

Modernism, Antisemitism and Jewish Identity in the Writing and Publishing of John Rodker

Dominic Paul Williams

Submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy,
the University of Leeds, Centre for Jewish Studies, September 2004.

The candidate confirms that the work submitted is his own and that appropriate credit
has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

This copy has been supplied on the understanding that it is copyright material and that
no quotation from the thesis may be published without proper acknowledgement.

Acknowledgements

In the course of writing this thesis, I have accumulated many debts: intellectual, personal and financial. I am very happy to acknowledge one of all varieties to my Mum and Dad, who, among everything else, helped to fund a research trip to the John Rodker Papers at the University of Texas at Austin.

I am indebted to the University of Leeds for funding me with a Research Scholarship.

I am grateful to staff at Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin, Brotherton Library Special Collections, Cambridge University Library, University College London, and the British Library for their help.

Dalit Berman and Brian Richardson answered my questions about Yiddish and Italian with speed and expertise.

Thanks to Catherine Bates, Daniel Hannah, Ben Caines, Jeffrey Orr, Philippa Plock, Edel Porter, Marcel Swiboda and Colin Winborn for proof-reading sections of this thesis, and for not finding too many mistakes.

Nick Chare and Annette Seidel-Arpaci read substantial portions of my work and commented on it in detail. The hours spent drinking coffee with them was an essential part of my research.

Thank you to my supervisors. Eva Frojmovič managed to work out what I was saying before I had properly said it. Michael Weingrad's increasing enthusiasm for my project was one of its major pleasures and rewards.

And finally, thanks to Rob Stanton, who has read almost every word I have written in the past two years, and who puts my knowledge of poetry to shame.

Abstract

This thesis examines the relationship between the English Jewish writer and publisher John Rodker and the modernism of the Pound circle. Previous considerations of the antisemitism of Ezra Pound and T. S. Eliot have either ignored or cited in their defence their Jewish friends and acquaintances. This thesis shows that the modernist interest in the figure of ‘the Jew’ took effect not only in their poetry and social commentary but also in the social grouping which they formed in order to produce and circulate this writing. Rodker was both a necessary figure to Pound’s theory and practice of modernism, but one who had to be kept on the margins. This resulted in his being able to articulate certain aspects of his experience as an assimilated Jew—loss, disconnection, feeling out of place—while excluding any other possible aspects, including naming himself as Jewish.

Chapter 1 shows that Pound and Eliot’s antisemitic statements and poetry functioned as part of the formation of the ‘men of 1914’, and as a means of shocking their audience through a poetry of ugliness. Chapter 2 considers a printing error in Rodker’s Ovid Press edition of *Hugh Selwyn Mauberley* (1920), and reads it as a sign of Pound’s failure to carry out his social and poetic project, a failure which he blamed on Jews, but, because this failure was inevitable, part of the task for carrying the project out was assigned to Jews. Chapter 3 reads Rodker’s volume of poetry *Hymns* (1920), and traces how his marginal position within modernism resulted in a poetry which did not directly address Jewish issues, but was affected by his Jewish social position. Chapter 4 considers Rodker and two other Jewish writers, Carl Rakosi and Louis Zukofsky, who Pound published in *The Exile* (1927-28), showing that Pound’s interest in these writers was combined with an unease with them that played out in editorial decisions and means of framing their work. Chapter 5 examines Rodker’s *Memoirs of Other Fronts* (1932). His self-descriptions of himself as a foreigner are shown to be still influenced by the Pound circle’s ideas of Jews, but also reworked through his increasing interest in psychoanalysis.

Contents

Acknowledgements	1
Abstract	2
Contents	3
List of Illustrations	5
Introduction	6
Chapter 1: Circulating Antisemitism: The ‘Men of 1914’	
Introduction	25
Circulating Antisemitism: The ‘Men of 1914’	26
‘Imaginary Letters’: Collaboration and Dialogue	33
Lewis, Pound, the ‘Men of 1914’, and Rodker	44
<i>Ara Vos Prec</i> and the Avant-Garde	51
‘Gerontion’ and the Necessity of Jewishness	61
Chapter 2: <i>Hugh Selwyn Mauberley</i> (1920)	
Introduction	66
<i>Hugh Selwyn Mauberley</i> (1920)	67
<i>Mauberley</i> and Collaboration	70
Hard vs. Soft	75
Editing, Sex, Censorship and Judaism	78
The Uncertainties of <i>Hugh Selwyn Mauberley</i>	83
Tradition	87
Mistakes and Hesitations in the Typescript of <i>Mauberley</i>	91
<i>Mauberley</i> , ‘Brennbaum’, and the Letter ‘T’	94
Coda: Dead Ezra	103
Chapter 3: Rodker’s <i>Hymns</i> (1920)	
Introduction	106
Rodker’s <i>Hymns</i> (1920)	108
Reviews of <i>Poems</i> and Rodker’s Counter-Attack	115
From Yiddish to Avant-Garde Theatre	119
<i>Hymns</i>	122
Sexual Excess	126
Foreign and Modern	130
Collaboration and Isolation	135
Sexual and Other Differences	139
Schlemihls	146
André Spire	151

**Chapter 4: ‘A FEW MORE SERIOUS JEWS’: Advertising Race
in *The Exile* (1927-28)**

Introduction	157
‘A FEW MORE SERIOUS JEWS’	159
Framing Carl Rakosi	161
Canto 22: Jews, Parataxis and Collage	169
Pound as Editor	177
‘Poem beginning “The”’	186
<i>Adolphe</i> 1920	196
Rodker’s Place in <i>The Exile</i>	212

Chapter 5: *Memoirs of Other Fronts* (1932)

Introduction	215
<i>Memoirs of Other Fronts</i> (1932)	217
Part I: Sex	222
Part II: War	229
Part III: Excrement	240
Squatting	244
Language and Time	247
Psychoanalytic Cognates	250
Jewishness as Trauma, Jewishness and Trauma	255

Conclusion	257
-------------------	------------

Bibliography	263
---------------------	------------

List of Illustrations

- | | | |
|-----------------|---|-----|
| Figure 1 | | 68 |
| | E.P. [Ezra Pound], <i>Hugh Selwyn Mauberley: Life and Contacts</i> (London: Ovid Press, 1920) 16. | |
| Figure 2 | | 92 |
| | Typescript of <i>Hugh Selwyn Mauberley</i> , reproduced in Jo Brantley Berryman, <i>Circe's Craft: Ezra Pound's Hugh Selwyn Mauberley</i> (Epping: Bowker, 1983) 227. | |
| Figure 3 | | 97 |
| | E.P. [Ezra Pound], <i>Hugh Selwyn Mauberley: Life and Contacts</i> (London: Ovid Press, 1920) 12. | |
| Figure 4 | | 209 |
| | John Rodker, <i>Adolphe 1920</i> (London: Aquila Press, 1929) 119. | |

Introduction

In January 2003, *Modernism/Modernity* added to the continuing debate on T. S. Eliot and antisemitism with an article by Ronald Schuchard.¹ In the light of the recent discovery of a lengthy correspondence between Eliot and Horace Kallen, and taking into account his friendships with a number of Jews, Schuchard called for a reassessment of Eliot's 'allegedly anti-Semitic' writings. Since 'Burbank with a Baedeker, Bleistein with a Cigar' and 'Gerontion', two of his most notorious poems, had both originally been published by Jews, Schuchard found it impossible to believe that Eliot's purpose in them was to 'exercise a little gratuitous anti-Semitism in the face of his Jewish friends.' Far from being an 'anti-Semite', he argued, Eliot showed by these friendships that he was in fact a 'philo-Semite', and readings of the poems had to take this into account.²

¹ Ronald Schuchard, 'Burbank with a Baedeker, Eliot with a Cigar: American Intellectuals, Anti-Semitism, and the Idea of Culture,' *Modernism/Modernity* 10.1 (Jan 2003): 1-26. As Ronald Bush pointed out ('A Response to Ronald Schuchard,' *Modernism/Modernity* 10.1 (Jan 2003): 33), Schuchard's essay was effectively a rejoinder to Anthony Julius, *T.S. Eliot, Anti-Semitism and Literary Form* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1995). Anthony Julius's book produced a far more public controversy than Schuchard, eliciting responses which were little more than sophistry from Craig Raine, 'In Defence of T. S. Eliot,' *In Defence of T. S. Eliot* (London: Picador, 2000) 320-332, and Christopher Hitchens, 'How Unpleasant to Meet Mr Eliot,' *Unacknowledged Legislation: Writers in the Public Sphere* (London: Verso, 2000) 184-186; and prompting Tom Paulin to call for a review of Eliot's 'stifling cultural authority'. 'Undesirable,' rev. of *T. S. Eliot: Anti-Semitism and Literary Form*, by Anthony Julius, *London Review of Books* 9 May 1996: 12-15. The disapproval of Julius's book seems to me a little over-stated, and often appears to be a reaction to a solicitor, rather than an academic, writing a book of literary criticism. E.g. Ronald Schuchard, 'My Reply: Eliot and the Foregone Conclusion,' *Modernism/Modernity* 10.1 (Jan 2003): 61. (This second piece by Schuchard provides a brief survey of the ways in which Eliot's 'seemingly anti-Semitic stance' has been treated. *Ibid.* 58-59). Bryan Cheyette was right to say Julius appeals in a crude way to an undifferentiated history of antisemitism as its context. 'The Enemy Within,' rev. of *The War After: Living with the Holocaust*, by Anne Karpf, and *T. S. Eliot: Anti-Semitism and Literary Form*, by Anthony Julius, *The New Statesman* 5 July 1996: 44-45. However, Julius's readings of the poetry, about which Cheyette said nothing, although not always convincing, are perfectly respectable. See my discussions of them in Chapter 1.

² I am not concerned here with Schuchard's reading of the poems, nor his discussion of *After Strange Gods*, neither of which merits serious attention.

Schuchard's respondents were not convinced. Anthony Julius dismissed his arguments as simply saying that 'some of [Eliot's] best friends were Jewish'.³ Schuchard retorted that these friendships did indeed count for something, and the 'foregone conclusion' that Eliot was an antisemite had led them to be entirely ignored.

Why is my essay the first to show Eliot in the company of an Anglo-Jewish community in London, the first to show that [John] Rodker and [Sidney] Schiff were the Jewish editors and publishers of Eliot's allegedly anti-Semitic poems, and that he actively sought their advice and criticism when he sent the manuscripts to them?⁴

Schuchard's readings of Eliot were strained at best, but his essay is significant for two reasons. Firstly, the issue that he raised, that of the Jews associated with Eliot and modernism in Britain, has indeed not received the attention it is due. This thesis is an attempt to give some more attention to one of the people he mentions, John Rodker, and his relationship with Eliot and Ezra Pound.⁵ Secondly, the essay prompted replies from two critics—Bryan Cheyette and Jonathan Freedman—arguing for a methodology which I want to examine and

³ Anthony Julius, 'A Response to Ronald Schuchard,' *Modernism/Modernity* 10.1 (Jan 2003): 46. Similar sentiments were expressed by David Bromwich, 'A Response to Ronald Schuchard,' *Modernism/Modernity* 10.1 (Jan 2003): 27-31, Ronald Bush, 'A Response to Ronald Schuchard,' 33-36 and James Longenbach, 'A Response to Ronald Schuchard,' *Modernism/Modernity* 10.1 (Jan 2003): 49-50. Marjorie Perloff was more sympathetic to Schuchard's readings of the poetry, but disagreed with Schuchard's treatment of *After Strange Gods*. Perloff, 'A Response to Ronald Schuchard,' *Modernism/Modernity* 10.1 (Jan 2003): 51-56. Only Denis Donoghue accepted Schuchard's argument that Eliot was not antisemitic. Donoghue, 'A Response to Ronald Schuchard,' *Modernism/Modernity* 10.1 (Jan 2003): 37-39.

⁴ Ronald Schuchard, 'My Reply' 67.

⁵ Over the last eight years, Rodker has begun to attract more attention. This has often been linked to an attempt to find a modernist tradition native to England or Britain. See especially John Rodker, *Poems and Adolphe 1920*, ed. Andrew Crozier (Manchester: Carcanet, 1996) and Ian Patterson, *Cultural Critique and Canon Formation 1910-1937: A Study in Cultural Memory*, diss., U of Cambridge, 1997. Four of Rodker's poems were included in Keith Tuma's *Anthology of Twentieth-Century British and Irish Poetry* (New York and Oxford: Oxford UP, 2001) 207-210. Iain Sinclair laments mainstream British literature's attempt to forget the 'Modernist experiment (Mary Butts, Djuna Barnes, John Rodker)'. 'The Poet Steamed,' rev. of *Collected Poems*, by Tom Raworth and *Removed for Further Study: The Poetry of Tom Raworth*, ed. Nate Dorward, *London Review of Books* 19 August 2004: 28. Despite the presence of the American Barnes this seems to be an attempt at delineating a British modernism. Peter Lawson has tried to place Rodker in a tradition of twentieth century Anglo-Jewish poetry. Peter Lawson, *Otherness and*

develop in this introduction to go beyond Schuchard's reductive choice between seeing Eliot as a 'philo-Semite', or Rodker as one of 'Eliot's gullible dupes, his Jewish Uncle Toms'.⁶ I intend to show why Rodker does tell us something significant about modernism—or at least that strand of it practised by Eliot and Pound—in a way which explores the complexities of modernist representation of and interaction with Jews as well as the complexities of Jewish affiliation to modernism.

Jonathan Freedman accepted that Schuchard had produced some 'interesting evidence', but felt it did not have 'earth-shattering' implications. For him, the question of whether Eliot was antisemitic or not ('"he was, but so what? they all were," is more or less my position)' was less interesting than the way in which the 'Jewish question' was implicated in modernism as a whole.

The secret story of modernism [...] is of an increasing contact between Jews and gentiles [...] As one set of outsiders—[...]Eliot, Hemingway and Cather, for example—sought to make their mark in the sphere of cultural distinction, they encountered [...] another set of deracinated outsiders elbowing their way in beside them, namely assimilating Jews. The ensuing struggle structures their work.⁷

But as Freedman's placing of non-Jews as the subject and Jews as the object of his sentence shows here, what is more important to him is this encounter seen through the eyes of 'Eliot, Hemingway and Cather' than those of the 'assimilating Jews'. Indeed, he explicitly discourages the idea of setting up a Jewish modernism in response to modernist antisemitism.

My response to the Eliot controversy suggests a[n] [...] approach [...] that would not so much define a new "Jewish" modernism (Stein, Mina Loy, Louis Zukofsky, Henry Roth, Charles Reznikoff), but rather stress the ethnoracial dimension of the tropes, assumptions, and imaginative

Affiliation: Anglo-Jewish Poetry from Isaac Rosenberg to Elaine Feinstein, diss., U of Southampton, 2002.

⁶ Schuchard 'My Reply' 67.

⁷ Jonathan Freedman, 'T. S. Eliot's Jewish Problem and the Making of Modernism,' *Modernism/Modernity* 10.3 (Sept 2003): 421, 424-425.

patterns that structured not only the modernist movement, but the academic study of literature itself.⁸

This is the project that he carries out in his brilliant and insightful study of antisemitism and assimilation, *The Temple of Culture*, exploring Henry James's representation of Jews and how assimilating Jews used James to guarantee their entry to the academy. Freedman's major achievement is in seeing how the position of 'the Jew' and of 'the artist' started to double at this time.⁹ In order to make this comparison, however, a distinction has to be drawn between artist and Jew, which results in his concentrating on Jews having a secondary role in the production of literature and fighting shy from a consideration of Jewish artists. Given the neglect suffered by all of the Jewish writers Freedman mentions, and the great efforts needed quite recently to have them considered seriously, the dismissal of the idea of reclaiming a 'Jewish modernism' is a little too easy, stressing the 'tropes' at the expense of the 'encounter'. Does it make no sense to attempt to see it from the side of the 'assimilating Jews'?

Freedman's caution does have some justification, however. Grouping writers of Jewish origin to provide a 'Jewish' alternative to the antisemitism of Eliot would assume that they were free of the 'tropes, assumptions and imaginative patterns' with which the latter worked, when in fact assimilation meant that they often bought into these assumptions themselves. This is part of the point which Bryan Cheyette made in his reply to Ronald Schuchard. He argued that Eliot's strategies of representing Jews needed to be seen in a context in which race was a

⁸ Freedman, 'T. S. Eliot's Jewish Problem' 426.

⁹ Jonathan Freedman, *The Temple of Culture: Assimilation and Anti-Semitism in Literary Anglo-America* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2000). Neil Davison has argued, in similar terms, that James Joyce's dual marginality as an Irishman within English literature and a modernist writer within Irish society was embodied in the Jewish figure of Leopold Bloom. *James Joyce, Ulysses, and the Construction of Jewish Identity: Culture, Biography, and 'The Jew' in Modernist Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1996).

significant category for most writers and thinkers until the Second World War, including Jews.¹⁰ Rather than talking of Eliot's personal 'philo-Semitism' or 'anti-Semitism', Cheyette argued that it would be better to use the terms 'semitic discourse' and 'allosemitism'.

What the use of 'allosemitism' or 'semitic discourse' recognizes is that the terms 'anti-Semitism' and 'philo-Semitism' are two relatively distinct aspects of a much broader history of differentiating Jews from other human beings. [...]

The great advantage of liberating oneself from a conventional vocabulary—which tends to be focused around moralized biographical readings—is that it enables the literary critic to conduct a genuinely open dialogue about the complex nature of racial discourse within literary texts which neither excuses nor accuses the writers under discussion.¹¹

Cheyette has made use of and argued for both these terms in a number of articles and in his influential and important book *Constructions of 'the Jew' in English Literature and Society*, and both of them merit some consideration.¹² 'Allosemitism' was coined by the Polish Jewish critic Artur Sandauer, and imported into the English-speaking world by Zygmunt Bauman.¹³ 'Semitic discourse' is Cheyette's coinage, drawing upon Edward Said's use of Michel Foucault's term 'discourse'.

¹⁰ Cheyette 'Neither Accuse nor Excuse: T. S. Eliot's Semitic Discourse' 432. Cheyette's argument is based on his reading of Eliot in *Constructions of 'the Jew' in English Literature and Society: Racial Representations 1870-1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1993). I deal with this reading in greater detail in Chapter 1.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 433-434. Gaining such an advantage is by no means a foregone conclusion. Emma Francis uses 'semitic discourse' and 'allo-Semitism', both un-glossed, as little more than synonyms for antisemitism. 'Amy Levy: Contradictions?—Feminism and Semitic Discourse,' *Women's Poetry, Late Romantic to Victorian: Gender and Genre, 1830-1900*, ed. Isobel Armstrong and Virginia Blain (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999) 183-204.

¹² Cheyette, *Constructions of 'the Jew' passim*. See also Bryan Cheyette, "'Ineffable and usable": Towards a Diasporic British-Jewish Writing,' *Textual Practice* 10.2 (1996): 297.

¹³ Artur Sandauer, *O sytuacji pisarza polskiego pochodzenia żydowskiego w XX wieku: rzecz, którą nie ja powinienem był napisać* [On the situation of the Polish writer of Jewish origin in the 20th century: A study which I myself should not have written] (Warszawa: Czytelnik, 1982). All translations from this book are mine. Zygmunt Bauman 'Allosemitism: Premodern, Modern, Postmodern' *Modernity, Culture and 'The Jew'* ed. Bryan Cheyette and Laura Marcus (Cambridge: Polity, 1998) 143-156.

Artur Sandauer introduced the term in his study of Polish writers of Jewish origin in the twentieth century, which he calls a 'description of the conditions in which [Jews in Poland's] assimilation took place as well as of their psychic reactions to those conditions'.¹⁴ 'Allosemitism' is the major feature of these conditions, a mind-set which 'is based upon the singling out of this origin and upon the conviction of its exceptionality. It provides the general basis from which can arise anti- as well as philosemitic consequences.'¹⁵ Sandauer finds the origin of this ambivalence in Christianity which sees the Jews as the 'the sacred-accursed people' (*naród święty-przeklęty*) chosen by God, who then kill God (10-12). But he is mainly interested in what this 'allosemitism' does to his subjects: whether internalising it to the extent that one seems 'other' to oneself as in the case of Julian Tuwim, or presenting Jews as exotic others to a post-Shoah, non-Jewish Polish audience, as in the case of Julian Strykowski. Allosemitism in this usage can vary between (self-)demonisation (Tuwim) and (self-)exoticisation (Strykowski). Sandauer also sometimes puts allosemitism on the same plane as philo- and antisemitism, one of a number of possibilities of reacting to and representing Jews rather than being the impulse behind all of them.¹⁶

Zygmunt Bauman takes Sandauer's concept but adds to it two riders: that the ambivalence of allosemitism produces a sense that Jews escape all definitions, and that allosemitism itself takes on different forms within different historical contexts. Thus, while Bauman's analysis of pre-modern allosemitism is similar to

¹⁴ '[O]pis warunków, w jakich ich asymilacja się dokonywała oraz reakcyj psychicznych na te warunki'. Sandauer 5.

¹⁵ '[P]olega [...] na wyróżnianiu tego pochodzenia, na przeświadczeniu o jego wyjątkowości i stanowi ogólną bazę, z której można wysnuć zarówno anty-, jak i filosemickie wnioski.' Sandauer 9.

¹⁶ Sandauer 26-30, 90-94. Whether his characterisation of these authors is convincing or not is outside the scope of this introduction. Zygmunt Bauman gives a more positive assessment of Strykowski in 'Assimilation into Exile: the Jew as Polish Writer,' *Exile and Creativity*:

Sandauer's, his analysis of modern allo-Semitism sees it as singling out Jewish indefinability to stand for the indeterminacy and change of modernity. This is partly because this was the role in which they had been cast by Christianity, but also because emancipation and assimilation continued to give them the place of boundary-breakers. The modern desire for order without ambivalence led European allo-Semitism to the most extreme enactment of antisemitism in the Holocaust.¹⁷ Cheyette's use of the term emphasises the ambivalence in the case of Joyce, but he argues that Eliot reacted to the breaking down of boundaries between himself and Jews by attempting to redraw them.¹⁸

What Cheyette, Bauman and Sandauer all have in common in their use of the term is the powerful idea that combined with a dislike of Jews can come a fascination with them. 'Allo-Semitism' is a useful term to stress this fact. However, I shall continue to use the term 'antisemitism', while bearing in mind the ambivalence that Eliot and Pound had for Jews. Both of them resolved their ambivalence into disgust in their poetry, and I think it is important to bear in mind the *negativity* of their images of Jews, even when the Jews sometimes stand for themselves. The negative pole of 'allo-Semitism' as Sandauer and Bauman define it is antisemitism. If the danger of using the term 'antisemitism' is that it can ignore the complexity of the poetry to which it is applied in favour of expressing moral outrage, the danger of using 'allo-Semitism' is that it can end up making all representations of or interactions with Jews indistinguishable.

Signposts, Travelers, Outsiders, Backward Glances, ed. Susan Rubin Suleiman (Durham, NC: Duke UP, 1998) 321-352.

¹⁷ Bauman, 'Allo-Semitism' 144-154.

¹⁸ 'Allo-Semitism' is becoming increasingly popular as a term. In addition to Emma Francis's essay, *op. cit.*, see Sylvia Tomasch, 'Postcolonial Chaucer and the Virtual Jew,' *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, ed. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000) 250. Adam Sutcliffe, *Judaism and Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2003) 9.

Cheyette has argued for the term 'semitic discourse' in a number of places, but his most sustained definition of it draws heavily on Edward Said's characterisation of Orientalism.

Influenced especially by Michel Foucault, Said differs markedly from 'convergence' theorists by emphasizing that racial discourse is, essentially, a series of 'representations', not "'natural" depictions of the Orient'. Said's analysis, therefore, emphasizes 'not the correctness of [Orientalist] representation' but the determining power of these representations to create the 'Orient' in the consciousness and institutions of the west.¹⁹

Cheyette is using this definition against an 'interactionist' model of 'anti-Semitism', which argues that racism is partly a response to what 'racial' minorities do. As a way of highlighting the dangers of this method, which risks describing prejudice as a reasonable reaction to objective circumstances, it is a valuable move, but removing prejudice from the realm of interaction to the realm of representation has other consequences. If too much emphasis is given to this discourse as affecting the 'consciousness' of the west, rather than its 'institutions', then it can become the free-floating and decontextualised history that Cheyette warned against in *Modernism/Modernity*.²⁰ One danger of this is that it can present British culture as a continuous whole, in which every member is producing and produced by the same discourse. For example, Cheyette argues

¹⁹ Bryan Cheyette, 'Hilaire Belloc and the "Marconi Scandal" 1900-1914: A Reassessment of the Interactionist Model of Racial Hatred,' *The Politics of Marginality: Race, the Radical Right and Minorities in Twentieth Century Britain*, ed. Tony Kushner and Kenneth Lunn (London: Frank Cass, 1990) 134.

²⁰ Cheyette 'Neither Excuse nor Accuse' 433. Said's concept of 'Orientalism' has been critiqued precisely on these grounds. See especially Aijaz Ahmad, *In Theory: Classes, Nations, Literatures* (London and New York: Verso, 1992) 159-219. The literature on Foucauldian discourse is vast, and I cannot treat it in any kind of detail here. Foucault himself could use the term in a rather vague way, and indeed moved between *The Archaeology of Knowledge* and *Discipline and Punish* from seeing discourse as the determining force behind social formations to seeing it as supported by institutions and practices. In this characterisation I am following Hubert Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow, *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics* (Brighton: Harvester, 1982).

that the 'semitic discourse' he is describing holds true for both Jews and non-Jews.

Even those writers who were personally intimate with individual Jews or with 'Jewish culture'—including British-Jewish writers—still operated within a 'discourse' that was already in place and was already 'known' to them.²¹

His solution to this is to say that it is necessary to see the representations of Jews as part of a network of other concerns: race, empire, nation and culture.

Such an approach is powerful, and his bold assertion that it is worthwhile reading modernist writers in tandem with popular or middlebrow writers certainly produces extremely valuable results: finding the common ground between G. K. Chesterton and Eliot, for example.²² However, there are features of Eliot's poetry characteristic of modernism, rather than culture in general, which are inextricable from the question of their antisemitism. The first is their difficulty, part of their ambivalence to be sure, but also part of a particular modernist aesthetic strategy.²³ The second is their interest in subjects previously thought unsuitable for poetry, such as sex and ugliness.²⁴ As Freedman admits, Eliot's poetry was considerably *more* obnoxious than that of his contemporaries.²⁵ It is an exaggeration to argue that modernism was entirely isolated from a wider national (English/British) culture, but the articulation between the two does need to be examined.

²¹ Cheyette, *Constructions of 'the Jew'* 11.

²² *Ibid.* 204-205.

²³ See Leonard Diepeveen, *The Difficulties of Modernism* (New York and London: Routledge, 2003) for a recent exploration of this question.

²⁴ Julius deals with these features quite effectively. Julius, *T. S. Eliot* 58-59, 62, 73-74, 83, 92-96, 108-114, 143.

²⁵ 'This is not to say that there aren't spasmodic and quite disgusting anti-Semitic tropes in his poetry for which no amount of apologetics should acquit him; indeed, when compared to the contemporaries I have described above, the ugliness of these tropes becomes clearer.' Freedman, 'T. S. Eliot's Jewish Problem' 425-426.

This is what a recent trend in modernist criticism dealing with the ‘institutions of modernism’ and ‘material modernism’ has done, complicating the idea of a ‘great divide’ between modernism and popular culture.²⁶ Lawrence Rainey, George Bornstein and Jerome McGann have argued that it is necessary to see both the economic formations which supported modernist writing and the physical form that modernist works took (and the close relationship between these two) as part of the modernist project.²⁷ In looking at ‘semitic discourse,’ therefore, I shall bring it together with this second strand of criticism, showing how this discourse created and was created by the institutions of modernism.

This does not claim to be a sociologically precise use of the term ‘institution’. Most of the writing that I consider in this thesis was produced, circulated and received in social formations outside any formal institutional context. However, if, like ‘discourse’, the term is taken as a means of opening up certain ways of speaking about literature, ones which pay attention to its social context as literature, and not simply as a medium for carrying general social ideas, then it can be extremely productive. The ‘institutions of modernism’ on which I want to concentrate are: the sets of interactions and collaborations through which Eliot and other modernists wrote their works (*The Waste Land* being of course the best known example), the physical editions of works they produced and how they were circulated, the little magazines to which they contributed, and which they sometimes edited, the groupings which (somewhat retrospectively) they made of

²⁶ Andreas Huyssen, *After the Great Divide: Modernism, Mass Culture, Postmodernism* (Basingstoke and London: Macmillan, 1986).

²⁷ Lawrence Rainey, *Institutions of Modernism: Literary Elites and Public Culture* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1998). George Bornstein, *Material Modernism: The Politics of the Page* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2001). Jerome J. McGann, *Black Riders: The Visible Language of Modernism* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1993). Sara Mills, for one, has suggested that Jerome McGann’s method of studying literature might constitute a Foucauldian form of analysis. *Michel Foucault* (Routledge: London and New York, 2003) 118.

themselves and declared themselves to be, especially the concept of ‘the men of 1914’.²⁸

Dealing with Eliot’s modernism in such a way is of course impossible in isolation from a consideration of Ezra Pound, since he was central to forming some of these groups.²⁹ Indeed, although Cheyette deliberately avoids dealing directly with Pound because of his notoriety, he acknowledges that his reading of British culture’s construction of ‘the Jew’ as a figure of slipperiness and indeterminacy owes much to Robert Casillo’s *The Genealogy of Demons*. Casillo’s study is an important and ground-breaking book, which provides a powerful reading of *The Cantos* as a whole. He sees antisemitism as central to a cluster of Poundian concepts, including others about women, nature, order, myth and history, which can be described together as fascist. Pound’s messianic fantasies are projected onto Jews, while his feelings of persecution are blamed on the Jews, leading to the conclusion that Jews must be excluded from his ideal society.³⁰

²⁸ Because I am concentrating on particular editions of the works, produced at a particular moment, these are the textual versions that I will quote in the coming chapters. I will note textual variants from the standard versions. In the case of the Ovid Press editions, which I discuss in the first three chapters, I also reproduce as faithfully as possible the typography and spacing of the poems, including what appear to be printing errors. No such attempt can ever be fully successful, but it will gesture towards specific material instances of works rather than relying on the idea of stable texts abstracted from the time and place of their writing, editing, printing, and distribution.

²⁹ The list of treatments of Pound’s antisemitism is even longer than that for Eliot. Robert Casillo gives a detailed and well-argued survey of the way this issue has been handled by literary scholars. *The Genealogy of Demons: Anti-Semitism, Fascism, and the Myths of Ezra Pound* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern UP, 1988) 8-16, 338-340nn21-47. Wendy Flory provides something of a continuation of this survey. Her approach is however extremely partisan, blaming Pound’s antisemitism on his supposed madness, dismissing all poststructuralist readings of *The Cantos* through an attack on Paul de Man’s collaborationism and Martin Heidegger’s Nazism, and finally arguing that Pound’s antisemitic ‘ranting’ on Italian radio was preferable to the silence and inaction of the majority of the world during the Shoah. Her argument can only be described as contemptible. ‘Pound and Antisemitism,’ *The Cambridge Companion to Ezra Pound*, ed. Ira B. Nadel (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999) 284-300.

³⁰ Cheyette describes his project in *Constructions of ‘the Jew’* as an attempt to expand Robert Casillo’s reading of Pound’s antisemitism and fascism to the whole of the period 1870-1945, concentrating on ‘semitic discourse’ rather than Jews as ‘historical subjects’. Cheyette, *Constructions of ‘the Jew’* 11. Casillo, *The Genealogy of Demons*, *op. cit.*

One of the problems with Casillo's reading, however, is that it takes too little interest in the specific social situation Pound occupied. Firstly, as Geoff Gilbert has noted, it tends to make both Pound's thought and *The Cantos* too coherent, ignores the ways in which both were contradictory, and 'cuts through the complexity of historical circumstances and motivations that occasion' his writing.³¹ Secondly, by placing Pound too neatly in the context of Italian Fascism and Nazism, Casillo implies that his social power was far greater than it actually was.³² Pound was never in a position in which his beliefs could have been implemented as a coherent programme; indeed, the increased frequency of his expressions of antisemitism in the 1930s was in part a response to his own powerlessness and inconsistency.³³ One symptom of Casillo's stance is that he

³¹ Geoff Gilbert, 'Shellshock, Anti-Semitism, and the Agency of the Avant-Garde,' *Wyndham Lewis and the Art of Modern War*, ed. David Peters Corbett (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998) 96-97. Gilbert is clear, however, that making Pound's work have no particular meaning can scant the significance of his antisemitism and fascism. The most plausible defences of the value of *The Cantos* argue that the method of their composition allows readers to gain other meanings from them than fascist ones. E.g. Jerome J. McGann, 'The *Cantos* of Ezra Pound, the Truth in Contradiction,' *Critical Inquiry* 15.1 (Autumn 1988) 1-25. Bob Perelman shows, however, that it is also a means of avoiding logical argument, debate and, finally, language itself. *The Trouble with Genius: Reading Pound, Joyce, Stein, and Zukofsky* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: U of California P, 1994) 28-86, esp. 50-54.

³² This is particularly evident in the frequent comparisons Casillo makes between Pound and Hitler. Although some of these are part of his argument that Pound's fascism has a racial-biological component closer to Nazism than Italian Fascism, many of them seem to have little other purpose than to make Pound sound as bad as possible. Casillo makes the racial comparison in *The Genealogy of Demons* 136-137, but comparisons with Hitler abound in his text, some of them extremely tenuous. Hypochondria, a dislike of odours, a persecution complex and ecologism have been characteristics of more people than Ezra Pound and Adolf Hitler. *Ibid.* 53, 125-126, 130, 147, 193, 327, 374n27, 396n10.

³³ Leon Surette concentrates on Pound's economic theories and shows that they were a patchwork of mutually incompatible ideas. Frustrated perhaps by his inability to make them cohere but certainly by the unwillingness of anyone to apply them, Pound began increasingly to blame his failure on the Jews. Leon Surette, *Pound in Purgatory: From Economic Radicalism to Anti-Semitism* (Urbana and Chicago, U of Illinois P, 1999). I accept this part of Surette's argument, but reject his conclusion that Pound was not in any significant sense antisemitic before 1934. As this thesis will show, Pound made far more antisemitic statements than the two which Surette claims to find before 1934 (*ibid.* 242). A. David Moody provides a scrupulously thorough record of Pound's antisemitic statements in prose up to 1930 while claiming that none features in the poetry. A. David Moody, 'Ezra Pound with Two-Pronged Fork of Terror and Cajolery: The Construction of his Anti-Semitism (up to 1939),' *Jewish Themes in English and Polish Culture*, ed. Irena Janicka-Świdorska, Jerzy Jarniewicz and Adam Sumera (Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, 2000) 149-169. Moody ties himself into spectacular knots arguing that Pound both was and was not antisemitic, and even that Pound can be seen 'going anti-Semitic even as he didn't want to' (*ibid.* 161). Casillo also sees Pound's antisemitism as an alibi for the

dismisses the relevance of Pound's Jewish friends and acquaintances, even though these were the people his antisemitism directly affected.³⁴ The effects may not have been as extreme as the terms in which Casillo describes Pound's antisemitism, but they were not insignificant.³⁵ Pound's ideas structured the literary groupings and interactions in which he took part, groups which included Jews.

One of these Jews was John Rodker. The son of Polish-Jewish immigrants and a close friend of David Bomberg and Isaac Rosenberg, Rodker had met Pound by 1915, and through the 1920s published and was published by members of the Pound circle, wrote criticism on their work and was criticised in turn by them.³⁶ His Ovid Press published Pound and Eliot, he replaced Pound as foreign editor of *The Little Review*, in Pound's reports to Alice Henderson, he floats at the edge of 'the men of 1914', and he was published and feted by Pound in *The Exile*.

Seeing the writing of Pound, Eliot and Rodker as part of a set of social interactions would allow us to go beyond simple condemnations of Pound and some of his associates as antisemitic, but would also do more than seeing 'Jews' in his work as simply tropes, which were, in the end, harmless. Modernists relied upon, described and created institutions for and through their writing which affected more than just themselves, and, in fact, these institutions and groupings

incoherence of his thought, and sees it as falling into four stages of increasing vehemence (*The Genealogy of Demons* 4-7), but he nonetheless reads *The Cantos* thematically rather than historically, as if it were a completed and consistent work.

³⁴ Casillo, *The Genealogy of Demons* 13-14. Casillo has some good reasons for doing this, as he rejects the use of these Jewish friends and acquaintances in Pound's defence.

³⁵ Since this thesis concentrates on the period when Pound was in significant contact with Rodker, ending in the early 1930s, it does not deal with the period when Pound's expressions of antisemitism were most frequent and most virulent. However, it does show that antisemitism was a significant part both of Pound's thought and of the groupings through, in and with which he worked during the Great War and 1920s.

³⁶ The best single source of biographical information on Rodker has recently been put online. *John Rodker, 1894-1955: Biographical Sketch*, 28 July 2004, Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin, 20 August 2004 <<http://www.hrc.utexas.edu/research/fa/rodker.bio.html>>.

were also significant in the creation of their work. The groups around them included Jews, and they were, or could be, assigned positions through modernism's 'semitic discourse', but the discourse also had to take them into account.

That Jews were a significant part of the groupings which formed around Ezra Pound is clear from a comment recalled by the Canadian poet Louis Dudek.

He says Jews are by nature mobile and therefore a useful people.

"They are not blocks, and you can't build with them. They're spherical, they have a capacity for getting around, and that can be used."

Then Pound goes on to list eight or ten of his friends old and new who are Jews.

"No one is treated better in the Cantos than old Levy," says Pound. "And he didn't adopt that name."³⁷

No one dealing with Pound's antisemitism has commented on this passage. This may be because Pound's antisemitic cliché of naming his Jewish friends is not interesting, or that it is hearsay (although Pound's comments to Charles Olson about Jews have attracted attention),³⁸ but it shows that Pound's idea of Jews included how he felt he ought to act towards them. Pound wants to associate with Jews because he can use them, and although he seems to want to use everyone—building with Gentiles, circulating with Jews—it is nonetheless the Jews who are characterised as the ones who can be used.

However, this was not a one-way process. Benjamin Harshav argues that modernism and the 'Modern Jewish Revolution' (his term for the 'massive influx

³⁷ Ezra Pound, *DK/ Some Letters of Ezra Pound*, ed. Louis Dudek (Montreal: DC Books, 1974) 35. Pound's letter to Olivia Agresti also described Jews as 'spherical' in unambiguously antisemitic terms. 'Pity the pore uncawshus "carrier" whether it be of bubonics, tubercles or the kikerian state of mind, the [illegible deletion] oily and spherical/ the so accurately defined by Wm Shx/ etc. Not that the chew should be prejudged/ he shd/ simply be watched for racial symptoms, and not allowed to infect the mind of the non-kike. Genocide? unnecessary. Bar them from three professions'. 26, 30 May 1955. *I Cease Not to Yowl': Ezra Pound's Letters to Olivia Rossetti Agresti*, ed. Demetres P. Tryphonopoulos and Leon Surette (Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1998) 193.

³⁸ Charles Olson, *Charles Olson and Ezra Pound: An Encounter at St. Elizabeth's*, ed. Catherine Seelye (New York: Grossman, 1975). E.g. Casillo, *The Genealogy of Demons* 7; Humphrey

of Jews into general culture' and the emergence of 'a new secular culture ... in the internal Jewish domain' beginning in 1882) went hand in hand.

Modernism impressed all of Jewish culture and literature and, vice versa, many who were active in general Modernism were Jews. Joining general culture was especially convenient at a point where the whole previous tradition (not shared by Jews) seemed to be overthrown. The radical impetus that freed the individual Jew from his community ties was an asset for any avant-garde.

Modernism also gave some of the children of Jewish immigrants the means to understand the process of assimilation and secularisation. They mastered non-Jewish languages 'at their most exquisite, Modernist moment and, with that discourse in hand, could look back at the experience of transition'.³⁹

Cheyette is right to stress the power of certain representations of 'Jewishness' over Jews, but Harshav makes it clear that Jews were not in exactly the same relationship with either the traditions which were being overthrown (although Pound-Eliot modernism was never simply a case of overthrowing traditions), or the modernism to which they allied themselves. The fact that modernist circles were not simply synonymous with 'general culture' was part of what attracted some Jews to them. Despite his use of this term 'general culture', therefore, Harshav's characterisation also shows that to describe this attraction as Jews assimilating to a culture of the majority is not quite accurate.⁴⁰ Giving up a

Carpenter, *A Serious Character: The Life of Ezra Pound* (London: Faber, 1988) 737. Carpenter does cite Dudek, but does not mention Pound's remarks about Jews.

³⁹ Benjamin Harshav, *Language in a Time of Revolution* (Berkeley: U of California P, 1993) 3, 76, 71-72.

⁴⁰ Assimilation is a term that not all historians of Jews in modernity accept. Indeed, Harshav argues that 'the word "assimilation" [...] cannot be accepted literally. For, in important respects, all Jews are assimilated into general modern culture.' *Ibid.* 41. Sander Gilman is quite precise in describing assimilation and self-hatred resulting from it as the attempt to become like a 'reference group', but does not entertain the possibility of there being multiple reference groups. *Jewish Self-Hatred: Anti-Semitism and the Hidden Language of the Jews* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins UP, 1986) 2. Zygmunt Bauman describes assimilation as a process to which the state subjects minorities, but still works with a definition of majority and minority cultures. *Modernity and Ambivalence* (Cambridge: Polity, 1991) 102-107. Bryan Cheyette argues that late nineteenth century Anglo-Jewish writers were all caught in the contradiction of liberal society in which they attempted to reconcile the universalist values of liberal culture with a particularist Jewish

specifically Jewish identity did not simply mean acquiring, or attempting to acquire, a general English one, or the straightforward acceptance of the images of Jews available within 'general culture'.

To argue this is not to replace a predominantly negative image of assimilation with an entirely positive one of freely chosen association. The complex and contradictory positions which Rodker occupied could leave him at times extremely isolated and vulnerable. At other times, however, they gave them the possibility to explore and critique his situation. It makes little sense to avoid calling some of his self-descriptions expressions of self-hatred, but rather than seeing self-hatred as an all-encompassing mind-set, it is better to think of it as one of a number of positions which he took up, all to some extent interlinked, but some more productive than others.⁴¹

Ruth Wisse has argued that

there is a great difference between the culture of Judaism and the sociology of Jews. The former relates to the Jewish religious civilization or idea of nationalism or historical tradition, to people who are still committed to furthering those traditions in works of art or of exposition. The second refers to what Jews happen to be doing; to me, this is an

experience. Bryan Cheyette, 'The Other Self: Anglo-Jewish Fiction and the Representation of Jews in England, 1875-1905,' *The Making of Modern Anglo-Jewry*, ed. David Cesarani (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990) 97-111. The account on which Cheyette, Gilman and Bauman base their arguments is Geoff Dench, *Minorities in the Open Society: Prisoners of Ambivalence* (London and New York: Routledge, 1986). Bauman and Gilman's analyses are rooted in the German-Jewish experience, although they attempt to generalise their findings. David Sorkin summarises the problems of applying the term 'assimilation' to German-Jewish history, and suggests that the term may have to be replaced. 'Emancipation and Assimilation: Two Concepts and their Application to German-Jewish History,' *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* 35 (1990): 17-33. David Feldman touches briefly but incisively on the question, showing the multiple possible identifications which Jews could have made in Britain. *Englishmen and Jews: Social Relations and Political Culture, 1840-1914* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1994) 5-13. However, as Feldman also points out, the terms which have been suggested as replacements for 'assimilation', such as 'modernisation', tend to scant the unequal power relations between Jews and non-Jews. For this reason, I will continue to use the term 'assimilation', while noting that the process it describes is not simply a question of identifying or attempting to identify with a single 'general culture'.

⁴¹ Compare Martine Leibovici's essay on Simone Weil, in which she critiques the use of the concept of 'haine-de-soi' (as opposed to 'haine de soi') as 'un schéma rigide et préformé dans lequel il s'agit de faire entrer l'autre, coûte que coûte'. Weil does not fit into the rigid schema of 'haine-de-soi', because she did not identify with the French nation. 'Simone Weil, la mal née,' *La Haine de soi: difficiles identités*, ed. Esther Benbassa and Jean-Christophe Attias (Bruxelles: Editions Complexe, 2000) 230, 232.

interesting sociological phenomenon, but it has little to do with the essence of Jewish culture.⁴²

Wisse's absolute distinction is extremely hard to sustain in the context of modernism, which questioned how, why and whether traditions could still be furthered or the essence of a culture be defined at all. Moreover, the implication of this distinction is that it is only those writers with a 'thick', essential relation to Jewish culture and the Jewish community who are able culturally to think through their Jewishness, while the others are simply the effects of their social positioning.

I want here to investigate how sociology and culture might work together, using the 'institutional' definition of modernism to help define the 'Jewishness' of Rodker's writing. In seeing how literature relates to its social context, how it was produced and circulated, and how it made sense of its own context, it is possible to see how Rodker's Jewishness was defined both by him and by others, how he and his writing were positioned within the Pound-Eliot circle and to gain a more precise understanding of the social factors which enable or disable the possibility of affirming a Jewish identity through modernist literature.

Chapter 1 examines how the representation of Jews functioned within the grouping of 'the men of 1914', both as a means of negotiating their relationship with the general public, and as a means of forming themselves as a group. I examine Eliot's quatrain poems as an example of collaboration between him and Ezra Pound, and the way in which their collaboration had effects on the antisemitic lines in these poems. I find that a similar dynamic is at work in the

⁴² Ruth Wisse et al., 'Jewish Culture and Canadian Culture,' transcript of discussion, *The Canadian Jewish Mosaic*, eds. M. Weinfeld, W. Shaffir and I. Cotler (Toronto: Wiley, 1981) 316.

collaboration between Pound and Wyndham Lewis on the 'Imaginary Letters' they wrote for *The Little Review*. I show how the way they discuss imaginary Jews has an effect on how they relate to John Rodker as someone associated with their group, particularly in his role as a publisher.

In Chapter 2, I focus on Pound's *Hugh Selwyn Mauberley* in the first edition published by Rodker. I read errors in the printing of this edition in relation to a general conception of error in Pound's ideas about sex and poetry, showing that in both cases error is associated with Jewish influence. I examine how these ideas affected the social formations which Pound used to produce and circulate the book and Rodker's place in them. Finally I ask what effects Rodker as the poem's publisher can be said to have had on the poem.

In Chapter 3, I move on to discuss Rodker's own poems which he published at the same time as he published Pound and Eliot. I argue that his marginal position within the 'men of 1914', as well as his own oppositional attitude to British culture in general, and an uncertain self-definition resulting from this and his sense of his own Jewishness leads him to produce an extreme, unbound form of modernism, which relates to that of the Pound circle, but also enacts certain of their expectations about Jews.

Chapter 4 examines a later collaboration between Pound and Rodker, around the magazine *The Exile*, which Pound published in 1927-1928. This is a point at which Pound publishes works by a number of Jewish writers, and the point at which he seems to be most interested in their work, partly because they seem to occupy a similar place to him. However, he also needs to distinguish between himself and the Jewish writers (Louis Zukofsky, Carl Rakosi and Rodker), which

Wisse has recently attempted to define what this culture of Judaism might be in *The Modern Jewish Canon: A Journey through Language and Culture* (New York: The Free Press, 2000).

manifests itself in parts of his editorial policy in *The Exile* and in other publishing relations with Zukofsky in particular.

Chapter 5 considers Rodker's *Memoirs of Other Fronts*, in the first detailed reading the novel has been given. I examine how the foreignness of the protagonist takes its place within a systematic analysis of the period of the Great War as a whole, which participates in the modernist culture of this time. Rodker's relationship to the publishing world is still very much defined by modernist attitudes, which define his relationship with the reading public in a way that militates against giving his identity a name. Modernist techniques, reworked through psychoanalysis, enable him to deal with his life history as something private and unpleasant, but cause him to view it as private and unpleasant in the first place.

I do not claim to be providing a comprehensive reading of Rodker as a writer, and certainly not to be giving anything like a biography, even of the time when he was writing. My intention is to concentrate on the issue of his Jewishness as it played out in his relationship with the modernism of the Pound circle. This thesis will show that an examination of John Rodker's writing, and the place that he occupied in modernism, has a significant impact upon the way that the relationship between modernism and antisemitism is viewed, as well as providing a crucial case of a writer of Jewish origin attempting through his writing to represent and understand the process of assimilation.

Introduction

In this chapter I place the antisemitic tropes in some of T. S. Eliot's poetry in the context of the 'Men of 1914'. Beginning with the changes Pound suggested to one of the most notorious of Eliot's quatrain poems, 'Burbank with a Baedeker: Bleistein with a Cigar', I show that these have an effect on the poem's presentation of Jews, and that the final form of the poem, and therefore of its antisemitism, is the result of their collaboration and not simply of one writer's individual prejudice. Following this, I examine how another collaboration in which Pound was involved at a very similar time, his and Lewis's 'Imaginary Letters' follows a similar pattern. I show how this also played out in their brief but significant discussion of the relative merits of Eliot and John Rodker as writers (and human beings), and how Pound saw Rodker's place in relation to the 'Men of 1914'. I suggest that the position which he took up within the group, publishing their work in small press editions, a position at least partly influenced by Pound's view of him, enabled other group members, particularly Eliot, to produce certain kinds of writing which they might not otherwise have been able to publish. Finally, I show that 'the jew' within another of Eliot's poems published by Rodker, 'Gerontion', is not simply a figure that must be kept separate from the speaker, but is actually necessary to Eliot's method of structuring the poem.

Chapter 1

Circulating Antisemitism: The 'Men of 1914'

In mid-1919, T. S. Eliot handed the typescript of a poem entitled 'Bleistein with a Cigar' to his older contemporary, Ezra Pound. In this poem, which, as Pound could see from its references, is set in Venice, the figure of Burbank has some kind of dalliance with 'Princess Volupine', and is contrasted with the Jewish figure of Bleistein. As Princess Volupine entertains another Jewish figure, Sir Ferdinand Klein, Burbank despairs of the course of western civilisation. Or at least, this is one way of reading it. Exactly what is going on is often very hard to pin down. What is absolutely clear, however, is that the poem contains some virulently antisemitic lines, most notoriously 'The rats are underneath the piles / The jew is underneath the lot'.¹

As with all of these typescripts, Pound suggested some changes, and as with much of his poetry at this time, Eliot accepted some of them. Pound wrote next to the title 'Diptych', and Eliot seems duly to have changed it to 'Burbank with a Baedeker: Bleistein with a Cigar'. Pound also suggested changes to the final two stanzas. Eliot originally wrote:

Princess Volupine extends
A meagre, blue-nailed, pthisic hand
To climb the waterstair. Lights, lights;
She entertains Sir Ferdinand

Klein. Who clipped the lion's mane

¹ For some sense of the complexity of the poem, see Bryan Cheyette, *Constructions of "the Jew" in English Literature and Society: Racial Representations 1875-1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1993) 252-255. Robert Crawford, *The Savage and the City in the Work of T. S. Eliot* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1987) 110-115. Rachel Blau DuPlessis, 'Circumscriptions: Assimilating T. S. Eliot's Sweeneys,' *People of the Book: Thirty Scholars Reflect on Their Jewish Identity*, eds. Jeffrey Rubin Dorsky and Shelley Fisher Fishkin (Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1996) 141-157. Anthony Julius, *T. S. Eliot, Anti-Semitism, and Literary Form* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1995) 97-112. Hyam Maccoby, 'The Anti-Semitism of T. S. Eliot,' *Midstream* 19.5 (May 1973): 68-79. Gabriel Pearson, 'Eliot: An American Use of Symbolism' *Eliot in Perspective* (London: Macmillan, 1970), ed. Graham Martin (London: Macmillan, 1970) 83-101. Christopher Ricks, *T. S. Eliot and Prejudice* (London: Faber, 1988) 33-38. Erik Svarny, *The Men of 1914: T. S. Eliot and Early Modernism* (Milton Keynes: Open UP, 1988) 148-155.

And flea'd his rump, and pared his claws?
Thought Burbank, meditating on
Time's ruins and the seven laws.²

The only one of Pound's suggestions which Eliot accepted was to substitute 'lion's wings' for 'lion's mane' but this has two significant consequences. The lion in question is now quite clearly the winged lion of Venice. And he is also much more at the mercy of the clipper and flea'er, whoever that is. If he needs his mane clipping and rump flea'ing, he is clearly in some degenerate state, but these are remedies rather than impositions. Even 'paring' could suggest the sharpening, rather than blunting, of claws. But if he is having his wings clipped, then his power really is being reduced—he is no longer able to fly—and this makes stronger the converse meanings of the other verbs: 'paring' as simply cutting his claws off, and 'fleaing' could even be taken to mean 'making flea-ridden'.³ The lion therefore becomes a much more obvious symbol of both a once great power and its later decline.

Whoever is responsible for this decline is, it seems, unknown, but one of Pound's other suggestions shows that he was not entirely happy with this. He marked the full stop after Ferdinand Klein, twice put a comma with a query, and placed quotation marks around all of Burbank's thought, repeating them in the margin with the words 'for clarity?'.⁴ These emendations would have turned the

² T. S. Eliot, *Inventions of the March Hare: Poems 1909-1917*, ed. Christopher Ricks (London: Faber, 1996) 354.

³ This latter reading is Rachel Blau DuPlessis's, who sees the question as unambiguously about decay. 'Circumscriptions' 144. Anthony Julius notes the ambiguity (*T. S. Eliot* 104), as does Eric Sigg, although he attributes the inquiry about 'grooming' to Burbank and the 'anti-myth of decay' to the poem. *The American T. S. Eliot: A Study of the Early Writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1989) 169.

⁴ Pound seems to have been somewhat uncomfortable with Eliot's use of punctuation in this poem. He also suggested changing the full stop at the end of line 4 to a colon (thus producing a relationship of consequence between the first and second stanzas) and wrote 'punctuation?' against the full stop after 'On the Rialto once.' Eliot, *Inventions* 354.

‘who’ following it into a relative pronoun answering Burbank’s question almost before he asks it.

Without referring to these revisions, and yet evoking the poem Pound wanted as much as the one that was actually published, Anthony Julius writes that ‘[i]f the poem has an answer to Burbank’s question it is Klein. Change the punctuation from a full stop to a comma and the culprit is disclosed’. He links this question to the ambiguity of what is happening to the lion of Venice. Klein is, he argues, ‘both domesticator and domestic’.

In the first role he is savaged, in the second he is derided. ‘Burbank’, unwilling to choose between the two, adopts both by its own act of emasculation. This points to the incoherence of anti-Semitism. Either Jews are omnipotent or they are contemptible. If the first, their dominance cannot be combated. If the second, their existence cannot provide an explanation for the injuries for which the anti-Semite would hold them responsible. The anti-Semite always seeks to have it both ways, yoking together in his account of the Jew the most disagreeable though contradictory characteristics. While the poem hovers over this dilemma by its punctuation, it favours scorn over defeat. Hence the full stop. The anti-Semitism of Burbank is defined by that period.⁵

It would be wrong, however, to say that Pound was trying to turn Eliot’s poem from a poem scorning Jews into a coherent theory of a Jewish conspiracy behind Europe’s decay. The other change that Eliot accepted, adding Burbank to the title, had exactly the same effect as his refusing to change a full stop to a comma. Rather than the degeneration taking place under the aegis of Bleistein (and his cigar) alone, it is summed up as a relationship, or rather, a contrast between Burbank and Bleistein, again without any explanation as to how they are supposed to fit together. In both cases, therefore, the process of revision and discussion produced a tendency towards the effect of collage. Forms that subordinated or bracketed parts of text—relative clauses, direct speech—were

⁵ Julius, *T. S. Eliot* 104. Gabriel Pearson also considers the sentence as hovering between being a relative clause and a question. ‘Eliot’ 89.

rejected; Burbank and Bleistein were placed against each other with their respective props, Klein juxtaposed with the lion of Venice, in both cases leaving out anything that definitively connected these figures.

Indeed, collage is very much a feature of the poem as a whole, from the epigraph with its 'montage of quotations', to the 'linguistic mosaic' of its main body, with its 'willed juxtaposition of fragments'.⁶ This absence of connection in this and other of Eliot's quatrain poems is what his defenders (including those who responded to Anthony Julius's book on Eliot's antisemitism) latch onto against those who view these poems as antisemitic.⁷ How can we say that this poem is anything, when it is so hard to make it fit together to form any coherent whole? What this fails to take into account, however, is that the collage method is itself figured as 'Jewish'. Although it appears throughout the poem, it is most evident in the part beginning with Bleistein and ending with Sir Ferdinand Klein, and is partly enabled by the switch in tense in this part.

But this or such was Bleistein's way :
A saggy bending of the knees
And elbows, with the palms turned out,
Chicago Semite Viennese. (AVP 14)

Burbank's actions take place in the past, but the Jewish figures are described as if in some eternal present, in which the sense of sequence is even less evident. Indeed, the first sentence describing Bleistein contains no verbs at all, and ends with the lumping together of 'Chicago Semite Viennese' without articulation in the same way as the title or the final stanza. Bleistein stands for a kind of mixing

⁶ Svarny, *The Men of 1914* 148, 154. Pearson, 'Eliot' 90.

⁷ Christopher Hitchens, 'How Unpleasant to Meet Mr Eliot,' *Unacknowledged Legislation: Writers in the Public Sphere* (London: Verso, 2000) 186. Craig Raine argues that the disconnection is the sign of interior monologue. 'In Defence of T. S. Eliot,' *In Defence of T. S. Eliot* (London: Picador, 2000) 327. However, the epigraph to the poem is equally disjointed, and it would be impossible to assign a mind (other than Eliot's) within which this was taking place as a monologue. Disconnection is Eliot's technique of structuring his poetry.

of identities which have no organic relationship with each other, and yet it is his 'Semitic' nature which lies at their centre. It is both one part of a multiple, fragmented identity, and the master identity which explains their fragmentation.⁸ In exactly the same way, the figure of the Jew in the poem is both the symbol of modernity's lack of sense and decay and also one symbol among many.

This could be seen as a poetic strategy of avoiding the charge of antisemitism, to which one could either take the line of urging caution in condemning it, or accuse it nonetheless, as Christopher Ricks does, of 'vent[ing] the pent without taking the rap',⁹ in other words of expressing sentiments which Eliot is not prepared fully to own or disown. But one could equally say that, if the Jews stand for this kind of method, it is their fault that the rest of the poem cannot be related to them, and they are therefore doubly to blame: firstly because they are behind everything going wrong, and secondly because they have covered their tracks and cannot be blamed.

Much of the basis for this reading was already present in this poem before Pound ever touched it, but it is nonetheless significant that the process of collaboration heightened two effects: denying a sense of resolution and making the need for it even sharper. The ambiguous antisemitism Julius outlines was at work not only in the poem but in the relationship between Eliot and Pound, created in part by their collaboration.

⁸ Erik Svarny argues that the centrality of 'Semite' foregrounds it as Bleistein's fundamental identity (*The Men of 1914* 154). Robert Crawford links his hybrid identity to the experiments with hybrid plants made by the Californian plant breeder Luther Burbank (*The Savage and the City* 65-66). Bryan Cheyette sees this link as also hybridizing the Burbank of the poem (*Constructions of 'the Jew'* 254). Stan Smith sees all of these words as hovering between nouns and adjectives. *The Origins of Modernism: Eliot, Pound, Yeats and the Rhetorics of Renewal* (Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1994) 116. Anthony Julius's suggestion that it evokes luggage labels is less convincing (*T. S. Eliot* 48).

⁹ Ricks, *T. S. Eliot* 38.

The link between the modernism of the Pound circle (that is, Pound, Eliot, Joyce and Wyndham Lewis, later dubbed by Lewis the 'Men of 1914') and the anti-Jewish prejudices held by most of its individual members is, of course, something that has provoked a great deal of discussion. Individual studies have been written about Pound, Eliot and Wyndham Lewis, exploring their individual antisemitisms as self-enclosed, self-justifying systems.¹⁰ Books have also been written exploring the general 'semitic discourse' which was part of a discourse of Englishness and empire, and in which these modernists played a role.¹¹ But no-one has asked the question of how 'semitic discourse' operated in this group as a whole. Some sides of modernist collaboration have been widely explored,¹² but little attention has been given to the effect of collaboration on the antisemitism of certain works. Eliot's quatrain poems were part of a joint reaction with Pound against free verse, and all of them passed through Pound's hands before their publication.¹³ Pound and Lewis jointly contributed a series of 'Imaginary Letters' to *The Little Review* which contained a number of pejorative references to Jews. In neither case has the question been asked of what impact collaboration had on their antisemitic content. Yet this is an extremely important question, not simply because it brings in a level of social description between that of the individual

¹⁰ E.g. Robert Casillo, *The Genealogy of Demons: Anti-Semitism, Fascism, and the Myths of Ezra Pound* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern UP, 1988); Anthony Julius, *T.S. Eliot, Anti-Semitism and Literary Form* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1995); David Ayers, *Wyndham Lewis and Western Man* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1992).

¹¹ Cheyette, *Constructions of 'the Jew'*.

¹² E.g. Dennis Brown, *Intertextual Dynamics within the Literary Group: Joyce, Lewis, Pound and Eliot: The Men of 1914* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1990); Wayne Koestenbaum, *Double Talk: The Erotics of Male Literary Collaboration* (New York and London: Routledge, 1989) 112-139; Jack Stillinger, *Multiple Authorship and the Myth of Solitary Genius* (New York and Oxford: Oxford UP, 1991) 121-138. Peter Brooker wants to substitute the idea of the 'situated sociality of modernist art' for a romantic idea of the artist as a solitary outsider. *Bohemia in London: The Social Scene of Early Modernism* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004) 131.

¹³ Ronald Bush discusses some of the effects of Pound's emendations on the quatrain poems. *The Genesis of Ezra Pound's Cantos* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1976). Louis Menand discusses Eliot as a 'fellow traveler' of Pound and other antisemites. 'Eliot and the Jews,' *New York Review of Books* June 6 1996: 34-41.

and that of society as a whole, but also because it relates particular literary forms to particular social formations. Collaboration shaped both the writings, and the groupings of people who composed, circulated and even, it might be argued, read them—these were poems that originally appeared in very limited editions. Their interactions took place both within literary writings, and within their private correspondence (although the boundary between these two was, as I will show, somewhat permeable), and included consideration of which other writers, including Jewish writers, were worthy of their support.

What I want to argue, therefore, is that the antisemitism, or the way that antisemitism works, within a poem such as ‘Burbank/Bleistein’ is important because it had certain social effects. This was not just by reproducing images which were upsetting to Jews, nor simply by contributing to a general anti-Jewish atmosphere in Britain at that time—though it did both of those.¹⁴ It also formed part of the means of shaping a (small, but significant) social group: a group that included members of Jewish origin. In fact, the book in which ‘Burbank/Bleistein’ first appeared, along with the debut of ‘Gerontion’, *Ara Vos Prec*, had its 264 (or possibly a few more) copies printed by hand and published under the imprint of someone who was himself Jewish: the writer and publisher John Rodker.¹⁵

¹⁴ *Ara Vos Prec* was published at almost exactly the same time as *The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion* appeared in Britain under the title of *The Jewish Peril*, January or February 1920. It took a year and a half for the book to be discredited. Norman Cohn, *Warrant for Genocide: The Myth of the Jewish World-Conspiracy and the Protocols of the Elders of Zion* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1967) 152-156. Richard S. Levy, ‘Introduction,’ *A Lie and Libel: The History of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, by Benjamin W. Segel, ed. and trans. Levy (Lincoln and London: U of Nebraska P, 1995) xii, 40-41. See also Léon Poliakov, *The History of Anti-Semitism*, vol. 4. *Suicidal Europe, 1870-1933*, trans. George Klin (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1985) 187-218. Poliakov sees a particular rise in anti-Semitism in Britain between 1915 and 1922. Colin Holmes, *Anti-Semitism in British Society 1876-1939* (London: Edward Arnold, 1979) 141-160. Holmes notes that H. H. Beamish’s *The Jews’ Who’s Who: Israelite Finance: Its Sinister Influence* was also published in the same year.

¹⁵ ‘Burbank with a Baedeker: Bleistein with a Cigar’ appeared in the magazine *Art and Letters* in 1919, but both it and ‘Gerontion’ were first published in book form in *Ara Vos Prec* in February

In the rest of this chapter, therefore, I pick out another—far less famous—collaboration in which Pound engaged, his and Wyndham Lewis's 'Imaginary Letters', to see how their representations of Jewish figures also played out in their brief but significant discussion of the relative merits of Eliot and John Rodker as writers (and human beings), and fit this in with Pound's general sense of Rodker's place in the 'Men of 1914'. I suggest that one of the roles which Rodker took up within that group, publishing their work in small press editions, was influenced by Pound's view of him, and enabled other group members, particularly Eliot, to produce certain kinds of writing which they would not otherwise have published. Finally I see what implications the idea of Jews as dangerous but necessary partners in collaboration might have in a reading of 'Gerontion'.

'Imaginary Letters': Collaboration and Dialogue

Pound and Lewis's 'Imaginary Letters', published in *The Little Review* between May 1917 and January 1918, were a series of essays in the form of letters written by two different personas, in which they discussed art, politics and sexual relations. Lewis, writing as William Bland Burn to his wife Lydia, was originally to have written the whole series, but when front line service prevented him from continuing them, Pound stepped in to write the fourth, fifth and sixth under the name of Walter Villerant, with Mrs Bland Burn still as his correspondent. On his return, although only six letters had originally been

1920. This edition announced 264 numbered, and ten unnumbered copies, but the 'frequency with which the unnumbered copies appear would indicate that a good many more than the scheduled ten were so issued.' Donald Gallup, *T. S. Eliot: A Bibliography* (London: Faber, 1969) 203, 25-26.

envisaged, Lewis added another two instalments, followed by two more by Pound.¹⁶

In both Lewis's and Pound's contributions, there appear sections which have been examined for evidence of their respective writer's antisemitism.¹⁷ But no one has examined the series as a whole, to see what relationship the two writers are working out within it, and how this affects their representation of Jews. In fact, Pound's and Lewis's parts have been republished separately, as if these were two entirely different works. And yet, as the history of the writing and publication of it shows, although Pound began by filling in while Lewis was away, it became something they both felt the need to continue with. By the end, it was a joint project, one not particularly significant in literary terms, but very much so in terms of literary history. Within the letters they fleshed out a theory of art and a theory of its audience, in which art became a kind of dialogue between collaborators rather than a direct address to the public. The Jewish references they made were not incidental to this, but were rather intimately bound up with the idea of the public sphere, and the relation of artist and audience. Moreover, these references are also the product of interaction, although

¹⁶ Wyndham Lewis, 'Imaginary Letters (Six Letters of William Bland Burn to his Wife)' [1] *The Little Review* 4.1 (May 1917): 19-23; [2] 4.2 (June 1917): 22-26; 'Imaginary Letters (Six Letters of William Bland Burn to his Wife): The Code of the Herdsman' [3] 4.3 (July 1917): 3-7. Ezra Pound, 'Imaginary Letters (Walter Villerant to Mrs. Bland Burn)' [4] *The Little Review* 4.5 (Sept 1917): 20-22; [5] 4.6 (Oct 1917): 14-17; [6] 4.7 (Nov 1917): 39-40. Lewis, 'Imaginary Letters (Six Letters of William Bland Burn to his Wife)' [7-8] *The Little Review* 4.11 (March 1918): 23-30; [9] 4.12 (April 1918): 50-54. Pound, 'Imaginary Letters (W. Villerant to the ex-Mrs. Burn)' [10] *The Little Review* 5.1 (May 1918): 52-55; 'Mr. Villerant's Morning Outburst (Four Letters)' [11] 5.7 (Nov 1918): 7-12. I have numbered the letters according to the system in Donald Gallup's Bibliography of Pound and Omar S. Pound's bibliography of Lewis. Pound's final set of letters was not to Lydia Bland Burn, but is included in his 'Imaginary Letters' in *Pavannes and Divagations*. Subsequent references will be by author, letter number and page.

¹⁷ Very little has been written in general on these pieces, and nothing on them covering both Pound and Lewis's parts. Robert Casillo touches on the antisemitic parts in Pound's 'letters'. *The Genealogy of Demons* 5, 164, 375n4. Geoff Gilbert deals thoughtfully and at some length with Lewis's antisemitism in his 'letters'. 'Shellshock, Anti-Semitism, and the Agency of the Avant-Garde' *Wyndham Lewis and the Art of Modern War*, ed. David Peters Corbett (Cambridge:

in different forms, with the partner in the collaboration. Lewis had probably completed his part before seeing Pound's contributions but, as I shall show, this part was nevertheless a form of correspondence with Pound as much as a finished artistic work. Although Lewis did not react to Pound writing as Villerant, he did think of Pound rather than a reading public as its recipient. This affected the content of his letters, particularly in his willingness to include material that would usually be seen as unsuitable for publication. Pound was writing in direct response to Lewis's letters, and Lewis's presence as another persona allowed him to express certain opinions and images of Jews by projecting them onto Lewis rather than acknowledging them as his own.

Bland Burn was one of Lewis's 'spokesmen', whose theorising was very close to Lewis's own thought.¹⁸ This was to be undercut by the circumstances of his life (being told he is not the father of his child), and of world history (the Russian Revolution), but the first three letters consisted of his meditations on self, society and art. The need to rise above physical existence expressed itself in disgusted self-descriptions, and in hostility to the 'herd' and women. '[W]hy should you expect me to admit society as anything but an organized poltrooney [*sic*] and forgetfulness?' 'As to women: wherever you can substitute the society of men.=Treat them kindly, for they suffer from the herd, although of it, and have many of the same contempts as yourself.'¹⁹ Interacting with the herd risks contamination, permeating the boundaries of the body in a way which mires the self in its physicality.

Cambridge UP, 1998) 78-97. See also Paul Edwards, *Wyndham Lewis: Painter and Writer* (New Haven and London: Yale UP, 2000) 176-178, 181, 185, 195-196, 565n36.

¹⁸ Timothy Materer and Paul Edwards both see him as a similar figure to Cantleman or Tarr. Materer, *Wyndham Lewis the Novelist* (Detroit: Wayne State UP, 1976) 70. Edwards, *Wyndham Lewis* 185.

¹⁹ Lewis, 'IL' 1: 22. Lewis, 'IL' 3: 12.

Above all this sad commerce with the herd, let something veritably remain "un peu sur la montagne." Always come down with masks and thick clothing to the valley where we work.

Stagnant gasses from these Yahooesque and rotten herds are more dangerous than the wandering cylinders that emit them. See you are not caught in them without your mask.²⁰

The war imagery of protective masks and clothing is also used in this context as a sign of physical disgust at the farting rotting masses, whose interior processes are made exterior, and risk being interiorised by the herdsmen. Such an exchange of physical processes has a hint of something sexual, and this seems to be true of all personal interaction. Bland Burn's written exchanges with Lydia also take on the value of sex: 'I wish, Lydia, you were here, with your body rasping under mine now. We could beat out this argument to another tune.'²¹

The solution to avoiding the society of women is to associate with men. Immediately after this sentence, Bland Burn adds: 'Send me more of Villerant's Aunt Sally's, or anybody else's'. (Lewis, 'IL' 1: 23). When Lydia answers for herself, he complains in the next letter 'You have not sent me any Aunt Sally but my Grecian wife.' (Lewis, 'IL' 2: 22). Burn therefore wants to have a dialogue with Walter Villerant, but it must take place through the mediation of Lydia. Direct dialogue would also be like sex, and also risk the integrity of the self. Collaboration in the 'Imaginary Letters' therefore requires some form of mediation, at this point through women. As the dialogue progressed, this role also began to be taken by Jews.

When Pound took over the correspondence, he described it to Lewis as a sexual act from which he attempted to distance himself by insisting on the reality of his persona, Villerant.

²⁰ Lewis, 'IL' 3: 12.

²¹ Lewis, 'IL' 1: 23.

Mr Villerant has written some letters for Sept. Oct. and Nov. to keep the "reader" in mind of the existence of the Burn family. This literary rape and adultery is most underhanded and scandalous. But Mr V. has unexpectedly come to life, that is by the time he gets to his second epistle. He will perhaps annoy the "public" and provide B. with Aunt Sallys. He is not controversing with B. but discussing matters other, and of interest to his effete and over civilized organism.²²

Again, Pound is not aiming at immediate dialogue, but he is also not simply working out his own personal ideas. His writing should provoke reactions from the public and from Lewis (or Bland Burn), but it should not be seen as a discussion with Burn (or Lewis), or with the public. This too would threaten the boundaries of the self.

Pound's letters included the first references to Jews. Agreeing that 'there is no truce between art and the public' (Pound, 'IL' 4: 20), Villerant nonetheless found something positive in the new immigrants to America, although it was postponed to some future date.

Unfortunately the turmoil of yidds, letts, finns, esthonians, cravats, niberians, nubians, algerians, sweeping along Eighth Avenue in the splendour of their vigorous unwashed animality will not help us. They are the America of tomorrow

[...]

The turmoil of Yidds, Letts, etc. is "full of promise", full of vitality. They are the sap of the nation, our heritors, the heritors of our ancient acquisitions. But our job is to turn out good art, that is to produce it, to make a tradition.²³

Jews are presented here as one race among many, but, by coming at the head of all this racial variety, they stand as a master signifier for America's mongrelisation. Villerant seems to be presenting this in a very positive way here, which is partly linked to his greater tolerance of the 'herd' ('I am not prey to

²² Pound/Lewis 93. Timothy Materer dates this to August 1917. Paul Edwards argues that it dates to mid-July 1917 (*Wyndham Lewis* 556n27). The actual date is not important for my argument.

²³ Pound, 'IL' 4: 21. The passage as republished in *Pavannes and Divagations* (1958) omits the 'yidds' from these groups. 'The turmoil of Finns, Letts, etc., is "full of promise"'. Pound, *Pavannes* 56. This description is very similar to that given by Pound in his 'Patria Mia' articles for *The New Age*.

William's hostilities,' he asserted in the following letter),²⁴ but also sees these immigrants as an alternative to the strictures of polite society. But it is not a simple case of Pound (or Walter Villerant) alone talking about this: he uses Lewis's persona as a sounding board for his own ambivalence.

This becomes even starker when he discusses his association with the Jewish figure of 'Levine'.

Levine is a clever man. Yes, "of course", of course I agree with you. [...] I don't wonder William wants you to get rid of him.

There is no reason why William should see him, there is no reason why William should not punch his face in an orgy of sensuous gratification, there is no reason why William should not kick him down stairs. There is no reason why any one should see him, or hear him, or endure him. And there is no reason why I should not see him. Besides he once procured me £12. I use the word "procure" with intention. It applies—temperamentally it applies to all of his acts: does he write, does he commission an article, it is all, in some way, procuration.

On the whole I do not even dislike him. He has unbounded naïveté. I am a civilized man; I can put up with anything that amuses me.

As for the french pseudo-catholics, ages of faith [...] They are a pestilent evil. The procurer is an honest and boastful tradesman in comparison.²⁵

The fantasy of violence against a Jewish figure is doubly, even triply distanced from Pound: speaking in a persona about what another writer's persona might do; though in fact it might be said that this distancing is what makes the violence possible. Furthermore, it is actually an attempt (although a very weak one) to justify why Villerant should stay in Levine's company, giving a reason which combines sex and money in a strange but suggestive way. Both money and procuration, and by implication 'Jewishness' itself, stand here for a kind of mediation, the interactions which take place between people: writer and marketplace, book and reader, even between Pound and Lewis themselves.

²⁴ Pound, 'IL' 5: 16.

²⁵ Pound, 'IL' 6: 39-40. The four-point ellipses those of the original text. In *Pavannes and Divagations* 62-63, the text is the same, but the ellipses are three-point.

Levine, the eternal middle man, is a necessary evil, but that does not make him any less evil—hence the fantasies of violence against him.

In the final part of Lewis's side of the correspondence William Bland Burn describes the political situation in Russia between the February and October Revolutions (the letter is dated 28th April) to his wife at the same time as she writes to him claiming that their child is not his.²⁶

All the Jews are mobilized. They march about in huge tribes with banners. They have formed themselves into a sort of Parliament, getting elected all over the place or electing themselves. Someone has published all their real names—a horrible list, calculated to make a pious Ally cross himself. Then a Jew called Lenin has arrived, whose real name is Rosenbauer. He prances all over the place and causes a great deal of confusion. Meantime the Russians come out with their families and watch with astonishment the proceedings of the Jews.

[...]

After this war, and the "democratisation" of all countries, no man will ever say what he means, yes, seldomer even than at present. *The thing that is not* will reign in the lands.

[...]

I therefore sally forth daily and watch the manoeuvres of my long-nosed friends with displeasure. A band of big clear-faced child-like soldiers, led by an active little bourgeois officer, counter-demonstrating, pleases me in a cheerless sort of way. Those brave, handsome ignorant children are the cream of the world now and when they grow older and thoughtful. Why cannot the *right* words be spoken to them, the *true* words, that would make them see clear to the heart of the huge fudge?²⁷

Just as the Jews hide their true names, so do their actions make all true naming impossible. This also applies by association to Lydia Bland Burn's child, Yorke: he too, if William Bland Burn is not his father, is carrying a false name. Thus the links between language and of sex are maintained here, with the failures and uncertainties of both being associated with Jewish figures.²⁸

However, this passage did not appear as it was originally written. Pound, who was Foreign Editor of *The Little Review* at the time, wrote to Margaret Anderson,

²⁶ Lewis, 'IL' 9: 53-54.

²⁷ Lewis, 'IL' 9: 52-53.

its editor and owner, and was emphatic that it could not be published as she had it.

Here AT LAST is Lewis revise.
It is simply that the long political allusion which formed nearly all of page "31" MUST absolutely come out

The letter is to run as in the enclosed mss.

...
Everything between "lands" and "So my opinion" is to come OUT.²⁹

This was not the result of Lewis exceeding Pound's sensibilities: he had sent it to Pound with a part which he did not want published. In an accompanying letter, he provided a number of notes on this piece.

- V. As you read my last two Petrograd letters keep your eye on the date at top of letter and modify if essential. = But I think it is alright. = By April 28th the Revolution period was well past the first days.
- VI. (I had to pretend that Bland didn't roger his friends for obvious reasons.)
- VII. Miss S. will give you two copies, one of which will contain a certain passage, one of which will not contain the passage. It is the one that does not [triple underlined] contain the passage that is to go to New York. Under no circumstances, as you love me, allow the copy with the passage to go. = But I should like you to see the whole thing.³⁰

This demonstrates that part of what was being worked out in these pieces was intended purely for private consumption. There is an almost erotic charge to this showing of private thoughts. Lewis leaves himself vulnerable, worried at the thought of Pound sending off parts which shouldn't be seen by others, but wanting to give them exclusively to Pound, as a sign of trust and of intimacy. Pound's panic in his letter to Anderson having sent her the wrong script shows the risks that Lewis was running.

²⁸ Adam David McKible, *The Space and Place of Modernism: The Little Magazine in New York*, diss., U of N Carolina, 1998, 168.

²⁹ Ezra Pound, 25 Feb 1918, *Pound/The Little Review: The Letters of Ezra Pound to Margaret Anderson: The Little Review Correspondence*, ed. Thomas L. Scott, Melvin J. Friedman with the assistance of Jackson R. Bryer (London: Faber, 1989) 197.

The passage which Lewis did not want published was an attack on an unnamed labour leader, a 'sweating, undeveloped ranting tearing man of the people' who would become a 'harsh and terrible ruler' if he had the chance.³¹ Lewis's fear was that the person he was describing would recognise the portrait. 'I should make an enemy at a time when I cannot afford to; for no doubt the eminent man in question reads the Little Review.'³² Coming in the middle of a passage about the Jews' part in the revolution, however, the 'man in question' becomes Jewish by association, but even the fact that the passage had to be censored comes under its own logic, as another example of true naming being made impossible.

And this passage was certainly not the only one which Lewis did not expect to be published.

[I]f there are any offensive passages, have them out, if it does not destroy sense. Otherwise let me know page & lines, & I will overhaul passage.³³

Sending his manuscripts to Pound is both a kind of safety net, allowing him to take greater risks with 'political' or sexual content, and a way of carrying on a more private conversation with him, which is never meant to be made fully public. It is once again both a means of producing literary works and an interaction which creates its own social milieu.

Pound too flirted with what could and could not be said in these letters. A translation of Baudelaire's poem XXXII from *Les Fleurs du mal* was not published in *The Little Review*, whereas it does appear in the reprint in *Pavannes and Divagations* (1958).

³⁰ Lewis to Pound, 17 July 1917, *Pound/Lewis* 89.

³¹ Edwards, *Wyndham Lewis* 565n36 reproduces this section, and suggests that the person is A. J. Cook.

³² Lewis to Pound, 26 August 1917, *Pound/Lewis* 100.

Une nuit que j'étais près d'une affreuse Juive,
Comme au long d'un cadavre un cadavre étendu,
Je me pris à songer près de ce corps vendu
A la triste beauté dont mon désir se prive.

Je me représentai sa majesté native,
Son regard de vigueur et de grâces armé,
Ses cheveux qui lui font un casque parfumé,
Et dont le souvenir pour l'amour me ravive. [...] ³⁴

One night stretched out along a hebrew bitch—
Like two corpses at the undertakers—
This carcass, sold alike to jews and quakers,
Reminded me of beauty noble and rich.
Although she stank like bacon in the fitch,
I thought of her as though the ancient makers
Had shown her mistress of a thousand acres,
Casqued and perfumed, so that my nerves 'gan twitch ³⁵

Pound's translation is clearly more repulsed—and more fascinated—by the 'hebrew bitch' than Baudelaire's poem is by the 'affreuse Juive'. The former phrase might be called a faithful transposition of Baudelaire's disgust, but rhyming it with 'fitch' and talking of her stink is certainly adding something of Pound's, and referring to a long tradition of associating Jews with pigs. Moreover, whereas the original makes a distinction between the sordid realities of sex embodied in a Jewish mistress and an ideal embodied in another woman, the translation suggests that the ideal is simply an illusion in the poet's mind. Sex is inherently mired in physical imperfections, inherently disgusting and, it seems, inherently Jewish.

Once again, however, Pound makes every effort to distance the poem's sentiments from his own. Writing in the persona of Villerant is not enough.

³³ 28 August 1917, *Pound/Lewis* 101.

³⁴ Charles Baudelaire, 'Les Fleurs du mal,' *Œuvres complètes*, vol. 1 (Gallimard, 1975) 34. This poem changed its numbering in different editions of *Les Fleurs du mal*: XXXI in the 1857 edition, which spelt 'juive' with a lower case 'j', XXXII in 1861, and XXXIII in 1868. In some composite editions, the addition of two of the banned 1857 poems to the 1861 numbering gives the poem as XXXIV. Since the 1861 edition is generally considered definitive, this is the numbering I have used. See 'Note on the Text,' *The Flowers of Evil*, by Baudelaire, trans. James McGowan (Oxford and New York: Oxford UP, 1993) xxxviii-xlviii.

Villerant introduces his translation rather off-handedly, and almost immediately disowns it: 'the Beaudelairian [*sic*] "vigour" seems to me now too facile a mechanism.'³⁶ But these devices were also insufficient, and the translation did not appear in *The Little Review*. It is nonetheless likely that it was written at the same time of the rest of this passage, and then cut, as the comments on Baudelaire were included.

Through the 'Imaginary Letters', Pound and Lewis were working out a number of points which were enabled by and fed back into their collaboration. Attempts to distinguish between themselves and the general public appeared both in published expressions of contempt, and in the fact that some parts of the dialogue were to be kept private. Artistic doctrines could be tested out through the mouths of personas and then disavowed when the personas became more concrete, more like characters. But the process of dialogue, of distinguishing public and private, of forming and expressing opinions about the public, was bound up with the figures of Jews. The 'vigour' they represented for Pound could become the anarchy and lack of order they symbolised for Lewis. Their necessity as intermediaries for intercourse—of the verbal kind, but imaged as sexual—shown by Levine could also become the perversion of language demonstrated by Lenin/Rosenbauer. And these representations played out in real decisions whether or not to publish or censor certain parts of the dialogue.

³⁵ Ezra Pound, *Pavannes and Divagations* (Norfolk, CT: New Directions, 1958) 74.

³⁶ Pound, 'IL' 11: 12. *Pavannes* 74 with corrected spelling.

Lewis, Pound, the 'Men of 1914', and Rodker

They also played out in decisions about who to publish or not. Two years before this, Pound was discussing with Lewis who would make the more effective contribution to the second number of *BLAST*: T. S. Eliot or John Rodker.

With regard to future potentialities I think this thing of Eliot's would probably be more advantageous than anything of Rodker's admitting that it is a bit archaic = still as the mouthpiece of intelligence, one would better be the mouthpiece of Eliot than of Rodker.³⁷

Lewis replied:

Thank you for Elliot [*sic*] poem. It is very respectable and intelligent verse, as you say, & I found Rodker a most poisonous little bugger on Saturday, repellently hoarse (this may be a form of jealousy) & with abominable teeth, not to mention his manners. I am sure you cant say anything too bad about him. He told me he had written a lot of filthy sexual verse, which, if he sends it, I shall hang in the W.C. He described it as Verlainesque, damn his dirty little eyes.³⁸

It would be unfair to Pound (and even to Lewis) to say that they preferred Eliot on the sole grounds that he was not Jewish, but it would be equally wrong-headed to deny that this question has no part in their discussion. In fact, Lewis's own antisemitism is quite evident in the fact that, according to Eliot, he claimed to find Maxwell Bodenheim (an American Jewish poet who attempted— unsuccessfully—to begin a career in London) more tolerable than Rodker, implying that the company of Jews was to be tolerated rather than sought out.³⁹ The physical and intellectual features which they discuss amount to a racial portrait of Rodker, and Lewis's disgust at his physical presence is also projected onto his opinion of Rodker's verse. There is, it seems, something about his

³⁷ Pound to Lewis, before July 1915, *Pound/Lewis: The Letters of Ezra Pound and Wyndham Lewis*, ed. Timothy Materer (London: Faber, 1985) 12-13.

³⁸ Lewis to Pound, before July 1915, *Pound/Lewis* 13.

³⁹ T. S. Eliot, letter to Pound, 3 July 1920, *The Letters of T. S. Eliot Volume 1: 1898-1922*, ed. Valerie Eliot (London: Faber, 1988) 389.

Jewishness which makes him overly sexual, and that sexuality itself in some way perverse, even excremental. Nonetheless, there is something about this that Lewis finds compelling, maybe even necessary—he might, he concedes, be jealous of the man.

Lewis's use of the word 'respectable' to describe Eliot's verse is also a little surprising. It sets up an opposition between an acceptable, non-trouble-making Eliot, and an unacceptable, overly sexual Rodker. In a discussion of editorial policy for *BLAST*, one might expect a little more weight to be given to verse that might have some shock value, particularly as it is quite clear that Lewis had not read Rodker's work. In fact, Eliot had sent some of his own 'filthy sexual verse' to Lewis.

Eliot has sent me Bullshit & the Ballad for Big Louise. They are excellent bits of scholarly ribaldry. I am longing to print them in Blast; but stick to my naif determination to have no "Words Ending in -Uck, -Unt and -Ugger."⁴⁰

Eliot's 'Triumph of Bullshit' will be briefly discussed later in this chapter, but what is important here is the way in which Eliot and Rodker at this point have more in common for Lewis and Pound than might at first seem likely.

Between this discussion and the publication of the Rodker's editions of Pound, Eliot and Lewis's work in 1920, neither Pound nor Lewis fully disowns Rodker, while seeming not entirely comfortable with his presence among them. In the surveys of London literary life which Pound occasionally sends to the editors of American little magazines, he concentrates, unsurprisingly, on the 'Men of 1914' (himself, Eliot, Joyce and Lewis), but Rodker frequently seems to be floating on the edge of this group, neither fully in nor out. And what marks

⁴⁰ Lewis to Pound, January 1915, *Pound/Lewis* 8.

him for possible success in Pound's mind seems to be the quality that Lewis found so repulsive and so fascinating.

Writing to Alice Corbin Henderson, Pound sketches out a set of relationships which broadly correspond to the 'Men of 1914'. Even in 1915, however, the exclusiveness of these four men was not so clear-cut. At the end of one of his first surveys Pound concludes:

For the rest, Lewis and Joyce are the two men of genius, Rodker has a small vein, but his own. Eliot has a quaint mind full of intelligence. And that is about the circle of my interests. Lewis now and again gets a good bit of work out of one of his followers.⁴¹

At this stage, the 'Men of 1914' do not yet seem to be in existence. All the names are there, with the additional presence of Rodker, but Rodker and Eliot are not on the level of Lewis and Joyce. In fact, they are described in very similar terms: a 'small vein' and a 'quaint mind' both have connotations of smallness and inconsequentiality.

Eliot gradually begins to rise to the level of Joyce and Lewis in Pound's letters to Henderson.

Lewis has done a korking [*sic*] novel. Joyce's book is not yet published. Eliot has a job and I am afraid it uses up too much of his time.

After some references to a handful of other writers and artists, he concludes:

Rodker has a trace of something. The others seem struck dead. Eliot alone seems likely to matter.⁴²

Although Eliot is not yet producing work worthy of comparison with Lewis and Joyce, he does at least deserve mentioning in the same breath. Rodker is now presented as a decidedly secondary talent, although one still worth following, whereas Eliot has the potential to do something important.

⁴¹ Ezra Pound, 9 Aug 1915, *The Letters of Ezra Pound to Alice Corbin Henderson*, ed. Ira B. Nadel (Austin: U of Texas P, 1993) 120.

⁴² 30 Oct 1915, *Letters to Henderson* 124.

By March 1917, the 'Men of 1914' seem securely formed in Pound's mind, but Rodker's place is not so easy to pin down. After discussing what he calls 'various sub-contemporaries' (Amy Lowell, John Gould Fletcher, Lawrence, H.D. and Richard Aldington), Pound writes:

Rodker is silly and unballanced, [sic] *but* he has just done a story with something to it. And I am not sure but he may go further than any of them.

Joyce, Eliot and Lewis are the only men I at the moment believe in. For Rodker I have hopes.⁴³

Rodker seems to be floating between the 'sub-contemporaries' and the 'men I [...] believe in', and the temporal qualifier seems to leave open the possibility of him joining these ranks.

Like Lewis being occupied at the front, and Eliot at the bank, Rodker too was occupied with other matters than writing. As a conscientious objector, who spent much time in prison or on the run during the latter part of the war, Rodker sometimes was simply not there to be able to produce any work. Whereas Pound was prepared to keep Lewis's name before the public eye (such as by stepping in to keep the 'Imaginary Letters' going), he regarded Rodker as a 'Goddddammm fool' who was 'running with a beastly crowd of objectors'.⁴⁴ The former of these comments seems to be referring to Rodker's unavailability, since Pound is discussing the dearth of possible contributors to *The Little Review*. At this time, Rodker's copy of *The Little Review* was being sent to Pound, presumably because he did not have a fixed address.⁴⁵ Pound's distaste for Rodker's protest may even reveal a certain awareness of and dislike for the

⁴³ 8-9 March 1917, *Letters to Henderson* 199.

⁴⁴ Ezra Pound, 17 May 1917, *The Selected Letters of Ezra Pound to John Quinn 1915-1924*, ed. Timothy Materer (Durham and London: Duke UP, 1991) 119. Pound to Williams, 10 June 1916, *Pound/Williams: The Selected Letters of Ezra Pound and William Carlos Williams*, ed. Hugh Witemeyer (New York: New Directions, 1996) 28.

⁴⁵ *Pound/The Little Review* 173.

Jewish socialist groups who were the inspiration behind it, but it does not completely rule Rodker out as someone with whom he wishes to work.

When Pound started writing to Margaret Anderson of *The Little Review* the same year, he considered the magazine as a vehicle for Lewis, Joyce, Eliot and himself. The two other possibilities—‘*les jeunes*’—were Rodker and Iris Barry. Again, he was the person who was more defensive of Rodker. Although the letters of Margaret Anderson to him do not survive, he was quite clearly defending him against her disparagement.

The Iris Barry and the Rodker stuff is not a compromise but a bet. I stake my critical position, or some part of it, on a belief that both of them *will* do something. I am not risking much, because I have seen a lot of their mss. [...] Rodker has convinced me, at last, that he ‘has it in him.’ And we must have *les jeunes*. Rodker ought to be up to regulation in a few years’ time.

He will go farther than Richard Aldington, though I don’t expect anyone to believe that statement for some time. He has more invention, more guts. His father did not have a library full of classics, but he will learn.⁴⁶

Wyndham Lewis, while praising Pound for his ability to spot and promote major talents such as Joyce and Eliot, also noted that he tended to take an over-enthusiastic interest in far less impressive writers.

[O]ne of the peculiarities of Ezra Pound is that he in the same breath will deliver himself of judgements regarding writers of very great intellectual power—say Mr. Joyce—that are discerning and just: judgements of writers possessing no interest whatsoever, for man or god, which are undeniably silly. [...] He knows a good thing when he sees it, and needless to say he does first-rate things himself. But he does not know a dull thing when he sees it.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ 11 June 1917, *Pound/The Little Review* 63. Pound is probably repeating the word compromise from Anderson’s letter. ‘I loathe compromise’ she had told her readers in an early issue, before punishing them in the next for substandard submissions with a magazine consisting of blank pages, and famously used the subtitle ‘Making no compromise with the public taste’. Margaret C. Anderson, ‘A Real Magazine,’ *The Little Review* 3.5 (August 1916): 2. The September issue was left half blank.

⁴⁷ Wyndham Lewis, *Men Without Art*, ed. Seamus Cooney (Santa Rosa: Black Sparrow Press, 1987) 56-57. One instance, which Lewis does not mention, of this tendency in Pound is his praise for the Spectralist poems which appeared in *The Little Review* and subsequently turned out to be hoaxes. *Pound/The Little Review* 111.

Rodker might be seen as an example of the kind of writer Lewis mentions here. However, Lewis was not entirely negative about him: he considered publishing some of Rodker's poems in *BLAST*, and did include some of his pieces in *The Tyro* five years later. However, Pound's investment in (or bet on) Rodker shows a far more sustained interest than this. Although he liked nothing better than a promising talent which he could help to achieve its promise, however meagre that might be, Pound still tended to draw an absolute dividing line between those kinds of writers and the inner circle. Rodker falls somewhere in between the two. Nonetheless, Pound's ambivalence about Rodker can, I shall now argue, be seen in a piece of doggerel which also appeared anonymously in *The Little Review* at about the same time as Pound was defending Rodker to its editor.

Bury bloody Bodenheim
 Bury bloody Bodenheim
 Bury bloody Bodenheim
 And Johnny Rodker too

E. J.⁴⁸

Maxwell Bodenheim had appeared fairly frequently in the pages of Margaret Anderson's magazine, and had been joint winner (with H.D.) of its free verse award.⁴⁹ Rodker had only had a few of his poems published in one number. Apart from the dubious quality of both of their oeuvres at this point, the only significant point they seem to have had in common was that they were Jewish. The sense that this piece of verse has an antisemitic underlying cause is reinforced by its positioning after a letter complaining about foreign influence in American letters.

⁴⁸ 'The Reader Critic,' *The Little Review* 4.5 (Sept 1917): 34.

⁴⁹ 'The Vers Libre Contest,' *The Little Review* 3.10 (April 1917): 11-23.

On 17 August 1917, in one of his letters to Margaret Anderson, Ezra Pound enclosed

an autograph signed E.J. (I know it's a J. though a stranger mightn't. hence [*sic*] the typed statement.)

I leave it to your discretion. It shows feeling.⁵⁰

Given Pound's somewhat uncomfortable tone with dealing with this contribution, and the fact that there are no other contributions by an 'E.J.' in the next few months' issues, I would suggest that this is the piece that he sent in. Although it was not very long before the date of publication, the poem was short enough to be added at the last minute and from its placement at end of the 'Reader Critic' (letters) section seems partly to have been used as a filler for what was probably one of the last sections to be typeset.⁵¹

Assuming that this poem was the one sent in by Pound, he certainly seems somewhat embarrassed by it, irrespective of whether he wrote it himself. Indeed, it seems to be treated with the same kind of coyness as parts of the 'Imaginary Letters'. He certainly had mixed feelings about Bodenheim—interest in his poetry, but also resentment at criticisms he had made of Pound two months before.⁵² Rodker produced an equally mixed reaction in him, because of the very thing Pound praised to Margaret Anderson: his 'guts'.

⁵⁰ Pound/*The Little Review* 115.

⁵¹ Pound certainly did send in a number of similar pseudonymous pieces attacking other writers, which were published in 'The Reader Critic' section. Unsigned: 'Advice to a Young Poet,' *The Little Review* 4.8 (Dec 1917): 58-59 (an attack on Bodenheim); under the pseudonym of Abel Sanders, 'Mr Lindsay,' *The Little Review* 4.9 (Jan 1918): 54-55. Donald Gallup lists both of these in his bibliography as C310 and C318a. Gallup, *Ezra Pound* 246-247. Pound also introduced the latter of these to Anderson in the third person: 'I trust Mr. Abel Sander's [*sic*] little attempt may find a place in the correspondence col.' 6 Nov 1917, *Pound/The Little Review* 147.

⁵² Pound first wrote to Williams about Bodenheim asking him 'What sort of an animal is he?' On Williams's reply (not preserved), Pound wrote '*I was afraid so.*' Pound to Williams, May/June 1916, 10 June 1916, *Pound/Williams* 26, 28. Hugh Witemeyer suggests, reasonably, that Pound was referring to Bodenheim's being Jewish. 27n.

Rodker's 'guts', I would suggest, represent his willingness to write and publish unpalatable material, particularly sexual material. As a conscientious objector he had put himself in an oppositional relationship with the general culture. As a writer and publisher, he was prepared to produce work which other publishers would not touch. When *Ulysses*, for example, could not find a publisher in Britain, Rodker was put forward as someone who could print the 'obscene' parts.⁵³ Like the editors of *The Little Review* and *The Egoist*, he had had a background in political radicalism, and this kind of oppositional attitude to received opinion and the legal system made him very useful to the 'Men of 1914' as well as not entirely one of them. Like Pound's/Villerant's description of Levine, everything he does is a kind of 'procuring'.

Ara Vos Prec and the Avant-Garde

One example of Rodker's usefulness to the 'men of 1914' is the edition of Eliot's poetry which Rodker produced: *Ara Vos Prec*. It included two poems that had never been published before—'Gerontion' and 'Ode'—and the latter of these was never published again in Eliot's lifetime. Sending it to his brother, Eliot treated the book as if it were virtually a piece of pornography.

I have not sent this to Mother or told her about it. I thought of cutting out the page on which there occurs a poem called "Ode" and sending the book as if there had been an error and an extra page put in. Will you read through the new poems and give your opinion. The "Ode" is *not* in the edition that Knopf is publishing, all the others are. And I suppose she will have to see that book. Do you think that "Sweeney Erect" will shock her?

⁵³ 6 July 1919, *Letters to Quinn* 177. Also see Pound's letter to Joyce of 2 Aug 1920, *Pound/Joyce: The Letters of Ezra Pound to James Joyce, with Pound's Essays on Joyce*, ed. Forrest Read (London: Faber, 1968) 183. Rodker was prepared to give an imprint to the book even if he could not print it himself. For an account of the process of *Ulysses*' publication, including the roles Rodker was considered for, see Lawrence Rainey, *Institutions of Modernism: Literary Elites and Public Culture* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1998) 42-76.

Some of the new poems, the Sweeney ones, especially “Among the Nightingales” and “Burbank” are intensely serious, and I think these two are among the best that I have ever done. But even here I am considered by the ordinary Newspaper critic as a wit or a satirist, and in America I suppose I shall be thought merely disgusting.⁵⁴

‘Ode’ is, quite clearly, a great source of anxiety for Eliot, and he only wants to circulate it within a limited sphere. But rather than being an exception to his poetry at this time, it is its limit case. ‘Sweeney Erect’ also has the potential to shock, and ‘Burbank’ and ‘Sweeney among the Nightingales’ to disgust, and ‘Ode’ certainly does have features in common with these three poems: polysyllabic vocabulary, bathetic rhymes and a sense of inexplicable violence. Publishing all of this material brings anxieties with it. I therefore want to consider what the implications of publishing ‘Ode’ were, and what this says about publishing his other poems in *Ara Vos Prec.*

*To you particularly, and to all the Volscians
Great hurt and mischief.*

TIRED.
Subterrene laughter synchronous
With silence from the sacred wood
And bubbling of the uninspired
Mephitic river.

Misunderstood
The accents of the now retired
Profession of the calamus.

Tortured.
When the bridegroom smoothed his hair
There was blood upon the bed.
Morning was already late.
Children singing in the orchard
(Io Hymen, Hymenæe)
Succuba eviscerate.

Tortuous.
By arrangement with Perseus
The fooled resentment of the dragon

⁵⁴ Letter to Henry Eliot, 15 February 1920, *Letters of T. S. Eliot* 363. The American Poems 1920 replaced it with the prose poem ‘Hysteria’.

Sailing before the wind at dawn.
 Golden apocalypse. Indignant
 At the cheap extinction of his taking-off.
 Now lies he there
 Tip to tip washed beneath Charles' Wagon.⁵⁵

Generally, it has been thought that Eliot refused to republish this poem because it was too painfully personal, and/or because it did not conform to his own poetic tenets and/or because it was not very good poetry.⁵⁶ However much truth there may be in this argument, it does not deal with the fact that Eliot did publish it, even if in a very limited edition.⁵⁷ It also tends to concentrate on the middle section of the poem, when the first section also has implications for its being published and read.

Not that this focus on the middle section is completely unreasonable, however. As in many of the quatrain poems, a wilfully impenetrable set of lines clarify around an image of physical disgust, which attracts attention because it makes much more sense than the rest of the poem. This could be a relatively innocuous scene, but there is something disturbing about the absence of the bride. The bridegroom's hair has become ruffled, he has been involved in some sort of physical activity, which, presumably, is what has left the blood, but is it sexual or violent, or some combination of the two? The sense of unease is increased by the line 'Succuba eviscerate', which may have some relation to the blood being left, but is also disturbing precisely because it is very hard to see

⁵⁵ *Ara Vos Prec* 30. The manuscript version is given in Eliot, *Inventions of the March Hare* 383.

⁵⁶ Vicki Mahaffey, "The Death of Saint Narcissus" and "Ode": Two Suppressed Poems by T. S. Eliot' *American Literature* 50.4 (Jan 1979): 605. James E. Miller, Jr., *T. S. Eliot's Personal Waste Land: Exorcism of the Demons* (University Park, PA and London: Pennsylvania State UP, 1977) 53. Svarny, 'The Men of 1914' 158. H. A. Mason, 'Eliot's "Ode"—A Neglected Poem?' *The Cambridge Quarterly* 19.4 (1990): 303-335.

⁵⁷ Eliot described it as an edition for 'private circulation'. Letter to John Quinn, 9 July 1919, *Letters of T. S. Eliot* 314. The inclusion of 'Ode' may have been because of some pressure from Rodker for new material. Announcing a 'new poem' (Gerontion) to him and holding out the prospect of another, Eliot said 'I hope that the book may be more nearly what you had in mind'. Letter to Rodker, 9 July 1919, *Letters of T. S. Eliot* 312.

what this sentence means (assuming it is a sentence—possibly the children are the subject of ‘eviscerate’ and perform a kind of evisceration by being born). Succuba is an alternative form for succubus (OED), but it is harder to place ‘eviscerate’. If it is a verb, it has to be an imperative, but this does not fit with the punctuation. It could possibly be a past participle, rather like incarnate, but it resolves comfortably into neither grammatical category, hovering between active and passive, a stem without the grammatical ending which would allow it to be assigned a syntactic place.⁵⁸ As with so much of Eliot’s work at this time, there is a hard to pin down feeling of violence with women as its object, or perhaps as its subject, and the indeterminacy of whether they are subject or object increases the anxiety and promotes the violence. The first stanza, however, is also significant. The worries of the first section seem to mirror those in his letter to his brother. Rather than his writing being taken seriously, it causes, or is accompanied by, laughter, and is misunderstood.

The coming together in ‘Ode’ of a sexual subject matter and anxiety about its circulation shows more, therefore, than just Eliot’s concern about his mother getting her hands on some dirty verses. ‘Ode’ can be seen as an image of its own circumstances of publication and circulation. These too are a source of anxiety, disgust, fear, a sense of uncertainty whether the reader is doing violence to the poem or the other way round.

⁵⁸ OED lists one meaning of ‘eviscerate’ as a past participle, meaning ‘drawn from the bowels of the earth’. So this even increases the ambiguity: what is inside what? Mahaffey, ‘Two Suppressed Poems’ 610. Vicki Mahaffey also notes the grammatical ambiguity of this word, but resolves the scene a little too comfortably into the perceptions of the bridegroom. ‘Two Suppressed Poems’ 610. Eliot originally wrote ‘Sullen succuba suspired’, still giving no clue as to whether succuba is the subject of an active or passive verb, but at least making some grammatical sense.

Erik Svarny points out that the epigraph of 'Ode' is wrenched out of its original context in order to form 'an implicit attack on the reader,'⁵⁹ and indeed this is true of much of the poetry in *Ara Vos Prec*. Despite his protestations to his brother, disgust is one of the sensations Eliot seems to be aiming at producing, and this is often achieved through depriving the lines of any context. What they mean, and how they relate to each other, is very hard to say, and the bewilderment resulting from this lack of connection increases the focus on the images of disgust. Svarny argues that these kinds of attacks result from the fact that Eliot was working 'within a context of oppositional avant-garde literature prevalent in the years during and immediately after the First World War.' As foreigners, Eliot and Pound 'were working in an environment which they could not help but be more radically detached from than even the most "alienated" native poet'.⁶⁰

In such a situation, collaboration allowed the creation of a social context within which work could be produced and circulated, without it having to be in direct contact with the market or the general public. Just as Lewis did with his 'Imaginary Letters', Eliot was able to produce his poetry knowing that it would be first viewed by Pound. In this context, he was able to write and circulate verse which he might not have been comfortable sending for immediate publication, or indeed, for any form of publication at all. In the same way as Lewis cemented his relationship with Pound by sending him pieces he would not risk publishing, Eliot too circulated verses that functioned as a means of binding himself to his

⁵⁹ Svarny, 'Men of 1914' 159. *Coriolanus* IV.5.71-72.

⁶⁰ Svarny, 'Men of 1914' 2, 87. Similar accounts of modernism's position are given by Andreas Huyssen, *After the Great Divide: Modernism, Mass Culture, Postmodernism* (Basingstoke and London: Macmillan, 1986) and Michael H. Levenson, *A Genealogy of Modernism: A Study of English Literary Doctrine 1908-1922* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1984) 136-139.

correspondents, verses such as 'The Triumph of Bullshit', which he sent to Lewis in 1915.

Ladies on whom my attentions have waited
 If you consider my merits are small
 Etiolated, alembicated,
 Orotund, tasteless, fantastical,
 Monotonous, crotchety, constipated,
 Impotent galamatias
 Affected, possibly imitated,
 For Christ's sake stick it up your ass.⁶¹

These lines have much in common with some of the quatrain poems in their deliberately abstruse vocabulary and tone of brittle humour, and much in common too with 'Ode'. Eliot's 'merits' seem to be some combination of sex and writing, and the fear of their rejection turns into an expression of sexual or verbal violence.

Michael North has written on the use of 'black dialect' between Pound and Eliot in some of their letters as a form of language which 'became in their correspondence an intimate code, a language of in-jokes and secrets.'

As a violation of standard English, dialect became the sign of Pound and Eliot's collaboration against the London literary establishment and the literature it produced. Dialect became, in other words, the private double of the modernist poetry they were jointly creating and publishing in these years.⁶²

The parallel North is suggesting here is an extremely interesting one, but it extends beyond the use of dialect. Racism, sexism, and antisemitism fulfilled a similar function, as in the verses above or those dealing with the sexual escapades of 'King Bolo'.⁶³ However, although one of the functions of this kind

⁶¹ Eliot, *Inventions of the March Hare* 307. Christopher Ricks notes that the date on the manuscript reads either 1910 or 1916, but that the former seems the more likely. See David Chinitz, 'T. S. Eliot's Blue Verses and Their Sources in the Folk Tradition,' *Journal of Modern Literature* 23.2 (Winter 1999-2000): 329-333.

⁶² Michael North, *The Dialect of Modernism: Race, Language and Twentieth Century Literature* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1994) 77.

⁶³ This is also Peter Brooker's reading of the Bolo verses. *Bohemia in London* 144-145.

of verse does seem to be to draw a distinction between private and public, North makes this distinction too absolute. 'Ode' was of course published, and Lewis seems to have been at least tempted to include 'The Triumph of Bullshit' in *BLAST*. Similarly lewd pieces by Pound were originally to head *The Waste Land*. It would be wrong to assume that these suggestions were never meant seriously: a decade later, Pound's 'Yiddisher Charleston Band' was published in Louis Zukofsky's *Objectivists Anthology* (1932). Parts of the typescript of *The Waste Land* had very similar subject matter to the Bolo and *Ara Vos Prec* poems: descriptions of urination (the young man carbuncular) and excretion (Fresca), and containing antisemitic jibes ('Dirge'). A constant, double-edged need is at work here: to set the boundaries between public and private circulation of literature, between the market-place and the coterie, but also to violate them. 'Private' material—scurrilous, semi-pornographic, or antisemitic writing—performed this double function, depending on how it was circulated: between friends it cemented alliances against the general culture; when it was forced into the 'public' sphere, it became a means of shocking and disgusting it.

That it was Rodker who published 'Ode' is not, therefore, a coincidence. Of all of Eliot's poetry, it is the closest to Rodker's own writing, which often only found an outlet in French translations because of its risqué content. Concerning his own poetry, Rodker described himself with hindsight as 'hanging in the void' when he wrote it, and that the 'main function' of some of it 'was to shock'.⁶⁴ Rodker is quite clear that shocking is a form of establishing contact, and this applies equally to Eliot's work at the time of their association. But it is a certain kind of contact, under very restricted conditions. Wanting to shock the audience

indicates a need to move them, to connect with them in some way, but it is also a way of keeping them at a distance.

Allison Pease has described Eliot's approach to art in a similar way, as an attempt to 'revitalize not only the individual, but eventually the entire culture' through 'the "direct shock of poetic intensity"'. This, she argues, is not simply opposed to mass culture, but uses techniques taken from less consecrated cultural forms. Rather than promoting disinterested contemplation of an artwork, modernist techniques were an attempt to provoke physical reactions in a way similar to pornography.⁶⁵ Pease may be overdrawing the parallel here, but it is also borne out by the limited circulation given to 'Ode', and the anxiety circulating it produced. Indeed, as Lawrence Rainey points out, private editions were often a means of publishing sexual material without the same risks of prosecution.⁶⁶

All of this indicates that any attempt being made to revitalize the culture had to go about it in an indirect way, and one of the sites at which this indirection had to be achieved was publication. Eliot's position as the writer and Rodker's as the publisher of 'Ode' might then be said to be the end result of the distinction drawn between the two of them by Pound and Lewis. Rodker, as someone 'unballanced' and prone to writing 'filthy sexual verse' could fill the role of mediator between Eliot and a wider public, while remaining marginal to the 'Men of 1914'.

This is where Erik Svarny's definition of how modernism related to the general public and to mass culture can work with a more recent vein of criticism

⁶⁴ John Rodker 'A Note' *Collected Poems 1912-1925* (Paris: The Hours Press, 1930), reprinted in Crozier, 179-180. The original text was in italics. I consider this note at greater length in Chapter 3.

⁶⁵ Allison Pease, *Modernism, Mass Culture, and the Aesthetics of Obscenity* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2000) 167.

⁶⁶ Rainey, *Institutions of Modernism* 48.

which has taken a more economically nuanced position.⁶⁷ As Paul Delany argues, Eliot and Pound could aggressively attempt to make their works unmarketable, but also had a 'craving [...] for absorption and acceptance'.⁶⁸ The contradiction between these two stances was partly worked out through the means of publication.

Lawrence Rainey sees the use of limited editions as part of the way in which modernism explored its relationship with the domain of public culture.

Modernism's ambiguous achievement [...] was to probe the interstices dividing that variegated field and to forge within it a strange and unprecedented space for cultural production, one that did indeed entail a certain retreat from the domain of public culture, but one that also continued to overlap and intersect with the public realm in a variety of contradictory ways.⁶⁹

Naming Eliot as a stranger and foreigner, therefore, needs some qualification and some precision.⁷⁰ Is Eliot a stranger to the English tradition or England's literary marketplace, the English nation, the English establishment or the English populace? The differing interpretations of Eliot's strangerhood result in part from addressing the question in differing ways.

⁶⁷ Ian Willison, Warwick Gould and Warren Chernaik, eds., *Modernist Writers and the Marketplace* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996). Kevin J. H. Dettmar and Stephen Watt, eds., *Marketing Modernisms: Self-Promotion, Canonization, Rereading* (Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 1996). Joyce Piell Wexler, *Who Paid for Modernism?: Art, Money, and the Fiction of Conrad, Joyce, and Lawrence* (Fayetteville: U of Arkansas P, 1997). Charles Ferrall gives a good summary of the state of the debate. *Modernist Writing and Reactionary Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2001) 3-4.

⁶⁸ Paul Delany, 'Who Paid for Modernism?' *The New Economic Criticism: Studies at the Intersection of Literature and Economics*, ed. Martha Woodmansee and Mark Osteen (London: Routledge, 1999), 338.

⁶⁹ Lawrence Rainey, *Institutions of Modernism: Literary Elites and Public Culture* (New Haven and London: Yale UP, 1998) 3.

⁷⁰ Michael North's reading of Eliot's poetry of this time as what Deleuze and Guattari term a 'minor literature', and enacting a 'deterritorialization' is especially problematic, since it co-opts terms originally used to describe the writings of Kafka in order to talk about poetry in which antisemitic imagery is so prevalent. North, *The Dialect of Modernism* 80. 'Minor literature' is also a problematic term in itself. See Chana Kronfeld, *On the Margins of Modernism: Decentering Literary Dynamics* (Berkeley: U of California P, 1996).

Jean-Michel Rabaté has argued that it would be better to think of Eliot as a 'metic', as Eliot described himself to his wife's friend Mary Hutchinson in a letter written while he was working on 'Tradition and the Individual Talent'.

I don't know whether I think you more complicated than you are—but I have fewer *delusions* about you than you think—but no doubt a great deal of *ignorance*. I certainly don't recognize the portrait you hold up as painted by me. But remember that I am a *metic*—a foreigner, and that I *want* to understand you, and all the background and tradition of you. I shall try to be frank—because the attempt is so very much worth while with you—it is very difficult with me—both by inheritance and because of my very suspicious and cowardly disposition. But I may simply prove to be a savage.⁷¹

The 'term "metic" looks more adequate as a self-description than "savage,"' Rabaté argues, 'for it designates not a total foreigner, but a stranger who is admitted to the city (originally of Athens) because of his utility: he pays certain taxes (and Eliot's toils in a bank may be relevant there) and is granted rights and franchises although rarely admitted fully into the communal mysteries.'⁷²

Eliot's solution to his position is not to cut himself off from the market, or the nation, or tradition, but to articulate it through an intermediary. This has, as I have been arguing, implications for the ways in which he publishes, but it is also in operation in his aesthetic. Gabriel Pearson has suggested that the quatrain poems and 'Gerontion' enact a hostility to the reader, in which the anti-Jewish elements in these poems are subsumed under a general attack on a general reader.⁷³ This subsumption is itself an expression of hostility to Jews by assuming that they are repulsive, but it is using them as a means of interacting

⁷¹ Letter to Mary Hutchinson, 11? July 1919, *Letters of T. S. Eliot* 318. Jean-Michel Rabaté, 'Tradition and T. S. Eliot,' *The Cambridge Companion to T. S. Eliot*, ed. A. David Moody (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1994) 212. Rabaté is also cited in Marjorie Perloff, *21st-Century Modernism: The New Poetics* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001) 33.

⁷² Jean-Michel Rabaté, 'Tradition and T. S. Eliot' 212. J. C. C. Mays finds in Eliot's 1920 poems a 'pervasive', 'measured tone of aloofness and pretense, composed with great care and skill', a 'mimic[ry]' of 'upper-class English patterns of belief and behaviour' Mays 118. This is not to say that there is no parallel between the modernist cosmopolitanism of Eliot and Pound and the situation of some contemporary Jewish writers. Cheyette, *Constructions of 'the Jew'* 242-243.

with an audience. Similarly, I now want to argue, the figure of the 'jew' in 'Gerontion' serves as a means of articulating Eliot's relationship with English literary tradition, as well as a means of meditating on his status as a 'metic'.

'Gerontion' and the Necessity of Jewishness

My house is a decayed house
And the jew squats on the window sill, the owner,
Spawned in some estaminet of Antwerp,
Blistered in Brussels, patched and peeled in London. (*AVP* 11)

In these lines, Eliot presents two kinds of homelessness. As Anthony Julius puts it, 'the "jew" owns a property in which he cannot live; Gerontion lives in a property that he does not own.'⁷⁴ But it is the former who seems to be the more afflicted by this condition, his cosmopolitan history apparently causing his disintegration, from the overabundant reproduction of spawn to the sloughing off of skin into blisters, patches and peels. This physical disfigurement may also be evident in his action of 'squatting' ('[h]e crouches because he is weak', claims Julius),⁷⁵ but this also has implications of a kind of homelessness. As someone who is neither sitting nor standing, he is not quite at rest nor in motion. Nor—as a squatter—is he conclusively the house's owner.⁷⁶

As the poem goes on, however, it becomes quite clear that while Gerontion may not be falling apart physically, his mind is disintegrating, and this is bound up with the decay of the property in which he lives. He is a 'dull head among windy spaces', an 'old man in a draughty house'. 'We have not reached conclusion, when I / Stiffen in a rented house.' The breaking down of interior

⁷³ Pearson, 'Eliot' 86-87.

⁷⁴ Julius, *T. S. Eliot, Anti-Semitism* 41.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* 47.

and exterior spaces symbolised by the wind blowing through Gerontion's house equally breaks down the absolute distinction between being at rest and in motion: as a wanderer Gerontion is 'driven on the Trades', but he is equally subject to them when at home.⁷⁷ This also, finally, applies to the interior space of his mind, so much so that it becomes impossible to determine whether he has a mind at all. The self becomes little more than the repetition of the word 'I'. 'Is it an earnest that the Jew is socially and spiritually rotten or that the dry brain which savours such sour gusto has rotted?' asks Christopher Ricks.⁷⁸ But the brain is so rotten that it becomes synonymous with the poem. The strange juxtapositions and lack of connection between sentences are not really attributable to a speaker called Gerontion: they simply become the means of progression of the poem 'Gerontion'.

There has been a tendency in criticism to concentrate on the first part of this equation (Gerontion as a disintegrating personality) rather than the second ('Gerontion' as a radical poetic method of organising material). However, the creation of the latter at the expense of the former has significant similarities to the prescriptions of 'Tradition and the Individual Talent'.

[T]he poet has, not a 'personality' to express, but a particular medium, which is only a medium and not a personality, in which impressions and experiences combine in peculiar and unexpected ways.⁷⁹

Eliot's references to *The Revenger's Tragedy* in this essay are of course matched by the pastiches of Jacobean verse in 'Gerontion'. Just as Middleton's play gives an example of how this impersonality is achieved, so, according to

⁷⁶ OED gives 'squat' as 'to settle upon new, uncultivated land without any legal title and without the payment of rent' as an American, 19th century usage. I deal with Rodker's later appropriation and reworking of the word 'squat' in Chapter 5.

⁷⁷ AVP 12-13. Later editions of the poem have 'driven by the Trades'.

⁷⁸ Ricks, *Eliot and Prejudice* 29.

⁷⁹ T. S. Eliot, 'Tradition and the Individual Talent [II],' *The Egoist* 6.5 (Dec 1919): 72.

Erik Svarny, 'Gerontion' uses this tradition to interrupt and explode the later tradition of dramatic monologue.

If, in its hyperconscious critical manipulation of Jacobean blank verse 'Gerontion' is an artful exploitation of, rather than integration with, that literary tradition, the same can be said of the poem's relation to the nineteenth-century tradition of dramatic monologue. The sudden eruption of an almost anonymous Jacobean mode ruptures the expectation of that tradition that the form will be deployed to 'create a character' [.]⁸⁰

Svarny's argument is that the disintegration of personality is caused by the turn to other literary modes, but it is equally true to say that it makes that turn possible. 'Gerontion' is a lament over the meaninglessness and the lack of any redemptive force of history, but these empty spaces also provide a way of articulating his relationship to literary traditions. Indeed, Marjorie Perloff goes so far as to see Eliot as almost entirely identified with the verse he is pastiching. She sees 'Gerontion' as the beginning of

Eliot's turn away from a Paris that was the proud capital of the avant-garde, with the concomitant move, conscious or otherwise, toward suppressing his status as *metic*, as the foreigner of the *avant guerre*, who could never feel quite at home in London. [...] Gerontion has thoroughly internalized sexual references, the threat [...] coming overtly from those Others who don't 'belong', beginning with the Jew[.]⁸¹

Rabaté's point in choosing the word 'metic' to describe Eliot's situation is lost a little by Perloff here. Eliot is neither fully foreign, nor fully at home, just as he is not entirely inside or outside literary tradition. Nonetheless, Perloff's argument does have some validity. 'Gerontion's' studied manipulation of other literary modes is Eliot's means of engaging with tradition at this point. Rather than this being entirely a question of loss and decay—although these do feature prominently—it seems also to work as a way of rearranging the monuments in

⁸⁰ Svarny, 'The Men of 1914' 178.

⁸¹ Marjorie Perloff, *21st-Century Modernism* 35-36. '[T]he Jacobean imitation, one might say, is almost too good'. *Ibid.* 37.

the past, breaking them up in order to rearticulate them. A Victorian mode such as dramatic monologue can be made to include the kinds of 'unfamiliar' Jacobean writing Eliot was championing at this time.⁸²

Nonetheless, the decay is necessary. If the loss of tradition is a universal condition, which applies to 'History' rather than to an individual's history, then a 'metic' is in no different position from a native. 'Gerontion' achieves this through the medium of the 'jew' who owns the house.

Tenants of the house,
Thoughts of a dry brain in a dry season. (13)

The thoughts are to his brain as tenants are to the house; in other words, his house does not belong to him, but rather must be owned by someone else: the 'jew'.⁸³ As Bryan Cheyette argues, it is possible to see the entire poem affected by a 'semitic' proliferation of meaning, and this also takes a sexual form in a history whose multiplication is itself a kind of spawning. For Cheyette, 'Gerontion' expresses a fear of becoming Judaized, with the need to fix boundaries between a self and a Judaic 'other' arising from this anxiety.⁸⁴ Maud Ellmann argues that Eliot's technique has parallels with his presentation of rootless Jewish figures. '*The Waste Land* [...] performs a textual diaspora in which the writings of the past deracinate themselves and recombine with words of other ages, languages and authors, in a limitless process of miscegenation',⁸⁵ and this is true of 'Gerontion' as well.

⁸² Eliot, 'Tradition [II]' 72.

⁸³ As Bryan Cheyette points out, the tendency has been to read 'Gerontion' as the disintegration of a persona. *Constructions of 'the Jew'* 243-244. See for example Maud Ellmann, *The Poetics of Impersonality: T. S. Eliot and Ezra Pound* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1987) 81.

⁸⁴ Cheyette, *Constructions of 'the Jew'* 246-247.

⁸⁵ Maud Ellmann, 'The Imaginary Jew: T. S. Eliot and Ezra Pound,' *Between 'Race' and Culture: Representations of 'the Jew' in English and American Literature*, ed. Bryan Cheyette (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1996) 93.

However, it is also possible to see the Jewish figure as necessary, not just as an other to the self or even a potential self, but in order to be able to write at all. Jews provide a mediating term through which Eliot can engage with English values. This works figuratively—the image of ‘the Jew’ as a corruptor and perverter of tradition in his poetry, allowing him to engage with a tradition without being entirely beholden to it, whilst also being able to blame tradition’s lack of hold on him on the Jews—and literally—using Rodker as his publisher in order not to have to have direct contact with the English public.

Rodker, it might therefore be said, has within the ‘Men of 1914’ the same role assigned to him as that of the Jewish figure in ‘Gerontion’. Just as the ‘jew’ appears on the margins of Gerontion’s house, and yet owns it, so Rodker’s name appears on the end leaf of *Ara Vos Prec*, as its publisher. As Pound and Lewis’s discussion of him shows, he is both within and without the ‘Men of 1914’, partly because of his more limited talent, but also because of his Jewish origins. This marginal position, including his own feeling of homelessness, makes him an ideal person to be responsible for circulating these exchanges beyond the private circle without fully risking exposure to the market.

Even such an indirect approach to publication entailed risks, however. The title of this volume was designed to be incomprehensible, so much so that Eliot chose a language he himself did not know, Provençal, in an incorrect spelling, *Ara Vus Prec*, which appeared on the title page before it could be changed on the spine. I shall consider the impact of such errors in detail in the next chapter with reference to the Ovid Press edition of *Hugh Selwyn Mauberley*.

Introduction

This chapter examines Pound's *Hugh Selwyn Mauberley* in its first, Ovid Press, edition, as an example of how Pound's attempts to reform English literature and its relation to the marketplace took physical form, and how this related to the 'semitic discourse' through which he often mediated these questions. I begin with Jerome McGann's attempt to read this edition, and particularly its omission of one ornamented 'T', as an embodiment of Pound's aesthetic and political beliefs. Despite the fact that McGann made fundamental errors in his reading of the book, I argue that the 'T' does say something about the way in which Pound's social and literary project failed.

I show that Pound's imagining of the relationship between artist and audience in sexual terms was bound up with his anxieties about sex, and that therefore uncertainty and error were inescapable parts of the way in which he had to engage with his audience. One way Pound figured this error is to hold Jews or Judaism responsible for it, as publishers or as purveyors of the beliefs which censor his own work.

I read the first part of *Mauberley* as it is structured by the pagination and typography of the Ovid Press edition, and show that the images of Jews Pound uses outside the poem recur in certain of the questions within the poem, even when it is not directly representing Jews. In this case, the error in printing does fit with his sense that Jews will pervert his work, even though they are at the same time the most appropriate people to distribute it.

Chapter 2

Hugh Selwyn Mauberley

Hugh Selwyn Mauberley, the third book from John Rodker's Ovid Press, was published in June 1920.¹ In octavo rather than the quarto format of *Ara Vos Prec*, it was nevertheless printed on the same hand-made paper, and used the same decorated initials, designed by Edward Wadsworth, to head each section. Except, that is, on page 16, where the poem 'Brennbaum' begins instead with a large italic 'T'.² To conventional criticism, all this information is irrelevant to a reading of Ezra Pound's poem, but to Jerome McGann, all these features are part of the way in which the book communicates its meaning. *Mauberley*, a farewell to London and a criticism of the way it stifled its artists, first appeared in a format which,

by the symbology of its carefully crafted printing, means to comment on the debasement of art and imagination in the contemporary and commercial world of England; and it means to develop its commentary by aligning itself with what it sees as other, less debased cultures.

These cultures include the Kelmscott Press of William Morris and the values of craftsmanship Morris drew from Renaissance traditions of book-making. In this way, McGann contends, the book implicitly endorses Morris's socialism.³ The presence of the italic 'T', far from being a printing error, is part of this 'symbology', as the proofs show that Pound made the decision to use it himself. After writing 'supply of Ts ran out' Pound suggested to Rodker that he should

¹ This is the way that Rodker described it. The first book was *Ara Vos Prec*, the second Rodker's own *Hymns*. Rodker did not count his two collections of Lewis's and Gaudier-Brzeska's drawings, printed before *Ara Vos Prec*, as they were portfolios rather than books. Henri Gaudier-Brzeska, *Henri Gaudier-Brzeska, 1891-1915* (London: Ovid Press, [1919]); Wyndham Lewis, *Fifteen Drawings* (London: Ovid Press, [1920]).

² Donald Gallup gives extensive details on the format. *Ezra Pound: A Bibliography* (Charlottesville: Published for the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia and St. Paul's Bibliographies by UP of Virginia, 1983) 29-31. See Figure 1.

16

BRENNBAUM.

THE sky-like limpid eyes,
The circular infant's face,
The stiffness from spats to collar
Never relaxing into grace ;

The heavy memories of Horeb, Sinai and the forty years,
Showed only when the daylight fell
Level across the face
Of Brennbaum "The Impeccable".

Figure 1

E.P. [Ezra Pound], *Hugh Selwyn Mauberley: Life and Contacts*
(London: Ovid Press, 1920)
page 16

³ Jerome J. McGann, *The Textual Condition* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1991) 159-160.

'[u]se plain capitals or italics [...] The old printers did this when fancy capitals ran out.'⁴ This indicates that originally there were simply not enough decorated initials, but, says McGann, by the time of publication, this had changed.

Comparison with *Ara Vos Prec* shows that there were sufficient letters, and Pound kept the italic 'T' because it invoked the Renaissance traditions to which his note referred.

Shef Rogers, however, has demonstrated that McGann is simply wrong about the number of 'T's and that there were not enough of them. Rogers argues that the presence of the italic 'T', stemming from necessity rather than choice, should therefore be ignored, particularly as no attempt was made to replicate the effect in later editions of *Mauberley*. Rodker was not a particularly skilled printer and the effects McGann notes are simply the result of Rodker's incompetence.

Rodker and Pound may have hoped to achieve high standards, but their artistic desires were thwarted by the difficulties of printing by formes with a limited stock of movable type. [...] McGann's commentary on Pound's proofs provides some insight into what Pound's own intention may have been, but it also shows how far short Rodker fell in translating manuscript to print.

Eliot and Pound only used him as a publisher, suggests Rogers, because they were doing a favour to a friend, and fellow American.⁵ This is of course the point where his argument runs into problems, because Rodker was not American, but English, and not only English, but also Jewish. And this mistake is indicative of a

⁴ Manuscripts and Galleys for *Hugh Selwyn Mauberley*, John Rodker Papers 9.5. McGann, *The Textual Condition* 158.

⁵ Shef Rogers, 'How Many Ts Had Ezra Pound's Printer?' *Studies in Bibliography* 49 (1996) The suggestion that Rodker was American (283n16) is taken from J. H. Willis Jr, *Leonard and Virginia Woolf as Publishers: The Hogarth Press, 1917-1941* (Charlottesville and London: U of Virginia P, 1992) 70-71. Rogers is certainly not wrong that Rodker was prone to make mistakes. On the contents page of the proofs, for example, Pound had to cross out the words '[CENTRE SET]', explaining 'This was merely direction to printer'. Manuscripts and Galleys for *Hugh Selwyn Mauberley*, John Rodker Papers 9.5.

lack of interest in the relations around the publication of the book which does not live up to Rogers's own concluding remarks.

McGann's concepts of textual materialism and bibliographic codes provide intriguing new perspectives on authorial intent and reader interpretation, but these concepts must themselves consistently acknowledge, not just exploit, the historical practices they seek to reinstate within the critical horizon. Textual and bibliographic codes result from the interaction of creative intentions and social, technical and political considerations. This interaction generates both opportunities and limitations, all of which have to be recognized in a fully informed sociology of texts[.]⁶

Both McGann and Rogers frame the question of what significance this 'T' has in terms of how much control Pound had over the process of production. But if the book is seen as a collaborative project, situated in a nexus of relationships over which the author does not have complete control, it may be possible to ask more questions of it than the one of whether Pound's intentions are or are not successfully realised in its format, of Pound proposing and Rodker disposing. One question, which neither McGann nor Rogers raises, is what significance there is in the fact that this 'T' appears in a portrait of a Jew (Brennbaum) in an edition printed and published by someone of Jewish descent (Rodker).

Mauberley and Collaboration

Such a question is not an 'exploitation' (in Rogers's terms) of these historical practices. As I have argued in the previous chapter, the social groupings of modernists in which publishing and printing were embedded included and were structured by the 'semitic discourse' which was a feature of their writing. I have already shown some of the ways in which this provided a means of understanding the split between private and public, mass culture and high art, and

⁶ Rogers, 'How Many Ts?' 283.

the place of sex in structuring these divisions. As I will show in this chapter, Pound figured the ‘opportunities and limitations’—more frequently the limitations—of publication through images of Jews and Judaism. Moreover, Rodker was not simply a pair of hands which tried and failed to carry out Pound’s will. He was part of the intellectual context in which *Mauberley* was produced, and which the poem itself describes.

Hugh Selwyn Mauberley is—among other things—a description of its own context which figures the position of the artist in London society, and springs from a set of relations partly constructed by Pound in an attempt to create an avant-garde culture in London. It is a theory of literature’s place in modern society as well as the product of a failure to find literature a new place. It is also the product of a number of collaborations: more so than is usually acknowledged.

The part played by *Mauberley* in the collaboration between Pound and Eliot has attracted much commentary, even if only to assert the difference of one from the other or discuss how one negatively affected the other. But much less notice has been given to how *Mauberley* takes its place in a network of collaborations which extend far beyond the recognised figures of the ‘Men of 1914’. John J. Espey’s study of Pound’s poem, still the most convincing in terms of its major sources, summarises *Mauberley* as using the rhythms of Gautier and Bion, and basing itself on Pound’s experiences interpreted ‘through attitudes revealed in his recent “Baedekers” of Henry James... and Remy de Gourmont’,⁷ that Pound had written for *The Little Review*. Pound himself talked of the turn to Gautier as a

⁷ John J. Espey, *Ezra Pound’s Mauberley: A Study in Composition* (London: Faber, 1955) 14. This summary is echoed by Massimo Bacigalupo, *The Forméd Trace: The Later Poetry of Ezra Pound* (New York: Columbia UP, 1980) 7. Russell J. Reising considers the importance of James’s *The American* for the sequence in ‘Condensing the James Novel: *The American* in *Hugh Selwyn Mauberley*,’ *Journal of Modern Literature* 15.1 (Summer 1988): 17-34.

joint effort with Eliot. But his 'Baedekers' also appeared in special issues of the magazine devoted to James (August 1918) and Gourmont (Feb-Mar 1919), including articles by a number of other writers. Pound's use of persona in *Mauberley* has been traced back to the character of Walter Villerant in the 'Imaginary Letters', written in collaboration with Wyndham Lewis.⁸ Part of the reason for these collaborations was practical—Lewis being unavailable, Pound wanting to save himself excess work on the James and Gourmont issues—but this does not fully account for them. Pound was a dominant organising force within the literary avant-garde, and at this point such a sense of himself was necessary to his writing and to his role as the general instigator of a cultural revolution.⁹ John Rodker's part in this revolution extended beyond simply printing the pages of *Hugh Selwyn Mauberley*: he contributed essays to both the James and Gourmont specials,¹⁰ and was, therefore, part of the intellectual context creating the argument of *Mauberley*, as well as the form in which it was published.

Just as the intellectual context of *Mauberley* was in part the product of collaboration, so collaboration was the result of a certain intellectual stance, affected by the way in which it was imagined. Pound's sense of what his collaboration with Eliot was doing is, therefore, worth some scrutiny. In his obituary of Harold Monro in *The Criterion* of 1932, he refers to the joint project in a much-quoted passage.

⁸ Ronald Bush, *The Genesis of Ezra Pound's Cantos* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1976) 166.

⁹ Dennis Brown makes mostly unnecessary use of the terminology of psychoanalytic group theory, but is basically sound on this matter. *Intertextual Dynamics within the Literary Group: Joyce, Lewis, Pound and Eliot: The Men of 1914* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1990) 46-53.

¹⁰ John Rodker, 'The Notes on Novelists,' *The Little Review* 5.4 (Aug 1918): 53-56; 'De Gourmont—Yank,' *The Little Review* 5.10-11 (Feb-Mar 1919): 29-32.

[A]t a particular date in a particular room, two authors, neither engaged in picking the other's pocket, decided that the dilution of *vers libre*, Amygism, Lee Masterism, general floppiness had gone too far and that some counter-current must be set going. Parallel situation centuries ago in China. Remedy prescribed 'Emaux et Camées' (or the Bay State Hymn Book). Rhyme and regular strophes.

Results: Poems in Mr. Eliot's *second* volume, not contained in his first 'Prufrock' *Egoist*, 1917) [*sic*], also 'H. S. Mauberley'.

Divergence later.¹¹

Despite the gap in time between the writing of *Mauberley* and of this article, it is an appropriate description of his practice, as these were terms Pound had been using for a long time. In letters from 1917, there occur repeated references to free verse, particularly that practised by Amy Lowell, as 'diarhoea' [*sic*],¹² 'gush',¹³ and 'flow-contamination'.¹⁴ Against this stands what *Mauberley* calls 'the "sculpture" of rhyme': poems based on Théophile Gautier's *Emaux et Camées* (enamels and cameos). Pound's essay of 1918, 'The Hard and Soft in French Poetry', also contrasted these two modes.

This aesthetic was aided by the process of collaboration. Ronald Bush argues that Pound's changes to Eliot's 1920 poems, particularly the removal of uncertain phrasing and passive verbs, have the effect of 'hardening' the poetry, making it more impersonal. Two years later, Pound was making very similar decisions over the drafts of *The Waste Land*, crossing out Eliot's qualifying phrases such as 'perhaps' and 'may'.¹⁵ In fact, Bush argues, Eliot reciprocated the help Pound had offered on *The Waste Land*, and Pound's revisions to the

¹¹ Ezra Pound, 'Harold Monroe,' *The Criterion* 11.45 (July 1932): 590.

¹² Ezra Pound, 18 April 1917, *The Selected Letters of Ezra Pound to John Quinn*, ed. Timothy Materer (Durham: Duke UP, 1991) 103, 102.

¹³ Ezra Pound, 13 April 1917, *The Letters of Ezra Pound to Alice Corbin Henderson*, ed. Ira B. Nadel (Austin: U of Texas P, 1993) 206.

¹⁴ Ezra Pound, 17 July 1917, *Pound/The Little Review: The Letters of Ezra Pound to Margaret Anderson: The Little Review Correspondence*, ed. Thomas L. Scott, Melvin J. Friedman with the assistance of Jackson R. Bryer (London: Faber, 1989) 92.

¹⁵ T. S. Eliot, *The Waste Land: A Facsimile of the Original Drafts Including the Annotations of Ezra Pound*, ed. Valerie Eliot (London: Faber, 1971) 31, 45, 47.

early *Cantos*, again a procedure of tightening and hardening, owed a great deal, if not to Eliot's active intervention, at least to the discussions which Pound was having with him at the time.¹⁶ *Hugh Selwyn Mauberley* was written in the middle of this period. Having urged himself to 'give up th'intaglio method', Pound turned back to it as a way of dealing with his problems with *The Cantos*, once again making use of collaboration.

The opposition between 'floppiness' or 'softness' and hardness is clearly a gendered one, but it could operate with other terms. When Pound castigated Jacob Epstein for failing to keep hard outlines he linked this fault to Epstein's Jewish name.

Epstein, Yakobb, exhibits a painting, a portrait, a merditious,
excrementitious, Matisse and shitsmearish portrait.

I shall be writing about Derwent Wood as the SCULPTOR, if this
sort of thing continues.¹⁷

The links between the non-sculptural and the excremental, tied to the 'Hebraised' forename 'Yakobb' fit with the set of terms Pound was consistently using at this time. Even though Epstein is usually the 'SCULPTOR' of whom Pound approves, he shows his Jewish nature when he causes disapproval.

In the rest of this chapter, therefore, I will examine how Pound's ideas of hardness and softness relate to his interactions with women and Jews, and to his own writing, before coming back to the question of the 'T'. With a fuller conception of Pound's own sense of what social position his literature occupied, it will be possible to give an answer to what effect this misprint has on the sequence.

¹⁶ Bush, *The Genesis of the Cantos* 208-210, 184-187.

¹⁷ 19 April 1917, *Letters to Quinn* 106.

Hard vs. Soft

Despite his repeated contrasts between a phallic firmness of outline and a feminine softness and mushiness, Pound could sometimes promote his own bodily fluid of choice. In a letter to John Quinn, Pound praises the sculptural quality of Wyndham Lewis's paintings at the same time as saying that they contain '[e]very kind of geyser from jism bursting as white as ivory, to hate or a storm at sea. Spermatozoon, enough to repopulate the island with active and vigorous animals.'¹⁸ Sculpture's hardness is not enough, although it is what first interested Pound in Lewis's work. There is equally the need for a kind of vigour and energy which Pound figures as 'jism'.

Such an image was by no means an off-hand comment in one letter. In the postscript Pound wrote to his translation of Remy de Gourmont's *Physique de l'amour* he elaborated the idea at great length, showing how it fitted with his ideal of the sculptural.

[I]t is more than likely that the brain itself, is, in origin and development, only a sort of great clot of genital fluid held in suspense or reserve [...]. This hypothesis [...] would explain the enormous content of the brain as a maker of images.

'[T]he spermatozoide,' says Pound, 'is precisely the power of exteriorising a form'; it is 'the substance that compels the ovule to evolve in a given pattern, one microscopic minuscule particle, entering the "castle" of the ovule.'¹⁹ When Pound writes about making sculptural form, therefore, it is not simply a case of

¹⁸ Letter to John Quinn of 10 March 1916, quoted in Richard Humphreys, *Pound's Artists: Ezra Pound and the Visual Arts in London, Paris and Italy* (London: Tate Gallery, 1985) 58. Paige gives part of this letter, but omits the references to 'jism'. Pound, *Selected Letters*, ed. Paige 122.

¹⁹ Ezra Pound, 'Postscript to *The Natural Philosophy of Love* by Remy de Gourmont,' *Pavannes and Divagations* (Norfolk, CT: New Directions, 1958) 206-207. The postscript was dated 21 June 1921. Pound's translation was published in the USA by Boni and Liveright in 1922, with a notice included asking the bookseller to use 'all discretion [...] in its distribution'. It was not published in Britain until 1926, when it came out under the imprint of John Rodker's Casanova Society. Gallup, *Ezra Pound* 33-34.

an artist creating out of himself, but of somehow taking some female entity and giving it form.²⁰ This leads to the most famous passage from this essay.

There are traces of [this idea] in the symbolism of phallic religions, man really the phallus or spermatozoide charging, head-on, the female chaos. Integration of the male in the male organ. Even oneself has felt it, driving any new idea into the great passive vulva of London, a sensation analogous to the male feeling in copulation.²¹

That the comparison is intended as an insult as much as anything else is certainly plausible: this was written when Pound had made his decision to quit London for the continent, and *Mauberley* was, he claimed, written as his farewell to the city.²² But what the Postscript also reveals, and is evident also in its over-eagerness to shock, is a certain anxiety about this process. Sperm, says Pound, should cause female chaos to take some form, but if London is a completely 'passive' receptor of his ideas, then they are causing nothing to take place. This 'great ... vulva' appears to be swallowing them up without issue.²³

²⁰ De Gourmont also refers to this Aristotelian distinction. Remy de Gourmont, *The Natural Philosophy of Love*, trans. Ezra Pound (London: Quartet, 1992) 60. Richard Sieburth summarises Pound's summary in *Instigations: Ezra Pound and Remy de Gourmont* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard UP, 1978) 144-146.

²¹ Ezra Pound, 'Postscript to Gourmont,' *Pavannes and Divagations* 204. Jean-Michel Rabaté makes the strange decision to read 'male organ' as a misprint for 'female organ', but points out usefully that Pound's equation of sperm and thought or language has a classical pedigree. *Language, Sexuality and Ideology in Ezra Pound's Cantos* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1986) 216-221.

²² Pound later described London as 'THE cunt of the world'. Letter to William Carlos Williams, 5 March 1926, quoted in Robert Casillo, *The Genealogy of Demons: Anti-Semitism, Fascism, and the Myths of Ezra Pound* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern UP, 1988) 160. Casillo and Helen M. Dennis both link this comment to the 'Postscript to Gourmont'. Dennis, 'Pound, Women and Gender,' *The Cambridge Companion to Ezra Pound*, ed. Ira B. Nadel (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999) 276. Dennis incorrectly dates the postscript to 1926, the same year as the letter.

²³ Here I differ from Bob Perelman's subtle reading of this passage which argues that it shows the need for the creative will to remain active and the audience to remain passive. This is one part of Pound's contradictory desire, but the other part is actually to make a difference, to have an effect on the masses. *The Trouble with Genius: Reading Pound, Joyce, Stein, and Zukofsky* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: U of California P, 1994) 69. Rachel Blau DuPlessis provides a similar interpretation to mine of this passage, but makes less of the anxiety. *Genders, Races, and Religious Cultures in Modern American Poetry, 1908-1934* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2001) 76. Alan Durant provides a Lacanian reading of this postscript with the emphasis on the phallus as a guarantor of meaning. *Ezra Pound, Identity in Crisis: A Fundamental Reassessment of the Poet and His Work* (Brighton: Harvester, 1981) 104-108. All three repeat Pound's confusion of the phallus and sperm. The former of these might be said to have a hard outline, but this is less applicable to the latter.

Andreas Huyssen provides a valid means of glossing this passage. He argues that the relationship between modernism and mass culture was one that modernists thought about in terms of gender: masculine versus feminine, form versus chaos, purity versus impurity, with the ever-present fear of High Art being contaminated by feminised, hysterical, mass culture.²⁴ Huyssen has been criticised, however, for baldly stating that modernism's response to mass culture was simply to reject it. This has generally been done with reference to how avant-garde books and magazines were marketed, but it can be seen in Pound's image that rejection is not what he is proposing, rather that the artist must somehow engage with 'female chaos'. However, it is a risky, anxiety-producing business. Indeed, as Peter Nicholls suggests, this is true of sex *tout court*: for Pound, and for many modernists. As an act which threatens the boundaries between self and other, sex undermines the uniqueness of the artist's identity, and he therefore has to protect himself with a kind of 'armour'. Frequently this takes the form of ironic portrayals of sexual relationships.²⁵

Armour is also necessary in modernism's relationship with mass culture, or with a mass reading public, but in this case, in addition to the use of irony, one of the forms it takes is that of writing about sex. It was writing about sex that led to the biggest problems between many modernist writers and professional publishers, and their turning to private publication in its place, as Joyce Piell Wexler argues.²⁶ It was also writing about sex that led to publications being stopped by legal means: *The Little Review* had recurring legal problems with its

²⁴ Andreas Huyssen, *After the Great Divide: Modernism, Mass Culture, Postmodernism* (Basingstoke and London: Macmillan, 1986) 44-62.

²⁵ Peter Nicholls, *Modernisms: A Literary Guide* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995) 1-5, 190-192.

²⁶ Joyce Piell Wexler, *Who Paid for Modernism?: Art, Money, and the Fiction of Conrad, Joyce, and Lawrence* (Fayetteville: U of Arkansas P, 1997) xii-xvi, 12-20.

serialisation of *Ulysses* which climaxed when it printed a description of Leopold Bloom masturbating, but it had also had earlier difficulties with Wyndham Lewis's 'Cantleman's Spring Mate'. These were of course regarded as setbacks and outrages by Pound, but part of the point of writing like this was to demonstrate indifference to the mass market, by almost actively courting these kinds of stoppages and acts of censorship.

Thinking about the mass market is thus worked into the sexual content of what is written, but the representation of sex in the writing governs the way that the mass market is thought about. One might even say that sex at one level is used to avoid sex at another level: a position that is inherently unstable, and does little to calm any anxiety.

Editing, Sex, Censorship and Judaism

Such a mode of thinking was not just metaphorical, however, as it affected the way in which Pound related to another group of important collaborators: the women editors of little magazines.²⁷ Pound frequently assigned the blame to them for preventing his work from circulating. Harriet Monroe, editor of the magazine *Poetry*, was quite frequently the object of his frustration. '[W]hy does H.M. only allow me my softest notes?' he moaned to Alice Corbin Henderson.²⁸ Writing to Monroe about an anthology of poems which included some of his own, Pound complained that she did not properly represent his work.

As to anthologies in general (except those that are a sort of group manifesto) the collectors seem generally to want to prove that one agrees with their particular form of idiocy. Your anth. is rather better.

²⁷ For a generally well-judged treatment of Pound's relationships with women editors, see Jayne Marek, *I Know Why I Say What I Do Say: Women Editors and Critics in the 'Little' Magazines, 1912-1933*, diss., U of Wisconsin, Madison, 1991, 307-358.

²⁸ 18 March 1916, *Letters to Henderson* 131.

You do give a sort of outline of the earlier part of my work. BUT you *never* have permitted minority reports. Damn remnants in you of Jew religion, that bitch Moses and the rest of the tribal barbarians. Even you do still try at least to leave the reader in ignorance of the fact that I do NOT accept the current dung, and official opinions about the dregs of the Xtn superstition, the infamy of American laws, etc. Bulbous taboos, and so forth.

You might at least print a footnote saying that I consider many American laws infamous, and that I do not accept many beliefs which it is not at present permitted people to contradict in print or in school textbooks in the U.S.

That wd. give better equilibrium to your ladylike selection of my verse.

[...] Christ can very well stand as an heroic figure. The hero need not be of wisdom all compounded. Also he is not wholly to blame for the religion that's been foisted on to him. As well blame me for ... for all the bunk in vers libre.²⁹

There are a number of associations working in this letter, linking the feminine with Christianity (at least its modern form), with dung and dregs, with censorship and even, at a slight remove, with 'vers libre'. But it is clear that it is 'Jew religion' which is responsible for Monroe producing a 'ladylike selection' of Pound's poetry. Religion, as 'remnants' and 'dregs', rather than losing its power, seems in this state of decay to have an especially pernicious effect, embodying the slimy state in which distinctions break down.

A similar combination operated in Pound's defence of some of Rodker's poetry. Rodker had submitted a poem ('Night') and written of God bringing a woman 'to my couch'. Monroe wished to change this to 'to me'. Pound replied:

Keep the Rodker as it is, one can't emasculate everything. I will spit in the eye of Gehoveh in my next lyric if it is necessary to establish free speech, tho' I doubt if Jehovah has an eye...

He proceeded to send in a poem to *Poetry*, 'Printemps', in which Jehovah was presented as a 'balding genie'.³⁰ Pound's reference to 'Jehovah' in the context of

²⁹ Pound to Harriet Monroe, 16 July 1922, *Selected Letters* 250.

³⁰ Ellen Williams, *Harriet Monroe and the Poetry Renaissance: The First Ten Years of Poetry, 1912-1922* (Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1977) 121.

talking about God may have been prompted by his knowledge of Rodker's Jewish origins, but it certainly sets up a link between Judaism, emasculation and the lack of free speech.

However, just as Rodker could be too raw and unbalanced in his sexuality, so could Margaret Anderson and Jane Heap, the editors of *The Little Review*, and they too could be held responsible for the failure of work to reach the public. When an issue of *The Little Review* had to be withdrawn, not only because of the 'Scylla and Charybdis' section of *Ulysses*, but because of its inclusion of four nude drawings, Pound raged to John Quinn:

It is typical that they should have hit upon Joyce's best and most intellectual chapter; typical of the way America spews when given any real food for the intellect; also typical that the L.R.'s case shd. be queered by their having published some asininity by ?? Szukalski in the same number. Suppose it is Szukalski, as I haven't seen the issue in question.³¹

Pound was quite clearly unhappy with Heap and Anderson, but his assumption that the artist Stanisław Szukalski was also to blame was incorrect. The drawings in question were not by Szukalski, but by James Light. Pound fixed upon Szukalski as the culprit, I would suggest, because he thought (incorrectly as it happened) that he was Jewish.³² When John Quinn complained to him about the non-American names in *The Little Review*'s 1918 'American Number', calling it the 'Jewish Number', Pound referred to Szukalski as 'Shekelski'.³³ Whereas Joyce seems to have the right to include sexual content in his work, a supposedly Jewish artist does not, but is also—since this is an assumption Pound is making,

³¹ 6 July 1919, *Letters to Quinn* 177.

³² Stanley S. Sokol, *The Artists of Poland: A Biographical Dictionary from the 14th Century to the Present* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2001) 214-215.

³³ 'Szucle- or Zchekal- or Shekelski is also unknown to me by name or by canvas.' 5 July 1918, *Letters to Quinn* 155.

not having seen the issue—the most likely culprit to have made these overly-sexual drawings.³⁴

In these passages, Pound presents not only women, but also Jews or Judaism as one factor that prevents authors communicating with the public. Women and Jews are linked, either because they are too prone to produce sexual work (e.g. heap, Anderson, ‘Shekelski’) or too prone to censor it (e.g. Monroe, Moses).

This helps to make sense of the letter Pound wrote to Eliot having chopped down *The Waste Land* to its final form, praising Eliot’s work and criticising his own, especially *Mauberley*.

Complimenti, you bitch. I am wracked by the seven jealousies, and cogitating an excuse for always exuding my deformative secretions in my own stuff, and never getting an outline. I go into nacre and objets d’art. Some day I shall lose my temper, blaspheme Flaubert, lie like a shit-arse and say, “Art shd. embellish the umbelicus.”

Along with this, Pound provided the text of two ‘squibs’, which Eliot had wanted to head *The Waste Land*. The first, ‘SAGE HOMME’, referred both to Eliot’s current work and to his quatrain poems, referencing ‘Bleichstein’ [*sic*], ‘A.B.Cs.’ [*sic*] and ‘canibals’ [*sic*].³⁵ The second, ‘*Vates cum fistula*’ (‘Poet with a reed [pipe]’, but seeming to play on the usual English meaning), summarised his own work to date in disparaging terms similar to those in the letter.

E. P. hopeless and unhelped

Enthroned in The marmorean skies
His verse omits realities
Angelic hands with mother of pearl
Retouch the strapping servant girl,

³⁴ Pound also decided to sacrifice one of Rodker’s pieces and not publish it in *The Little Review* because it would be ‘imprudent’, whereas Joyce had to be printed. ‘Suppression or no suppression.’ 30 Dec 1917, *Pound/The Little Review* 171.

³⁵ Jean-Michel Rabaté points out that this is a masculinisation of the French ‘*sage-femme*’ (midwife). *The Ghosts of Modernity* (UP of Florida, 1996) 198.

The barman is to blinded him
 Silenus bubling at the brim (or burbling)
 The glasses turn to chalices
 Is his fumbling analysis
 And holy hosts of hellenists
 Have numbed and honied his cervic cysts
 His follows Yeats into the mists
 Despite his hebrew eulogists.

Balls and balls and balls again
 Can not touch his fellow men.
 His foaming and abundant cream
 Has coated his world. The coat of a dream;
 Or say that the upjut of his sperm
 Has rendered his senses pachyderm.

Grudge not the oyster his stiff saliva
 Envy not the diligent diver. et in aeternitate.³⁶

There is a straightforward equation here between Pound's semen coating the world, his retouching of his subjects with mother-of-pearl, and his tendency to 'go into nacre'. His semen is not going out into a 'female chaos' and forming it, but rather going out into the world and making it even more inaccessible to him. His pachyderm—thick-skinned—senses can apprehend even less. What I have suggested, that sex is used to avoid sex, is precisely what is happening here: the physicality of the 'strapping servant girl' is turned into something lifeless and inert by being coated with mother of pearl, which is equivalent to E.P.'s 'foaming and abundant cream'. What this suggests is that Pound is not really sure how much sex he wants. Too much, and his work will be stopped from circulating. Too little, and it will not have enough energy to circulate.³⁷

³⁶ Pound to Eliot, 24 December 1921, *The Letters of T. S. Eliot Volume 1: 1898-1922*, ed. Valerie Eliot (London: Faber, 1988) 497-499. The book prints '*Vates cum fistula*' as if it were a line of verse, but it makes more sense to read it as the title for the second 'squib'.

³⁷ Wayne Koestenbaum's interpretation of this 'squib' is simply tendentious, as is much of his reading of Pound and Eliot's collaboration on *The Waste Land*. He believes that it shows that Pound thinks of himself as impregnating Eliot, but '*Vates cum fistula*' is quite clearly a separate piece of verse from 'SAGE HOMME', and is about Pound's writing, not Eliot's. Moreover, this sperm is certainly not impregnating anyone or anything. *Double Talk: The Erotics of Male Literary Collaboration* (New York and London: Routledge, 1989) 121. Jean-Michel Rabaté is

However, the sexual element is only part of what blinds E. P. It is combined with a set of Christian—'[a]ngelic hands', 'chalices', 'holy hosts'—and classical—'Silenus', 'hellenists'—images, as well as a hint of Celtic Twilight in Yeats's mists, all of which also suggest that he is substituting literature and myth for life. The combination of Christianity and classicism in the 'holy hosts of hellenists' seems to be particularly disabling, 'numb[ing] and hon[eying] his cervic cysts', such that he cannot apprehend or form the world. The 'cervic cysts' here may be a recollection of Pound's talk of the 'cervical ganglion' over which a 'great clot of genital fluid held in suspense or reserve' forms the brain.³⁸ The 'hebrew eulogists' would then appear to be a potential counter to this process, but why this would be so is left unexplained. Their role is extremely ambiguous. They may be speaking at E.P.'s funeral (particularly since *Mauberley* begins with E.P.'s 'Ode pour l'élection de son sépulcre'), pronouncing him prematurely dead, or simply be singing his praises. Nonetheless, this 'squib' holds open the possibility that there may be something in the 'hebrew' which might usefully, if potentially dangerously, counterbalance the 'hellenic'.

The Uncertainties of *Hugh Selwyn Mauberley*

Robert Casillo has argued that the link between Jews and women is very strong in the early *Cantos*. Both, he contends, are associated with the image of a swamp, with unformed chaos; in fact it is the danger of women falling entirely into this category which results in it being so violently projected onto Jews alone

rightly critical of Koestenbaum's reading, and he characterises Pound's self-criticism as being that the poetry is masturbatory. This reading is closer to mine. *The Ghosts of Modernity* 198-200.

³⁸ Pound, 'Postscript to Gourmont' 203.

in the later *Cantos*.³⁹ Casillo has also emphasised the sexual element in *Mauberley*, in which a London of suffragism and women art patrons is presented as female chaos. Mauberley, unable to master this chaos, writes lifeless, lapidary verse. 'Medallion', the final poem in the sequence, turns a woman into a 'face-oval' of 'metal' 'amber', and 'topaz'.⁴⁰ For Peter Nicholls, this is precisely the form of 'armour' he describes,⁴¹ but Pound's remarks to Eliot would suggest (as indeed have the majority of *Mauberley*'s critics) that the 'hardening' carried out in 'Medallion' results in failure to engage with the world rather than mastery over it. Pound's strategy is rather, it seems to me, to adopt a tone of voice which cannot quite be attributed to Pound himself.

One of the oldest debates around *Mauberley* is the question of who is speaking the verse, and critics have had a great deal of difficulty pinning it down. It has been suggested that whole swathes of the poem should be taken as spoken by someone other than Pound and therefore treated as saying the opposite of what he appears to mean.⁴² The debate seems irresolvable, but it is trying to

³⁹ Robert Casillo, *The Genealogy of Demons* 207-276.

⁴⁰ Robert Casillo, 'Pound and Mauberley: the Eroding Difference,' *Papers on Language and Literature* 21.1 (Winter 1985): 43-63. *Hugh Selwyn Mauberley* (Ovid Press) 28. This sexualised thinking is also encoded within the sequence into flower and plant references: 'orchid' (Greek 'ὄρχις', 'testicle'), 'acorn' (the Latin for which is 'glans'). Espey, *Ezra Pound's Mauberley* 78-80.

⁴¹ Peter Nicholls, "'A Consciousness Disjunct": Sex and the Writer in Ezra Pound's *Hugh Selwyn Mauberley*,' *Journal of American Studies* 28.1 (April 1994): 61-75. Nicholls also pursues the eccentric line of claiming that Mauberley's drifting is the result of his being involved in a sexual relationship rather than refusing it.

⁴² Vincent Miller provides a survey of the criticism up to 1990. 'Mauberley and his Critics' *ELH* 57 (1990): 961-976. See also Stephen J. Adams, 'Irony and Common Sense: The Genre of Mauberley,' *Paideuma* 18.1-2 (Spring & Fall 1989): 147-160. Brian G. Caraher, 'Reading Pound with Bakhtin: Sculpting the Social Language of *Hugh Selwyn Mauberley*'s "Mere Surface",' *Modern Language Quarterly* 49 (1988): 38-64. Robert Casillo, 'Pound and Mauberley: the Eroding Difference,' *Papers on Language and Literature* 21.1 (Winter 1985): 43-63. William Doreski, 'Mauberley: The Single Voice,' *Paideuma* 19.1-2 (Spring & Fall 1990): 111-123. Traci Gardner, 'Pound's *Hugh Selwyn Mauberley*,' *The Explicator* 44.3 (Spring 1986): 46-48. Pamela E. Hurley, 'Ezra Pound's "Yeux Glauques",' *Paideuma* 22.1-2 (Spring & Fall 1993): 191-200. Terri Brint Joseph, 'The Decentered Center of Ezra Pound's *Hugh Selwyn Mauberley*,' *REAL* 1 (1982): 121-151. Hugh Witemeyer, "'Of Kings' Treasuries": Pound's Allusion to Ruskin in *Hugh Selwyn Mauberley*,' *Paideuma* 15.1 (1986): 23-31.

come to grips with a problem in the verse which is hard to deal with in any other way. Almost everything said seems to have a set of quotation marks around it; there is a feeling that Pound is putting on a mask, even when he says things that seem to be his actual opinions. This makes what is said disavowable, so that the inevitable process of miscirculation and misreading cannot contaminate Pound.

FOR three years, out of key with his time,
He strove to resuscitate the dead art
Of poetry ; to maintain “ the sublime ”
In the old sense. Wrong from the start—

No hardly, but, seeing he had been born
In a half savage country, out of date ;
Bent resolutely on wringing lilies from the acorn ;
Capaneus ; trout for factitious bait ;⁴³

Gautier’s regularities have become entirely different in Pound’s hands, as comparison with his ‘Bûchers et tombeaux’ shows.

Le squelette était invisible,
Au temps heureux de l’Art païen ;
L’homme, sous la forme sensible,
Content du beau, ne cherchait rien.⁴⁴

Whereas each line in the first stanza of ‘Bûchers et tombeaux’ is endstopped, and the stanza divides neatly into two sentences each of two lines, the first poem of *Hugh Selwyn Mauberley* replaces classical regularity and impassivity with uncertainties, using enjambment to undercut what one line says with what follows in the next.

In poem XI this is resolved by projecting this situation onto women.

“CONSERVATRIX of Milésien”
Habits of mind and feeling,
Possibly. But in Ealing
With the most bank-clerkly of Englishmen?

⁴³ E[zra]. P[ound]., *Hugh Selwyn Mauberley: Life and Contacts* (London: Ovid Press, 1920) 9.

⁴⁴ Théophile Gautier, ‘Bûchers et tombeaux,’ *Poésies complètes*, ed. René Jasinski, vol. 3 (Paris: Nizet, 1970) 72.

No, "Milésien" is an exaggeration.
 No instinct has survived in her
 Older than those her grandmother
 Told her would fit her station.⁴⁵

The rhyme-scheme and rhythm require that the reader give a number of the words ('Milésien', 'grandmother', 'exaggeration') a certain over-emphasis, lingering over secondary stresses in order to fit them in. This appears as a slight fussiness about choice of vocabulary, and is taken up by the use of quotation marks, indicating that the words used are being scrutinised very carefully. There is a need for precision here in dealing with someone who cannot quite be pinned down, resulting in a verse of hesitation, qualification, question, which is either not very regular or rather artificial, and hovers in the end somewhere between the two. It is not quite soft, but nor is it entirely hard. Indeed, the dismissal of this woman functions as a resentful reaction to having to write in this way.⁴⁶

And this is why, when Pound produces his survey of French writers, 'The Hard and the Soft in French Poetry', it is not with the hardness of Gautier that he associates himself, but with two of his French contemporaries.

By 'hardness' I mean a quality which is in poetry nearly always a virtue – I can think of no case when it is not. By softness I mean an opposite quality which is not always a fault.

[...]

We may take it that Gautier achieved hardness in *Emaux et Camées*... Flaubert and Anatole France are both 'softer' than Voltaire and Stendhal. Remy de Gourmont is almost the only writer who seems to me good in a French prose which must, I think, be called 'soft' [...] Romains, Vildrac, Spire, Arcos, are not hard, any one of them, though Spire can be acid. [...] Allowing for personal difference, I should say that Spire and Arcos write 'more or less as I do myself.' [...].⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Pound, *Mauberley* (Ovid Press) 19. Later editions have "Milesian" in the fifth line.

⁴⁶ Sandra Meyer provides a survey of the variety of Pound's use of rhythm and rhyme, arguing that it usually serves satiric purposes. 'Hugh Selwyn Mauberley: "The 'Sculpture' of Rhyme",' *Paideuma* 27.1 (Spring 1998): 109-114.

⁴⁷ Ezra Pound, 'The Hard and the Soft in French Poetry' *Literary Essays of Ezra Pound*, ed. T.S. Eliot (London: Faber, 1954): 285, 287, 288. The essay was originally published in *Poetry* 11.5 (Feb 1918).

Not only is Gourmont a 'soft' writer, but Pound says he is closest to soft writers himself. The fact that Pound is associating himself with two soft writers is surprising. But his choice of André Spire, a writer who named two of his collections *Poèmes juifs*, is possibly even more so. Furthermore, Spire's experimentation with verse forms probably came directly out of a sense of his Jewishness: the first of his *Poèmes juifs* (1908) had the main title *Versets*, literally verses of the Bible. Spire turned to Zionism after the Dreyfus affair, and founded a Zionist journal (*La Palestine nouvelle*) in 1918. Pound was not keen on Spire's Zionism, but did rate some of his poems quite highly.⁴⁸

So if Pound writes like a Jewish writer—and there is also the possibility that Mina Loy influenced the style of *Mauberley*—,⁴⁹ this may be precisely because he wants to vaccinate himself from being Jewish. He associates himself with Jews and women, in other words, so that when things go wrong he can blame it on Jews and women.

Tradition

In addition to the hardness with which Pound attempted to control his material, there are the references to myth and the classical past, which are also usually taken to be unproblematic evocations of a fixed standard by which the present can be judged. In fact, critics ranging from A.L. French to Marjorie

⁴⁸ Paula Hyman, *From Dreyfus to Vichy: The Remaking of French Jewry, 1906-1939* (New York: Columbia UP, 1979) 44-46, 156-157. See also Joële Canouï-Dadoun, 'Itinéraire d'André Spire à travers les *Poèmes juifs*,' *Revue des études juives* 139.1-3 (1980): 183-197. 'The contents of his volumes are of very uneven value: Zionist propaganda, addresses, and a certain number of well-written poems.' Ezra Pound, 'A Study in French Poets,' *The Little Review* 4.10 (Feb 1918): 51. 'I have not counted the successes in Spire's new volume *Le Secret*, but it contains abundant proof that André Spire is a poet, however much time he may spend in being a Zionist, or in the bonds of necessity' *Dial* 69.4 (Oct 1920): 407, quoted in Carol Terrell, *A Companion to the Cantos of Ezra Pound* (Berkeley: U of California P, 1993) 411.

Perloff have been profoundly unimpressed with what they see as Pound's 'rather facile contrasts between an idealized past and a vulgarised present'.⁵⁰ However, like Pound's use of hardness against softness, this is a far less simple contrast than they make out. As Ronald Bush argues, the belief in 'the power of romantic art to transcend culture and redeem the present' is resisted by the suspicion that poetry is implicated in the conditions of cultural and economic life, a tension which gives the poem its emotional power.⁵¹ Even this interpretation is not entirely satisfactory, however, because Bush takes too much at face value the lamenting over a lost past which Perloff and French find so unconvincing. The following stanza, for example, might appear to say that the present provides unsatisfactory substitutions for the past.

Faun's flesh is not to us,
Nor the saint's vision.
We have the press for wafer ;
Franchise for circumcision. (11)

However, as Jo Brantley Berryman has pointed out, this does not seem to match with Pound's own opinions. He describes circumcision as 'antique abracadabra' in a contemporary article, and is certainly at least equivocal about the Christian tradition in the stanzas preceding this one. Berryman's solution to this problem is to say that these must be the words of a persona, Mauberley, and not those of Pound.⁵² Aside from turning Part I into an overlong critique of a not

⁴⁹ Peter Nicholls, 'Arid Clarity: Ezra Pound, Mina Loy, and Jules Laforgue,' *Yearbook of English Studies* 32 (2002): 54-57.

⁵⁰ A.L. French, "'Olympian Apathein": Pound's *Hugh Selwyn Mauberley* and Modern Poetry', *Essays in Criticism* 15.4 (1965): 428-445. Marjorie Perloff, *The Poetics of Indeterminacy: Rimbaud to Cage* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1981) 167.

⁵¹ Ronald Bush, "'It Draws One to Consider Time Wasted": *Hugh Selwyn Mauberley*,' *American Literary History* 2.1 (1990): 58.

⁵² Jo Brantley Berryman, *Circe's Craft: Ezra Pound's Hugh Selwyn Mauberley* (Epping: Bowker, 1983) 1, 56-58.

particularly significant personality,⁵³ this does not deal with the problem that Pound seems to have been equally unhappy with the press and the franchise, despite the occasional nods he made towards democracy.⁵⁴

The irony that Pound unleashes in *Mauberley* is extremely heavy-handed, but the effects are more complicated than most readers acknowledge. It is hard to tell what values are spared from it, to the extent that the distancing of the self from all values through irony becomes the only value.⁵⁵

THE tea-rose, tea-gown, etc.
 Supplants the mousseline of Cos,
 The pianola “replaces”
 Sappho’s barbitos. (11)

In the Gautier poems from which Pound drew much of this vocabulary and phrasing, the ‘temps heureux de l’art païen’ is unproblematically evoked as a better time, but this is far from clear here. The scare-quotes round ‘replaces’ seem to be emphasising the inadequacy of the mechanical pianola as a substitute for a lyre, but the irony is laid on so thickly, with such an eagerness to force the reader see what would already be an obvious contrast, that it becomes self-parodying in its excess. One possible reaction would be to say that the quotation marks must be doing something more than rubbing the reader’s nose in a not particularly insightful statement. If the barbitos is not replaced but rather ‘replaced’, has the pianola actually taken its place? Is the barbitos available to be called upon from the present, because it has not really been replaced, or is it doubly inaccessible, displaced from being replaced to being ‘replaced’? Or is the

⁵³ As A. L. French pointed out a decade before Berryman’s book. “Olympian Apathein” 437.

⁵⁴ Thomas F. Grieve, ‘Pound’s Other Homage: Hugh Selwyn Mauberley,’ *Paideuma* 27.1 (Spring 1998): 20.

⁵⁵ Erik Svarny is not sure ‘how far Pound’s kaleidoscopic irony is intentional, and how far it manifests a lack of full intellectual coherence.’ *The Men of 1914’: T. S. Eliot and Early Modernism* (Milton Keynes: Open University P, 1988) 125.

readership which Pound anticipates so stupid that they cannot understand that a pianola is supposed to be worse than a barbitos, in which case the generation in which he is working is probably too degenerate to be able to access the wisdom of the past.

However, the first line of this stanza demonstrates that Pound must rely on some shared understandings between writer and reader. As in other parts of *Mauberley*, it uses a definite article with a noun phrase to set the scene without giving an explicit means of identifying its referent.

‘THE tea-rose, tea gown, etc.’ (11)

‘AMONG the pickled foetuses and bottled bones’ (15)

‘BENEATH the sagging roof’ (18)

‘In the stuffed-satin drawing-room...’ (20)

Using ‘the’ like this is part of the Poundian strategy to present things directly—not the vague idea of one thing among many, but the definite sense of this thing here and now. But it relies on a sense that both writer and reader know what the thing is because they have had experience of it. The first ‘THE’, for example, combines with the ‘etc.’ to dismiss the set of fashions with the sense: ‘you know what they are and it is unnecessary to list them.’ ‘Direct’ presentation, therefore, becomes hostage to the process of interpretation by relying upon a set of unspoken assumptions as its context, and hoping that they are shared by writer and reader. If, however, this is precisely what is being questioned—and in *Mauberley* this is precisely what is at stake—then direct presentation becomes a bet upon being understood, one made against heavy odds.

Indeed, like his audience who cannot be trusted to distinguish a ‘pianola’ and a ‘barbitos’, Pound too does not have an entirely secure grip on literary tradition. As John Espey writes, the errors which continually crop up in *Mauberley* are a sign of the urgency with which Pound needs to communicate.

[A]ll the slips, the misspellings, the inaccurate quotations should not influence one's judgment of *Mauberley* as a poem. Though they cannot, I think, be equalled in number anywhere else in a work of similar length, they are part of an honourable tradition that includes almost all the illustrious names in English and American literature. What they do indicate is Pound's haste, his eager fastening upon what is at hand and pressing it into service. However imperfect the assimilation may be at times, the result often justifies the method.⁵⁶

Mistakes and Hesitations in the Typescript of *Mauberley*

Pound's hesitations and uncertainties could take material as well as verbal form. In the typescript for *Mauberley*, he hesitated over the talents of 'the stylist' (see Figure 2). In this section, as in general, Pound puts two spaces between words and a space before and after each punctuation mark, with two exceptions. The two spaces between the comma and the word 'uncelebrated' seems to have little significance, but the four spaces between 'exercises' and 'his talents' is more telling, as is Pound's ringing of the comma after 'mistress'.

If the comma is deleted, then the second and third lines of the second stanza follow the structure of the previous two sentences, an adverbial phrase followed by the subject and main verb. That is to say that he is exercising his talents with his 'uneducated mistress', and the implication is that these are sexual, an implication made more strongly by the slightly coy delaying of 'his talents' with the extra spaces. But the coyness also seems fundamental to the state of the typescript at this stage: Pound is not sure whether this is the meaning he wants to convey, or whether the comma should stay or go.

The interpretation which seems the most tempting here is that 'the stylist'—generally agreed to be Ford Madox Hueffer—shows his stylistic mastery in

⁵⁶ Espey, *Ezra Pound's Mauberley* 111. On this subject see also Christine Froula, *To Write Paradise: Style and Error in Pound's Cantos* (New Haven and London: Yale UP, 1984).

X.

Beneath the sagging roof
The stylist has taken shelter ,
Unpaid , uncelebrated ,
At last from the world's welter

Nature receives him ,
With a placid and uneducated mistress
He exercises his talents
And the soil meets his distress .

The haven from sophistications and contentions
Leaks through its thatch ;
He offers succulent cooking ;
The door has a creaking latch .

Figure 2
Typescript of *Hugh Selwyn Mauberley*,
reproduced in Jo Brantley Berryman, *Circe's Craft: Ezra Pound's Hugh Selwyn
Mauberley* (Epping: Bowker, 1983) 227.

sexual as much as literary terms, the reverse of Mauberley's failure to deal with the sexual. But this ignores the fact that this sexual meaning is being hesitated over, and the supposed phallic self-sufficiency and hard outlines which comes through sexual mastery are not borne out by the environment in which he works. He is not the master of the world's welter but only escaping from it, and the shelter provided is a 'sagging' thatch roof which 'leaks'. It is not the door's hinges which creak, but its latch, again suggesting that it is not fully secured against the outside world. The ooze of unmastered nature is also replicated in the succulence of his cooking, and possibly in a secondary meaning of 'soil'. The retreat from the world is incomplete, and the talents which he exercises are uncertain, promoting another possibility offered by the four-space pause: that it is an ironic one.

Pound had discussed Ford Madox Hueffer's difficulties with the 'world's welter' three years before this poem. Bemoaning Hueffer's loss of the editorship of *The English Review*, and its subsequent decline in quality, Pound found little trouble in identifying who was responsible.

His editorship of the review marks a very definite [*sic*] period; at the end of it, as its glory was literary, not commercial, it was bought by certain jews, who thought Mr. Hueffer a damn fool (possibly because of his devotion to literature), and who gave the editorship into other hands. Comparison of current numbers of *The English Review* with the first numbers issued from 84 Holland Park Avenue, will give any thinking person all the data he wants in deciding between the folly of Hueffer and the folly of manufacturing, political hebrews. In fact, if a crime against literature could bring any shame upon that class of person, this family would go into penitence, which needless to say they will not. But the careful historian of literature will record and remember their shame. The files of the review being stored in the British Museum, the data will continue available. There will be no faking the records.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ Pound, 'Editorial on Solicitous Doubt,' *The Little Review* 4.6 (Oct 1917): 21. This editorial, whose chief function was to reassure readers that subscription prices would not go up, was repeated in the December 1917 issue (53-55, with the spelling mistake corrected). The US Post

In all of the above cases therefore, Pound identifies the principle by which his work and other work of value becomes censored, or commercialised, or in some other way perverted, with Jews and Judaism. It is therefore not surprising that a similar logic can be ascribed to the printing errors in the first edition of *Mauberley*.

Mauberley, 'Brennbaum', and the Letter 'T'

Pound's sense of the relation between art and the public, and between tradition and modernity in *Mauberley* is far more uncertain and incoherent than Jerome McGann suggests it to be, and this affects the way in which the book's format is to be interpreted. Indeed, Pound's embattled sense of art fits more closely with Shef Rogers's argument that Pound and his associates were working with limited resources, that he could not as much as would not find mainstream publishers for his work, and had to rely on private presses such as Rodker's which did not have the same level of expertise. It is, therefore, first of all necessary to acknowledge that the missing ornamental 'T' in the Brennbaum section is—as Rogers argues—the sign of a failure.

But this is not fully satisfactory, because the network of relations around *Mauberley* is both part of the process of its production and its subject—they are part of the means by which it has meaning. Pound was aware of and open to this fact throughout his writing, but it has been examined more with regard to *The Cantos*. Hugh Kenner, for example, notes Pound's later willingness to accept a

Office refused to distribute the October issue because it regarded Wyndham Lewis's 'Cantleman's Spring Mate' as obscene.

misprint in Canto 13 as sanctified by convention.⁵⁸ In Canto 31, Pound hit random keys on his typewriter when faced with an undeciphered word in one of his sources.⁵⁹ Peter Stoicheff argues that Pound left it to his publishers to decide how to order and make sense of the *Drafts and Fragments of Cantos*.⁶⁰ The errors of transmission in the process of printing and publication were for Pound, as for Joyce, a positive opportunity for the production of meaning. This combined with Pound's tendency to think of poetry in visual terms, which found its endpoint in such devices as the use of Chinese ideograms and printing of musical scores in *The Cantos*. Mauberley shows the beginnings of this tendency in its switching between typefaces, with Greek words in the Greek alphabet in Part I (e.g. 'τὸ καλόν') and in Roman capitals in Part II (e.g. 'NUKTOS 'AGALMA').⁶¹ Since Pound was prepared to use these kinds of effects in other parts of the poem, there is certainly some justification for seeing them in the ornamental letters.

Moreover, there clearly are relations between the format and the poem which seem meaningful. The poem's concerns with the relationship of tradition and modernity are echoed in the form of the decorated initials themselves, designed by Edward Wadsworth. Richard Cork says of this 'Vorticist Alphabet':

Some of [the letters], particularly the backgrounds of D, W and Y, are drawn in a style strongly reminiscent of Lewis's 'Vorticist Sketchbook',

⁵⁸ Hugh Kenner, 'Introduction,' *Ezra Pound's Cantos: The Story of the Text: 1948-1975*, by Barbara C. Eastman (Orono, ME: National Poetry Foundation, 1979) xiii.

⁵⁹ Terrell, *A Companion to the Cantos* 122.

⁶⁰ Peter Stoicheff, *The Hall of Mirrors: Drafts and Fragments and the End of Ezra Pound's Cantos* (Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 1995) 33-74.

⁶¹ Espey, *Ezra Pound's* Mauberley 106-107. Also Stan Smith, *The Origins of Modernism: Eliot, Pound, Yeats and the Rhetorics of Renewal* (Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1994) 93. This switch is not absolute, however, as Roman punctuation marks are used to replicate the Greek soft breathing. Smith also notes the use of italics in the lyric 'Envoi' that bridges the two parts. However, the 'Envoi' of the Ovid Press edition is not in italics, despite Pound's instruction in the typescript to use 'italics if you have them.' Manuscripts and Galleys for *Hugh Selwyn Mauberley*, John Rodker Papers 9.5.

which helps to explain why Pound used this alphabet in his 1920 Ovid Press edition of *Hugh Selwyn Mauberley*; while other letters portray groups of faceless robots and instruments of war. The disparity between the muscular angularities of these drawings and the arabesques described by the capitals in front of them is almost absurd: the only way to achieve unity would have been to employ a letterpress similar to the gigantic black script used in *Blast*.⁶²

Since Wadsworth designed these letters for *Ara Vos Prec* if for any book, and Pound seems to have written his poem independently of questions of its format, any specific effects that the letters have cannot be assigned to the intention of either artist or writer.⁶³ Nevertheless, the war imagery, particularly evident in the ornamental 'T', has parallels in the poem, and this letter heads the two sections (IV and V) which denounce the war (see Figure 3). It also heads the previous two sections, and this run of 'T's helps to bind together more closely the condemnation of what 'the age demanded' of its art, and what the age did to its young men.

This grouping of the poems II-V falls quite neatly into two pairs, especially as in the Ovid Press edition II and III face each other, as do IV and V. The first pair discusses what the age demanded, and the second the war. The pairing continues through the next two poems, 'Yeux Glauques' and 'Siena mi fe' ...', also facing each other in this edition, both discussing the 1890s, and both using non-English titles. Pairing the following two, 'Brennbaum' and 'Mr. Nixon', would also make sense: these are the first two examples of personalities who fit with the age,

⁶² Richard Cork, *Synthesis and Decline*, vol 2 of *Vorticism and Abstract Art in the First Machine Age* (Berkeley: U of California P, 1976) 525. Neither the 'W' nor the 'Y' is used in *Mauberley*. Barbara Wadsworth believes that the letters were based on a children's book, *The Golden Primer Part 2*, which Wadsworth owned as a child. *Edward Wadsworth: A Painter's Life* (Salisbury: Michael Russell, 1989) 92. Shef Rogers also points out that these are not the ornamental capitals of a William Morris. 'How Many Ts?' 282.

⁶³ Wadsworth wrote to Rodker on 1 October 1919, sending 'the remainder of the initials at which I have been at work since getting your letter yesterday.' This was probably because more had to be made up for *Ara Vos Prec*, which Rodker finished printing in December 1919. Letters from Edward Wadsworth, John Rodker Papers 40.6.

12

IV.



HESE 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 ;

fortitude as never before

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

Figure 3

E.P. [Ezra Pound], *Hugh Selwyn Mauberley: Life and Contacts*
(London: Ovid Press, 1920)

page 12

rather than the Pre-Raphaelites or those like E.P. and M. Verog who are out of step with it. And once again the titles are very similar: the names of the two personalities described. There is, however, something they do not have in common: Brennbaum is Jewish, whereas Mr. Nixon is not. But an examination of these poems and of Pound's own comments on them shows, Jewishness is not the absolute mark of difference between them that it might seem. Brennbaum's Jewishness is tied to his physical being, but it cannot quite be located there.

BRENNBAUM.

THE sky-like limpid eyes,
The circular infant's face,
The stiffness from spats to collar
Never relaxing into grace ;

The heavy memories of Horeb, Sinai and the forty years,
Showed only when the daylight fell
Level across the face
Of Brennbaum "The Impeccable".

(16)

The contrast between Brennbaum's characterless exterior and the revelation of his 'heavy memories' has a parallel in the transition between the first stanza and the second, between the endstopped regularity of a quatrain marked by Gautier's influence and the second stanza's far more expansive first line, enjambments, and light rhyme of 'fell' and 'Impeccable'. The boundary between lines six and seven is blurred not just by the stress on 'Level', but by its first letter being indistinguishable from the last of 'fell'. Indeed, the blurring of boundaries affects the two stanzas, with the strange repetition of 'face', which provides a more effective rhyme outside the second stanza than any within. The final words of the two stanzas both have heavy Christian overtones (Latin *peccatum* 'sin'). The transition from hard to soft, from sculpted to far freer verse, is therefore not

really from non-Jewish to Jewish. Both stanzas are marked by Brennbaum's Jewishness: too stiff and graceless, or not defined enough.

However, although this Jewishness leaves a trace in both stanzas, it is not fully locatable in either. Brennbaum's features are presented directly in the first stanza, each noun phrase introduced with the word 'the'. As with the other uses of the definite article in *Mauberley*, this should indicate that these features are known to both reader and writer before they are mentioned here, and it is in this section that they are used the most frequently. But the absence of finite verbs means that the question of how they articulate with each other is left dangling. Indeed, how they articulate with what follows is also not quite certain. It is not that Brennbaum's Jewishness lies behind these features, but that, when seen in a certain light, the Sinaitic memories show on his face. Robert Casillo suggests that the daylight falling across Brennbaum's face reveals his Jewish nose, and this is the most plausible reading, but it is difficult to see how a nose would carry connotations of memory.⁶⁴ However, since the memories are showing to the person looking at Brennbaum, rather than Brennbaum relating them or being seen to recall them, they might as well attach themselves to one body part as much as any other. The visibility of these memories means that they are not really memories.

The reason for this, I think, lies with the person on whom Brennbaum is based, Max Beerbohm. Although Pound may have been using Jewishness as a sign of Beerbohm's parody of an English gentleman,⁶⁵ identifying Beerbohm as a

⁶⁴ Casillo, *Genealogy of Demons* 404n7.

⁶⁵ Vincent Sherry argues that Pound was aware that Beerbohm was not Jewish. 'From the Twenties to the Nineties: Pound, Beerbohm and the Making of *Mauberley*,' *PN Review* 20.5 (May-June 1994): 40-42.

Jew was not confined to Pound. George Bernard Shaw had written to Beerbohm of his 'Jewish genius' in 1903, but, as Beerbohm said in his reply:

I am *not* a Jew. My name was originally Beerboom. The family can be traced back through the centuries in Holland. Nor is there, so far as one can tell, any trace of Hebraism on the distaff side. Do I *look* like a Jew? (The question is purely rhetorical.)⁶⁶

Pound's point is of course that Brennbaum/Beerbohm does not look like a Jew; in fact he looks so un-Jewish (except in a certain light) that he can only be Jewish. Beerbohm acts the English gentleman so fastidiously that he must have something to hide, but the memories of Horeb and Sinai are an invention of Pound's which he projects onto the too perfect exterior. How Brennbaum relates to the rest of the poem is also ambiguous. Does he sum up literary modernity, at the head of the figures who are not out of step with their age, or does he exist in the past of Horeb and Sinai? This depends partly on where he stands in relation to Mr Nixon.

Pound makes it clear in a letter to Ford Madox Hueffer that there is supposed to be a strong connection between his 'literary constructions' and the people on whom they are based.

Will send you my new versicul-opus to yr. new address; believe it contains an "advance"; by no means as rich as "Propertius" but it has form, hell yes, structure, and is in strictly modern decor. J[ohn]. R[odker]. thinks both he and I will be murdered by people making personal application of necessary literary constructions verging too near to photography. My defence being that "Mr Nixon" is the only person who need really see red and go hang himself in the potters field or throw bombs through my window.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ Lawrence Danson, *Max Beerbohm and the Act of Writing* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989) 8.

⁶⁷ Pound to Ford, 30 July 1920. Ezra Pound and Ford Madox Ford, *Pound/Ford: The Story of a Literary Friendship: The Correspondence Between Ezra Pound and Ford Madox Ford and their Writings About Each Other*, ed. Brita Lindberg-Seyersted, (London: Faber, 1982) 36-37. Rodker appeared to need some reassurance about who Pound was and was not targeting. In a covering letter with the typescript of *Mauberley*, Pound wrote: 'I am not kicking anybody, down or up, save "Mr Nixon" (the antithesis [*sic*] of the type "F.") and a few anonymities in I.3. You've "got in wrong".' Manuscripts and Galleys for *Hugh Selwyn Mauberley*, John Rodker Papers 9.5.

Mr Nixon (generally agreed to be Arnold Bennett) also occupies the role of ‘Jew’: as a Judas figure who hangs himself in the potter’s field bought with his thirty pieces of silver, but also in his dual characterisation as an anarchist bomb thrower and betrayer of literature to the mass market (for which he has been rewarded with a luxury yacht)—‘the Jew’ as both revolutionary and capitalist.⁶⁸

IN the cream gilded cabin of his steam yacht
Mr. Nixon advised me kindly, to advance with fewer
Dangers of delay. “Consider
“Carefully the reviewer.

[...]

“Butter reviewers. From fifty to three hundred
“I rose in eighteen months ;
“The hardest nut I had to crack
“Was Dr. Dundas. (17)

It is not so much that Pound thinks of Nixon as Jewish, rather that the terms in which he thinks about him are so similar to those in which he thinks about Jews that Nixon occupies the same place as they do. And certainly the use of food imagery—reviewers who need to be ‘butter[ed]’, Dr Dundas as a ‘nut’ to be cracked—also returns in *The Cantos* when Jews become ‘chews’, threatening to swallow Western civilisation.⁶⁹ Nixon’s verse also represents the end-point of the breaking down of the quatrains achieved by Brennbaum’s Jewishness.

Nixon and Brennbaum are linked therefore by their facing each other in the Ovid Press edition, and by a kind of ‘Jewishness’ which is assigned by the beholder: the latter because of his name, and his erasure of a past that Pound reconstructs as Jewish, the former because he is part of a process of

⁶⁸ Pound’s version of how Judas died is a common amalgamation of Matthew 27.3-10 and Acts 1.19-20.

⁶⁹ Robert Casillo aptly describes the world of *Mauberley* as ‘an enormous and threatening mouth’, and links it to the Jews later role as ‘chews’. *The Genealogy of Demons* 184. The mouth

commercialisation that Pound identifies as 'Jewish', or at least thinks about in terms derived from 'Jews'.

However, the very grounds for making this pairing, the format of the book, are also the point where it is called into question, because Nixon's section begins with an ornamented letter, and Brennbaum's does not. Brennbaum floats slightly more freely from the pairing, leaving the question more open: are the Jews responsible for this corruption? But the italic letter has been used precisely because of the conditions that Pound and his circle have to work in, and that he is describing at this point: that is, a corrupt, a Judaised (as Pound sees it), market place, which does not allow them the resources to make the books they want. The difficulty of finding someone to blame can itself be blamed on the Jews.

The other effect of italicising this 'T' is that the rest of the first word is italicised, and a little more weight is put on the first 'The'. As if to compensate for the not quite successful pairing of these two Jewish non-Jews, the poem insists slightly more on the presence, and the immediacy of Brennbaum's features. But no amount of insistence compensates for the need for Pound to trust that the reader knows what the nouns qualified by these definite articles mean. There is always the possibility of his meaning going astray, but this is simply a necessary condition of communication. As soon as Pound commits to publishing, the possibility of misunderstanding becomes part of what he is doing, but it is only this possibility that makes his work available. He has to be open to what he is doing going astray if he wants to say anything. But his resentment of this possibility figures the process as controlled by Jews or women, the people who disrupt his process of communication with the public, as well making it possible:

imagery is also noted by Espey, *Ezra Pound's Mauberley* 76, and Smith, *Origins of Modernism*

literally in the case of Rodker as his publisher, and in the case of Harriet Monroe, Margaret Anderson and Jane Heap as editors of magazines in which his work appears. And this is precisely why he prefers to rely on these groups of people to do this work. It is too risky, too taboo a position for him to be comfortable with taking it up himself, because it will necessarily involve corrupting his own or other writers' intentions. And so it is assigned to someone else, in this case to John Rodker.⁷⁰

Coda: Dead Ezra

Two years after the publication of *Mauberley*, Rodker was involved in a very different collaboration with Pound. After helping to publicise *Ulysses* and *The Waste Land*, tired and apparently wanting to concentrate on his own work, Pound had retreated to Italy, and from there attempted to circulate news of his own death.⁷¹ *The Little Review* was sent photographs of Pound's 'death mask' (actually a life mask taken by Nancy Cox-McCormack) accompanied by a note.

I have sent you the photos of Ezra's death mask.
There is nothing more to be said.
Yours sincerely
D. Pound.

However, the note had actually been written by John Rodker. Since he had been foreign editor of *The Little Review* from 1919-1921, Heap and Anderson had little difficulty recognising his handwriting, and refused to print the letter or

82.

⁷⁰ I am adapting this description from Hyam Maccoby's idea of the 'sacred executioner', who in some societies performs the necessary but shocking function of human sacrifice. *The Sacred Executioner: Human Sacrifice and the Legacy of Guilt* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1982). The fact that Pound was to use Rodker to announce his death, and to write to Eliot about his 'hebrew eulogists', would suggest that this is not an extreme comparison to make.

⁷¹ Pound seems to have put some effort into this hoax, warning John Quinn, Williams Carlos Williams and his father not to worry if they heard the rumour, but not to contradict it. 12 April 1922, *Letters to Quinn* 205. 21 May 1922, *Pound/Williams* 59.

pictures.⁷² Pound, infuriated, wrote back ‘Why the hell shd.n’t I die?’, and complained to Lewis that heap and Anderson had ‘bungled’ his idea.⁷³ According to Nancy Cox-McCormack’s account, however, Dorothy Pound was present during the hoax and would have been perfectly able to write the note herself.⁷⁴ So why did Rodker do it? I would suggest that the same process that I have outlined in this chapter is operating here: Pound complains that other people bungle his idea, but can dissociate it from himself by having someone else do it. Rodker, as a Jew posing as a woman, was the ideal candidate to take the flak.

However, the danger of seeing the relationship simply in this way is that it makes Rodker little more than Pound’s instrument in carrying out the modernist project. Rodker’s handwriting being recognised and the italic ‘T’ in Brennbaum are also signs that Pound was not perfectly in control of what was happening. Although Pound attempted to circumscribe these uncertainties as the effects of ‘Jewishness’, they also suggest that Rodker may have had room for manoeuvre in rewriting what that ‘Jewishness’ was. In the next chapter, I will consider how much room he was able to find for himself in his own writing. If he was taking part in an institution which is shaped by antisemitism, what sort of effect did this have on his own poetry? In his limited statements about Jewish writers and Jewish theatre, did he reproduce the semitic discourse of Pound and Eliot, or do

⁷² ‘Several weeks ago we received a note from Mrs. Ezra Pound (in Rodker’s handwriting) announcing Ezra’s death; also some phoney death masks. Whatever the hoax (?) as far as we are concerned Ezra will have to be satisfied to go on living.’ j[ane] h[ear], ‘The “Art Season”,’ *The Little Review* 8.2 (Spring 1922): 60.

⁷³ 14 April 1922, 13 July 1922, *Pound/The Little Review* 283, 287. 14 July 1922, *Pound/Lewis* 133.

⁷⁴ Nancy Cox-McCormack, ‘Ezra Pound in the Paris Years,’ ed. Lawrence S. Rainey, *The Sewanee Review* 102.1 (Winter 1994): 93-95.

something different? Using the social context of the relationship between Rodker and Pound that I have established in this chapter, I can begin to examine these questions.

Introduction

This chapter reads John Rodker's second collection of poems *Hymns* as part of the nexus of cultural production of the Pound circle, examining how his place in this group affected his methods of writing. I begin with his own assessments of his writing in a diary entry of 1923 and the foreword to his *Collected Poems* of 1930, which present his self-understanding of his Jewish identity in terms which range from self-hatred to a sense of foreignness, and consider the implications for describing the Jewishness of his poetry. I then examine the position assigned to him by some of the reviewers of his first collection, *Poems*, arguing that the reviews were informed by an unspoken antisemitism. This was not, however, a position that Rodker accepted; indeed amongst his manuscripts is a poem that is effectively a counter-attack to these reviews. I read this as a battle over the question of his Jewishness, even though neither side makes direct mention of it. I then compare this with the ways in which his view of Yiddish theatre parallels or is different from his own idea of theatre, and art in general, paying particular attention to the position he adopts as cultural mediator between Jewish and English culture.

This serves as a foundation for my discussion of *Hymns*, which is the main focus of this chapter. I argue that the poems are both a reaction to and meditation on his own marginality in English culture, but are also shaped by a marginal position within the 'men of 1914'. Combined with an uncertain sense of self, his situation is expressed in an extreme, unbound form of modernism, which is sometimes little more than an attempt to shock, but sometimes calls Englishness into question as part of his self-interrogation. Finally, I consider Rodker's review of Spire's *Poèmes juifs*, in which he makes use of the term 'Schlemihl', a word

he also employs in the final poem of *Hymns*. The position of Spire (and Jews in general) is one with which Rodker has a great deal of sympathy, but it is not one which he articulates as his own in his poems. It may be, I suggest, that a turn to prose was the only way in which he could begin to deal with this question.

Chapter 3

Rodker's *Hymns* (1920)

Three years after the publication of his second collection of poetry, *Hymns*, John Rodker considered both his writing and his Jewishness in a comparison of his own work with that of his then-wife Mary Butts.

Have just been reading a short story of [Mary's] and it^[1]'s light and airy and beautiful and I'm not the better writer, only a muck raker and common, oh dreadfully common—if I knew anything of the country I should smell of dunghills—as it is they're a kind of latrine. Lewis told [Iris] Barry I was something small, hard, malignant—so Mary says too—and I always thought myself large open generous—No thoroughly jewish.¹

A diary entry such as this should be treated with caution. The fact that these sentences were written in a 'private' context does not make them the ultimate truth of how Rodker felt about his Jewishness. Indeed, his self-dramatisation in the space of his diaries often reads less convincingly than the worked-out form his self-analysis took in his novels. Moreover, Rodker was writing in this way at a very low moment, when his marriage had collapsed and so had his business.²

Nonetheless, the fact that he was capable of expressing such sentiments is important. It was, first of all, not a one-off description. Of a cousin's wedding he wrote 'I was introduced to every-body, too awful and some were very fat and

¹ 9 Aug 1923, *Diary June 28 1921-Jan 30 1927*, Joan Rodker Papers 5.2.

² The marriage had broken down in Jan 1921 when Rodker read Butts's diary for 1920, in which she confessed her attraction to Roger Fry. However, they did not divorce until 1927. The story Rodker was reading was probably from Mary Butts, *Speed the Plough and Other Stories* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1923), which had come out in March that year. Nathalie Blondel, *Mary Butts: Scenes from the Life* (Kingston, NY: McPherson, 1998) 95, 125. Selections from Butts's journals, including the annotations Rodker made to the entries from 1920, have been published as *The Journals of Mary Butts*, ed. Nathalie Blondel (New Haven and London: Yale UP, 2002). For discussions of Butts's *Death of Felicity Taverner* (1932), which contains a character possibly based on Rodker, see Patrick Wright, *On Living in an Old Country: The National Past in Contemporary Britain* (London: Verso, 1985) 93-134; Ian Patterson, "'The Plan Behind the Plan': Russians, Jews and Mythologies of Change: The Case of Mary Butts," *Modernity, Culture and 'the Jew'*, ed. Bryan Cheyette and Laura Marcus (Cambridge: Polity, 1998) 126-140.

greasy and had to talk French English or Yiddish',³ making even the polyglot nature of the party a sign of Jewish excess. Nor were such feelings entirely unique to him. Mark Gertler, who had been friends with Rodker in Whitechapel, described the East End and his family as 'sordid' and changed his mind repeatedly over whether they were a suitable subject for his art.⁴

However, whereas Gertler's feelings could be justly described as ambivalent, the ones Rodker expresses here can only really be called self-hating. Indeed, he reproduces the most virulent kinds of antisemitic slurs made in Britain, the sort made by extremists such as Joseph Banister with his talk of 'Semitic sewage' rather than the more circumspect terms in which antisemitic sentiments appeared in the British press.⁵ His feeling of worthlessness extends through his lack of ties to the country, his excessive sexuality, his filthiness, his class. A dunghill might at least have some use as fertiliser, but his identification with the city disallows even that possibility. He regards himself simply as a waste product.

Indeed, his self-accusation in his diary is almost an exact reproduction of the way that Lewis talked of his 'filthy sexual verse' which should 'hang in the W.C.'⁶ His sense of his writing's and his own Jewishness seems to be imposed

³ 26 June 1923, *Diary June 28 1921-Jan 30 1927*, Joan Rodker Papers 5.2.

⁴ Mark Gertler, letters to Carrington, July 1914, Sunday July 1914, Jan 1915, *Mark Gertler: Selected Letters*, ed. Noel Carrington (London: Hart-Davis, 1965) 70-71, 72, 80-81. For considerations of how this played out in his art see Juliet Steyn, 'The Mythical Edges of Assimilation: Mark Gertler,' *The Jew: Assumptions of Identity* (London: Cassell, 1999) 115-135. Lisa Tickner, *Modern Life and Modern Subjects Modern Life and Modern Subjects: British Art in the Early Twentieth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000) 163-171.

⁵ Joseph Banister, *England under the Jews*, 3rd ed. (London: Joseph Banister, 1907) 21. Accusations of filth, disease, corruption, treachery and lecherousness against all Jews, whether English-born or not occur *passim*. As Colin Holmes points out, although the book ran to three editions in six years, the print-runs were probably very small, and the fact that Banister had to self-publish indicates that he was operating on the margins of English society. Holmes, *Anti-Semitism in British Society 1876-1939* (London: Edward Arnold, 1979) 39-42. See also Gisela Lebzelter, *Political Anti-Semitism in England 1918-1939* (London: Macmillan, 1978) 9. Léon Poliakov *Suicidal Europe, 1870-1933*, vol. 4 of *The History of Anti-Semitism*, trans. George Klin (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1985) 187-218.

⁶ Compare also Aleister Crowley's description of Rodker as the product of a sewer, cited by Ian Patterson, "The Plan Behind the Plan": Russians, Jews and Mythologies of Change: The Case of

upon him not simply by English society as a whole, but by the particular social grouping with which he associated himself: Wyndham Lewis speaking to Iris Barry, Mary Butts being privy to this conversation.

The self-hatred Rodker gave voice to in his diary was not the straightforward product of assimilation to an undifferentiated majority culture. Modernism's relationship with general society was a complex dance of opposition and agreement, and Rodker's move away from his original Jewish community led him towards modernist circles, rather than to his identifying with English society at large.⁷ The point his diary shows is his realisation of his marginal position within modernism, the point at which modernist uses of the figure of 'the Jew' intersected with the prejudices of general society leaving him trapped and alone.

Seven years later, having, he claimed, given up the entire business of versification in 1925, Rodker made a somewhat more positive assessment of his work in a foreword to the few poems he wished to preserve. This marked also an attempt to think through a definition of his Jewishness which, in the despair-filled pages of his diary, he simply accepted.

One thing this collection makes me realize very clearly is how much influenced I was by the French Poetry of 1850-1910. That was because I came to poetry through that language (the foreign-ness already evocative and moving; which with its content satisfied my particular demand for what poetry ought to be). But until this had happened I was closed to English poetry, so that perhaps later it was too late to write poetry that would be nearer the traditions of the language I was using. [...] It seems to me now, not to go more deeply into the matter, that when I wrote poetry I was, as it were, hanging in the void and these poems are my efforts to establish contact, indeed this need is the one

Mary Butts, 'Modernity, Culture and 'the Jew'', ed. Bryan Cheyette and Laura Marcus (Cambridge: Polity, 1998) 127.

⁷ This was the way Joseph Leftwich described it to Joan Rodker in 1972: 'He says Jimmy [Rodker] went off the rails [...] when he started moving in the modern crowd . . . got a letter from Ezra Pound agreeing to publication of a poem, after that he got in with that Paris crowd.' Notes by Joan Rodker, Feb 19 1972, Joan Rodker Papers 2.5.

*thing the poems express, in 1912 as in 1925; and it is as true of the jokes as of some whose main function, I remember, when they were written, was to shock. They shocked me as much as they did some readers and reviewers, but I had the compensation of being the initiator of that assault.*⁸

The similarity of the terms used here to those in his earlier 'private' statement is striking. Both label his creations as 'foreign' or 'jewish'. Both have him outside the traditions of English poetry: explicitly in the 1930 foreword, implicitly in his lack of knowledge of the country and commonness in his diary. Both describe him as 'closed': closed to English poetry, or as not being the open person he thought. And both tie this to the sexual explicitness of some of his poetry: the interest in the content as much as the language of French poetry and desire to shock, and the sense of himself as a muck raker and his poems as a kind of latrine. Although his assessment in 1930 was far more considered, it was still very close to what he wrote in his diary. In fact, there may even be a direct link between the diary entry and the 'Note' of 1930. The latter piece was clearly influenced by the four years of analysis which Rodker had undergone at this point, at the beginning of which his relationship with the 'Men of 1914' was still preying on his mind.⁹ Marking himself as 'foreign', therefore, was both a means of reclaiming and reworking this position and a problematic continuation of it. This was the result in part of his side-stepping one of the major issues at stake, and turning Jewishness into a 'necessary foreignness'.¹⁰

⁸ John Rodker 'A Note,' *Collected Poems 1912-1925* (Paris: The Hours Press, 1930) vii, reprinted in *Poems and Adolphe 1920*, ed. Andrew Crozier (Manchester: Carcanet, 1996) 179-180.

⁹ Including a comment by Pound that he was a 'unique psychological slide'. 2 Feb 1923, *Diary June 28 1921-Jan 30 1927*; 'Diary of an Analysis' 4 June 19--? [1926], Joan Rodker Papers 5.2 and 5.5.

¹⁰ Adam Phillips, 'Unofficial Modernist,' rev. of *Poems and Adolphe 1920*, by John Rodker, *Jewish Quarterly* 45.4 (Winter 1998/99): 70.

What these two passages articulate is a complex layering of self-imaginings which are in a large part imposed upon him, and which never fully escape the problematic of self-hatred. Furthermore, neither suggests that Rodker saw his poetry at the time as the expression of some Jewish identity—indeed, it would appear that being labelled as Jewish by the Pound circle was such a surprise to him that he had no defences against it.¹¹ However, to dismiss Rodker's self-understanding entirely would be to see him as simply the product of social forces, a victim of prejudices to which he had no response. I will therefore consider Rodker's Jewishness as a set of partially acknowledged and unacknowledged circumstances in which his poetry was written, in three inter-linked ways.

The first is the way in which he describes it in 1930: he did not feel at home in the English tradition, his writing was an attempt to make some kind of contact, and this resulted in a poetry which is almost a parody of avant-garde gestures—wild, shocking, crudely experimental—as well as his identification with the Pound circle rather than the 'English' culture of, say, the Georgians. Like Rodker, the 'Men of 1914' also had an uncertain relationship with whatever reading public they had. They too were looking to traditions outside those of English poetry to find ways to revitalise it, and they too turned in particular to the French poetry of the previous seventy years: Laforgue, for example, had an importance for Pound, Eliot and Rodker.¹² *Hymns* marks the point at which he

¹¹ Adam Phillips is rightly sceptical about Rodker's use of a psychoanalytic framework in his 'Note', believing that it relies too much on which was only important to Rodker later. 'Unofficial Modernist' 70. Rodker began a prolonged period of analysis in 1926.

¹² As Erik Svarny says, Eliot's debt to Laforgue is 'almost impossible to exaggerate'. *The Men of 1914: T. S. Eliot and Early Modernism* (Milton Keynes: Open University P, 1988) 46. Pound produced a translation of one of Laforgue's *Moralités légendaires* as 'Our Tetrarchal Précieuse: A Divagation from Jules Laforgue,' *Instigations of Ezra Pound, together with an Essay on the Chinese Written Character by Ernest Fenollosa* (Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries, 1969) 253-265. See also Peter Nicholls, 'Arid Clarity: Ezra Pound, Mina Loy, and Jules Laforgue,'

most closely identified himself with the Pound circle. It was published by Rodker at the same time as he published Eliot's *Ara Vos Prec* and Pound's *Mauberley* in a similar format, with the same Wadsworth initials, and so was presented as one part of the collective work of this group. This is why I focus on *Hymns* specifically rather than Rodker's poetry in general.

However, Rodker's position within modernism of the Pound circle was not the same as that of Eliot or Lewis. For Pound, Eliot and Lewis, Jews and Judaism stood for corrupted sexuality—either as sexual excess or as sexual repression—and this applied in both literal and figurative ways to the circulation of literature, which was supposed to be like sex, but also could be about sex. As publisher of their works, Rodker fitted the role of middleman between the writers and the public, performing a necessary but anxiety-provoking function which both shielded the writers from contamination by the 'herd' and symbolised the way in which their works would never be properly received, because always having to be mediated. With Rodker remaining necessarily on its margins because of his 'Jewishness', and his oppositional relationship to the general public therefore not supported by meaningful collaboration, his crude avant-gardism is in part the product of this second relationship.

The third is both the effect of the former two and perhaps also one of their causes: an uncertain sense of self-worth, indeed an uncertain sense of self. Rejected by and rejecting a culture of 'Englishness', marginalised by his cultural allies, Rodker's ambivalent relationship to himself and his own Jewishness

Yearbook of English Studies 32 (2002): 52-64. Pound discusses a translation of Laforgue done by Rodker, which does not appear to have survived, in letters of 21 June 1917 and 3 Aug 1917, *Pound/The Little Review: The Letters of Ezra Pound to Margaret Anderson: The Little Review Correspondence*, ed. Thomas L. Scott, Melvin J. Friedman with the assistance of Jackson R. Bryer (London: Faber, 1989) 77, 99.

played out in a poetry which concentrated on individual suffering and isolation, in which social contact was feared as much as desired.

As he perceived in his diary, Rodker's poetry fitted very neatly into some of the categories of the Pound circle's semitic discourse: the excessive sexuality, the interest in the urban, the lack of tradition, even the (sometimes superficial) internationalism were all features of how they defined Jews. However, this is not the only way in which Rodker considers Jewish identity. Although in the private space of his diary his depictions of himself and his relatives could sometimes differ very little from the insulting remarks of Lewis or Pound, in the few more public considerations of Jewish identity he did not simply reproduce the (anti)semitic discourse of the Pound circle.

When implicitly antisemitic accusations were made against him by reviewers of his first volume of poetry, Rodker had the means to fight back, writing a poem which he never published, but certainly did not capitulate to their accusations. Rodker's essay on the Yiddish theatre in Whitechapel (1913) presents a far more nuanced, far more engaged account of Jewish cultural activity, with which he does not exactly identify himself, but from which he does not entirely distance himself. It is, therefore, in the context of his responses to reviews of his first collection and the essay on the Pavilion theatre that I will place my consideration of *Hymns*.

Reviews of *Poems* and Rodker's Counter-Attack

The publication of *Poems* and the outbreak of the Great War virtually coincided, but the former event caused some reviewers more displeasure than the latter.¹³ Richard Aldington's review in *The Egoist* almost went as far as branding Rodker a national traitor, and was quite clear that he had no place in English culture.

I should say that the effect of the present war—the effect, I mean, on my taste in general—has been to confirm and stimulate my natural feeling for the Latin nations, for Latin art and for Latin literature. And—at least in European art—I have a corresponding dislike for non-Latin productions.

Now, I am not going to say that a book, like Mr. Rodker's, whose tradition is so clearly Slavonic, is a book produced by the spread of Prussian ideals—though I think it might be argued that this is so. [...] [I]nstead of looking upon Rodker as a Slav indirectly and perfectly unconsciously acted upon by Prussian theories of art (I refer, of course, to the Prussian mania for abstractions), I am content to look upon him as a revolutionary.¹⁴

Since the Latin (French) influences upon Rodker are what he himself acknowledged, and are also clearly present, the only reason Aldington can have for calling him a Slav with unconsciously Prussian influences—just like the Jews of the Pale of Settlement, living in Slavic territory but speaking a Germanic language—is that he is Jewish. Indeed, Peter Lawson has suggested that the Greek tradition behind Amy Lowell which Aldington contrasts with this Slavic element forms a Hellenic counter to Rodker's implicitly unacceptable Hebraism.¹⁵

Aldington's review was exceeded in viciousness by that of A. R. Orage, who accused Rodker, as part of the circle of Imagists, of 'dereliction of duty' since they could not 'produce a poem to match a rifle'.

¹³ John Rodker, *Poems*, to be had of the author: 1 Osborn Street, Whitechapel [1914].

¹⁴ Richard Aldington, 'Two Poets,' *The Egoist* 1.22 (Nov 16 1914): 422.

The latest of the school is Mr. John Rodker, who publishes his own "Poems" from his own address at 1, Osborn Street, Whitechapel. [...] In writing upon Mr. Pound's work a week or two ago I did, it may be remembered, improvise a dozen Rolands for his little Oliver; and as many leap to my pen to answer Mr. Rodker's. There is nothing, we may assure ourselves, in the whole school. From master to the last disciple they are empty. Once more I express the hope that they may all perish in the war.¹⁶

Osborn Street, at the bottom of Brick Lane, and round the corner from the Whitechapel Art Gallery and Library, was at the heart of Jewish Whitechapel. Orage's inclusion of Rodker's address served to show that this writing was the product of a Jewish milieu. The accusation made against British Jews in general that they were closer to the Germans than to the English and therefore suspect in the upcoming conflict, was, in these articles, directly applied to literary criticism.¹⁷

Rodker's response took the form of a poem, which he never published: 'To Richard Aldington of the "Egoist", A. R. Orage of the "New Age", J. C. Squire of the "Daily News"; the anonymous reviewers of the Times and the Nation; and those sundry other minor personages who reviewed my first book of poems'.

¹⁵ Peter Lawson, *Otherness and Affiliation: Anglo-Jewish Poetry from Isaac Rosenberg to Elaine Feinstein*, diss., U of Southampton, 2002, 106-108.

¹⁶ R.H.C. [A. R. Orage] 'Readers and Writers,' *The New Age* N.S. 15.23 (8 Oct 1914): 549. Orage's parody of Pound's 'In a Station of the Metro' appeared in 'Readers and Writers,' *The New Age* ns 15.19 (10 Sept 1914): 449.

¹⁷ Colin Holmes, *Anti-Semitism in British Society 1876-1939* (London: Edward Arnold, 1979) 121-140. Léon Poliakov, *The History of Anti-Semitism Volume 4: Suicidal Europe 1870-1933* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1985) 189-191. Jewish artists were also subject to similar accusations at this time. Mark Gertler's *Creation of Eve* (Nov 1915 show of the London Group) had a label with 'Made in Germany' stuck on the belly of his Eve. Gertler, letter to Carrington, Sun Dec 1915, *Selected Letters* 106. See also Sarah MacDougall, *Mark Gertler* (London: John Murry, 2002) 122-123. Jacob Epstein's *Christ*, exhibited at Leicester Galleries Feb/March 1920 was described by Father Bernard Vaughan in the *Weekly Graphic* of 14 Feb 1920 as a 'figure [...] which suggested to me some degraded Chaldean or African, which wore the appearance of an Asiatic-American or Hun-Jew, which reminded me of some emaciated Hindu or badly grown Egyptian.' Stephen Gardiner, *Epstein: Artist against the Establishment* (London: Michael Joseph, 1992) 209. Epstein quoted Vaughan, substituting 'Hun' for 'Hun-Jew' in *Let There be Sculpture: An Autobiography* (London: Michael Joseph, 1940) 119. For other instances of antisemitic reviews in 1908 and 1924 see Gardiner, *Epstein* 60, 64, 244-246. Juliet Steyn argues that reviews of the 1914 Whitechapel Exhibition equated modern art with, amongst other things, Jews and evil. *The Jew: Assumptions of Identity* (London: Cassell, 1999) 98-114. This is somewhat overstated, as

Hate it
 if you've spunk to hate anything:
 but God damn your patronising
 and your cleverness.
 Because you can sell a dozen volumes
 of all the latest poets
 in the Charing Cross Road
 for a shilling or so
 without too much difficulty
 and in addition can earn your guinea a thousand
 you go on sliming everything
 with your cleverness.
 Rotten tags a month
 Old even at the Café Royal
 Years, I know you've got responsible jobs
 Keen mistresses to keep pleasant and what not? and
 Even the younger generation knocking at the door, but
 Really—Damn it all! why fall back on me.¹⁸

Rodker was of course not just replying to the implicit antisemitism of Aldington and Orage's reviews. J. C. Squire, the third object of his wrath, had been contemptuous of the verse but not entirely dismissive of Rodker's potential as a writer, and made no mention of his Jewishness.¹⁹ Nonetheless, this poem does act as a rejoinder to these accusations. Simply asserting a Jewish, Germanic sounding, name at a time of war with Germany was a form of resistance, however mild.²⁰ Moreover, the poem shifts supposedly Jewish attributes onto the reviewers: slime, cleverness, lack of spunk, obsession with making money. However, while sneering at the mechanisms of sale and commission he is demonstrating a knowledge of it that suggests an insider status. Indeed, Rodker's

Lisa Tickner points out. *Modern Life and Modern Subjects: British Art in the Early Twentieth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000) 162, 290-91n97.

¹⁸ Typescript in John Rodker Papers 36.9. Rodker highlighted the acrostic by putting his surname perpendicular to the rest of the text, but typed it the wrong way and had to correct it by hand. Since this is the only material form in which this poem exists, I have given it in an approximation of this layout.

¹⁹ J. C. Squire, 'Books of the Day: Recent Verse,' *Daily News and Leader* Dec 22 1914: 9.

²⁰ Rodker's brother Peter was later to join up and to change his name to Roker. Prefatory note by Joan Rodker on Peter Roker, Joan Rodker Papers 4.2.

poetry had appeared in both *The New Age* and *The Egoist* before these reviews.²¹

And he knew enough about Orage to know that he had a table at the Café Royal.²²

Moreover, once Rodker brings his own name into the poem, the attack begins to falter. The acrostic's constraints almost distort the meaning, particularly in the uncomfortable enjambment of 'a month/Old', but also in the slightly inappropriate address of 'Dears'. This is accompanied by a shift in tone, from the out and out confrontation of the beginning lines to an attempt at a kind of urbanity (however sarcastic) which ends up verging on the plangently self-pitying. Rodker's critics 'fall back' on him in order to compensate for their own inadequacies. Rodker too comes back to himself, ending with the acrostic, making the final word 'me'. But there is little content to what that self actually is. It is formed from his opposition to a chorus of indolent reviewers, and ends with 'me': self as object rather than subject.

This may seem an excessive amount of attention to pay to an unpublished piece of verse, especially as it does seem to have something tongue-in-cheek about it. But it does say something interesting about the position Rodker was occupying when he came into contact with the Pound circle. He found it necessary to defend himself against other members of an intellectual avant-garde as much as any concept of a general public that rejected his poetry. And his primary defence against the unspoken antisemitism of Aldington and Orage was

²¹ J. Rodker, 'After Reading "Dorian Gray",' *The New Age* ns 12.1 (7 Nov 1912): 20. 'A Slice of Life' also appeared, misattributed to Norman Fitzroy Webb, in *The New Age* ns 11.9 (27 June 1912): 211. The error was corrected in *The New Age* ns 11.12 (18 July 1912): 282. John Rodker, 'Consummation,' 'The Poet to his Poems,' 'Sleep-Sick,' 'Under the Trees [II],' 'The Music Hall' *The Egoist* 1.10 (15 May 1914): 194; 'Spelled,' 'Under the Trees III,' 'The Storm,' 'Vibro-Massage,' 'To the London Sparrow' *The Egoist* 1.17 (1 Sept 1914): 336. Andrew Crozier lists all of these publications except for the misattributed one. John Rodker, *Poems and Adolphe 1920*, ed. Andrew Crozier (Manchester: Carcanet, 1996) 184.

to fire their terms back at them. He was able to do this with far greater conviction in the lines before the acrostic, as if including a specifically Jewish name weakened the tactic of dismissing his reviewers as 'Jews'. Indeed, the fact the poem was left unpublished is also a sign of his position's uncertainty.

From Yiddish to Avant-Garde Theatre

When Rodker introduced readers of *Poetry and Drama* to the Yiddish-language Pavilion Theatre in Whitechapel, his position as a cultural intermediary was also unstable. In an essay written in 1913, Rodker praised it as 'the perfect theatre', both for socio-economic reasons and for reasons which draw upon a discourse of race.²³

Luckily, owing to the lack of funds, it is unable to supply that elaborate staging and over-refined acting which make so largely for the emasculation of our own drama; and it is practically unhampered by the Censor, since it is, I am informed, the merest formality to send the work to be produced through his office.²⁴

The sense that theatre benefits from being rawer, franker and (implicitly) more sexual is a significant pointer to Rodker's own working method, and to his sexualised idea of the relationship of art and audience. 'The effect of this is to produce a drama of tremendous vitality and irresistible carrying force'. The rawness has its counterpart in the particular situation of its audience.

It is not strange that an audience, for the most part ignorant of every other language save its own, accustomed to continuous persecution, should have the iron so deeply in its soul that the stage is only the mirror of life when an atmosphere of deep melancholy broods over the play.

In Tolstoi, Zola, or Andreef they find the expression of all their fatalism, that legacy from their eastern origin and the conditions under which they lived.

²² Peter Brooker, *Bohemia in London: The Social Scene of Early Modernism* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004) 113.

²³ For a history of this type of theatre see David Mazower, *The Yiddish Theatre in London* (London: Museum of the Jewish East End, 1987).

²⁴ J. Rodker, 'The Theatre in Whitechapel' *Poetry and Drama* 1.1 (March 1913): 43.

And everywhere the Jewish temperament remains constant.²⁵

As the final sentence shows, Rodker's account of Jewish difference blends environment (persecution, language) with race: the 'eastern origin'—either the Pale of Settlement or the Orient in general—turns into an unvarying characteristic of the Jewish people. Nonetheless, there is little sense that this racial heritage devalues these productions: even the lack of censorship is an advantage, rather than the sign of Jewish sexual excess. Despite his sympathy for the theatre and audience, however, and the indication that as their cultural mediator he too understands Yiddish, Rodker does not identify himself with them, but rather with the audience which he is addressing.²⁶

In 1914, Rodker had a small essay printed in *The Egoist* calling for financial backing for a new type of drama.

With the old artists, too often it was merely a hitting of the same nail after it had impinged, thus driving it into a groove where the vibrations were deadened instead of merely a first tap which would have caused the whole of the receptive material to vibrate (the liberation of a complex).

It is conceivable that the smell of musk wafted through a theatre would affect an audience more poignantly, more profoundly, than anything they had before then experienced. For all plays are amenable to intellectual criticism of whatever kind. Hamlet need not affect a single member of the audience who does not wish it. This insidious smell of musk penetrates deeper into the mind through the senses, until the body is rapt into those vague splendid imaginings which are the flutterings of memories of man and the earth when they were young.²⁷

This idea of theatre shows a suspicion of the intellect that ends up as a suspicion of words. Rodker rejects the social medium of language in favour of evoking physical effects. One of the results of this could be seen in the rather slapdash approach to language in a lot of Rodker's early poetry. Words were not

²⁵ *Ibid.* 44.

²⁶ It is clear from his diaries that Rodker did know Yiddish, but from this article it is only a possibility. Peter Lawson describes him as occupying a "foreign" space between the Jewish ghetto and his English readers', *Otherness and Affiliation* 124.

chosen for their intellectual resonance, but for the kind of bodily response they could stimulate. In both of these descriptions, this relationship of art and audience is framed in sexual terms. Driving a nail into a groove in order to cause vibrations, letting the scent of musk (from the sex glands of a deer) permeate a theatre, even the Yiddish theatre's not being emasculated, all have a hyper-masculine vision of art phallicly entering its audience.

Clearly, there are significant differences between the idea of the experimental theatre which Rodker was trying to sell to *The Egoist's* readers and the description he gives of Yiddish theatre. Nonetheless, in both cases, he is interested in a theatre that bypasses language, which penetrates the audience's consciousness and sets resonating their physical and racial being.²⁸ There is a clear sense that memory—the most significant memory—is a physical rather than 'mental' state, a sense that culture is a hindrance to rather than the means of its transmission. With community thrown into question by the fracturings of the metropolis and modernity, and for someone whose own culture was extremely hard to define—was it the virtually non-existent Judaism of his parents or the English culture in which immigrant participants could play no active part?—this permitted a feeling of connection with his own experience, whether as part of humanity as a whole or in connection with a somewhat invented Jewish people.

²⁷ John Rodker, 'The Theatre,' *The Egoist* 1.21 (2 Nov 1914): 414.

²⁸ Compare Allison Pease's argument that Eliot's aesthetic has more in common with pornography than one might at first expect. *Modernism, Mass Culture, and the Aesthetics of Obscenity* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2000) 167.

Hymns

The interplay of urban alienation and sex as both its product and the only means of countering it that was only hinted at in the essays on theatre became a more explicit theme of his poetry, reaching its peak in *Hymns. Poems*—as Aldington’s review also pointed out—was very much a set of verses written by a city dweller. In ‘The Music Hall’ and ‘The Pub’, although the figure of the poet is isolated or alienated, there is no sense, unlike Eliot’s picture of a pub in *The Waste Land*, of this being a detached anthropological study.²⁹ The range of city references in *Hymns* was less obvious, but still noticeably present. Within the first three lines of the first poem, Rodker situates himself in London, and makes frequent reference to the technology of the city: the water works, geometrical ponds, streets full of disease, gas fires and gasometers, lamps in Piccadilly, Clapham Junction, wax dummies in shop windows passed by taxis. The metropolis—even if only in the background—features throughout this collection.

Hymns was, however, produced, and received, in a very different context. *Poems* had appeared at the beginning of the Great War, when Rodker was little known to Pound and responsible solely for the distribution of his own work. *Hymns* was produced as one of a set of publications by a group of writers and artists with a common agenda, two years after the war had ended. The oppositional tone of *Hymns* was part of that group’s rejection of the national culture responsible for that war. To the cityscape of *Poems*, therefore, Rodker added frequent cosmic and sexual references, as a means of connecting with his audience through a poetry of shock.

²⁹ Rodker, *Poems* 9, 20.

Hymns drew on the religious connotations of its title only very quickly to pervert them. The volume opened:

AVE MARIA, STELLA MARIS
 Ah Paris
 Yet even in London,
 Brantôme, Whitman,
 Vatsyayana.

Even so
 can it be merely
 a matter of
 (quoting De Gourmont)
 mucous surfaces?³⁰

To move from the Virgin Mary to mucous surfaces in ten lines (and not particularly long ones at that) was surely a provocation. But the means of getting there are not straightforward. While the Catholic hymn (and de Gourmont did write a study of Medieval Latin³¹) turns fairly comfortably into a recollection (or evocation) of Paris, the city of London cannot follow on naturally without an apology. The aside ('quoting de Gourmont') is anti-poetic, even apologetic, and does have some comic effect.

This sets the tone for the rest of the volume, both in terms of the sexual element, and the relationship with tradition. Rodker presents sex as the archetype of social contact. It is the metaphor behind his idea of art and audience. It is the motivation for his seeking out a 'tradition' for his poetry. And it is almost the only form of social interaction represented in *Hymns*.

In a rather wild, even flailing way, Rodker is negotiating a tradition for himself, one which has the range of Eliot and Pound's interests: Whitman, Vatsyayana (writer of the Kama Sutra), Remy de Gourmont's *Physique de l'amour*, Pierre de Brantôme (whose *Vies des dames galantes* has been called 'le

rapport Kinsey du XVI^e siècle'³²). The choices seem to be unified by nothing other than their being used to justify the sexual content of what follows (and it is notable that they are virtually all foreign authorities). Verlaine, Jammes, Odilon Redon (the French Symbolist painter), Homer, Dostoyevsky, Job, the Song of Solomon, Balzac's *Peau de chagrin* and Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis* are name-checked throughout *Hymns*, but little happens with them beyond the process of naming. In fact, by naming them and going nowhere beyond this, Rodker makes them exist either as examples of unassimilable particularity, or as exotic words whose interest lies in their unusual sound, but in no way constructs a tradition from which to operate.

This does not mean that Pound or Eliot had a kind of framework into which their world view happily fitted. Pound's references to classical antiquity in *Mauberry* are best read, I think, as the evocation of a feeling rather than a sustained critical position. And Eliot's version of tradition as a way of making sense of the present is equally problematic. Where they do have a greater deal of confidence is in the use of earlier poetic models. Both of them drew upon the octosyllabic quatrains of Gautier with the sense that this form was legitimately theirs to work with. Rodker wants to write 'A sonnet in the manner of Verlaine. /A poem in the manner of Jammes', but makes them part of an 'Inventory of Abortive Poems'. They are, it might be said, influences he wants to have, rather than ones from which he draws anything significant.

³⁰ John Rodker, 'Hymn to Love,' *Hymns* (London: Ovid Press, 1920) 9. Henceforward page numbers are given in brackets in the text.

³¹ Remy de Gourmont, *Le Latin mystique* (1892).

³² Madeleine Lazard, *Pierre de Bourdeille, seigneur de Brantôme* (Paris: Fayard, 1995) back cover. Part of Lazard's argument is that Brantôme has been unfairly portrayed as nothing other than a teller of sexy stories, and she points out that the title *Vie des dames galantes* was not Brantôme's own. However, it was the one under which it was published, and Rodker is drawing precisely on this reputation, however unfair.

In fact, Whitman is the person to whom Rodker makes the most sustained reference: in both 'Hymn to Love' and 'Hymn of Hymns'.

God damn
 the prurulent pestilent wind,
 and the pullulating sea.
 The eternal infinite, cosmical, blue,
 deep, unfathomed, boundless, free,
 racing, wild, mysterious sea.-
 its argus-eyed, winged and lanthorned dwellers.
 And you Walt.

(‘Hymn of Hymns’ 21)

Whitman’s fondness for the sea is clear enough from the ‘Sea-Drift’ section of *Leaves of Grass*, and the sense of it as standing for, or in dialogue with, the cosmos is drawn directly from him.³³

Jupiter shall emerge, be patient, watch again another night, the Pleiades
 shall emerge,
 They are immortal, and all those stars both silvery and golden shall
 shine out again,
 The great stars and the little ones shall shine out again, they endure
 The vast immortal suns and the long-enduring pensive moons shall
 again shine.³⁴

To which Rodker replies:

GOD damn Cosmoses -
 Eternities, infinities
 and all that galley.

(20)

His attack on the cosmic sweep of Whitmanian poetry turns into an attack on the features of the city, down to:

God damn streets
 whose dust sends up syph and flu
 diarrhoea and smallpox.
 whose mean houses hold mean lives,
 wallpaper, flypaper
 paperfaced brats.

³³ See also Peter Lawson’s useful discussion of the possible attraction of Whitman to Rodker as an exemplar of ‘extraterritorial English’. *Otherness and Affiliation* 112.

³⁴ Walt Whitman, ‘On the Beach at Night,’ *Complete Poetry and Collected Prose*, Library of America ed. (Cambridge: Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge, 1982) 399.

God be with you, Reader.

(21)

Rodker's address to his 'hypocrite lecteur' is far closer to Baudelaire's original poem 'Au lecteur' than Eliot's more explicit reference in *The Waste Land*. Lying at the bottom of the most depraved and disgusting features of his poetry is the reader, in Rodker's case prepared for by the proliferation of paper. This suggests, in fact, that it is only in these most depraved parts that his writing can take place, whether as written or read. All of Rodker's cursing and blaspheming in this poem is a way of making contact: with the reader, with Whitman, with the cosmos, even with God.

Sexual Excess

Such a means of making contact results in the sexual excesses of some of the poetry. There is a sense in which the only way of communicating with his readers is by plumbing the depths of depravity, in order to shock them, certainly, but also because this kind of sexual encounter is the only true encounter possible. Rodker had hinted at this in a metaphorical sense in his theatre essays, but here it takes on a more concrete form.

Under her caressing fingers,
Desire wells up in you.
You swell . . . strive nearer,
O Proud Erection !
She is a magnet
and Ark of life.

Viscous atom crawls and creeps from atom
and like a snake uncoiling,
slow- then fast and faster
they flow out to meet you

Insatiable whore!
You suck them into your eternal
and alchemical vagina -

absorb and renew them.
 Insatiable whore !
 Incestuous.
 Foul mother, fond mother -
 Mother.

(‘Hymn to Heat’ 12)

If the reaction of most contemporary readers to ‘Hymn to Heat’s’ excesses would probably be to laugh, that does not mean that the poem is not still shocking. Indeed, it is so funny because it is trying so hard to be outrageous. It is impossible to say whether it is a poor attempt to dramatise a genuine psychic crisis, or simply a way of rubbing the public’s face in the bare ‘facts’ of sex, and it is the hovering between these two possibilities which makes these lines funny. Their insincere sincerity means that it is therefore not quite correct to say that Rodker’s is a poetry without masks, as Andrew Crozier claims. No one can take the poem as a genuine piece of self-analysis—even if we bring to these lines the knowledge that Rodker’s mother disappeared from his life when he was about seven.³⁵ It is so unproblematically Freudian that psychoanalysis appears more as a means of veiling the self rather than revealing it. As Adam Phillips says:

It is perhaps a fault of Rodker’s writing that the tone is not always sufficiently evident; but it is part of his artfulness to vacillate between the portentously overwritten and something more archly banal. ... With Pound and Eliot the satiric intent is usually clear; it is, I think, part of Rodker’s ambiguous poetic stature that the poet and reader are never quite sure who the joke is on.³⁶

Rodker’s presentation of the war is equally outré. ‘Hymn to Death 1914 And On’ highlights the impotence of the soldiers in the face of death, their status as cannon-fodder being figured as their already being dead, or as continuing to be soldiers after their death.

DANSE-MACABRE” Death

³⁵ Crozier, Introduction xvii. Prefatory note by Joan Rodker on Peter Roker, Joan Rodker Papers Box 4 Folder 2.

³⁶ Phillips, ‘Unofficial Modernist’ 70.

“Dried -guts ”death

They clatter, girm, mow -
femur rattles skull
epiphyses shriek, grate -

Brain a shrunk pea
quintessential lusts -
rattles
rattles rattles
rattles.

O the ‘bones ’, the wonderful bones.
[God’s the darkey]

(17)

It is very hard to read this poem as anything other than the attempt of a young(ish) man who had had no experience of the war using it as a pretext for shocking his audience. As Crozier says, it relies on the stock image of the danse macabre, and takes no account of what was new about this particular war.³⁷

Rodker used the device of square brackets in a few other poems, but not in any consistent way—more as a typographic effect, breaking up the text in similar ways to his ellipses and dashes, and even paragraph marks.³⁸ But calling God a ‘darkey’, although making an excessive effort to startle, sets up another association on top of the danse macabre, with the Negro spiritual ‘Dem bones’.

Toes out, click heels, March !
Evert backbone March !
Breast bone out March !
Shoulder blades well drawn back –

(17)

Ezekiel connected dem dry bones
[...]
Your toe bone connected to your foot bone,

³⁷ Crozier ‘Introduction’ xviii.

³⁸ In the Ovid Press edition, there seems to be an attempt to use layout and typography in a way that is an aggressive assault on the reader’s sensibilities. The type-setting is often crude, and casts further doubt on Rodker’s competence as a printer, and some of the effects may well also be the result of the printing being a collaboration with Mary Butts. However, comparison with the other Ovid Press editions of 1920, in which these kinds of layout do not occur, suggests that either Rodker or Butts, or the two working together, were experimenting with ways of presenting the poems.

Your foot bone connected to your ankle bone,
 [...]

Your hip bone connected to your back bone,
 Your back bone connected to your shoulder bone,
 Your shoulder bone connected to your neck bone [...]

Like the progression from toe bone to heel bone to neck bone (Rodker originally wrote 'shoulder bones'), these lines take a trajectory from toe to head. Indirectly, therefore, Rodker is making a reference to Ezekiel 37.³⁹

3 And he said unto me, Son of man, can these bones live? And I answered, O Lord GOD, thou knowest.

4 Again he said unto me, Prophecy upon these bones, and say unto them, O ye dry bones, hear the word of the LORD. [...]

10 So I prophesied as he commanded me, and the breath came into them, and they lived, and stood up upon their feet, an exceeding great army.

11 ¶ Then he said unto me, Son of man, these bones are the whole house of Israel: behold, they say, Our bones are dried, and our hope is lost: we are cut off for our parts.

12 Therefore prophecy and say unto them, Thus saith the Lord GOD; Behold, O my people, I will open your graves, and cause you to come up out of your graves, and bring you into the land of Israel.

Instead of placing the emphasis on the religious dimension of the resurrection of the body after death, or the political dimension of the gathering together of the tribes of Israel, Rodker is solely interested in the bones becoming 'an exceeding great army', reassembled in order to be re-killed. But this itself says something about the place of religious tradition in Rodker's poetry. Rodker, who did not fight in the Great War because he did not feel English, may be calling into question the racial and national constructions in whose name the war was fought, but there is little sense of this in the poem. 'God's the darkey' remains a kind of surrealist montage, whose chief purpose seems to be to outrage the sensibilities of Rodker's readers.

³⁹ Rodker's ambivalent interest in Negro spirituals is attested to in his diaries and *Adolphe 1920*. 27 Aug 1919 *Diary April 4 1919-July 26 19??*; 10 May 1923 *Diary June 28 1921-June 30 1927*, Joan Rodker Papers 5.1 and 5.2. I discuss *Adolphe 1920* in Chapter 4. David Bomberg had

Foreign and Modern

Despite their excesses, these poems have some features in common with the Gautier-influenced verse of Pound and Eliot: the aggressive tone, the interest in the grotesque, possibly even the use of allusion, but Rodker does not use the more traditional form which they were exploring at the time. Partly, this must have something to do with his own technical limitations—he was not a good rhymers, and even worse at handling regular metre—but perhaps also because of a greater uneasiness with the tradition for which, however much they might undermine it, Pound and Eliot had some feeling of nostalgia.

Rodker saw English traditions as moribund, and required a foreign influence to revitalise them.

In England Hudson shares only with Conrad the laurels of writing. Both are foreigners. It should by now be an axiom that only foreigners can write a live English. Their senses are not dulled by traditional thought-forms. New institutions give them seriously to think! Their brains are brand new and respond immediately to the new life.⁴⁰

‘[T]raditional thought-forms’ effect (or are subject to) a double-edged exclusion. They are irrelevant to the modern world, dulling and deadening the senses to what is new, and so modernity is cut off from tradition by its very nature. But the foreigner is cut off from tradition too, by his foreignness. Being foreign and being modern are thus equated; there is, in effect, something un-English in modernity itself.

This is not to say that there is therefore something inherently Jewish about modernity, but this was the way Pound and Eliot sometimes saw it. For both of them, tradition was fragmented, lost or perverted and the figure who stood for this fragmentation was ‘the Jew’. It was even a theme that repeatedly cropped up

_____ painted the Vision of Ezekiel in 1912. Richard Cork, *David Bomberg* (New Haven and London:

in Pound's discussion of Rodker himself. He had 'no history to speak of'; his father did not have 'shelves full of books', although he would, despite this, 'go farther than the rest of them' (and perhaps the lack of tradition did figure here as an advantage); like all 'cockneys', he had no sense of a word's history.

I wish Rodker wouldn't write about things being "friable", all these damn cockneys will do tht [*sic*] sort of thing, emphasis on a word with no lineage, a word that might as well be any other word. When one drags in an outre [*sic*] word it must so certainly be the mot juste.⁴¹

Pound's use of 'cockney' here suggests at least that he equates Rodker's Jewishness with not being at home in English traditions. But even though this was how Rodker was later to describe himself, this does not seem to be what he was exploring in the use of such words. In fact, he criticised Mina Loy and Marianne Moore in very similar terms to those in which Pound criticised him, substituting sexism for Pound's classism (and implicit antisemitism) in his dismissal of their writing as slighter, more lacking in feeling, than that of their male counterparts.

[Loy's] visualisation is original, often brilliant, but headwork is cold comfort and her capacity for feeling is rather a cold indignation that finds expression in tags like 'Honesty is the best policy'.

I think that neither she nor Marianne Moore realize that as words grow away from monosyllables they lose WEIGHT and significance and what vague richness of sound is gained leads only to diffusion of theme and of directness.

'It appears,' he concludes 'that any deep quantity of emotion in this anthology is left to the men.'⁴²

Yale UP, 1987) 38-42.

⁴⁰ John Rodker, 'W. H. Hudson,' *The Little Review* 7.1 (May-June 1920): 19.

⁴¹ Ezra Pound, 'Foreword to the Choric School,' *Others* 1.4 (Oct 1915) n. pag. Pound, 11 June 1917, *Pound/The Little Review* 63. Ezra Pound, 24 Jan 1916, *The Letters of Ezra Pound to Alice Corbin Henderson*, ed. Ira B. Nadel (Austin: U of Texas P, 1993) 128.

⁴² John Rodker, 'List of Books,' *The Little Review* 5.7 (Nov 1918): 31-32. Rodker was reviewing the *Others* Anthology of 1918.

Rodker's insistence on the importance of the monosyllable is again almost hysterically stressed in his review of William Carlos Williams's *Al Que Quiere*.

All the poems are direct in treatment and confined as nearly as possible to the monosyllable. Every word has therefore WEIGHT, place and individual significance—there is no turgidity.⁴³

Both Pound and Eliot regarded Rodker as someone who could substitute for them as a reviewer, and here he certainly seems to be producing something similar to Pound's dicta.⁴⁴ Yet it does not really square with his own interest in such words as 'satiety', 'velleities', 'sphygmograms', 'chrysoprase', 'epiphyses', 'pullulating', 'annulated' and—of course—'friable'. However, although it is tempting to say that Rodker is producing a kind of criticism under their influence into which his own practice does not fit, this is equally true of his 'masters'. Eliot and Pound could produce such lines as 'Polyphiloprogenitive' and 'Incapable of the least utterance or composition'.⁴⁵

In the case of Eliot and Pound, polysyllabic lexis is used to create a tone of voice which is part parody of, part homage to upper-middle class Englishness.⁴⁶ A fussiness of word choice, an over-precise pronunciation (demanded by their interaction with the iambic tetrameters) and abstract vagueness of meaning are both satirised and employed in a satirical manner one might even call 'camp'. Their style plays at being 'English' as well as having something of the foreigner to it. Englishness is conjured up, questioned, and even hybridised by the writing they employ. In the case of Mina Loy, whom Rodker so trenchantly criticises, the bizarre lexical choices also convey a satirical, ironical sense, words being

⁴³ *Ibid.* 33.

⁴⁴ T. S. Eliot, 7 Nov 1918, *Selected Letters* 252. Pound, ?Sept-Oct 1918, *Pound/The Little Review* 255.

⁴⁵ T. S. Eliot, 'Mr. Eliot's Sunday Morning Service,' *Ara Vos Prec* (London: Ovid Press, 1920) 20. Ezra Pound, *Hugh Selwyn Mauberley* (London: Ovid Press, 1920) 26.

savoured as much for themselves as for what they convey. Marjorie Perloff has argued, with reference to 'Anglo-Mongrels and the Rose', that Mina Loy's use of language is a mongrelisation of English partly influenced by her own Jewish ancestry, a making foreign of English.⁴⁷ All three writers walk a line between Englishness and foreignness, between insider and outsider status, which both enables and is negotiated through satire.

Rodker's position is less nuanced. Rather than using this kind of vocabulary ironically or as an exploration of Englishness and foreignness, he seems more interested in bewildering the reader with recondite terms.

The north-lights flicker furious in swift sphygmograms,
 the snow whirls gently
 our brains congeal
 each limb grows ice.
 the barrow rises, rises.

(‘Hymn to Cold’ 16)

Rodker's language is not so much parodying or mocking anything in particular as serving as a means of estranging his readers. The use of a scientific vocabulary serves to objectify the physical processes being described: bodies become things being scrutinised rather than sites of personal identity, just as the words become sounds rather than conveyors of meaning. When such a procedure is applied to feelings, it does have some satirical force, but the effect is usually fairly crude.

First loves.
 Tragedies of incompetence -
 misunderstandings -
 tragedies of haste and fear.

Second loves.

⁴⁶ J. C. C. Mays, 'Early Poems: From "Prufrock" to "Gerontion",' *The Cambridge Companion to T. S. Eliot*, ed. A. David Moody (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1994) 118.

⁴⁷ Marjorie Perloff, 'English as a "Second" Language: Mina Loy's "Anglo-Mongrels and the Rose",' *Poetry On and Off the Page: Essays for Emergent Occasions* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern UP, 1998) 193-207.

Tragedies of satiety;
clever and wanton aimlessness.

Third loves.
Bah !

(‘Hymn to Love’ 10)

There is a bathetic effect in the movement from these nervously scuttering lines to the dismissive monosyllable in which they culminate, against whose concreteness the earlier dismissals take on the naïveté of the kind of love they describe. The abstract, multi-syllabled vocabulary does give these lines a distanced tone and the ‘Bah!’ could have come from one of Pound’s Provence poems, but relying on the latter to undercut the former is rather heavy-handed.

Andrew Crozier’s slight discomfort in describing *Hymns* as a form of satire is understandable, therefore, but his suggestion that it is an attempt to match *Mauberley* and *Ara Vos Prec* is entirely plausible.

Hymns achieves unity of tone by fierce resistance of good feeling across a range of contemporary topics. It is impossible not to think that both the unity and the tone, the term for which is surely satire, were achieved precisely to put Rodker’s book on a footing with those by Eliot and Pound also published by the Ovid Press.⁴⁸

Another unifying factor in the collection is the predominance of poems entitled ‘Hymns’, which I have been surveying here. From them the volume takes its name, and they form what might be read as the opening sequence of the book. They, more than any of the other poems in *Hymns*, are an attempt at assaulting the reader. In this they are both paralleling the methods of Eliot and, to

⁴⁸ Crozier’s view that Rodker selected the poems from a larger manuscript collection, the remainder of which became the unpublished collection, *Syrups* is also convincing. Crozier, ‘Introduction’ xiii, xviii.

a lesser extent, Pound, and taking this method to excess, unbound by traditional forms and taste.⁴⁹

Collaboration and Isolation

Significantly, they were also uncensored by Pound himself. Rodker almost certainly gave Pound three poems written in 1916 for which Pound suggested some revisions, all three of them 'Hymns', two of which appeared in the published volume.⁵⁰ Pound's suggestions were minimal, to say the least, but it is quite clear that, unlike with Lewis or Eliot, he felt no need to censor Rodker's writing. In the line 'O proud erection!', Pound circled the word 'O'. The lines 'who taught / The servant girl with penny royal to abort' in 'Hymn to Nature' prompted him merely (and characteristically) to suggest a more natural word order at the expense of a rhyme. The poeticisms, in other words, were more of a problem than the explicitness. But these were far more explicit phrases than the parts Pound later wanted deleted from *The Waste Land* or from the *Little Review* serialisation of *Ulysses*. Certainly, Pound may well have spent more time on Eliot's poems because they were of a higher quality, and his revisions to Rodker's typescripts may have been little more than the tics of his current aversion to the clichés of poesy, but it also suggests that Rodker was both not part of the inner circle of modernism, and—because of this—permitted to take

⁴⁹ Tellingly, Rodker's selection of 1930 retained very few of these poems: two ('Hymn to Himself', retitled 'Hymn to Friends and Enemies', and 'Hymn of Hymns') out of six. This seems to me to be a fair judgement of their quality.

⁵⁰ 'Hymn to Heat' and 'Hymn to Love' appear in *Hymns*. 'Hymn to Nature' was unpublished until it appeared in the Carcanet edition of 1996. Andrew Crozier believes that 'Hymn to Heat' and 'Hymn to Nature' have Pound's revision marks on them, and 'Hymn to Love' also has the initials 'EP' written on them in handwriting which looks like Pound's. Letter from Andrew Crozier, John Rodker Papers 36.8.

many of its elements, including the sexual ones, to excess.⁵¹ Rodker seems to have taken no notice of these suggestions as it is: he possibly had more confidence in himself at this time than Eliot did. His method of writing is much more individualistic, less open to collaboration, both, it seems, from his own disinclination, and from the lack of effort Pound put into revising these poems.⁵²

This focus on personal existence is another sign of how Rodker's poetic is markedly different from Eliot and Pound. In 'The Scourged', for example, the image of a suffering, isolated self owes something to a Romantic poetic which Pound and Eliot's impersonality was supposed to supersede.⁵³

UNDER the whips of men
the skin shreds off.
I bleed from every pore.

MEN do not see me
 staggering between their houses
shivering and making a slobbering noise
like a child.

(26)

The suffering is a result of social interaction made into something physical, whose symptoms are like those of a disease.

Like the diseases at the end of 'Hymn to Love', these are tied to an urban situation. Rodker experiences the city as a set of disasters and assaults, such as that of the streetlights in 'Lamps'.

PICCADILLY Cyclops
bowed --head on hands --
watches men.
Fixed violent eye

⁵¹ As noted in Chapter 1, this also sometimes precluded him from being published. See *Pound/The Little Review* 171.

⁵² In later MSS, however, one can see certain Poundian habits coming into his own self-revision. 'Wild West Remittance Man' originally had 'Ryewhisky like a fungus' before Rodker replaced the 'like' with a dash (changing simile to montage as in 'On a Station in the Metro'), and 'cold are his eyes' before it was revised to a subject-predicate word order. John Rodker Papers 37.1.

⁵³ As is shown by the echo of Shelley's 'I fall upon the thorns of life, I bleed'. Percy Bysshe Shelley, 'Ode to the West Wind,' *Poetical Works*, ed. Thomas Hutchinson (London: Oxford UP, 1967) 579.

hurls light.

Charging rams hide men.

(30)

The excessive effort put into a description like this—it seems to be striving for originality as much as attempting to describe a situation—does not disqualify this poem from being a useful example. Rodker's violent efforts to make a point telling enough for his audience result from an idea of modern life in which it is only possible to communicate through excess.

The reaching back to myth could be an attempt at finding a common ground on which to describe city life. But is the reference to rams a metaphor for cars, possibly taxis since they are 'charging', or is this a flashback to the original myth, in which Odysseus's men hid under rams to avoid the blinded Polyphemus's touch?⁵⁴ It is hard to tell, partly because if it is a metaphor it is doing very little significant work in the poem. Nevertheless, it raises an interesting question about the poem's relationship to tradition. Is it invocable as a way of describing modern experiences or is it something that can only be gestured towards, remaining resolutely in the past? Although this question is working in a less complex and interesting way in this poem than in Eliot or Joyce's writing, the concerns are very similar.

Furthermore, the poem stays solely in the realm of the visual. Polyphemus had to feel his rams because he had been blinded: this streetlight only watches. But it is nonetheless an experience of violence, nearly reciprocal in the way hurling of light is met by the charging rams. Being exposed to sight is a kind of oppression from which 'men' try to escape.

This also applies to other forms of human interaction.

BILGE of sneers, insults, kindnesses,
and obligations;
by me and to me,
swinks in the hulk
like a ball of plaster of paris
in a rat.

I can't keep going long with that inside me.

(‘Hymn to Himself Atlas Twentieth Century’ 19)

The accumulation of social relationships does nothing other than tie the poet down—although a hulk would not move anyway. The poem promotes a romanticised view of an isolated self, mired in the unnecessary swamp of social interaction. A rat could of course be from the ship, or hulk, but could also figure as the ultimate urban inhabitant. In this case, the city both enables the isolation which the writer craves, and makes the interactions so dangerous: the rat's encounters with others leads to its being poisoned.

The fear of and need for contact, which is equally a need for and fear of isolation, gives rise to and stems from a pained and ambivalent sense of self which is surely in part the result of the kinds of feelings of worthlessness that he expressed in his diaries, of his uncertain place in Britain, and in the Jewish population. And finally an uncertain place in the group who were supposed to be his cultural allies: Pound, Eliot, Lewis, and those others involved in Anglo-American modernism. The marginal place that Pound assigns to him in his letters is also played out in Rodker's own version of modernism, both paralleling the Pound/Eliot aesthetic and taking it to an extreme, both part of the Pound circle's collaborative project, and isolated from it. Although his Jewishness, or even ‘foreignness’, is not the subject of these poems, it nonetheless produces the social position from which Rodker writes them.

⁵⁴ Homer, *Odyssey* 9.415-460.

Sexual and Other Differences

However, some of the poems in *Hymns* do address the issue of ‘foreignness’, albeit indirectly. Frequently, as in his comments on Loy and Moore, Rodker deals with the problem of his own difference by associating it with women, partly as a means of projecting it onto someone else, but partly as a way of exploring some of its social implications.⁵⁵ In ‘Chryselephantine’, for example, the encounter of the poet with a ‘lady’, who is both monumentalised and reduced to a series of geometric forms, becomes eventually a question aimed at his own identity. The title already sets her up as an ambiguous figure. A chryselephantine statue, a statue made of ivory and gold, could be either Phidias’s gigantic figure of Athena in the Parthenon, or one of the statuettes that art deco sculptors were beginning to produce at this time.⁵⁶

COMET-DUST

Your eyes are magnificent
 Odilon Rèdon’s ;
 bovine
 and oppressive.
 Lips granite
 Nose forged steel
 Chin iron
 set in their bronze sockets
 on a chrysoprase skin.
 White jade neck
 and all
 framed in your blue black eyebrows and
 thunder of hair.

(28)

⁵⁵ Peter Lawson’s arguments that Rodker deflects Jewish ‘triviality’ onto women, and focuses on women’s bodies as sites of significance have some similarity to mine. Lawson, *Otherness and Affiliation* 109, 133.

⁵⁶ For the former see Kenneth D. S. Lapatin, *Chryselephantine Statuary in the Ancient Mediterranean World* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2001). For the latter Victor Arwas, *Art Deco* (London: Academy Editions, 1980) 141-164. Alberto Shayo describes Demetre Chiparus’s chryselephantine figures of the 1920s as anti-monumental. *Chiparus: Master of Art Deco* (New York: Abbeville, 1993). 41. Tom Flynn shows how the production of such figures was part of Belgium’s colonial project. ‘Taming the Tusk: The Revival of Chryselephantine Sculpture in Belgium in the 1890s,’ *Colonialism and the Object: Empire, Material Culture and the Museum*, ed. Tim Barringer and Tom Flynn (London and New York: Routledge, 1998) 188-204.

Rodker is, not particularly subtly, setting up the 'lady' whom he seduces as a monumental figure, who is overwhelmed by his sexual presence. The 'thunder of hair' anticipates this moment, setting up a kind of fragility in her physical presence because it is in motion, as well as adding to her threat.

And fire thrills, floods--
wavers through you,
in subtle osmoses ;

The physical description comes across as alienated: is this how the poet sees it, with the lady as some kind of threat to himself, or is this an attempt to show her equally ill at ease with her social role as he is? The fact that she 'yields' so easily might suggest the latter.

The juxtaposition of her facial features and metal and stone is reminiscent of Pound's 'In a Station on the Metro', in which faces and petals are brought together without any linking device. In Pound's case, the revolutionary nature of this way of writing has been overstated—what it is doing is not so different from any other metaphor—and this is even more true of Rodker's poem, where the 'avant-gardist' practice of articulating the two elements with white space sits quite happily together with metaphorical phrases such as 'thunder of hair'.⁵⁷ Nevertheless, the 'flash' in which the lady is to yield to the poet has some kind of anticipation in the flash of cutting between her face and hard materials. The spacing out of these words also has the effect of opening out the syntax of the rest of the poem. What is the place of comet-dust in the first sentence? Is it simply a metaphor for the 'lady's' eyes? Which anyway, since the poem refers to Odilon Redon's recurring pictures of solitary eyeballs, have a semi-detached

⁵⁷ For a sensible discussion of this point, see Edward Larrissy, *Reading Twentieth-Century Poetry: The Language of Gender and Objects* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990) 38-39.

relationship to the rest of her body.⁵⁸ How easily does bronze fit with sockets and chrysoprase with skin: they are both nouns and could be read as a montage of two words rather than forming a compound noun together.⁵⁹ The description of this lady is thus held together very tenuously, not fully experienceable or describable.

Either she herself does not make a coherent whole or the poet is an anonymous outsider who cannot assimilate her to his experience. This encounter is mutually fragmentary: a moment of crisis at which both figures have their identities brought into question, since this is the point at which the poet has to account for himself.

and though you did not know me yesterday
yet you have yielded in a flash
and I
why I am english, lady
and bow to you.

The, presumably, English lady did not know the poet yesterday, but why? Partly, I think, because this is one of the transitory sexual relationships which stand for modern life, and particularly the life of the city. In addition to this, however, and equally a sign of modernity, is the possibility that the poet is a kind of parvenu. The faltering over the 'I' implies that he is being questioned and has to account for his identity whereas the 'lady's' identity is more fixed, more knowable.

In one of his letters to Dora Carrington, Mark Gertler—who had been a friend of Rodker's in Whitechapel—wrote: 'you are the *Lady* and I am the East End

⁵⁸ See Alec Wildenstein, *Odilon Redon: Catalogue raisonnée de l'œuvre peint et dessiné* (Wildenstein Institute: Paris, 1992).

⁵⁹ The typescript to this poem originally read 'lips- / Granite nose / Forged steel / chin / iron', implying that materials and body parts could be detached from and rearranged with one another. John Rodker Papers 36.8.

boy'.⁶⁰ The issues of class here should not obscure the fact that the East End occupied the position of a foreign enclave within the city. In Rodker's formulation, the question of nationality is far more at the forefront. He was an inhabitant of a place which had for a long time been thought of as at best a semi-detached part of England, from William Booth's description of it as 'Darkest England' to the reports of visitors to the 'Jewish colony in London'.⁶¹

The lower-case 'e' in 'english' fits with other examples of modernist typographic practice,⁶² but with the weight the poem places on this word, it acquires greater importance. The word becomes slightly ironised, implying a questioning of whether the poet fully qualifies as being 'English' instead of being merely 'english'. In addition, the practice of writing uncapitalised adjectives of nationality is itself a 'foreign' practice, for example in French and German, both of which Rodker had studied, and so makes foreign, alienates this word even as it is being written.

This encounter is sexual, and is played out through the eyes of the poet carving up the lady's body. The geometrical, scientific physical descriptions have much in common with Futurist ways of portraying bodies—particularly those of Vorticism as practiced by Wyndham Lewis and (in his own eccentric version)

⁶⁰ Gertler, letter to Carrington, Dec 1912, *Selected Letters* 47.

⁶¹ William Booth, *In Darkest England and the Way Out* (London, 1890). David Englander, ed. *A Documentary History of Jewish Immigrants in Britain, 1840-1920* (Leicester, London and New York: Leicester UP, 1994) 69-75. As Judith R. Walkowitz puts it, the 'opposition of East and West increasingly took on imperial and racial dimensions, as the two parts of London imaginatively doubled for England and its Empire.' *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London* (London: Virago, 1992) 26. Alun Howkins discusses how London as a whole began to be seen as un-English in 'The Discovery of Rural England,' *Englishness: Politics and Culture 1880-1920*, ed. Robert Colls and Philip Dodd (London: Croom Helm, 1986) 62-88.

⁶² See, for example, Pound's description of 'the turmoil of yidds, letts, finns, esthonians, cravats, niberians, nubians, algerians'. Ezra Pound, 'Imaginary Letters (Walter Villerant to Mrs. Bland Burn),' *The Little Review* 4.5 (Sept 1917): 21. Also Lewis's statement that 'a swiss peasant woman is in character and physical appearance often so identical with a swedish, english, german, or french girl, that they might be twin sisters.' Wyndham Lewis, *Paleface* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1929) 277.

David Bomberg. Michael Levenson argues that this emphasis on geometry in the thinking of T. E. Hulme, whose influence can be seen in Lewis's painting, is an artistic correlate to the anti-humanist, pro-statist, essentially fascist politics which Hulme acquired from *Action Française* and was linked to their antisemitism.⁶³

Lewis certainly used a verbal equivalent of the geometrical method in describing the caricatured protagonists of his novels and stories, including Jews. Eliot's description of Bleistein also owes something to it. It is equally, of course, at work in the misogynistic portrayals of women as basely physical which Lewis and Eliot were writing at this time. This is a case of a (possible) foreigner projecting his own sense of difference onto someone else's 'femaleness'. But the encounter with difference also opens up the question of who he is.

In 'Wax Dummy in Shop Window' the alienation from the body and feeling of its rigid opposition to his will, as well as the experience of sexual tension as a disruptive force appears to affect the poet as much as the female figure of 'Chryselephantine'. The poem exudes a sense of the menace of the city and the overwhelming impressions it creates. The poem is written, apparently, from the point of view of a shop dummy attempting to break out from its paralysed state and subjected to the stares of window-shoppers.

AVALANCHE pickled in splintered
quartzes—Andean, ¶ among light--
cones that stalked ¶ muttering above
house -tops like gods ¶ or a shrill
pendulum.⁶⁴

⁶³ Michael Levenson, *A Genealogy of Modernism: A Study of English Literary Doctrine, 1908-1922* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1984) 80-102.

⁶⁴ *Hymns* 36. Rodker set parts of the verse as prose while using '¶' symbols to mark line endings in a number of poems in *Hymns*: 'Hymn to Heat' (12), 'Three Poems' (23) 'From a Biography II' (32) and 'Deserted Wife' (34). This was certainly not simply to save space: 'From a Biography II' is fourteen lines long but has a whole page to itself. I discuss 'From a Biography' in Chapter 5.

The first line, with its deliberately incongruous yoking together of vocabulary, made more emphatic by the prominence of slightly awkward consonant clusters and stripped bare of articles, enacts the kind of fragmentation it is describing. The sense is of an overwhelming force brought into stasis and fragmentation.

Rain—loud bee swarm
Thunder—his hair tingled.

Stalagmitic—fought to break brain ice
burst spar-eyes
for women, buttered—smiling weakly

Wide street—a wide river light streaked.
green faces swim out, stare at him,
flatten noses protrude eyes
recede in prisms.

The brain ice picks up on the avalanche of the first line, and gives the sense that this overwhelming event has been captured and paralysed by the brain, at the same time as paralysing it in return. The use of dashes also seems to be an attempt to give a sense of fragmented experience. The subjects of many of the verbs are difficult to assign: who ‘fought’ and ‘burst’? In fact, much of this verse paragraph presents the same difficulty: who or what is ‘battered’, or is this a main verb rather than a past participle? Actions are unassignable, they happen irrespective of who is doing them, happen to their doers as much as because of them. The passers-by become as inanimate and object-like as the dummy. The lack of subjects for ‘flatten noses protrude eyes’ is more than just ellipsis: encouraged somewhat by the lack of punctuation, one could take the verbs to be intransitive, with the body parts as their subjects. In fact, even if this is not the case, it is only as body parts—faces—that the passers-by appear in the first place, and they end as objects, prisms.

The place of women in this scenario seems to be significant, but once again the syntax permits a number of possibilities. Is the wax dummy trying to break out of his stasis in order to make contact with women? 'Brain ice' and 'spar-eyes' both need to be broken or burst, which would suggest that 'spar' is being used to mean crystalline rock. However, the meaning of 'spar' as to fight also seems possible: seeing as a form of violence is a recurrent motif in *Hymns*.

Light cones stand desolate.
God : Pickled in splintered Quartzes.
Blue night—green pavement.

Light is frequently distorted or reflected: 'splintered quartzes', 'spar-eyes', the light streaking the river and the faces as prisms. Similarly, things take on unnatural colourings: green pavements and faces. All of this evokes the lights of the city, but seems also to be a sign of a misrecognition which is fundamental to modern relationships. In this poem 'God' is shattered and pickled, and cannot be put back together precisely because he is preserved in a state of fragmentation. If 'God' stands for the traditional framework of the meaning and understanding of life, then modernity has destroyed it, without being able to offer any alternative.

This, I take it, is part of what makes Rodker feel himself to be hanging in a void: there is no sense of shared meanings or values, and hence no sense of community to which he can appeal, because his idea of modernity is of a shattering of all these possibilities. And this results in the feeling of his trying too hard to reach the reader, trying to shock with sexual and even just unusual imagery. There is something faintly ludicrous in a line like 'God: Pickled in splintered Quartzes', despite its striking effect.

'The Pale Hysterical Ecstasy' concludes with a similarly over-the-top performance, but here the use of language justifies it somewhat more.

If then eye-white turn up --
 tic play a devils tattoo
 fear lard each limb with sweat -ice
 loins distend with pain--
 she sighs and is justified.

(37)

Although the use of subjunctives in these conditional passages is also justified, even accounting for the grammatical norms of last century they have a slightly odd ring, one might even say slightly foreign.⁶⁵ Each word, chopped back to its grammatical stem, leaves the syntax slightly more ambiguous, slightly harder to read, and moves it toward a kind of verbal montage whose effect is furthered by the predominance of monosyllables. 'Turn', 'play' and 'lard' are also nouns. This combination of dislocated syntax and imagery seems to me one of the more successful passages of *Hymns*, and it is the point at which a kind of grammatical foreignness combines with a fracturing of body parts: is he describing an epileptic fit or an orgasm? The encounter is sexual, but the terms in which it is played out include those of a kind of foreignness, in the language, in the alienation from the body, and in the desire to shock.

Schlemihls

The final poem of the collection, 'Wild West Remittance Man', also brings up the question of 'england' and opposes it to the only unequivocally Jewish reference in this collection. But this is within the framework of the Wild West, which works a transformation on both these terms.

SCHLEMIHL no mother weeps for
 doomed for a certain term. .

⁶⁵ '[S]ubjunctives met with today, outside the few truly living uses, are either deliberate revivals by poets for legitimate enough archaic effect, or antiquated survivals as in pretentious journalism, infecting their context with dullness, or new arrivals possible only in an age to which the grammar of the subjunctive is not natural but artificial.' H. W. Fowler, 'Subjunctives,' *A Dictionary of Modern English Usage* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1926) 574.

The use of the word 'Schlemihl', along with the second line's reference to the Ghost in *Hamlet*, 'doomed for a certain term to walk the night', sets up the figure in this poem as potentially a rather clichéd Wandering Jew. Opposed to this is the image of

england. . thy drawing rooms. .
Sundays. . mahogany. .
the fire leaps.

Once again, even though it begins a sentence, England is only given a lower case 'e'. The associations seem to be of heaviness, darkness, inactivity, possibly also of winter. But to see that this is a straightforward opposition of a free-floating Jewishness to a class-bound, settled Englishness is simply not possible, because they are simply two moments in a wider description of the Wild West.

Ryewhisky. . a fungus
works into each face -line. .
the bondstreet exterior. .
tears at his vitals. .

[...]

Body linings peel
from the deep core
in siroccos of Alkali.

[...]

Ryewhisky !
shuffle of counters. .
revolvers, marked cards.
A million tons of locust sirocco
blasts and grinds.

And the cayuse snorts by
hey-up. . hey-up. .
shots. . the loud greeting.

(38-39)

Rodker's return to the use of ellipses so dominant in his first collection is also worthy of attention. They give a sense of drift to this figure's existence, just as

the shedding of skin suggests a lack of 'English' fixity, but they also make the syntax uncertain. Is the 'bondstreet exterior' the subject of the following line or in apposition to the previous line? Does the 'Schlemihl' have a Bond Street exterior, or does it assault him? Whatever the case, there is a contrast between his own exterior and his vitals; his face is something which is alien to him because covered in fungus. In that case, both situations can coexist, although in a somewhat uneasy way because of the difficulty of pinning down the syntax.

The 'remittance man' of the title refers to 'an emigrant who is supported or assisted by remittances from home' (OED). It would be possible, therefore, to read the poem as a depiction of an immigrant to the United States who has come there from England—but this is an England of drawing rooms and mahogany, and upper-middle class environment that would certainly be able to support a son with a craving to become a cowboy, but unlikely to produce one. Nor does this fully account for the use of the word Schlemihl. It is, however, possible, that the mahogany, drawing rooms and 'bond street exterior' stand for a 'wild' West End, in which an East End Jewish boy is adrift. Rodker's association with Pound and Eliot could well have brought him into contact with this haut bourgeois world, and he was certainly known to Virginia Woolf, so had some link with the Bloomsbury set.⁶⁶

These two possibilities coexist uneasily, unbound by any defining framework, the proliferation of possible identities encouraged by a choice of vocabulary that relishes its own foreignness. The siroccos of Alkali presumably refer to the Alkali Flats in a number of parts of North America (although, with the

⁶⁶ For Pound's courting of the aristocracy, see Lawrence Rainey, *Institutions of Modernism: Literary Elites and Public Culture* (New Haven and London: Yale UP, 1998) 14-28. Woolf mentions Rodker's arrest during the war. Letter to Vanessa Bell, 26 April 1917, *The Question of*

description of skin peeling off in them, it is hard not to see some reference to bleach in there), but both words are originally of Arabic origin. 'Cayuse' ('a common Indian pony') is 'said to be from the language of the Chinook Indians of Oregon' (OED). But it is not simply the features and animals of the North American plains that exhibit this. The mahogany of the drawing rooms is an equally 'foreign' word (though of unknown origin), demonstrating the commercial and political empire of which London was the hub. To this is added—in fact, one might say that all of this comes under—the sign of the 'Schlemihl', the Germanized Yiddish of Hebraic origin. Indeed, by placing 'Wild West Remittance Man' at the conclusion of this collection, and thus producing a movement away from the 'AVE MARIA' which opens the volume to the 'SCHLEMIHL' who closes it, Rodker makes the word's 'Jewishness' occupy a summarizing position in relation to the rest of his poems.

Although 'schlemiel' does occur in idiomatic Yiddish usage, Rodker's usage is probably more of a literary than a folk reference.⁶⁷ In Ruth Wisse's monograph on the schlemiel in modern literature, she refers to Dov Sadan's discussion of the etymology of the word. In Hebrew and Yiddish literature, it 'generally refers to the good and devoted man who has no luck', but Sadan argues that its widespread popularity derives from Adelbert von Chamisso's novel *Peter Schlemihl*. Chamisso's Peter Schlemihl sells his shadow to the devil in return for

Things Happening: The Letters of Virginia Woolf Volume II: 1912-1922, ed. Nigel Nicolson (London: Hogarth, 1976) 150.

⁶⁷ Mordkhe Schaechter claims that 'shlemiel' is Western Yiddish and 'shlimazl' is Eastern Yiddish, and that the former does not appear in literary Yiddish. *Yidish tsvey: A lernbukh far mitndike kursn/Yiddish II: A Textbook for Intermediate Courses* (Philadelphia: ISHI, 1986) 262-263. It is true that the word does not feature in Uriel Weinreich's prescriptive *Modern English-Yiddish, Yiddish-English Dictionary* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968), but it does appear in Alexander Harkavy, *Yiddish-English-Hebrew Dictionary* (Amherst, MA: National Yiddish Book Center, 2000), Yitskhok Niborski, *Verterbukh fun loshn-koydesh-shtamike verter in Yidish* (Paris: Medem-Bibliotek, 1999) and Yitskhok Niborski and Bernard Vaisbrot, *Dictionnaire Yiddish-Français* (Paris: Bibliothèque Medem, 2002).

unlimited wealth, but cannot find acceptance anywhere because he is shadowless. Eventually, with the help of a pair of seven-league boots, he wanders the Earth, collecting botanical samples and avoiding human company.⁶⁸ Chamisso's Schlemihl is not Jewish, but Sadan shows that his German-Jewish contemporaries used the word to mean 'the man fated to be different, homeless, alien and Jewish'.⁶⁹ The usage of this word that Rodker is drawing on, therefore, in the spelling and in the kind of figure it portrays, is that made famous by Chamisso, and, after him, Heine.

Heine's image of the Schlemihl makes it both an image of Jewishness—his own and that of three of the major Hebrew poets of Golden Age Spain—and of poetry in general, with the laurel of Apollo the symbol of his Schlemihl-like failure to catch Daphne before she turns into a tree. Heine gives a false etymology of the Schlemihl as being named after 'Schlemihl ben Zuri Schadday', inadvertently killed by the spear of Pinchas. The Golden Age poets, killed or enslaved without any resistance on their part, as Heine tells it, suffer a similar fate. Rodker's Schlemihl has his face and vitals attacked but does nothing other than 'turn to the counters'. Even the 'doomed for a certain term' omits the active verb which follows it in Hamlet's father's speech, leaving only the passive participle. The passivity of Rodker's 'Wild West Remittance Man' is exactly that of Heine's 'Schlemihl'.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Adelbert von Chamisso, *The Shadow-less Man, Or the Wonderful History of Peter Schlemihl* (London: James Burns, 1845). Trans. of *Peter Schlemihls wundersame Geschichte* (1812).

⁶⁹ Ruth Wisse, *The Schlemiel as Modern Hero* (Chicago and London: U of Chicago P, 1971) 125-126.

⁷⁰ Heinrich Heine, 'Jehuda Ben Halevy. (Fragment.)', *Historisch-kritisch Gesamtausgabe der Werke*, vol 3.1, ed. Frauke Bartelt (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1992) 153-158. S. S. Praver sees the Heine's 'family of *shlemihls* [sic]' as 'the family of poets', but also, possibly, 'that of the Jews'. *Heine's Jewish Comedy: A Study of His Portraits of Jews and Judaism* (Clarendon: Oxford, 1983) 591.

André Spire

However, in a review of André Spire's *Poèmes juifs* (1919) that was published in the same year as *Hymns*, Rodker saw in the Schlemihl's passivity a form of strength. Because he was significantly more explicit in his discussion of Jewish identity than in any of his poems, and because of its relative brevity, I quote it in full.

These hard, matter of fact poems, so real, so Jewishly real, so unlike M. Aragon's poetical poems, have one hundred per cent efficiency and are terrible in their strength. For the Jew who has suffered, who finds that despite his age-old instincts he has nevertheless assimilated himself to the nation of his adoption—must live in it scorning its excesses; unable to comprehend them or their devotion to a heaven and hell and mean self interest,—what fate could be more intolerable? [*sic*]

The Jew lies like a rye grain buried in fat and bursting wheat ears. For a time he sees how completely he has swallowed the habits of the wheat ear, its exquisite intonations, its passion to get outside itself in a wild pursuit of objets-d'art, he may even persuade himself that he is "one of them." Yet always he must be eventually nameless, an eternal Schlemihl.

This is the burden of M. Spire's book. This static body in the midst of flux, a static body that would like to flow too but cannot.

"Je venais de mon rude pays de sel, d'oölithe, de fer
ou la rivière empoisonnée de soude" * * *

If you think "art is the whole caboose" you will find these poems artless. But I think of M. Spire as a very good poet with a capacity for feeling; for suffering which would have done credit to Walt Whitman.⁷¹

There are many notable points here, firstly the absolute sense of 'the Jew' as an individual and the absolute lack of any content to his Jewishness aside from his age-old instincts. The implication of Rodker's description of 'the Jew' as a 'static body in the midst of flux' is that 'the Jew' is uniquely confined to the 'his'

Wisse also connects the schlemiel with Jewish passivity and weakness, reclaimed as a kind of inner strength. 'The schlemiel is the Jew as he is defined by the anti-Semite, but reinterpreted by God's appointee'. *The Schlemiel as Modern Hero* 6.

body in a way that the other people of his 'nation of adoption' are not. Only the wheat ear has a 'passion to get outside itself'. But this limitation is also a form of strength. Jewish passivity, doing nothing other than lying there 'like a rye grain' (and there is a verbal echo here too of the Wild West Remittance Man's 'ryewhisky'), is what makes Spire's poems hard and matter of fact, whereas the flux surrounding this static body is as much a sign of instability as of freedom.

In fact, the poem of Spire's from which Rodker quotes is called 'Instabilité'.

Terre friable, légère, facile, je t'ai vue.
 Je venais de mon rude pays de sel, d'oolithe, de fer,
 Où la rivière empoisonnée de soude,
 Etranglée de scories, échaudées par des forges,
 Se traîne, basse, sale, pauvre, humiliée,
 Entre des saules gris.⁷²

Spire's 'rude pays' is an industrial landscape, perhaps that of his native Lorraine, although equally seems to be a vision of hell, and its harshness and hardness against France's 'friabilité' allows Rodker to use it as an example of the stability of 'the jew'. Spire's poem, however, plays on the ambiguity of who or what is 'instable'. The land may be 'friable', but the poet eats his 'repas de nomade' on the banks of its river. 'Assez couru ! Je t'aime ! Je reste ici,' he proclaims, and the landscape, addressing him in return warns 'J'aime à fixer les hommes. / Mais j'ai peur des regrets de ton âme mobile.' But the future life it paints for him has its own kind of mobility:

Veux-tu penser sans cesse à déplacer des bornes,
 A relever des murs, a tracer des chemins ?

Veux-tu, pour partager tes petites besognes,
 Prendre une femme avide qui n'ait d'autre souci
 Que d'étendre sans fin le toit de sa maison ?

⁷¹ John Rodker, 'Other Books,' *The Little Review* 7.3 (Sept-Dec 1920): 64-65. The near-nonsensical 'empoisonnée' is Rodker's misquotation (or the printer's misprinting) of 'empoisonnée', as the 'ou' is of 'où'.

⁷² André Spire, *Poèmes juifs* (Geneva: Eventail, 1919) 28.

This playing with different kinds of flux and stasis is not what interests Rodker. His concern here almost seems to be to reverse all stereotypes of Jewishness and Gentileness, just as his reply to Aldington and Orage tried to turn them into 'Jews'. Jews are 'real', more real than their nation of adoption. Gentiles are devoted to 'a heaven and hell and mean self-interest', rather than Jews being excessively religious or excessively capitalistic. It is they, not the Jews, who have the 'exquisite intonations' of which assimilating Jews were accused. Moreover, although Rodker's description is almost completely passive, it is emphatically not about the actions of non-Jews upon a Jewish figure. All that hints towards this is the idea of a suffering whose source is not explained. But everything else is described as self-motivated, self-inflicted, finally to end in self-recognition. Jewish passivity and stasis is a kind of guarantee of objectivity, a position from which to critique the mores of an effeminate society, because it stands (or rather lies) outside it, even when it is inside. His own definition of Jewishness seems fairly consistent from his article on the Pavilion theatre to this review of Spire: it lies in suffering, and this suffering validates the poetic Spire uses.

Is this portrait of 'the jew' supposed to be a self-portrait? Unlike his article on the Pavilion theatre, in which 'our own drama' is opposed to Yiddish drama, Rodker uses third person pronouns for both sides of his account. Despite this, it is still very hard to tell, although there are a few positive indicators. The first is Rodker's use of the word 'Schlemihl', which acts here as a sign of some kind of expertise in Jewish language and culture. However, this is also a word which is part of German literary tradition, and once again, his use of it fits closely with that of Chamisso and Heine. Indeed 'Schlemihl' could here stand for a

universalised condition of 'the poet' (as Heine makes it) as much as for the specific condition of 'the jew'.⁷³

The tone of the review is also very different from the snappy smartness of so many *Little Review* pieces, including his own ('Grammar frequently awful,' was his school-masterly summary of one poet's efforts⁷⁴). The poetic repetitions and parallelisms of 'so real, so jewishly real' and 'a capacity for feeling; for suffering' are very different from the rhetorical force of 'an appalling, an abominable, an inconceivable "London" letter' later in the same article. In this way, Rodker shows that he has been moved at some level by Spire's poetry, but this does not clearly make it an example of fellow feeling.

The strongest link Rodker has with this portrait, however, is his sharing the scorn with which 'the jew' views the rest of society.⁷⁵ Those who think 'art is the whole caboose' (and this peculiar phrase is both a sign of scorn for those who do think this way and a self-parody as a philistine who thinks otherwise) are in the same camp as those in a 'wild pursuit of objets-d'arts'. So in this sense, Rodker is occupying the same point of view as the one he defines for 'the jew', someone who is essentially nameless, an outsider.

⁷³ Norman Kleeblatt has argued that Jewish artists borrowed Jewish figures such as Shylock and Rabbi Ben Ezra from popular works of prose and poetry in order to find acceptance by giving mainstream culture an image of Jewishness with which it was familiar. Rodker's choice of 'Schlemihl' has something in common with this strategy. However, as is shown by Kleeblatt's remark that Alfred Wolmark was unable to make this move because he had 'retreated to a modernist ghetto', Rodker's modernism complicates the relationship. As Kleeblatt's wonderfully unself-conscious use of the word 'ghetto' implies, striking the pose of artistic alienation could stand in for (but also replace) Jewishness in a similar way to striking the pose of Shylock. Norman L. Kleeblatt, 'MASTER NARRATIVES/minority artists,' *Art Journal* 57.3 (Fall 1998): 29-35.

⁷⁴ John Rodker, 'List of Books,' *The Little Review* 5.7 (Nov 1918): 33.

⁷⁵ This is a fair summary of Spire's own presentation of 'the Christian'. For example, Spire addresses the Christian and accuses him of fearing Jews because he wants to preserve '[s]on thé', '[s]on bridge', '[s]on dîner', '[s]on théâtre' and '[s]a chère tranquillité' ('Tu as raison'). Or of art: 'Art, si je t'acceptais, ma vie serait charmante. / Mes jours fuiraient légers, bienveillants, dilettantes.' ('Le Messie'). Spire, *Poèmes juifs* 34, 42.

However, the very fact that he considers this position to be nameless precludes him from saying that his viewpoint is Jewish. Even in his later writing, when he was sustained by a deeper and more productive engagement with psychoanalysis, he could only bring himself to call himself a 'foreigner'. Here, he cannot, or will not, do even that. He presents 'the jew' as an identity unsayable in language, or at least his own language. This is not simply because he feels that it is disgusting, and can only be said in private, although it is hard to discount this factor entirely. It is also because, as with his reaction to Aldington and Orage, and as with his discussion of the Yiddish theatre, he needs to occupy a supposedly neutral, unmarked position. In public Jewishness is, for him, not possible as a subject position, but only as an object of scrutiny. Keeping it at a suitable distance from himself allows him, unlike Pound, to see something poetic in it, even though he, like Pound, views Spire's Jewishness in conflict with art. Indeed, one of the positions that it enables is the same as Pound's denunciation of the 'botched civilization' of 'two gross of broken statues' and 'a few thousand battered books'.

This interweaving of an oppositional stance to the general culture, a shaky at best sense of self-worth and a suspicion of language forms the framework of Rodker's turn to the physical. It is the feeling, especially the suffering, that matters in a poem: hence the descriptions of himself as a rat, or as a scourged man. And this also accounts for his desire to shock his audience—in a sense to make them suffer—because this would be the touchstone of truth, the guarantee of some kind of authenticity beyond the realm of art. But the body in Rodker's poetry does not provide a stable point of identity, and instead frequently collapses into a collection of things with no discernable relationship with each

other, reproducing the problems which it is supposed to avoid. Disgust at Jewish physicality is transformed into disgust at the physical in general, and the impossibility of Jewish subjectivity is turned into the impossibility for any subject to go beyond bare objecthood.

Although his turn away from poetry to prose was not the simple matter he made it out to be in 1930, Rodker never published an original collection again.⁷⁶ It was in prose, therefore, that he continued to address these issues, continuing to investigate the physical, but articulating it with psychological and eventually social aspects. Rather than seeing all this as psychological 'slither', however, Pound increased his interest in Rodker, as his championing of *Adolphe 1920* in *The Exile* was to demonstrate. As I shall show in the following chapter however, this was part of an increasing, and increasingly ambivalent, interest in Jews, in which *The Exile* also gave space to the American Jewish poets Louis Zukofsky and Carl Rakosi.

⁷⁶ Crozier, 'Introduction' xvii.

Introduction

In this chapter I examine the ways in which ideas of race and writing intersected in the work of four contributors to *The Exile*: Ezra Pound, Carl Rakosi, Louis Zukofsky and John Rodker. I begin by looking at a mock-advertisement by Pound calling for 'MORE SERIOUS JEWS' as a sign of Pound's ambivalence towards Jews, and show that this was part of a frame placed around the contributions of Rakosi to the magazine. I explore how the issue of framing Jews in the contemporaneous Canto 22 is linked to the collage technique of the cantos. As in Eliot's quatrain poems of ten years before, collage is, I argue, bound up with the figure of Jews, as an image of its uncertainties and fragmentations. It is also significant for his role as the editor of *The Exile*, as his writing technique could be described as a form of editing. I move on to look at the way in which Pound presents his own role as editor within the pages of *The Exile*. I consider Pound's correspondence with Louis Zukofsky, to the point at which Zukofsky published his 'Yiddisher Charleston Band'. This then leads on to a discussion of Zukofsky's 'Poem beginning "The"', which first appeared in *The Exile*. For Zukofsky, advertising becomes the form of culture from which he has to distance himself to show that he is producing genuine literature. The tradition to which he has an ambivalent relationship is also in the process of selling itself, as summed up in the figure of his English teacher John Erskine, who both attempted to maintain the western canon and to sell it to the masses with a popular novel based on Helen of Troy. Finally, I provide a reading of the way Rodker's *Adolphe 1920* also addresses racial questions in terms of black and white, and links it to a set of advertisements, flyers and posters which represent

the insubstantiality of the self, as a set of projections from within and upon the body. With reference to correspondence between Pound and Rodker about the novella years later, I suggest that Pound may have had a hand in some revisions of *Adolphe 1920* between typescript and its appearance in *The Exile*, in a way which attempts to delineate these racial categories more precisely. Rodker's writing, therefore, does fit with Rakosi's and Zukofsky's in its highlighting of the ambiguities of racial classification.

Chapter 4
‘A FEW MORE SERIOUS JEWS’
Advertising Race in *The Exile*

WANTED
 by the Editor of Exile

A FEW MORE
 SERIOUS
 JEWS

this means first rate jews, no second rate jews, no dancing Daniels, no bumptious bouncing Adones need apply.

Apropos of which last category we recommend for discipline by the Sanhedrin or other authoritative body, the beamish Adonis who inspired or occasioned the following:

I got dh' chew view
 dh' odter day:
 "If it's AHT
 it pays its vay
 If it's aht, it pays its vay,
 If it's aht it . . .
 SAY,
 "WVott brice the Bssalms of TDavit?!"¹

This mock-advertisement, which appeared in the fourth, and last, issue of *The Exile*, demonstrates the complexities of Pound's antisemitism while still showing that antisemitism is the appropriate word for it. Although ostensibly concerned with 'first rate jews', the majority of the advert is given over to chastising and mocking the 'second rate jews' as corruptors of both art and language. The 'chew view,' a mixing of eyes and mouths, regards art as consumable and consumes it—chews it up—at the same time. Art becomes 'AHT' both through the debased

¹ Untitled, *The Exile* 4 (Autumn 1928): 100. Pound edited *The Exile* between Spring 1927 and Autumn 1928. For accounts of his editorship, see Barry S. Alpert, 'Ezra Pound, John Price and *The Exile*,' *Paideuma* 2.3 (1973): 427-448, and Craig Monk, 'The Price of Publishing Modernism: Ezra Pound and the *Exile* in America,' *Canadian Review of American Studies/Revue canadienne d'études américaines* 31.1 (2001): 429-446. Further references to *The Exile* will be by issue number and page.

speech of the 'beamish Adonis' and in its being treated as something saleable. But the danger of this 'view' does not stop there. The speaker in the verse who precedes the quotation marks is probably not Jewish, since he has had to 'get' the 'chew view' rather than simply having it. What this getting entails, however, is ambiguous. The speaker could have been won over to this 'view', or simply have heard it expressed, but irrespective of what has happened, his language is exactly the same as that of the 'Jewish' voice talking about art. Although the opening quotation marks make some attempt to distinguish him from this voice, they are never closed, never fully framed by another point of view, but seem rather to have affected—or indeed infected—it. Getting the 'chew view' would then be like getting the flu, with Jewishness as some kind of disease which can be caught by those who witness it. This is why it is the 'beamish Adonis who inspired or occasioned' the verse who needs to be disciplined: he is responsible for them. Even satirising this kind of 'jew' may therefore be a dangerous strategy, as the language takes on his supposed excess. This even affects the introductory language of the advertisement in the clunkily alliterative epithets ('dancing Daniels, bumptious bouncing Adones') employed by the advertiser himself, the *Exile's* editor, Ezra Pound. Thus, even in expressing an interest in 'first rate jews', Pound must distinguish them from the 'second rate', demonstrating that the two are linked by the fact that they must be separated, and risking contamination via that link by the 'chew view'.

However, the demand for 'first rate jews' was not—or not just—a joke.² The interest in 'serious' Jews was itself quite serious. Pound published and acclaimed a number of Jewish writers in his magazine's four issues: John Rodker, Louis

Zukofsky and Carl Rakosi. In his position of relative cultural marginality after his move to Italy—he was, after all, editing a publication called *The Exile*—this was partly a question of turning to a new generation of writers (the generation which included the children of Jewish immigrants) because protégés like Eliot were now more established than him, partly a question of feeling some sort of affinity for their positions, marginal for different reasons. However, precisely because they paralleled each other, it was necessary to draw some kind of distinction between him and them.³

Framing Carl Rakosi

In fact, Pound's advertisement appeared on the facing page to one of Rakosi's poems, and echoes another poem by Rakosi which appeared two issues earlier, with the same title, printed in the same typeface and point size, using the same format of an advertisement.

WANTED

Expert experiences black on white
 by men who are all white from the midriff
 to the arches through the lowest joints.
 We train you in accepted imagery,
 the sights of love, and other popular sports,
 and keep your eyes peeled for the gems of gab.
 Diction or fact, it's all one to the larynx,
 that is, one without gentile deformations.

The applicant is to be oriented,
 a hustler from his collarbutton up,
 upright and spry, a snotshooter who spares
 no words or pleasant whispers of address.
 Report to us with sample pomp
 and testimonies of urbanity.

² Similarly, another 'WANTED' advertisement, for a 'properly equipped PALAZZO IN WHICH TO RESTART CIVILIZATION' was matched by Pound's manifesto of the previous issue (4:99, 3:108).

³ This is a similar situation to Eliot's, as I discuss in Chapter 1, drawing on Cheyette, *Constructions of 'the Jew'* 246-247.

Also a man to master mockery,
a spotlihter with strong intentions.⁴

Rakosi's poem suggests that the people wanted by this advertisement are cultural middlemen, either selling high culture or using it to make sales. The language used to describe the sales techniques is that of literary criticism: 'imagery', 'diction'. Andrew Crozier argues that Rakosi's poems at this time 'do not feed directly on the language of their originals, so that our attention is drawn to their original's actuality rather than [...] their mere vulgarity.'⁵ But Rakosi is also mimicking the debasement of literary language into the language of advertising, while achieving an ironic distance from its object by working it into careful patterns of sound that give it an 'objective' existence (in Zukofsky's sense),⁶ for example the recurring /sp/ sound from 'expert experience' to (with a slight variation) 'accepted', to 'spares', 'whispers' and 'spotlihter'. This kind of irony, as Rakosi indicates with the opening echo of 'expert beyond experience' from 'Whispers of Immortality', harks back to Eliot's quatrain poems.

The misuse of language is the result of racial characteristics, with the blurring of the boundaries of 'diction' and 'fact' possible only for a larynx without 'gentile deformations'. The idea of the Jewish advertiser, selling shoddy goods with false promises, was not uncommon in contemporary American culture,⁷ but the poem seems to take this further, making a Jewish body the foundation for this economic structure. Or rather a Jewish body part, as the 'middleness' of this

⁴ Carl Rakosi, 'Wanted,' *The Exile 2* (Autumn 1927): 37.

⁵ Andrew Crozier, 'Carl Rakosi in the "Objectivists" Epoch,' *Carl Rakosi: Man and Poet*, ed. Michael Heller (Orono, ME: National Poetry Foundation, 1993) 103.

⁶ Louis Zukofsky, 'Sincerity and Objectification,' *Prepositions+: The Collected Critical Essays* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan UP, 2000) 193-202.

⁷ Daniel Pope, *The Making of Modern Advertising* (New York: Basic Books, 1983) 317n60. Simone Weil Davis, *Living Up to the Ads: Gender Fictions of the 1920s* (Durham, NC and London: Duke UP, 2000) 191n6, 197n23.

figure is not simply economic and cultural, but also racial, equally evident in his existing between or as a mixture of racial identities. The most obvious meaning of 'black on white' is words on a page, the physical existence of these words as an advertisement, but also in the sense of something being 'there in black and white': readable, meaningful and trustworthy. However, since the '[e]xpert experiences' are 'black on white', and the lower half of the prospective candidate is white, presumably the upper half is black.⁸ The 'black' part of the applicant overlaps, if not completely coincides, with his non-gentile larynx, and his being a 'hustler from the collar button up'. The clause '[t]he applicant is to be oriented' is detached from any qualifier specifying *how* he should be oriented.⁹ There is an implication of 'orient' or 'oriental', possibly even that he is the right way up. Nor does the phrase make it clear whether he should already be oriented, or if he will be oriented once he has the job. There is a sense, therefore, in which the racial characteristics of this applicant are also fluid, possibly acquirable. However, this racial fluidity was also considered to be a feature of the Jewish 'race'.¹⁰ Although only part of his body is identified as being non-Gentile, the very fact that different parts have different racial provenances may suggest that they form a Jewish whole.¹¹ Indeed, being part black and part white suggests something like

⁸ A number of Rakosi's earlier poems show some interest in the figure of the 'black'. 'Shadows for Florida' (*The Nation* 1926; *Poems 1923-1941*, ed. Andrew Crozier (Los Angeles: Sun and Moon, 1995) 57), 'Sylvia' (*Pagany 1931 Poems 1923-1941* 86) and 'African Theme, Needlework, etc' (*Contact* 1932, *Poems 1923-1941* 107), which was reworked as 'The Black Crow' (*Poems 1923-1941* 135) for Nancy Cunard's *Negro: An Anthology* (1934). It appeared along with poems by other 'White Poets'. Nancy Cunard, ed., *Negro: An Anthology*, abridged ed., ed. and abridged Hugh Ford. (Continuum: New York, 1996) 268.

⁹ OED defines 'oriented' as: 'Having an emphasis, bias, or interest indicated by a preceding n[oun]. (usu. joined by a hyphen) or adv[er]b'. The other two meanings, which do not require a qualifier, are usually confined to mathematics and chemistry.

¹⁰ This was a problem which race scientists, including Jewish race scientists, had to wrestle with. John Efron, *Defenders of the Race: Jewish Doctors and Race Science in Fin-de-Siècle Europe* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1994).

¹¹ Bryan Cheyette, and, with a slightly different emphasis, Sander Gilman have both argued that Jews were seen as neither fully black nor entirely white. Cheyette, 'Neither Black nor White: The Figure of "the Jew" in Imperial British Literature,' *The Jew in the Text: Modernity and the*

blackface, such as that performed by Al Jolson in *The Jazz Singer* the year before, in which Jolson played out his Jewishness in relation to his assumption of blackness.¹²

These two pieces, therefore, bring together issues of selling and advertising culture, or making use of culture for advertising, with issues of race, particularly with regard to Jewishness. This was not just a thematic coincidence, however topical.¹³ Pound's advertisement can be read as a reply to Rakosi. Art's distortion into something sellable by becoming 'AHT' is his own version of 'diction' creating 'fact'.

But this also shows the variation which Pound is playing on Rakosi's original theme. The lines 'Diction or fact, it's all one to the larynx, / that is, one without gentile deformations' in the original 'Wanted' have a number of possible ironies which interact with each other. Read straightforwardly, they reverse the common idea of the Jewish voice as deformed.¹⁴ This reversal could itself be read as an irony which points to Jewish larynxes as being the really deformed ones. Or the fact of speaking in either way (of Jews or Gentiles as deformed in comparison to the other) may also be being ironised, because who it is that is speaking at this point is not clear: the poem is, after all, a parody of a Wanted advertisement. The

Construction of Identity, ed. Linda Nochlin and Tamar Garb (London: Thames and Hudson, 1995) 31-41. Gilman, *The Jew's Body* (New York and London: Routledge, 1991) 169-193.

¹² Michael Rogin sees this as a way of Jewish performers affirming their whiteness by putting on, in such a way that they could take off, 'blackness'. Michael Alexander sees it as part of a number of ways in which the Jewish community affirmed a Jewish identity by identifying with those lower down on the social scale. Michael Rogin, *Blackface, White Noise: Jewish Immigrants in the Hollywood Melting Pot* (Berkeley: U of California P, 1996). Michael Alexander, *Jazz Age Jews* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 2001) 131-179.

¹³ Most histories of advertising identify the 1920s as the point at which it took on a new, more socially powerful form. Jennifer Wicke *Advertising Fictions: Literature, Advertisement, and Social Reading* (New York: Columbia UP, 1988) 172. Simone Weil Davis *Living Up to the Ads: Gender Fictions of the 1920s* (Durham: Duke UP, 2000) 1. See also Jackson Lears, *Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History of Advertising in America* (New York: Basic Books, 1994). Karen Pinkus, *Bodily Regimes: Italian Advertising under Fascism* (Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1995).

¹⁴ Gilman, *The Jew's Body* 10-37.

positioning of Jews is therefore constantly being undermined: is this a Jewish trait or one which is assigned to them by the same kind of vulgarians who would write this kind of advertisement? To put it into Pound's terms: is second-rateness being defined by Jewishness, or Jewishness by second-rateness?

For Pound, the person who is speaking may not be Jewish, but the deformation is Jewish in its origin. Rakosi's ironies which open onto other ironies are turned into one disease-bearer contaminating another. Pound's approach stabilises Rakosi's instabilities, providing a framework in which they can be read and neutralised. Moreover, by positioning himself in print against Rakosi—parodying his poem and placing the parody opposite another of his poems—Pound also positions himself against him socially. Rakosi's poem 'Wanted' is held at the same ironic distance as it holds the subject of advertising, writing, and culture.

This is further evidence, therefore, that Pound's (anti)semitic discourse was played out through particular positions assigned to or taken against Jewish writers. This is not to say that Pound was completely in charge of this process: if anything, he is reacting to Rakosi, not the other way around. Nevertheless, he chose the poem, positioned it at a particular point in the magazine and decided what preceded and followed it. If they are to be read in tandem, this is because Pound wrote his advert, not Rakosi his. Indeed, Rakosi's four poems in *The Exile* 2 were placed immediately after a short statement from Pound entitled 'Prolegomena'.

The drear horror of American life can be traced to two damnable roots, or perhaps it is only one root: 1. The loss of *all* distinction between private and public affairs 2. The tendency to mess into other people's affairs before establishing order in one's own affairs and in one's thought. [as described by Confucius. ...] This order or harmony spreads by a sort of contagion without specific effort. The principle of evil

consists in messing into other people's affairs. Against this principle of evil no adequate precaution is taken by Christianity, Moslemism, Judaism, nor, so far as I know, by *any* monotheistic religion. (2:35)

Andrew Crozier calls the phrase 'the drear horror of American life' 'apposite' to these poems, and this is surely not simply a coincidence: it is what Pound wants them to be seen as addressing. Indeed, Crozier goes on to suggest that Pound's selection concentrated on this particular aspect of Rakosi's writing while ignoring other poems with more personal, idiosyncratic elements.¹⁵ Pound was, therefore, selecting and presenting the poetry with his own particular slant. This is, of course, what editors do, but part of Pound's slant was his attitude towards Judaism, included here in an attack on—or at least a dismissal of—monotheism. Although none of the religions mentioned is actually being called evil, Judaism, as the monotheistic foundation of Christianity and Islam, would logically bear the most responsibility for not taking adequate precautions against 'the principle of evil'. Indeed, this is exactly how he had described it to Richard Aldington: 'the root of all evil is the monotheistic idea, JEW. JEW and again jew. Xtianity really jew. Ole J.C. tried to kill it, but all the objectionable features revived, or never died, racial curse too strong for the individual.'¹⁶ With this 'Prolegomena', therefore, Pound sets the ambiguous, tenuous links which Rakosi draws between advertising and race into a context of a general cultural demise, in which advertising is one example of 'messing in other people's affairs' and behind

¹⁵ Crozier makes no mention of the fact that the phrase he is quoting appears to refer to these poems' subject matter. Andrew Crozier, 'Carl Rakosi in the "Objectivists" Epoch,' *Carl Rakosi: Man and Poet*, ed. Michael Heller (Orono, ME: National Poetry Foundation, 1993) 105, 107.

¹⁶ March 4 1926. Quoted in Ben D. Kimpel and T. C. Duncan Eaves, 'Ezra Pound's Anti-Semitism,' *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 81.1 (Winter 1982): 67-68. These sentences are also quoted, with some minor differences in capitalisation and spelling, in A. David Moody, 'Ezra Pound with Two-Pronged Fork of Terror and Cajolery: The Construction of his Anti-Semitism (up to 1939),' *Jewish Themes in English and Polish Culture*, ed. Irena Janicka-Świdorska, Jerzy Jarniewicz and Adam Sumera (Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, 2000) 157.

which lurks Judaism, neither fully blameable, nor entirely blameless for everything which has gone wrong.

How one should put things right is equally troubling. Pound is quite emphatic that he does not want to interfere in what other people are doing, but even the metaphor of 'contagion' as the way harmony should spread is surprisingly negative, only twisted to the possibility of being positive by the vague qualifier 'sort of'. This leaves Pound himself in a difficult position, however, as the editor of a magazine which he is using to assert his political beliefs and to find some sort of a market for his art. Is he not being an interferer, a marketer, an advertiser, and is this not adopting a position he links to, if not completely identifies with, being Jewish?

In this sense his self-invention as an 'exile', and his position as an editor are both roles which Pound wants to play and to divert onto someone else. Pound's 'Wanted' ad, in the way it contextualises and is contextualised by other writings in *The Exile*, raises questions about how his role as an editor affected and was affected by his antisemitism, how he saw that role, how this played out in his editorial choices, and how this influenced and was influenced by the Jewish writers he published. In the four issues of his magazine, Pound showed an interest in Jewish writers, in Marxism, which he later identified as Jewish,¹⁷ and in certain kinds of advertising, which he parodied as Jewish.¹⁸ In other words,

¹⁷ Pound corresponded with Mike Gold of *The New Masses* on this subject and published some of the correspondence in *The Exile*. Peter Nicholls, *Ezra Pound: Politics, Economics and Writing: A Study of The Cantos* (London and Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1984) 47-59, 79-87. Also noted by William M. Chace, 'Ezra Pound and the Marxist Temptation,' *American Quarterly* 22.3 (1970): 716-717.

¹⁸ It has been suggested that Pound's earlier involvement in Imagism and Vorticism was linked to an interest in advertising, but this piece from *The Exile* shows that he maintained this interest into the late 1920s. Mark Morrisson argues that little magazines made use of advertising methods to reach the public, before realising that they were addressing a very limited audience. Mark Morrisson, *The Public Face of Modernism: Little Magazines, Audiences, and Reception, 1905-1920* (Madison, WI: U of Wisconsin P, 2001). See also Paige Reynolds, "'Chaos Invading

Pound showed a set of interests in *The Exile* which were bound together by their being Jewish (or 'Jewish').¹⁹ Pound's 'Jewish' interests also appear in the *Cantos* contemporaneous to *The Exile*, parts of which he published in that magazine, and numbers 17-27 of which were published by John Rodker. The publication of some of Louis Zukofsky's poetry in *The Exile* was the beginning of a decades-long correspondence and friendship between him and Pound. And the appearance in *The Exile* of John Rodker's *Adolphe 1920* was the culmination of Pound's interest in Rodker's writing, the point at which the bet he had made on him ten years previously appeared, at last, to have paid off.²⁰

Rodker's part in this is significant in three ways. His relationship with Pound continues to show something of Pound's idea of him and of Jews in general. His writing of this time shows how he positions himself with relation to the question of race, which is one of the terms in which he sees his own Jewishness. And both of these provide a useful point of comparison with Louis Zukofsky, who was also attempting to negotiate a place for himself as a writer with regard to the traditions of English literature in general and Pound in particular.

There has been a recent increase in interest in examining the magazines of modernism as one of the sites in which it occurred, rather than concentrating

Concept": *Blast* as a Native Theory of Promotional Culture,' *Twentieth Century Literature* 46.2 (Summer 2000): 238-268. Timothy Materer, 'Make It Sell!: Ezra Pound Advertises Modernism,' *Marketing Modernisms: Self-Promotion, Canonization, Rereading*, ed. Kevin J. H. Dettmar and Stephen Watt, (Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 1996) 17-36.

¹⁹ Other contributors than Zukofsky, Rakosi and Pound did make references to Jews in their writings, but in not particularly interesting ways. Neither Robert McAlmon nor Stella Breen's writing indicates much other than an acceptance of common stereotypes, although without any particular animus against Jews. McAlmon, 'Truer than Other Accounts' 2:80, 82; Breen, 'My Five Husbands' 2:94-100. The exception to this is possibly Williams Carlos Williams, 'The Descent of Winter' (4:42).

²⁰ Ezra Pound, 11 June 1917, *Pound/The Little Review: The Letters of Ezra Pound to Margaret Anderson: The Little Review Correspondence*, ed. Thomas L. Scott, Melvin J. Friedman with the assistance of Jackson R. Bryer (London: Faber, 1989) 63.

exclusively on unified works of art.²¹ This approach is a suggestive one, and one which seems particularly appropriate for *The Exile*. Without claiming that this magazine was one unified work, carried out by Pound and his minions Jewish and Gentile, I do want to argue that *The Exile* can be read as a kind of conversation between contributors, sometimes paying great attention to, sometimes completely ignoring each other, but one that it nonetheless makes sense to view collectively. As editor, Pound occupied a central position in these dialogues, and it is necessary to acknowledge that there existed an inequality of literary power between Pound and his protégés,²² but as the interaction with Rakosi shows, this was not a simple one-way process.

Canto 22: Jews, Parataxis and Collage

Pound's *A Draft of Cantos 17-27* was published by John Rodker in 1928, the second year of *The Exile*'s run.²³ Concerns which Pound showed in the magazine also appeared in his poetry, and parts of two of these Cantos, 20 and 23, appeared in the magazine.²⁴ Although these parts do not present any Jewish figures, the beginning of the final version of Canto 20 and a large section of Canto 22 do

²¹ Adam David McKible, *The Space and Place of Modernism: The Little Magazine in New York*, diss., U of N Carolina, 1998. McKible proposes a reading of *The Little Review*'s move from Chicago to New York as coinciding with its growing interest in the figure of the 'Jew', although he ignores every single Jewish writer who contributed to the magazine. *Ibid.* 140-184. Mark Morrisson, *The Public Face of Modernism: Little Magazines, Audiences, and Reception, 1905-1920* (Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 2001). Marjorie Perloff reads the year's run of *Pagany* (1931-32) as evidence of a later form of modernism, exemplified by Zukofsky, Loy, Stein, Butts and Djuna Barnes, but also other, politically engaged, writers. *Poetry On and Off the Page: Essays for Emergent Occasions* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern UP, 1998) 51-82.

²² Rakosi later trenchantly criticised Zukofsky's behaviour to Pound, but also agreed that 'without Pound Zukofsky would have never been able to do the publishing', and 'without Pound, Harriet Monroe would never have published me and nobody would have published me' Carl Rakosi, Interview with Steve Shoemaker, *Sagetrieb* 11.3 (Winter 1992): 118, 102.

²³ This was a deluxe edition with illuminated initials by Gladys Hynes. Donald Gallup, *Ezra Pound: A Bibliography* (Charlottesville: UP of Virginia, 1983) 43-44.

²⁴ For example, the discussion of the arms trade and Basil Zaharoff's part in it is discussed in Canto 18 and 'Peace' (4:15-17). J. M. Keynes's orthodoxy is lambasted in Canto 22 and 4:19-20n. The cantos published were 'A Part of Canto XX' (1:1-6), and 'Part of Canto XXIII' (3:28-31).

consider Jews whom Pound had met in Europe: the first the German professor of Provençal Emile Lévy, and the second a guide on Gibraltar, Yusuf Benamore, who took Pound to visit a synagogue. Pound was later to cite these Cantos as evidence that he was not antisemitic,²⁵ but Yusuf in particular has certain similarities with the ways in which Jews are presented in the *Exile*'s 'Wanted' advertisement: his foreign accent, his dubious monetary morals, and his being called a 'chew', although not by Pound, who quotes himself opining that Yusuf is 'a damn good feller'.

The fact that both of these last statements are quoted by Pound rather than given as his own, final opinion, makes it harder to see what weight is given to calling Yusuf a 'chew'. But it is also one example among many of the collage technique which dominates the *Cantos*. Rather than making an explicit, overall judgement on what he is presenting, Pound presents different 'ideograms' side by side.²⁶ Collage is at work in Canto 22 both in its structure and in the way non-literary elements—use of non-standard English, visual images—are allowed to enter a literary work, and both of these are related to its representation of Jews: the first in determining what place they have in the overall scheme of this canto, the second in the importance given to Jewish accents as one among many foreign voices.

The canto is made up of six major blocks: the story of building the North-Western Railway; Joe's experience of manufacturing during the Great War; C. H. Douglas's and Pound's discussions of economics with J. A. Hobson and J. M.

²⁵ Ezra Pound, *Dk/ Some Letters of Ezra Pound*, ed. Louis Dudek (Montreal: DC Books, 1974) 35.

²⁶ Pound had been developing this technique in the earlier cantos. E.g. the rewriting of Canto 1 from its earlier form, the use of documents rather than attempting an authorial synthesis in the Malatesta Cantos (8-11), written and rewritten as a response to Eliot's and his own writing and rewriting of *The Waste Land*. See Ronald Bush, *The Genesis of Ezra Pound's Cantos* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1976) 183-255.

Keynes; an anecdote of how Eve was made from a vixen's tail, much of it told in Italian dialect; Pound's visit to Gibraltar in 1908; and the story of a judge attempting to enforce sumptuary laws in Florence. Each one begins with 'And' or 'An'' (although the fourth part has some Italian phrases before it gets to this word) indicating that the syntactic equivalent of Pound's collage is parataxis. However, in his description of his visit to the synagogue, parataxis is taken to an extreme.

And we went down to the synagogue,
All full of silver lamps
And the top gallery stacked with old benches;
And in came the levite and six little choir kids
And began yowling the ritual
As if it were crammed full of jokes,
And they went through a whole book of it;
And in came the elders and the scribes
About five or six and the rabbi
And he sat down, and grinned, and pulled out his snuff-box,
And sniffed up a thumb-full, and grinned,
And called over a kid from the choir, and whispered.
And nodded toward one old buffer,
And the kid took him the snuff-box and he grinned,
And bowed his head, and sniffed up a thumb-full,
And the kid took the box back to the rabbi,
And he grinned, e faceva bisbiglio,
And the kid toted off the box to
 another old bunch of whiskers,
And he sniffed up his thumb-full,
And so on till they'd each had his sniff;
And then the rabbi looked at the stranger, and they
All grinned half a yard wider, and the rabbi
Whispered for about two minutes longer,
An' the kid brought the box over to me,
And I grinned and sniffed up my thumb-full.
And then they got out the scrolls of the law
And had their little procession
And kissed the ends of the markers. (22: 105)

Robert Casillo argues that this passage, which 'conveys fascination mingled with belittlement', also shows that, for Pound, Jews are his unacknowledged double.

In this early and comparatively innocuous instance of Pound's anti-Semitism, Jewish ritual is an amusing exercise involving whispering and sniffing [...] Pound is included in the service and obligingly grins and sniffs as the Jews had done earlier. It seems that Pound, in being included in the ritual, had been taken for a Jew. Why else would he have been included in the ritual?²⁷

Casillo's evidence for Pound's identification with Jews is primarily concerned with this episode as an event, but it also occurs stylistically. Whereas on average, the word 'and' and its variants occurs slightly more than once every two lines in the canto, in this section it occurs more than once every line. One of the reasons for this may be the way it replicates Biblical cadences, but Pound also associated at least one markedly paratactic writer with Yiddish: 'Gertie Stein is supposed to haff a stdyle pecause she writes yittish wit englisch wordts.'²⁸ Parataxis and its structural equivalent of collage are therefore not only hallmarks of Pound's writings, but also associated in those writings with Jews.

Collage implies what Marjorie Perloff describes as a kind of 'flat screen': the existence of different elements all on the same level, without a hierarchy of importance.²⁹ But Pound's technique in this canto is torn between this and the need to make judgements on what he is presenting. Each ideogram ends with what is effectively a moral: the creation of the North-Western Railway was unstoppable ('Who wuz agoin' to stop him!'); the corruption of manufacturing is

²⁷ Robert Casillo, *The Genealogy of Demons: Anti-Semitism, Fascism, and the Myths of Ezra Pound* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern UP, 1988) 404n5, 301-302. 'Pound's contempt is not lessened by his later statement [...] that the service in the synagogue was one of the only two examples of the worship of God that he could remember. Pound's contempt for the Jews is entirely compatible with his fascination and respect for them.' *Ibid.* 404n5. See also Ben D. Kimpel and T. C. Duncan Eaves, 'Ezra Pound's Anti-Semitism,' *South Atlantic Quarterly* 81.1 (Winter 1982): 62.

²⁸ Letter to Archibald MacLeish, 13 Feb 1927, quoted in Humphrey Carpenter, *A Serious Character: The Life of Ezra Pound* (London: Faber, 1988) 400.

²⁹ Marjorie Perloff, *The Poetics of Indeterminacy: Rimbaud to Cage* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 1981) 196. This is of course not the flatness of a Clement Greenberg. Christine Poggi argues that collage undermined such an aesthetic of flatness, eroded the difference between painting and sculpture, and allowed signs of fine art and popular culture to have equal value. *In Defiance of Painting: Cubism, Futurism, and the Invention of Collage* (New Haven and London: Yale UP,

the '[p]rice of life in the occident'; because Eve was made from a vixen's tail '[e] la donna una furia, / Una fuRRia-e-una rabbia'[woman is a fury / a fuRy-and-a rage], and the sumptuary laws are judged to be unenforceable with the words 'Signori, *you* go and enforce it.' Even when one block ends with Keynes's words in quotation marks ("I am an orthodox / "Economist") they serve to condemn his orthodoxy.³⁰ The section dealing with Gibraltar ends:

An' the nigger in the red fez, Mustafa, on the boat later
 An' I said to him: Yusuf, Yusuf's a damn good feller.
 And he says:
 "Yais, he ees a goot fello,
 "But after all a chew
 ees a chew." (22: 105)

Structurally, Mustafa's words have the same position as all the other summarising phrases, and therefore, even if in the mouth of someone else, they provide a commentary on the whole of Pound's time in Gibraltar. Indeed, Pound's use of quotation marks in this Canto is very varied and makes it hard to distinguish whether words placed within quotation marks are being held at a distance or not. Neither Yusuf's nor Pound's speech is ever surrounded by quotation marks, whereas Mustafa's always is. But J. A. Hobson's ('H. B.') words are not, and C. H. Douglas's ('C. H.') are. 'Joe' the manufacturer's words start outside quotes and end within them. Nor is the fact that Mustafa's judgement is presented in non-standard English a sign that it is devalued. Pound himself uses colloquial speech in these lines.

Bob Perelman discusses the contrast of dialect speech and that of Pound and Lenin at the end of Canto 16:

1992) 253-257. See also Jeffrey Weiss, *The Popular Culture of Modern Art: Picasso, Duchamp, and Avant-Gardism* (New Haven and London: Yale UP, 1994) 3-47.

³⁰ Keynes's orthodoxy was significant enough for Pound to repeat the point in 4:19-20n ("orthodox economics" (that priceless phrase of unthinking Mr. Keynes)) and *Symposium* 4.2

Lenin's speech and the language Pound uses to depict it share a single tone: poet and leader are tacitly united. Their action-speech has such power that the line after it stops, the revolution occurs [...] This language contrasts sharply with the dialects of the preceding passages [...] As *The Cantos* progresses, accent, especially if 'Jewish,' will be a sign of moral decay; here, though Pound is not scornful, their overly physical speech identifies the speakers as particles of history, created by it rather than creating it.³¹

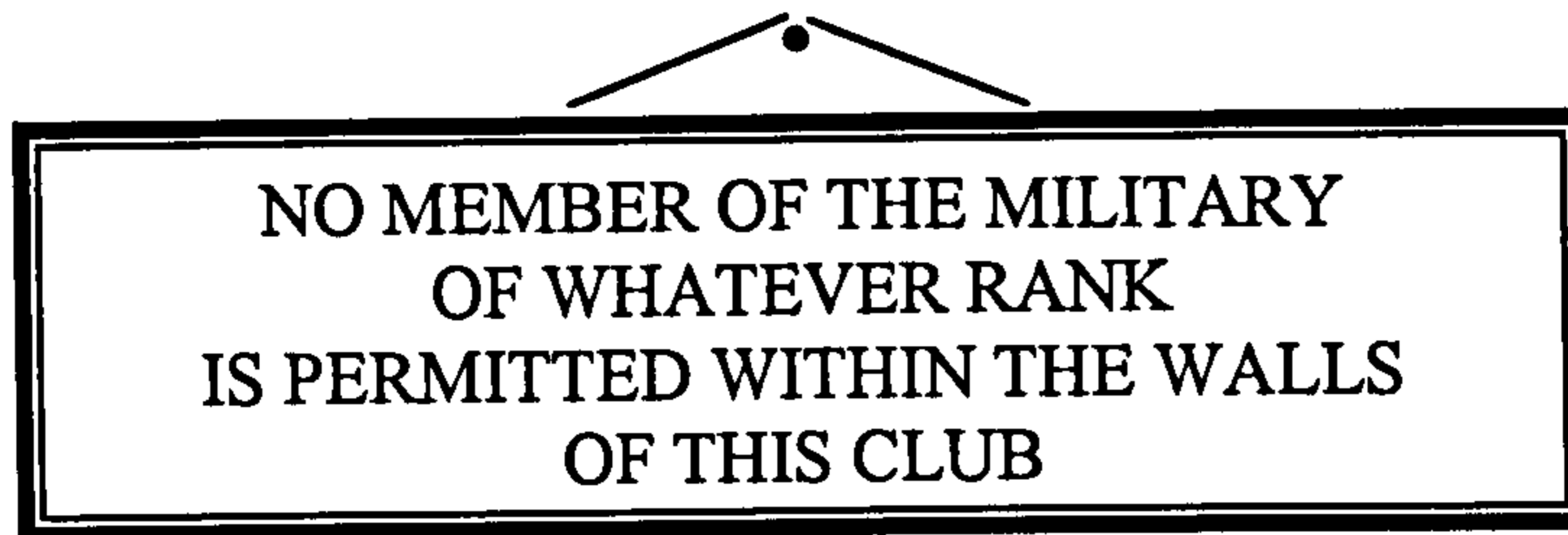
Perelman's discussion of these particular voices is persuasive, but it is not a fully comprehensive characterisation of non-standard English in the early Cantos. Pound often uses colloquial speech as part of the framing voice, although it tends to cluster round passages of dialogue. In his discussion with Mustafa, it has the force of a no-nonsense, sleeves-rolled-up, getting down to business. This applies too to some of the people who use it. Steff and Tommy Baymont, whose forest-clearing activity meets with Pound's approval, use 'dialect' English as almost exactly the kind of 'action-speech' Lenin employs (19:86).

Including language like this also operates as a touchstone of realism, giving it immediately to the reader as heard, rather than cleaned up for literary consumption. But such immediacy is of course completely impossible, as Pound's typography is clearly an interpretation of how these people speak. Even Canto 22's *objet trouvé*, the notice outside the Calpe club in Gibraltar, can only be the picture of a notice, rather than the notice itself.

(April 1933): 255 (quoted in Dennis R. Klinck, 'Pound's "Economist Consulted of Nations",' *Paideuma* 5.1 (Spring 1976): 67-68).

³¹ Bob Perelman, *The Trouble with Genius: Reading Pound, Joyce, Stein, and Zukofsky* (Berkeley: U of California P, 1994) 66. Pound says of Lenin that he 'invented or very nearly invented a new medium, something between speech and action (language as cathode ray) which is worth any writer's study.' (4:116).

And the rock scorpions cling to the edge
 Until they can't jes' nacherly stand it
 And then they go to the Calpe (Lyceo)



That fer the governor of Gibel Tara. (22: 103)

This is the somewhat unpromising beginning of the visual element that *The Cantos* were increasingly to explore. Indeed, it is the only example of it within the first thirty.³² Text becomes materialised here as not simply the report of what Pound saw, but an image of it. The notice is both a visual way of holding a statement within quotation marks (placing it in a box to show that it is not Pound's speech), and an attempt at a direct, unmediated way of presenting it as it actually looked.

This applies to Yusuf's accent too. When he attacks social inequality it can be read as an earthy realism, but when he reveals his own morals it could also serve as a sign of corruption, even though it maintains its realism. In reply to a 'fat fellah' from Rhode Island who says that he was never "stuck" in Italy, but Gibraltar is "plumb full er scoundrels", Yusuf asks

an' the reech man
 In youah countree, haowa they get their money;
 They no go rob some poor pairsons?

³² More precisely, it is the only visual element consistently to have remained within the 'Draft of XXX Cantos', as *A Draft of XVI Cantos* and *A Draft of Cantos 17-27* had elaborately illuminated initials.

This is a sentiment with which Canto 22 seems to be in agreement. But Yusuf goes on to expound a world-view in which the language provides some distance between him and Pound.

Woa, he iss all thru Eetaly
An' ee is nevair been stuck, ee ees a liar.
W'en I goa to some forain's country
I am stuck.
W'en yeou goa to some forain's country
You moss be stuck; w'en they come 'ere I steek thaim. (22:104)

Pound's use of collage in Canto 22 hovers between two possibilities: presenting things directly and distancing himself from them or commenting upon them. This is evidence, I think, of an uncertainty in Pound's technique. Although writers on Pound often emphasise the breakdown of hierarchy in his use of collage or parataxis,³³ Pound seems rather to be using it to communicate with a reader in a more immediate way,³⁴ not merely directly presenting 'the thing', but doing so in such a way that the reader's judgement of it will tally with his own, because his judgement is simply a reflection of the facts. Pound's self-description of *Jefferson and/or Mussolini* is equally appropriate to the *Cantos*.

I am not putting these sentences in monolinear syllogistic arrangement, and I have no intention of using that old form of trickery to fool the reader, any reader, into thinking I have proved anything, or that having read a paragraph of my writing he KNOWS something that he can only *know* by examining a dozen or two dozen facts and putting them all together.³⁵

And yet, as different critics' differing readings of parts of the *Cantos* show,³⁶ simple presentation is incapable of achieving this effect. Part of the way in which

³³ For example, George Dekker, *Sailing after Knowledge: The Cantos of Ezra Pound* (London: Routledge, 1963) 5.

³⁴ Jacob Korg, 'The Dialogic Nature of Collage in Pound's *Cantos*,' *Mosaic* 22.2 (Spring 1989): 108.

³⁵ Ezra Pound, *Jefferson and/or Mussolini: L'Idée Statale: Fascism As I Have Known It* (New York: Liveright, 1970) 28.

³⁶ For example the place of Venice in these *Cantos* is clearly important, but whether it has a positive or negative (or ambivalent) value is hard to tell. Interestingly, few critics evince doubt on the matter. Andrew J. Kappel, 'Ezra Pound and the Myth of Venice,' *Clio* 13.3 (Spring 1984):

Pound deals with this uncertainty, therefore, is that, as with Eliot's technique in 'Burbank/Bleistein' and 'Gerontion', collage (and parataxis) becomes associated with Jews. They stand for the ways in which it can go wrong, Pound's message going astray.

Pound as Editor

Pound's collage technique in *The Cantos* of this time also says something about his work as editor of *The Exile*: collage—bringing together various materials and arranging them in a particular order—is itself a kind of editing. And the kind of framing which Pound employs for Yusuf, endorsing him at the same time as distancing himself from him, is similar to the way in which he frames Rakosi's work. But Canto 22, despite—indeed, because of—its espousal of Douglas's economics, does not show such an interest in the question of marketing literature, which was an inevitable part of Pound's editorial work. *Pace* Timothy Materer's argument that sees Pound's involvement with *The Exile* as a turn away from methods based on or drawing from advertising,³⁷ Pound continued to take an interest in modern methods of marketing literature, which was bound up with his interest in Jews.

The pages of *The Exile* itself show him somewhat coy about marketing this literature. Rather than selling his writers directly to the public, he claims that his magazine is aimed at publishers.

Seeing that the *Exile* is much too small to serve as any sort of general anthology for new work; that it can't possible have room for all the odds and ends of possible verse and prose, I had hoped to use it rather as a

203-225; Michael Alexander, 'Images of Venice in the Poetry of Ezra Pound,' *Ezra Pound a Venezia*, ed. Rosella Mamoli Zorzi (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1985) 171-179; Casillo, *Genealogy of Demons* 235-237.

³⁷ 'As entrepreneur and advertiser, Pound went from marketing a broad-based product such as imagism to radically experimental works for a select audience.' Materer, 'Make It Sell' 28.

means of showing publishers where material was to be found; possibly even limiting the list of contributors to people with a book, or books, ready for the press; books that seemed to me worth the printing. (3:58)

Pound was also not an entirely enthusiastic promoter of the writers within his magazine, expressing reservations about several of them in the second number. (2:118-119).

Nonetheless, despite all its qualifications, *The Exile* was in the business of promoting certain authors; in fact it might be said to end as a set of advertisements for Pound, Williams and Robert McAlmon's work, giving the readers information on where they could buy their work (4:108-111). Just before this, moreover, Pound placed a summary of *The Exile's* achievements, at the end of a table of the places where '[c]ontemporary americo-english non-commercial literature struggled into being'. These achievements were 'publishing Rodker's "Adolphe 1920". Zukofsky and various writers already listed' (4:104-106). Rodker's novella and Zukofsky's poetry were therefore not the only highlights of *The Exile's* year-long run, but they were the new ones.

Pound's interest in these two writers was quite sincere, and he regarded both 'Poem beginning "The"' and *Adolphe 1920* as genuine achievements, but this interest and regard cannot be detached from his other attitudes to Jews. Similarly, in the correspondence with Zukofsky which grew out of the publication of 'Poem beginning "The"', Pound's interest in another Jewish writer, Charles Reznikoff is not detachable from attitudes which appear in *The Cantos*.

The Reznikoff prose very good as far as I've got at breakfast [...]

Capital in idea that the next wave of literature is jewish (obviously)
Bloom casting a shadow before, prophetic Jim etc.

also lack of prose in German due to all idiomatic energy being drawn off into yiddish.³⁸

Pound's comment has attracted some attention, including from Stephen Fredman, who comments on this usefully. Pound, he says, 'shows more enthusiasm than a facile view of his anti-Semitism might lead one to expect.'

Thinking, no doubt, of figures such as Zukofsky, Reznikoff and Carl Rakosi (whom he had also published in *The Exile*) Pound senses a new avant-garde in the making spearheaded by Jewish writers. In the midst of applauding this endeavour, Pound's discomfort with the notion of a Jewish avant-garde shows itself in his circumscribing the "next wave" within hierarchies of writing he himself has constructed: he moves quickly to credit Joyce with the prescience to represent, with his character Leopold Bloom, the modern urban everyman as a Jew.³⁹

Fredman is right to highlight Pound's discomfort here, but more could be made of Pound's depiction of Yiddish, and the financial connotations of the '[c]apital' in the idea of a Jewish avant-garde. Both of these issues occur in his poetry—denouncing Jewish financiers and playing with pseudo-Yiddish accents—but also appear in further comments Pound makes to Zukofsky on Reznikoff's writing. He worries about Reznikoff's 'lack of technique', that he is 'not using speech wie im Schnabel gewachsen.—I don't know if simple effect of using foreign language'.⁴⁰ Regarding the question of including him in his *Active Anthology* (1933):

The Reznikoff will appear to the Brit. Reader a mere imitation of me, and they will howl that I am merely printin my followers.

³⁸ Pound to Zukofsky, 9 Dec 1929, *Pound/Zukofsky: Selected Letters of Ezra Pound and Louis Zukofsky*, ed. Barry Ahearn (London: Faber, 1987) 26.

³⁹ Stephen Fredman, *A Menorah for Athena: Charles Reznikoff and the Jewish Dilemmas of Objectivist Poetry* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 2001) 127. See also Norman Finkelstein, 'Jewish-American Modernism and the Problem of Identity with Special Reference to the Work of Louis Zukofsky,' *Upper Limit Music: The Writings of Louis Zukofsky*, ed. Mark Scroggins (Tuscaloosa, AL: U of Alabama P, 1997) 71. The presence of Jewish writers here can be overstressed, however. Pound also published poems by Yeats (including 'Sailing to Byzantium' in one of its first appearances) and Williams ('The Descent of Winter'), and he printed and strongly defended the poems of R.C. Dunning (3:53).

⁴⁰ 26 Sept 1930, *Pound/Zukofsky* 44. Pound misquotes the German 'wie ihm der Schnabel gewachsen ist': 'plainly', 'forthrightly'.

It is I think just as good as Lustra (1915,1916) neither better nor worse. Very clearly done but no advance in methodology (in most of it).

Possibly by pickin' out the Hebe element we can get something that will arouse interest. Remember an auth. like this has got to AROUSE interest without AT ANY POINT terminating ANY of the interest it AROUSES.⁴¹

Reznikoff's Jewishness appears to be all that distinguishes him from Pound, and thus, because it is new, but perhaps also because it is not Poundian, as what can sell him, as hinted at by the possible sexual and financial connotations of 'arousing interest'.

Pound showed an ongoing concern with finding new methods of marketing and circulating literature, including how to market and circulate Zukofsky and Rodker's work.

De looks bookz iz O.K. fer sellin US to others. There remains the problem of printing, as in france, so that WE can afford each other's work.

[...]

A nuther ijee, wd. be fer us to—really—decide on six or ten or 12 books that are FIT to print. And fer us to constitoot ourselves a bloody sight BETTER book of the month, or quarter, better "book of the quarter club."

[...]

[Pound suggests a handful of works, including Zukofsky's poems and Rodker's *Adolphe*]

[...]

This is much solider going than the damn Lit. Guild that don't know where it is going.⁴²

Pound's list of suggestions is very close to what he was publishing in *The Exile*, and *Adolphe* 1920 is what he wants to 'start off with'. Although the impression is that the club would be exclusively for 'US', the method is drawn from mass-marketing of books, made more acceptable and exclusive by changing a monthly scheme to a quarterly one. Pound is right up to date with 'middle

⁴¹ April 1933, *Pound/Zukofsky* 144.

brow' literary trends here,⁴³ trends which Jonathan Freedman argues were in large part the product of Jewish publishers and booksellers having to invent new ways of marketing literature, including Harold Scherman's Book of the Month Club.⁴⁴ Furthermore, Pound draws on the *New York Times*' banner 'all the news that's fit to print', introduced by Adolph S. Ochs shortly after he had taken it over in 1896.⁴⁵ The taking over of 'Jewish' marketing techniques parallels Pound's interest in Reznikoff's Jewishness as something that can be marketed. And this is combined with an interest in Zukofsky and Rodker's work.

Has the nobl. Oppen ANY capital or ANY sources of inkum?

Not that I greatly care a damn, like the Rabbis. But as Clara Leonora udes to say "Plesset are dey dot eggspect nothink fer dey shall get it."

[Pound suggests Otto Kahn as a source of money for Oppen's TO press]

gottttamit ve gotter liff // though damned if I see how we do.

You (i.e. oppen cant APPEAL) he wd. have to putt it as pizznizz proposition, conservative estimate/ etc.

Mister KKKhann M or N. dere orter be a decent publishinkg housse in Jew York, I tink I can magke it pvay. If I can't ennyveh dere orter be.⁴⁶

Pound uses his habitual 'Jewish' 'accent' (adding or replacing voiced by unvoiced consonants and vice versa) to describe how one Jew (Oppen) should conduct a business transaction with another (Kahn).⁴⁷ Their 'Jewishness' and

⁴² 2 Nov 1928, *Pound/Zukofsky* 18-19. This scheme seems to have got nowhere, but Pound was still trying to organise it in 1931. Zukofsky was prepared to help, but, he told Pound, 'I'm not a salesman'. 5 Feb 1931, *Pound/Zukofsky* 91.

⁴³ The Book of the Month Club was founded in 1926, the Literary Guild in 1927. Joan Shelley Rubin, *The Making of Middlebrow Culture* (Chapel Hill and London: U of N Carolina P, 1992) 93-147. See also Janice A. Radway, *A Feeling for Books: The Book-of-the-Month Club, Literary Taste, and Middle-Class Desire* (Chapel Hill, NC: U of North Carolina P, 2000).

⁴⁴ Jonathan Freedman, *The Temple of Culture: Assimilation and Anti-Semitism in Literary Anglo-America* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2000) 168-175.

⁴⁵ Susan E. Tift and Alex S. Jones, *The Trust: The Private and Powerful Family behind The New York Times* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co, 1999) 31-40, 45-46.

⁴⁶ 28 Oct 1931, *Pound/Zukofsky* 103-104. Canto 18, talking of Kublai Khan as inventor of paper money and debaser of currency, spells his name 'Kahn'. (18: 80)

⁴⁷ For some details on Kahn's patronage of the arts, particularly of the Metropolitan Opera House, and his complicated relationship with Judaism, see Stephen Birmingham, *Our Crowd* (London &

their doing business intersect, the two of them revealing an affinity for each other which is also attendant upon literature being bought and sold.

Nonetheless, the 've' who have 'gotter liff' does include Pound, and in not caring a damn, he is like the Rabbis, or at least Zukofsky's Rabbis. As Norman Finkelstein suggests:

Friendship with Zukofsky stirred Pound's repressed fascination with matters Jewish, and his letters to Zukofsky are filled with ambivalent emulation in the form of his mock-Yiddish discourse.⁴⁸

Stephen Fredman goes somewhat further:

All this flirting with Yiddish accents and Jewish stereotypes between a Jewish poet and his anti-Semitic mentor can become quite dizzying. It is difficult to see how to compartmentalize feelings such as self-hatred, envy, and pride with regard to Jewishness—in the case of either actor in this bizarre vaudevillian correspondence. And ultimately, I don't think it would be fruitful to isolate individual feelings or assign them to only one of these two figures, for Zukofsky and Pound are equally trapped (each in his own way) in the dilemma of betweenness that vexes Jewish intellectuals, and to both of them Yiddish is a central feature of this dilemma.⁴⁹

Fredman's assessment of the Pound/Zukofsky correspondence is suggestive, but extremely problematic. Certainly, something was happening between Pound and Zukofsky that neither of them was fully controlling, and there was more to this interaction than Pound producing antisemitic remarks and Zukofsky acquiescing to them in a spirit of self-hatred. Nonetheless, to argue that Zukofsky, as a Yiddish-speaker, had the same (or even a similar) relationship to the language as Pound, the extent of whose knowledge of it appears to have been the word 'goy' (even if he could correctly put it into the plural), is a rather perverse thing to do. Two things are missing here, I think: a sense of the relative

Sydney: Macdonald, 1986) 225-227, 345-356, 422-423. Theresa M. Collins treats both his patronage of the arts and Jewish identity at length in *Otto Kahn: Art, Money and Modern Time* (Chapel Hill, NC and London: U of North Carolina P, 2002) *passim* but especially 35-37, 155-187, 259-268.

⁴⁸ Finkelstein, 'Jewish American Modernism' 75.

power positions held by Pound and Zukofsky, and their respective knowledge of Jewish culture(s).⁵⁰ This can be seen by comparing the content and circumstances of publication of Zukofsky's 'Poem beginning "The"' and Pound's poem on the 'Yiddisher Charleston Band'. The former, which climaxed with Zukofsky's own translations from the American Yiddish poet Yehoash, was published by Pound. The latter, in which Pound put on an increasingly tortured Yiddish accent, was published by Zukofsky.

Pound's racist, sexist and antisemitic piece described people appearing

Mit der yittischer Charleston Pband
Mit
deryiddischercharles
tonband

included 'ole king Bolo's big black queen' (importing Eliot's character) who had 'lef' the congo' to star with them, 'Red Hot Mary of Magdala' (who had 'nine jews an a Roman fellow'), and 'Calvin Coolidge', who appeared in two variant 'strophes' (Pound's own term), the second with even more tortured typography than the first:

*Mister Goolidge dh' pbvesident
He vuddunt kgo putt dh' fvamily vent
Vuddunt giff notdhink butt his name vuss lendt*

fer dh yittishcher charleston pbadt

*You can note it belongs to the best and most active period of jazz; before
the new neo sentimentalism set in. E. P.⁵¹*

⁴⁹ Fredman, *Menorah* 130.

⁵⁰ A comparison of Zukofsky's relationship to Pound with that of Rodker and Pound makes this clearer. To a certain extent, the less knowledge the Jewish respondent has, the more power Pound has. Rodker both has less knowledge than Zukofsky, and less power. When Rodker writes a description of visiting a synagogue as a child, he reproduces (albeit knowingly and explicitly) Pound's characterisation of the Hebrew liturgy as 'yowling'. See Chapter 5 for this passage and an analysis of it.

⁵¹ Ezra Pound, no title, *An "Objectivists" Anthology*, ed. Louis Zukofsky (Paris: To, 1932). 'The final strophe rather dates it', wrote Pound, as indeed it does: to before 1929, the last year of Coolidge's presidency.

Fredman argues that it is 'not so easy' to characterise Pound's 'Yiddisher Charleston Band' 'as merely an egregious example of the anti-Semitic joking' between him and Zukofsky, because it eventually appeared in the "*Objectivists*" *Anthology*.⁵² But this assumes that Zukofsky would simply have rejected it if he felt it were antisemitic, and that he was in a position to make some kind of final judgement on the poem's antisemitism in the first place.⁵³

Getting Zukofsky to print this is an assertion of power, not only assuming that he will not censor or tamper with the words, but that he will reproduce them perfectly, down to the typography and lineation, even for writing of such limited aesthetic value. And indeed, Zukofsky attempted to do just that, including even Pound's asides and variations.

Pound's playing with typography in this piece goes hand-in-hand with his playing with a 'Yiddish' accent, but it is also an expression of a certain 'jazziness'. Burton Hatlen argues that Pound's interest in the *New Masses* also coincided with an interest in African American writing, which, while condescending, did see something of genuine value in the writing, and thus was different from his attitude to Jews.⁵⁴ What Pound's Yiddisher Charleston Band suggests is that at the time Hatlen is considering these two are not entirely separate in Pound's thinking. Indeed Rachel Blau DuPlessis reads it as a desire to mix a number of different identities.

Pound identified with the verve of groups he also berated and sometimes despised. He wants that compound energy, the energy of mixing black, Jew, female, sexuality, and anti-Christian blasphemy. He

⁵² Fredman, *Menorah* 130.

⁵³ This is certainly not how Rakosi saw this. 'I thought he [Zukofsky] was a goddam coward to print it. He had a slavish relationship to Pound. His letters to Pound are embarrassing to read.' Carl Rakosi, Interview with Steve Shoemaker 117.

⁵⁴ Burton Hatlen, 'Ezra Pound, *New Masses*, and the Cultural Politics of Race *circa* 1930,' *Paideuma* 29.1-2 (Spring & Fall 2000): 157-184.

performs that mix, trying to assimilate it and come out as superior to it all in one economic gesture.⁵⁵

DuPlessis is, I think, absolutely correct here, but her reading can be taken further. Since Jews in Pound's mythology stand for the failure to delineate, the mixing of identities, all of this mixing would come under the sign of Jewishness. This is, I would suggest, why it is a *Yiddisher* Charleston band, and why the voice which Pound uses is mainly characterised by a Yiddish accent.

From the Jewish voice selling art or assuming it should sell, to the idea that Reznikoff's Jewishness might make him more saleable (even though it meant that English was a foreign language to him), to the idea that Oppen and Kahn can finance literature through a 'Jewish' interaction, Jews perform the role of selling literature that is both necessary and taboo for Pound. The Jewish element is useful, can be employed to sell, mediate, arouse interest in a readership and finance literature. It can even form a mask which Pound himself adopts. But it must be handled with care.

Once again, Pound's semitic discourse does more than represent 'jews'. It affects his relationship with Jews, in the way that he gets Zukofsky to publish this piece. By publishing this piece, Zukofsky showed to Pound that he was a 'serious jew'. By getting Zukofsky to publish it, Pound showed that he was superior even to one of his 'first rate jews'.

⁵⁵ Rachel Blau DuPlessis, *Genders, Races and Religious Cultures in Modern American Poetry 1908-1934* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2001) 174.

‘Poem beginning “The”’

In ‘Poem beginning “The”’, the roles were reversed, but the power relation was more complicated. The poem was Zukofsky’s means of introducing himself to Pound. ‘I don’t suppose anybody dares print this [...] but if anybody does, it will be you’, he is supposed to have written in an accompanying letter.⁵⁶ It was in part a serious response to, in part a parody of *The Waste Land*, with every single line numbered and the references preceding the poem. Its range of references appears to have the purpose to show that Zukofsky was *au courant* with current literature, and thus to catch Pound’s attention, and its use of irony is reminiscent of Pound and Eliot’s earlier work.

In Pound’s response to the poem, he suggested a few minor changes—which Zukofsky accepted—and that Zukofsky look again at some parts—which he did, but left them unchanged. Some of Pound’s suggestions could be related to Zukofsky’s inclusion of Jewish themes, but they are not particularly intrusive.⁵⁷ Pound was doing no more in this than any decent editor would do, but it contrasts nonetheless with Zukofsky’s unquestioning reproduction of the ‘Yiddisher Charleston Band’s’ appearance. Pound was quite happy to retain the numbering for every line. Zukofsky had moved a passage in the typescript, and Pound asked ‘do you want the line numbers changed, or left scholastically as iz?’⁵⁸ This visual effect, of which Pound clearly approved (although he later reprinted the poem without it), gave the poem something in common with Pound’s collage

⁵⁶ Quoted by Charles Norman, *Ezra Pound* (New York: Macmillan, 1960) 292. This is either quoted from memory or on hearsay, but Norman got it from Zukofsky. Barry Ahearn, ‘Introduction,’ *Pound/Zukofsky* x.

⁵⁷ Pound questioned the beginning of the second movement (which seems to discuss Fascism and its relationship with anti-Semitism), made a joke about ravens who bought or brought Elijah bread (‘no objection to commercial ravens, in fact one just as likely as the other’) prompted by a typo, and queried the word ‘Rabbaisi’ (Yiddish ‘Raboysay’, gentlemen, sirs). Pound to Zukofsky, 18 Aug 1927, *Pound/Zukofsky* 4. Zukofsky to Pound, 6 Sept 1927, *Pound/Zukofsky* 5-6.

⁵⁸ Pound to Zukofsky, 18 Aug 1927, *Pound/Zukofsky* 4.

technique.⁵⁹ The numbers isolate each line, even when a few lines appear to form a continuous statement, leaving them with an equal weight.

This raises the question of Zukofsky's use of a Poundian method, which, it might be said, poses more of a difficulty for reading the poem as the affirmation of a Jewish identity. Is an eclecticism which allows him to include both Chaucer and Broadway musicals, Ezra Pound and Yehoash, thus allowing his Jewishness onto an equal plane with his modernism? Or does it lead to a fracturing of meaning in which the articulation of any identity is impossible?

John Tomas sees the poem as achieving the former, forging an 'alternative to assimilation, one which excludes nothing—American popular culture, the English literary tradition and his own Jewish/Yiddish culture'.⁶⁰ Ming-Qian Ma sees it as carrying out the latter. For Ma, the poem 'embodies in embryo a postmodern poetics'; whereas the practice of quotation in Pound and Eliot's poetry is always in support of an over-arching frame of meaning, the excess of quotations in 'Poem beginning "The"' overwhelm any overall meaning, seal themselves off contextually from each other, 'cease to assert themselves as texts of messages and become merely the texture of words.'⁶¹

Ma's reading does point up the difficulties in the more schematic renderings of this poem,⁶² but he overestimates the difference between Zukofsky and Pound

⁵⁹ This is not necessarily an exclusively visual effect. Bob Perelman reads the line numbers aloud in his recording of lines 254-261. *Nine Contemporary Poets Read Themselves through Modernism*, Kelly Writers House, University of Pennsylvania, 23 August 2004 <<http://www.english.upenn.edu/~wh/9poets.html>>.

⁶⁰ John Tomas, 'Portrait of the Artist as a Young Jew: Zukofsky's Poem beginning "The" in Context' *Sagetrieb* 9.1-2 (Spring and Fall 1990): 47.

⁶¹ Ming-Qian Ma, 'A "no-man's land": Postmodern Citationality in Zukofsky's "Poem beginning "The"', *Upper-Limit Music: The Writings of Louis Zukofsky* ed. Mark Scroggins (Tuscaloosa: U of Alabama P, 1997) 129-153.

⁶² He explicitly discounts Tomas's attempt to read the poem as a 'portrait of the artist as a young Jew.' Attempts to shoe-horn the Third Movement, 'In Cat Minor', into saying something of Zukofsky's Jewishness would be one example of the problems of this approach. John Tomas sees it as a turn to the hard reality of the 'Cat World' in preference to the restraints of western culture.

and Eliot. The lack of sense of the quotations in 'Poem beginning "The"' compared with those in *The Waste Land* is to a large extent simply the effect of the different amount of scholarly attention paid to these two poems. So much work has been done making Eliot's writing coherent that its strangeness is often underplayed. So much less work has been put into Zukofsky's writing that it may appear stranger than it actually is.⁶³

Indeed, in its very incoherence, Zukofsky's situation might be argued to be very similar to that of Rodker's ten years before: both engage in a wild flailing around within the traditions of Western literature, trying to find some kind of foothold or toehold to hang onto. Aside from the difference from Rodker in talent, Zukofsky is far more ironic, and explicitly Jewish. This gives him (at least) two entry points that were not available to Rodker, and these appear in some of the more coherent passages in this texture of quotations. The first is to attempt to rework stereotypes of Jews in order to give some definition of himself. The second is to import parts of Jewish literatures into this poetry. The first relies to a large extent on reworking the figure of Shylock. The second of these is to make use of Yehoash especially, but also of Heine. Yehoash is both the writer with whom Zukofsky finishes the poem, and the final name in the list of references.

However, the inclusion of Jewish material is complicated by the fact that the

'Portrait of the Artist' 52-53. Rachel Blau DuPlessis ingeniously links it to the musical comedy of the time which Jews played an important part in creating. *Genders, Races and Religious Cultures* 168.

⁶³ This is beginning to change. 'Poem beginning "The"' has been subject to a number of new readings in the last few years, part of a welcome increase in interest in Zukofsky's work as whole. Apart from Ming-Qian Ma and John Tomas's studies there are also: Barry Ahearn, *Zukofsky's "A": An Introduction* (Berkeley: U of California P, 1983) 19-21, 33-37; DuPlessis, *Genders, Races and Religious Cultures* 166-174; Perelman, *The Trouble with Genius* 175-177; Mark Scroggins, *Louis Zukofsky and the Poetry of Knowledge* (Tuscaloosa: U of Alabama P, 1998) 124-131; Steve Shoemaker, 'Between Contact and Exile: Louis Zukofsky's Poetry of Survival,' *Upper Limit Music: The Writing of Louis Zukofsky* (Tuscaloosa: U of Alabama P, 1997) 24-43; Tim Wood, *The Poetics of the Limit: Ethics and Politics in Modern and Contemporary American Poetry* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002) 27-33.

poem's attitude to culture is not simply a facile embracing of all cultural phenomena as of equal worth, as is particularly evident in its approach to advertising.

Rather than attempting to give a comprehensive reading of the poem with reference to how Zukofsky deals with issues of his Jewishness, I will concentrate on two parts in which the question is particularly fraught: the fourth movement 'More "Renaissance"', and the passage in which Zukofsky takes on the persona of Shylock. In the first of these, he engages with the image of advertising, and links it to a physical, racial image of himself. In the second he explores the uncertainties and incoherencies of race at the same time as engaging with the English language literary tradition.

'More "Renaissance"' satirises the commercialisation and institutionalisation of literature, symbolised by the linguistic barbarity of the phrases 'Askforaclassic' and 'Engprof'. Pater's vision of art as a means to burn with a hard gem-like flame is turned into a set of exchangeable, buyable centuries.

162 Is it the sun you're looking for,
 163 Drop in at Askforaclassic, Inc.,
 164 Get yourself another century,
 165 A little frost before sundown,
 166 It's the times don'chewknow,
 167 And if you're a Jewish boy, then be your Plato's Philo.

(3:18)

Although the notes gloss only 163 as referring to 'Modern Advertising' (and this poem was written in the same year as the founding of the Book of the Month Club, 1926), 162-164 seem to affect the same tone of voice, which then switches to a Pateresque aestheticism in 165, and a similar King's English in 166.

Syntactically, however, all of these lines are part of what starts off as an advert, ending with yet more imperatives.

Following this, Zukofsky addresses 'Engprof', his former English teacher John Erskine, in a reworking of Poe's 'Helen'. Although advertising only begins this movement, it has a far closer relationship to 'Engprof' than might at first appear. John Erskine, on whom 'Engprof' is based, had recently produced his very own 'Askforaclassic', *The Private Life of Helen of Troy*, the bestselling novel in the US in the year Zukofsky wrote this poem.⁶⁴ It is hard to believe that Zukofsky would not have been aware of this book, and his use of Poe's 'Helen' appears to be a reference to it, and more than just a private joke. Erskine's aim in writing this book typified a cultural dilemma which also affected Zukofsky.

Erskine's purpose in this book, he later wrote, was to make readers 'see that Helen, instead of being a wicked villainess, was an almost conventional illustration of American life, even in the suburbs.'⁶⁵ Erskine was therefore also in an ambiguous position, which Joan Shelley Rubin describes effectively. His university course on Great Books and his popularising of Greek mythology were both an attempt to shore up a tradition, and a flirtation with popular forms of culture. But the terms in which this dilemma was played out were not simply about 'high' and 'low' culture, but also about racial and ethnic diversity. Erskine's programme and best-selling books were compensation for the fact that '[t]he larger fabric of language, the racial memories to which an old country can

⁶⁴ John Erskine, *The Private Life of Helen of Troy* [1925] (Nash and Gray, 1926). Barry Ahearn suggests the reference, but does not see any real significance in it. *Zukofsky's "A"* 21. My argument as to what Erskine's book represents is based on Joan Shelley Rubin's reading of it, part of a more extended discussion of Erskine's role in *The Making of Middlebrow Culture* 179-181. Erskine's book was published in 1925, and was the best-selling novel in the USA in 1926, according to *Publisher's Weekly*.

⁶⁵ Quoted from an unpublished manuscript ('My Life in Literature') in Rubin, *Making of Middlebrow Culture* 179.

always appeal,' did not exist 'in a land where every man is busy forgetting his past.'⁶⁶ They thus offered the possibility of integration for non-WASP immigrants into an American culture continuous with that of Europe at the same time as excluding the possibility of remaking that culture in anything other than the image of Europe.

This is, I think, suggested by the advertisement's address to a 'Jewish boy' who has to be the Philo to Plato. And 'don'chewknow' also seems to have the idea of Jewishness in it, especially in a context in which Pound wrote of 'chews'.⁶⁷

Zukofsky's rewriting of Poe, therefore, does more than make fun of an ageing and sedentary professor. It presents the cultural dilemma in which he has been placed.

Helen, thy beauty is to me	168 Engprof, thy lectures were to me
Like those Nicéan barks of yore,	169 Like those roast fitches of red boar
That gently, o'er a perfumed sea,	170 That smelling one is like to see
The weary way-worn wanderer bore	171 Through windows where the steam's galore
To his own native shore.	172 Like our own 'Cellar Door'
On desperate seas long wont to roam,	173 On weary bott'm long wont to sit
Thy hyacinth hair, thy classic face,	174 Thy graying hair, thy beaming eyes
Thy Naiad airs have brought me home	175 Thy heavy jowl would make me fit
To the glory that was Greece,	176 For the Pater that was Greece
And the grandeur that was Rome.	177 The siesta that was Rome
Lo! in yon brilliant window-niche	178 Lo! from my present—say not—itch
How statue-like I see thee stand,	179 How statue-like I see thee stand
The agate lamp within thy hand!	180 Phi Beta Key within thy hand!
Ah, Psyche, from the regions which	181 Professor—from the backseats which
Are Holy-Land! ⁶⁸	182 Are no man's land! (3:18-19)

Poe's references to a 'wanderer' and to 'Holy Land' plays with tropes of Jewishness, only eventually to resolve them into a purely classical tradition,

⁶⁶ John Erskine *Democracy and Ideals: A Definition* (New York: George H. Doran, 1920) 56, quoted in Rubin, *The Making of Middle Brow Culture* 172. Erskine's use of a vocabulary of race is another example of its more than biological meaning.

⁶⁷ Rachel Blau DuPlessis suggests the presence of 'Jew' in 'don'chewknow'. *Gender, Races and Religious Cultures* 168.

placing Greece and Rome over Jerusalem, the Hellenic over the Hebraic.⁶⁹ Zukofsky situates himself in 'no man's land', replacing body parts for romantic places: 'weary bott'm' for 'desperate seas', an 'itch' (presumably in his 'weary bott'm') for 'yon brilliant window niche'. Poe's strategy is the other way round: Helen's beauty is like a bark or a statue, or her hair, face and airs bring him home, and concrete nouns in general are etherealised by stubbornly abstract adjectives. Zukofsky's parody reduces abstract concepts to the hard reality of the body, thus both undercutting tiresome poeticisms, and grounding experience physically when traditions are excluding them: a racial solution to a political problem.

However, in making these lines more concrete while retaining Poe's grammatical vagueness, Zukofsky actually increases the ambiguity of the middle stanza. It is clear who has been roaming Poe's 'desperate seas' because there is one body being described—Helen's—and one traveller—the poet. The owner of the 'weary bott'm' is harder to ascribe. Grammatically, it would fit better with Engprof's body-parts, but that gives the strange image of 'hair', 'eyes' and a 'jowl' collectively sitting on a bottom rather than Engprof himself; semantically, it would fit better with Zukofsky. But in neither case is the reading impossible. And this hint at a body-part which might belong to either of them complements one of the possible meanings of these lines: that Engprof's physical features would, if possessed by Zukofsky, allow him access to the classical tradition, even as mediated by 1890s aestheticism or Latin lessons through which one slumbered in school. The sense that this is part of a tradition physically (genetically?) handed down from generation to generation is enhanced by the puns on family members ('Pater' – father; 'siesta' – sister). And Engprof is of course holding a

⁶⁹ Edgar Allen Poe, 'To Helen,' *Collected Works of Edgar Allen Poe Volume 1: Poems*, ed.

fraternity key, signified by Greek letters, bringing together classical culture and a 'genetic' heritage.⁷⁰

Zukofsky's turn to the physical is therefore both a solution and a problem. It functions as a more concrete alternative to Engprof's traditions, but it leaves him excluded from them: outside a house smelling the flitches of boar, sitting on the no man's land of the backseats. But there is also the strange possibility that his physical being could be changed. Bizarre as it may seem, this is not out of keeping with a passage in which Zukofsky takes on the mantle of Shylock, and decides, apparently, to lose his Jewish looks. This passage is preceded by the discussion of the racial characteristics of a number of groups, including the Jews, which lays the ground for the treatment of the difference between 'Jew' and 'Shagetz'.⁷¹

241 In Manhattan here the Chinamen are yellow in the face, mother,
242 Up and down, up and down our streets they go yellow in the face
243 And why is it the representatives of your, my, race are always
 hankering for food, mother?
244 We, on the other hand, eat so little. (3:22)

The pronoun usage in 243-244 seems incoherent, deliberately stumbling in 243, but becoming self-contradictory in 244. But is it? It is the 'representatives of your, my, race' who are being contrasted with a 'we'. Perhaps being represented removes the possibility of being a 'we', leaving the poet and his mother isolated individuals, unable to form a social identity. But it is not only their social identity which seems to be uncertain, but also their physical features. The lineation in which this poem is usually printed (both in *The Exile* and in the *Collected*

Thomas Ollive Mabbott (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1969) 165-166.

⁶⁹ DuPlessis, *Genders, Races and Religious Cultures* 169.

⁷⁰ The puns are noted by DuPlessis, *Genders, Races and Religious Cultures* 169. Phi Beta Kappa is strictly an academic 'honor society', but can be referred to as a fraternity.

Shorter Poems) has ‘go yellow in the face’ occupying a separate line, which, with the lack of punctuation, promotes a reading of the ‘Chinamen’ actually turning yellow. This might seem something of a perverse reading if it were not entirely consistent with the lines which follow.

245 Dawn't you think Trawtsy rawthaw a darrling,
 246 I ask our immigrant cousin querulously.
 247 Naw! I think hay is awlmawst a Tchekoff.
 248 But she has more color in her cheeks than the Angles—Angels—
 mother,—
 249 They have enough, though. We should get some more color
 mother.
 250 If I am like them in the rest, I should resemble them in that,
 mother,
 251 Assimilation is not hard,
 252 And once the Faith's askew
 253 I might as well look Shagetz just as much as Jew
 254 I'll read their Donne as mine,
 255 And leopard in their spots
 256 I'll do what says their Coleridge,
 257 Twist red hot poker into knots.
 258 The villainy they teach me I will execute
 259 And it will go hard with them,
 260 For I'll better the instruction,
 261 Having learned, so to speak, in their colleges.

(3:22-23)

Getting more colour in his cheeks and looking like a ‘Shagetz’ could simply be about a pale, studious ‘yeshive bokher’ getting out in the sun a bit more, but set amongst other racial groups it suggests something rather more dramatic. To the question ‘Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots?’ (Jeremiah 13:23), Zukofsky seems to be answering yes. But this is not the only seeming inconsistency in this passage. How much colour Zukofsky has is very hard to tell in the first place. His cousin has more colour than the Angles. They have enough. He and his mother need more, in order that he resemble the Angles.

⁷¹ ‘Sheygets’ can either be a pejorative word for a non-Jewish man, or a word for an impudent or ignorant Jew. Yitskhok Niborski and Bernard Vaisbrot, *Dictionnaire Yiddish-Français* (Paris: Bibliothèque Medem, 2002).

Lines 241-253 present a complex of colouring/colouredness which is far more complicated than Rakosi's one of black and white. Equally, the voices of 245 and 247 are more complex than Pound's use of Jewish/Yiddish accents. Bob Perelman asks us to 'note the opposed moral and cultural codings present in the letters "aw" in [these] two voices'⁷² But note also that the few instances of non-standard English are always doubled: 'don'chewknow' has two provenances—King's English and John Erskine—and the 'Trawtsky' of 245 is referenced in addition to Max Beerbohm. Indeed, even the Anglo-Saxons are doubled as Angles/Angels. Racial positions are made unstable. The process that Mian-Qing Ma identifies is—to some extent—taking place. Race becomes part of what he calls 'the texture of words', but 'the texture of words' becomes racialised.

However, this incoherence is not the way in which the poem finishes.

Whereas *The Waste Land* collapses into one-line fragments, 'Poem beginning "The"' climaxes with a lengthy passage translated from Yehoash, whose coherence is part of the positive note on which Zukofsky wants to end, with an appeal to the promise of Communism.⁷³ Norman Finkelstein argues that this represents Zukofsky's solution to his Oedipal conflicts with his father and Pound, his turn to Marxism, 'a Jewish modernism'.⁷⁴ But it also coincides with Pound's interest in Bolshevism, and, more specifically, in Lenin (3:97-101, 4: 6-7, 115-116).⁷⁵

⁷² Perelman, *The Trouble with Genius* 176.

⁷³ See Harold Schimmel, 'Zuk. Yehoash David Rex,' *Louis Zukofsky: Man and Poet*, ed. Caroll F. Terrell (Orono, ME: National Poetry Foundation, [1979]) 235-245. Zukofsky ends with a translation from Yehoash, 'Af di Khurves,' *In Geveb*, vol. 1 (New York: Oyfgang, 1919-21) 278-279. The other Yehoash poems he uses are 'Bakhr Esh-Shaitan' (vol. 1 79-82) and 'Kheshven' (vol. 2 38-39).

⁷⁴ Finkelstein, 'Jewish American Modernism' 77.

⁷⁵ Pound's tendency to associate Bolshevism with Jews also found its way into his correspondence with John Rodker. The 'hebes', he claimed, in a letter from the mid-1950s 'made bolchevism which stinckgs and has done ever since Lenin died/ BUT they also had a great deal to

'Poem beginning "The"' engages in a complex negotiation of positions, affirming and calling into question a Jewish identity which is partly constructed from stereotypes, partly in resistance to certain communal norms, partly from calling on Yiddish culture. It is also achieved through an interaction with Poundian techniques, particularly through the use of a collage of quotations. The excess and ironic/parodic deployment of this technique is partly caused by, partly an answer to the position in which the English language tradition places him, a means of breaking up stereotypes as well as representing the break ups caused by partial assimilation. But it also, I think, reveals an unease with this method as a whole, as signified by the turn to Yehoash, with 'the positive getting the better of the satire', as he later described it to Pound.⁷⁶ And this is one of the major differences with Pound. Whereas Pound sees Jewish and particularly Yiddish culture as parasitic, distorted and fracturing, bringing some positive benefits, but basically to be handled with care, Zukofsky sees it as offering in part a solution to the problems of modernist fracturings of self-hood.

Adolphe 1920

As has already been noted, Pound regarded publishing Zukofsky and Rodker's *Adolphe 1920* as the major new achievements of *The Exile*. But if *The Exile* was essential to getting Zukofsky published, *Adolphe 1920* was essential to getting *The Exile* started. Pound had been thinking of editing a magazine for a while, but it was only when he had the manuscript of *Adolphe 1920* that he felt he had

do with fascismo which was decidedly pro-civilization tho limited by woptality' 1954? Letters from Pound, John Rodker Papers 39.9.

⁷⁶ 12 Dec 1930, *Pound/Zukofsky* 79.

sufficient material to begin publishing.⁷⁷ Rodker headed the list of names on the cover of the first number, and the majority of the issue was given over to the first part of his piece.

Most of the editorial matter for this issue is held over, because of the length of Mr. Rodker's contribution. Naturally, having selected a format seemingly large enough to contain all that highly special sort of writing that we intend to print, the first discovered manuscript is out of proportion to the format. Passons. In 1917 I presented a certain program of authors; in starting this new review I intend to present, or at least to examine the possibility of presenting an equally interesting line-up. If the job bores me I shall stop at the end of Vol I.

“ADOLPHE 1920”,’ Pound went on, ‘seems to me a definite contribution to letters; in that perhaps minor but certainly far from negligible form whose ideogram has been composed by Longus, Prevost, Benjamin Constant’.⁷⁸ Writing to his father, Pound commented on the first issue of *The Exile*, discussing only his own contribution and that of Rodker: ‘I rather think he gets more into the 90 pages (that makes the complete nouvelle) than most novelists get into 300.’⁷⁹ In the final number, he wrote that the film *Berlin. Die Sinfonie der Großstadt* (dir. Walther Ruttmann, 1927) ‘should flatten out the opposition (to Joyce, to me, to Rodker’s Adolphe)’.⁸⁰ And in the third number, part of Canto 23 was sandwiched between ‘Poem beginning “The”’ and the final part of *Adolphe*. Indeed, the last page on which the canto was printed ends:

⁷⁷ ‘The Rodker is a definite contribution to literature, and it is the quality of that and nothing else that has decide me to go ahead AT ONCE.’ Ezra Pound, letter to John Price, 20 Jan 1927, quoted in Barry S. Alpert, ‘Ezra Pound, John Price, and *The Exile*’ 440. This assertion was repeated by both Ezra and Dorothy Pound immediately after the war. Pound was writing to Rodker to gain support from Jewish writers who would agree that he was not antisemitic (he also asked Rodker to contact André Spire). Dorothy Pound reminded Rodker that *The Exile* ‘was started chiefly to print your *Adolphe*’ (23 July 1946). John Rodker Papers 39.9.

⁷⁸ 1:88. Ronald Bush believes that this is the first time Pound uses the word ‘ideogram’ in the way in which he was to use it for the rest of his career. *The Genesis of Ezra Pound’s Cantos* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1976) 11.

⁷⁹ To Homer L. Pound 1927, *Letters* 286.

⁸⁰ 4:114.

No light reaching through them.

Explicit Canto xxiii

Adolphe 1920: "uno degli sforzi piu [sic] insigni e spasimosi di questi ultimi tempi per imprigionare nella renitente materia dell'arte il mistero della vita."

Corriere della Sera
24 June 1927⁸¹

Taking into account the detailed instructions Pound was giving to Margaret Anderson on the positioning of texts in *The Little Review* ten years previously, this juxtaposition of his own work with Zukofsky's and Rodker's is significant. All of this goes to indicate that not only did Pound regard *Adolphe 1920* as worthy of inclusion in *The Exile*, but that it was fundamental to the magazine's output. It also indicates that Rodker was far from powerless in these exchanges with Pound: *Adolphe* existed without *The Exile*, but *The Exile* may not have existed without *Adolphe*. However, I shall argue that in his position as editor Pound did have enough power to influence Rodker's rewriting of the novella, such that the way it deals with issues of race is significantly changed.

Very few significant readings of *Adolphe 1920* exist, and none of them discusses the issue of race.⁸² What has struck them more forcefully is the way it deals with psychology. It presents one day which the protagonist Dick spends at a circus, while meeting and parting from his ex-lover Monica and his current

⁸¹ 'One of the most noteworthy and anguished attempts of these recent times to confine within the stubborn stuff of art the mystery of life' (3:31). In Rodker's own copy of the magazine, he glossed a few of the words for himself, indicating that this was the first he had heard of it. '[I]nsigni': 'distinguished, significant, endowed', 'spasimosi': 'passionate, spasmodic, convulsive', 'renitente': 'stubborn, reluctant, resisting'. Copy of *The Exile* 3 in John Rodker Papers.

⁸² Ian Patterson, *Cultural Critique and Canon Formation: A Study in Cultural Memory*, diss., U of Cambridge, 1996, 85-98. Clere Parsons's review is still a useful assessment of the novella. He was less convinced by the psychology, but interested by the prose style. Clere Parsons, rev. of *Adolphe 1920*, by John Rodker, *The Criterion* 10.39 (Jan 1931): 333-336. Andrew Crozier's brief remarks are also valuable. 'Introduction' *Poems and Adolphe 1920* by Rodker (Manchester: Carcanet, 1996) xx-xxii.

lover Angela.⁸³ Dick experiences the circus is as a series of spectacles—a freak show, a wrestling match, a cinema, an aquarium, a jazz club. These are interspersed with circular, non-progressive conversations with Monica and Angela which pick over and fail to resolve their relationships.

Ian Patterson provides a useful summary of Rodker's technique.

[T]he attempt that lies at the heart of *Adolphe 1920* [is] to portray the life of the feelings as it is registered in a consciousness of the body and the immediate contexts of that body's event-horizons, so that subjective identity is established as a projection of the physiological self on to the screen of the skin and thence on to the screen of a series of events in relation to which he behaves as a writing spectator.⁸⁴

For Patterson and Crozier, it is the technique in itself which is of interest in *Adolphe*. However, the events onto which Dick projects himself, and which are projected onto him are very frequently portrayed in racial terms, climaxing in a lengthy scene in a jazz club, which becomes one more of the freak shows and spectacles in which the novella has taken place. Just as jazz and black jazz musicians become associated with these spectacles, so do the events take on a racial colouring. A What the Butler Saw machine is described as an 'anthropophagus'. Dick's relationship with Angela is described as that of a slave owner and slave. And working throughout these events is a descriptive schema in terms of black and white. However, because these events are neither simply external to Dick's psyche, nor merely projections of his fevered consciousness, he too becomes part of this racial flux. In dealing with the relationships between its protagonists as male and female, *Adolphe* calls upon a set of other

⁸³ This relationship seems to owe something to his marriage to Mary Butts and something to his affair with Nancy Cunard. 'Some day I will write a Benjamin Constant Adolphe of the young man entrapped,' he wrote in his diary, at the end of one of many entries despairing over his marriage to Mary Butts. 19 Dec 1923, *Diary June 28 1921-Jan 30 1927*, Joan Rodker Papers 5.2. 'J'ai voulu peindre le mal que font éprouver même aux coeurs arides les souffrances qu'il causent,' Rodker noted from Constant's preface to the third edition of the original *Adolphe*. Holograph Notebook Undated [probably from around 1926-1927], Joan Rodker Papers 5.5.

oppositions—solid and liquid, light and dark, white and black—at the same time as calling their rigidity into question.

This can be seen in action from the very first paragraph.

What had slit up his sleep? His eyes opened but the mind closed again. Piercing sweet the dawn star pierced him; his bowels shivering round it. On swooning mist and the far billowing of a lugubrious howl he swayed, till falling nearer, high bursting bubbles pulled him from his sleep. Morning lies round him. Behind the inn a bugle, in a far land heard before. A tent. A child skips, a trumpet held to its mouth; a Moor throws up a ball. His soul fled after her through the cold light; snow falls, whirling ... (1:22)

Andrew Crozier claims that ‘the mode of narration has passed beyond interior monologue and abolished the separation of interior and exterior domains.’ This is to some extent true. The tent, Moor and child exist in some space between subjective and objective, neither fully a fantasy or dream provoked by whatever has slit up Dick’s sleep, nor entirely a description of the circus which has arrived and which he later visits. However, the very first lines indicate that penetrability is an important feature of this novella. Dick’s sleep is ‘slit’, he is then ‘pierced’. It might be better to say that in terms of imagery, the prose vacillates between inside and outside. The difference operates between dark interiors and light outsides, but the circus also stands for a variety of racial types: the girl, the Moor, and a few paragraphs later, a ‘negro’.

Rodker’s sense of a self as never settling down, moving on from one woman to another, and leaving some memento which is only partly decipherable, is a Bohemian sense of not belonging which is projected onto the nomadic life of a circus, perhaps a little dated by this point, but a common motif of the European avant-garde. The reference to advertising here does something of the same work:

⁸⁴ Patterson, *Cultural Critique* 85.

like a circus, it is one of the signs of modern life, in which self becomes a spectacle, a commodity.

In a passage which works partly as metaphor for Dick's love-life, partly as *objet trouvé* imported from Raymond Roussel's *Locus Solus*, Rodker expands upon this contrast.

Like Chrysomallo starting for her ride, joyously he had embarked on the enchanting possibilities of Angela, but that love which at first seemed frivolous and superficial, soon grew tenacious, tyrannical and full of torturing jealousy. The glaucous light shed from his spurs illumined the night, and was the symbol of that onward spurring love which no restraint could overcome and which inevitably must lead its victim into unknown fatal ways. It represented too, the penetrating and tragic effulgence which a grand passion must shed on all the sombre pages of existence. (1:26)

This passage is translated almost directly from Roussel, with minor but significant adaptations. The passage is the interpretation of a text about a Byzantine courtesan Chrysomallo which has been selected by a clairvoyant cockerel in order to tell Faustine's fortune.

Pareille à Chrysomallo partant gaiement en promenade, Faustine commencerait, joyeuse, une intrigue pleine de promesses avenantes. Mais son amour, jugé d'abord par elle-même frivolement superficiel, deviendrait avant peu tenace et tyrannique, en s'imprégnant de torturante jalousie. Symbole de ce talonnant amour qui, en dépit de nombreux efforts réfrénateurs, entraînerait à jamais sa victime dans de fatales voies inconnues, l'éperon, par son glauque rayonnement éclairant la route aux heures noires, figurait la lumière tragique et pénétrante qu'une grande passion répand malgré tout sur les pages sombres d'une vie.⁸⁵

Roussel's original is strange but self-sufficient: it distinguishes grammatically between the spur as an actual object in the tale, and as a symbol. '[F]igurait' is the main verb, 'éclairant' a participle, so that what the spur does in the tale of Chrysomallo is subordinated to its function in the interpretation. Rodker puts these two roles on the same syntactic plane: the spur 'illumined', 'was a symbol'

and 'represented'. Furthermore, whereas Roussel gives a text and then uses it metaphorically, Rodker's use of Roussel, hardly a well known writer in the English-speaking world in the 1920s, is wilfully obscure.⁸⁶ The point seems to be not so much to send the reader off to the pages of *Locus Solus* as to import symbols without any clear provenance, which then have the same level of reality as the things which they symbolise.

Light seems to stand for the individual charged moment against the undistinguishable mass of ordinary days. But this too leads its victims into the obscurity of 'unknown fatal ways'. Indeed, one seems dependent upon the other. The interdependence of light and dark also applies to the many descriptions of the crowd at the circus, 'a dense mass moving like a dark river on which in opposite direction moved other faces, bright'. (1:78). The whiteness of these faces indicates a personal identity against this indistinct mass, but they are also supported by it, require it in order to distinguish any identity, even while they seem unable to do anything than follow its movement.⁸⁷

When the action reaches the jazz club, this schema's racial dimension becomes fully apparent.

A scarlet lime was shot through the room and small blue lights flashed off the heads of the negroes massed upon the platform. In one movement all put coruscating tubes to their monstrous lips. He felt their gold teeth must be flashing too. A loud bray of music began to paw them, the limes revolved rapidly, plum, orange, green, blue, and small brilliant lights continued to buzz off the heads, eyeballs and instruments like a swarm of bluebottles around a dunghill. [...]

[...] And the music rocked through the room and male voices rolled upon it as on a strong deep comforting flood, uplifting his heart.

⁸⁵ Raymond Roussel, *Locus solus* (1914), (Paris: Pauvert, 1979) 287-88.

⁸⁶ Ian Patterson shows that Rodker's knowledge of contemporary French literature was extremely good, and certainly better than Eliot or Pound's. 'Writing on Other Fronts: Translation and John Rodker,' *Translation and Literature* 12 (2003): 88-113.

⁸⁷ A distinction is frequently made between the black impersonality of the crowd and the white faces drifting on its stream: (1:36, 1:38; 1:46; 1:62; 1:64; 1:73).

They were solid, but the white faces were ill, life weighted too heavily on them, they peered furtively at it.

The music ended. The light was white again [...] (2:15-17)

Although the contrast is between different kinds of light, it is still between white light and coloured light. The black flood of the music supporting a set of pale faces has exactly the same relationship as between the crowd and the faces.

The stage was full of them, infinitely various, different races almost; their dead white and ebony went through every shade of green and indigo and certain eyes could not be human, must be toys, the pekinese and mastiff, marmoset and great ape, doll's bottle and carboy. The contrast of large and small was infinitely touching and an enormous woman had the scarlet, spongy lips and receding profile of a carp. She took her wig off and it was a man; and all the time they fretillated like fish with fierce epileptic vitality and the room filled with an intense, disheartening smell. (2:18)⁸⁸

The infinite variety of sub-racial categories (almost, but not quite, breaking down the category of race) is mirrored in the breaking down of gender roles. But this seems to be more a feature of the exotic nature of the 'negroes' rather than a way of contesting such categories. They equally break down the boundary between animal and human.

When Dick describes his relationship with Angela, he makes use of very similar terms. As he describes it to his friends:

Gentlemen, here is our life. Her life begins here—this bottom glass. How full it is, how solid it begins (his voice clucked in wonder). It climbs, begins to sway. This top glass is quite empty. There is no deception. How it trembles, makes all tremble, and if it falls must bring all down, destroy with what it started. This glass that empty sways was me. Slowly I filled from her, grew solid and swayed less. (3:34)

This once again produces a relationship of dark base and lighter (transparent) superstructure. In the bottom glass of the column of glasses, the 'lees of wine were solid as topaz' (3:33). The final lines of the story, after Angela has returned

⁸⁸ Rodker's coinage of 'fretillate' is drawn from the French 'frétiller', to wriggle (of fish).

to Dick, once more bring together these racial and sexual oppositions, with Angela being compared to a mummy in a cave, with tanned skin.

He was falling asleep. There was a cave. She stood in darkness, among others. Their rotting skin was leather, their mould lungs were leather. Some vapour had tanned her, but not him. She wore an apron of brown paper.

And for a long time he saw her vacillating in light, in dark receding always. (3:42)⁸⁹

The existence of the protagonists, ending 'in light in dark' is within a set of ambiguities and uncertainties which play themselves out in a racial mode. This is not merely a metaphor: part of Rodker's method is precisely to collapse image and reality. The racial element is associated with this strongly enough for the 'race' of the protagonists also to be drawn into this web of ambiguities.

However, the version of *Adolphe* which Pound published was significantly different from the typescript, raising the possibility that Pound may have had a hand in revising the work. Rodker made extensive revisions to the first seven paragraphs, with far fewer coming later. I will concentrate on the first and last of these paragraphs.

So piercing sweet a note cut the web of his sleep as though it were a caul. But his eyes had opened before the mind closed again, and piercing sweet the dawn star had pierced him. Now his body shivered under it, the eyes closed. Miasmas swooned about him, and billowing from afar some deep lugubrious howl. He swayed in crossing currents of air, till nearer, cutting often, the high sweet notes dragged him out of sleep. Morning lay about him. Behind the inn he heard a bugle, and in some far land he had heard it before. Snow. In a tent, a child skipped, frail and white, a trumpet to her mouth; and a Moor lay on his back throwing a ball into the air. When she passed his heart melted, but then he saw the black and his soul was black. His soul fled through sunshine and shadow, and outside the snow whirled softly.⁹⁰

The revisions have a very Poundian logic to them: the removal of some—although by no means all—adjectives ('Pent in close cages, their choking

⁸⁹ This is not the way it appears in the Aquila edition, as I shall discuss later.

burning smell made a dark jungle round them' (TS paragraph 4) loses both 'close' and 'dark'), and the replacement of poeticisms ('miasmas' is changed to 'mist', 'afar' to 'far', 'about' to 'round').⁹¹ The combination of simile and metaphor in the typescript's first sentence becomes the far more striking opening of the published version. There is an increase in more impersonal forms ('Behind the inn he heard a bugle, and in some far land he had heard it before' loses the specification of who is doing this), and tense is simplified (no past perfect).

Pound was still writing to Rodker about *Adolphe 1920* in the early 1950s. This was of course long after the period in which *The Exile* was published, but *Adolphe* features as a major subject in the surviving correspondence, largely because it still seemed to be the best thing Rodker had produced.⁹² Pound suggested that Rodker edit an 'Xile miscellany', with *Adolphe 1920* as the major feature, even though it could not stand on its own merit.

"Adolf" never did git across by itself / AND yu were toodam lazy to rewrite two pages of it / and prob / too far off to try that now.⁹³

It is hard to see this misspelling of Adolphe in a letter to a Jewish writer written in the years immediately after the war as an innocent mistake. There is also the sense that Rodker needs Pound to organise him in order for Adolphe to 'git across', as well as to put the text into proper shape. Pound continued to nag him about the page needing revision: 'did yu evr revise that weak page in

⁹⁰ Typescript of *Adolphe 1920* p. 1, John Rodker Papers 35.3.

⁹¹ 'We will have fewer painted adjectives impeding the shock and the stroke of it. At least for myself, I want it so, austere, direct, free from emotional slither.' Ezra Pound, 'A Retrospect,' *Literary Essays of Ezra Pound*, ed. T. S. Eliot (London: Faber, 1954) 12.

⁹² However, he did later write to William Carlos Williams that 'Rodker's new novel [*Memoirs of Other Fronts*] is good'. Pound, 14 Nov 1931, *Pound/Williams: The Selected Letters of Ezra Pound and William Carlos Williams*, ed. Hugh Witemeyer (New York: New Directions, 1996) 110.

⁹³ Pound to Rodker, 1950?, John Rodker Papers 39.9.

Adolph?', 'there was a place further on in Adolph / after piling on those glasses / which yu were too damlazy to fix / most of that passage was extremely good.'⁹⁴

The implication in his letters that Pound had persuaded Rodker to make some changes to the earlier parts is borne out by the kinds of changes made here.

Rodker also recorded that he took Pound's advice with the novella's title.⁹⁵

Although very few changes were made to the text when it was published separately, I would nonetheless suggest that there is an influence of Pound in these revisions.⁹⁶

The effect of these changes, however, goes much further than sharpening up and making stranger the text. They also obscure, and sometimes excise, the schema of black and white which the typescript version puts forward and the links this has to a discourse of race. The whiteness of the snow and of the child are quite clearly associated, as are the blackness of the Moor and the shadows. In the typescript the 'Adolphe' figure identifies first with the child and then with the Moor, existing between light and dark, 'sunshine and shadow'. Similarly in the seventh paragraph, the initial identification of the protagonist with the circus and his place within it as a Moor, throwing up a ball, is far more explicit.

But he too had his circus, and some wind-beaten and half legible advertisement of him might be found on the walls of the village of Claire, the city of Anne, the capital of Marjorie, till he too pulled up as though casually, at the heath, the wide empty street of Dorothy; turned out his lions, monkeys, performing mice; blew his fanfare. What then? That girl would tiptoe round her cage, her notes so piercing sweet and wild, and he throw up a ball; and if he dared look East, the sky all hung with black would press heavily upon him in terror and dismay; or

⁹⁴ 29 Dec 1952, 1954?, John Rodker Papers 39.9.

⁹⁵ 'Ezra likes Adolphe—says I'm a fool to want to change it to The Meeting. Comparisons are odious'. 2 Dec 1926, *Diary June 28 1921-Jan 30 1927*, Joan Rodker Papers 5.2. Rodker had written to him with this suggestion 22 Nov 1926 'comparisons being odious'. Quoted in Patterson, *Cultural Critique* 88.

⁹⁶ Rodker used his copies of *The Exile* as the text from which the book-version of *Adolphe* was set. He made a few revisions by hand, such as changing 'camions' back to 'lorries', but none of any great significance.

turning to the South, some halo from the sun might fall upon him; or turning again, the sun setting in fiery clouds, some belated rook cawing to its nest over watery meadows and black branches, would fill him with grief and an echo; 'it is winter and time to go now'. (Typescript p.3)

Himself. His wind-beaten, half legible placard still flapped on the walls of Claire, the city of Anne, the capital of Marjorie, the wide empty street of Angela. Let him turn out his lions, monkeys, blow his fanfare ... What then? A girl would tiptoe round her cage with notes piercing sweet and wild. But if he dare look East, the sky lowers terror and dismay; or turning, the sun sets in fiery cloud, a rook belated, caws to its nest over watery meadows and black branches, filling him with grief and an echo, "Winter and time to go now". (1:24)

The Poundian logic of hard delineation has operated here both syntactically and ideologically, making sure that the boundaries between self and other are less permeable, and that racial blurring is far less obvious. Whether Pound brought this about personally or not is not so important: it is rather that his critical programme has caused a change in the presentation of questions of race in a piece of writing he publishes. Again, therefore, Pound had enough power to influence, directly or indirectly, how Rodker wrote about black and white racial differences, an issue in which Pound himself had a stake and which he (followed by Rodker a few years later) applied to categorising Jews.⁹⁷

Ian Patterson writes of the final version's 'his half-legible placard' that it 'points to the essentially textual nature of this presentation, suggesting that the performance of consciousness in writing is the focus of reference'.⁹⁸ This is even stronger in the typescript's 'half legible advertisement of him'. Dick is definitely the subject of the advertisement rather than possibly being its owner. But the textual element of Dick's selfhood is also more strongly linked to an ambiguous

⁹⁷ Even the substitution of 'Angela' for 'Dorothy' may show the influence of Pound, as Dorothy was of course the name of Pound's wife.

⁹⁸ Patterson, *Cultural Critique* 92.

sexual and racial identity: the subjects of circus advertisements were usually the attractions, the female acrobats or the freaks.⁹⁹

This association of textuality and racial identity also appears in two other places, where Rodker was attempting to experiment with the look of the words on the page, and in each case he was dissatisfied with the way in which *The Exile* published them. The first is the reproduction of a funeral notice which Dick is handed in the club. The second is the final sentence of the novella. Rodker wanted both of these parts reworked for the Aquila Press edition.

The Exile printed the notice in a box, but spread over two pages with a much thinner border, and Rodker was not entirely satisfied with it. In his own copy of *The Exile*, which he used as the copy text for the Aquila Press edition of *Adolphe 1920*, he was extremely interested in getting the funeral notice improved, drawing a thicker line around it, and sketching the symbol to go at its top eleven times before settling on the form that satisfied him. ‘Give a whole page to this use thick black type—thick line’, and over the page, ‘bring all this and preceding page into same border.’¹⁰⁰ Yet it seems to be a rather trivial effect that is being aimed at. What is so significant about this notice? (See Figure 4).

Rodker’s emphasis on blackening the type is thematised in the text’s description of it as both ‘cold’, implying icy whiteness, and ‘smoky’, implying fire-blackenedness. Moreover, it fits with Dick’s sense of self initially defined by the set of advertisements, bills or placards which precede the circus, and by the spectacles he encounters throughout the novella. However, the most obvious

⁹⁹ Simone Weil Davis, *Living Up to the Ads* 3.

¹⁰⁰ Pages 29 and 30 of the copy of *The Exile* 3 in John Rodker Papers.

† M

THE PRINCE KODJO
TOVALOU HOUENOU

Barrister at Law, President of the United League for the Defence of the Black Race; his brothers and sisters, his family and allied families, regret to inform you of the cruel loss sustained by them in the death of

His Royal Highness the King
(JOSEPH) TOVALOU PADONOU
AZANMODO HOUENOU

of the first royal dynasty of Dahomey, scion of the houses of Allada, Zado, Ouéme, Djigbe; Head of the family Houénou, Chevalier of the Legion of Honour, Member of the Order of the Black Star of Benin, The Order of Agricultural Merit, The Order of Cambodia;

Their Head, and father, grandfather, brother, cousin, uncle, nephew, father-in-law and deceased friend, at Ouidah the 1st of December in his 70th year and furnished with the sacraments of the Catholic Church.

And pray you to assist at the funeral ceremonies to take place on Monday, December 21st, at 7 o'clock a.m. in the cathedral church of the Immaculate Conception at Ouidah for the repose of his soul, as also at the feasts, wakes and funeral games during the months of January, February, March.

119

Figure 4
John Rodker, *Adolphe 1920*
(London: Aquila Press, 1929)
page 119

effect—its visual impact—is also important. By breaking up the flow of otherwise normal-looking text, it places more emphasis on the materiality of the book, in a way of which Rodker made some use in his printing of *Hymns*, and as other modernist writers had done, including Pound's notice in Canto 22.¹⁰¹ This is typical of collage technique: the inclusion of material which seems to have no literary merit, as a kind of index of modern life. Its stubborn inassimilable particularity extends to more than just its appearance. It includes a set of names unfamiliar to English-language readers ('Dahomey ... Allada, Zado, Ouéme, Djigbe'), and finally does not even fit within the timeframe of the narrative. *Adolphe 1920* should be taking place in 1920, but this flyer or funeral notice, all of whose details appear to be factually correct, dates it to 1925. Marc Kojo Tovalou Houénou, the son of a wealthy Dahomey merchant (but who did pose as an African prince) founded the *Ligue universelle de la défense de la race noire* in 1924. His father Joseph-Tovalou-Padonou Quénum (or Houénou) died, aged 70, in 1925.¹⁰²

As a found object, therefore, the funeral notice disrupts the continuity of the text, in a way which Rodker seemed to be deliberately courting. But this disruption also comes under the sign of racial difference, since it is using West African names (in a French spelling), refers to actual events in Dahomey, West Africa, and is supposed to be written in thick black type in a text in which all differences of black and white become associated with racial differences.

¹⁰¹ It certainly has a visual similarity to Allen Upward's 'The Magic Carpet,' *The Egoist* 1 (1 June 1914): 220, and Wyndham Lewis's 'Advertisement' for *Enemy of the Stars* in *BLAST* 1 (June 1914): 55. For a discussion of these two pieces, see Mark S. Morrisson *The Public Face of Modernism: Little Magazines, Audiences, and Reception* (Madison, WI: U of Wisconsin P, 2001) 99-100, 126-129.

¹⁰² J. Ayodele Langley, *Pan-Africanism and Nationalism in West Africa 1900-1945: A Study in Ideology and Social Classes* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1973) 290-300. Tovalou did come into contact with friends of Rodker's, so they may have been acquainted. Nancy Cunard met him in 1929. Anne Chisolm, *Nancy Cunard* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1979) 143.

Similarly, with the final sentence, Rodker crossed out the punctuation in *Adolphe*'s sentence, and wrote 'no stops in final clause'. The Aquila Press edition therefore looked like this:

And for a long time he saw her vacillating in light
in dark receding always¹⁰³

Opening up the white space of the page in the sentence immediately after the word 'dark' calls attention to the material fact of the words on the page in black and white. But Rodker's typographical experiments are also a way of asserting authorial will, indicating that every part of the text, even the way that it looks, should be controlled by its author, and in this he is close to Pound. Both writers were very close to the process of printing their work, partly because they believed in an author's near-total control over his work, and partly because if they had not been, their work would not have been printed. It therefore also indicates a certain familiarity on their part with the printing process: being able to give instructions which they knew could be carried out, as Pound did to Rodker for *Mauberley* and Rodker did to his printers for *Adolphe*. These typographical experiments, therefore, suggest some kind of unmediated access between the writer and reader.

The difference is, however, that whereas Pound was able to have his notice included in Canto 22 when published by Rodker, *The Exile* did not include *Adolphe 1920*'s visual gimmicks, and in doing so affected the way in which it presented the question of race and its relation to the novella's themes. Rodker was, therefore, in a position of less power than Pound in being able to represent the issue of race.

¹⁰³ Rodker, *Adolphe 1920* (Aquila Press) 131. Rodker specified that it should not have a full stop. Copy of *The Exile* 3 in John Rodker Papers.

Rodker's Place in *The Exile*

As editor of *The Exile*, Pound was quite clearly interested in the work of a number of Jewish writers. His situation was to some extent parallel to theirs, and they were clearly influenced by the work he and Eliot had been doing. Rakosi and Zukofsky's interest in exploring their own Jewishness could also—from Pound's perspective—be made to coincide with his own use of Jews in his writing, such as in Canto 22. But the unease with Jews evident in this canto is also evident in the manner in which he deals with Rakosi, Zukofsky, and, I would argue, Rodker. Rakosi is framed by Pound's own comments on the 'drear horror of American life', with Judaism partly to blame for this, and then parodied in Pound's advert demanding 'A FEW MORE SERIOUS JEWS'. Zukofsky is received with some enthusiasm, but then given the poem on the 'Yiddisher Charleston Band' to publish. And Rodker is also fêted as finally achieving his promise, but only on Pound's terms, with the beginning of *Adolphe* changed, with Pound wanting changes to the end, and with the exclusion or minimization of the visual dimension which Pound was himself beginning to make use of. Pound was therefore prepared to patronize these writers as long as he could maintain some dimension of control over them.

All of these writers attempted to negotiate a place for themselves within a set of cultural categories which do not simply operate in high/low terms, but also in racial ones. Advertising is one of a set of cultural forms, such as jazz and the circus, which both fascinate and repel, partly because they bring in the possibility of culture being not simply the preserve of a white Christian cultural elite.

Rakosi, Zukofsky and Rodker all themselves made use of techniques which owed something to methods of writing used by or associated with Pound. Rakosi used the irony of his and Eliot's quatrain poems. So did Zukofsky, who added to it dense literary allusion in a semi-parodic, semi-self-conscious excess, brought together using the same kind of collage techniques used by Pound. Rodker also made liberal use of parataxis, allusions which were recondite in the extreme (Raymond Roussel, Marc Tovalou), and even tried to play with typography. In the case of Rakosi and Zukofsky, these kinds of techniques were allied in a more or less explicit way with an exploration of their Jewish identity. In the case of Rodker, it was connected to an exploration of the category of race.

What relation this might be seen to have to Rodker's own 'racial' identity is dependent partly on context. In the context of *The Exile*, along with the writings of Zukofsky and Rakosi which use a similar conjunction of race and advertising to explore issues of Jewishness, a connection seems plausible. In the context of the cultural scene in mid-1920s Paris, in which a large contingent of the avant-garde was identifying itself with and interesting itself in 'African' 'negro' and 'American' art, Rodker's interest in blurring the bounds of racial classification are is less easy to attribute to his own Jewishness.¹⁰⁴ Nevertheless, Rodker's treatment of race here is significant, since later, in *Memoirs of Other Fronts*, he was to use a similar schema which played a part in a meditation on his own (or his character's) 'foreignness'.

¹⁰⁴ *Adolphe* was written at the height of Parisian 'negrophilia', during the run of *La Revue nègre* at the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées, and symbolised by Man Ray's photograph of Nancy Cunard (with whom Rodker was still having an affair) wearing a leopard print top and sporting armfuls of African bangles of 1926. Petrine Archer-Shaw, *Negrophilia: Avant-Garde Paris and Black Culture in the 1920s* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2000). Karen C. C. Dalton and Henry Louis Gates, Jr, 'Josephine Baker and Paul Colin: African American Dance Seen through Parisian Eyes,' *Critical Inquiry* 24.4 (Summer 1998): 903-934. Jody Blake, *Le Tumulte noir: Modernist Art and Popular Entertainment in Jazz-Age Paris, 1900-1920* (University Park: Pennsylvania State UP, 1999).

Rodker's position, as someone closer to Pound, without the kinds of cultural resources which Zukofsky could call upon, meant that articulating his own Jewishness was a far harder, far more shameful thing to do than it was for Zukofsky or Rakosi. When he began to try to do this, he was more circumscribed by stereotypes of Jews, including those used by Pound, and never fully successful. However, the ways in which he attempted to consider race in *Adolphe 1920* laid the ground for his consideration of race in *Memoirs of Other Fronts*, as part of the multiple ways in which he attempted to both reveal and conceal his identity. It is to this book that I shall now turn.

Introduction

This chapter provides the first in-depth reading of John Rodker's autobiographical novel *Memoirs of Other Fronts*, made with reference to the manuscripts and typescripts and evidence of the complicated circumstances of its publication. I begin by considering these circumstances as another example of the dilemmas of modernist publication which this thesis has examined, but also as part of the difficulties Rodker had in articulating a sense of identity in order to be able to write about himself. This dilemma is thematised in the novel itself, in which the protagonist's alienation is partly the result of, partly the cause of a sense of 'foreignness' which is tied to Rodker's Jewishness. I examine how this theme of foreignness takes its place within Rodker's analysis of the period during and after the Great War, and track the transformation of the theme through the book, showing how it operates in both sexual relationships and in his refusal to fight in the war. In both cases, being the same as and being different from everyone else are states that he both desires and fears. In the final part of the book, these states take physical form in his constipation, caused by his desire to hold onto his child.

I show how the language of the book is marked at significant points by a non-English syntax, which is associated with the idea of foreignness, and disrupts the conventional flow of narrative time. The protagonist's constipation is therefore partly a reworking of his hunger strike and imprisonment as a conscientious objector, as the word Rodker uses to describe the latter experience, 'squatting' shows. However, squatting is also, I argue, a reference back to T. S. Eliot's poem

'Gerontion', and is therefore part of a reworking of modernist images of Jews into a universalised condition of alienation and resistance.

Referring to the psychoanalytic context in which Rodker was beginning to operate, I also show that he is making use of concepts of the anal-sadistic stage, and trauma both to describe the whole period, and to describe himself. The idea of trauma gives him certain indirect means to talk about his Jewishness, when social, cultural and psychological factors mean that he is otherwise unable to do so.

Chapter 5

Memoirs of Other Fronts (1932)

Desmond Harmsworth, the nephew of the press barons Lords Northcliffe and Rothermere, son of a member of Lloyd George's government, and himself later to become the second Baron Harmsworth of Egham, might seem to be an unusual figure to be reuniting the 'Men of 1914' in a publishing venture in the early 1930s. However, members of the Pound circle had long been engaged in conflicting attempts to find themselves a niche between out-and-out patronage and the unfettered marketplace, and his publishing company was an archetypal example of the 'umbilical cord of gold' by which they were attached to a rich elite.¹ With money provided by his father, Desmond Harmsworth began a short-lived publishing venture which, amongst others, brought out works by and about Lewis, Joyce and Pound between 1931 and 1933.² To this list he had intended to add an anonymous autobiographical novel, or fictionalised autobiography entitled *Other Fronts*, written by John Rodker, which amalgamated a description of Rodker's experiences as a conscientious objector with analyses of his relationships with Mary Butts and Nancy Cunard.³ However, Desmond's father

¹ Clement Greenberg, 'Avant-Garde and Kitsch,' *Art and Culture: Critical Essays* (Boston: Beacon, 1961) 8.

² Wyndham Lewis, *Enemy of the Stars* (1932) and *The Old Gang and the New Gang* (1933); Ezra Pound, *How to Read* (1931) and *Imaginary Letters* (1932); James Joyce, *Pomes Penyeach* (1931) (a ferociously limited edition of 25 copies); Hugh Gordon Porteous, *Wyndham Lewis: A Discursive Exposition* (1932); Charles Duff, *James Joyce and the Plain Reader: An Essay* (1932). Other books included Mary Butts's *Traps for Unbelievers* (1932), a reissue of Douglas Goldring's *The Fortune* (1931), Antonia White's *Frost in May* (1933) and his father Cecil Bisshop Harmsworth's *Immortals at First Hand: Famous People as Seen by their Contemporaries* (1933). Potted biographies of Cecil Bisshop and Desmond Harmsworth are given in *Burke's Peerage and Baronetage*, 105th ed., 1975, and of Desmond Harmsworth in *Who Was Who 1981-1990* (London: Black, 1991). For some details of Cecil and Desmond's relationship with Lord Northcliffe see Reginald Pound and Geoffrey Harmsworth, *Northcliffe* (London: Cassell, 1959) 217, 228, 264, 505, 692, 696. For Desmond Harmsworth's dealings with Lewis, see Paul O'Keeffe, *Some Sort of Genius: A Life of Wyndham Lewis* (London: Pimlico, 2001) 314, 315, 320, 354.

³ The book's genre is itself ambiguous. It was published with the standard disclaimer that '[a]ll the characters in this book are imaginary and no reference is made or intended to any living

refused to allow it. Rodker, out-Joycing Joyce, had included a lengthy description of defecation to which Cecil Bisshop Harmsworth objected.⁴

Rodker's problems in being published showed in part the peculiar position which Desmond Harmsworth, or indeed, modernism in general, occupied: semi-detached from the capital which financed them, but ultimately beholden to it. But they also stand as another image of Rodker's own semi-detached relationship with the 'Men of 1914': initially associated with them only, in the end, to drop away. Ian Patterson says—quite rightly—that Rodker's final book is his 'major achievement' and goes on to claim that it 'sets him apart from his associates, the "men of 1914"'.⁵ In one sense the latter part of this statement is literally true: Rodker's refusal to excise the offending passages forced him to find another publisher, Putnam Press, who retitled it *Memoirs of Other Fronts*.⁶ However, the

person', and presents itself as a novel, but Rodker later referred to it as an account of 'my experiences during the war' 'Twenty Years After' Julian Bell, *We Did Not Fight: 1914-1918 Experiences of War Resisters*, ed. Julian Bell (London: Cobden-Sanderson, 1935) 285. As George Parfitt points out, such blurring between fiction and memoir is common in novels and memoirs of the Great War. *Fiction of the First World War: A Study* (London: Faber, 1988) 142-143. See also Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (London: Oxford UP, 1975) 90-105, 169-190.

⁴ Ian Patterson, *Cultural Critique and Canon Formation: A Study in Cultural Memory*, diss., U of Cambridge, 1997, 5-6.

⁵ Patterson, *Cultural Critique* 103.

⁶ Putnam probably wanted to take advantage of the resurgent interest in war memoirs. Rodker initially thought that the addition of 'Memoirs' to the title made it sound 'too much like the product of a war correspondent', but eventually accepted it. Letters between C. Huntingdon of Putnam's and Rodker, 6 Jan 1932, 8 Jan 1932, 12 Feb 1932, *Memoirs of Other Fronts Correspondence*, John Rodker Papers 36.4. One publisher had in fact rejected the book because 'the time seems to have gone far by for novels touching upon the war with drastic realism. We have had, as you know, quite a number of them recently.' Letter from William Rose Benet of Brewer and Warren, 26 May 1930, *Memoirs of Other Fronts Correspondence*, John Rodker Papers 36.4. George Robb notes that 1928-1933 saw 'a tremendous resurgence of popular interest in the war' and 'an explosion of novels and memoirs on the subject'. *British Culture and the First World War* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002) 155. Robert Graves's *Good-bye to All That* (1929), Richard Aldington's *Death of a Hero* (1929) and Siegfried Sassoon's *Memoirs of an Infantry Officer* (1930) were all beginning to criticise the conduct of the Great War. Even a non-combatant such as Vera Brittain was writing her *Testament of Youth*, asserting that her war experience was worth telling. Paul Berry and Mark Bostridge, *Vera Brittain: A Life* (London: Pimlico, 1996) 241-268. Richard Perceval Graves, *Robert Graves: The Years with Laura 1926-1940* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1990) 101-106, 131-137. Charles Doyle, *Richard Aldington: A Biography* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1986) 119-137. John Stuart Roberts, *Siegfried Sassoon (1886-1967)* (London: Richard Cohen, 2000) 207-208, 214-215, 218-221, 224-241.

publishing history of the book also suggests that Patterson's absolute distinction between Rodker and the 'Men of 1914' is not quite right.

Certainly, Rodker had more interests and connections than those which linked him to Pound. He was associated with Joyce throughout the 1920s,⁷ and *Other Fronts* itself can be seen as employing a mode of writing used by Joyce, what Suzanne Nalbantian has called 'aesthetic autobiography'.⁸ Moreover, psychoanalysis was becoming increasingly important for him, an interest to which Pound reacted with exasperation.⁹ He had been in analysis for a number of years when he began to assemble and write the book, and writing also functioned as a means of self-examination.¹⁰ As Rodker wrote in one of his drafts:

So now that I want to tell this story—through them—work out myself some at least of my aspects, through the people I met, and their effect on me and on each other, it is difficult, most difficult to sort them out, and it won't do at all just to describe them. [...] But in brief, for various reasons, all these creatures as in the dream have meant something to me not for what they were but for what I was, and a consciousness somewhere of potentialities in me (is that saying so much when it is so true for all of us). But the great, the potent to whom one attaches oneself, can make one stretch as on a rack.¹¹

Even this passage, however, which did not become part of the finished book, shows that self-analysis was not entirely the purpose of his writing. Having

⁷ Rodker had published the second and third editions of *Ulysses*, and his essay on *Work in Progress* appeared in *transition* and *Our Exagmination....* 'Joyce and His Dynamic,' *Our Exagmination Round his Factification for Incamination of Work in Progress*, 1929, by Samuel Beckett et al (London: Faber, 1961) 139-146. T. S. Eliot had also noted the influence of Joyce on Rodker's prose. 'Charleston, Hey! Hey!' *Nation and Athenaeum* 40.17 (29 Jan 1927): 595.

⁸ Suzanne Nalbantian, *Aesthetic Autobiography: From Life to Art in Marcel Proust, James Joyce, Virginia Woolf and Anaïs Nin*, 1997 ed., (Basingstoke and London: Macmillan, 1997).

⁹ Writing in 1936, Pound asked Rodker if he was 'Completely sunk on yr/ god damn Freud? Or doing something with yr/ New Russia/?' 24 June 1936, John Rodker Papers 39.9.

¹⁰ Rodker's analyst was Barbara Low, who remained a friend and went on to found the Imago Press with him and Martin Freud. He began analysis on 6 May 1926. See entries for 5 May 1926 and 23 May 1926 *Diary June 28 1921-Jan 30 1927*. A much later diary entry says that he was in analysis for seven years. 21 June 1940, *Diary June 13 1940-Sept 20 1940?*. Joan Rodker Papers 5.2, 5.4. Rodker also may have been inspired by the psychoanalytical work of another friend, Edward Glover, on war, written up as *War, Sadism and Pacifism: Three Essays* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1933). Rodker cited Glover's work in 'Twenty Years After' 285. Glover gave the address at Rodker's funeral. Patterson *Cultural Critique* 102n62.

¹¹ Fragment of typescript, no page no. John Rodker Papers 36.3.

described most of the people as figures from a dream, the 'great' (who it would be plausible to see as Joyce, Lewis and Pound) seem to exceed what Rodker is in himself, providing him with a means of getting outside himself even if this takes the form of torture. Furthermore, the anonymity which he insisted his publishers should respect provided a means of escaping his personality as much as exploring it. Reviewers' copies were accompanied by a letter giving a litany of reasons for the author's name remaining undisclosed, including 'the personal element in this book transcends the authors [*sic*] personality', and climaxing with:

Because this book in certain aspects represents only a phase in the life of an individual and a phase grown out of, the author prefers to remain anonymous [*sic*].

Because such permanent qualities as this book possesses are not so much of the author as of humanity, the author prefers to remain anonymous.

And because the author is of less importance as a name than as a social [*sic*] unit he prefers to remain anonymous.¹²

The book might therefore be best described as the mutual working of psychoanalysis and some aspects of his modernist background upon each other. Rather than taking psychoanalysis as an explanatory framework for this book, I want to approach it as one of the resources which Rodker used in an attempt to resolve or rework some of the problems in his approach to and representation of his Jewishness. Certain features of his writing still owe something to his association with Pound, especially his use of collage and parataxis, an interest in the body and the body's physical processes, and his approach to publication. All

¹² Carbon copy in John Rodker Papers 36.4. Reviewers almost certainly did receive this note. Ethel Mannin wrote that the author 'foolishly, to my mind, chooses to remain anonymous', echoing the covering letter. 'War from a Prison Cell,' *The New Leader* (June 10 1932): 10.

of these features were reworked by his drawing upon psychoanalysis, but his use of psychoanalysis was coloured by his modernism.

Indeed, Rodker had attempted to write a slightly more conventional autobiographical piece, 'Trains', which detailed his childhood, his missing mother and an incident of sexual abuse. Such subject matter was possibly too difficult for him to approach directly, but he turned instead to a topic which he had been writing about for years, long before he had gone into analysis: his experience in the war. The poem 'A C.O.'s Biography' (1917-1918) was probably written while he was still on the run from the authorities.¹³ The complete poem was never published, but two sections appeared (as 'From a Biography') in his *Hymns* of 1920. *Dartmoor*, a novel based on the time Rodker spent at a work camp for conscientious objectors on Dartmoor, appeared in a French translation in 1926.¹⁴ *Memoirs of Other Fronts* used a worked-up version of 'A C.O.'s Biography' and *Dartmoor* as sections three and four of its second part. Around this Rodker amassed more material, reworking some of the themes of *Adolphe* 1920 into a more detailed exploration of his relationship with Nancy Cunard and adding an unpublished novella called *The Child* about his attempt to gain custody of his child with Mary Butts. This resulted in a three part structure: 'Limbo 1923-1925', 'A C.O.'s War 1914-1925' and 'Issues 1928'.

The book's organisation in effect makes a collage out of Rodker's life, permitting analyses of sexual relationships to exist on the same plane as those of war-time experiences. As with much of modernism, it also stands for a general sense of alienation in which conventional narrative no longer has any meaning.

¹³ The version of this poem dated 'Jan 1918' is published in John Rodker, *Poems and Adolphe 1920*, ed. Andrew Crozier (Manchester: Carcanet, 1996) 115-122. The poem was also reworked to a version dated 26 Nov 1929 which is closer to the prose in *Memoirs*. John Rodker Papers 36.8.

For Rodker, however, it is also bound up with a feeling of foreignness which he only fully experiences at the moment of writing. Sexual relationships and the Great War are the nodal points at which society is analysed, as social and emotional processes are given physical form. In the absence of fixed identity, the ground for verifying and authenticating experience becomes the body, marked in an indefinable way by its foreignness, classified, controlled and assaulted by the state during war time, defined psychoanalytically but also delimited by a less easily identified 'racial' discourse.

Part I: Sex

'Limbo' tells the story of an affair in Paris between the narrator, Basil Markham,¹⁵ and Olivia, a socialite with contacts in the artistic scene, based on Nancy Cunard. Both of them are out of place, alienated, which is what attracts Markham to Olivia and drives him from her. This alienation takes physical form in both of them. For her it is a kind of sickness; for him it has a racial quality which may or may not be visible at the time of the story, but certainly marks him at the time of writing.

In Paris I feel English, in London a foreigner. There are a lot of men like that, but it is only now, well on in life, I realise how much of a foreigner I am, how much of one I always was. And even if I still wished to avoid acknowledging it, I could not any longer get away from the testimony of my face and form. It is as though the very fibres that composed me, tired at last of the incessant struggle with the thing I longed to be, at last in intense consciousness of what it was I strove to suppress, stressed only that side of me, piling on me in two decades the atavism of centuries, releasing me at last from the harsh bonds of ideal behaviour, propriety, that adolescence forced upon me and which finally too much circumscribed me. Is it not strange that just when our antagonism to the family, race, the claims of the future is its most violent, the mind

¹⁴ John Rodker, *Dartmoor*, trans. Ludmila Savitzky (Paris: Sagittaire, 1926).

¹⁵ Although for the purposes of convenience I refer to him by this name, the book places far less weight upon it than I do. His surname 'Markham' and first name 'Basil' are only mentioned in passing in two separate passages of dialogue. *Memoirs* 36, 98.

enthrals itself to ideals which hardly half a century's struggle will throw off, a life-long handicap which hides the form but where the spirit, too close to the thing it struggles with, ends by identifying itself with it and confesses the liaison. So at the time of this story I looked what I wanted to look. Instinctively my life fell among strangers and if I met others it was to what was foreign in them I turned. How else should I have noticed them? (16)

Markham's 'foreignness' is not simply some bohemian sense of not belonging. It is attested to by his 'face and form'. Clearly Rodker is using this as an image of his Jewishness, and seems to be drawing something from the discourse of race. However, 'race' is an extremely vague category,¹⁶ and it is very hard to pin down its meaning or to what extent it is synonymous with being 'foreign'.¹⁷

In the manuscript, Rodker wrote: 'In Paris I feel English, in London a dago <by birth I am an Armenian>', and he continued to use 'dago' wherever the final version reads 'foreigner'. In the typescript, he then changed 'dago' to 'foreigner', and 'Armenian' to 'Rumanian' before crossing out the clause entirely.¹⁸ Having toyed with the idea of specifying an ethnic origin for the narrator, Rodker opted to emphasise his un-Englishness rather than any particular identity, and this is

¹⁶ Talk of 'race' was common in this period, but Jose Harris argues for caution in deciding what it means, since it could stand for the human race in general or simply a nationality. Some Jewish doctors were leading exponents of 'racial hygiene'. *Private Lives, Public Spirit: Britain 1870-1914* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1994) 236-237. For a detailed treatment of Jewish race scientists, see John Efron, *Defenders of the Race: Jewish Doctors and Race Science in Fin-de-Siècle Europe* (New Haven and London: Yale UP, 1994). Michael Marrus and Eric Goldstein have both suggested that the vagueness of the category of 'race' made it useful, not just for antisemites, but also for some Jews in France and the USA who wanted a suitably nebulous concept to describe the connection they felt with other Jews. Michael R. Marrus, *The Politics of Assimilation: A Study of the French Jewish Community at the Time of the Dreyfus Affair* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1971) 10-27. Eric L. Goldstein, "Different Blood Flows in Our Veins": Race and Jewish Self-Definition in Late Nineteenth Century America, *American Jewish History* 85.1 (March 1997): 29-55. David Feldman touches on the ways that some Anglo-Jews used the term 'race' to define themselves in the late nineteenth century. *Englishmen and Jews: Social Relations and Political Culture, 1840-1914* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1994) 122, 126-127.

¹⁷ In 1927, Rodker wrote of the Russian 'race' (49) and 'the infantile ego complex' of the English language 'which may explain our Tennysons, Longfellows and racial ingenuousness.' (56). This latter piece of speculation seems entirely comfortable in its self-identification with the English race. *The Future of Futurism* (London: Kegan Paul [1927]).

¹⁸ Manuscripts and Typescript of *Memoirs of Other Fronts*, John Rodker Papers 36.1-3. In citing from manuscripts and typescripts, I use angled brackets (<>) to denote additions to the text.

borne up by his treatment of his 'foreignness' in the rest of the passage, which makes it not quite locatable even in his own body.

On one level there is a division between body and spirit, with 'face and form' as witnesses giving 'testimony', and 'spirit' as a kind of criminal who 'confesses'. In this case, it is spirit which is the fundamental mark of race. But the spirit is confessing to its 'liaison' with 'the thing it struggles with', which seems to be the 'ideal' to which 'the mind enthrals itself'. Equally, 'the very fibres that composed me' are struggling with the same thing, and act as if they had 'consciousness'. The body and the spirit appear to be doing the same thing, and to share characteristics. However, by enthralling itself to an ideal, the mind 'hides the form', and it is the spirit which confesses the ideal. The body is giving testimony to what is suppressed and the spirit is confessing what is struggled with. The foreignness with which they struggle is therefore neither physical nor mental, an absence which can never be traced but which impinges upon both mind and body.

The contradictory nature of this formulation is also evident in the ambiguity of the time references in and after this passage. The ideals of adolescence are both 'a life-long handicap' and something that will take 'half a century' to throw off. The time of the story is given as 'somewhere round 1920' in the following paragraph, even though the title of this section dates it between 1923 and 1925. Indeed, looking foreign is linked to 'the atavism of centuries', and race to 'the claims of the future', suggesting that its place in time, or in conventional narrative, is hard to define. When Markham/Rodker says 'at the time of this story I looked what I wanted to look', there is an uncertainty about the time here which

reflects the difficulty about what 'looked what I wanted to look' means, aside from its not quite English syntax.

In fact, the previous two sections have been taken up with a consideration of images, and how they coalesce into the relationship between Markham and Olivia.

I had known her well by sight and hearsay, through friends and through the men who'd had her, and though that made me afraid of her, I wanted something they had had, that must be good because they had wanted it, must be good for me because they had thought it good for them, and because I thought myself as good as they were and must have what they had had to prove it to myself. (7)

As these sections go on, the narrator's anxiety is not that he has to show he is as good as the other men, but that he is the same as them: their mirror image. Seeing one man leave Olivia, he sees 'something of myself'. When she is later 'thronged round with men', he feels that '[o]nly mirrors hidden at extraordinary angles and planes could [...] have reproduced the profile and back I had seen go off', and then, that they are 'reflections of me' (9, 12). This insubstantiality affects Olivia too. Markham sees her face 'floating about the room, but when the room fell into darkness, rising out of the darkness, rising as out of a box, moon-white under the veering moonlight' (12).

Paris itself is a play between light and dark: the rue de Rennes 'dark like a river' against the 'lighted landed stages of the Gare Montparnasse', the 'dark wind-swept square of St Germain des Prés' with the 'just luminous sky' and the 'café windows blazing with light' (8-9), going up the darkness of 'the steep rue Blanche' to the 'lighted windows' of the cafés (11). Olivia is surrounded by Markham's look-alikes '[i]n a dancing place where the light fell in floods'(12). The two of them are almost a product and an effect of Paris's reflective surfaces, a reflection which multiplies their relationship, but also makes it possible.

But this continues to deprive them of substance. As Olivia follows him from the night club:

I thought I was alone and knew I was not. Through the hotel corridor other feet followed my feet and in my room a form rose up before me, and vanished, and in sleep it clung and fought like the dark angel, in pride, for power. Was cast out, and vanquished fell headlong, swooning into darkness. (15)

The Miltonic overtones here once again produce Olivia as both light and dark, like Lucifer. Since Rodker/Markham has said that what he turned to in other people was what was foreign, there must be something 'foreign' about Olivia, and it is being not quite present nor absent which makes her foreign. It is through men that 'she derived her being' (8), just as he derives his being from her and her admirers.

However, there is more to her foreignness than this. Rodker immediately goes on to discuss a conversation with a friend before he had met Olivia, at La Negresse (*sic*) station,

the name of the station as I spoke, inseparably grafting itself on what I was saying, investing her with some of its extreme malapropos in a landscape I wanted to think French and simple, though I knew very well we were surrounded by the very ancient and primitive Basque names like Bassussary and Itxassou. At Biarritz those names had bewildered me, the outcrop of a seam sensed but not to be enquired into and here was the word Olivia as menacing.

(17-18)

So Olivia's existence as a 'dark angel' has another meaning. By being the effect of others she takes on a foreignness which is racially coded, in a similar way to the protagonists of *Adolphe 1920*. This is not, however, a straightforward equation of her existence with being black. It is the *name* which grafts itself onto her, and its effect is one of further depriving her of substance. Or rather that the substance is not available for enquiry, as being out of place, and out of time.

Indeed, even France itself, which might seem to provide a stable of place and time, is not the 'simple' unitary culture the narrator wants it to be.

In this case, it is as much the condition of being like someone as being unlike which creates the feeling of 'foreignness'. Meeting two of Olivia's friends, Mamie and Stephen, Markham feels unable to establish his own identity apart from Olivia's other lovers.

Yet I had to admit I must be like them, how else could the girls [Mamie and Stephen] so easily have taken to me? Clear enough it was they had met me before in many guises, and as the reflection of such as had gone before, to them I seemed harmless enough. And like the others my hair had just been barbered, my collar and tie were as neat, my coat as tight, we all had the spurious precision of the heads on coins about to pass too much from hand to hand. (22)

This movement from the image of lovers to the image of money is commutative: money 'falls into [Olivia's] lap like her young men' (27).

Olivia's relationship with her money is a curious one.

[W]hen she had the money how she hated it, hated it in her purse and had to get it out. She could not truly believe it hers till she had spent it. Then she no longer had it, only the memory of it, yet that to her was a richer assurance than the thing itself. (52)

There is a hint here of a Freudian interpretation of money as faeces, with Olivia only finding satisfaction in voiding her purse of money.¹⁹ This also seems to be true of her lovers, her need always to find someone new. Both must be spent, or got rid of as soon as possible, suggesting that there is something wrong with them, that their value will be debased if they are kept. This is indicative of an alienation and a sickness which is visible in the protagonists' bodies.

¹⁹ Sigmund Freud, 'Character and Anal Erotism' (1908) *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, trans. James Strachey, Anna Freud, Alix Strachey and Alan Tyson (London: Hogarth, 1953-1974) vol. 9:167-175. (Henceforward *S.E.*) See also Freud and D. E. Oppenheim, 'Dreams in Folklore' (1911) *S.E.* 12:187. Norman O. Brown treats the subject at length in the chapter 'Filthy Lucre' of *Life against Death: The Psychoanalytical Meaning of History* (London: Routledge, 1959) 234-304. Christopher Herbert traces the idea back to Victorian culture in general. 'Filthy Lucre: Victorian Ideas of Money,' *Victorian Studies* 44.2 (Winter 2002): 185-213.

In the short time I had really known Olivia there were times when her face seemed so pale, so ill-nourished, the wings of her nostrils, her skin, of so dead a wax, I asked myself what I had with me, revolted to think I myself was so ill-nourished, sickly, that I needed yet another more sickly than myself to protect. Yet the frame that was Olivia was compliant, with an abasement, an acceptance, so far new to me, incense to the manhood I would not assume. It was delicious to me to surrender, to be altogether dependent on it, so that every pang ploughed more deeply through me and always with more exquisite pain. At last the anxiety of should I go or stay was a tumescence so deep rooted, so all permeating, only some violent chain of storms could bring relief. (60)

In fact, we later learn that when Markham met Olivia during the war, he was not attracted to her because she was too healthy (82-83). Now both he and she are sick, and Markham's sickness seems to lie in the fact that his attraction to Olivia is displaced into parts of himself which are not fully integrated: 'what I had with me', 'the manhood I would not assume', 'a tumescence' within him. The phallic meanings of two of these parts—'manhood' and 'tumescence'—are hard to miss. However, the 'tumescence' is within him, and in the context of his sickness suggests a 'tumour'. His masculinity is both active and passive, present and absent. '[W]hat I had with me' is also a strange phrase. It seems to mean 'what was wrong with me', but comes across as a mixture of French ('qu'est-ce que j'ai eu?'), German ('was war mit mir?') and English.

The Freudian aspect of this description is clear, but the lack of a complete self, its taking physical form and the foreign-tinted phrasing all recall the discussion of feeling English in Paris and a foreigner in London. Once again, there is a racial discourse at work in the analysis.

This is not to say that Markham's masculinity is completely at odds with his 'race'. In order 'to show my ownership in her and perhaps to get even for staying, and perhaps also because I had come to a time where I could consciously allow myself the brutality inherent in every sexual act,' he marks Olivia with

bruises and his teeth as his 'signature' (51). The damage to Olivia's body is related to her sickness, but it seems she is not sick enough for him to own her. She has to be made 'foreign' enough to be his. But this process makes him more masculine. In this case, the imposition of violence on her centres and fixes their relationship.

Markham's relationship with Olivia brings together an analysis of himself as out of place and, less definitely, out of time, and an analysis of a sexual relationship which is one moment in a seemingly never-ending circulation of people equivalent to each other. The physical marking of disease, or of race, is what authenticates experience, even the experience of alienation. What makes Markham different in this does not seem to be located in the time of the story, but rather in his retrospective marking of himself as foreign, a vague but unmistakable reference to being Jewish. What his Jewishness actually consists of, however, is not clear.

Part II: War

Part II 'A C.O.'s War' gives it at least some content, with brief references to his background and childhood in the 'Shtetl called Whitechapel', but their importance is as precursors and motivation for his conscientious objection, which takes him away from all sections of society and leaves him in solitary confinement. Once again, social forces are expressed in and upon the body, but this time through the direct power of the state, which classifies all men's fitness from A1 to C3, decides on their sanity and forcibly feeds them if they go on hunger strike.²⁰

²⁰ Cp. Andrew Crozier, 'Introduction,' *Poems and Adolphe 1920* (Manchester: Carcanet, 1996) xv.

At the outbreak of war, Markham initially offers to join up, but changes his mind, and is left undisturbed until he decides to go to a police station and announce himself to be a conscientious objector. Treated initially as a deserter, he is sent to a regiment where he refuses to obey orders but is not court-martialled, despite his requests. After ten days, he absconds from his regiment, and spends ten months, partly in the country writing, and partly in London. He is arrested, taken back to his regiment and decides to go on hunger strike in order to get back to his 'sweetheart', Muriel. He is declared insane, taken to an asylum, where he is tricked into eating again, sent back to his regiment, court-martialled and sentenced to six months imprisonment. After serving his sentence, he is seen by the Salisbury Committee, which recognises him as a C.O. and he agrees to do work of national importance. To do this, he is sent to Dartmoor, is visited by Muriel, and eventually decides to abscond again. In London, he marries Muriel, but at the end of the war, the marriage very soon breaks down, despite Muriel's pregnancy, and she takes up drink, drugs and occultism.

The narrator's motivation for his eventual conscientious objection is analysed with characteristic complexity, with impulses both to fight and to refuse to fight. Both of these have their roots in Rodker's experience of growing up in Whitechapel, although he once again conceals this behind the label 'foreign'.

War broke out and I was wild to join. It seemed wonderful to wear a uniform. I saw myself heroic, admired, and for a little while anyhow, my day-dreams were an ecstasy of power, ostentation, push-face, and the possibility of gratifying them all. A Foreign Legion was being enlisted and I liked the name which somehow kept it distinct from the British Army (it seemed exactly right for the foreigner I was) and I put my name down for it in a back room in Soho somewhere, surprised to see it all so very casual.

But Kitchener did not want a Foreign Legion, so I was given a letter to the Fusiliers and they were full, and I didn't seem what they wanted, they had the pick in those days, and I was ashamed to have been turned down, or else I wanted the Foreign Legion and nothing else would do,

and anyhow the fortnight or so of waiting had given me time to think, and I knew about war, and how inconclusive it always had been, and most of my childhood I had seen Boer War veterans begging in the streets, and all through my boyhood and adolescence I had been Socialist then Anarchist, and always anti-capitalist and so anti-militarist, and knew it would be and was, a bloody mess, and nothing but waste and despair could come of it (but I was wrong, the flesh closed round that wound) and I held off. (110-111)

Once again, Rodker avoids using the word 'Jewish', but this is the only possible meaning of his first statement. There was an attempt to form a Foreign Legion of Russian-born, Yiddish-speaking Jews in the opening weeks of the war, and a later campaign (in 1916) led by Vladimir Jabotinsky to recruit a Jewish Legion to fight against the Ottoman Empire. Neither of these was successful, but a Jewish unit was formed as a line battalion of the Royal Fusiliers and served in Palestine.²¹ Rodker, as far as he was prepared to fight at all, was only prepared to fight in an explicitly Jewish context.

His decision not to fight was equally the result of a specifically Jewish background. The socialist and anarchist groups with which he identifies himself were Yiddish-speaking and their campaign against the war was motivated by the situation of Jewish immigrants from Russia.²² A large number of Jews in Whitechapel—including Rodker's parents—had emigrated from Russia and the Russian part of Poland because of the anti-Jewish legislation and state-sponsored pogroms which had followed the assassination of Aleksandr II in 1881. Because they were still Russian citizens when the Great War began, they were not obliged to join the army when conscription was introduced. Many of them did not want

²¹ Of the two attempts, it seems more likely that Rodker was involved in the first. It fits better with his account, and David Eder, with whom he probably had some contact, was involved in the campaign (see note 48 below). David Cesarani, 'An Embattled Minority: The Jews in Britain during the First World War,' *The Politics of Marginality: Race, the Radical Right and Minorities in Twentieth Century Britain*, ed. Tony Kushner and Kenneth Lunn (London: Frank Cass, 1990) 69-72. David Englander, ed., *A Documentary History of Jewish Immigrants in Britain 1840-1920* (Leicester: Leicester UP, 1994) 322-323.

to, because Britain was allied with Russia.²³ Isaac Rosenberg, who until his death counted Rodker as one of his closest friends, was also affected by this. His father had left Lithuania to avoid conscription into the Russian army, and Isaac's decision to volunteer to fight in the trenches brought him into conflict with his parents.²⁴

Fighting for the Zionist cause and anti-war protest were certainly not the only two responses to the Great War from the Jewish communities in Britain,²⁵ but it is significant that these are the two options which present themselves to Rodker's narrator. Both of them, in however attenuated a form, link him to Jewish groups, and both of them indicate an unwillingness, or an inability, to take part in mainstream British society. But although the roots of his conscientious objection lie in some parts of the Jewish community, it turns him into an isolated individual making a stand against the state, and feeling apart from the other soldiers.

However, until he is arrested, he is part of a community of sorts. All of those who have not taken part in the war, 'the for-the-moment immune, boys, stray Russians, Japanese, Colonials, Americans, Central Europeans, rejects and conshies' (77), despite their disparities become unified by not being at the front. In fact, simply by staying at home rather than going to war, they begin to stand for society as a whole.

²² See W. J. Fishman, *East End Jewish Radicals: 1875-1914* (London: Duckworth, 1975) for a history of the Jewish Anarchist movement in Britain.

²³ Sharman Kadish, *Bolsheviks and British Jews: The Anglo-Jewish Community, Britain and the Russian Revolution* (London: Cass, 1992) 197-216. V. D. Lipman, *A History of the Jews in Britain since 1858* (Leicester: Leicester UP, 1990) 142-147.

²⁴ Joseph Cohen, *Journey to the Trenches: The Life of Isaac Rosenberg 1890-1918* (London: Robson, 1975) 7-11, 124-125.

²⁵ The proportion of British-born Jewish men who volunteered to fight was higher than amongst non-Jewish men, although this may have been the result of demographic and occupational differences. Lipman, *History of the Jews* 140.

Thus we, curiously, for some of the men who came on leave, were stable: like their women, we were “society” for them, we it was who kept the home fires burning. So a race of slaves, eunuchs in other ages, can come to stand for home to the men who give their lives to keep that home their own. Strangers, too strange even to be dragged into their war, or be interned even, or receive such honours as are meted to the feared foe; segregation, prison, and protection. (78)

This is immediately followed by the question ‘Who were we?’, suggesting that the list of nationalities and other afflictions is not adequate to an answer. They are a race of slaves, strangers, who ‘drank ourselves C3, drugged, fornicated, turned night into day, violently, desperately, anything to destroy ourselves rather than be involved.’ (78) Clearly, this is not Russian Jews, or anything like them. It is a portrait of a Bohemian ‘resistance’ to the war. But Rodker finds something in them which has some homologies with the situation of the Russian Jews. They are strangers, and the whole of society is being made strange, or strangeness is becoming the norm. Whether this is being done by the war or by the ‘strangers’ is hard to tell.

The archetypal stranger here is ‘Blair in 1918. Béhar when I first met him. 1916’ (77), someone who claims to be Russian, but is ‘mysteriously *de passage*’.

Full, dancing full of life, the large Circassian eyes as I then thought them, set in luminescent rims, black as with kohl, half round his head, the black skull cap of his hair sleek, low on the forehead, careful delimiting him from the ambient fluid air. Solid, alive, perpetually mobile, excessively complete[.]

(78-79)

Blair/Béhar’s exotic characteristics—‘Circassian eyes’, ‘kohl’, ‘skull cap’—hint at a number of ethnicities without tying him to any of them. Perhaps it is this plenitude of possible backgrounds which makes him ‘excessively complete’. It is with him that Part II begins. For much of the story he disappears, until Markham/Rodker has finally completely escaped. Now he is called Blair, which is actually his real name. ‘Béhar had been a cunning trick that he had kept secret

from us all.' (200-201) He has been masquerading as a stranger to avoid conscription, but more importantly, he is masquerading as Markham. He is in love with Olivia, and his conscientious objection draws on Markham's, whose 'behaviour seemed admirable to him and a fit pattern for his own.' However, his imitation of Markham is too rigid.

Unfortunately he was more obstinate, did not know how to, in seeming, bend, and his passion to be free, let us say rather his hatred of being shut in, was altogether more violent than mine. It seemed as though he were incapable of any pretence of obedience or lending himself, as though nothing could make him go back on any resolution he had taken. (201)

It is, in fact, his failure to be flexible that results in his death, at which point Markham begins to identify with Blair. With almost all the other characters in this book, the narratorial voice can only guess or deduce what they are feeling, and to begin with, Rodker writes about Blair in the same way. He gets weaker 'with, I imagine, some of my joy to think he was beating them all.' (201) But once he has started to feel pain, the narrative comes from within his body.

Both the thoughts and sensations are now intimately revealed, as when he is force-fed with a tube through his nose: 'it went through and past his mouth and down and into his throat. He felt the milk running through it and suddenly his mouth seemed running with sweet saliva, milk.' (203) This goes on up to the description of his death:

He felt the liquid running through the tube, then suddenly his mouth was running full of liquid, of saliva, he could not breathe any more, he coughed, choked, tried to sit up, gave a sort of shuddering convulsive movement and sat back exhausted with staring eyes.

They were astonished to see him so quiet. They were hurrying to get it over quickly. When the container was empty they took the tube out. To their surprise he was drowned dead. "Damn that tube," the doctor said, pondering, "I had an idea it would be too flexible." (205)

As Rodker indicated in his review of André Spire, suffering functions as a means of communication. It is when Blair's foreignness is felt at its greatest

extreme, in the torture inflicted upon him by the state, that he becomes closest to Markham. Blair stands in for Markham, as a projection of his fears, and as an archetypal stranger: foreign despite his Britishness.

Blair is not the first person with whom Markham seems to be identified. His fears about his place in the regiment to which he is first assigned are also embodied in someone else. Feeling himself a 'pariah', he wants 'to be equal with the men, not apart from them', and finds it 'horribly difficult not to fall in and take my lot' with them. He is 'terrified of the future and what I might at last provoke them to do to me', but 'the men I messed with, in whose hut I slept [...] were soon my friends'. (113-114)

Although Markham/Rodker portrays himself as accepted, there is another pariah in the camp, a man who is shunned by everyone and forced to eat his food after everyone else.

When they met him all these men pursed up their lips, gathered up their skirts so to speak. They used him as an excuse for showing their refinement and the dirtier a man's habits were the more elaborately he showed his contempt. This man was soon a bundle of persecuted nerves, started when he was addressed, misunderstood orders and put the line into confusion. The hostility of the camp towards him became more open, they began cursing him as soon as he appeared. It was lovely to see him blush and hang his head and the sick feeling it gave one was gratifying too.

Well that was bad for discipline, and one day a new subaltern thought he would talk to the man; he did get within a yard of him but then he stopped short.

"What's the matter with you?"

"Lousy, sir," the man said.

"You look clean enough."

Suddenly the man was incoherent with excitement, trying terribly hard to explain something.

"All right," said the boy, "I'll put you down for the M.O."

He was glad to be going to the M.O. He thought it would make things different. Somehow in the morning most of the regiment was wandering round and they shouted at him, and when he got there the orderly hedged him into a side door and kept him in a room by himself and went into the doctor, and told him it was useless to see such riff-raff and brought back some ointment. "Here, you take this."

“What for?”

“You’re lousy! that’s what for. Here you take it.”

So the camp was sure now, and they sent him to Coventry, but what finally happened I do not know. I left in the middle of this story.

(115-116)

The ‘lousy’ soldier is persecuted not because of some contingent problem, but an essential feature of himself. ‘Riff-raff’ like him cannot be cured. But his ‘lousiness’ is more complex than this. The subaltern, the man himself and even the rest of the camp need to be told that he is lousy, even if they already believe it. The near-repetition of ‘Here you take it’, minus its comma after ‘here’, almost becomes an instruction in a script: at this point he is to take his ointment. In doing this he takes up the position he has already been acting out.

The persecution is to show the men’s refinement, which seems to be coded as ‘feminine’—in fact it seems to go against the discipline of army. It makes someone different when everyone needs to be the same. But he is also necessary for everyone else to be the same. Markham, however, is not quite the same as everyone else. Even though he admits to feeling gratified by the soldier’s persecution, the fact that he sees everything that happened to him, but then claims he is completely isolated, suggests a strong identification with the lousy soldier.

Blair and the ‘lousy’ soldier are both projections of, or substitutes for, Markham’s sense of himself as a stranger or pariah. Indeed, it is the very fact of his ‘foreignness’, as he has explored it in the previous part, that makes it possible for him to substitute his position for theirs, and theirs for his. However, there are points with both of them where he stands apart from them. Blair does not know how to ‘in seeming, bend’; the soldier believes going to the M.O. will make

'things different'. Blair adheres too rigidly to his masquerade, the soldier too rigidly to reality. Markham survives because he does not go to either of these extremes.

Why was I safe. Because I was well dressed and did not look like a workman, a criminal or a tramp [...] Because I looked policemen and military police in the eye and they dropped their eyes and I went on my way.

So they could hate, grab, imprison their own brothers, their own class, but they were cowards, they were afraid when it came to dealing with what they thought were the upper classes. [...]

And yet I had learnt that trick of seeming innocent when I was very young, in the slums, when I was part of a gang out bun-hunting or smashing windows, or stealing money out of tills.

(198)

This slipping between the classifications of the class structure, seeming upper class but having spent a childhood in the slums, seems characteristic of a Jewish background, in which immigrants and their children moved up the social scale.²⁶

Rodker, however, leaves this part unspoken.

One image that binds Blair, the 'lousy' soldier and Markham together is that of not eating. Blair's hunger strike is a direct copy of Markham's, and both are responses to being imprisoned. The 'lousy' soldier is persecuted by his fellow troops, but that persecution, including depriving him of food, is re-imposed upon him by the military hierarchy. All of this demonstrates the power of the state over their bodies, but for Markham it also has a psychic meaning, once more to do with the need to overcome isolation.

I was caged in a white glazed room that smelt of excrement and was hardly large enough to walk in, with a plank to lie on, a hole in one end of which was the W.C., and outside in the yard there were horses stamping, children yelling somewhere beyond the wall but near, and the smell of dung drying in the sun that I watched move across the yard. And with everything in me I wanted passionately to get back to her, everything of her had so vitally grafted itself on my instincts they were

²⁶ Harshav, *Language in Time of Revolution* 3.

in acute discomfort not to have her, and in revolt. And nothing I thought, no, no cage will hold me from her. So I stopped eating[.] (124)

Muriel is both within Markham ('grafted' onto his 'instincts') and without, as his instincts do not have her. The repeated references to excrement in and around his cell suggest the end-point of eating, which, by starving himself, Markham will not have to reach. In this way, he hopes to get back to Muriel, but the hunger strike allows him already to retain what there is of her within him: as the discomfort, the void of her absence from him, which he will not lose by excreting or obliterate by filling his stomach. '[T]he terrible clawing void was my need for Muriel, it was that made me sick, overcame me, tortured me, filled my mind.' (125)

Unable to engage in social relationships except by re-imposing their absence within himself, Markham is unable to eat or excrete. This also affects his writing. Around the account of his hunger strike, he sets up a relationship between writing and excrement. While he is hiding in the country, having absented himself from his regiment, he finds little difficulty with it.

And when I sat down to work in the morning the words came steadily out, solid enough and liquid enough, hour after hour, and they and I were one and we worked together, neither of us pulling on or holding back the other and it was perfect. (122)

This hint of a faecal metaphor for writing is taken up more strongly once he has given up the hunger strike, and attempts to write again:

Under the velvet lining of my spectacle case I had hidden a piece of pencil lead. I thought in the guard-room that in prison, in solitude, I would write always, poems, everything, on the toilet paper we had in such profusion. The poems were bad and I did bring them out in the same way. No, there is nothing remarkable in them. (141-142)

In solitude, marked as an outcast and pariah from wartime society, he cannot produce any work of any worth. In fact, the next time he is shown writing is

when he is in the work camp on Dartmoor. As the spokesperson for a strike in protest at the conduct of the prison doctor,

I, with a hopeless dragging in my entrails sat in Murchison's cell drafting a memorial to His Majesty George V, begging that like the Pilgrim Fathers we might have leave to void the country, begin life again with our families (and who knew if they would follow us) in some land of peace and goodwill, if one still remained, even though like the Doukhobors and Moravians we were to be a blot for ever on our country's fame.²⁷ (185)

The ambiguity of 'void' (who is inside whom?) is pulled one way by the dragging in Markham's entrails, and the other by the 'blot', and both of these, with 'blot' implying a faecal as much as an ink stain, associate bodily functions with writing. Moreover, both of these are connected with the 'foreignness' of people who are not fully part of the country, and are prepared to leave it. Most of the C.O.'s are from pacifist religious sects, and so are readily comparable to other religious dissidents and pacifists in the past. It is only a short step to go from this to a comparison with what might be seen as the archetypal religious minority within Christendom, the Jews, but it is not one that Rodker makes.

Faeces, therefore, are used as a metaphor for a number of ideas: for Markham's relationship with Olivia, for the process of writing, and for the situation of being expellable from the country, or being able to expel the country from oneself. All of these figure lack of ties, embodiment of voids, or the need to move. The only ties which Markham is able to make are either with substitutes for himself, indicating his exchangeability, communities of outsiders who come

²⁷ The Doukhobors ('spirit-wrestlers') had rejected liturgical changes in Russian Orthodoxy by Patriarch Nikon and Tsar Alexis I made in the mid-17th century. They were pacifists and rejected state authority and military conscription. In 1898-99, 7,500 of them emigrated to Canada. The Moravian church was the remnant of the Czech Hussites, who fled to Saxony, and later to the USA. They are now mainly based in Pennsylvania. J. Gordon Melton, *The Encyclopedia of American Religions*, 3rd ed. (Detroit and London: Gale Research, 1989) 57, 28-29.

together linked only by their non-Britishness, or with Muriel from whom he spends most of his time isolated.

Markham's reaction to the war begins within a definite Jewish environment, either experienced or remembered, but leaves him classified as an outsider, in a way determined by the state. He can be reclassified, from deserter to mental patient to C.O., but cannot classify himself. Unable to experience social connection except as void, unable to write, all he is able to do is to move between roles, or to mark his body with the void of his isolation.

Part III: Excrement

In the final part, Markham's body acts out in its most explicit form his sense of a loss of self, and a loss of social connection. He decides to go and visit his daughter, Marie, in Paris. She is being kept in a pension with pretensions to being a school, while Muriel, her mother, wastes her money on absinthe and lovers. Seeing this, Markham decides to obtain custody of Marie, which Muriel agrees to without much problem. But during this entire time, he is constipated and can only finally relieve himself when he brings Marie back to England. Muriel soon decides she wants Marie back in Paris, and Markham is forced to let her go.

The previously metaphorical references to excrement now become literal and central to the story. Markham's constipation is both a reaction to being cut off from his daughter and a way of cutting himself off from Muriel, but it begins when he first sees Marie. Having found her and discovered the conditions she is living in, he puts her to bed before leaving.

She undressed, proud of the ease and speed with which she did so, happy to be the centre of my interest, her pot belly carried with an immense, aware, already gravid, dignity; quickly she sat on her pot, got into her pyjamas, knelt for her prayer to another, larger than myself, whom she could still trust in, that moment too was bitter and I flushed, and slipped into bed. (220-221)

The commas around the clause describing his reaction to her form an inadequate parenthesis, mixing up his actions with hers, and giving a strange overtone to 'flushed', associated with her 'pot', which becomes more and more borne out by the text. On leaving Marie, he says:

My hands were turgid with blood. They were heavy and I felt I still had her with me, that she was inside those very hands that had once carried her. (221)

The swelling up of his body, which begins with his flushing, becomes transformed into his constipation. In an attempt to force Muriel to take more care of Marie, he threatens to cut off contact with her completely, threatening 'what was life to her [...] just the heaving and the tugging that made us so much one.'

I saw her fear and was glad, but my slow deliberate statement, monstrously quenching my anger, had in its physical aspect, I could feel, twisted my entrails for a moment in an excruciating knot. (231)

This knot does not go away for the entire time he is in France. After seeing Marie again, he takes the train back to Paris, and

all the way, with a malaise of loosening bowels, the impotence and rage of leaving her thwarted every impulse to loosen. I sat, closed round myself, drearily puzzled, not knowing what my bowels would do, but convinced they would anyhow betray me. (233)

He goes to a dinner party, afraid to 'gourmandise like the other guests, with all that stuff inside me' (234), and unable to engage in conversation because he is 'thinking of Muriel, a few streets off, alone in her poor flat, my daughter alone in the large house, destitute, and of my bowels that would not move for me' (235).

When he returns to his rooms he tries to sleep, but is 'wakened by my entrails that seemed to have turned liquid', and goes into the bathroom,

looking at myself in the three-sided mirror I had opened to send me back my drawn face and pallid profile.

Portrait of a man thinking, gnawing his fist, at odds with himself, hanging on hard, oh wanting to let go! Alone there, the city all asleep, he only struggling with himself, divided outside, his wife in one place, his daughter in another, no link, nothing to make of all a corporate whole.

Poor fool, he began to twist and turn, touch his toes, bend backwards, lie on the floor slowly raising his legs one after the other, his body naked, ridiculous and shameful to him, all his effort deeply humiliating, the water closet, ironically present, waiting till he shall have finished, filling all the room.

Sorrowful, deceived, I went back to my room and the now cold bed, creeping carefully in, lying still and breathless in the effort to get warm. Miserable, wanting to pray, actually praying to some other thing to let mercy fall, have pity on me, let me not be choked up. Sleep came. Yet even in my sleep I would not loosen hold and caught my entrails suddenly in a grasp so close, so sure, twisting them with such pain, I woke to my own anguished cry. My head in the pillow, I stifled my anguished cries, then suddenly it was gone. Not possible I thought, but yes, it was over, incredible peace everywhere, my mind running round after the pain. And even while I breathed out gratitude I was afraid, realising I had tied myself inextricably this time, wondering what could ever untie it. (236-237)

The chief figure here is that of the knot, or tie. In one sense this is a figure of lack of connection and inwardness. Markham's knot in his entrails comes into being when he threatens to cut himself off from Muriel, but it also figures a tie to something or somebody else. However, by being tied to someone else, he becomes split, not only in his wife and child being apart from him, but in the switch of pronoun to 'he', the portrait of himself and his face which is 'drawn': haggard but also fictive, and also suggesting the tension in his body from the knotting of his entrails.

This image owes a clear debt to psychoanalysis. As a parodic pregnancy, Markham's constipation recalls the Freudian equation of faeces and babies, but it

also has a parallel with a case study of Karl Abraham's.²⁸ Abraham, who trained Rodker's friend Edward Glover, and probably trained Rodker's analyst, Barbara Low,²⁹ describes a patient who, for unrevealed reasons, called off his engagement to his fiancée. He suffered from the 'transitory symptom' of a 'compulsion to contract his *sphincter ani*', which, Abraham says, stood for the retention of the object which he was in danger of losing.³⁰ Both Abraham's patient and Markham seem therefore to be in the same position, wanting both to hold on to the loved object and to reject it. This is precisely the duality Abraham assigns to what he calls, following Freud, the anal-sadistic phase of libidinal development. The double pleasure of the retention and evacuation of faeces has exact parallels with the dual desire of sadism to possess and destroy its object, unlike the genital stage which allows adaptation to the loved object.³¹

For Abraham, a healthy person will leave behind the anal-sadistic stage to reach the final genital stage, but in *Memoirs of Other Fronts*, the whole of society is stuck in the former stage's unhealthy ambivalence. Marie's state finally comes to stand for all of the people within the book.

And Olivia had been such a child cast out, deserted by first one parent, then by the other. Stephena, Mamie were other such, Muriel, Lawton, others. And Rastaque, because that door had opened and shut once too often, was dead, shot by himself. Dragged round always they had been, and I too had been dragged round, so my life was as theirs, and somehow I found them out, without seeking, because already I knew

²⁸ Sigmund Freud, 'Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality' (1905) *S.E.* 7: 185-187, especially the paragraph on 186 added in 1915; 'On the Transformations of Instinct as Exemplified in Anal Erotism' (1917) *S.E.* 17:125-134.

²⁹ Gregorio Kohon writes that Low and Glover had training analyses in Berlin 'some time before 1926'. *The British School of Psychoanalysis: The Independent Tradition* (London: Free Association Books, 1986) 39. Abraham died on Christmas Day 1925, and had trained a number of English analysts. Other training analysts were brought in to the Berlin Psycho-Analytic Institute to train locals. Ernest Jones, 'Introductory Memoir,' *Selected Papers of Karl Abraham M.D.*, by Karl Abraham (London: Hogarth, 1949) 13. Glover certainly did have his analysis with Abraham: Elisabeth Roudinesco and Michel Plon give the date as 1920. *Dictionnaire de la psychanalyse* (Paris: Fayard, 1997) 381.

³⁰ Karl Abraham, 'A Short Study of the Development of the Libido, Viewed in the Light of Mental Disorders' (1924) *Selected Papers* 442.

³¹ *Ibid.* 425-428. Freud and Abraham's work was mutually influential.

them, deeply I knew them, and they knew me. And we met and parted and met again and always it was another me they met, another them, and it was the same for me too. And deepest, most important to each was himself always in his own image, and we were no good to anybody; and now it makes me sad to realise it, least of all to ourselves. (262)

Squatting

The use of the word 'drag', with its inclusion of both circulation and resistance to circulation, mirrors the interplay of sameness and difference, isolation and unity, between Markham/Rodker and the people he has met. But it also evokes an earlier passage, in which Rodker sums up two, equally 'disgusting', reactions to any future war.

[L]et war loose and forgetting the horrors of the past, the horror we so acutely feel to-day, we will rush forth again. Disgusting, isn't it?

And the alternative: disgusting too. To squat, a drag, be dragged round like a child, heavy, a sort of brake. No good to anybody but anyhow in their damned way. (196)

Just as Rodker as a conscientious objector was 'dragged round' and 'no good to anybody', so too was everyone in this period. Rodker's stance of resistance, which seemed to set him apart from everyone else, instead becomes emblematic of an entire generation, summed up in the word 'squat'.

More than twenty years earlier, writing in the persona of the Provençal troubadour Bertrams de Born, Ezra Pound had used the same word in a very similar context.

The man who fears war and squats opposing
My words for stour, hath no blood of crimson
But is fit to rot in womanish peace[.]³²

Since Rodker too writes of non-combatants as 'eunuchs' and being 'like [...] women', describing a C.O.'s resistance as 'squatting' acts as both a continuation and revaluation of Pound's values. Rather than counterposing an image of a 'man

³² Ezra Pound, 'Sestina: Altaforte,' *Collected Shorter Poems* (London: Faber, 1984) 29.

who fears war' who is not disgusting, it makes disgustingness a universal and unavoidable condition. But the word 'squat' does not only draw its frame of reference from the disgust at women and cowards that Pound expresses. It also resonates with Eliot's disgust at the 'jew squat[ting] on the windowsill' of Gerontion's house. Rodker's conscientious objection, as he describes it, had its roots in his Jewish upbringing and adolescence, in a sense of never being fully at home which parallels the condition of Eliot's squatting 'jew'. However, in his refusal to fight he is more like Gerontion, who was not 'at the hot gates' or, it appears, any other battle.³³ In combining aspects of these two figures, Rodker collapses the boundary which Eliot tries to erect between Jew and non-Jew, making everyone 'Jewish': equally displaced, equally alienated, and equally deserving of disgust.

This strategy does not really form a challenge to Eliot and Pound's images of Jews. As in his response-poem to Aldington and Orage's reviews, and in his own review of André Spire, Rodker sidesteps the issue by giving society in general 'Jewish' attributes. Everyone in *Other Fronts* has some alienation to 'drag round'. When, however, he writes directly about his childhood in an unpublished autobiographical fragment, he reproduces these images in a very similar way to his diary entry in 1923.

Oh no I don't like my boyhood from where I am now. It is dirty; it is full of excrement, in pails, on water-closet seats, other boys and their penises, men and theirs, women and their genital organs, that seemed to me then to be plastered with excrement. [...] Now it seems filthy to me and I know how much I drag around with me and what a dead weight all that is.³⁴

The Freudian associations of faeces with penises and babies, which clearly are in play here, do not define the only way in which this image functions. As a sign

³³ See my discussion of 'Gerontion' in Chapter 1.

of the filth of the slum, it stands for a specifically Jewish childhood, which

Rodker also depicts in terms influenced by Ezra Pound.

That morning there was no sugar for our coffee, hers, mine and the baby brother's, and she said she had no money. And I knew she was lying. I had looked in her purse, there was a ha'penny still in it, could anything be so poor, it seems impossible to me now, but then it seemed so much. She said it was impossible to get sugar for so little, but I worried her, I said I could get aniseed balls instead, they would do as well, much better in fact, and doubting, <she> let herself be convinced but said hurry, they would wait for me and she said it in Yiddish, that was what I spoke to her then, though I have forgotten all <most> of it now, only somehow the sound moves me very much, and I bought the sweets, I was proud to be so clever, so rich in them, and was going home but there was a festival at the synagogue I had to pass and all the boys had rattles so it must have been March and I could hear them from the street, rattling inside with a lovely thrilling noise. After the gloom of home and to be back with the gang and rich and with my sweets was a temptation I could not possibly resist. I went in and handed them round and had a drink of wine from the rabbi in his box (yowling away as dear Ezra says) and enjoyed myself immensely, though shifting uneasily all the time<,> and hours later went home to explain.

And I was ashamed, I am horribly ashamed as I write this, to have been a Jewish child, in a slum, and at four or five to have deserted my mother and the infant child; sitting here, with the green shade over my eyes, thirty-five and asking how long how long must I go on being ashamed, relating all this, and morosely delecting myself in it.³⁵

The influence of Ezra Pound in this passage goes beyond the citing of a single word from Canto 22.³⁶ The heavy use of parataxis also echoes Pound's description of the synagogue in Gibraltar, while at the same time giving the impression of a confession which has to pause at as few full stops as possible or it would be unable to continue. Moreover, the parataxis encourages the shame to spread itself equally over the equally weighted parts of the final sentence. Rodker is ashamed to have wasted his mother's money, but also of having lived in a slum, and, finally, of having been a Jewish child. The Poundian technique that

³⁴ *Trains* (Part I) Typescript 6, John Rodker Papers 37.8.

³⁵ *Ibid.* 4-5.

³⁶ See my discussion of this passage in Chapter 4.

Rodker draws on, therefore, provides a partial means of dealing with this sense of shame at the same time as it both reinforces and expands it.

It is not certain whether Rodker sent this fragment to any editors, but it is nonetheless symptomatic of his problems with articulating a Jewish identity that it remained unpublished.³⁷ In *Other Fronts*, rather than assigning himself to a particular ethnic group, Rodker falls back on a universal 'foreignness' which nonetheless contains traces of his Jewish childhood, as well as a modernist tendency to equate alienation with Jewishness. All of this is brought together in his description of himself squatting and being dragged round. But the clause '[d]ragged round always they had been' also puts into play another difference. As with many crucial points in the book discussing his 'foreignness', it has a foreign word order.³⁸

Language and Time

Four years before publishing *Other Fronts*, Rodker went to an exhibition of paintings by David Bomberg and wrote to him praising them.

Yesterday I was to your show. It was entirely good. I have not for a long time seen any paintings which pleased me as much. I think they are an immense advance on your earlier works, and you are bound to be successful with it.³⁹

³⁷ Rodker did send a piece entitled *Trains* to Caresse Crosby's Black Sun Press, which she rejected. However, the typescript of *Trains* is in two parts, in the second of which 'Part II' has been crossed out from the title. Caresse Crosby, Letter to Rodker of 14 August 1930; *Trains* (Part II) Typescript, John Rodker Papers 37.8. It is this second part which appeared as 'Trains,' trans. Ludmila Savitzky, *La Revue européenne* ns 3 (1929): 1882-1907.

³⁸ Publishers and reviewers also noted the peculiarities of Rodker's style. B. N. Langdon Davis of Williams and Norgate Ltd, rejecting the book, wrote that 'it is often ungrammatical, there are Americanisms and curious expressions which seem not to belong to the rest of it'. Letter to Miss A. M. Heath, 20 March 1931. Ethel Mannin, once she had found out who the real author was, wrote to Rodker saying that his book did have certain 'faults of style—obscurities of style, and sentences without predications and punctuation omissions.' Letter from Ethel Mannin to Rodker, June 13 1932, *Memoirs of Other Fronts* Correspondence, John Rodker Papers 36.4.

³⁹ Letter of 14 February 1928, quoted in William Lipke, *David Bomberg: A Critical Study of his Life and Work* (London: Evelyn, Adams and Mackay, 1967) 65.

Rodker's use of language here is, it seems to me, self-consciously 'foreign', particularly in the first two sentences. The use of 'entirely' as a modifier for 'good' is more like 'ganz gut' (or 'gants gut') than any standard English phrase, and the adverbial phrase 'for a long time' would more conventionally come at the end of the sentence. Although Bomberg knew almost no Yiddish, and though Rodker claimed that by this time he had forgotten it almost entirely, Rodker's letter to him is at least marked by the idea of Yiddish. In this context, the purpose seems to be to assert some sort of bond with Bomberg, which is reinforced by the tinge of jokiness to the use of language.⁴⁰ But in the context of *Memoirs of Other Fronts*, despite the similarities, the language must do something else. There is no friend here to whose common experiences Rodker can appeal. Instead, it works within the images of foreignness which he has been constructing, and interacts with a physical, 'racial' idea.

Sander Gilman argues that the late nineteenth century discourse of 'race' included a concept of language. Jews were said to be without a true language, unable to be at home in any language no matter how well they superficially mastered it. The ultimate example of this was the continuum between Yiddish and German. At any point of it, Jewish speakers were supposed to be characterised by the supposed features of Yiddish—not a true language, but a *Jargon*.⁴¹ Gilman's writing is mainly concerned with Germany, but there do seem to be cognates with the situation in Britain. The Anglo-Jewish

⁴⁰ The reason for writing in this way may well lie in the content of the show, an exhibition of work done over five years in Palestine, and partly funded by the Palestine Foundation, which was connected to the Zionist Organization. Richard Cork, *David Bomberg* 143-173. Cork quotes the artist Joseph Zaritsky, who made friends with Bomberg in Palestine: 'I don't know Yiddish and he didn't know Yiddish, but by a few words we were connected by Yiddish—what I remembered from my home he remembered too.' *David Bomberg* 157.

⁴¹ Sander L. Gilman, *Jewish Self-Hatred: Anti-Semitism and the Hidden Language of the Jews* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins UP, 1986) 209-219.

establishment's concern with ironing out 'the ghetto bend'⁴² and suppressing Yiddish linked these two traits in Jewish immigrants.⁴³

The coincidence of discussions of some kind of physical or spiritual difference and use of somewhat dislocated syntax is not just coincidental. Phrases like 'I looked what I wanted to look' and '[d]ragged round always they had been' enact that difference in themselves. However, this is not all that they do. As I have already argued, in the discussion of 'foreignness' in Part I, the confusion of time references interacts with the slightly peculiar syntax to create race as a narrative problem as much as a social one. When Rodker is looking back at his feelings about the war, something similar takes place.

[L]iterally it is only now, when it is of course easy to have such ideas that I am puzzled and rather ashamed of how little I thought of the front, of how untouched I was by the fate of so many of my own generation [...] So I think now this refusal to think then, shows how frightened I in reality was of the whole thing [...] Yet all the conviction of war's horror was not feeling. I did not feel about it. [...] Certainly I can't envisage my own dying or that I personally could be killed, yet I also belong to those who know they must be killed and I know as my redeemer liveth that I have but this one life, in me and for me, and that there is another life of me in the race that will go on and on. But actually I am saying to hell with the race, that will go on anyhow, that my life is not part of the race, and that when I die, this wonderful I, with my liver, my bowels, my belly, my teeth, that is the end and I shall feel nothing and know nothing. So why bother? And I agree, I shall not bother then, it is the now I am bothering about and am bothered by, the prospect of having this present I ended of feeling and living, all its most precious self.

⁴² Bill Williams "'East and West": Class and Community in Manchester Jewry 1850-1914' in *The Making of Modern Anglo-Jewry*, ed. David Cesarani (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990) 21, quoting *Jewish Chronicle* of 17 August 1881, Rosalyn Livshin 84, quoting *Jewish Chronicle* of 28 January 1910.

⁴³ V.D. Lipman quotes a Board of Trade report of 1894 on education re the 'ABC class at the bottom in which the energies of the teachers are mainly directed to teaching the English language and something of the English notions of cleanliness.' *A History of the Jews in Britain since 1858* (Leicester: Leicester UP, 1990) 106-107. Louis B. Abraham, headmaster of the Jews' Free School from 1905 (where Rodker was a pupil until 1908), who urged parents to bring up their children to be 'identified with everything that is English in thought and deed', considered Yiddish to be a 'miserable jargon which is not a language at all.' Cited in Lipman *History* 116n59. Rosalyn Livshin regards the teaching of English and discouragement of Yiddish in schools, and the formation of the Jewish Lads' Brigade to improve their physique as two of the major attempts at acculturating the children of Jewish immigrants in Manchester. 'The Acculturation of the Children of Immigrant Jews in Manchester, 1890-1930,' *The Making of Modern Anglo-Jewry*, ed. David Cesarani (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990) 79-96.

While I live then, this I will cling to the only thing it truly owns with every life preserving ruse. Is not this a form of the survival of the fittest; and if you like, those who let themselves be killed, in some form had themselves killed, were perhaps not the fittest, biologically they had somewhere a drive to be killed, a maladjustment, organ deficiency, somewhere.

So as I say, somehow I had literally shut myself to all ideas of what the front was, I don't remember to have thought of it, not livingly as part of my then present I mean, and haven't truly till now [...] (194-195)

Once again, Rodker links the idea of race to one of looking back at his past, but the time references are knotted into a syntax which is uncomfortably convoluted. Using an infinitive rather than a gerund after 'remember' complicates matters even further: instead of having a straightforward meaning of remembering something that has happened, its grammatical oddness cuts the time of what is remembered free from any fixed point. Rodker is making himself sound foreign, and in doing so he disturbs—slightly but nevertheless noticeably—the chronology of his story.

This is the effect of much of Rodker's prose. It contains some almost interminable sentences, clause after clause piled upon each other, refusing to reach a conclusion at which it can rest. Each point is modified or moved on by the next, but the heavy use of parataxis flattens out the relationships between ideas, in a way which mixes contrast, simultaneity and chronology.

Psychoanalytic Cognates

As a non-hierarchical method of ordering material, Rodker's sentence structure owes something to Pound's use of parataxis, and possibly also to Stein's method of writing. But as a way of distorting time, recreating events at the moment of writing, it can also be characterised psychoanalytically, as a process of deferred action (*Nachträglichkeit*). In this concept, a traumatic event

is originally unable to be processed, and only takes on psychic reality, in fact only becoming a trauma, when triggered by a later event. However, this is not the only characterisation of trauma offered by Freud. In *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*, written in response to the problem of war neuroses, he suggests that a traumatic event may overload the psyche, which then attempts to master the excessive excitation by revisiting it.⁴⁴ In the former sense, the reality of the trauma is not as important as the meaning it takes on when it becomes psychically operative. In the latter, it is an excess of reality which cannot be psychically mastered. Despite this possible contradiction, both of these ideas are at work in Rodker's text.⁴⁵

In fact, Rodker's analyst, Barbara Low, is cited by Freud in *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*. Freud found some justification for his idea of the death instinct, which produces the compulsion to repeat, by borrowing the term 'Nirvana principle' from her and it appears to have been regarded as her most notable achievement.⁴⁶ And Rodker certainly had repeatedly written about his wartime experience. At the heart of his autobiography is an image which he had initially used fourteen years before as part of 'A C.O.'s Biography', and then published on its own in his *Hymns* of 1920, the image of himself alone in a cell.

⁴⁴ Sigmund Freud, 'Beyond the Pleasure Principle' (1920) *S.E.* 18: 1-64. I am summarising the summary given by J. Laplanche and J.-B. Pontalis, *The Language of Psychoanalysis*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (London: Karnac, 1988) 111-114, 468.

⁴⁵ Ruth Leys characterises the two ideas as 'anti-mimesis' and 'mimesis', claiming that the two are inherent to any concept of trauma. *Trauma: A Genealogy* (Chicago and London: U of Chicago P, 2000).

⁴⁶ Sigmund Freud, 'Beyond the Pleasure Principle' (1920) *S.E.* 18:56. 'She made a notable contribution to theoretical formulation as the originator of the "Nirvana principle", to which Freud referred with approval, acknowledging the suggestion as Miss Low's.' Marjorie Franklin, Obituary of Barbara Low *International Journal of Psychoanalysis* 27(1956): 473. Low defined the Nirvana principle as 'the desire of the newborn creature to return to that stage of omnipotence where there are no non-fulfilled desires, in which it existed within the mother's womb.' She described *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* as putting forward 'profound and complex ideas'. Barbara Low, *Psycho-Analysis: A Brief Account of the Freudian Theory*, revised ed., (London: Allen and Unwin, 1923) 73, 188.

He was a spider inside a glass tumbler,
 a miserable gannet caught by wire.
 Light flooded the galleries
 and men glowed transparent against
 the high windows.

Outside his window women played tennis.
 In a warder's house women took tea.
 Always the trains slipped shyly into Clapham Junction,
 and aeroplanes crawled across his window.⁴⁷

This was then turned into prose and placed in the central section of the central part of *Memoirs of Other Fronts*.

What is a cell? It is silence after the guard-room, after the mental ward; it is cleanliness, it is food, it is protection. The silence grows. All the time it grows. Through the weeks, the months, it stretches, swells, sends out proliferating fingers till it grows into every organ, every cell of the body, till an unexpected sound is a clap of thunder, stupendous, terrifying, till the faintest sound makes you jump, till an unexpected word of kindness is a caress too intolerable to be borne, till a secret word or message makes the whole being quiver for days and breaks up the face muscles into uncontrollable grimaces and the body muscles into ceaseless quivering. The silence grows in you, you grow in the silence, it seems to you your skin, your thoughts, your muscles are soft, are white, are proliferating outwards always. You fill your cell. You are outside your cell. You watch the warders' wives in a near-by cottage serving tea, you see them play tennis, it is unendurable to be so far from them; you hear the trains slide always into Clapham Junction, you are in everything. (135)

Rodker has changed the original verse in order to structure this paragraph as a movement back and forth between feelings of isolation and connection, but the isolation is from other humans, whereas the connection seems to be with rooms (playing on two meanings of 'cell') buildings and machines. His wholeness comes through lack of human contact: other people break it up, producing physical symptoms—'grimaces' and the 'quivering' of muscles—which suggest the tics of shell shock.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ John Rodker, 'From a Biography,' *Poems and Adolphe 1920*, ed. Andrew Crozier (Manchester: Carcanet, 1996) 20.

⁴⁸ For example, of the sample of 100 patients David Eder used in one of the earliest studies of the subject, ten are listed as suffering from tics or tremors. M. D. Eder, *War-Shock: The Psycho-Neuroses in War: Psychology and Treatment* (London: Heinemann, 1917). Eder, one of the very

The final sentence is taken directly from the poem, with three major changes. The 'he' has become a universal 'you', it has been joined all into one sentence and the tense changed to present. All of these have the effect of undermining his individuality. The universal 'you' takes the experience away from Markham to make the description a template into which he simply fits. Similarly, the switch of tense turns the paragraph into an attempt to answer some kind of philosophical or semantic question rather than a question of individual psychology. Finally, presenting all the events in one sentence, loosely articulated with commas, increases the sense of simultaneity rather than one of a specific delineated series of events in a 'biography'. This is Rodker's version of 'memoirs': an event happening to no one or to everyone, at no specific time. This is also part of some psychoanalytical definitions of trauma. Not only is the event experienced now rather than at the time it happens, but the sense of self is also shattered by the overwhelming nature of the event.⁴⁹

This image is the book's structuring principle and its motivating force, about which he is compelled to write repeatedly, but which he can never fully speak. None of his writings on his conscientious objection made any significant impact on the English-reading public, either because they remained unpublished, or were published in French, or because he had written about it in a socially unacceptable way. Even though he had made some compromises in what was included in an attempt to shore up the support of 'squeamish' pacifists for his book, he was not prepared to leave out all descriptions of defecation.⁵⁰ Such an attitude still shows

first people to use psychoanalysis in Britain, was Barbara Low's brother-in-law, and a major figure in Zionist and Jewish intellectual circles. It is fairly likely, as Ian Patterson suggests, that Rodker had some contact with him. Patterson, *Cultural Critique* 44.

⁴⁹ Leys, *Trauma* 298.

⁵⁰ Letter from Rodker to C. Huntingdon at Putnam's, 12 Feb 1932. Indeed, Rodker expressed pleasure at receiving 'very satisfactory' reviews. Rodker to C Huntingdon, 19 May 1932.

the contradictory double need characteristic of so much of the Pound circle's writing: to have an effect on his audience, but also to assert his difference from them (he is not squeamish like the pacifists).

Rodker is aware that writing like this carries risks, however, as he shows in his discussion of another book that could not be published in Britain.

There is a book by Barbusse called *l'Enfer*. There, if you like, is Blood and Mess, and perhaps the half million in this country who read *All Quiet on the Western Front*, would say it was filth and unprintable (though 400,000 Frenchmen can't be wrong); but I do not think it filth or blood or mess because the risks he writes about are the risks we all run in our every-day living on the Home Front: I mean the family, the intense dynamic repercussions of the family, erupting at all points in suppressed murder, rape and every root of every crime, and virtue too of course. But that book can't be printed as it stands in England, because these things are too close. (195)

Although Henri Barbusse wrote one of the first memoirs from the front, *Le Feu* (1916), *L'Enfer*, published in 1908, tells the story of a voyeur in a hotel. Nonetheless, it tells a truth which is directly connected to the war, bringing the 'Blood and Mess' of the trenches back to the Home Front, and the family, implying that the trauma of war is not separable from the general run of social life.⁵¹

In this, Rodker is in agreement with his friend Edward Glover's book, *War, Sadism and Pacifism*. Glover sees a 'destructive instinct' working through family

Memoirs of Other Fronts Correspondence, John Rodker Papers 36.4. Ethel Mannin and L. A. G. Strong, for example, both gave very positive reviews to the book. Ethel Mannin, 'War from a Prison Cell,' *The New Leader* (June 10 1932): 10. L. A. G. Strong, 'Fiction,' *The Spectator* (April 30 1932): 638. However, sales started slowly (386 copies were sold between April and June 1932) and seem never to have improved. The inclusion of what one publisher called 'quite unnecessary excremental description which really at times is somewhat revolting' cannot have helped. Royalty statement from Putnam's; Letter from B. N. Langdon Davis of Williams and Norgate to Miss A. M. Heath, 20 March 1931. *Memoirs of Other Fronts* Correspondence, John Rodker Papers 36.4.

⁵¹ Trudi Tate also argues, with particular reference to H.D. and Kipling, that war neuroses were not confined to soldiers, but also affected civilians. *Modernism, History and the First World War* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1998) 10-40.

life and into both sadism and pacifism in time of war.⁵² This 'destructive instinct' is Glover's reading, or misreading, of the Freudian concept of a *Todestrieb*, or 'death instinct' as it was generally translated. For Glover, it is essentially synonymous with sadism, and therefore, according to his own analyst, Karl Abraham, with anal erotism. In the psychoanalytic milieu in which Rodker moved, therefore, there was an overlap between the concepts around the death drive and traumatic neuroses and Abraham's version of the anal-sadistic stage.⁵³

The narrator's constipation, therefore, which he experiences at its worst while sitting in his bathroom, which is white, like his cell, and contains a toilet which seems to fill the room, like his cell, can be seen as a reworking of a kind of war trauma. It is also the point at which the general alienation of society is embodied in him. The 'filth' of *L'Enfer* and the literal and metaphorical descriptions of excrement in *Memoirs of Other Fronts* are both essential to revealing the truth of society and to the difficulty of its being received by society.

Jewishness as Trauma, Jewishness and Trauma

It is not only the war that has this character of a trauma, however. It is also the narrator's 'foreignness' which cannot be kept within a conventional structure of time. It too has the split character of a trauma, which is only felt now, but happened to him then. It too cannot be spoken, showing its effects without ever being named, either as 'Jewish', or with the name 'Rodker' which would admit

⁵² Edward Glover, *War, Sadism and Pacifism: Three Essays* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1933).

⁵³ In fact, Abraham not only claims that anal-sadistic processes are operating in war, but also sees them at work in tics, which Ferenczi regarded as similar to traumatic neuroses. Karl Abraham, 'A Short Study of the Development of the Libido,' *Selected Papers* 429 and 'Contribution to a Discussion on Tic,' *Selected Papers* 323-325. The latter paper was a response to Sándor Ferenczi, 'Psycho-Analytical Observations on Tic,' *Further Contributions to the Theory and Technique of Psychoanalysis* (London: Karnac, 1994) 142-174.

the author's Polish Jewish ancestry.⁵⁴ But its effects permeate the entire book, in the psychoanalytic use of imagery which makes his sense of difference physical, in the structuring of the book around an image of isolation which is part of his sense of himself as an outsider, and in the strange uses of syntax which mark the language of the book as itself indefinably 'foreign.'

Elements of Rodker's Jewishness could possibly be described as traumatic: a childhood in which his mother disappeared from his life, exposure to antisemitism amongst his friends, even, perhaps, the loss of his first language, Yiddish. But trauma did not just happen to him. The concept of it was also something that he used. The concept of trauma provided him with strategies of dealing with a social position in which his Jewishness had been unspeakable, because of his marginality to Jewish communities, to the culture of 'Englishness', and to modernism. Psychoanalysis gave Rodker the means to rework certain images of himself coloured by antisemitism, some of which were directly influenced by the writings of Pound and Eliot that he had published over the previous decade. However, doing so relied on his accepting these images in order to be able to universalise them. The modernist practice of writing for a tiny audience allowed Rodker to use a socially unacceptable psychoanalytic vocabulary to describe and define the effects of a 'Jewishness' which had no real cultural content, but by privileging this alienation from society, it did not allow him to look to any part of society, even the Jewish part, for other resources to give it any content. Modernism helped him to speak the unspeakable, but had helped make it unspeakable in the first place.

⁵⁴ Rodker's father originally used the surname 'Solomon' when he came to Britain, because Rodker was an unusual name. Rodker's birth was registered under the name of 'Simon Solomon'. Copy of birth certificate and a declaration from 1929 explaining the discrepancy in names, Joan Rodker Papers 4.6.

Conclusion

Memoirs of Other Fronts was not the last thing Rodker wrote. Soon after completing it, he began work on a novel entitled *An Ape of Genius*,¹ in which he attempted explicitly to address both some of the more problematic aspects of modern Jewish identity—his central character is a self-hating Jewish writer—and to put this in the context of the social groupings of modernism. It was to be, at one level, a roman à clef. Notes in the manuscript have characters' names joined to 'Ford Madox Ford' and 'Ezra Pound' with equals signs. But it was also a surreal fantasy on writing, in which, for example, a writer's implements mocked his failings, and the midnight oil complained about being burned. Typically for Rodker, it also featured a dialogue between a chamber pot and a toilet.² Both a response to Wyndham Lewis's savage antisemitic caricature of him as Julius Ratner in *The Apes of God* (1930)³ and what he described to a prospective publisher as an attempt to 'study the intellectual and physical manifestations of the literary group to which [he] belonged until it fell apart',⁴ the novel used modernist techniques to critique modernism.

This thesis, it might be said, has been an attempt to do some of the things that Rodker seems to have attempted to do for himself: to examine the antisemitism of the group of which he was a part, in its intellectual and physical manifestations, and to see how this continued once it fell apart, particularly as

¹ Rodker was unable to publish this book, and from a necessarily brief examination of the manuscript in the John Rodker Papers I have not been able to determine whether he finished it. This novel was identified in the John Rodker Papers by Ian Patterson. Patterson has been able to give the manuscript and typescripts more attention than I have, and discusses some passages from it in his thesis. *Cultural Critique and Canon Formation: A Study in Cultural Memory*, diss., U of Cambridge, 1997, 162-163.

² Typescript of *An Ape of Genius*, John Rodker Papers 35.7.

³ Wyndham Lewis, *The Apes of God*, ed. Paul Edwards (Santa Barbara: Black Sparrow Press, 1981).

⁴ Letter from C. Huntingdon to Rodker, 20 July 1932, John Rodker Papers 36.4.

Pound attempted to carry it on, and how Rodker managed to deal with these questions.

I have shown that between the First World War and the publication of *The Waste Land*, Pound and Eliot in particular were involved in a collaboration which was in part shaped by their antisemitism. Antisemitic, racist and sexist jokes and squibs passed between them as a means of delimiting a group which imagined itself as opposed to a general, degenerate culture. This kind of writing was not confined simply to their doggerel, however, but to significant and major pieces of writing: 'Burbank with a Baedeker: Bleistein with a Cigar' and 'Gerontion' in particular. But the images of Jews which these poems employed did not simply remain images. Since writing was a means of forming a particular social group, it also determined in part the social roles given to Jews. Rodker, as a junior member of the group, but nonetheless a member, was given a role of publisher because it fitted with certain anxieties that Pound and Eliot had about publication.

In the case of *Hugh Selwyn Mauberley*, I have shown that this role fitted with Pound's conception of Jews as responsible for miscirculating his work, but that this miscirculation was an unavoidable part of publication, and was intimately tied to the errors and uncertainties in both the text of *Mauberley* and the physical form of the book. Rodker, as the book's printer and publisher, was given the task of circulating the literature because all circulation is miscirculation. The errors in the book can also be read as a sign of some kind of freedom in Rodker's position. He was not doomed to simply repeat Pound and Eliot's semitic discourse.

Nevertheless, as a writer, his social position and his self-image were often dominated by the kinds of images which Pound, Eliot and Lewis circulated of

him between themselves. *Hymns*, therefore, is in the end a failure both as poetry and as a piece of self-imagining, but it does not show Rodker to be completely circumscribed by the Pound circle's representations of Jews. The image of the Schlemihl with which the volume ends, and which features significantly in Rodker's review of André Spire's *Poèmes juifs*, is not just an antisemitic caricature. It relies nonetheless on universalising a certain sense of alienation and rootlessness which was the result of second generation immigrant experience as well as Rodker's affiliation to modernist circles.

With Rodker's turn to prose and Pound's seeking refuge in Fascist Italy, the former's significance to the latter increased rather than decreased. Rodker's breaking down of the boundary between the psychic and the somatic, between image and imaged, had certain parallels with Pound's own experiments with collage and direct quotation. However, Pound was nonetheless uneasy with as well as fascinated by the Jews whom he patronised, as his treatment of two other Jewish writers in *The Exile* shows. Louis Zukofsky was acclaimed within its pages, but four years later was asked to publish 'Der Yiddisher Charleston Band'. Carl Rakosi was given space for his poetry, but was framed in such a way that his satires of the worst aspects of American culture were made part of Pound's attacks on monotheism in general and Judaism in particular. Rodker too was the subject of Pound's praise, but Pound appears to have been uneasy about the kinds of blurring of race and gender boundaries which Rodker was exploring in *Adolphe 1920* as part of (or perhaps as the motivation for) his dismantling of the hierarchy of mind over body and real over metaphorical.

Even when Rodker was no longer in touch with Pound in any significant way, the influence of Pound and Eliot's version of modernism can be seen in Rodker's

most impressive piece of writing, *Memoirs of Other Fronts*. However, it was also heavily marked by the influence of psychoanalysis, which functioned in the book as a means of reworking certain images of Jews that were still haunting Rodker. His getting to grips with these issues resulted in a powerful and compelling portrait of Britain during and after the Great War as traumatised, sadistic and commodified, all of which came under the psychoanalytic sign of the anal-sadistic phase, and was summed up by a description of the protagonist being constipated and finally being able to excrete. This description was linked to an image of himself as foreign and estranged, a condition which the book eventually applied to everyone in this period. However, by making everyone into 'Jews', the way in which the 'Jewishness' of actual Jews was defined was left unquestioned. Some of it, particularly the associations with excrement, still showed the influence of Pound and Eliot, even if reworked into the more 'objective' language of psychoanalysis.

What all of the above shows is that the current debates on modernism and antisemitism, and on Jewish literature could both benefit from a grounding in the social history of literature. The antisemitism of Eliot, Pound and Lewis was not simply a matter of images, nor of individual prejudices, nor even of reflecting national or international discourses of race. It was socially grounded, and formed a social praxis as part of their means of self-formation, group-formation, and thinking through and enacting their relationship to modernity and modern culture. They were also applied to actual Jews. Rodker, as one of these Jews, had to deal with the images, certainly, but also with the social role in which he found himself. He was never formed simply by the Pound circle, and always had other contacts

and relationships which he could draw upon and make use of, but his membership of this group was a major component in his sense of himself as an artist, as can be seen in the many genres of his writing: diaries, essays in *The Little Review*, the influence of a Pound-Eliot aesthetic on his poetry, the discussion of his relationships with the Pound circle during his analysis, and finally, his attempt to write a novel which addressed all these issues.

Rodker's literary production in all its many forms is therefore, I conclude, an important example of Jewish literature. Certainly not because it asserts or attempts to bring about its affiliation with a tradition of Jewish literature going back to the Bible (it does not), and not because it explicitly addresses Jewish questions. Rather it is the product of a particular social position and social process, in which Rodker's writing, affiliations and self-imaginings are all coloured by the fact that he was Jewish. The fact that he did not publicly and explicitly state this fact is also the product of his social situation. In other words, reading Rodker's work within a particular social milieu, as part of the means of forming that milieu, and as a product of that milieu, makes possible an assessment of how he was both able and unable to articulate a Jewish identity.

However, this is not to see him *simply* as the product of social forces. Within certain constraints, he produced work which attempted to re-imagine his situation and re-work the images which resulted from and structured that situation. These re-imaginings did have some effect on that situation: particularly in the re-assessment which Pound had to give of him after he had produced *Adolphe 1920*. Rodker did not entirely escape the definitions of Jewishness used by Pound, Eliot and Lewis, but that does not mean that he was doomed to do nothing more than repeat them.

Rodker's complex self-imaginings and re-imaginings, social self-positionings and re-positionings, all say something about the process and situation of assimilation, while showing that the term needs to be used with some social nuance and flexibility. Rodker did not attempt to re-invent himself as an Englishman. Nor, it appears, did he attempt to deny his Jewishness. In a sense, he attempted to assimilate England to himself, to show that it was just as much estranged and 'foreign' as he was himself, but this was a self that was defined by England and by non-English modernists. In this sense too Rodker's case shows that the kind of micro-sociology which I have carried out here, examining one section of modern society, a group of artists who have a complex relationship with other sections of society, is an appropriate means for examining the cultural effects of assimilation. As I have shown in my comparisons of Rodker's relationship with Pound with those Pound had with Zukofsky and Rakosi, the situation in which he found himself was not confined to him alone. Work still needs to be done on the ways in which modernist culture, and indeed, culture in general, relies upon images of Jews, and how these are dealt with by Jewish artists and writers. The method that I have made use of here, grounded in a sense of culture as a set of material practices and social interactions, would be a fruitful way in which to approach these other questions.

Bibliography

Manuscript Collections

Joan Rodker Papers, Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin.

John Rodker Papers, Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin.

Books and Articles

Abraham, Karl. 'Contribution to a Discussion on Tic.' 1921. *Selected Papers*. 323-325.

---. *Selected Papers of Karl Abraham M.D.* London: Hogarth, 1949.

---. 'A Short Study of the Development of the Libido, Viewed in the Light of Mental Disorders.' 1924. *Selected Papers*. 418-501.

Adams, Stephen J. 'Irony and Common Sense: The Genre of Mauberley.' *Paideuma* 18.1-2 (Spring & Fall 1989): 147-160.

Ahearn, Barry. *Zukofsky's "A": An Introduction*. Berkeley: U of California P, 1983.

Ahmad, Aijaz. *In Theory: Classes, Nations, Literatures*. London and New York: Verso, 1992.

Alderman, Geoffrey. *Modern British Jewry*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1992.

Alderman, Nigel. "'Where are the Eagles and the Trumpets?': The Strange Case of Eliot's Missing Quatrains.' *Twentieth Century Literature* 39.2 (Summer 1993): 129-151.

Aldington, Richard. 'Two Poets.' *The Egoist* 1.22 (Nov 16 1914): 422.

Alexander, Michael. 'Images of Venice in the Poetry of Ezra Pound.' *Ezra Pound a Venezia*. Ed. Rosella Mamoli Zorzi. Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1985. 171-179.

Alexander, Michael. *Jazz Age Jews*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 2001.

Alpert, Barry S. 'Ezra Pound, John Price and *The Exile*.' *Paideuma* 2.3 (1973): 427-448.

Anderson, Linda. *Women and Autobiography in the Twentieth Century: Remembered Futures*. Hemel Hempstead: Prentice Hall/Harvester, 1997.

- Anderson, Margaret C. 'A Real Magazine.' *The Little Review* 3.5 (August 1916): 1-2.
- Archer-Shaw, Petrine. *Negrophilia: Avant-Garde Paris and Black Culture in the 1920s*. London: Thames and Hudson, 2000.
- Arwas, Victor. *Art Deco*. London: Academy Editions, 1980.
- Ayers, David. *Wyndham Lewis and Western Man*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1992.
- Bacigalupo, Massimo. *The Forméd Trace: The Later Poetry of Ezra Pound*. New York: Columbia UP, 1980.
- Banister, Joseph. *England under the Jews*. 3rd ed. London: Joseph Banister, 1907.
- Barbusse, Henri. *L'Enfer*. Paris: Albin Michel, n.d.
- Baudelaire, Charles. *Œuvres complètes*. Ed. Claude Pichois. 2 vols. Paris: Gallimard, 1975-76.
- Bauman, Zygmunt. 'Allosemitism: Premodern, Modern, Postmodern.' *Modernity, Culture and 'the Jew'*. Ed. Bryan Cheyette and Laura Marcus. Cambridge: Polity, 1998. 143-156.
- . 'Assimilation into Exile: the Jew as Polish Writer.' *Exile and Creativity: Signposts, Travelers, Outsiders, Backward Glances*. Ed. Susan Rubin Suleiman. Durham, NC : Duke UP, 1998. 321-352.
- . *Modernity and Ambivalence*. Cambridge: Polity, 1991.
- Beckman, Linda Hunt. 'Leaving "the Tribal Duckpond": Amy Levy, Jewish Self-Hatred, and Jewish Identity.' *Victorian Literature and Culture* 27.1 (1999): 185-201.
- Benbassa, Esther, and Jean-Christophe Attias, eds. *La Haine de soi: difficiles identities*. Bruxelles: Editions Complexe, 2000.
- Benoit, Martine-Sophie. 'Theodor Lessing et le concept de "haine de soi juive".' *La Haine de soi: difficiles identities*. Ed. Esther Benbassa and Jean-Christophe Attias. Bruxelles: Editions Complexe, 2000. 27-46.
- Berkowitz, Michael. *The Jewish Self-Image: American and British Perspectives, 1881-1939*. London: Reaktion, 2000.
- Berry, Paul, and Mark Bostridge. *Vera Brittain: A Life*. London: Pimlico, 1996.
- Berryman, Jo Brantley. *Circe's Craft: Ezra Pound's Hugh Selwyn Mauberley*. Epping: Bowker, 1983.

- Birmingham, Stephen. *Our Crowd*. London and Sydney: Macdonald, 1986.
- Black, Eugene C. *The Social Politics of Anglo-Jewry 1880-1920*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1988.
- Blake, Jody. *Le Tumulte noir: Modernist Art and Popular Entertainment in Jazz-Age Paris, 1900-1920*. University Park: Pennsylvania State UP, 1999.
- Blondel, Nathalie. *Mary Butts: Scenes from the Life*. Kingston, NY: McPherson, 1998.
- Bornstein, George. *Material Modernism: The Politics of the Page*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2001.
- , ed. *Representing Modernist Texts: Editing as Interpretation*. Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 1991.
- Breen, Stella. 'My Five Husbands.' *The Exile* 2 (Autumn 1927): 87-111.
- Bromwich, David. 'A Response to Ronald Schuchard.' *Modernism/Modernity* 10.1 (Jan 2003): 27-31.
- Brooker, Peter. *Bohemia in London: The Social Scene of Early Modernism*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.
- Brown, Dennis. *Intertextual Dynamics within the Literary Group: Joyce, Lewis, Pound and Eliot: The Men of 1914*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1990.
- Brown, Norman O. *Life against Death: The Psychoanalytical Meaning of History*. London: Routledge, 1959.
- Burke, Carolyn. *Becoming Modern: The Life of Mina Loy*. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1996.
- Bush, Ronald. *The Genesis of Ezra Pound's Cantos*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1976.
- . "'It Draws One to Consider Time Wasted": Hugh Selwyn Mauberley.' *American Literary History* 2.1 (Spring 1990): 56-78.
- . 'A Response to Ronald Schuchard.' *Modernism/Modernity* 10.1 (Jan 2003): 33-36.
- Butts, Mary. *The Journals of Mary Butts*. Ed. Nathalie Blondel. New Haven and London: Yale UP, 2002.
- . *Speed the Plough and Other Stories*. London: Chapman and Hall, 1923.

- . *With and Without Buttons and Other Stories*. Ed. Nathalie Blondel. Manchester: Carcanet, 1991.
- Canoui-Dadoun, Joële. 'Itinéraire d'André Spire à travers les Poèmes juifs.' *Revue des études juives* 139.1-3 (1980): 183-197.
- Caraher, Brian G. 'Reading Pound with Bakhtin: Sculpting the Social Language of Hugh Selwyn Mauberley's "Mere Surface".' *Modern Language Quarterly* 49 (March 1988): 38-64.
- Carpenter, Humphrey. *A Serious Character: The Life of Ezra Pound*. London: Faber, 1988.
- Casillo, Robert. 'Ezra Pound: The Marxist Anti-Semitic Zionist?' *Journal of American Culture* 17.3 (Fall 1994): 49-54.
- . *The Genealogy of Demons: Anti-Semitism, Fascism, and the Myths of Ezra Pound*. Evanston, IL: Northwestern UP, 1988.
- . 'Pound and Mauberley: the Eroding Difference.' *Papers on Language and Literature* 21.1 (Winter 1985): 43-63.
- Cesarani, David. 'An Embattled Minority: The Jews in Britain during the First World War.' *The Politics of Marginality: Race, the Radical Right and Minorities in Twentieth Century Britain*. Ed. Tony Kushner and Kenneth Lunn. London: Frank Cass, 1990. 61-81.
- , ed. *The Making of Modern Anglo-Jewry*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1990.
- . *The Jewish Chronicle and Anglo-Jewry 1841-1991*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1994.
- Chace, William M. 'Ezra Pound and the Marxist Temptation.' *American Quarterly* 22.3 (Autumn 1970): 714-725.
- Chamisso, Adelbert von. *The Shadow-less Man, Or the Wonderful History of Peter Schlemihl*. London: James Burns, 1845. Trans. of *Peter Schlemihls wundersame Geschichte*, 1812.
- Cheyette, Bryan, ed. *Between 'Race' and Culture: Representations of 'the Jew' in English and American Literature*. Stanford: Stanford UP, 1996.
- . *Constructions of 'the Jew' in English Literature and Society: Racial Representations 1870-1945*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1993.
- . 'The Enemy Within.' Rev. of *The War After: Living with the Holocaust*, by Anne Karpf, and *T. S. Eliot: Anti-Semitism and Literary Form*, by Anthony Julius. *The New Statesman* 5 July 1996: 44-45.

- . 'Hilaire Belloc and the "Marconi Scandal" 1900-1914: A Reassessment of the Interactionist Model of Racial Hatred.' *The Politics of Marginality: Race, the Radical Right and Minorities in Twentieth Century Britain*. Ed. Tony Kushner and Kenneth Lunn. London: Frank Cass, 1990. 134.
- . "'Ineffable and Usable": Towards a Diasporic British-Jewish Writing.' *Textual Practice* 10.2 (Summer 1996): 295-313.
- . 'Neither Accuse nor Excuse: T. S. Eliot's Semitic Discourse.' *Modernism/Modernity* 10.3 (Sept 2003): 431-437.
- . 'Neither Black nor White: The Figure of "the Jew" in Imperial British Literature.' *The Jew in the Text: Modernity and the Construction of Identity*. Ed. Linda Nochlin and Tamar Garb. London: Thames and Hudson, 1995. 31-41.
- . 'The Other Self: Anglo-Jewish Fiction and the Representation of Jews in England, 1875-1905.' *The Making of Modern Anglo-Jewry*. Ed. David Cesarani. Oxford: Blackwell, 1990. 97-111.
- . 'Venetian Spaces: Old-New Literatures and the Ambivalent Uses of Jewish History.' *Reading the 'New' Literatures in a Post-Colonial Era*. Ed. Susheila Nasta. Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 2000. 53-72.
- , and Laura Marcus, eds. *Modernity, Culture and 'the Jew'*. Cambridge: Polity, 1998.
- Chinitz, David. 'T. S. Eliot's Blue Verses and Their Sources in the Folk Tradition.' *Journal of Modern Literature* 23.2 (Winter 1999-2000): 329-333.
- Chisolm, Anne. *Nancy Cunard*. London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1979.
- Cohen, Joseph. *Journey to the Trenches: The Life of Isaac Rosenberg 1890-1918*. London: Robson, 1975.
- Cohn, Norman. *Warrant for Genocide: The Myth of the Jewish World-Conspiracy and the Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1967.
- Collins, Theresa M. *Otto Kahn: Art, Money and Modern Time*. Chapel Hill and London: U of North Carolina P, 2002.
- Colls, Robert and Philip Dodd. *Englishness: Politics and Culture 1880-1920*. London: Croom Helm, 1986.
- Cork, Richard. *David Bomberg*. New Haven and London: Yale UP, 1987.
- . *Vorticism and Abstract Art in the First Machine Age*. 2 vols. Berkeley: U of California P, 1976.

- Cox-McCormack, Nancy. 'Ezra Pound in the Paris Years.' Ed. Lawrence S. Rainey. *The Sewanee Review* 102.1 (Winter 1994): 93-95.
- Crawford, Robert. *The Savage and the City in the Work of T. S. Eliot*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1987.
- Crozier, Andrew. 'Carl Rakosi in the "Objectivists" Epoch.' *Carl Rakosi: Man and Poet*. Ed. Michael Heller. Orono, ME: National Poetry Foundation, 1993. 95-113.
- . 'Introduction.' *Poems and Adolphe 1920*. By John Rodker. Manchester: Carcanet, 1996. vii-xxiii.
- Cunard, Nancy, ed. *Negro: An Anthology*. Abridged ed. Ed. and abridged Hugh Ford. Continuum: New York, 1996.
- Dalton, Karen C. C., and Henry Louis Gates, Jr. 'Josephine Baker and Paul Colin: African American Dance Seen through Parisian Eyes.' *Critical Inquiry* 24.4 (Summer 1998): 903-934.
- Danson, Lawrence. *Max Beerbohm and the Act of Writing*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1989.
- Davis, Simone Weil. *Living Up to the Ads: Gender Fictions of the 1920s*. Durham, NC and London: Duke UP, 2000.
- Davison, Neil. *James Joyce, Ulysses, and the Construction of Jewish Identity: Culture, Biography and 'the Jew' in Modernist Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1996.
- Delany, Paul. 'Who Paid for Modernism?' *The New Economic Criticism: Studies at the Intersection of Literature and Economics*. Ed. Martha Woodmansee and Mark Osteen. London: Routledge, 1999. 335-351.
- Dench, Geoff. *Minorities in the Open Society: Prisoners of Ambivalence*. London and New York: Routledge, 1986.
- Dennis, Helen M. 'Pound, Women and Gender.' *The Cambridge Companion to Ezra Pound*. Ed. Ira B. Nadel. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999.
- Dettmar, Kevin J. H., and Stephen Watt, eds. *Marketing Modernisms: Self-Promotion, Canonization, Rereading*. Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 1996.
- Diepeveen, Leonard. *The Difficulties of Modernism*. New York and London: Routledge, 2003.
- Doreski, William. 'Mauberley: The Single Voice.' *Paideuma* 19.1-2 (Spring & Fall 1990): 111-123.

- Doyle, Charles. *Richard Aldington: A Biography*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1986.
- Dreyfus, Hubert, and Paul Rabinow. *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*. Brighton: Harvester, 1982.
- Druce, Robert. 'The Mask of Agamemnon: Reflexions upon Eliot's "Sweeney among the Nightingales".' *Centennial Hauntings: Pope, Byron and Eliot in the Year 88*. Ed. C. C. Barfoot and Theo D'Haen. Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 1990. 283-301.
- DuPlessis, Rachel Blau. 'Circumscriptions: Assimilating T. S. Eliot's Sweeneys.' *People of the Book: Thirty Scholars Reflect on Their Jewish Identity*. Ed. Jeffrey Rubin Dorsky and Shelley Fisher Fishkin. Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1996. 136-152.
- . *Genders, Races and Religious Cultures in Modern American Poetry, 1908-1934*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2001.
- Durant, Alan. *Ezra Pound, Identity in Crisis: A Fundamental Reassessment of the Poet and His Work*. Brighton: Harvester, 1981.
- Edwards, Paul. "'The Strange Actor" and "Semitic Discourse".' *Wyndham Lewis Annual* 4 (1997): 32-38.
- . *Wyndham Lewis: Painter and Writer*. New Haven and London: Yale UP, 2000.
- Efron, John. *Defenders of the Race: Jewish Doctors and Race Science in Fin-de-Siècle Europe*. New Haven and London: Yale UP, 1994.
- Eliot, T. S. *Ara Vos Prec*. London: Ovid Press, 1919.
- . 'Charleston, Hey! Hey!' *Nation and Athenaeum*. 40.17 (29 Jan 1927): 595.
- . *Inventions of the March Hare: Poems 1909-1917*. Ed. Christopher Ricks. London: Faber, 1996.
- . *The Letters of T. S. Eliot Volume 1: 1898-1922*. Ed. Valerie Eliot. London: Faber, 1988.
- . *Selected Essays*. 3rd ed. London: Faber, 1951.
- . 'Tradition and the Individual Talent [I].' *The Egoist* 6.4 (Sept 1919): 54-55.
- . 'Tradition and the Individual Talent[II].' *The Egoist* 6.5 (Dec 1919): 72-73.
- . *The Waste Land: A Facsimile of the Original Drafts Including the Annotations of Ezra Pound*. Ed. Valerie Eliot. London: Faber, 1971.

- Ellmann, Maud. 'The Imaginary Jew: T. S. Eliot and Ezra Pound.' *Between 'Race' and Culture: Representations of 'the Jew' in English and American Literature*. Ed. Bryan Cheyette. Stanford: Stanford UP, 1996. 84-101.
- . *The Poetics of Impersonality: T. S. Eliot and Ezra Pound*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1987.
- Englander, David, ed. *A Documentary History of Jewish Immigrants in Britain 1840-1920*. Leicester: Leicester UP, 1994.
- Epstein, Jacob. *Let There Be Sculpture: An Autobiography*. London: Michael Joseph, 1940.
- Erskine, John. *The Private Life of Helen of Troy*. London: Nash and Gray, 1926.
- Espey, John. *Ezra Pound's "Mauberley": A Study in Composition*. London: Faber, 1955.
- Feldman, David. *Englishmen and Jews: Social Relations and Political Culture, 1840-1914*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1994.
- Ferenczi, Sándor. 'Psycho-Analytical Observations on Tic.' *Further Contributions to the Theory and Technique of Psychoanalysis*. London: Karnac, 1994. 142-174.
- Ferrall, Charles. *Modernist Writing and Reactionary Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2001.
- Finkelstein, Norman. 'Jewish-American Modernism and the Problem of Identity with Special Reference to the Work of Louis Zukofsky.' *Upper-Limit Music: The Writings of Louis Zukofsky*. Ed. Mark Scroggins. Tuscaloosa: U of Alabama P, 1997. 65-79.
- Fishman, William J. *East End Jewish Radicals 1875-1914*. London: Duckworth, 1975.
- Flory, Wendy. 'Pound and Antisemitism.' *The Cambridge Companion to Ezra Pound*. Ed. Ira B. Nadel. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999. 284-300.
- Flynn, Tom. 'Taming the Tusk: The Revival of Chryselephantine Sculpture in Belgium in the 1890s.' *Colonialism and the Object: Empire, Material Culture and the Museum*. Ed. Tim Barringer and Tom Flynn. London and New York: Routledge, 1998. 188-204.
- Ford, Hugh. *Published in Paris: American and British Writers, Printers, and Publishers in Paris, 1920-1939*. New York: Macmillan, 1975.
- Fowler, H. W. *A Dictionary of Modern English Usage*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1926.

- Francis, Emma. 'Amy Levy: Contradictions?—Feminism and Semitic Discourse.' *Women's Poetry, Late Romantic to Victorian: Gender and Genre, 1830-1900*. Ed. Isobel Armstrong and Virginia Blain. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999. 183-204.
- Franklin, Marjorie. Obituary of Barbara Low. *International Journal of Psychoanalysis* 27 (1956): 473-474.
- Fredman, Stephen. *A Menorah for Athena: Charles Reznikoff and the Jewish Dilemmas of Objectivist Poetry*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 2001.
- Freedman, Jonathan. *The Temple of Culture: Assimilation and Anti-Semitism in Literary Anglo-America*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2000.
- . 'T. S. Eliot's Jewish Problem and the Making of Modernism.' *Modernism/Modernity* 10.3 (Sept 2003): 419-429.
- French, A. L. "'Olympian Apathein': Pound's *Hugh Selwyn Mauberley* and Modern Poetry.' *Essays in Criticism* 15.4 (1965): 428-445.
- Freud, Sigmund. 'Beyond the Pleasure Principle.' 1920. *Standard Edition* 18: 1-64.
- . 'Character and Anal Erotism.' 1908. *Standard Edition* 9: 167-175.
- . 'On the Transformation of Instinct as Exemplified in Anal Erotism.' 1917. *Standard Edition* 17: 125-134.
- . *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*. Trans. James Strachey, Anna Freud, Alix Strachey and Alan Tyson. London: Hogarth and the Institute of Psycho-Analysis, 1953-1974.
- . 'Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality.' 1905. *Standard Edition* 7: 123-243.
- , and D. E. Oppenheim. 'Dreams in Folklore.' 1911. *Standard Edition* 12: 175-203.
- Friedman, Susan Stanford. 'The Return of the Repressed in Women's Narrative.' *The Journal of Narrative Technique* 19.1 (Winter 1989): 141-156.
- Fussell, Paul. *The Great War and Modern Memory*. London: Oxford UP, 1975.
- Gainer, Bernard. *The Alien Invasion: The Origins of the Aliens Act of 1905*. London: Heinemann, 1972.

- Galchinsky, Michael. "'Permanently Blacked': Julia Frankau's Jewish Race.' *Victorian Literature and Culture* 27.1 (1999): 171-183.
- Gallup, Donald. *Ezra Pound: A Bibliography*. Charlottesville: Published for the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia and St. Paul's Bibliographies by UP of Virginia, 1983.
- . *T. S. Eliot: A Bibliography*. London: Faber, 1969.
- Gardiner, Stephen. *Epstein: Artist against the Establishment*. London: Michael Joseph, 1992.
- Gardner, Traci. 'Pound's *Hugh Selwyn Mauberley*.' *The Explicator* 44.3 (Spring 1986): 46-48.
- Garrard, John A. *The English and Immigration 1880-1910*. London: Institute for Race Relations, 1971.
- Gartner, Lloyd. *The Jewish Immigrant in England 1870-1914*. London: Allen & Unwin, 1960.
- Gautier, Théophile. *Poésies complètes*. Ed. René Jasinski. 3 vols. Paris: Nizet, 1970.
- Gertler, Mark. *Mark Gertler: Selected Letters*. Ed. Noel Carrington. London: Hart-Davis, 1965.
- Gilbert, Geoff. 'Shellshock, Anti-Semitism, and the Agency of the Avant-Garde.' *Wyndham Lewis and the Art of Modern War*. Ed. David Peters Corbett. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998. 78-97.
- Gilman, Sander L. *Difference and Pathology: Stereotypes of Sexuality, Race, and Madness*. Ithaca and London: Cornell UP, 1985.
- . *Franz Kafka: The Jewish Patient*. New York: Routledge, 1995.
- . *Freud, Race and Gender*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1993.
- . *Jewish Self-Hatred: Anti-Semitism and the Hidden Language of the Jews*. Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins UP, 1986.
- . *The Jew's Body*. New York and London: Routledge, 1991.
- Glover, Edward. *War, Sadism and Pacifism: Three Essays*. London: Allen and Unwin, 1933.
- Goldstein, Eric L. "'Different Blood Flows in Our Veins': Race and Jewish Self-Definition in late Nineteenth Century America.' *American Jewish History* 85.1 (March 1997): 29-55.

- Gourmont, Remy de. *The Natural Philosophy of Love*. Trans. Ezra Pound. 1922. London: Quartet, 1992. Trans. of *Physique de l'amour*, 1904.
- Graves, Richard Perceval. *Robert Graves: The Years with Laura 1926-1940*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1990.
- Greenberg, Clement. 'Avant-Garde and Kitsch.' *Art and Culture: Critical Essays*. Boston: Beacon, 1961. 3-21.
- Grieve, Thomas F. 'Pound's Other Homage: Hugh Selwyn Mauberley.' *Paideuma* 27.1 (Spring 1998): 9-30.
- Harkavy, Alexander. *Yiddish-English-Hebrew Dictionary*. 1925. Amherst, MA: National Yiddish Book Center, 2000.
- Harris, Jose. *Private Lives, Public Spirit: Britain 1870-1914*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1994.
- Harshav, Benjamin. *Language in Time of Revolution*. Berkeley: U of California P, 1993.
- Hatlen, Burton. 'Ezra Pound, *New Masses*, and the Cultural Politics of Race circa 1930.' *Paideuma* 29.1-2 (Spring & Fall 2000): 157-184.
- heap, jane. ['jh'] 'The "Art Season".' *The Little Review* 8.2 (Spring 1922): 60.
- Heine, Heinrich. 'Jehuda Ben Halevy. (Fragment.)' *Historisch-kritisch Gesamtausgabe der Werke*. Ed. Frauke Bartelt. Vol 3.1. Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1992. 130-158.
- Herbert, Christopher. 'Filthy Lucre: Victorian Ideas of Money.' *Victorian Studies* 44.2 (Winter 2002): 185-213.
- Hinshelwood, R. D. 'Psychoanalysis in Britain: Points of Cultural Access 1893-1918.' *International Journal of Psychoanalysis* 75 (1995): 135-151.
- Hitchens, Christopher. *Unacknowledged Legislation: Writers and the Public Sphere*. London: Verso, 2000.
- Holmes, Colin. *Anti-Semitism in British Society 1876-1939*. London: Edward Arnold, 1979.
- Howkins, Alun. 'The Discovery of Rural England.' *Englishness: Politics and Culture 1880-1920*. Ed. Robert Colls and Philip Dodd. London: Croom Helm, 1986. 62-88.
- Humphreys, Richard. *Pound's Artists: Ezra Pound and the Visual Arts in London, Paris and Italy*. London: Tate Gallery, 1985.

- Hurley, Pamela E. 'Ezra Pound's "Yeux Glauques".' *Paideuma* 22.1-2 (Spring & Fall 1993): 191-200.
- Huyssen, Andreas. *After the Great Divide: Modernism, Mass Culture, Postmodernism*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1986.
- Hyman, Paula. *From Dreyfus to Vichy: The Remaking of French Jewry, 1906-1939*. New York: Columbia UP, 1979.
- John Rodker, 1894-1955: Biographical Sketch*. 28 July 2004. Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin. 20 August 2004 <<http://www.hrc.utexas.edu/research/fa/rodker.bio.html>>.
- Jones, Ernest. 'Introductory Memoir.' *Selected Papers of Karl Abraham M.D.* London: Hogarth, 1949. 9-41.
- Joseph, Terri Brint. 'The Decentered Center of Ezra Pound's *Hugh Selwyn Mauberley*.' *REAL* 1 (1982): 121-151.
- Julius, Anthony. *T. S. Eliot, Anti-Semitism and Literary Form*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1995.
- . 'A Response to Ronald Schuchard.' *Modernism/Modernity* 10.1 (Jan 2003): 41-47.
- Kadish, Sharman. *Bolsheviks and British Jews: The Anglo-Jewish Community, Britain and the Russian Revolution*. London: Cass, 1992.
- Kappel, Andrew J. 'Ezra Pound and the Myth of Venice.' *Clio* 13.3 (Spring 1984): 203-225.
- Kenner, Hugh. 'Introduction.' *Ezra Pound's Cantos: The Story of the Text: 1948-1975*. By Barbara C. Eastman. Orono, ME: National Poetry Foundation, 1979. xi-xix.
- . *The Pound Era*. London: Faber, 1972.
- Kimpel, Ben D., and T. C. Duncan Eaves. 'Ezra Pound's Anti-Semitism.' *South Atlantic Quarterly* 81.1 (Winter 1982): 56-69.
- King, Katie. 'Bibliography and a Feminist Apparatus of Literary Production.' *Text* 5 (1991): 91-103.
- Kleeblatt, Norman L. 'MASTER NARRATIVES/minority artists.' *Art Journal* 57.3 (Fall 1998): 29-35.
- Klinck, Dennis R. 'Pound's "Economist Consulted of Nations".' *Paideuma* 5.1 (Spring 1976): 67-68.

- Koestenbaum, Wayne. *Double Talk: The Erotics of Male Literary Collaboration*. New York and London: Routledge, 1989.
- Kohon, Gregorio. *The British School of Psychoanalysis: The Independent Tradition*. London: Free Association Books, 1986.
- Korg, Jacob. 'The Dialogic Nature of Collage in Pound's *Cantos*.' *Mosaic* 22.2 (Spring 1989): 95-109.
- Kouidis, Virginia M. *Mina Loy: American Modernist Poet*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State UP 1980.
- Kronfeld, Chana. *On the Margins of Modernism: Decentering Literary Dynamics*. Berkeley: U of California P, 1996.
- Kushner, Tony, ed. *The Jewish Heritage in British History: Englishness and Jewishness*. London: Cass, 1992.
- Langley, J. Ayodele. *Pan-Africanism and Nationalism in West Africa 1900-1945: A Study in Ideology and Social Classes*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1973.
- Lapatin, Kenneth D. S. *Chryselephantine Statuary in the Ancient Mediterranean World*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2001.
- Laplanche, J., and J.-B. Pontalis. *The Language of Psychoanalysis*. Trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith. London: Karnac, 1988.
- Larrissy, Edward. *Reading Twentieth-Century Poetry: The Language of Gender and Objects*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1990.
- Lawson, Peter. *Otherness and Affiliation: Anglo-Jewish Poetry from Isaac Rosenberg to Elaine Feinstein*. Diss. U of Southampton, 2002.
- Lazard, Madeleine. *Pierre de Bourdeille, seigneur de Brantôme*. Paris: Fayard, 1995.
- Lears, Jackson. *Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History of Advertising in America*. New York: Basic Books, 1994.
- Lebzelter, Gisela. *Political Anti-Semitism in England 1918-1939*. London: Macmillan, 1978.
- Leibovici, Martine. 'Simone Weil, la mal née.' *La Haine de soi: difficiles identities*. Ed. Esther Benbassa and Jean-Christophe Attias. Bruxelles: Editions Complexe, 2000. 229-252.
- Levenson, Michael H. *A Genealogy of Modernism: A Study of English Literary Doctrine 1908-1922*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1984.

- Levy, Richard S. 'Introduction: The Political Career of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.' *A Lie and Libel: The History of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. By Benjamin W. Segel. Ed. and trans. Levy. Lincoln and London: U of Nebraska P, 1995. 3-47.
- Lewis, Wyndham. *The Apes of God*. 1930. Santa Barbara: Black Sparrow Press, 1981.
- . 'Imaginary Letters (Six Letters of William Bland Burn to his Wife).' *The Little Review* 4.1 (May 1917): 19-23;
- . 'Imaginary Letters (Six Letters of William Bland Burn to his Wife).' *The Little Review* 4.2 (June 1917): 22-26.
- . 'Imaginary Letters (Six Letters of William Bland Burn to his Wife): The Code of the Herdsman.' *The Little Review* 4.3 (July 1917): 3-7.
- . 'Imaginary Letters (Six Letters of William Bland Burn to his Wife).' *The Little Review* 4.11 (March 1918): 23-30.
- . 'Imaginary Letters (Six Letters of William Bland Burn to his Wife).' *The Little Review* 4.12 (April 1918): 50-54.
- . *Men without Art*. Ed. Seamus Cooney. Santa Rosa: Black Sparrow Press, 1987.
- . *Paleface*. London: Chatto and Windus, 1929.
- Leys, Ruth. *Trauma: A Genealogy*. Chicago and London: U of Chicago P, 2000.
- Lipke, William. *David Bomberg: A Critical Study of His Life and Work*. London: Evelyn, 1967.
- Lipman, V. D. *A History of the Jews in Britain since 1858*. Leicester: Leicester UP, 1990.
- Livshin, Rosalyn. 'The Acculturation of the Children of Immigrant Jews in Manchester, 1890-1930.' *The Making of Modern Anglo-Jewry*. Ed. David Cesarani. Oxford: Blackwell, 1990. 79-96.
- Loewenstein, Andrea Freud. *Loathsome Jews and Engulfing Women: Metaphors of Projection in the Works of Wyndham Lewis, Charles Williams, and Graham Greene*. New York and London: New York UP, 1993.
- Longenbach, James. 'Ara Vos Prec: Eliot's Negotiation of Satire and Suffering.' *T. S. Eliot: The Modernist in History*. Ed. Ronald Bush. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1991. 41-66.
- . 'A Response to Ronald Schuchard.' *Modernism/Modernity* 10.1 (Jan 2003): 49-50.

- Low, Barbara. *Psycho-Analysis: A Brief Account of the Freudian Theory*. Revised ed. London: Allen and Unwin, 1923.
- Loy, Mina. 'Anglo-Mongrels and the English Rose.' *The Last Lunar Baedeker*. Ed. Roger Conover. Manchester: Carcanet, 1985.
- Ma, Ming-Qian. 'A "no-man's land": Postmodern Citationality in Zukofsky's "Poem beginning 'The'"'. *Upper-Limit Music: The Writings of Louis Zukofsky*. Ed. Mark Scroggins. Tuscaloosa: U of Alabama P, 1997. 129-153.
- McAlmon, Robert. 'Truer than Most Accounts.' *The Exile 2* (Autumn 1927): 40-86.
- Maccoby, Hyam. 'The Anti-Semitism of T. S. Eliot.' *Midstream* 19.5 (May 1973): 68-79.
- . 'The Jews as Anti-Artist: The Anti-Semitism of Ezra Pound.' *Midstream* 22.3 (March 1976): 59-71.
- . *A Pariah People: The Anthropology of Antisemitism*. London: Constable, 1996.
- . *The Sacred Executioner: Human Sacrifice and the Legacy of Guilt*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1982.
- . 'A Study of the "Jew" in "Gerontion".' *Jewish Quarterly* 17.2 (1969): 19-22, 39-43.
- McDonald, Peter. *British Literary Culture and Publishing Practice 1880-1914*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1997.
- MacDougall, Sarah. *Mark Gertler*. London: John Murry, 2002.
- McGann, Jerome J. *Black Riders: The Visible Language of Modernism*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1993.
- . 'The *Cantos* of Ezra Pound, the Truth in Contradiction.' *Critical Inquiry* 15.1 (Autumn 1988) 1-25.
- . *The Textual Condition*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1991.
- McKible, Adam David. *The Space and Place of Modernism: The Little Magazine in New York*. Diss. U of N Carolina, 1998.
- Mahaffey, Vicki. "'The Death of Saint Narcissus" and "Ode": Two Suppressed Poems by T. S. Eliot.' *American Literature* 50.4 (Jan 1979): 604-612.

- Mannin, Ethel. 'War from a Prison Cell.' Rev. of *Memoirs of Other Fronts* [by John Rodker]. *The New Leader* June 10 1932: 10.
- Marek, Jayne E. *'I Know Why I Say What I Do Say': Women Editors and Critics in the 'Little' Magazines*. Diss. U of Wisconsin, Madison, 1991.
- Martin, Graham. 'Introduction.' *Eliot in Perspective*. Ed. Martin. London: Macmillan, 1970. 11-28.
- Mason, H. A. 'Eliot's "Ode"—A Neglected Poem?' *The Cambridge Quarterly* 19.4 (1990): 303-335.
- Materer, Timothy. 'Make It Sell!: Ezra Pound Advertises Modernism.' *Marketing Modernisms: Self-Promotion, Canonization, Rereading*. Ed. Kevin J. H. Dettmar and Stephen Watt. Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 1996. 17-36.
- . *Wyndham Lewis the Novelist*. Detroit: Wayne State UP, 1976.
- Mazower, David. *The Yiddish Theatre in London*. London: Museum of the Jewish East End, 1987.
- Mays, J. C. C. 'Early Poems: From "Prufrock" to "Gerontion".' *The Cambridge Companion to T. S. Eliot*. Ed. A. David Moody. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1994. 108-120.
- Medcalf, Stephen. 'T. S. Eliot's Punk Poems: Sweeney and the Quatrains.' *T. S. Eliot at the Turn of the Century*. Ed. Marianne Thormählen. Lund: Lund UP, 1994. 133-145.
- Melton, J. Gordon. *The Encyclopedia of American Religions*. 3rd ed. Detroit and London: Gale Research, 1989.
- Menand, Louis. 'Eliot and the Jews.' *New York Review of Books* June 6 1996: 34-41.
- Meyer, Sandra. 'Hugh Selwyn Mauberley: "The 'Sculpture' of Rhyme".' *Paideuma* 27.1 (Spring 1998): 109-114.
- Miller, James E., Jr. *T. S. Eliot's Personal Waste Land: Exorcism of the Demons*. University Park and London: Pennsylvania State UP, 1977.
- Miller, Vincent. 'Mauberley and his Critics.' *ELH* 57 (1990): 961-976.
- Mills, Sara. *Michel Foucault*. London and New York: Routledge, 2003.
- Monk, Craig. 'The Price of Publishing Modernism: Ezra Pound and the *Exile* in America.' *Canadian Review of American Studies/Revue canadienne d'études américaines* 31.1 (2001): 429-446.

- Monteiro, Georges. 'Christians and Jews in "Mr Eliot's Sunday Morning Service".' *Critical Essays on T. S. Eliot: The Sweeney Motif*. Ed. Kinley E. Roby. Boston, MA: Hall, 1985. 34-35.
- Moody, A. David, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to T. S. Eliot*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1994.
- . 'Ezra Pound with Two-Pronged Fork of Terror and Cajolery: The Construction of his Anti-Semitism (up to 1939).' *Jewish Themes in English and Polish Culture*. Ed. Irena Janicka-Świdorska, Jerzy Jarniewicz and Adam Sumera. Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, 2000. 149-169.
- Morrisson, Mark. *The Public Face of Modernism: Little Magazines, Audiences, and Reception, 1905-1920*. Madison, WI: U of Wisconsin P, 2001.
- Mudford, P. G. 'Sweeney among the Nightingales.' *Critical Essays on T. S. Eliot: The Sweeney Motif*. Ed. Kinley E. Roby. Boston, MA: Hall, 1985. 75-79.
- Nalbantian, Suzanne. *Aesthetic Autobiography: From Life to Art in Marcel Proust, James Joyce, Virginia Woolf and Anaïs Nin*. 1997 ed. Basingstoke and London: Macmillan, 1997.
- Newton, Adam Zachary. *Facing Black and Jew: Literature as Public Space in Twentieth-Century America*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999.
- Niborski, Yitskhok. *Verterbukh fun loshn-koydesh-shtamiker verter in Yidish*. Paris: Medem-Bibliotek, 1999.
- , and Bernard Vaisbrot. *Dictionnaire Yiddish-Français*. Paris: Bibliothèque Medem, 2002.
- Nicholls, Peter. 'Arid Clarity: Ezra Pound, Mina Loy, and Jules Laforgue.' *Yearbook of English Studies* 32 (2002): 52-64.
- . "'A Consciousness Disjunct": Sex and the Writer in Ezra Pound's *Hugh Selwyn Mauberley*.' *Journal of American Studies* 28.1 (April 1994): 61-75.
- . *Ezra Pound: Politics, Economics and Writing: A Study of The Cantos*. London and Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1984.
- . *Modernisms: A Literary Guide*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995.
- Nine Contemporary Poets Read Themselves through Modernism*. Kelly Writers House, University of Pennsylvania. 23 August 2004
<<http://www.english.upenn.edu/~wh/9poets.html>>

- Nochlin, Linda and Tamar Garb, eds. *The Jew in the Text: Modernity and the Construction of Identity*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1995.
- Norman, Charles. *Ezra Pound*. New York: Macmillan, 1960.
- North, Michael. *The Dialect of Modernism: Race, Language and Twentieth Century Literature*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1994.
- O'Keeffe, Paul. *Some Sort of Genius: A Life of Wyndham Lewis*. London: Pimlico, 2001.
- Olson, Charles. *Charles Olson and Ezra Pound: An Encounter at St. Elizabeth's*. Ed. Catherine Seelye. New York: Grossman, 1975.
- Orage, A. R. [R.H.C.] 'Readers and Writers.' *The New Age* ns 15.23 (Oct 8 1914): 549.
- Parfitt, George. *Fiction of the First World War: A Study*. London: Faber, 1988.
- Parsons, Clere. Rev. of *Adolphe 1920*, by John Rodker. *The Criterion* 10.31 (Jan 1931): 333-336.
- Patterson, Ian. *Cultural Critique and Canon Formation 1910-1937: A Study in Cultural Memory*. Diss. U of Cambridge, 1997.
- . "'The Plan Behind the Plan': Russians, Jews and Mythologies of Change: The Case of Mary Butts.' *Modernity, Culture and 'the Jew'*. Ed. Bryan Cheyette and Laura Marcus. Cambridge: Polity, 1998. 126-140.
- . 'Writing on Other Fronts: Translation and John Rodker.' *Translation and Literature* 12 (2003): 88-113.
- Paulin, Tom. 'Undesirable.' Rev. of *T. S. Eliot: Anti-Semitism and Literary Form*, by Anthony Julius. *London Review of Books* 9 May 1996: 12-15.
- Pearson, Gabriel. 'Eliot: An American Use of Symbolism.' *Eliot in Perspective*. Ed. Graham Martin. London: Macmillan, 1970. 83-101.
- Pease, Allison. *Modernism, Mass Culture, and the Aesthetics of Obscenity*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2000.
- Perelman, Bob. *The Trouble with Genius: Reading Pound, Joyce, Stein, and Zukofsky*. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: U of California P, 1994.
- Perloff, Marjorie. *The Poetics of Indeterminacy: Rimbaud to Cage*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1981.
- . *Poetry On and Off the Page: Essays for Emergent Occasions*. Evanston, IL: Northwestern UP, 1998.

- . 'A Response to Ronald Schuchard.' *Modernism/Modernity* 10.1 (Jan 2003): 51-56.
- . *21st-Century Modernism: The New Poetics*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2001.
- Phillips, Adam. 'Unofficial Modernist.' Rev. of *Poems and Adolphe 1920*, by John Rodker. *Jewish Quarterly* 45.4 (Winter 1998/99): 69-71.
- Pinkus, Karen. *Bodily Regimes: Italian Advertising under Fascism*. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1995.
- Poggi, Christine. *In Defiance of Painting: Cubism, Futurism, and the Invention of Collage*. New Haven and London: Yale UP, 1992.
- Poliakov, Léon. *Suicidal Europe, 1870-1933*. Trans. George Klin. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1985. Vol. 4 of *The History of Anti-Semitism*.
- Pope, Daniel. *The Making of Modern Advertising*. New York: Basic Books, 1983.
- Pound, Ezra. [Unsigned] 'Advice to a Young Poet.' *The Little Review* 4.8 (Dec 1917): 58-59.
- . *Dk/ Some Letters of Ezra Pound*. Ed. Louis Dudek. Montreal: DC Books, 1974.
- . 'Editorial.' *The Little Review* 4.1 (May 1917): 3-6.
- . 'Editorial on Solicitous Doubt.' *The Little Review* 4.6 (Oct 1917): 21.
- . 'Foreword to the Choric School.' *Others* 1.4 (Oct 1915) n. pag.
- . 'Harold Monroe.' *The Criterion* 11.45 (July 1932): 590.
- . ['E. P.']. *Hugh Selwyn Mauberley: Life and Contacts*. London: Ovid Press, 1920.
- . *'I Cease Not to Yowl': Ezra Pound's Letters to Olivia Rossetti Agresti*. Ed. Demetres P. Tryphonopoulos and Leon Surette. Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1998.
- . 'Imaginary Letters (Walter Villerant to Mrs. Bland Burn).' *The Little Review* 4.5 (Sept 1917): 20-22.
- . 'Imaginary Letters (Walter Villerant to Mrs. Bland Burn).' *The Little Review* 4.6 (Oct 1917): 14-17.
- . 'Imaginary Letters (Walter Villerant to Mrs. Bland Burn).' *The Little Review* 4.7 (Nov 1917): 39-40.

- . 'Imaginary Letters (W. Villerant to the ex-Mrs. Burn).' *The Little Review* 5.1 (May 1918): 52-55.
- . *Instigations of Ezra Pound, together with an Essay on the Chinese Written Character by Ernest Fenollosa*. 1920. Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries, 1969.
- . *Jefferson and/or Mussolini: L'Idea Statale: Fascism As I Have Known It*. New York: Liveright, 1970.
- . *The Letters of Ezra Pound to Alice Corbin Henderson*. Ed. Ira B. Nadel. Austin, TX: U of Texas P, 1993.
- . *Literary Essays of Ezra Pound*. Ed. T. S. Eliot. London: Faber, 1954.
- . ['Abel Sanders'] 'Mr Lindsay.' *The Little Review* 4.9 (Jan 1918): 54-55.
- . 'Mr. Villerant's Morning Outburst (Four Letters).' *The Little Review* 5.7 (Nov 1918): 7-12.
- . 'A Part of Canto XX' *The Exile* 1 (Spring 1927): 1-6.
- . 'Part of Canto XXIII' *The Exile* 3 (Spring 1928): 28-31
- . 'Patria Mia I.' *The New Age* ns 11.19 (5 Sept 1912): 445.
- . 'Patria Mia II.' *The New Age* ns 11.20 (12 Sept 1912): 466.
- . 'Patria Mia III.' *The New Age* ns 11.21 (19 Sept 1912): 491-492.
- . 'Patria Mia IV.' *The New Age* ns 11.22 (26 Sept 1912): 515-516.
- . 'Patria Mia V.' *The New Age* ns 11.23 (3 Oct 1912): 539-540.
- . 'Patria Mia VI.' *The New Age* ns 11.24 (10 Oct 1912): 564.
- . 'Patria Mia VII.' *The New Age* ns 11.25 (17 Oct 1912): 587-588.
- . 'Patria Mia VIII.' *The New Age* ns 11.26 (24 Oct 1912): 611-612.
- . 'Patria Mia IX.' *The New Age* ns 11.27 (31 Oct 1912): 635-636.
- . 'Patria Mia X.' *The New Age* ns 12.1 (7 Nov 1912): 12.
- . 'Patria Mia XI.' *The New Age* ns 12.2 (14 Nov 1912): 33-34.
- . *Pavannes and Divagations*. Norfolk, CT: New Directions, 1958.
- . *Pound/Joyce: The Letters of Ezra Pound to James Joyce, with Pound's Essays on Joyce*. Ed. Forrest Read. London: Faber, 1968.

- . *Pound/The Little Review: The Letters of Ezra Pound to Margaret Anderson: The Little Review Correspondence*. Ed. Thomas L. Scott, Melvin J. Friedman with the assistance of Jackson R. Bryer. London: Faber, 1989.
- . *The Selected Letters of Ezra Pound to John Quinn 1915-1924*. Ed. Timothy Materer. Durham and London: Duke UP, 1991.
- . 'A Study in French Poets.' *The Little Review* 4.10 (Feb 1918): 3-61.
- . 'Through Alien Eyes I.' *The New Age* ns 12.11 (16 Jan 1913): 252.
- . 'Through Alien Eyes II.' *The New Age* ns 12.12 (23 Jan 1913): 275-76.
- . 'Through Alien Eyes III.' *The New Age* ns 12.13 (30 Jan 1913): 300-301.
- . 'Through Alien Eyes IV.' *The New Age* ns 12.14 (6 Feb 1913): 324.
- , and Ford Madox Ford. *Pound/Ford: The Story of a Literary Friendship: The Correspondence Between Ezra Pound and Ford Madox Ford and their Writings About Each Other*. Ed. Brita Lindberg-Seyersted. London: Faber, 1982.
- , and Wyndham Lewis. *Pound/Lewis: The Letters of Ezra Pound and Wyndham Lewis*. Ed. Timothy Materer. London: Faber, 1985.
- , and William Carlos Williams. *Pound/Williams: The Selected Letters of Ezra Pound and William Carlos Williams*. Ed. Hugh Witemeyer. New York: New Directions, 1996.
- , and Louis Zukofsky. *Pound/Zukofsky: Selected Letters of Ezra Pound and Louis Zukofsky*. Ed. Barry Ahearn. London: Faber, 1987.
- Pound, Reginald, and Geoffrey Harmsworth. *Northcliffe*. London: Cassell, 1959.
- Praver, S. S. *Heine's Jewish Comedy: A Study of His Portraits of Jews and Judaism*. Clarendon: Oxford, 1983.
- Rabaté, Jean-Michel. *The Ghosts of Modernity*. Gainesville, FL: UP of Florida, 1996.
- . *Language, Sexuality and Ideology in Ezra Pound's Cantos*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1986.
- . 'Tradition and T. S. Eliot.' *The Cambridge Companion to T. S. Eliot*. Ed. A. David Moody. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1994. 210-222.
- Radway, Janice A. *A Feeling for Books: The Book-of-the-Month Club, Literary Taste, and Middle-Class Desire*. Chapel Hill, NC: U of North Carolina P, 2000.

- Raine, Craig. *In Defence of T. S. Eliot*. London: Picador, 2000.
- Rainey, Lawrence. *Institutions of Modernism: Literary Elites and Public Culture*. New Haven and London: Yale UP, 1998.
- Rakosi, Carl. Interview with Steve Shoemaker. *Sagetrieb* 11.3 (Winter 1992): 93-132.
- . *Poems 1923-1941*. Ed. Andrew Crozier. Los Angeles: Sun and Moon, 1995.
- Redman, Tim. *Ezra Pound and Italian Fascism*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1991.
- Reising, Russell J. 'Condensing the James Novel: *The American* in *Hugh Selwyn Mauberley*.' *Journal of Modern Literature* 15.1 (Summer 1988): 17-34.
- Reynolds, Paige. "'Chaos Invading Concept": *Blast* as a Native Theory of Promotional Culture.' *Twentieth Century Literature* 46.2 (Summer 2000): 238-268.
- Ricks, Christopher. *T. S. Eliot and Prejudice*. London: Faber, 1988.
- Rifkin, Adrian. 'Parvenu or Palimpsest: Some Tracings of the Jew in Modern France.' *The Jew in the Text: Modernity and the Construction of Identity*. Ed. Linda Nochlin and Tamar Garb. London: Thames and Hudson, 1995. 276-291.
- Robb, George. *British Culture and the First World War*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002.
- Roberts, John Stuart. *Siegfried Sassoon*. London: Richard Cohen, 2000.
- Rodker, John. *Adolphe 1920*. London: Aquila Press, 1929.
- . *Collected Poems, 1912-1925*. Paris: Hours Press, 1930.
- . *Dartmoor*. Trans. Ludmila Savitzky. Paris: Sagittaire, 1926.
- . 'De Gourmont—Yank.' *The Little Review* 5.10-11 (Feb-Mar 1919): 29-32.
- . *The Future of Futurism*. London: Kegan Paul, [1927].
- . *Hymns*. London: Ovid Press, 1920.
- . 'Joyce and His Dynamic.' *Our Exagmination Round his Factification for Incamination of Work in Progress*. By Samuel Beckett et al. 1929. London: Faber, 1961. 139-146.
- . 'List of Books.' *The Little Review* 5.7 (Nov 1918): 31-32.

- . [Anonymous] *Memoirs of Other Fronts*. London: Putnam, 1932.
- . 'The Notes on Novelists.' *The Little Review* 5.4 (Aug 1918): 53-56.
- . 'Other Books.' *The Little Review* 7.3 (Sept-Dec 1920): 64-65.
- . *Poems*. To be Had of the Author at 1, Osborn Street, Whitechapel, [1914].
- . *Poems and Adolphe 1920*. Ed. Andrew Crozier. Manchester: Carcanet, 1996.
- . 'The Theatre.' *The Egoist* 1.21 (2 Nov 1914): 414-415.
- . 'The Theatre in Whitechapel.' *Poetry and Drama* 1.1 (March 1913): 43-44.
- . 'Trains.' Trans. Ludmila Savitzky. *La Revue européenne* ns 3 (1929): 1882-1907.
- . 'Twenty Years After.' *We Did Not Fight: 1914-1918 Experiences of War Resisters*. Ed. Julian Bell. London: Cobden-Sanderson, 1935. 283-291.
- . 'W. H. Hudson.' *The Little Review* 7.1 (May-June 1920): 19.
- Rodrigue, Aron. 'Reararticulations of French Jewish Identities after the Dreyfus Affair.' *Jewish Social Studies* 2.3 (1996): 1-24.
- Rogers, Shef. 'How Many Ts Had Ezra Pound's Printer?' *Studies in Bibliography* 49 (1996): 277-283.
- Rogin, Michael. *Blackface, White Noise: Jewish Immigrants in the Hollywood Melting Pot*. Berkeley: U of California P, 1996.
- Rosenberg, Isaac. *The Collected Works of Isaac Rosenberg: Poetry, Prose, Letters, Paintings and Drawing*. London: Chatto and Windus, 1979.
- Roudinesco, Elisabeth, and Michel Plon. *Dictionnaire de la psychanalyse*. Paris: Fayard, 1997.
- Roussel, Raymond. *Locus solus*. Paris: Pauvert, 1979.
- Rubin, Joan Shelley. *The Making of Middlebrow Culture*. Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1992.
- Rubinstein, W. D. *A History of the Jews in the English-speaking World: Great Britain*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996.
- Sandauer, Artur. *O sytuacji pisarza polskiego pochodzenia żydowskiego w XX wieku: rzecz, którą nie ja powinienem był napisać*. [On the situation of

- the Polish writer of Jewish origin in the 20th century: A study which I myself should not have written]. Warszawa: Czytelnik, 1982.
- Schaechter, Mordkhe. *Yidish tsvey: A lernbukh far mitndike kursn/Yiddish II: A Textbook for Intermediate Courses*. Philadelphia: ISHI, 1986.
- Schuchard, Ronald. 'Burbank with a Baedeker, Eliot with a Cigar: American Intellectuals, Anti-Semitism, and the Idea of Culture.' *Modernism/Modernity* 10.1 (Jan 2003): 1-26.
- . 'My Reply: Eliot and the Foregone Conclusions.' *Modernism/Modernity* 10.1 (Jan 2003): 57-70.
- Scroggins, Mark. *Louis Zukofsky and the Poetry of Knowledge*. Tuscaloosa: U of Alabama P, 1998.
- , ed. *Upper-Limit Music: The Writings of Louis Zukofsky*. Tuscaloosa: U of Alabama P, 1997.
- Segel, Benjamin W. *A Lie and Libel: The History of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. Ed. and trans. Richard S. Levy. Lincoln and London: U of Nebraska P, 1995.
- Shayo, Alberto. *Chiparus: Master of Art Deco*. New York: Abbeville, 1993.
- Shelley, Percy Bysshe. *Poetical Works*. Ed. Thomas Hutchinson. London: Oxford UP, 1967.
- Sherry, Vincent. *Ezra Pound, Wyndham Lewis, and Radical Modernism*. New York and Oxford: Oxford UP, 1993.
- . 'From the Twenties to the Nineties: Pound, Beerbohm and the Making of Mauberley.' *PN Review* 20.5 (May-June 1994): 40-42.
- Shoemaker, Steve. 'Between Contact and Exile: Louis Zukofsky's Poetry of Survival.' *Upper-Limit Music: The Writing of Louis Zukofsky*. Ed. Mark Scroggins. Tuscaloosa: U of Alabama P, 1997. 24-43.
- Shreiber, Maera. 'Jewish American Poetry.' *The Cambridge Companion to Jewish American Literature*. Ed. Hana Wirth-Nesher and Michael P. Kramer. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2003.
- , and Keith Tuma. *Mina Loy: Woman and Poet*. Orono, ME: National Poetry Foundation, 1998.
- Sieburth, Richard. *Instigations: Ezra Pound and Remy de Gourmont*. Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard UP, 1978.
- Sigg, Eric. *The American T. S. Eliot: A Study of the Early Writings*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1989.

- Silkin, Jon. *The Life of Metrical and Free Verse in Twentieth Century Poetry*. Basingstoke and London: Macmillan, 1997.
- Sinclair, Iain. 'The Poet Steamed.' Rev. of *Collected Poems*, by Tom Raworth, and *Removed for Further Study: The Poetry of Tom Raworth*, ed. Nate Dorward. *London Review of Books* 19 August 2004: 27-29.
- Smith, Angela K. *The Second Battlefield: Women, Modernism and the First World War*. Manchester and New York: Manchester UP, 2000.
- Smith, Stan. *The Origins of Modernism: Eliot, Pound, Yeats and the Rhetorics of Renewal*. Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1994.
- Sokol, Stanley S. *The Artists of Poland: A Biographical Dictionary from the 14th Century to the Present*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2001.
- Sorkin, David. 'Emancipation and Assimilation: Two Concepts and their Application to German-Jewish History.' *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* 35 (1990): 17-33.
- Spire, André. *Poèmes juifs*. Geneva: Eventail, 1919.
- Squire, J. C. 'Books of the Day: Recent Verse.' *Daily News and Leader* Dec 22 1914: 9.
- Steyn, Juliet. *The Jew: Assumptions of Identity*. London: Cassell, 1999.
- Stillinger, Jack. *Multiple Authorship and the Myth of Solitary Genius*. New York and Oxford: Oxford UP, 1991.
- Stoicheff, Peter. *The Hall of Mirrors: Drafts and Fragments and the End of Ezra Pound's Cantos*. Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 1995.
- Strong, L. A. G. 'Fiction.' *The Spectator* April 30 1932: 638.
- Surette, Leon. *Pound in Purgatory: From Economic Radicalism to Anti-Semitism*. Urbana and Chicago, U of Illinois P, 1999.
- Sutcliffe, Adam. *Judaism and Enlightenment*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2003.
- Svarny, Erik. *'The Men of 1914': T. S. Eliot and Early Modernism*. Milton Keynes: Open UP, 1988.
- Tate, Trudi. *Modernism, History and the First World War*. Manchester: Manchester UP, 1998.
- Terrell, Carol. *A Companion to the Cantos of Ezra Pound*. Berkeley: U of California P, 1993.

- Tickner, Lisa. *Modern Life and Modern Subjects: British Art in the Early Twentieth Century*. New Haven: Yale UP, 2000.
- Tift, Susan E., and Alex S. Jones. *The Trust: the Private and Powerful Family behind The New York Times*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co, 1999.
- Tomas, John. 'Portrait of the Artist as a Young Jew: Zukofsky's Poem beginning "The" in Context.' *Sagetrieb* 9.1-2 (Spring and Fall 1990): 43-64.
- Tomasch, Sylvia. 'Postcolonial Chaucer and the Virtual Jew.' *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*. Ed. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000. 243-260.
- Tuma, Keith, ed. *Anthology of Twentieth-Century British and Irish Poetry*. New York and Oxford: Oxford UP, 2001.
- 'The Vers Libre Contest.' *The Little Review* 3.10 (April 1917): 11-23.
- Wadsworth, Barbara. *Edward Wadsworth: A Painter's Life*. Salisbury: Michael Russell, 1989.
- Walkowitz, Judith R. *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London*. London: Virago, 1992.
- Weinreich, Uriel. *Modern English-Yiddish, Yiddish-English Dictionary*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968.
- Weiss, Jeffrey. *The Popular Culture of Modern Art: Picasso, Duchamp, and Avant-Gardism*. New Haven and London: Yale UP, 1994.
- Wexler, Joyce Piell. *Who Paid for Modernism?: Art, Money, and the Fiction of Conrad, Joyce, and Lawrence*. Fayetteville: U of Arkansas P, 1997.
- Whiteside, George. 'A Freudian Dream Analysis of "Sweeney among the Nightingales".' *Critical Essays on T. S. Eliot: The Sweeney Motif*. Ed. Kinley E. Roby. Boston, MA: Hall, 1985. 63-67.
- Whitman, Walt. *Complete Poetry and Collected Prose*. Cambridge: Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge, 1982.
- Wicke, Jennifer. *Advertising Fictions: Literature, Advertisement, and Social Reading*. New York: Columbia UP, 1988.
- Wildenstein, Alec. *Odilon Redon: Catalogue raisonnée de l'œuvre peint et dessiné*. Wildenstein Institute: Paris, 1992.
- Williams, Bill. "'East and West": Class and Community in Manchester Jewry 1850-1914.' *The Making of Modern Anglo-Jewry*. Ed. David Cesarani. Oxford: Blackwell, 1990. 15-33.

- Williams, Ellen. *Harriet Monroe and the Poetry Renaissance: The First Ten Years of Poetry, 1912-1922*. Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1977.
- Williams, William Carlos. 'The Descent of Winter.' *The Exile* 4 (Autumn 1928): 30-69.
- Willis, J. H., Jr. *Leonard and Virginia Woolf as Publishers: The Hogarth Press, 1917-1941*. Charlottesville and London: U of Virginia P, 1992.
- Willison, Ian, Warwick Gould, and Warren Chernaik, eds. *Modernist Writers and the Marketplace*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996.
- Wisse, Ruth. *The Modern Jewish Canon: A Journey through Language and Culture*. New York: The Free Press, 2000.
- . *The Schlemiel as Modern Hero*. Chicago and London: U of Chicago P, 1971.
- , et al. 'Jewish Culture and Canadian Culture.' Transcript of discussion. *The Canadian Jewish Mosaic*. Eds. M. Weinfeld, W. Shaffir and I. Cotler. Toronto: Wiley, 1981.
- Witemeyer, Hugh. "'Of Kings' Treasuries": Pound's Allusion to Ruskin in *Hugh Selwyn Mauberley*.' *Paideuma* 15.1 (Spring 1986): 23-31.
- Wood, Tim. *The Poetics of the Limit: Ethics and Politics in Modern and Contemporary American Poetry*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002.
- Woolf, Virginia. *The Question of Things Happening: The Letters of Virginia Woolf Volume II: 1912-1922*. Ed. Nigel Nicolson. London: Hogarth, 1976.
- Wright, Patrick. *On Living in an Old Country: The National Past in Contemporary Britain*. London: Verso, 1985.
- Yehoash. *In Geveb*. 2 vols. New York: Oyfgang, 1919-21.
- Zukofsky, Louis. *Complete Short Poetry*. Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins UP, 1991.
- , ed. *An "Objectivists" Anthology*. Paris: To, 1932.
- . 'Sincerity and Objectification.' *Prepositions+: The Collected Critical Essays*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan UP, 2000.