so admired was idealism, faith,

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77. Syd S. Salt, "Anthiel and America," transition, no. 12:176-177.
78. "Inquiry Among Europeans into the Spirit of America," no. 13:248-270. And extremely valuable source for American impacts on French men of letters and French intellectuals.
79. Jean George Auriol, "The Occident," transition, no. 2:153, in which a Frenchman praises American contributions to culture like the cinema.

energy, and a willingness to tackle all problems; a true optimism based on individual initiative and frontier self-reliance, rather than the psuedo-optimism of industrialization. So the editors of transition searched for a new man, who would embody this spirit, who would see as his mission the ending of provincialism and the embracing of a spirit of universalism.[80] This universalism would not destroy the individual spirit or the individual contributions of nations to the cultural whole. Rather each would complement the other. The Whole would be revolutionized and made one by a super-spirit, a faith, a new mythos. They saw the United States as a world problem, since she was tackling the question of the machine, of frontier spirit as opposed to mass concepts. Art was fundamentally international - this was indeed the general theme of the magazine through its many years of publication abroad.[81]

Through the perfection of artistic techniques the world could be revolutionized. The artistic awakening in America must be encouraged and good critical conditions fostered. Internationalism and the end of all provincialism must be the objective always, never petty nationalism. American writers needed France as much as French writers

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80. See all of the Jolas' articles cited above and Paul, "The New Nihilism," transition, no. 2:164-166.
81. This slogan "Internationalism is Art," was on transition's cover or "mast head" often.

indicate they needed America. In the name of art, internationalism must be accomplished, a free flow of ideas and artistic products, the end of all hampering legislation.[82] Internationalism of this sort would assure the preservation of individualism. "Liberty in its deepest sense" would also be preserved by such a program, and not by any program of political action.[83] The fundamental problem was the maintenance of individualism throught art, the victory over the machine, the internationalization of thought. In this America must lead as the greatest nation on earth, with a spirit which could embrace all of Western Civilization.

B. The Men at Home and Abroad

This section will deal-with only a few of the expatriates who expressed ideas which are important to this study. Three of them were steady contributors to, and editors of, little magazines abroad; one was a famous expatriate who escaped to France, and who occupied himself by writing a horse-racing column there; the last was never an expatriate, although he contributed a few stories to expatriate magazines, and helped edit one from the United States and a farm in New Jersey.[84] Of the actual expatriates, only

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82. Jolas and Paul, "Introduction," loc. cit., 136.
83. Paul, Sage, and Jolas, "First Aid to the Enemy," no. 9:161-176 and Jolas, "On the Quest," loc. cit., 196.
84. See biographical appendix on all these men.

Harold Stearns remained in Paris or abroad a long period, almost ten years. The others' sojourns in Europe were confined to a shorter period. I have not limited my discussion to only what appeared while these men were abroad, but have extended their argumentation with their return to America, when that helps clarify the leading issues and ideas. For they continued to be concerned with the same problems and offer suggestions which, I believe, are essentially within their expatriate tradition.[85] No detailed analysis of these ideas are presented here, rather a good working exposition is the aim of this section. The next chapter shall be almost all analysis in an attempt to weigh the value of what the expatriates thought.

Matthew Josephson -

Mr. Josephson's early expatriate career and connection with Dadaism in France demonstrates the first type of expatriate criticism. He attacked the restrictions on individual freedom and what they did to the artist. He attacked the current attitudes in American literary criticism.[86] The artist, the intellectual can but ill-adapt himself to the conditions of American life. If he remained in America and attempted resistence to oppression, he would be curious-

85. I plan to attempt a definition of this tradition in the next chapter.
86. "Mr. Blunderbus," Secession, no. 3:28-31 (August, 1922).

ly misguided in his work; such political attempts would lead to distortion illustrated by Van Wyck Brooks when he examined Henry James "entirely from the point of view of social psycholcgy and therapeautics."[87] Only away from America could one see the issues clearly, could one devote himself to consideration of problems of the literary craft. He emphasized the importance of achieving a professional prose.[88]

Josephson devoted himself in large measure to considering the problem of the artist under the industrial order. He admitted the position was a bad one, but could not believe that political action would be any solution at all.[89] Rather, he called for a new aesthetic utilizing the new phenomena of that industrial civilization. America could have a renaissance, because she was in a period similar to that in which the English Renaissance was born - period of mechanism in which man was fast triumphing over nature. We must look in America for new materials for the artistic processes; the billposter could lead us to a new and vital language and Henry Ford could be the needed basis for a modern mythology.[90]

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87. Will Bray (Josephson), "Comment," Broom 5:122-3 (September, 1923).
88. "Towards Professional Prose," Broom 5:59-61 (Autumn, 1923).
89. Will Bray, "Comment," loc. cit.
90. "Henry Ford," Broom 5:137-142 (October, 1923) and "The Great American Billposter," loc. cit.

But later Mr. Josephson was not so hopeful. He saw the decay of old-fashioned liberalism, unable to meet the problems of "mass realities," How were we to create a condition for an American awakening when democracies do not seem to need or want art, when they are willing to accept other mass diversions or merely content themselves with living well.[91]

The situation in America stemmed from industrial capitalism and its evils. It is clear that here was the enemy for Josephson, despite his willingness to leave the question open for a time and attempt to utilize the features of that society as the basis for a new art. It is true that he continued to think of an art in terms of the new phenomena and new idiom. But the age of the Robber Barons, which he chronicled later when he turned to a historical consideration of the period, was the age in which the artist and his society were isolated from each other.[92]

Liberalism failed in this new technological society. Josephson paid his allegiance quite explicitly to the relativism of Beard and Dewey.[93] They also pointed out the changes in society and the need for a new position. But any intelligent liberal position was a minority position; it

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91. "American Letter:Some Contemporary Themes," <u>transition</u>, <u>loc</u>. <u>cit</u>.
92. <u>Portrait of the Artist as American</u> (New York, 1930).
93. "On Liberty," <u>New Republic</u>, 64:104-5 (September 10, 1930).

could not be put into action except through force which liberalism refused to use. Was there any possible solution? Perhaps, since, despite relativism, the artist, the scholar, the teacher all remain disinterested persons who fight the present order, who fight the profit-making system, not because they have only an ever-smaller part in this order, but because of their "moral indignation."[94] Great change will come from a "High quantity of moral certainty and moral passion."

This is especially interesting because of Josephson's avowed relativism. How could there be such completely disinterested persons when earlier pieces for _Broom_ clearly show how America was not made great by moral idealism, but by individual self-interest?[95]

Mr. Josephson had always espoused a theory of individualism. When he came to investigate the factors which had brought about the sorry plight of the artist in America, he realized that the "idea of individualism" had been used by these Robber Barons to destroy the nation itself. Americans were still educated in Eighteenth-Century principle of majority rule and equality, and these principles allowed for the ruthless extension of individualistic ideas.[96] Indivi-

94. "The Road of Indignation," _New Republic_ 66:13-15 (February 18, 1931).
95. "The Genius of America," _Broom_, _loc. cit._
96. "On Liberty," _loc.cit._; "The New Era," _New Republic_ 68:315-318 (November 4, 1931); "American Culture Since the Sixties," _Nation_ 131:615-6 (December 3, 1930).

dualism as practiced as on the frontier was something important, wonderful, and creative for the general good; industrialism had corrupted the frontier promise for the arts,[97] and individualism as a way of life.

In his discussion of "Mass Civilization and the Individual," Josephson finally realized what has been the great intellectual change. In the days of Jefferson and the frontier equality had never been considered an end in itself; rather equality helped to attain increased individual freedom.[98] Today collectivization has taken over. It promised equality as an end in itself, security, possibly harmony. It meant the sacrifice of individual freedom, and Josephson did not look happily toward that new society.[99]

As the Thirties dawn, Josephson believed, with some foreboding to be sure, that perhaps such collectivization would be the best thing, that the sacrifice of individualism in the frontier sense, would also mean the end to any possibility of Robber Baron individualism as well. He seemed willing to make the sacrifice in the name of enthusiasm, order, harmony.[100] It is obvious that Josephson's expatriate

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97. "The Frontier and Literature," New Republic 68:71-8 (September 2, 1931).
98. Outlook, 152:205-7, 227, 238 (June 5, 1929).
99. Ibid., and "On Liberty," loc. cit.
100. "On Liberty," loc. cit., 105. At this state, he believes more and more in relativistic determination and seems almost willing to surrender his concept of the disinterested personality.

days were over and he was turning to new solutions of the problems which faced him.

Malcolm Cowley -

Cowley remains in our picture more a student of the expatriate movement and a commenter of it, than an expatriate whose work we can analyze as we have Josephson's. He left us no real body of his own expatriate criticism. However, the man who moved from a position where he could write a poem like "Coal Town" in 1922 in which are ignored political, social, or even emotional consideration of "social problems," to the place where he wrote his "Kentucky Coaltown" for the New Republic in 1932, where the concern is entirely with social problems and political ideas, is interesting and important for our purposes.[101]

Mr. Cowley was enabled to become an expatriate by a scholarship granted for study in France. He was a young poet and student of the arts who was extremely interested in the perfection of his own crafts. As a cultural critic Cowley directed his attacks against the intellectual in America and the forces that he believed represented an attack on freedom of the intellect.[102] He joined, on occasion, in the assault on sterile criticism in America.[103] In his

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101. "Coal Town," a poem, North American Review, 216: 207 (August, 1922), and "Kentucky Coaltown," New Republic, 70:67-70 (March 2, 1932).
102. See for example his "Young Mr. Elkins," loc. cit.
103. "Tar Babies," transition, no. 13:96-7.

search for the universal man, the renaissance, non-specialized ideal, Cowley attacked "paralyzing specialization" and other factors which were evidence of an attack on the freedom of the intellect. He clearly indicated the forces he fought against: literary Freudianism, the super-realists, authors like Lawrence and Anderson who yielded to their instincts, Behaviorism, the sociological theory of the arts, the concept of social or economic determinism, the Spenglerian concept of the decline of our civilization.[104] Over and over again he attacked Freudianism and Behaviorism because of the "intellectual attitude" they created.[105] He rejected any psuedo-religious or traditional approach to our problems, and in this when he fought rising Humanism at home and abroad: More, Babbitt, Maritain, Maurras.

In addition to those intellectual currents, he fought the psuedo-moralism of the vice squads, any restrictive legislation, censorship, and the book industry.[106] His articles on the book trade demonstrate his concern for the economic position of the author in society. He realized, however, that there was no one solution to the problem, that the book industry could not be really improved until

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104. "Toward Universal Man," New Republic, 49:69-71 (December 8, 1926).
105. "Angry Professors," New Republic, 62:207-11 (April 9, 1930).
106. "The Vice Squad Carries On," New Republic, 63:147-9, 177-80.

society was radically altered in the author's favor.[107]

In his early work in this decade he looked to France for a model, a place of search and free experimentation in the arts.[108] France offered the ideal to the expatriates whose only political interest centered on problems of individual liberty.[109] The problem of individualism was essential to the expatriate movement and to Cowley himself.[110] He discusses the attempt to escape from standarization, the search for individual fulfillment. These expatriates saw no need for vital economic or political changes in society. This society seemed to fill all physical and economic needs for most, if not always for the artist in his chosen work. In fact they revolted against the pre-war authors who were generally concerned with society, and with protecting society at large from rapacious individuals. Now the issue had

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107. "The Literary Business," New Republic 59:172-4 (July 3, 1929). "Cheaper and Better Books", Forum 84:167-70 (September, 1930); "Manifesto to the Trade," New Republic 69:326-7 and "Magazine Business:1910-1946," New Republic 115:521-3 (October 21, 1946).
108. "French Poetry and the Modern Spirit," Saturday Review of Literature, 3:810 (May 7, 1927) and series of articles on French letters written for The Bookman and listed in the bibliography.
109. "Ivory Towers to Let," New Republic, 78:260-263 (April 18, 1930). This important article throws more light on Cowley and other expatriates than most things we have. See also his Exile's Return (New York, 1934) written at the same time and a long time after his return. I have avoided citing from this work because it is well known to many, but have selected instead less known and more immediate articles. These points can be almost all substantiated by the book as well.
110. Ibid.

changed considerably; the increasing power of society threatened the existence of the individual himself. The expatriates fled from this situation and moved from political and economic theories to personal and individual problems and reactions, individual artistic improvement.[111]

The stress on individualism and the reaction against collectivism was sharp in Cowley as in Josephson. As with his very good friend, Cowley also began to see certain failings in the doctrine of individualism. In China, for example, individualism had meant nothing but the creation of ruthless war-lords. The collectivistic tradition as exemplified by modern communism is more within the same Chinese tradition.[112] More and more Cowley turned to political discussion and analysis, as did Josephson, as the decade closed.

On his return to America he began to see new features in our culture and life that he had missed, changes that occurred while he was abroad. The dangers seemed different then - like the exhaustion of our natural resources - rather than standardization. Cowley could still be bothered by the disappearance of the frontier, but he saw better social attitudes and rejoiced.[113]

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111. See Ibid., especially "Ivory Towers to Let," loc. cit., 261 and "The Escape from America," New York Herald Tribune Books, Sunday, November 10, 1929, p. 1.
112. "Twenty-Four Youngsters," New Republic, 67:205-6 (July 8, 1931).
113. "My Country, Then and Now," Harper's, 128:239-45 (January, 1929).

He was now critical of the escapist solutions to American problems. Certainly there were evils yet to be found in the system, but there were also great opportunities. The mass system had produced effective weapons for new leadership - the press, large-scale education, widely-distributed magazines. The time was not for escape but for devotion to a concept of leadership, of making the most out of prevailing conditions, of seeing the bright as well as the dark side of our civilization.[114] In his search for a way of rejoining society after exile, Cowley did not join the church, or become an Humanist, but rather advocated intellectual leadership and direction. Cowley left the expatriate tradition without a usual savage attack on expatriation in general. He knew too well its importance and its problems.

The next three men are quite frankly being used as control cases in this study. In some ways these men qualify any overall generalization that can be made about expatriation in the Twenties. Their ideas are outlined to assure a fairer and more qualified summary and definition in the following chapter.

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114. "The Escape from America," loc. cit. This article especially attacks the solutions of J. T. Adams, Ralph Borsodi, and Edward J. O'Brien, who were not expatriates but were important cultural critics of the period.

Gorham B. Munson -

Munson was, in my opinion, an unwilling expatriate. A brief look at his comments on culture and expatriation will demonstrate similarities and differences between him and the other "little-magazine expatriates." Munson has written his own memoir of his expatriate years.[115] He fought constantly with his fellow expatriates (even literally) and was a bitter critic of expatriation after his own return to America.

But during the days when Munson was Director of his own expatriate little magazine, Secession, he agreed with much common expatriate cultural criticism. He published his magazine abroad because of economic considerations.[116] Also Munson was extremely critical of American literary standards. American magazines-- those little magazines and "journals of liberal opinion" - were especially attacked for their many failings.[117] "The American Murkury" was attacked as worthless for any intelligent criticism or important or helpful insights.

Secession looked for a hand-picked audience and denied the "slavery" of the ivory tower or the PUBLIC.[118] It re-

115. "The Fledgling Years, 1916-1924," The Sewanee Review 40:25-54 (Spring, 1932).

116. Back-page cover on the first number of the magazine, (Spring, 1922).

117. "Interstice Between Scylla and Charybdis," Secession, no. 2:30-2 (July, 1922) and "Open Letter to the New Republic," Secession no. 7:16-19 (Winter, 1923) and "The American Murkury," no. 7:32.

118. Inside back-cover, no. 5 (July, 1923). It seems the most interesting non-literary things in the magazine appear on the covers.

fused to think in terms of "what the PUBLIC 'WANTS'." The magazine also clearly rejected political action or considerations. The magazine quoted with approval, "The poet cannot reappear among us until we have no more politics."[120] But Munson modifies the theory of the arts in revolt. Instead he thought in terms of a literary "secession." The primary concern of the magazine was with aesthetic questions and experimentation in writing. Secession admitted it had three beliefs: "experimental writing,....criticism that approaches the essence of literature through aesthetics,.... a belief that life can once more be significant."[121]

Munson's concept of "secession" was intended to replace the concept of "exile." The artist certainly could not live effectively in the existing American *milieu*. It was a *milieu* that allowed no artistic development, that concerned itself with regarding all art as the product of social determinism. "Secession" meant withdrawal, not revolt. It meant a withdrawal in order to concentrate only on questions of the aesthetic itself. "Secession" would be a counteraction against "bondage to a stultifying amalgam brightly names genteelness - (its constituents were pioneer-puritan-industrialist moralism and a servility to English

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120. Back cover on Number 6 (September, 1923).
121. "Post Mortem," a mimeographed sheet included in the last number of the magazine (April, 1924).

victorianism)."[122]

This was an attempt to replace "the permanent expatriate type" with intelligent aesthetically-conscious seceeders, who would stop having an negative attitude toward modern life. These men would find values in American life and society, use the machine and the modern idioms to aesthetic advantage.

So even as an expatriate himself he was looking for something to make the permanent expatriate type extinct, to keep the artist within society, yet to turn his entire interest on aesthetic questions. His return home meant even a more intense criticism of the expatriates and the Twenties in general. He felt in the late Twenties that the young critics of the period had no destination, that they did not act as educators as they should have.[123] The spirit of revolt could produce nothing effective in the world of art. He had once considered himself an anarchistic socialist (what ever that could be) and had later supported Major Douglas' Credit scheme as an economic solution to many

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122. Gorham B. Munson, "The Mechanics for a Literary 'Secession'," S4N (November, 1922). See also his "Answer to a Letter from John Brooks Wheelwright," Secession, no. 4:30 (January, 1923).

123. "The Young Critics of the Nineteen-Twenties," The Bookman, 70:369-73 (December, 1929) and "American Criticism and the Fighting Hope," Yale Review, 20:568-82 (March, 1931). See also his philosophical wanderings and concepts in his "Stocktaking at Thirty-Three," Saturday Review of Literature, 6:69-70 (August 24, 1929).

social and literary problems.[124] At the close of the decade Munson had become a Humanist literary critic and philosopher.

Even before his conversion to Humanism, Munson had shown other attitudes that were "unbecoming a real expatriate." Some of them have been suggested above. He finally rejectd completely anything from his expatriation, including the stress on pure aesthetics. He never acknowledged any debt to European culture, to his own experiences in Europe. As an expatriate, he had never been whole-heartedly devoted to the general body of expatriate criticism or ideas. On his return to America he rejected expatriation and its even the bulk of the criticism of his own generation.

Harold Stearns -

Harold Stearns began his career as a critic much earlier than any of the other men discussed here. Even before the first World War he was a newspaperman and commentator on social issues for various journals of liberal opinion. He contributed to the New Republic and for a time he edited The Dial. But throughout his expatriate years he offered only a few comments on America; I can find but one contribution he made to an expatriate little magazine. He

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124. See biographical comments in Kunitz and Haycraft, ed. Twentieth Century Authors (New York, 1942) 1000. For Munson as a Humanist in this period see his "Letter to the Editor," Saturday Review of Literature, 6:606 (December 28, 1929) and another letter in the same journal, 7:42 (August 9, 1930).

never concerned himself with the problem of the artist and his relationship to society. His criticism centered on the more general relationship of the individual, especially the "young intellectual" to society.

Stearns' reasons for expatriation have already been discussed in the preceeding chapter. For the present purposes, I merely wish to outline as briefly as possible some of his critical ideas as a control, to demonstrate what a person not concerned with the arts had to offer in the way of criticism of America.

The reaction against the ugly features of an industrial society are obvious in much of Stearns' work.[125] The problem of the relationship of the individual to society was made complex because of this industrialization. America and the Young Intellectual is the statement of Stearns' creed and his problems.[126] He suggested that there were no more frontiers for the intellectual in America; everywhere he is hampered by restrictions and by the unintelligent attitudes of the elder generation of critics. The way he uses the term "frontier" metaphorically to mean opportunity and individual initiative and freedom in opposition to industrialism is especially interesting.[127] He shared with other

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125. See for example his autobiography, The Street I Know (New York, 1935).
126. (New York, 1921).
127. Ibid., 255.

expatriates an opposition to the older generation of critics.

In addition to the attack on conditions for the intellectual life, industrialism and growing collectivism in opposition to initiative and individualism, and the older generation of critics, Stearns also was disgusted with prevailing political trends. Liberalism had failed, as far as Stearns was concerned, when it supported the first World War. For the war only brought intolerance, increased interference in private lives, partisanship that demonstrated willingness to kill and imprison those with whom we do not agree.[128] The voice of reason had disappeared.

In addition, Stearns shared with other expatriates a concept of France as the home of freedom and true individualism, uneffected by the shadow of the oppressive machine.[129] The war had not brought "organized bodies of intolerance" to France. She retained her sense of freedom and liberty. No matter how hard it was to live there, it was worth it because in France one could "breathe spiritually."

Also Stearns illustrates another trait common to many expatriates. He had learned the value of America and her

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128. "Liberalism Invincible," The Dial, 66:409-10 (April 19, 1919).
129. "Apologia of an Expatriate," Scribners, 85:338-41 (March 1929) and "Chroniques III And From America," "The Transatlantic Review no. 3:69-75.

possibilities in France. He had seen that Paris tried to imitate New York, Frenchmen admired the material gains and possibilities of America.[130] The return to America was accompanied by a great willingness to find the admirable features of that country. Stearns proceeded to "rediscover America" and what he found was certainly more admirable than the America surveyed in the early inquiry into the state of American civilization.[131] Like many of those who returned he began to rejoice in cheap and excellent entertainment, a new literature and art, and the seeming birth of a new tradition that showed great promise.

But during his own expatriation Stearns never had occasion to look forward to a coming American awakening; he had, it seemed no soft spot in his heart for his native land. He retained his bitterness until his own return, as he clearly indicates in his autobiography written three years after that return.[132] The period in exile was certainly not a creative one for Stearns; he did not devote himself to the improvement of any particular craft or technique. He more nearly fitted the typical expatriate description current in the United States and ridiculed in cartoons. His life abroad was not happy or productive. It netted him

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130. "A Prodigal American Returns," Scribners 94:293-295 (May, 1932).
131. Civilization in the United States (New York, 1922) and Rediscovering America (New York, 1934).
132. Op. cit.

only the fame of being portrayed as a character in the most famous expatriate novel, The Sun Also Rises.[133]

Kenneth Burke -

Mr. Burke is today one of our leading literary critics. His interesting critical work has lead him into the fields of philosophy, political theory, and psychology. He has drawn on the insights of other notable figures in all of these fields, added his own penetrating comments and methods, and has produced conclusions that have their implications in many fields other than literary criticism.[134] But, in the main, Burke's contributions belong to a later period than we are discussing here. But he does belong to the generation of Cowley and Josephson and did contribute some of his early fiction to expatriate magazines. For a time, he aided in editing Secession from his farm in New Jersey. He never was an expatriate, although he certainly shared the problems and some of the attitudes of his friends who were. It is our purpose to examine some of what Burke was saying in this period, to discover how similar or dissimilar his ideas and critical opinions of America were when compared to the expatriates themselves.

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133. There is little doubt that he was a person on whom Hemingway modeled his Harvey Stone in that novel.
134. See his earliest works, Counter-Statement (New York, 1931); Permanence and Change (New York, 1935); and Attitudes Toward History (New York, 1937).

Burke condemned those who tried to create a "national" literature. He urged them to remember how strikingly European our heritage was. The literary nationalists have confused the pioneer period, as a unique historical experience for the United States, with a unique cultural contribution. But the frontier was closed; pioneer America was retreating. As the country gradually increased its "permanency" it became more and more akin to Europe and must take its cues for cultural development from the older and wiser culture. America is a projection of Europe, and must remember that fact, for pioneerism in modern times leads to great literary abuses, as witness those who attempt to imitate Whitman. He objected to this pioneer concept of a national literature because it led writers into a set of "prescribed grimaces." He believed it led us away from the most important aesthetic considerations, the problem of form. Only by the creation of distinctive literary forms can a nation contribute, and America must make its own contributions, in form and individual geniuses, to the general European tradition. The pioneer concept was dangerous aesthetically since it led us to believe art was haphazard, gave a lurking respect for "box car education, the canal-boy-to-President conception of the making of an artist." In addition, it led to a failure to apply the spirit of pragmatism in forming judgments. Whitman distorted truth amassing great numbers of details and assuming inter-

relationships between them.[135]

The attack on America was bitter indeed in Burke's early articles. America was simply "the purest concentration point for all the vices and vulgarities of the world."[136] Europe was far superior in cultural matters. That was not to say there was no art in America; art fared very well here. Americans loved art, they sought it constantly in the theaters, libraries, and other places, for in America art was the only "alternative to overeating, immorality and suicide."[137] But of course, there was no good art at all to be found.

Burke rejected philosophical idealism for the abuses it had created, especially in the field of art. It stressed expression but art is more than expression; it has led to the confusion of technical skill and culture. Idealism did have value; it showed the dignity of man by endowing him with a free creative spirit, but it led to a creature of free will who was "constantly misseeing the world in his own image." Idealism had led to the impasse of modern

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135. "Chicago and our National Gesture," The Bookman 57:497-501, (July, 1923). I have attempted to reduce the whole of this extremely important and interesting argument in this brief paragraph.

136. "A Decade of American Fiction," The Bookman 69:561-67 (August, 1929).

137. Quoted in Cowley, Exile's Return, 118. Cowley admits they once had agreed on this point, but his trip to Europe had convinced him that America was as good as Europe, if not better, 119.

civilization, to imperialism in politics, to war in economics. Each man can not will his own world. The results were evil in society as in art.[138]

What does Burke put in the place of idealism? He accepts relativism and pragmatism, both modified to his own liking. The pragmatists were wrong if they believe they have created an ethics. What they have really done, by their stress on the creative, is to create an aesthetics. If a system of ethics can not be absolutely true it can be absolutely beautiful. Man will not be the measure of all things, for there will be some universal principles of beauty that can be found, and when these are discovered, beauty and proportion in life will lead to a better ethics, a better moral relationship by applying these principles of beauty everywhere. Art and ethics are always closely connected.[139] Of course, Burke's use of pragmatism is far from orthodox.

What about relativism? He believed this concept must be used if we were to find any real ethical system, if we were to adjust the individual to society. Relativism and the inductive method would enable us to draw conclusions, not from any absolute transcendent system of values, but

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138. "Realism and Idealism," The Dial, 74:97-99 (January, 1923), and "The Consequences of Idealism," The Dial 73:449-52 (October, 1922).
139. "Fides Quarens Intellectum," The Dial 72:527-30 (May, 1922).

from the problems and desires of the present and the future. He wants an empirical concept of the individual, a psychological ethics based on all the new psychological and psychoanalytical insights into the nature of man and his desires and abilities.[140] He completely rejected the Humanistic solution to relating man to society. Authoritarianism was wrong no matter what end result was intended. Humanism did not meet the existing situations, but rather wanted to make society over with no understanding of the nature of man.[141]

But of course Burke also insisted on limiting the concept of relativism in the field of art. He demanded that it always be tempered with individual psychology. A literary work was not only the creation of an environment or a set of social or economic forces. When a reader examines a book, he surrounds each word and each gesture with unique set of his own previous experience, just as the author did when he wrote the book. The reader therefore has a unique set of emotional reactions ("value") and communication exists between the reader and the author when there is an over-lapping between the two as far as experience and "values." We can this way account for differing tastes.

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140. "Idols of the Future," The Dial 81:42-46 (July, 1926).
141. "Three Frenchmen's Churches," The New Republic 62:10-14 (May 21, 1930).

But Burke does not wish this to imply complete Freudianism, that the individual is "imprisoned within the walls of his own personality" any more than it means he is imprisoned within similar walls of his own time or situation. He wanted a balance struck between these deterministic concepts and a pragmatic acknowledgement of the individual.[142]

Burke attacks contemporary American criticism, especially Van Wyck Brooks, because he has gone too far with what was intended as a corrective concept. He looks for a concept of criticism which will combine insights of relativism, pschoanalysis, psychology, still regard the and work of art as an aesthetic, individual product.[143] Humanism and other critical theories are too highly subjective.

Politics were considered by Burke on occasion. He believed that any plan for change must come from America itself and be based strictly on American conditions. He wanted to uphold the constitution by "conservative modernization."[144] But politics began to concern Burke publically only at the very end of the decade, after the depression was underway. Then he began to write of economic and political issues. He condemned our economy of waste, and

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142. "On Re and Dis," The Dial 79:165-169 (August, 1925).
143. "Heaven's First Law, " The Dial 72:232-4 (February, 1922) and "The Consequences of Idealism," loc. cit.
144. "Boring From Within," The New Republic, 65:326-329 (February 4, 1931). Burke is here attacking Edmund Wilson's call for communism in the U. S.

the capitalist system which inevitable led to depression because of its waste in all fields.[145] Even at this late date Burke was still a believer in the concept that art itself can cause important and necessary changes in the culture and whole political-social order. It was the artist's business to "undermine the cannibalistic beliefs which are ruining our civilization."[146] Art could point the way out of our bad ideological adjustment, our mistaken human aspirations. Art was basically a criticism as well as a creation, and in this sense was a corrective.[147] The artist was no prophet or moralist. His moral contribution, however, was to bring an element of grace which he adds to the conditions of life. The artist could never run counter to his age; "rather he refines the propensities of his age, formulating their aesthetic equivalent."[148] In Burke's cultural criticism the concept of art as a critical and creative force for

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145. "Waste - The Future of Prosperity," New Republic 62:228-231 (July 16, 1930).
146. "Boring From Within," loc. cit., 329.
147. Burke quoted when awarded Dial prize, The Dial, 86:90 (January, 1929). This section on Burke is of necessity brief and inadequate to demonstrate clearly all of Burke's ideas and attitudes. I have been unable to develop any single point in detail, and could merely indicate some important ideas and attitudes in order to allow him to stand as a test case in my study.
148. Ibid.

cultural problems in general is very important. He clearly suggests the solutions to what seemed to be political and social problems through the application of the aesthetic, at least in part. This gave the artist an important role and place in society.

It is clear, I believe, that many concepts common to the expatriates in the period were shared at least by one who never left home. It should also be clear that an expatriate with non-literary concerns would share some beliefs and disagree on others. Also, some expatriates would not agree with what even most of the other expatriates would say. Despite these qualifications, let us try to summarize the leading concepts outlined in this chapter as belonging to expatriate criticism of the Twenties.

1. The expatriate critics of the Twenties were concerned primarily with an aesthetic task: writing well. Part of their revolt from other intellectuals and artists can be attributed to their belief that an artist, although moved by the major social and economic problems of the day, was not competent to speak with authority on doctrines of economics, psychoanalysis, and the like. They rejected the concept of political action, and substituted a concept of aesthetic action, that the best approach to human problems was through an aesthetic, through craftsmanlike works of art. The suggestion was constantly made that art alone was

the true radical force, that social problems should really be considered as problems of art.

2. The expatriate critics of the Twenties rejected the current tools for cultural analysis prominent in America at the time. They turned against the Freudians, these who attacked "puritanism and philistinism." the relativistic critics who considered social and economic determination of the arts. Their major attack was always against American intellectuals and the bad paths into which they were leading American culture. They showed a whole-hearted disapproval of the generation that proceeded them and many of their contemporaries who remained at home. They rejected current panaceas, distrusted reform, and looked for individual solutions to the problems of their times. In cultural criticism they accepted a comparative method often, comparing the United States to Europe. But they rejected the claim that things were better because they were European. They learned from their foreign experiences the value of much they had previously rejected in America. Their attack on present-day American criticism and art was almost universal among them.

3. The expatriate critics of the Twenties saw the major problems were connected with modern industrial capitalism and the consequences of the machine. They often looked back with pleasure and pride to the days of the frontier and American individualism, when individual ful-

fillment was more important than equality or security. They concerned themselves with the problems of the individual in a mass society. They looked with horrors as individuals and artists to the decline of freedom in America and the concept of majority rule that seemed to leave no room for individual ability.

4. The expatriate critics of the Twenties indicate quite clearly the confusion left by the war and the newer philosophical concepts like relativism, determinism, and pragmatism as these effected the sphere of the arts. They constantly searched for a new scheme of permanent and eternal values, although they often accepted the relativistic analysis of their times and their past history.

5. The expatriate critics of the Twenties desired the creation of a new and non-imitative American culture, and sought for this culture a basis in the existing order. Although they held art was undermining all institutions, and were glad that this should be its function, although they commented on the abuses of the capitalist-industrialist social order, they chose to leave the question open, to create a new culture on the basis of products of that order, seeing the automobile as an object of beauty and the skyscraper as the object of wonder and glory. They sought to create a new scheme of values, a new mythos from the existing order.

6. Despite criticism of the existing order, the place of the artist and individual in that order, the expatriate critics of the Twenties remained within the American cult of optimism, looked toward a better tomorrow. They saw the possibilities of an American Renaissance, and had replaced their initial desire for <u>flight</u> with the desire to <u>find</u>, to find the basis and help assure the creation of this new awakening in American culture. They came in flight and stayed to learn and to create. It is clear in the movement from <u>Broom</u> to <u>transition</u> that the emphasis had changed. By the end of the decade the search took the major portion of the time and criticism of the little magazine expatriates. They began to think in terms of a universalized American spirit, of a spiritual and cultural mission for the country they had left behind. They felt they must have both the greatness of America and her potentialities, her amazing civilization and the French concept of the arts, of freedom, free inquiry, experimentation. They needed two countries for different things. They needed a French background, a laboratory of the arts and an American cultural basis. They preached a concept of internationalism of the arts, an internationalism in which all would contribute and all would learn.

If the expatriates of the Twenties returned to America by 1930, if they changed their method of approach to fundamental problems, they offered us, in the Twenties, some

interesting concepts and programs, and help us to understand better certain fundamental American problems. They throw much light on the whole concept of individualism as it has been used. For the significance of expatriation of the Twenties, we turn to the next chapter.

CHAPTER V

Generations in Contrast

The art historian has an interesting analytical tool, a theory of generations.[1] He believes that it is often possible to group the artists of a country by various generational periods, that is, by the time or year at which a certain group of artists was born. The basis for this grouping is the fact that the art historian believes that people born within the same general period, living at the same time, facing the same problems, going through various experiences at the same age, often tend to share viewpoints, to differ from their parents or their children, to differ even from those born ten or so years before or after them. Within certain obvious limitations, this theory might prove fruitful for more general cultural history. This chapter will attempt to apply part of this generational method in analyzing the results of expatriate criticism in the period under discussion.

For our purposes Ezra Pound will represent the generation of 1885 as expatriate. Representing the generation of 1885 at home will be Van Wyck Brooks and H. L.

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1. I have taken this concept from Prof. Oskar Hagen who is the first and probably the best expontent on this theory in American art history. See his _The Birth of an American Tradition in Art_ (New York, 1940).

Mencken.[2] The generation born about 1900 will be represented by the expatriates discussed in the previous chapter, Cowley, Josephson, et. al.

I seek to compare these various representatives of expatriate and resident generations on certain key ideas in order to reach some conclusions on the real meaning of expatriation and the value of what the expatriate had to say. Four major problems or ideas have been selected for discussion in which either the expatriate generations or the expatriate and resident generations shall be contrasted.

1. Individualism and the Survival of Personality

The idea of individualism is a concept that needs much clarification. I take the general term to mean that the fulfillment of self, of potentialities, abilities, fundamental needs, is a good, a thing to be valued. It is often taken to mean such self fulfillment is a value in itself and anything which limits that fulfillment is an evil. The Humanistists, I take it, would insist that it is only a good when it comes under the direction of a careful guide,

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2. Mencken was born in 1880 and Brooks in 1886. There are obvious differences between individuals in these generational configurations I have established. I seek to use the similarities not as absolute marks of division but as a tool for analysis. I do not apoligize for the frankly speculative aspects of this chapter. It is based on a rather full exposition of points of view made in earlier chapters and I shall clearly indicate what is speculation and what I consider as fairly established on the basis of documentation.

a moral law or inner check. Already I have suggested that the concept of individualism, or self-fulfillment is open to a long string of qualifications and conditions. The definition is never simple.

For example, some would have us believe that the self can be fulfilled only apart from others, while others would insist that true self-fulfillment occurs only amid a social grouping. The suggestion has been made that true individualism implies adherence to an authority, sometimes external, in other instances internal, that only by strict conformity to this authority, to established principles or a tradition can the self ever be said to be fulfilled. Others might insist that such fulfillment results only from non-conformity, from refusal to follow established ways and means. In the history of this idea some have held that individualism, fulfillment occurs only from conflict, with nature or with other men, that only in the struggle for survival, in such a conflict situation can man be said to have fulfilled himself. It has been maintained that the desired result can occur only <u>despite</u> others in the group, while still others would insist that such fulfillment is the result of cooperation within some group. There are even those who, in the name of self-fulfillment and individualism, urge sacrifice of the self to others or to a cause. Some demand the strictest discipline, while others would insist on the completest license.

Despite these various aspects of the central idea, the usual concept of individualism puts stress on the value of individual personality, the personal opinion, the individual man-to-man relationship, initiative and individual ability. In many ways the concept of the "disinterested personality" was the ideal of these individualists. In my introductory chapter I suggested the difficulties this ideal was encountering in this period. Relativism, social and economic determinism, and the new concepts of the personality suggested by the psychoanalysts seemed to have destroyed the ideal of the "disinterested personality." The "survival of personality," suggested by Ezra Pound as a key and basic issue, was indeed a major concern in this period.

Ezra Pound, as we have seen, considered the American frontier and its spirit as the key creative force toward the development of a worthwhile concept of the individual. Not only the idea of self-reliance but the concept of valuing human resources, the individual initiative and ability seemed to Pound the results of the frontier experience. It was modern industrialism or socialism which tended to consider men as units, not as individuals, that were bringing destruction to worthwhile American ideals. Industrialism had brought about thinking in terms of mass, not in terms of men. Such mass-thinking had led to the refusal to hold individual views, the concept of "public

opinion" in which people were willing to accept other people's views, willing to quote rather than offer an individual opinion. The educational system was established, not to produce individuals with initiative and personal opinions and beliefs, but skilled specialists or mechanics who could quote with authority.[3]

Pound's struggle for the "survival of personality" was waged in behalf of the belief that by improvement of the self the state could be improved, that reform must begin within the individual. Any individual improvement of a man or a state adds to the improvement of the whole social group, of the rest of the world. This view led Pound to a concept of leadership, the need for great private virtue to lead the state at large. He urged the artists to improve their individual technique so that they might contribute effectively. He demanded intellectuals to take their place in leading the state. Through art and thought the individual personality could be maintained, but not through imitation or lack of intellectual or artistic discipline. Forces leading to social or intellectual conformity were damned; provincialism, the enemy of communication, was also damned as the enemy of individualism, since it insisted on conformity.

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3. When I deal with the thought of individuals already discussed and documented, I shall merely summarize and not document again. I shall, however, document any new ideas introduced here for the first time.

to authority, absolutism over individual minds and actions.

Certainly the problems connected with "the survival of personality" were not strangely related only to the expatriates. What did a gentleman of Mr. Pound's generation of 1885 who remained at home have to say about this important problem? Mr. Van Wyck Brooks also concerned himself with individualism in his period. But the individualism of the frontier tradition is the villain in many of Mr. Brooks' pieces. This spirit "prevented the absence of the collective spiritual life."[4] And so, the individual having nothing else to "subordinate himself to," is either "driven into the blind alley of his appetites or rides some hobby of his own invention until it falls to pieces from sheer craziness." This concept of individualism created by the Puritan and the Pioneer was neatly digested by the modern capitalist. It justified the acquisitive life and degraded the spiritual life.[5]

Brooks also is most concerned with the Freudianism of his day. He adopted the concepts of repression and clearly applied this and other concepts to his investigation of American life and letters.[6] Brooks' organic view of society

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4. Letters and Leadership (New York, 1918) 19.
5. Ibid., 57.
6. The best examples are The Ordeal of Mark Twain (New York, 1920) and The Pilgrimage of Henry James (New York, 1925).

led him to think of the whole of America as a personality, and he applied his views on the nature of the individual in America to the whole of the culture. Brooks tended to see man and America both determined by historical and personality factors. This did not lead him to reject the concept of the "disinterested personality" altogether, for he constantly asks for the leadership of such individuals, toward the creation of a spiritual, a creative instinct to replace the acquistive instinct, toward a new gospel of self-expression.[7] Of course, this self-expression is really to be a national expression, a willingness to subordinate oneself to a national ideal.

The differences between Pound and Brooks on this issue are interesting indeed. Pound rejected almost complete the concepts of determinism as far as the individual personality was concerned. We read little in Pound of the social determination of personality and nothing of Freudian analysis. Pound was concerned about the individual himself, not in the individual as the vehicle for the creation of a national spirit. While Pound spoke glowingly about the American tradition of "preservation of the human resources," Brooks looked forward to a program for the "conservation of our spiritual resources."[8] While Pound looked back to the

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7. Ibid., 58.
8. Ibid., 59.

frontier for inspiration in his thinking on the "survival of personality," Brooks believed that frontier-Puritan spirit was responsible for the evils in contemporary society, created an attitude which allowed Big Business to take over and its attitudes to dominate.

Brooks' organic notion of the state led him to subordinate the individual to the state, the artist must fulfill himself by creating a national literature.[9] Pound's central interest was the individual personality and opinion. Self-fulfillment led to social, national, and international betterment, but that was a social by-product, not the stated end. Both, however, shared a belief in the relationship between letters and leadership, and had a concept of service by intellectuals.

Pound rejected political action for achieving the desired conditions in which his desired "individualism" could come about. With both Brooks and Pound the issue was a moral one. With Pound the solution lay in individual perfection of technique as an artist and thinker, with devotion to precision in his art and integrity in his thought. Private virtue was the primary objective. Brooks urged cooperation toward the creation of a national culture. The self would be fulfilled in a self-expression that created a national

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9. "Toward a National Culture," Seven Arts, 1:535-47 (March, 1917).

spirit which would replace the former acquistive individualism. The primary objective was the creation of a national culture.

What about the expatriate representatives of the generation of 1900? They were also extremely concerned with the "survival of personality." They also rejected political action as a means of creating conditions in which the desired self-fulfillment of the individual could occur. They attacked forces in America which tended to create universal conformity on moral and other issue. Here art was even more carefully identified with individualism, for art products were the very essence of individual expression and fulfillment. The conditions limiting the development of an honest artistic effort, as in Pound's thinking, were also those limiting any real individualism. Art and individualism are synonymous.

These expatriates raised the question of the very possibility of the existence of art in a democracy.[10] Majority-rule democracy made no place for those of special abilities. Democratic concepts seemed to have become antagonistic to the development of art. The stress in America has turned from individualism to equality. In previous periods of American history equality was merely a means to assure the

10. In addition to the discussion in the previous chapter see Matthew Josephson, Portrait of the Artist as American (New York, 1930) xviii.

maintenance of individualism, the conditions for individual fulfillment. The days of the frontier are again evoked in the name of individualism. Despite all the brutality associated with the frontier and the mobs of the Jacksonian era, there was a spirit of dissent, a tolerance of many ideas and ways. No matter what infantilism might have resulted, there was a respect for the moral and artistic leadership in society.[11] Many American critics like Brooks and Mumford of the generation of 1885 had insisted that part of the cultural failure in America was due to the lack of true political democracy and equality.[12] This the expatriates could not believe.

Not only had "democracy" created impossible conditions for the nurture of true art and individualism, but the rising industrial order had cast the shadow of the machine over everyone. Economically, socially, intellectually, politically - "the immediate world about us is pretty throughly regulated against the individual outbursts of passion or eccentricity."[13] The machine was an additional enemy of individual fulfillment. Modern America, under the sign of the machine, demanded even more uniformity, tended

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11. In addition to material in the previous chapter, I am relying on the very complete statement of this view by Matthew Josephson, op. cit., see for example Chapter 1.
12. Ibid., xix. See the many essays of Brooks in The Freeman (1920-24) where he suggests the political difficulties as fundamental in cultural questions.
13. See Josephson, op. cit., ix.

to treat men as units in a large machine. Concepts of "mob" and "mass" were not conducive to individual values and art as the most characteristic individual product.

The solution this younger expatriate generation suggested was more in line with that Pound had offered than with the concept of Brooks, which was completely rejected by almost all of these men. Devotion to art was the solution. Art itself was revolt; what was needed was a demonstration of individualism, self-fulfillment, experimentation and individual improvement. The artist always suggested a sense of liberty, of free experiment, of constant surprise. But these expatriates suggested more than concentration on their art as a solution to the problem of individual fulfillment. "Under mechanism, the eternal drama for the artist becomes _resistance to the milieu_, as if the highest perogative were the preservation of the individual type, the defense of the human self from the dissolution in the horde."[14] But the expatriate solution, as suggested by the members of the generation of 1900, failed to give us a clue to relating that dissenting individual to his society. Under such a concept of revolt will not the artist-intellectual remain always in exile? Pound offers a concept of private virtue and individual improvement contributing to society at large; Brooks suggests a cooperative movement which leads to a

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14. _Ibid._, xiii, italics in original.

national culture for all. The failure of the expatriate answer to the problem was clear at the very end of Josephson's book. Sharply pointing out the difficulties facing the artist in America, the need and justification of expatriation, he realized that exile was no permanent solution. He was not sure where the artist must go, but he finally suggested the choice might rest between Humanism and political collectivism, but he seemed unhappy about either possibility.[15] Certainly resistance to the milieu from outside that milieu seemed ineffective if the artist could not get his works read and his art an important place in society - his failure to do this in the past was one of the reasons for his flight. For he had taken an extreme position, a philosophical-anarchistic view of society with the belief that art itself could accomplish miracles in society. They believed art could fight through the "official version of life," destroy corrupt and unfair institutions, and completely revolutionize society by pointing out the truth. But even if art was itself a revolutionary force, how could it be effectively applied? Without political action or an effective propaganda campaign for an American Renaissance, an all-out fight against provincialism how could their art be returned to an important place in society? What would destroy censorship and other adverse conditions for the

15. Ibid., 299.

individual and the artist? Their art - which was kept from being that very revolutionary force in society by all the restrictions they had fought?

But the concept of concentration on individual improvement of artistic technique, demonstrating individualism by artistic action is interesting and important. It would demonstrate the existence of individual ability and talent, individual ideas and dissenting opinions. Certainly this was needed too at a time when such individualism seemed fast disappearing. But certainly this was not enough, for the reasons suggested above. It placed the expatriate on the proverbial horns of a dilemma: the art was to revolutionize society so art and individualism could exist, but how was it to make art such an effective instrument in a society when one was forced to live in exile? In their discussion of individualism the expatriates of the generation of 1900 did not suggest the necessary connecting link which would enable art to revolutionize the society.

The emphasis on this concept of revolt led to attacks like that of Stuart Sherman: "Instead of exerting themselves to frame a coherent conception of the 'good life,' they waste themselves in puerile revolt for revolt's sake, in behalf of freedom with no destination, in behalf of an individuality without character."[16] But these expatriate artists did con-

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16. S. P. Sherman in the Literary Review quoted in Current Opinion, 72:363 (March, 1922).

ceive of a moral function of their art, as has been indicated. It is true they framed no concept of the "good life," but they did point out the problems one faced if he wanted to frame such a concept; their revolt was in the interest of their chosen profession, in the interest of self-expression and self-fulfillment. They believed in the existing American milieu they would be unable to fulfill their own potentialities and abilities. As Pound suggested much earlier, only by each individual fulfilling his own potentialities to the best of his ability could we have the good social life.

So Brooks suggested self-fulfillment by adherence to a national ideal; Pound looked for self-fulfillment within the individual by adherence to his own art and own inner principles for the sake of all; Josephson looked for the fulfillment of self by revolt against the milieu and devotion to art.

But it should be noted that the pre-World War concept of the artist as muckracker had been supplanted by a concept of the artist as "artist" as a standard intellectual type: consciousness of self was cultivated in place of class consciousness and writers set out to express <u>themselves</u>, to assert and fulfill <u>themselves</u> rather than to express or fulfill a national spirit or ideal.

2. The Different Views of the Expatriate

We have already seen the American reaction to the expatriate, the resident viewpoint.[17] Let us now look at how the expatriates of each generation regarded themselves and those of the other expatriate generation.

Pound took a very calm and sane view of the expatriate question. "If a man's work requires him to live in exile, let him live in exile, let him suffer (or enjoy) his exile gladly."[18] He stressed the fact that exile can not make a man any less an American since Americanism is more than skin deep. We have already discussed Pound's concept of the artist-intellectual as propagandist for an American Renaissance. Further, he urged the State Department to use those Americans who had to live abroad, or felt they had to, for the purposes of bettering international relations. These Americans should become official agents explaining the United States and the rest of Europe, a "voice of America" on the spot. He wished what he conceived of as his own function - to explain various nations to each other - to become an official <u>function</u> in a world torn by provincialism.[19] All of Pound's discussion concerning the expatriate stressed the idea of servide that can be accomplished by the artist-

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17. See Chapter III.
18. "Patria Mia," <u>The New Age</u>, 12:34 (November 14, 1912).
19. "What America Has to Live Down," <u>The New Age</u>, 23:314 (September 12, 1918) "The Pariah, the expatriate, might have seemed the natural interpreter between nations."

intellectual who believed he must live in exile.

Pound saw fit to comment on the expatriates of the Twenties. "The new lot of emigres," he suggested, "were anything but the Passionate Pilgrims of James' day or the inquirers of my own. We came to find something, to learn, possibly to converse, but this new lot came in disgust, harbingers, I think the term is, of an era of filth and degradation at 'home' which will, I think, be increasingly apparent as just that."[20] This distinction is the common one. Elsewhere we have discussed the possible reasons for expatriation in the Twenties. It cannot be denied that many came in disgust, came in flight. But it is also true that they came to learn and came to a particular place for particular reasons. In the last chapter I traced the general critical pattern of these later expatriates. I have indicated that the earliest criticism stressed the era of "filth and degradation" of which Pound spoke. They stressed the restrictive legislation and the failure of democracy. But slowly toward the middle of the decade such outbursts of disgust became less central to expatriate criticism. By 1927 Transition could devote itself to its search for a universal spirit. Other criticism had not disappeared, but the search for values and solutions was becoming more important than the lambasts against America.

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20. "Date Line," in Make It New (London, 1934) 14.

Previously noted also was the fact that a general full-scale discussion of the expatriate question in American press and periodicals did not break out until about 1926, 1927. It was the publication of transition which really brought on a full measure of discussion and criticism. This rather striking fact led me to the speculation that perhaps what was objectionable to American critics of the expatriate movement was not the actual removal to Europe or the criticisms being made of the United States. Perhaps what was most objectionable to these critics were the end results of expatriation, the findings and conclusions of the expatriates. Certainly they were accustomed in America to the criticisms made of the culture, but the results of the expatriate searchings might have most upset them. I shall suggest these final conclusions, the features which actually distinguish these expatriates as a group in the last section of this chapter.

The generation of 1900 in exile offered no social function for their expatriation, as Pound had. They did offer excuses or causes for their expatriation as has been indicated. They ultimately remained in France or elsewhere to work and to study, to learn about their craft and produce in the light of that learning. This was in itself a socially good action, or could be so justified, but the expatriate did not long dwell on this aspect. He was defending his individualism and asserting it. But it is

interesting to note that he did so by often joining with his fellows in literary or other movements. Despite that fact that he worked alone, he learned from others, submitted his work for criticism, and participated in many movements. This did not suit the extreme individualists. Richard Bassett, for example, who remained at home was much more consistent with a doctrine of extreme individualism. He attacked Munson's "Secession" movement, or any other movement. What was still needed was individual genuis, while Marianne Moore added that forces like Puritanism and Victorianism or religion or anything else has nothing to do with aesthetic achievement. "The amount of native gift which the artist has is the only thing that signifies."[21]

While the expatriates of the Twenties turned from lambast against the evil features of American culture toward creating the basis of an indigenous American culture and other solutions, or returned to America, they did not give up their critical attitude toward those features of American life and society that had always annoyed them. But Pound was strangely alone as he continued, unabated, his attack on those features of American life which limited communication and made responsible democracy a farce. He

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21. See statement on Richard Bassett in a letter to S4N, an American little magazine, no numbered pages, November, 1922, and the statement of Miss Moore in the same magazine for March-April, 1923.

never saw fit to change his view as to his function or his goals and the means by which to attain them. But the expatriates of the Twenties slowly began their return to America, slowly began to see the failure of the position they had attempted to hold. They returned to America to attempt some other solution in relating themselves to their society.[22]

By 1928 a group of returned expatriates and other American artists could contribute to transition, an expatriate, magazine a long series of attacks, some humorous, some serious on the idea of expatriation. True they continued also to hit at their old enemies: American critics, censorship, book-clubs, Freudianism, commercialism.[23] They contributed "Seven Occasional Poems" which satirized the expatriate and American artists in general.

Lament of An American Poet

Why wasn't I born with a different face,
In a different age and a different place?
I'd much rather have been the bastard
Of Dante and Beatrice
Than the legitimate son of
Whittier or Barbara Fritchie.

Observation

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22. I do not mean to suggest that all of them changed their minds or that all returned, but I do refer to all the expatriates of this generation whom I have discussed in this thesis. transition, for example, was going strong in Paris until 1938.
23. "New York:1928" in transition, no. 13:83-102. Cowley and Josephson were among the contributors.

Tis said all poetry must and can
explain the ways of God to man.
And yet when Ford or Morgan raise their face
Poets paddle off to some french watering place.*

*or to Rapollo.

Fry Two!

The vulgarity of these United States
Is something every exile hates.
In Paris, though, they turn the table,
And act as vulgar as they are able.

We See Them Every Three Years
Exiles oft return to the lands of their mother
With their hats in one hand and their palms in
the other.

This satire was probably as bitting as any criticism of the expatriates launched by those who remained at home. Josephson issued a serious letter attacking the expatriates, especially Pound, and urged them to return to the land they love. He accused them of merely trying to evade the issue for a time. He pointed to the possibilities of collectivism and the wonders that an industrial society can bring about. What was needed was a recognition of these possibilities and a direction of them by the expatriates who will have been active factors in bringing about a "spiritual equilibrium."[24] Interestingly enough, even Mr. Pound had previous suggested the artistic possibilities of the billposter of which Mr. Mr. Josephson had become so enamoured.[25]

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24. "Open Letter to Mr. Ezra Pound and Other 'Exiles,'" transition no. 13:100-102.
25. "Patria Mia," loc. cit., 11;516 (September 26, 1912).

It is true that at least one expatriate magazine editor did see a possible service that the expatriate might perform. He might close the gap between America and literary America, between high brow and low brow.[26] This was the same thing Brooks had long been urging in America with his call for a middle-brow culture.[27] But certainly this concept of service was not general until at least the days of transition. Previously the expatriate had been too much on the defensive.

And those who experienced expatriation retained something from that experience for a long time. Glenway Wescott, writing during the second World War, addresses the "U. S. A.'s odd foreign legion." "Not only is Anglo-Saxonism all at war with the rest of the world in defense of its accustomed power and prosperity, and of the luxaries of the spirit such as free speech, free publication, free faith - for the time being, the United States is the likeliest place for the preservation of the Mediterranean and French ideal of fine art and fine writing; which puts a new, peculiar obligation upon us ex-expatriates. The land of the free should become and is becoming a city of refuge...."[28] I can not refrain, however, from pointing out what had once

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26. H. A. L. "Foreign Exchange," Broom 2:179 (May, 1922).
27. See Van Wyck Brooks, America's Coming of Age (New York, 1915) especially chapter 1.
28. Glenway Wescott, "The Moral of F. Scott Fitzgerald," reprinted in Edmund Wilson, ed., The Crack-Up (New York, 1945) 336.

been sacred principles were now regarded as luxaries of the spirit.

The expatriate had learned from his sojourn in Europe. He had learned about his craft; he had learned how foreigners regarded his homeland and was thus better able to weigh its merits and failings; he had learned the importance of certain principles and ideas, the value of certain attitudes and positions for solving certain important problems.

3. Methods of Cultural Criticism

Criticism, as has been demonstrated in previous chapters, was an essential element in expatriation. Pound, for example, felt such criticism was central in conceiving of his role as a propagandist for an American Renaissance. Even though the expatriates of the Twenties decided to devote themselves to their art, and art which they believed was by its very nature critical and revolutionary, they also issued their cultural criticisms through the pages of little magazines they published abroad. But the Twenties were generally a period of cultural criticism at home and abroad. Let us briefly summarize the major differences between some of the criticism published in the United States and that published abroad.

First, the expatriates, from Pound down, denounced American critics in no uncertain terms. One of the intolerable features of American culture was the low critical standards prevalent, or the emphasis on false critical

methods. For example, Pound did not feel he could criticize America at her expense, that he could enjoy American foolishness. He attacked the attitude of Mencken and others that it was one grand circus with fun for all the on-lookers. The problems were too serious for that. One would have to be a descendent of "M. le Marquis de Sade, or a follower of the....Hungarian Massoch....to appreciate this form of pleasure." He believed in taking thought and action to save something good or to create something good rather than enjoying attack for the sake of attack.[29] Although Pound often engaged in viterpurative polemic, he also believed that criticism should be essentially creative or preservative. The later expatriates joined him on this point, as is clearly evident in the search for the grounds for an American culture and the concept of the Super-Occident of Jolas. But this was not solely an expatriate attitude. To be sure we might not find it in Mencken, but it is a key concept in the work of Van Wyck Brooks who always has clearly in mind the desired end, the creation of an American national spirit and culture.

Pound applied the method of comparative criticism, cultural comparison to good advantage. It is true that Brooks often attempted such comparisons, but not on the basis

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29. "Summary of the Situation," The Exile, no. 1:92 (Primavera, 1927).

of two cultures. Rather he contrasted the American cultural scene and its failings with the cultural products of another country. This is quite a different thing. Brooks thought only in terms of American conditions, American attitudes and problems. When he thought of Europe, he thought not of its problems, attitudes, conditions, but only of the art work produced. As a result, Brooks failed in large measure to see that many American problems were not unique, and so he distorted his historically-based criticism.

The generation of 1900 abroad also adopted, finally, a modified use of Pound's method.[30] As a result of what they have learned in Europe, they contrasted experiences of Europe and the United States. The perspective gained on American problems by residence in Europe is interesting and important. It helped to make the expatriate movement worthwhile, by providing new insights based on broader experience. The importance of such a broadened insight cannot be overlooked.

Pound completely seemed to reject any concept of determinism, social or psychoanalytical when applied to a work of art. He also rejected the organic view of society and did not apply individual analysis to the state at large. Brooks and Mencken both engaged in using determinism and

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30. I do not mean to imply they learned this from Pound. They probably hit upon it by their own experiences.

applying it to their concept of the organic state. Repression and sublimation; Puritan and Philistine; Pioneer and Middle-Class - all these terms were constantly used in their cultural criticism. Pound completely rejected the Freudian approach to cultural criticism, and the later expatriates, for the most part, join him in that rejection. Also, they rejected, as Pound did, the "Puritan" analysis of American culture.[31]

It is most striking to contrast Josephson and Brooks writing on the same literary figure. Josephson completely rejected as dangerous the Freudian analysis; Brooks made it central.[32] Brooks and Mencken not only applied this type of analysis to individual works of art, but to the organically-conceived culture as a whole. On the question of historical and economic determination and relativism, Josephson and Brooks were often not too far apart. Both saw certain historical and economic conditions as effecting the position of the artist in society.

The expatriates generally rejected the concepts of the organic society, Freudian analysis, and literary determinism which does not concentrate study on the individual

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31. See Brooks, The Pilgrimage of Henry James (New York, 1925) or The Ordeal of Mark Twain (New York, 1920) and Josephson, Portrait of the Artist as American (New York, 1930), especially his sections on Henry James.
32. See Josephson, op. cit., 174-5.

work of art itself . But certainly the expatriates were concerned with the economic, political, and social conditions which created the present bad position for the arts and the artist in America. Josephson's Portrait of the Artist as American is an important account, written after his return to America, of the nineteenth century conditions in America which created the expatriate type. He began with a picture of society before the Civil War where a moral and artistic leadership in New England was recognized, where individual dissent, all ideas, were tolerated and encouraged. He presented a picture of the frontier in which, despite certain individualistic excesses, the glory of an individualistic frontier spirit is painted. It was a decentralized society of individuals, not a highly centralized society of masses. The enemy is obviously industrialism, centralization, and regulation. Whitman marks the last artist could get himself into a working relationship with his society without great sacrifice. He believed he could be a national bard, a prophet. His type of intense patriotism was based upon the love of free American institutions, not the nationalism of the "bankers who finance wars and hunt down dissenters." But Whitman's answer was no real solution. After the Civil War a new leadership had taken over the Republic; the Robber Barons replaced tolerant individualism with rugged, manifest-destiny individualism which turned against the artist and

the intellectual. Reform and political democracy had been corrupted by the new leaders of wealth. Little by little art was removed from society. The artist discovered that he not only had to perfect his art but make a place for it.

It is obvious Josephson exaggerated; he glorified the earlier period not recognizing its failings. He insisted that before the Civil War America was actually ruled by men of intellect and sensibility. But he did see the problems created by an industrial society, the difficulty that was caused because the intellectual leaders were cut off from the economic leaders:

> "The role of the man of enlightenment, the man of sensibility, in American life, was to be a pitiable one for the next fifty years after the Civil War . In the last analysis the intellectuals of the time could not furnish leadership for the nation, since they were cut off by their sympathies, by their ideals, from the whole crusade of the people toward the mountains of gold and the fields of oil. The asseryion of their individualism - if they but dared - the urging of individual tastes and principles against the absolute uniformity imposed by the system of mechanical progress called manifest destiny, would have been a form of betrayal."33

Brooks gave us a different picture, although he realized similar problems existed. The Frontier was the evil force creating an individualism that stressed the acquisitive rather than the creative life. The twin evils, Puritanism and Pioneerism enabled the industrial order to

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33. Josephson, op. cit., 170.

take over. The Frontier created no culture. Its sterility turned men who remained there into minor artists, while they might have been great ones if they had lived in Europe. Puritanism had created a repressed society and a sublimated literary personality. But, in the case of Henry James, going into exile was no solution. His exile was even more a failure. (Josephson holds that exile represents a loss for the nation; Brooks maintains that exile from the nation is a loss for the artist.)

From Pound down to the later expatriates of the generation of 1900, the Frontier was the great factor of our former national existence. They looked back, often romantically, to the frontier days and the spirit they believed it embodied. Industrialism was clearly the enemy, especially to the later group. Pound stressed modern capitalism as the villain; the generation of 1900 stressed the industrial social order. Both looked to the Frontier for inspiration for the future.

The expatriates looked forward to an American Renaissance, and were generally more hopeful than Brooks and others who remained at home. The Frontier spirit, the concept of individualism, and the features of the new order were called upon as the basis of this new culture.[34] Brooks thought in

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terms of a national culture, but did not define the conditions needed for such a culture in the same terms as the expatriates did. Brooks shared, however, with the generation of 1900 abroad, the concept of the need for a spiritual force, although he spoke only of national spirit. He rejected pragmatism as a failure in providing such a spirit, and the expatriates of 1900 agreed with him quite clearly.[35] Both thought in terms of finding new values.

Did the expatriates commit the "literary fallacy?" Bernard DeVoto attacked Van Wyck Brooks for committing such a fallacy. He tended, DeVoto charges, to think solely in terms of the literary, <u>belle-lettres</u> production that a society created.[36] I am not prepared to say whether De Voto is correct when dealing with Brooks. But I do not believe that such a charge can be directed against the expatriates, either of 1885 or of 1900. Certainly the expatriate artist and author did believe there was an intimate relationship between letters and the culture, that by judging the literary product you could learn much about the nature of the culture.[37] But they were also individualists and persons

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35. In addition to those comments and citations in Chapter IV, see interesting defense of creating a culture from the frontier tradition by Robert A. Santon, "A Champion in the Wilderness," <u>Broom</u> 3:174-9.
36. Bernard De Voto, <u>The Literary Fallacy</u> (Boston, 1944).
37. See for example Jean Epstein, "The New Conditions of Literary Phenomena," <u>Broom</u> 2:3-10, as well as other articles cited previously.

concerned with other values. Pound insisted that you could judge a culture by its "cultural products" and by the degree of "social justice" produced. On both issues a culture might be criticized and compared to other present and past cultures.

Pound was certain that great literature could exist without the state, but that the great state or culture could certainly not exist without a great art or literature.[38] He rejected social determinism as a basis for literary criticism. The later expatriates joined Pound in this belief. They agreed with Pound that artists were the "steam-guages" of a culture, the measuring tools for cultural achievement. They believed that the artist's sensibility was an important cultural asset, and that the artist's product could work revolutions. But they also judged the culture on the basis of the amount of freedom, the tolerance of ideas, the amount of experiment and liberty in all fields. Certainly, as men of letters, they looked from a vantage-point that would be different than Mr. De Voto's as a historian of culture. Pound and the later expatriates, as previous discussion has illustrated, attempted to solve the problem of their own relationship with society by an analysis, superficial though it might have been, of the whole culture, the institutions, the norms, and the cultural

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38. "Mike and Other Phenomena," The Morada, no. 5:44.

products. Certainly the later expatriates went even further than Pound. They saw great cultural achievements in the automobile, the spotless kitchen, the billposter, and even the cinema and radio. They sought to unite the whole under the leadership of creative artists of refined sensibilities and perfected techniques and men of intellect imaginative enough, sweeping enough to see the whole new culture rise from the basis in America.

4. The New Spirit and Internationalism

Differences between the expatriates and the stay-at-homes like Brooks and Mencken have been suggested, but little has been presented to demonstrate the significant contribution of the expatriate. His methods differed from those at home; his very expatriation was intended as a sign of his individualism. He rejected a Freudian or a "Puritan" analysis of American culture which was certainly in vogue in the America he left behind. He created a new artist type in the period, with a concentration on self-fulfillment and self-expression rather than national-fulfillment and national expression asked by Brooks and others. He rejected political solutions to the many problems that faced him. He called for a new artistic and intellectual leadership to assert it itself, to lead the way in an American Awakening, but so had Brooks and his colleagues at home. Still we have not reached any unique contribution.

I believe the expatriate made his first contribution with his very emphasis on self-perfection of his own craft and technique. Certainly that was essential if a great literature and a great art were to flourish and enrich American culture. He saw at last that the artist might well make his greatest contribution - not by being an economist, political theorist, or psychoanalyst, but by being an expert artist. Society, these men believed, would somehow gain. I do not know whether art was the revolutionary force these men seemed to believe, but I do believe that the artist can contribute to the life of his times (and all times) and can bring into a society values and concepts of ordering that are worthwhile. The increased stress on the artist-as-expert in his own field was a good one, and there can be little doubt that the expatriate groups contributed much to this ideal.

This was never art-for-art's-sake, I believe. Pound beautifully analyzed this concept with an analogy: "The oak does not grow for the purpose or with the intention of being built into ships and tables, yet a wise nation will take care to preserve its forests. It is the oaks business to grow good oak."[39] The artistic product might very well have its uses, as in Pound as the basis for psychological understanding and a new ethics, but it was the artist's

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39. "America:Chances and Remedies," The New Age, 13:10 (May 1, 1913).

business to give us the best possible art. All artistic products would be in some sense "socially significant." Was it necessary for the artist to attempt a false social significance in his work?

The second great contribution of the expatriates of both generations was a concept of internationalism in the arts and a new universal spirit. They wished the fight against provincialism to be waged all over the world; they wished the many nations of the world to understand each other, to have their ideas challenged by new concepts and for human betterment to be achieved through constant interplay among all nations, constant cultural comparisons and self improvement by self-examination in the light of universal experience.

In this fight, the expatriate evolved a concept of two-country background for the arts. Pound and Stein pointed the way; the later expatriates accepted the concept. The American artist needed his native land for her spirit, her rich offerings as the basis of a new culture. They thought the American spirit could be made the universal spirit, that America could assume a mission of world humanity and toleration. In France they saw what else they needed: a spirit of free experimentation, respect for the artist, a background of freedom, and a "laboratory of ideas." I have discussed this concept when I discussed Paris as a

symbol for the expatriate movement. In transition this concept reached its climax. It was a demand for a cultural interplay between nations, a testing of ideas and beliefs, a concept of international brotherhood in the arts and in life, a spirit of freedom and free exchange of ideas broad enough to encompass the whole world. Jolas and his transition searched for a new man, a universal man: "He alone can bring the "I" into relationship with the cosmos. He alone realizes that, while the masses march along the high roads with their steps of steel, the old human hatreds persist under the hypocrisy of brotherly love. He alone can oppose the danger of overestimating the mechanical. He will defend the right to revolt, the right to think in eternal terms, to help bring about an upheaval that may scatter the threatened coagulation of mediocre values around him."[40]

Ture, this call was vague and probably not original with the expatriate. But it added a search to what had initially been thought of as a flight. It sounded the call for a new internationalism of the arts. It is true that others had suggested "internationalism" as a solution to many of the world's problems in this period. Even in the cultural field there was beginning the call for a North-

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40. "Super-Occident, transition, no. 15:14.

Atlantic Civilization.[41] The basis of this particular call was the possibility of close relationship especially between England and her former colony. The close similarity seen between these two nations was to be the basis of this new relationship.

But the expatriate call was based on an entirely different principle. It was based on a concept of differences, not similarities. And France was the basis of much expatriate thinking, not England. Also these men did not concern themselves with actual problems of union in the political or economic sense. Rather their emphasis was cultural and their object supplementation and learning. America had certain material and spiritual resources to offer; France offered a background for the arts, an understanding of things cultural. The expatriates asked that differences be utilized, that each nation continue to contribute her own unique cultural and material products to the world at large. They recognized cultural differences as a good thing to be desired, and shunned concepts of imitation. But nations could learn from one another. Individual national ideas and programs could be effectively challenged by those of other nations will a resulting betterment for all peoples and all nations.

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41. Francis Miller and Helen Hill, <u>The Giant of the Western World</u> (New York, 1930).

Certainly the expatriates themselves returned with a better understanding of America and of Europe from their comparative experiences. Josephson did excellent interpretive work on the French literary and intellectual tradition; Cowley and Josephson contributed fine translations of foreign moderns and others; Putnam returned to do some brilliant translations before his death this year. They had learned a great deal from their European experience.

And the challenging concept they have given us of cultural internationalism to increase free communication and end provincialism is a worthwhile concept. Perhaps it was this concept that was most objectional to American critics abroad. The expatriates believed they could hold two loyalties, or could learn from more than one country or one experience. They wished to have both the great freedom and cultural background offered by Paris and France and the great spirit and potentialities of America. They wished to improve their art and international understanding at the same time. They wished to explain the nations to each other so that each might learn and each might contribute.

The problems that faced the expatriates faced those who stayed home. Sherwood Anderson could complain in haunting and fearful loneliness of the increasing impact of the machine, but could add: "When mechanical invention followed mechanical invention....I at least had not tried to get out of it all by fleeing to Europe. I had at least

not gone to Paris, to sit eternally in cafes and talk of art."[42] But what had he done? Had he offered any better solution to the problems facing him as an individual or as an artist? He had enriched his understanding of American problems and potentialities by a comparison with those of other nations? Had he achieved a perspective such as man expatriates did? Had he improved his own minor talent by a free experiment, a free interplay of artistic and other ideas?

The expatriate tradition in this period must include the concept of internationalism of the arts as suggested above, the concept of the desirability of an artist and individual having two countries. Residence in Europe for a brief or even long period of time alone does not make you an expatriate in the sense I have been using this term in this essay. This creed of universal spirit and the fight against provincialism is an essential part of the traditional expatriate's equipment. He combines this with an emphasis on criticism and on developing his own artistic talents.

The expatriate, then, is the artist or intellectual who is oppressed physically or spiritually by the conditions he finds about him in America. He goes to Europe, not only to flee but also to learn. There he resides until he feels

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42. Perhaps Woman (New York, 1931) 112. This is Anderson's own strange solution to the problem of industrialism.

he has learned what he wanted to, has in some ways perfected his own abilities, and gained increased perspective and insight on his own artistic problems and his countries more complicated cultural problems. He is an extreme individualist who finally sees in a concept of free interplay among cultures, especially such an interplay between America and France, what he has been looking for, a way to reconcile himself to his society by taking what he needs from many societies.

CHAPTER VI

"What It's All About Always"

A Conclusion

It seems especially fitting for me to select as the title of this brief conclusion a sentence from a letter I recently received from Mr. Ezra Pound. It also seems especially fitting for me to attempt a statement of the significance of the essay I have written in line with Pound's own demand in his program for graduate students.

Expatriation did not mean the end of concern with fundamental American problems. On the contrary, expatriation often brought an attempt at thorough investigation of the real nature of these problems and suggestions for solution. Central to all these expatriate-artist-intellectuals was the problem of relating the artist and his work to a society. The problem was usually generalized into a broader problem of the relationship of the individual to that society. In attempts at discussion and solution of these problems general criticism of American culture was presented. In almost every case, the expatriate rejected the cultural tools then central in America: Freudianism, "Puritanism," "Philistinism."

The problems that the expatriates of the Twenties faced were not original with them. Pound had faced most of them much earlier. However, the problem of the "machine"

and its effect on the individual, especially the individual artist, was a problem more central to the late expatriate group than to Pound, who dealt with it only briefly. But in general, Pound's cultural criticism seems to me much more fruitful than that offered by later expatriates.

The expatriates of the Twenties clearly exemplify the confusions of the times. They offer no essentially coherent framework for their criticism. Their artistic anarchism seemed no real solution and offered no really effective critical tool. Pound grounded his criticism in a framework of essentially ethical values. Communication, intercommunication was civilization. It was a good, an essential element of what the humanists and others like to consider the "good life." Any force which threatened this intercommunication, this free interchange of ideas, attitudes, and beliefs was evil and to be fought against. Societies were to be judged on the basis of results produced: cultural products, lasting economic goods (scientific and other true data, ideas, art), and social justice. The comparative method was introduced as an effective critical tool, which enabled us to test the ends of a culture by the challenge of real results of past or present cultures, not with some idealized utopias. The problem of the "survival of personality" was basic because of the belief that such individualism was an ethical good, that private virtue could re-

form the state, that variety and difference was more valuable than any conformity or unanimity. Moreover, he conceived of his role as cultural critic essential to his own work; he was frankly a "propagandist for an American Renaissance." Such a role gave him an actual place in society, although he might perform that role in exile. Finally he saw the need , in the interest of intercommunication, of explaining various cultures and nations to each other. In this same light he early suggested the concept of the need for two culture, or the need to draw from a variety of sources. He introduced the concept of the need for a cultural capital, for both what Paris and New York had to offer him as man and artist. He stated his belief most extremely when he affirmed their was no culture that was not bilingual.

The expatriates of the Twenties were frankly in revolt. As cultural critics they rejected the prevalent analytical tools in use at home. Their attack was based on first principles of individual freedom which boardered on libertarianism, which Josephson frankly admired in his <u>Portrait of the Artist as American</u>. Their analysis offered no new framework for cultural evaluation. They suggested art was the final judgment itself. As critics they were most successful when they utilized the comparative method, and this method became a leading tool and one of the best results of their European experience. Too often they felt

called upon to justify their expatriation. They blamed "society" for their problems, yet looked within themselves for solution. They saw the evils and problems in modern industrial capitalism, yet tried to create from such an order an American culture. Their individualism was rooted in their art; they believed art works the perfect example of such free individuals. They, like Pound, put the stress on perfection of individual talent and techniques, upon the work of art itself. But while they, like Pound, tended to universalite their problems, they completely individualized their solution: individual artistic concentration. Art was a revolutionary force in itself. I have a feeling it was too convenient a step to make this art speak for actual revolution - something some expatriates did on their return. They adopted an extreme and individualistic solution that could not effectively be applied to other than artists; their solution failed to be universally successful for the expatriate himself, and he almost always returned to take up new solutions. Pound could continue his fight along his own line, believing he had solved some of the basic problems.

As a Propagandist for a coming Renaissance in America, Pound could become a creative critic. Not only could he offer his own artistic contributions, but he could offer suggestions for reform of basic cultural institutions: the universities, the press, the magazines, and the economic

structure. The expatriates had only their cultural products to offer - and two important ideas: the stress on the individual creative work (which Pound also had) and the concept of a universal spirit, a new-nation loyalty which I have discussed before (and which Pound also suggested). As individualists in the anarchistic tradition, the expatriates of the Twenties could offer no suggestions for institutional reform, although they could criticize existing institutions. They could but demonstrate their individualism in their art and attempt to discover the elements in the existing order from which a new culture could be forged. They could urge the creation of a new man, a universal man, and suggest the idea of cultural interplay, and the need for a type of cultural internationalism.

But these two key ideas which the expatriates of the later period stressed, and developed beyond the Poundian analysis earlier, were extremely important and suggestive. They offered a useful corrective to the concept of the artist as muckracker and the concept of a national culture formed in complete isolation or based purely on an imitation of things European. They demanded a realization that both European ideas and culture and the American frontier experience had created a unique and wonderful (too wonderful to be completely hateful) culture. Furthermore, they continued to utilize the little magazine, as Pound had done, to

put their ideas across and to experiment in, overcoming some of the handicaps offered in America.

But what about the conclusion to the expatriate story as far as I have taken it? Pound continued his own program, to end accused of treason to the culture he had fought to aid. The expatriates of the Twenties largely returned to adopt new solutions to their problems, but always, I believe, to carry with them the key ideas and attitudes that they developed in their expatriation experience. However, it would seem that expatriation largely failed. This is true only in some absolutist concept. For expatriation did offer a solution to many in the period for a short time, and did produce some worthwhile ideas and worthwhile personal experiences.

For the historian, the whole of expatriate cultural criticism enables us to see more clearly some of the cultural problems of the period, some of the philosophical confusion, some of the rapid changes. We see that many of the problems often suggested as unique to the period of the Twenties certainly had their roots much earlier. We see a final recognition of fundamental problems created by the industrial order which America still must cope with. After all, the answer to the question of what is expatriation all about is clearly found in Pound's answer: "What it's about always." The problem of relating the individual to society

continues in every age; only the conditions in which the problem is found seems to change. The relationship of art and the artist to that society also continues. The attempt to make democracy thrive under new conditions and forces also goes on. The question of the value of democracy must be constantly raised anew under new circumstances, and its problems discussed. Cultural criticism must continue to have an important place in our life, although at present such criticism seems doomed in a new desire for conformity.

These particular expatriates faced certain problems in a modern world where various factors had combined to destroy faith in traditional values and solutions. They had been undermined by sociological and psychological investigations tending to show that these values had no absolute validity but were relative to social environments; they had been discredited by a failure to adopt them, and to industrialized society and have been rendered obsolete by a complex world that moves in terms of mass, against which an individual seemed hopeless. In freeing himself from absolutist religions, had man become the slave of social processes? The expatriate tried to strike a balance. They rejected both an absolute religion and social determinism. They turned instead to a search for the disinterested artistic personality, a new individualism.

Conditions change and new problems arise; old problems

are reworked in terms of new conditions. But there remains man, society, and art and fundamental problems connected with the inter-relationships among all three. Criticism and affirmation seem to be personal needs of men in many societies in many eras. Expatriation, as here discussed, is but one small portion of "what it's all about always."

BIOGRAPHICAL APPENDIX

Note: The major sources for these brief biographies were Who's Who in America; S.J. Kunitz and H. Haycroft, ed., Twentieth Century Authors and Fred B. Millett, Contemporary American Authors as well as available personal memoirs.

KENNETH BURKE (May 5, 1897 -

Burke was born in Pittsburg and educated at Ohio State University and at Columbia University. In 1926-27 he acted as research worker for the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, and in 1928-29 he did editorial work for the Bureau of Social Hygiene in New York City. In 1927 he became music critic on the Dial. In addition to musical criticism, he has written literary reviews, literary and social criticism, translations from the French and German, a novel and a group of short stories. Much of his criticism has appeared in the Nation, for which he was music critic from 1933 to 1935. He has also contributed to the New Republic, the Little Review, the Bookman, Broom, Symposium, Vanity Fair, and Hound and Horn. In 1928 he was given the Dial Award of two thousand dollars for distinguished service to American letters. In 1935 he was awarded a Guggenheim fellowship. He has also lectured at various institutions on literary criticism in theory and practice at the New School for Social Research, Kenyon College, and other institutions. Burke todays ranks among the best and most important literary critics in America. He settled early in his career on a farm near Andover, New Jersey, and he divides his time between this farm and New York City.

MALCOLM COWLEY (August 24, 1898 -

Cowley was born in Belsano, Pennsylvania, the son of a physician. He attended school there and in Pittsburg and was in constant revolt against the educational traditions of prescribed English courses, the veneration of Shakespeare, and strict Puritanism. He planned to be a dramatic critic on a newspaper. Enrolled in Harvard University in 1915 where he became editor of the Harvard Advocate and took part in other literary activities of the college.

In 1917 he joined the Ambulance Service in France where for six months he drove a munitions truck. He returned to Harvard in the Spring of 1918, but only for a short time for he served as artillery officer training at Camp Taylor. When released from the army he went to Greenwich Village where he claims to have starved for eight months. After his married life began, he returned to Harvard where he finally graduated in 1919. After his graduation, he worked in New York City spending a year writing copy for Sweet's Architectural Catalogue. Then the restlessness resulting from the unreality of his early education and from his war experience turned him away from a Greenwich Village that had come to seem empty and made him wish to return to Europe. In 1921 he was enabled to return on an American Field Service fellowship for study at the University of Montpellier, where he studied French history and literature. He returned to New York in 1923, spent two more years more on the Catalogue, and with Matthew Josephson was associate editor of Broom. It was financially unsuccessful and was stopped in the mails in January, 1924. In 1925 Cowley returned to Paris as a free-lance writer and translator, wandering among American expatriates and the European Dadaists. He helped edit Secession and contributed to various periodicals. He established himself as a poet, and in 1927 Poetry awarded him the Guarantors Prize. In 1929 he returned to the U.S. to become literary editor of the New Republic. During the depression he joined the large group of leftish writers and critics in the American Writers' Congress.

EUGENE JOLAS (born 1894 -

Jolas, editor and founder of the internationalist little magazine transition, was born at Union Hill, New Jersey, of immigrant parents who took him back to their native Lorraine when he was two years old. At sixteen he returned to America, where he remained for an unbroken period of ten years. He went to school at DeWitt Clinton Evening High School, where he learned English. This was his only schooling in the States. He was a reporter during his stay in America, and when he returned to Paris he worked for the Chicago Tribune. That was in 1921, and since this date he has divided his time between the United States and France. He served with the American armed forces in both wars. His international educational background gave rise quite naturally to an organic use of French, German, and English.

MATTHEW JOSEPHSON (February 15, 1899 -

Josephson was born in Brooklyn, New York and received his B.A. at Columbia University in 1920. Soon after the end of the war (I have never been able to establish the exact date) he joined the expatriates in Paris where he was very active in expatriate little magazine activities, helping to edit Broom, Secession, and transition. He developed a great interest in French letters and culture which were to result in his studies of Zola, Rousseau, and Stendhal among others. In 1929 he returned to New York with the magazine Broom in an attempt to keep the periodical going. He failed to do so, and tried his hand at finance in Wall Street. Josephson took his venture into finance at the wrong time, perhaps, and almost suffered a nervous breakdown. He returned to literary preoccupations from that time on. His concern has long been with the problem of the individual and artist in an industrial society. This concern turned him to leftist politics and economic history. From his retreat in Connecticut he produced literary studies and detailed historical accounts of the era he believes to be a turning point in our history, the era of the "robber barons."

GORHAM BERT MUNSON (May 26, 1896 -

Munson was born in Amityville, New York. In 1917 he graduated from Wesleyan University where he became active in socialist movements. He did an early essay on the socialist concept of morality. From 1917 to 1926 Munson was a "literary socialist of sorts with a leaning toward philosophical anarchism." In 1926 he became active in the Social Credit movement of Douglas and Orange. In 1938 he organized the American Social Credit Movement. His experience in Europe was very brief, but he was an important organizer and editor of the magazine Secession. In 1927 he joined the faculty of the New School in New York, and later became active in the Humanist movement. In recent years he has devoted himself more and more to teaching methods of literary composition and literature on the radio and at various schools.

ELLIOT PAUL (February 11, 1891 -

Paul was born in Malden, Mass., and had little formal education beyond the high school level. After a few months at the University of Maine, he joined his brother as surveyor and timekeeper on an irrigation project

in Idaho and Wyoming. Later he was a newspaper man in Boston before he enlisted in the Field Signal Corps. After the war he stayed in France as a reporter for the A.P.; also he worked for the Paris Editions of the New York Herald and Chicago Tribune. For the latter paper he served as literary editor. From 1927 until 1931 he was connected with Jolas and transition. For several years after he lived in Spain, until caught there by the revolution.

HAROLD EDMUND STEARNS (May 7, 1891 -

Stearns was born at Malden, Mass., and was educated at Malden High School. His early life was rather a hard struggle, but he finally received a B.A. (cum laude) from Harvard in 1912. After graduation he was an editorial writer for the New York Sun, profiting from his earlier experiences on Boston newspapers during his high school and college days. Later he became a drama critic. In 1914 he experienced his first trip to Europe which impressed him greatly. He returned to America and was connected with the New Republic as well as doing free-lance writing during the war. He was opposed to the war and the results of the war at home. In 1917 he was called to Chicago to edit the old Dial, which he brought to New York in 1919. Stearns concerned himself with political considerations. In 1921 he expatriated himself to Paris where he was to remain until 1932, when illness forced him home. During his expatriation which was an extremely unpleasant experience for him, he worked as horse-racing expert for the Chicago Tribune's Paris Edition. He returned to America only once during his expatriation to see his young son. He lost his wife before his expatriate days. His return to America brought him new considerations of American greatness.

GLENWAY WESCOTT (April 11, 1901 -

Wescott spent his early life on a poor Wisconsin farm. At the University of Chicago where he was an undergraduate he wrote poetry and participated in many literary organizations. During his sophomore year he left the university in poor health and in a poor mental state. His real education, he claimed, was in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries during his grand tour of Europe. For the next nine years he

he resided in France, on the Riviera and in Paris, which "in the twenties was a great fool's paradise, the perfect time and place to study human nature, nothing else seemed important or urgent." The thirties were a hecticeand urgent period, and so Wescott returned to America. During the period abraod, Wescott turned out several major literary works and established himself as an important novelist.

EZRA LOOMIS POUND (October 30, 1885 -

Ezra Pound was born in the little town of Hailey, Idaho. He reveals his family background in his Indiscretions. He came from strong Yankee stock, although they seem to have been a gaudy people. There was an ancestor named Christopher Wadsworth who stole the Connecticut Charter and hid it in Charter Oak. (I am quite sure this make Pound a relative of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.) Pound's grandfather was Israel Putnam, born in northern New York, but soon to become a lumber-boss in Wisconsin where he served in Congress and as Lieutenant Governor of the state. He was also an early railroad builder. Putnam married a Loomis, one of the famous bands of upstate New York outlaws. The result of this union was a gentleman, long connected with the Philadelphia Mint and associated in politics. Soon after his son Ezra was born, his father moved to Philadelphia to take a position at the Mint.

Pound spent two years at the University of Pennsylvania, as a special student because he did not wish to be required to meet the regular schedule of course, but would rather dabble in what he wanted to learn. Already he had written some early verses published in Philadelphia newspapers. He finished his undergraduate years at Hamilton College in New York State. He returned to the University of Pennsylvania after a rather unimpressive undergraduate record at Hamilton where he did especially well in foreign languages, to take a master's degree in Romance Literature. He was granted a fellowship for a year's study abroad to work on a projected thesis on Lope de Vega, but during that period, Pound devoted himself to a study of provecial. He returned to accept a position of instructor at Wabash College in Indiana. This experience proved a very important one for Pound, for he was requested to leave after four months, because he was too "bohemian" and exotic, too much the "Latin Quarter type." Teaching was then blocked for Pound as a career, although he

long continued to concern himself with educational problems. But he left the United States to return but twice before his recent forced return on charges of treason.

He went first to Venice where his first book of poems was published. In 1910 he moved to London where he was to spend the decade, to publish much verse and literary criticism, to participate in important poetic and critical movements, and to organize and edit important little magazines. The pre-war year in London saw Pound associated with a group of bright young poets and critics who dined together in Soho: T.E. Hulme, T.S. Eliot, Flint and others.

In 1920 Pound moved to Paris and after him flocked many younger American expatriates. Here he continued his literary activities, championing many literary and artistic talents and aiding many young authors to perfect their individual talents. But in 1924, Paris became too cluttered for Pound, and he retired to Rapallo, Italy, where he was to remain, with a few brief intervals excluded, until the second World War. In 1939 he returned to the United States to receive an honorary degree from Hamilton College. More and more Pound had been drawn toward the Fascist regime under which he lived comfortably in Italy. During the war, he broadcasted for the Fascists and was charged with treason. Today he awaits trial in a hospital in Washington, D.C. where he has been confined until he is mental fit to stand trial.

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Broom 1921-1924

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APPROVED Merle Coulter

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