

# American Modernism: Cultural Transactions



American Modernism:  
Cultural Transactions

Edited by

Catherine Morley and Alex Goody

**CAMBRIDGE**  
**SCHOLARS**  

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**P U B L I S H I N G**

American Modernism: Cultural Transactions, Edited by Catherine Morley and Alex Goody

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—Alex Goody

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—Catherine Morley





## INTRODUCTION

### AMERICAN MODERNISM: CULTURAL TRANSACTIONS

CATHERINE MORLEY AND ALEX GOODY

Toward the end of Willa Cather's 1925 novel, *The Professor's House*, Godfrey St. Peter's family return from a trip to Europe aboard a ship called the *Berengaria*. The allusion to Walter Scott's novel of 100 years earlier, *The Talisman*, is so oblique as to be almost imperceptible.<sup>1</sup> Yet the reference is picked up at other stages of this novel, which takes as its most pressing theme the altered landscape of modern America in the face of rampant industrialisation and its accompanying consumerism. At an earlier stage in the narrative, the nostalgic St. Peter recalls a pageant scenario in which he casts his two sons-in-law, Louie Marsellus and Scott MacGregor, in the roles of Saladin and Richard Plantagenet respectively. Marsellus's assignation as Saladin, the antagonist of the Crusaders, is seemingly unsurprising given the attributes Cather allots him throughout the novel. Louie represents all that the Professor (and Cather too) resents; he is the embodiment of capitalism, an uncultured and tactless opportunist, determined to dazzle with the accoutrements of his ill-gotten gain. In short, for St. Peter, Louie is the antithesis of the pensive, *Aeneid*-quoting Tom Outland he had once earmarked as a son-in-law. Indeed, in many ways Louie (who owes his fortune to Tom's pioneering scientific work) is the Marcellus that Aeneas encounters in the underworld, the soldier who has carried off the spoils of war.

Cather's complex engagement with Scott and Virgil is telling. Appropriating some of the details of Scott's story, Cather might be seen as casting the young Jewish Marsellus as a pantomime villain. Certainly, critics have often drawn attention to a perceived strain of anti-Semitism in Cather's work, citing her antagonism towards the pianist Jan Hambourg.<sup>2</sup> However, Scott's story sets the young Arab hero as a virtuous, chivalrous and moral figure, certainly so in contrast to some of the more questionable European figures in the novel. Indeed, Cather (and one must assume the

learned Professor) would have been aware of Scott's intentions for Saladin. Thus the Professor's conclusion that he thought his tableau "quite fair to both the young men" is less barbed than one might initially assume.<sup>3</sup> Yet Louie's association with the vulgarity of the modern world is undeniable; he panders to the selfish whims of the females in the family, indulges in florid, unnecessarily verbose language and, as an electrical engineer benefiting from Outland's inventions and patents, is the novel's most obvious link with the burgeoning, industrial modern world. This is the period after all when, in the US, the fascination with flight began with Wilbur and Orville Wright's first heavier-than-air flight machine (1903); also, in terms of the industrialisation of the visual arts, Edison had invented the cinematic vitascope (1896) just after the development of the motion picture, and this was followed by the patenting of the iconoscope and the invention of sound recording on to film with the fonofilm. Indeed, Cather (like all Americans) found herself part of an emerging technological culture: the telephone became commonplace by the end of the first decade of the century, and the radio age was born with the foundation of two giant radio networks in 1926 (NBC) and 1928 (CBS) respectively. As the novel carefully depicts in its fine details of interiors and consumables, this was also the era of luxury economy, Torstein Veblen's "conspicuous consumption", an economy based on cars, radios, vacuum cleaners, record players, and advertising.

Lionel Trilling has read *The Professor's House* as a weary rejection of the emerging modern world, indicative of Cather's sense of displacement in 1920s America and demonstrative of her abhorrence of money-making apparatuses and the values they engendered. Her interviews and speeches throughout the decade note the cinema, the radio and the "machine-made novel" as major threats to modern cultural life and to high literary practice. Indeed, the Professor's anti-modernist lecture to his students, in which he opposes science to "art and religion" might be taken directly from Cather's speech to Bowdoin College Institute of Modern Literature in which she remarked that "laboratory methods are best in science, but have no place in art."<sup>4</sup> However, in terms of the novel itself, the author recognised an increased emphasis on experimentalism and the representation of the individual consciousness, though she expressed irritation with the modernists' "process of chopping up ... character on the Freudian psycho-analytical plan".<sup>5</sup> Just as Cather's alignment of Marsellus with Saladin is deliciously ambiguous, so too is her response to modernity and to literary modernism.<sup>6</sup> For instance, her sense of alienation from the modern world and the modernist buzz which, by the 1920s, had fully enveloped the American literary and cultural scene, is less anti-modernist than it seems

and more rooted in a concern for the erosion of a cultural appreciation of aesthetic pleasures. In many ways Cather's apparent cantankerousness with the spiritually corrosive paraphernalia of modernity has more in common with the high-modernist practitioners than is often acknowledged.<sup>7</sup> After all, Gautier's notion of art for art's sake was taken up by many proto-modernists as a rallying call for the importance of aesthetics in terms of their intrinsic values.

Moreover, Cather's engagement with European literary progenitors (Scott and Virgil are mentioned here but there are countless others throughout the novel) embodies one of the central tenets of American modernism—the notion of the cultural transaction.<sup>8</sup> One of the most intrinsic and striking features of American modernism from the outset has been its negotiation with cultures beyond its own borders. Whether one takes the 1893 Chicago World's Fair or the 1913 New York Armory Show as a starting point, embedded in each is the idea of the cultural negotiation. The Armory Show famously brought the work of the European avant-garde to the United States, first to New York and then to Chicago (where students at the Chicago Art Institute demonstrated against Matisse's distortion of the human form), presenting collectively for the first time in the US the artworks of Picasso, Matisse, Duchamp and a host of others. The Chicago World's Fair, on the other hand, had forty-six nations as participants and was inaugurated to celebrate the 400th anniversary of the discovery of the New World (another transaction of sorts, albeit one with a freighted legacy as Rebecca Tillett discusses in her essay on "Native American Modernism"). Of course, all modernist developments were, in various ways, culturally cross-hatched: for instance, as Sarah Davison reminds us, Symbolism originated in France but was taken up in England by poets such as Symonds and Pound; it later developed into *l'imagisme*, a self-consciously French term to describe the work of writers working mainly in the English language. Indeed, the very term "Modernism" refers to global contexts of social change, and while one can certainly isolate urban centres of modernism (London, Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Moscow and New York) the movement of artists and writers between these spaces, the coteries of nationally diverse writers which settled in each, and the advent of little magazines which self-consciously brought together contributors from diverse locations, added to the uniquely international flavour of modernist art and aesthetics.

But American modernism especially is categorized by the notion of the cultural transaction for a number of reasons. In the first instance, America's engagement with modernism came significantly later than developments in other national centres. Steven Matthews observes that in

trying to locate temporally the origins of literary modernism, critics seem to agree on the mid-to-late nineteenth century as a starting point in France and from 1890 to the beginning of the Second World War in Britain and in Germany, with the high point of experimental modernism in Britain occurring shortly after the end of the First World War. Indeed, Matthews identifies the 1913 Armory show as the event which stimulated a specifically American modernism, albeit “one highly dependent on European ideas and personalities.”<sup>9</sup> Certainly, the late start for American modernism necessitated an engagement with European precursors, with the likes of William Carlos Williams applying Duchamp’s notion of the “ready-made” to poetry in works which concentrated on individual objects or events (poems such as “Sea-Trout and Butterfish” and “Proletarian Portrait”). Secondly, at the turn of the century, debates raged throughout the American popular presses and in intellectual quarters about the nature of American identity. This was, at least in part, attributable to the vast swathes of immigrants who had entered the United States throughout the latter part of the nineteenth century. From 1845 to 1852, for instance, during the years of the Irish Potato Famine, over one million people crossed the Atlantic. Other national groups immigrating to the United States at this time included Germans, French, Italians, and Scandinavians. This wave of immigration reached a peak in the 1850s curtailed only by the American Civil War, which brought further demographic changes, but from about 1880 onwards, immigration to the US resumed in earnest. This time immigrants came from Eastern Europe and Russia, to escape grinding poverty and religious persecution. The net result of this massive glut of immigrants was a wide-scale reappraisal of American identity. The Dewey-esque, nationalist progressive notions that America’s involvement in the First World War would help spread democracy, that immigrants would adapt and assimilate to the codes of Anglo-Saxon gentility and, of course, adopt the *lingua franca* were not realised. And the ambivalence of many immigrants towards the United States’s decision to enter the First World War resulted in many questioning whether the great dream of the cultural melting pot had, in fact, failed. Such pro-war progressive ideals were challenged by a brand of cultural pluralism championed by the likes of Randolph Bourne and Horace Kallen and, indeed, by a number of modernist writers (including Cather who publicly criticised the New England intelligentsia’s penchant for bland Americanization).<sup>10</sup> And during the 1920s, American Nativism would raise new questions about the nature of American identity.<sup>11</sup>

American modernism was also characterised by new economic trends. By 1920 the United States had become the most industrialised nation in

the world (taking over the mantle previously worn by Britain and Germany). Accompanying this growth in industry was the rapid expansion of urban centres, the rise of the American city and the sudden iconographic status assumed by New York City with the proliferation of modern skyscrapers: by the end of twenties, the New York skyline was bedecked with the Flatiron Building (1902), the Metropolitan Life Building (1907), the Woolworth Building (1913), the Equitable Building (1915), the Radiator Building (1924), the Western Union Building (1930), and the Chrysler Building (1930). In 1910, due to immigration and migration, the 10 largest cities in the US had experienced a threefold increase in population in the previous 30 years. And at the same time new cities like Los Angeles, Minneapolis and Seattle had sprung into being.<sup>12</sup> During the modern period the United States saw itself in a changed relationship with the rest of the world. In short, it had become (and would continue to be throughout and after the years of the First World War) a creditor nation, with loans in excess of 13 billion dollars to Europe. Thus the US in a brief period became both economically and culturally entangled with the affairs of the world. Needless to say, the almost mandatory relocation of American writers to the banks of the Seine is another example of American modernism's transnational negotiations, a theme which Martin Halliwell picks up in his essay on James Baldwin and Richard Wright's uneasy relationship in France.

All of these cultural developments contributed to a sense of a growing and multidimensional world—what the American philosopher William James in 1893 had described as a “multiverse”. With these changes in material and also immaterial cultures (in terms of the rise of Darwinism and Freudianism), Americans became part of a distinctly modern, fragmented and discontinuous cultural consciousness. Many avant-garde writers merged this sense of spiritual and physical dislocation with the idea of uncertain identities in a polynational context: the American expatriate Gertrude Stein, who had studied psychology under William James at Harvard, based her writing in a shifting, unpredictable subjectivity continually in flux, continually open to negotiation and resistance.<sup>13</sup> But Stein's negotiations with subjectivity and language, which make her work quite impenetrable to the casual reader, are what connect her most firmly to the America she left to live in France, and reveal how she epitomises specific aspects of American modernism. As Charles Bernstein points out, Stein is “one of the least assimilationist of American modernist writers and, in this, one of the most American”.<sup>14</sup> Stein's salon on the Rue de Fleurus in Paris stood as the point of entry to the European avant-garde for so many young American writers and artists.

Although Stein was not a self-identified expatriate,<sup>15</sup> she did bestow identity onto a specific grouping of American modernism—the Lost Generation—and mediated between a host of writers and the modernism they went on to develop.<sup>16</sup> Hemingway is the most obvious instance but there are other lines of connection and affect that draw Stein into the cultural transactions involving American modernism, her affinities with Richard Wright for example.<sup>17</sup> Movement into, rather than out of, America is one of the themes of Stein’s longest work, *The Making of Americans*, which details the daily lives of generations of two immigrant families in America, the Herslands and the Dehnings. Written between 1903 and 1911 and finally published in 1925, *The Making of Americans* exceeds the capaciousness of even *Ulysses* (1922) in its 925 pages of carefully nuanced repetition and rearrangement of phrases and verbal clauses.

As *The Making of Americans* suggests, with its statement “I am writing for myself and strangers. This is the only way that I can do it”, Stein developed the voice of her modernism away from America, but this does not mean she turned from America in her writing.<sup>18</sup> Indeed, it was through engaging with a specific sense of America, with its origins in an Emersonian celebration of movement and transition, and a rejection of narrative constraints, that Stein formulated her writing:

Think of anything, of cowboys, of movies, of detective stories, of anybody who goes anywhere or stays at home and is an American and you will realize that it is something strictly American to conceive a space that is filled with moving, a space of time that is filled always filled with moving.<sup>19</sup>

American writing has been an escaping not an escaping but an existing without the necessary feeling of having one thing succeeding another thing of anything having a beginning and a middle and an ending.<sup>20</sup>

Stein’s avant-garde modernism involved transactions of many sorts: with visual culture (the work of Picasso and Matisse), with ideas of primitivism and national identity, with gendered subjectivities and sexualities. Stein’s notebook statement, “Pablo & Matisse have a maleness that belongs to genius, Moi aussi perhaps”,<sup>21</sup> demonstrates her early consideration of the ideas of masculine genius that, for example, Theodore Dreiser complicates in his novel *The “Genius”* (1915). Located between the points of her sexuality, her nationality and her location, it may well be possible to read in Stein the kind of “cultural triangulation” that Martin Halliwell’s essay describes in relation to Henry James and a host of other expatriate writers:

for Stein, James was “the only nineteenth century writer who being an american felt the method of the twentieth century.”<sup>22</sup>

Being American was crucial for Stein and her work evinces a persistent interest in America and American modernity, from the films and personality of Charlie Chaplin, to the life of Susan B. Anthony, to American G.I.s in France.<sup>23</sup> She opens *The Making of Americans* with a firm assertion of American being that resonates through the different manifestations of American modernism explored in many of the essays in this volume: “It has always seemed to me a rare privilege, this, of being an American, a real American, one whose tradition it has taken scarcely sixty years to create”.<sup>24</sup> The transactions of *The Making of Americans*, between words and phrases, between ideas of personality and “knowing” and “being”, between generations and genders are all, in some sense, a reworking of the transaction of immigration that sits at the base of the text and at the foundations of America itself: “the old people in a new world, the new people made out of the old”.<sup>25</sup> Stein’s concern is to explore the “making” of Americans in two different ways, with “making of” functioning grammatically as objective genitive and subjective genitive. The making of Americans, what Americans make out of America itself, the modern world and modern selves they produce—including what Stein describes as “singularity ... as yet an unknown product with us”—is one of the subjects of the text.<sup>26</sup> But the text is equally interested in processes of producing Americans, in the experiences and interactions which “make” Americans. And Stein’s use of the present participle throughout the text, alongside her use of gerunds (as in the objective genitive case of “making” in the title), engages this process with the “continuous present” that so characterises her work: a grammatical attempt to stage her writing in the absolute moment, while nevertheless engaging with the past that produces the here and now. A sense of the past that produces a “nowness” that is American, and also modern in an international and national sense, seems to characterise many of her fellow writers.

*The Making of Americans* also stages a transaction with a patriarchal figure of authority which refracts the struggle of many American modernists with their literary progenitors, coming after the great surge of the American Renaissance and the founding voices of Hawthorne, Melville and Whitman: take, for example, Ezra Pound’s sense of the “exceeding great stench” of Whitman.<sup>27</sup> In the “Alfred Hersland and Julia Dehning” chapter of *The Making of Americans* there is a scene where a man “does something” and is “told it by one of his children in his later living” with the “awful shock” making him a “paralytic”.<sup>28</sup> This scene features the narrative voice in rebellion against a paternal incestuous figure

who inhabits a kind of subtextual Gothic realm in *The Making of Americans*, a hidden or repressed history that nevertheless influences the productions of the present. In a sense this is a refraction of the “incestuous horror” that motivates Edith Wharton’s *The Mother’s Recompense* published in 1925, the same year as Stein’s text. As Janet Beer and Avril Horner argue in their essay, Wharton’s incest trope functions to expose taboos of mature female sexuality; the incest subtext in Stein’s text introduces similar ideas of struggling against and negotiating with the gendered authorities of family, writing and nation. Stein does not simply kill the father but incorporates him into her textual body, inscribing a transaction with the “sins of the fathers” which constitute her land (Hersland), her national history, and the source of her writing.

This highly charged struggle with a father-progenitor in order to wrestle authorial independence has already been rehearsed at the opening of Stein’s text where “an angry man dragged his father along the ground through his own orchard”. As G.F. Mitrano points out, this is a reworked epigraph from Aristotle’s *Nichomachean Ethics* via Montaigne, which Stein uses to undermine the foundational Oedipal narrative at the opening of her text.<sup>29</sup> Thus the narrative enterprise is not simply to find a location for a “queer” identity but a textual, incestuous struggle with the American father that stands as the founding moment of a version of American modernism.<sup>30</sup> Such interactions lead to Stein’s conception of what Barrett Watten describes as “making narrative not a question of univocal mastery but a dialogue with the ‘other’.”<sup>31</sup>

If Stein is representative of an American modernism that required a movement beyond the borders of America itself, and an immersion in the European avant-garde in order to sufficiently reflect on the making of that America, there are transactions and movements in the opposite direction. The 1913 Armory Show that had transported the European avant-garde to America was a catalyst for the formation of New York Dada which brought European and American writers and artists together in one of the more subversive of modernist movements. The internationalism and transnationalism of American modernism (a distinction discussed by Martin Halliwell in his essay) is exemplified here: centred around the work of the Frenchmen Marcel Duchamp and Francis Picabia, and the Americans Man Ray and Alfred Stieglitz (especially his *291* gallery), New York Dada drew in a variety of other figures including the Mexican artist Marias de Zayas, Oscar Wilde’s nephew Arthur Cravan (a self-styled poet-pugilist), the expatriate British poet Mina Loy, and the American artist and potter Beatrice Wood.



New York Dada deeply undermined concepts of the nation or national identity, reflecting the hybrid and transactional aspects of America's encounter with the change and futurity of modernity. Robin Walz shows how mass culture, popular entertainment and new technological objects all helped to shape the emergence of surrealist sensibilities in early twentieth-century France: all these effects and products of modernity served to dislocate the native cultural traditions, producing a displacement of identity and disturbing the coherent representation of space and time.<sup>32</sup> Like surrealism, Dada, which similarly draws energy from the disruptive forces of popular culture, mass media and technological change, challenges the national by confusing and interrupting coherent subjectivity and location; Dada and surrealism signal a shift towards the transnational in which the stable relationships between cultural imaginaries and geographical locations are eroded.

Studies of New York Dada have served to change the conception of American modernism, challenging Andreas Huyssen's claim about the "absence of an indigenous American avant-garde", the "absence of an American Dada or surrealist movement in the earlier 20th century".<sup>33</sup> That the key figures of New York Dada were international—French, Mexican, British and so on—as well as American illustrates how this movement brings American modernism into contact with the fundamentally transnational force of Dada, transnational in the sense of a "position situated at the crossing of boundaries" that Julia Kristeva writes of; not a transcendence of national borders but the introduction of border areas dispersed everywhere throughout the "nation".<sup>34</sup> The figure of Baroness Elsa von Freytag-Loringhoven makes it impossible to ignore the border areas and transactions of New York Dada.<sup>35</sup> A German national living in the US during World War I, Baroness Elsa had previously played a key role in the Berlin and Munich avant-garde movements at the turn of the century and lived in rural Kentucky in the early 1910s. She had lost her itinerant but titled German husband of one year early on in the War. Her participation in New York Dada centred on making art out of detritus—constructing her own body as performance art and creating found objects—and writing poetry that responded to figures such as William Carlos Williams and Marcel Duchamp.<sup>36</sup> The Baroness literally transacted herself with the city streets of New York; her friend and fellow writer Djuna Barnes described the Baroness's body as "a human notebook".<sup>37</sup> Enacting the role of New Woman in the New World, she simultaneously evoked the disturbing presence of the old European aristocracy while painting her shaved head purple and writing poems about advertising and riding the subway. Her written text and her body-as-text engaged in an

interactive process of signification and she fundamentally challenged narratives of rationality and a nationalistic modernity with her unruly, ageing, feminine body, embodying what Amelia Jones describes as an “irrational modernism”, which consistently refused to be fixed or confined;<sup>38</sup> Ezra Pound would describe von Freytag-Loringhoven as “the principle of non-acquiescence” in *Canto XVC* (1948).

Baroness Elsa makes it impossible to ignore the implicit transcultural intersections in American modernism, the critical national and cultural self-examination which makes apparent ideological assertions and exposes embedded assumptions. Indeed, the very notion of a transnational modernism preserves the critical self-reflexivity which is often missed by critics of modernist art and literature who view reactionary politics and rhetorical expression as irretrievably entangled.<sup>39</sup> As New Americanist critics have observed, the boundaries of the nation-state and the link between geographical space and literary art are not a given constant but subject to modification, extension and contraction.<sup>40</sup> Moreover, an attentiveness to the intercultural means whereby a piece of art or literature is developed can offer a wider perspective, beyond the merely experimental, on the ways in which modernist artists self-consciously sought to evade any blanket cultural universalism, such as we see in Cather’s dreaded “Americanization” or in Stein’s resistance to entrenched American patriarchy and hetero-normative modes of being. Furthermore, an exploration of the transnational aspects of modernist literary art necessarily destabilises notions of artistic or cultural purity and elitism which have come to be associated with the discipline. But the idea of a literary study based solely on the idea of transnational exchange is not without its own problems. Recent scholarship has come to view the term as invidious, in its historical manifestations tied to a version of US cultural imperialism and underpinned by the capitalistic motivations of multinational corporations.<sup>41</sup> Certainly an emphasis on the transnational runs the risk of erasing cultural difference and assimilating (even with the best of intentions) “minority” or “other” cultural practices and literatures. A possible way forward, therefore, is less one of a blanket transnationalism than a theoretical model which acknowledges the continued existence and relevance of the nation state, and the means whereby it inflects cultural and literary thought.

Edward Said’s 2001 essay “Globalizing Literary Study” concludes with reference to the ongoing relevance of the local, geographic and the national as necessary for understanding the gestation and birth of the contemporary globalized world.<sup>42</sup> For Paul Jay, the nationalist paradigm has a continued use for literary historians insofar as its functional rather

than normative relation is emphasised, with due attention to the interruptions and complexities in the formation of national canons.<sup>43</sup> From this point of view, the intercultural exchange between European and American modernism illuminates the implicit errors in the formation of each as a distinct paradigm. This approach does not iron out the idiosyncrasies of each national context, but rather removes any trace of the exceptional to explore how cultures and literary contexts inter-penetrate in the consolidation of their identity. Martin Halliwell takes up all of these points in his essay “Modernist Triangulations”, which proposes a new approach to studies of modernism that is attentive to the national, the transnational and the international. Acknowledging the inability of any of these terms truly to escape the power politics of the nation state, Halliwell makes the case for a triangulated model of culture which keeps all of these terms in play, looking at the intercultural and the transcultural but without dismissing the bedrock of the nation state out of hand. Given modernism’s critical reputation as a cultural model that went beyond others in terms of its experimentalism but also existed “between” in terms of cultural exchange, the triangulated model seems especially pertinent to *American Modernism: Cultural Transactions* which, while attentive to intercultural dialogue, keeps the nationalist paradigm in play throughout. Using Fredric Jameson’s “maxims of modernity”, Halliwell examines the post-war Paris scene as a symbolic space suffused with different national and transnational energies. Halliwell makes the case that the mid-century Parisian experience for African American writers Wright and Baldwin exemplifies his notion of the “modernist triangulation of space”. For both writers the notion of home and nationhood was particularly freighted in a number of respects and in some ways Paris offered a refuge. Moreover, Paris offered a transitional zone, a geographical but also a political space between the United States and the emerging independent African nations, in which both were deeply interested (Wright politically and Baldwin in his writing). Halliwell argues that this notion of Paris as a space between worlds informs both writers’ considerations of modernity and is fundamental to their treatment of issues such as race, identity and sexuality. In short, post-war Paris facilitated the transnational aesthetic which is fundamental to both writers and to their sense of a necessary exile from the United States.

Shifting to focus on a key canonical modernist and on specific transactions in the development of his aesthetic and critical ontology, Steven Matthews’s essay explores T.S. Eliot’s engagement with J.M. Robertson. The critical work of Robertson, a free-thinking Scottish Liberal MP, amateur literary critic and contemporary of Eliot, was crucial to Eliot

at a time when his critical and creative ideas were in their “most intense process of development”. Of central importance was Robertson’s participation in the “disintegration” of the Shakespearean canon: this “disintegration”, set out in E.K. Chambers’s 1924 lecture “The Disintegration of Shakespeare”, moved away from romantic idealisation to an historically and intellectually rigorous scholarship that attempted to decode the authorship of Shakespeare’s lesser plays and passages through stylistic and metrical analysis. The meticulous analysis and reattribution of passages to non-Shakespearean sources was an attempt to characterise and identify the authentic Shakespeare text. As Matthews reveals, Eliot’s criticism of the late 1910s and 1920s shows a consistent engagement with Robertson’s work, with his close examination of passages of Renaissance dramatic poetry informing Eliot’s ideas about poetry as a dramatic medium and about creative impersonality. Moreover, as Matthews points out, Robertson’s Shakespeare scholarship, which presented the Renaissance dramatic text as a composite of fragments, exerted a powerful force on Eliot, manifest textually in *The Waste Land* (1922). Matthews shows that it was the specific interaction with Robertson’s criticism—engaging with Elizabethan models mediated by him even when Robertson’s method and style had become outmoded—which motivated the gestation of Eliot’s ideas of authorship and his shift to multi-vocal “dramatic” writing, and informed his sense of the role and praxis of the critic. In examining Eliot’s interactions with Robertson, Matthews’s essay provides a new way of thinking about his canonical modernism.

Janet Beer and Avril Horner’s essay on *The Mother’s Recompense* (1925) discusses the parameters of modernism, noting the ways in which Edith Wharton drew on elements of experimental modernist writing even while repudiating it. Noting Wharton’s adoption of epiphany, her interest in consciousness and her own attempt to “make it new” in terms of the incorporation of previous textual treatments of problems faced by her own characters, Beer and Horner outline a series of affinities between the American author and a variety of European writers including Euripides, Racine, Waugh, Huxley, Proust and others. Indeed Wharton renovates the sentimental tradition through her engagement with Classical and Racinian tragedy and Gothic plots and tropes. In a compelling case study, Beer and Horner map Wharton’s novel on to Horace Walpole’s *The Mysterious Mother* (1768), noting affinities in the storylines and a shared authorial agenda of generic hybridity. Wharton’s aim in this melding of texts, themes, tropes and genres is to offer a sense of continuity with literary predecessors rather than the necessary disjunction advocated by experimental modernist writers (many of whom were themselves heavily

involved with the reinvention of Classical narratives). Like Cather, Wharton seemed antipathetic to modernism and the modern world due to her sense that modernity heralded a decline into cultural mediocrity. However, rather than retreat into realist narratives of domestic interiors, Wharton saw herself as a socially-engaged satirist and was dismayed when critics failed to understand her motivations. Part of this social engagement is her continued interest in the role of women in modern society and her representation of female consciousness. *The Mother's Recompense* is revealed as a daring novel which rejects the idea of the older woman as a sexless creature, a novel of radical content in a generically hybrid rather than overtly experimental novel. Beer and Horner conclude with the assertion that Wharton has indeed earned her place within the canon of transatlantic modernism in terms of her engagement with European precursors and insofar as her writing carved out new roles for women which would be taken up in literature throughout the following decade.

In "Hart Crane's American Decadence" Niall Munro offers a different account of Crane who is so often seen as the American poet of technology and modernity with this interest embodied in his celebration of the Brooklyn Bridge (*The Bridge*, 1930). Munro explores instead the importance of Decadence to the development of Crane's aesthetic, thus participating in the recent move in modernist studies to revisit the legacy of Decadence in modernism.<sup>44</sup> He points to Crane's complex attitude to Decadence in which Crane negotiates with ideas of decadence and sterility, recasting the socio-sexual concerns latent in criticism of Decadent writing, and considering the possible connections between sexuality and literary style. The figure of Oscar Wilde is central and Munro considers Crane's 1916 poem about Oscar Wilde's imprisonment, "C33", as an affirmation of his sexuality, rather than an assertion of the need to forget or hide it. What Crane's early poems reveal, as Munro reads them, is his apprenticeship to Wilde and to Decadence, demonstrating the "fusion of Imagist and Decadent aesthetics" in the development of Crane's poetry. Through these particular transactions then, transactions very different from Crane's engagement with the ideas of Waldo Frank or the legacy of Walt Whitman for example, emerges a sense that what Crane's poetry attempted was fusion of a Decadent sensibility with an American diction that could give voice to an alternative sexuality. What Munro exposes in Crane is an "other" modernism which, rather than (literary) exile, negotiates with literary precursors to delineate a space for homosexuality in modern American literature and culture.

The space for an alternative cultural presence within American modernism is also the concern of Rebecca Tillet's essay, which explores

the interactions between Native American writers and notions of modernity. Focusing on the work of Mourning Dove, John Joseph Mathews and D'Arcy McNickle, Tillet shows how each writer confronted the hegemonic conception of an absolute non-correlation between modernity and Native America. As Tillet explains, Native American "primitivism" was nostalgically celebrated even in the modern anthropology of Franz Boas and Margaret Mead and underpins the modernist artist colonies established in the south-western United States: at the same time a range of assimilationist government policies decimated Native American communities and traditions. Thus, what Tillet terms "Native American literary modernism", emerges from this situation, from the "tension between American nostalgia and Native American modernity", and necessarily engages at a political level with the position of Native Americans in modern America. For all three writers discussed this tension is also mirrored in the conflict of modernist individualism with Native cultural communality. In her 1927 novel *Cogewea* Mourning Dove emphasises mixing and adaptation including, as Tillet describes, "textual and linguistic adaptation" and refuses to resolve the problem of the "half-blood" protagonist with a tragic death: instead Mourning Dove offers an ending which proliferates mixed-blood. Adaptation and negotiation are also part of Mathews's *Sundown* (1934) with the mixed-blood protagonist here inhabiting a space of cultural instability, attempting to mediate between disparate cultures. McNickle's *The Surrounded* (1936) also has a mixed-blood protagonist—Archilde—struggling between cultures. Tillet argues that, in racialising the modernist alienation of Euro-American modernist texts, McNickle shows that Archilde is not an outsider but is literally "our child", the offspring of American modernity and Native America. With their mixed-blood protagonists and fraught cultural mediations all three writers strive, as Tillet reveals, to synthesise the modern with the traditional, to rewrite the commonplaces of modernist alienation and resist the perceived historical amnesia of high modernism.

Recalling an important factor in the history of modernist poetry that is often misread, Sarah Davison's essay highlights the central importance of parody in the development of Imagism, pointing to Imagism's origins as a satire on other modern art movements. In doing so Davison highlights how parody itself should be seen as a transaction, not just between the parody and the original model, but as a self-reflexive act "directing critical attention onto its own formal strategies of innovation". This establishes parody as a specifically creative, productive and disruptive cultural form. In recalling Imagism's origins, the status of parody as an art form can be fully recognised; Pound's literary modernisms are repeatedly articulated

through exchanges or transactions with parody, in the 1914 *Des Imagistes* volume for example. Davison also explores Pound's self-parody as ultra-modern in his "Contemporania" poems in *Poetry* (April 1913) and she addresses the dialogue of parody instigated by these pieces between Pound and Richard Aldington. It is the 1916-18 *Spectrist* hoax however, the poetic "movement" created by Witter Bynner and Arthur Davison Ficke to spoof the excesses of modern poetry, that most obviously springs to mind in a reflection on the place of parody in modernist poetics. Davison considers this hoax through the frame of the productive parody established by her reading of the Pound and Aldington exchange. In considering Bynner and Ficke's inability to contain the *Spectrist* hoax within the bounds of reactionary critique, Davison argues that this was the inevitable result of the dissident and productive energies of parody: parody and conservatism are "theoretically irreconcilable" so that parody is ineluctably drawn into a modernist avant-garde that is uniquely responsive to subversive energies.

Jude Davies reads Theodore Dreiser's *The "Genius"* as an example of "non-doctrinal" modernism, a modernism which nestles uncomfortably at the cusp of realism and the avant-garde, expressive of an ambivalence regarding the incipient changes in American social thought and culture. This ambivalence, which is manifest throughout Dreiser's work, is compounded by his affinities with the aims and doctrine of the Ashcan School artists, a group of urban realist painters whose work celebrates the romance of the industrial city. Though initially considered a somewhat radical group the Ashcan School was displaced by the more experimental artists of the 1913 Armory Show, their "modern realism" seeming somewhat passé by comparison. Davies makes the case for reading Eugene Witla, the hero of *The "Genius"*, as a composite of Dreiser's own literary practices and the Ashcan aesthetic. At the heart of this practice and the Ashcan aesthetic, however, is a tension between art and commerce, which though seemingly resolved in the novel is complicated by a range of philosophical and gender discourses. Davies notes that from 1907 to 1910 Dreiser allied himself to a particularly feminised brand of Progressivism as a response to romantic notions of masculinity linked to an outdated notion of American civilization and which apparently resolved the conflict between aesthetic and commercial values. While on the one hand Dreiser engages with this harmonising discourse of masculine values, setting his hero up as a Rooseveltian "man of character", on the other he complicates this with modernist irony and a series of images of degraded romanticism. Indeed, Davies makes that case that between the 1911 and 1915 versions of the novel Dreiser moved increasingly away from the notion that art and

commerce could be reconciled, reflecting his personal embrace of Greenwich Village radicalism in this period; and for this reason *The "Genius"* should be read as a modernist text engaged in a series of transactions between the visual and literary arts, fiction and social discourse, aesthetic and business values, and a disappearing, romantic American civilization and an emergent modern American culture.

Ian F.A. Bell reiterates the impossibility of closure or limits to the modernist literary text in his compelling Afterword to the volume. Drawing together themes and ideas from the previous eight essays and encompassing a range of diverse modernists from William Carlos Williams to F. Scott Fitzgerald to Ralph Ellison, Bell weaves a narrative which suggests that American modernists are, in some ways, the inheritors of Emerson in their preoccupation with the re-/invention of a new literary language suitable for the ever-transient New World and its emergent dynamic modernity. Using as a springboard Williams's inventive poetry, which forces the reader to acknowledge how words and language work, Bell moves to discuss the experimentalism of Gertrude Stein and the unsettling of meaning in her poetry as comparable to the seemingly fragmented socio-economic world she inhabited. Indeed, Bell reads the fragment, a crucial aspect of modernist art's armoury, as an index of "cultural disturbance", a "constructive act of resistance" to closure and appropriation as well as an identifiable object (one thinks, of course, of Pound and H.D.) distinct from an encompassing subjectivity. For Bell, the modernist transaction is akin to William James's emphasis on fragments and moments (in James's case moments of consciousness) in and of themselves, rather than as stepping-stones towards some point of ultimate arrival. The modernist transaction is always a transitive state of flux, committed to the relational character of art but resistant to the substantive or the definite. All the essays in *American Modernism: Cultural Transactions* are committed to this sense of literary modernism as an ongoing process, reflecting an aesthetic that resists the tyranny of fixity and the institution of narrow national and disciplinary parameters. Indeed, in a contemporary world of unprecedented global fluidity, with its cross-cultural and transnational transactions, William James's sense of modernity as a multiverse seems more compelling and pertinent than ever.



## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Indeed many critics seem to have missed it completely. See especially Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, "Across Gender, Across Sexuality: Willa Cather and Others," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 88.1 (Winter 1989): 51-67.

<sup>2</sup> See, for instance, Janis P. Stout, *Willa Cather: The Writer and Her World* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2000), 13 and 73; Hermione Lee, *Willa Cather: A Life Saved Up* (London: Virago, 1989), 227; Milton Meltzer, *Willa Cather: A Biography* (Minneapolis: Twenty-First Century Books, 2007), 98; Ann Fisher Wirth, "Anasazi Cannibalism: Eating Eden," in *Willa Cather and the American Southwest*, eds. John N. Swift and Joseph R. Urgo (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1995), 22-30.

<sup>3</sup> Willa Cather, *The Professor's House* (1925; London: Virago, 2003), 74.

<sup>4</sup> *Willa Cather in Person: Interviews, Speeches and Letters*, ed. L. Brent Bohlke (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986), 158.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 58.

<sup>6</sup> In a 1922 letter to her old Nebraskan friend, Dorothy Canfield Fisher, Cather laments the onset of modernity and expresses nostalgia for the lost simplicities of the uncommercial and unindustrialised past. This is picked up in her essays from the 1920s. Most famously, "The Novel Démeublé" opens with an indictment of the popular modern novel and the seemingly tawdry stuff of the modern world: "The novel manufactured to entertain great multitudes of people must be considered exactly like a cheap soap or a cheap perfume, or cheap furniture. ... Are the banking system and the Stock Exchange worth being written about at all? Have such things any proper place in imaginative art?" Willa Cather, "The Novel Démeublé" in *Willa Cather on Writing* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988), 36-37. Indeed, Cather distanced herself from the modernists, repudiating overt experimentalism in her writing. Lee notes her distrust of Futurism and "wide open art forms" and her reluctance to "be co-opted under the 'isms' of the New". See Lee, 185. Furthermore, in a later letter to Elsie Sergeant, she dismisses Proust and in "The Novel Démeublé" she criticises D.H. Lawrence's *The Rainbow* (1915). However, on the flip side of this, Cather's various essays, "On the Art of Fiction", "The Novel Démeublé" and "Katherine Mansfield", might be viewed as modernist manifestos of sorts advocating the pursuit of a high literary art through omission and simplification. Indeed, "On the Art of Fiction" almost anticipates Eliot's notion of the objective correlative in its sense of the necessary excision of the text "so that all that one has suppressed and cut away is there to the reader's consciousness as much as if it were in type on the page". See *Willa Cather on Writing*, 102.

<sup>7</sup> As Guy Reynolds, Janis P. Stout, Richard H. Millington, Ian F.A. Bell and Sharon O'Brien have observed, Cather is often neglected in literary anthologies and rarely considered in most accounts of Anglo-American modernism. Indeed, the author's place in the canon has been the subject of a great deal of recent Cather scholarship. See Janis P. Stout, *Willa Cather; The Writer and her World*; Guy

Reynolds, *Willa Cather in Context: Progress, Race and Empire* (London: St. Martin's Press, 1996); Reynolds, "Willa Cather as Progressive," in *The Cambridge Companion to Willa Cather*, ed. Marilee Lindemann (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 19-34; Richard Millington, "Willa Cather's American Modernism" in *The Cambridge Companion to Willa Cather*, 51-65; Ian F.A. Bell, "Rewriting America: Origin and Gender in Willa Cather's *The Professor's House*," *The Yearbook of English Studies* 24 (1994): 12-43; Sharon O'Brien, "Becoming Noncanonical: The Case Against Willa Cather," *American Quarterly* 40 (1988): 110-126. During her lifetime, Cather was often the subject of debate in terms of her seeming conservatism and detachment from the modern American scene. Most notable amongst her contemporary critics were Granville Hicks and Lionel Trilling who lamented the perceived nostalgia and celebration of rural values within her work. See Hicks, "The Case Against Willa Cather," *English Journal* (November 1933) in *Willa Cather and Her Critics*, ed. James Schroeter (Ithaca: Cornell, 1967), 139-147; Trilling, "Willa Cather," *New Republic* 90 (1937) in *Willa Cather and Her Critics*, 148-155.

<sup>8</sup> See Theresa Levy and Sean Lake, "Preserving and Commodifying the Past: Allusions to the Classical World in *The Professor's House*," *Willa Cather Review* (Spring 2007): 15-20; Mary Ryder, *Willa Cather and the Classical Myth: The Search for a New Parnassus* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen, 1990); and Catherine Morley, "Crossing the Water: Willa Cather and the Transatlantic Imaginary," *European Journal of American Culture* (Autumn 2009): 125-140.

<sup>9</sup> Steven Matthews, *Modernism* (London: Hodder Arnold, 2004), 49.

<sup>10</sup> Asked about the artistic expressions of immigrant communities in an interview by Rose Field for *The New York Times Book Review* in 1924, Cather replied: "They have come here to live in the sense that they lived in the Old World, and if they were let alone their lives might turn into the beautiful ways of their homeland. But they are not let alone. Social workers, missionaries—call them what you will—go after them, hound them, pursue them and devote their days and nights toward the great task of turning them into stupid replicas of smug American citizens. This passion for Americanizing everything and everybody is a deadly disease with us" (11). The key term here is "Americanizing" and the author's condemnation of it as a procedure that threatens to iron out the idiosyncrasies of immigrant cultures is crucial.

<sup>11</sup> See John Higham, *Strangers in the Land* (1955; New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1988), 4. See also Walter Benn Michaels who makes a compelling case for 1920s nativism as "simultaneously a modern and a *modernist* phenomenon". *Our America: Nativism, Modernism and Pluralism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995), 2.

<sup>12</sup> Lois Gordon and Alan Gordon, *American Chronicle: Year by Year Through the Twentieth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), *passim*.

<sup>13</sup> See Charles Bernstein, "Stein's Identity," *Modern Fiction Studies* 42.3 (Fall, 1996): 485-488

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 487.

<sup>15</sup> See Jessica G. Rabin, *Surviving the Crossing: (Im)migration, Ethnicity, and Gender in Willa Cather, Gertrude Stein, and Nella Larsen* (New York & London: Routledge, 2004), 81.

<sup>16</sup> Hemingway attributes this term, which appears in *The Sun Also Rises*, to Stein, explaining in *A Moveable Feast* (1964) that it originated with the garage owner who serviced Stein's Model T Ford.

<sup>17</sup> Writing of the affinities and connections between Stein and Richard Wright, M. Lynn Weiss argues that "expatriation enabled these ... outcasts to be Americans in ways that were inaccessible to them back home", *Gertrude Stein and Richard Wright: The Poetics and Politics of Modernism* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1998), xi.

<sup>18</sup> Gertrude Stein, *The Making of Americans* (1925; Normal, IL: Dalkey Archive Press, 1995), 290.

<sup>19</sup> Gertrude Stein, "The Gradual Making of *The Making of Americans*" (1935) in *Selected Writings*, ed. Carl Van Vechten (New York: Random House, 1946), 226.

<sup>20</sup> Gertrude Stein, *Narration: Four Lectures* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935), 25.

<sup>21</sup> Gertrude Stein, Notebook for *The Making of Americans* (Yale Collection of American Literature, Beinecke Library, Yale) cited in Alex Goody, *Modernist Articulations: a Cultural Study of Djuna Barnes, Mina Loy and Gertrude Stein* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 132.

<sup>22</sup> Gertrude Stein, *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* (1933; London: Penguin, 1989), 86. See also Stein's portrait of Henry James in *Four in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1947). Eric Haralson discusses the triangulation of Stein, James and Ernest Hemingway in "'The other half is the man': The Queer Modern Triangle of Gertrude Stein, Ernest Hemingway and Henry James," in *Henry James and Queer Modernity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 173-204.

<sup>23</sup> Stein's claiming of America through linguistic means is expressed in *The Geographical History of America* (1936; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 67-8. She writes: "How is America? Very well I thank you. This is the reply. If you say I thank you that means that in a way it belongs to you. Very well I thank you." Julie Abraham argues Stein "joins the lesbian and the American in her writing." See "'We Are Americans': Gertrude, Brewsie and Willy," *Modern Fiction Studies* 42.3 (Fall, 1996): 513.

<sup>24</sup> Gertrude Stein, *The Making of Americans*, 1.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid. The Hersland family in *The Making of Americans* are described in manuscripts as a German Jewish family but are gradually de-racialised in reworkings until the published text describes them as merely "foreign" and "middle class".

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 21.

<sup>27</sup> See Pound's 1909 essay "What I Feel About Walt Whitman," in *Selected Prose 1909-1965*, ed. William Cookson (New York: New Direction Books, 1973), 145.

<sup>28</sup> Gertrude Stein, *The Making of Americans*, 491. Lisa Ruddick reads the paralysed father section as a scene of "patricidal rage" in *Reading Gertrude Stein: Body, Text, Gnosis* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 58.

<sup>29</sup> G.F. Mitrano, *Gertrude Stein: Woman without Qualities* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 33.

<sup>30</sup> "It takes time to make queer people, and to have others who can know it ... we fly to the kindly comfort on an older world accustomed to take all manner of strange forms into its bosom." Gertrude Stein, *The Making of Americans*, 21.

<sup>31</sup> Barrett Watten, "An Epic of Subjectivation: The Making of Americans," *Modernism/modernity* 5.2 (1998): 97.

<sup>32</sup> See Robin Walz, *Pulp Surrealism: Insolent Popular Culture in Early Twentieth-Century France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 4-6.

<sup>33</sup> Andreas Huyssen, *After the Great Divide: Modernism, Mass Culture and Postmodernism* (London: Macmillan, 1986), 167.

<sup>34</sup> Julia Kristeva, *Nations without Nationalism*, trans Leon S. Roudiez (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 50.

<sup>35</sup> See Rudolf Kuenzli's *New York Dada* (New York: Willis Locker and Owens, 1986); Francis Naumann's *New York Dada, 1915-23* (New York: Harry Abrams, 1994); and the book to accompany the Whitney Museum's exhibition, *Making Mischievous: Dada Invades New York* (New York: Harry Abrams, 1996), which offer a Baroness who literally embodies the movement, presenting her as both the mother of Dada and its muse. In revisions of Dada, notably *Women in Dada: Essays on Sex, Gender and Identity* (Cambridge, MA: MIT, 1998) edited by Naomi Sawelson-Gorse, we are offered a Baroness who is actively involved in the very essence of New York Dada, encapsulated by Duchamp's 1917 *Fountain*. Irene Gammel in her biography goes even further, substantiating the claim that *Fountain* was actually "created" by Elsa. See Irene Gammel, *Baroness Elsa: Gender, Dada and Everyday Modernity: A Cultural Biography* (Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 2003).

<sup>36</sup> Rudolf Kuenzli, ed., *Subjoyride: Selected Poems* (New York: Green Integer Books, 2009).

<sup>37</sup> Margaret Anderson, *My Thirty Years' War* (1930; New York: Horizon, 1969), 179.

<sup>38</sup> Amelia Jones, *Irrational Modernism: A Neurasthenic History of New York Dada* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2004).

<sup>39</sup> See, for instance, John Carey's influential book, *The Intellectuals and the Masses* (London: Faber and Faber, 1992) or, more recently, Roger Griffin's *Modernism and Fascism* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

<sup>40</sup> See Wai Chee Dimock, *Through Other Continents* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2006); and Paul Giles, "The Deterritorialization of American

Literature,” in *Shades of the Planet*, eds. Wai Chee Dimock and Lawrence Buell (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 39-61.

<sup>41</sup> See Laura Briggs, Gladys McCormick and J.T. Way, “Transnationalism: a Category of Analysis,” *American Quarterly* 60.3 (September 2008): 625-648.

<sup>42</sup> Edward Said, “Globalizing Literary Study,” *PMLA* 116.1 (January 2001): 64-68.

<sup>43</sup> Paul Jay, “Beyond Discipline? Globalization and the Future of English,” *PMLA* 116.1 (January 2001): 32-47.

<sup>44</sup> As evidenced in the September 2008 volume of *Modernism/modernity* (15:3), a special issue on “Decadent Aestheticism and Modernism” edited by Cassandra Laity.

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