

Chapter 1 The Creation of the Avant-Garde: F. T. Marinetti and Ezra Pound

Debate about the significance of the historical avant-garde has reached a feverish pitch in recent years, a level of intensity suggesting that more is at stake than academic questions of historical accuracy or comprehensiveness. Like an antique mirror from which the mercury has seeped and faded, the avant-garde has become the ambiguous glass in which we seem to scrutinize a perplexing image of ourselves, an image that is haunting precisely because it is simultaneously so alike and unlike, because it bears so many of the features by which we recognize ourselves and the contemporary cultural milieu, even as it also evokes a world that is already feathered at the edges, already remote. Although it would be impossible to catalogue all the salient features that have been held to define the avant-garde or its significance for today, two questions have gradually acquired special importance in the course of recent critical discussion. One is the extent to which, to use Peter Bürger's formulation, the avant-garde "can be defined as an attack on the status of art in bourgeois society," or as Bürger further clarifies, an assault on "art as an institution that is unassociated with the life praxis of men."¹ The other is how that attack overlaps with the

avant-garde's use of motifs, materials, and artifacts from mass or popular culture. That usage has been damned by Marxist critics as "a colonization of other, formerly independent" cultural practices and defended by others for "subvert[ing] . . . the hierarchical distinctions between high art and mass culture," or for proposing a "critique, not only of prevailing market conditions, but also of the futility of the Symbolist [or high-art] response to these conditions."²

Such views sound either glib or unduly dogmatic in their bald assertiveness. Partly that results from disembedding quotations from their context, but partly it reflects the growing polarization and increasingly schematic formulations that have characterized recent discussion about the historical avant-garde. Yet such well-defined dichotomies prove strangely inadequate when tested against the complex social realities informing the interaction among avant-garde, elite bourgeois, and popular cultures in the formative moments of modernism and the avant-garde. This interaction might be traced in many cultural exchanges of the period, but perhaps nowhere better than in the dialogue of actions that took place between Filippo Tommaso Marinetti and Ezra Pound from 1912 to 1914. Marinetti, after all, is typically viewed as one of the founding fathers of the historical avant-garde, and his creation of Futurism in 1909 is considered one of its paradigmatic moments.³ Pound, too, is widely treated as a representative of the avant-garde, sometimes in contrast to T. S. Eliot with his more symbolist or modernist style, sometimes by virtue of Pound's role in the formation of first Imagism, then Vorticism, the two movements in the Anglo-American literary tradition that most nearly resemble the Continental avant-gardes.⁴

For the most part, however, critics have paired Marinetti with Pound only in order to dismiss the importance of the connection, and in doing so they have largely been following a script that originated with Pound himself. Writing anonymously already in 1917, Eliot set a precedent followed by subsequent critics when he characterized Pound's relationship to Futurism as one of implacable but informed opposition: "Pound has perhaps done more than anyone to keep Futurism out of England. His antagonism to this movement was the first which was due not merely to unintelligent dislike for anything that was new, and was due to his perception that Futurism was incompatible with any principles of form. In his own words, Futurism is 'accelerated impressionism.'"⁵ Eliot, in these remarks, was not rehearsing a history he had witnessed himself, having first arrived in England more than two months after Marinetti's final visit in June 1914, and these comments more than likely were dictated or suggested to him by Pound.⁶ Yet Eliot's assessment—or, more accurately, Pound's own—has been taken at face value and repeated again and again. "Pound was

never a Futurist," writes Noel Stock, the appointed biographer of Pound, and he remained "indifferent or opposed to most of their principles."⁷ Pound, states James Wilhelm, "was strongly opposed . . . to the gimmick-ridden futurists with their odes to automobiles and desire to sweep away all existing art."⁸ Both scholars, it is true, concede that Futurism may have stimulated Pound's thinking, but only insofar as it coincided with a general climate of "artistic rebellion" (Wilhelm) that was "[already] 'in the air'" (Stock), or only insofar as Futurism may have led Pound to think: "something saner might succeed" (Wilhelm). Such remarks bespeak a puzzling wish to dismiss the possibility that Marinetti may have played a role in Pound's development, a wish so fervent that it has transformed itself into fact. Consider the standard edition of Pound's *Selected Letters*, first published in 1950, a volume that includes two letters in which Pound refers to Marinetti by name, both from 1915; in their published versions, however, the first is presented without the sentence that mentions Marinetti, and the second is given with Marinetti's name disfigured into "Mennetti."⁹

If it is true, as the logic of poststructuralism asserts, that every erasure will leave its trace in such a way that the very thing one is trying to exclude is disclosed as the hidden center of a contaminated order, then it will come as no surprise to suggest that Marinetti, far from merely prompting Pound to issue or encourage hostile remarks about Futurism, may have stood behind two of the most significant turning points in Pound's career. Futurism in London in 1912 to 1914 mounted a sustained interrogation of the concept of aesthetic autonomy, blurring the boundaries of a category formerly deemed self-evident, precipitating a species of legitimation crisis in the concept of art itself. Yet the crisis was not purely or solely conceptual: it derived its special power from the ways in which Marinetti's activities elided and confused the distinctions separating different spheres of cultural production—most important, those associated with art and those linked with the production of entertainment as a commodity. The effect of Futurism on Pound and the London avant-garde was to make the social space of cultural production into an urgent question, to problematize the settings in which the work—the business, if you will—of modernism and the avant-garde might get done. It was no longer the polite salon or the genteel review, it seemed for a moment, but the concert hall, the mass circulation newspaper, or perhaps the music hall that might serve as the new agora of literary and cultural debate. But only for a moment. For the efforts to address the new challenges raised by Marinetti also proved to be failures: paradoxically, the twin turning points in the career of Pound and the London avant-garde were significant,

not because they led to the resolution of an intractable problem, but because they revealed themselves as dead ends—and dead ends not just for Pound's poetic or intellectual development but for the avant-garde as a viable cultural institution. It was when this was finally understood that the avant-garde turned elsewhere: to a third alternative in which the opposition between elite and popular culture, or between art and commodity, could be resolved in a brief but uneasy synthesis—resolved, one might almost say, by the creation of the avant-garde itself; resolved in such a way that we who live on the other side of that dramatic moment have inherited a conceptual and institutional impasse that will probably remain unresolved for some time to come.

Though Marinetti's activities in London before World War I have been poorly chronicled, they can be reconstructed in considerable detail.¹⁰ What emerges is a portrait of some complexity, one that shows an ongoing dialogue between Marinetti's evolution and a rapidly changing intellectual and social milieu. Marinetti visited and lectured in London at four distinct moments. The first was in 1910, when he delivered several lectures to the Lyceum Club for Women, then located at 128 Piccadilly. Pound, however, was away from London at the time, and the scant attention the lectures received makes it unlikely that he heard about them upon his return.¹¹ The second and more important of Marinetti's visits to England occurred in the spring of 1912, when he appeared in conjunction with the first exhibition of Futurist paintings at the Sackville Gallery, located at 28 Sackville Street and owned by Max Rothschild.¹² Even before the show opened on 1 March, it was attracting media attention prompted by reports about the controversy it had provoked during its run in Paris. Most of the coverage came from mass circulation newspapers—the *Daily Mirror* (7 February), the *Sketch* (14 February), and the *Illustrated London News* (17 February).¹³ On the day before the opening of the exhibition, Sir Philip Burne-Jones offered his view of Futurism in an interview that appeared in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, and his comments anticipated the terms of subsequent debate. He called the exhibition "something hideous and incompetent" and dubbed the Futurists "a band of maniacs."¹⁴ But when challenged to defend his assertions a few days later by Max Rothschild, Burne-Jones retracted his specific comments about individual works and formal practices, only to reassert a more fundamental critique. He should not have commented on the exhibition at all, he said now: it wasn't "really worthwhile discussing the matter seriously" because "we are not dealing with Art in any form." The Futurist paintings, he

summarized, were “outside the pale of Art altogether.”¹⁵ This was the question that Futurism would press to its ultimate consequence: where was the pale, the boundary line, of Art?

The stage for a confrontation had been set, and when the show opened the next day it set off an avalanche of newspaper reviews, commentary, and publicity. In part the exhibition attracted so much and such intense discussion because it coincided with a deepening political crisis. On the day that it opened, more than a million miners led by self-proclaimed syndicalists declared a strike that seemed to threaten vital natural resources in an unprecedented way. Newspapers called the day “Black Friday,” suggesting a religious cataclysm, and printed cartoons such as one portraying a massive Satanic figure with hairy arms, cloven hooves, and the word “strike” written across his emaciated chest, who strides across a coal yard and infuses the spirit of chaos among a crowd of tiny humans fleeing in fright. The title above reads “Black Friday, 1912,” and below is a second title, “The Masque of Anarchy,” a reference to the unions’ anarchist-syndicalist leaders.¹⁶ Simultaneously, militant suffragists suddenly intensified their window-breaking campaign, an activity that left contemporaries profoundly shocked.¹⁷ By a kind of metonymy facilitated by the modern newspaper’s juxtaposition of disparate events, Futurism was becoming the cipher of a contemporary crisis, and it was in this tense environment that Marinetti himself arrived, ready to give his lecture of 19 March at Bechstein Hall.¹⁸ Ironically, it would mark a turning point in the career, not of Marinetti, but of Ezra Pound.

By a curious coincidence, Ezra Pound was also giving a lecture on 19 March 1912, the second in a series of three. The talk he had planned for that day was one that encapsulated the central motifs of his career to that point. From the moment he had arrived in London in late 1908, Pound had staked his claims to literary authority on the poetry and culture of Provence. The first poem he had published in England was a sestina, a verse form from Provence, that depicted the Provençal poet Bertrams de Born, and his first books of poetry (*Personae*, *Exultations*, and *Canzoni*) offered readers a steady diet of sestinas, albas, planhs, ballatas, madrigales, and tenzoni. His first work of critical prose treated the same subject, the poetry of Provence. Pound had established his earliest literary identity by offering readers a species of erudite exoticism, recondite material updated with pungent obiter dicta, a learned mode of writing that could appeal only to an upper-middle-class audience with significant cultural capital (to use Pierre Bourdieu’s term) and ambitious cultural aspirations. As one approving

reviewer of *Canzoni* put it, Pound had become “The Modern Troubadour.”¹⁹ It was a telling oxymoron: Pound had become a living archaism. For just as the sestina and the canzone were literary genres linked with a distinctly courtly way of life, so the troubadour presupposed an aulic mode of cultural production—something poles apart from the late industrial society in which Pound actually lived.

Yet if Pound could be accurately described as a form of living archaism, perhaps it was because he was living archaically. Though he had generally received warm reviews of his early verse, Pound had also soon learned that his writings could scarcely earn a sufficient income. Indeed, he would not have been able to survive had it not been for the stroke of good fortune that befell him in March 1910, when he was introduced to Margaret Cravens, a thirty-year-old American expatriate bohemian—a member of the aristocracy of sensibility, in other words—and friend of the pianist Walter Morse Rummel, studying music in Paris.²⁰ Two days after they met, Cravens offered to become his patron. The evidence suggests that he received about \$1,000, or £200, per annum, a sum that was neither mean nor quite princely. On the eve of World War I in England, the average wage for adult male industrial workers was about £75 per annum, whereas the average annual income of the salaried class was £340. The gap between these figures represented the divide between the working class and the rest of society, a great and accepted gulf that one historian has termed “the major social fact of the day.”²¹ Patronage meant that Pound’s tent was pitched just on the other side of that gulf, yet never far from the abyss that yawned behind him. On 12 March 1912—one week before Marinetti’s lecture, and his own—Pound reported to his prospective father-in-law that his income from his writings had risen to £38 for four months, a figure that would yield £114 per annum; in addition, he had recently secured a contract with a publishing firm that guaranteed him another £100 per annum. Together with his £200 from Cravens, he noted proudly, his income amounted to “about £400 per year, with reasonable chance of increase.” To be sure, “this would not go very far in England,” but at least he was approaching the promised land of the salaried class.²²

It is in this context that we can best understand Pound’s plans to lecture in March 1912, for these were plainly conceived to supplement his income. The strategy was clear enough: by presenting a series of lectures with limited admission and relatively high prices per ticket, he could maximize the returns from the small audience for poetry, capitalizing on its appeal as a marker of social distinction. The series would comprise three lectures, each at 10s. 6d., or the

whole series at £1 is. (that is, a guinea; notoriously, the guinea was a monetary unit of social nuances, used until 1971 in place of the mundane pound to state professional fees, rents for better premises, and similarly impressive purposes). With the hall or salon furnished by a well-to-do friend, there were no expenses to cover, and if the house was full, even with the audience limited to fifty people, Pound would earn between £50 and £60.²³ The site for the series was the "private gallery" of Lord and Lady Glenconner, located at 34 Queen Anne's Gate, a sedate residential street in one of the choicest locations in London, parallel to the southeastern edge of Saint James's Park. Then, as now, the street was a museum of eighteenth-century architecture: its houses, all built around 1704, were handsome three-story buildings with brick fronts and interiors that retained many of their original furnishings—oak staircases, carved wood paneling with pediments over doorways, marble fireplaces, and so on. The nearby residents were no less choice, with Lady Assheton-Smith the owner and occupant of number 30, and dowager Lady Allendale residing next door at number 32. Yet they were nothing compared with the residents of number 34.²⁴

The house boasted new inhabitants, Edward and Pamela Glenconner. Edward was the eldest son of Sir Charles Tennant (1823–1906), the third in a succession of enterprising Scotch industrialists who had established their wealth by creating a new system for bleaching fabrics in 1795, just when the British linen and cotton industries were entering a period of sustained growth, then expanded the operation with a range of manufactured chemicals necessary for processing raw materials. Charles Tennant had outdone even his predecessors. Investing shrewdly in railroad stocks and other speculative ventures, he launched firm after firm: in 1866, the Tharsis Sulphur and Copper Company, which mined pyrites (necessary for making sulfur) in Spain and employed some twelve hundred workmen; in 1872, the Steel Company of Scotland, centered in Glasgow; and in 1881, the Mysore Gold Mining Company, a company that revived defunct mines in India with such success that its dividend returns remained consistently better than 100 percent from 1896 to 1905. A Liberal member of Parliament from 1879 onward and later a close friend of William Gladstone, who made him a baronet, Sir Charles eventually became chairman of fourteen companies and director of nine others.²⁵ His career signaled a shift away from an industrial economy based on local resources to more speculative wealth obtained through investment and organization on an international scale.

The change in economic activity was matched by alterations in residence and lifestyle. Sir Charles purchased a four-thousand-acre estate at Glen, sixty miles

outside Glasgow, that became the site of a massive architectural fantasy in the Scots baronial style, fifty rooms amid a phalanx of towers and turrets surmounted by carved gargoyles. In London, however, he purchased a neoclassical edifice in Grosvenor Square, the traditional abode of Tory aristocracy, and after 1880 he began to collect paintings, acting on advice from the dealer William Agnew of Agnew's Gallery and swiftly assembling a collection of British art that was among the most notable of its time. Whereas previous Tennants had been educated in Scotland, Sir Charles consigned his son Edward (1859–1920) to prep school and Eton, educating him to be a courteous country gentleman. Edward became just that: absorbed in shooting, fishing, and forestry, he lacked his father's passion for politics or ambition to make money. The chief events of his life were sparked by the initiatives of others. In 1894 his sister, Margot, married Sir Herbert Henry Asquith, already the home secretary in Gladstone's third Liberal government and a rising star in the party; dutifully, Edward ran in 1896 and 1900 for his father's former parliamentary seat, losing both times, though in 1905, the year of the Liberal landslide, he was finally elected M.P. for Salisbury.²⁶

His father's death in 1906 left Edward free to dispose of a vast inheritance, though his subsequent decisions were strongly influenced by his wife, née Pamela Wyndham (1871–1928). Pamela was the fifth and youngest child of Percy and Madeline Wyndham, parents of aristocratic backgrounds who shared an interest in the arts. From 1881 to 1885 they had devotedly constructed Clouds, a massive country house that was the principal work of Philip Webb, an architect closely associated with William Morris and the Arts and Crafts movement. Here Pamela passed her youth and adolescence, nestled amid the Pre-Raphaelite splendor of original works by Dante Gabriel Rossetti and Edward Burne-Jones, tastefully displayed against the background of carpets and curtains by Morris himself. Her literary interests were shaped by the deeply romantic tastes of her older brother, George. (Pamela would write and edit ten books.) She married Edward in 1895, having met him during one of her family's visits to the country house of Sir Charles, and by 1906 she had given birth to five children.²⁷

Adjusting to her marriage with Eddy, as he was known, required some effort. Pamela felt that the Glen and her new in-laws were conspicuously lacking in poetry. Their interior decorations, she complained, looked "as if Morris were not—nor had been"; Eddy's sisters, she noted coldly, could "not see the *colour* of other minds quickly"; and conversation with Sir Charles, she reported, trailed "like a winged bird, lower and lower till it gradually settles down among



1. Edward Tennant (1850–1920), first baron Glenconner, heir to the Tennant family fortune. Courtesy of David Tennant.



2. Pamela Wyndham Tennant (1871–1928), Lady Glenconner, whose “private gallery” hosted three lectures by Ezra Pound in 1912. Drawing from the *Sketch*, 10 December 1913.

stocks and shares, or the indifferent among the poems of Burns.”²⁸ Pamela soon took steps to remedy the situation. In 1900 she and Eddy acquired an estate of two thousand acres conveniently located near her parents, and from 1904 to 1906 they were engaged in constructing Wilsford Manor. Though designed by Detmar Blow, a student of the same Philip Webb who had designed *Clouds*, it lacked the impress of Webb’s eclectic originality. Instead, its deliberately archaic and Jacobean style oscillated between elegant pretension and meretricious pretense, the latter painfully evident in the nursery wing that culminated in a thatched roof—as if the Tennants were rustics!—over the “Stone Parlour” that looked toward the Avon River below.²⁹

On the death of Sir Charles, Edward and Pamela sold the house in Grosvenor Square and purchased 34 Queen Anne’s Gate, commissioning Detmar



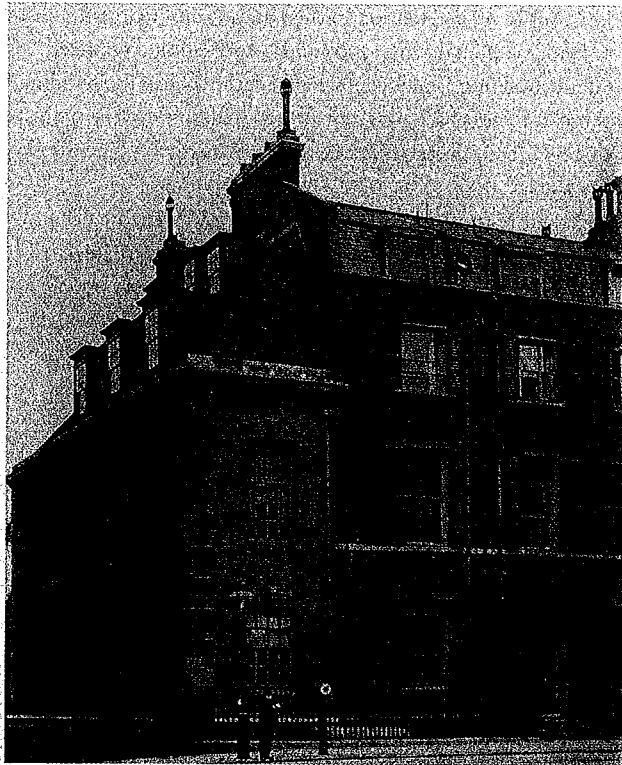
3. Wilsford Manor, near Amesbury; designed by Detmar Blow for Edward and Pamela Tennant, 1904–1906. Courtesy of Country Life Library.



4. Wilsford Manor, the nursery wing. On the lawn stands Dick Wyndham, nephew of Edward and Pamela Tennant. Courtesy of Caroline Dakers and David Tennant.

Blow to add a substantial extension to the building and reorganize its haphazard spaces. Plans were finalized in 1908 and construction completed in 1910.³⁰ The front of the building remained unchanged; the back of the building, which looked out on St. James's Park, was reorganized with sober refinement: a central block of three windows in each story was complemented by a bowed wing of windows on the left, a pattern that followed the building's internal structure. Thus, the ground floor was devoted to a formal dining room (central block) and drawing room (bowed wing), and the first floor housed a gallery to hold the collection of paintings that had been assembled by Sir Charles, complemented by a smaller salon. It was here on the first floor, in what was termed "the private gallery," that Ezra Pound would give his lectures on Provençal poetry. The room, recorded in photographs commissioned by Edward in 1910, contained nearly all the most valuable paintings of the Tennant collection: thirty-seven works by the masters of British art from the eighteenth century, together with others by Antoine Watteau, Jean-Honoré Fragonard, and nineteenth-century British artists such as George Morland and J. M. W. Turner.³¹ On the north wall that overlooks St. James's Park, placed between two windows, we see Sir Joshua Reynolds's portrait *Robert Mayne* and Sir Henry Raeburn's well-known *The Leslie Boy*; to the right of the door we can see George Romney's portrait *Mrs. Inchbald* and Reynolds's *Girl Crying*, and just to the right of these hung Reynolds's magnificent portrait *Lady Diana Crosby*. On the opposite wall stood another series of masterpieces: Romney's portrait *Elizabeth, Countess of Derby*, William Hogarth's *Peg Woffington*, Thomas Gainsborough's *Miss Hippisley* and *The Ladies Erne and Dillon*, Allan Ramsay's *Lady Erskine*, and John Hoppner's *Mrs. Gwynn*.³²

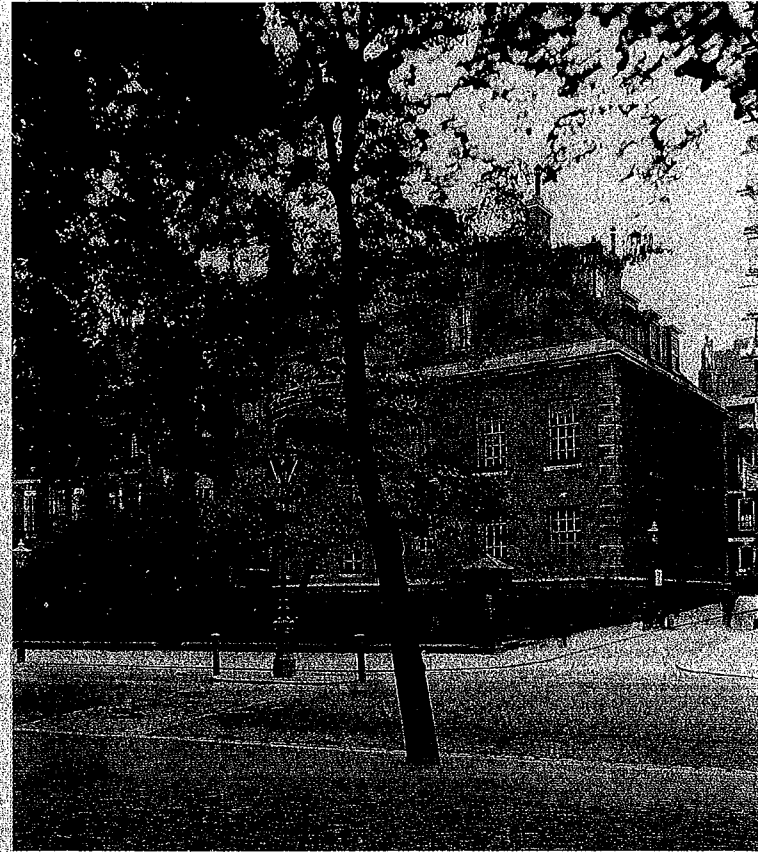
The "private gallery" was a deeply ambiguous space that fulfilled several conflicting functions. The room contained a specially built "sprung floor" that furnished an ideal surface for dancing, and at times it served as the setting for the Tennants' infrequent but lavish entertainments. It was also a "gallery" in the ordinary sense of the word. The Tennants, moved by a mixture of impulses that included genuine generosity, a sense of liberal guilt, and an impulse to self-display, had decided to make their gallery open to the general public free of charge for four hours each on Wednesdays and Saturdays, making theirs one of the first private collections made available for public view.³³ And it was a space in which other meanings could be invested, some of which were elaborated in Pamela's entertaining book *The Children and the Pictures*, which recounts a fictional story of how her children "meet" and respond to the paintings held in the gallery. Awakened one evening by the sound of conversation below, Pamela's



5. 34 Queen Anne's Gate, London, front entrance. Photograph by E. Badford Lamere, November 1910, commissioned by Edward Tennant. Courtesy of the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England, © Crown copyright.

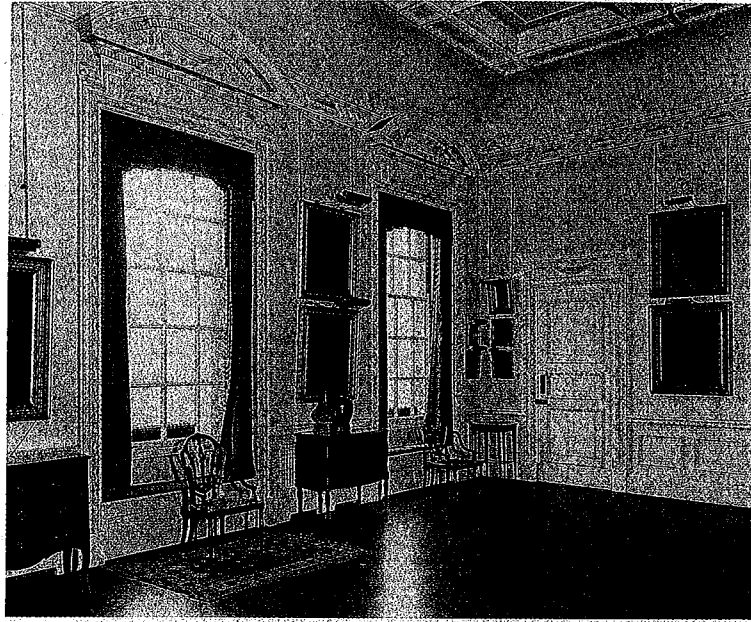
oldest daughter discovers that the people depicted in the paintings return to life at night and conduct spirited discussions about the past and the present. Slightly put off at first, Clare soon warms to an entire cast of characters, and it is not long before she has also involved her siblings in a series of nightly dialogues and adventures with the dead. Eventually the children conclude that the world of the dead is infinitely freer and fresher than the world of the living, and it requires some effort on the part of their mother to convince them that they must learn to keep the paintings in their proper place in the realm of night and dreams.

A testimony to Pamela's devotion to her children and a fine specimen of her



6. 34 Queen Anne's Gate, London, rear facade, facing St. James's Park. Photograph by E. Badford Lamere, November 1910, commissioned by Edward Tennant. Courtesy of the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England, © Crown copyright.

gift for whimsy, *The Children and the Pictures* is also a tale of cultural pathology that implies a world grown so loathsome that life is now conceived as residing only in dialogue with the dead, with shadowy figures whose comforting comments offer an untroubled escape from the living. A similar escapism is affirmed in Pamela's first book of poems, *Windlestraw*, published two years earlier, in which she praised the rural peace of Wiltshire as an ideal that promised tranquillity to her readers:



7. 34 Queen Anne's Gate, London, first floor, north wall of the "private gallery" where Ezra Pound lectured in March 1912. Photograph by E. Badford Lamere, November 1910, commissioned by Edward Tennant. Courtesy of the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England, © Crown copyright.

Here may I dwell content. And when the day
Dawns that shall recognize thy task complete
Thou too, from busy crowds shalt turn away
To some sublime retreat.

The "private gallery" was exactly such a "sublime retreat." And Philip Burne-Jones, son of the great Pre-Raphaelite painter and a companion of Pamela in her youth—the same man whose indignation would shortly be roused by the Futurists—was only too happy to accept the consolatory poetry of Pamela. As he wrote to her in 1905 when he had finished his copy of the book, "I do love 'Windlestraw'—do you mind my telling you so, dear Pamela? Such sweet little verses about such delicious things—all sorts of things I'd like to have said *myself!*—(and one can't give any higher praise than that!) They seem the echoes of such a happy country life—and there are beautiful thoughts, too, beautifully



8. 34 Queen Anne's Gate, London, first floor, south wall of the "private gallery." Photograph by E. Badford Lamere, November 1910, commissioned by Edward Tennant. Courtesy of the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England, © Crown copyright.

expressed."³⁴ The ensemble of cultural values embedded in the "private gallery" of Lord and Lady Glenconner—the Tennants acquired their title in April 1911 when Asquith, by then the prime minister, rewarded Edward's faithful financial support with a peerage, making him the first baron Glenconner—constituted the stage for Pound's performance of March 1912. Speaking in this

room and amid these paintings, Pound was turned into yet another picture from the past, another voice from an era both dead and comforting—indeed, comforting because dead. Cast within the scenario outlined by *The Children and the Pictures*, his performance restages a drama of cultural regression, one in which the auditors are turned into children who are enthralled by the voice of remote romance that speaks in “some sublime retreat.”

Access to that “retreat” was not available to all and sundry; admission to Pound’s lectures was almost as difficult to obtain as a house on Queen Anne’s Gate, and care was taken to distinguish them from other offerings of the contemporary economy. The program that announced them, for example, was privately distributed. Tickets were not commodities that could be purchased but favors that might be courteously requested. “TICKETS may be obtained on application to Lady Low,” stated the program. Lady Ann Penelope Low, the daughter of General Robert Percy Douglas, fourth baronet, had been widowed in 1905 and now resided at 23 De Vere Gardens amid a row of houses nestled just off the southern corner of Kensington Gardens, where she kept an informal salon and sponsored “evenings at home.” A close friend of Olivia Shakespear, the mother of Pound’s fiancée, Lady Low frequented a circle of upper-middle-class intellectuals such as G. W. Prothero, editor of the *Quarterly Review*.³⁵ Here was the realm of elite bourgeois culture in which Pound’s career had been fashioned before 1912: a world withdrawn from public life and insulated from the grim imperatives of a commodity economy, a sphere in which literary culture had been largely privatized, serving as a medium of exchange for an exiguous aristocracy of sensibility, a court of intellect. Access to this world was strictly controlled: the audience, as the program noted, was “limited to FIFTY.”

Pound’s three lectures were scheduled for the fourteenth, the nineteenth, and the twenty-first of March, and immediately after the first one he wrote his father to report his success: “Have just got my first lecture off my chest and am ready to rest. Have cleaned up \$90 so far.”³⁶ Yet there were some obvious disadvantages to these proceedings, which required that Pound maintain good relations with a network of people with influence and power—people who could oblige others to attend his lectures—and it left him little room to provoke an audience on whose goodwill he was patently dependent. Further, his access to these circles was mediated largely by Olivia Shakespear, his prospective mother-in-law, creating private tensions that must have been all but unbearable. That there were other avenues to an audience would become apparent in the unexpected events that attended Pound’s second lecture, the one scheduled for Tuesday, 19 March 1912.

EZRA POUND, M.A.
(Author of "Exultations," "Cantos,"
"The Spirit of Romance")

WILL GIVE
**THREE LECTURES ON
MEDIÆVAL POETRY**

AT
14 QUEEN ANNE'S GATE, S.W.
AS FOLLOWS, AT 3.30.

THURSDAY, MARCH 14TH
TUSCANY, A.D. 1290: GUIDO CAVALCANTI.
In the Chair—FREDERIC MANNING.

THURSDAY, MARCH 19TH
PROVENCE, A.D. 1190: ARNAUT DANIEL.
In the Chair—

THURSDAY, MARCH 21ST
ENGLAND, A.D. 790: ANGLO-SAXON VERSE.
In the Chair—W. B. YEATS.

The Three Schools will be considered in part, in their possible
relation to the Art of to-day.

TICKETS may be obtained on application to LADY LOW, 23 De
Vere Gardens, Kensington, W.

For the Course of Three Lectures, 41 1s.
Admittance to Single Lectures, 10s. 6d.

As Audience is limited to FIFTY an early application is desirable.

9. Program for a series of lectures by Ezra Pound, March 1912; 12.5 × 10 cm. Hamilton College Library, courtesy of Omar Pound.

The topic of Pound’s first lecture, on 14 March, had been Guido Cavalcanti. His second was to treat “Provence, A.D. 1190: Arnaut Daniel.” Pound was on familiar ground here, discussing the master of “trobar clus,” or “closed verse,” the most hermetic vein of troubadour poetry. Characterizing such poems two months later in an essay based on this very lecture, Pound would write: “They are good art as the high mass is good art,” works that must be “approached as ritual” because they sought “to make their revelations to those who are already

expert.³⁷ Pound, very plainly, was describing not just the work of Arnaut Daniel but his own poetry as well. His lecture on Daniel's poems and audience was a wholly self-referential discourse that bespoke Pound's own situation. Appropriately—and yet how ironic, when compared with Marinetti's lecture that same day—the program for Pound's lecture stated that he would discuss Daniel's "possible relation to the Art of to-day." (Like Philip Burne-Jones, Pound still conceived of art with a capital *A*.) The time was set for 3:30 P.M.

On the morning of the lecture he received a letter from his fiancée, who told him that she would be attending a lecture that evening—not his, however. She was going "to hear Marinetti lecture . . . about les Futuristes" at Bechstein Hall.³⁸ This was Pound's first experience of what might be termed ephemeral seduction, the powerful allure of art conceived as public practice, as a spectacle capable of attracting an audience much larger than fifty, as performance that could arouse curiosity, debate, desire. The next day must have been unforgettable for an avid reader of newspapers such as Pound. Not a one took note of "Provence, A.D. 1190: Arnaut Daniel." But Marinetti's performance was fully reported in the morning edition of the *Daily Chronicle*, with a headline reading "Futurist' Leader in London," accompanied by the subtitle, "Makes an Attack on the English Nation." The next day a second article on Marinetti appeared in the *Morning Leader*, and yet a third was published on the second page of the *Times*, as a lead editorial!³⁹ Odder still, Marinetti had not flattered his audience but berated it, castigating the English as "a nation of sycophants and snobs, enslaved by old worm-eaten traditions, social conventions, and romanticism." And though the *Times* reported that "some of his audience begged for mercy," the *Daily Chronicle* noted that "the long-haired gentlemen in the stalls and the ladies with Rossetti eyes and lips rewarded him with their laughter and applause." Still another observer, writing a year later, recalled an audience that "wildly applauded his outspoken derision of all their cherished national characteristics."⁴⁰

Marinetti's lecture achieved instant notoriety. After only six weeks in England, he reported in mid-April, the Futurists had elicited 350 articles in newspapers and reviews and had earned more than 11,000 francs in sales of paintings (\$2,200, or £440).⁴¹ More important, Marinetti had achieved his success not by addressing only an educated elite but by speaking in a public forum to a wider audience. Whereas tickets to each of Pound's lectures had uniformly cost 10s. 6d., only the most expensive tickets to Marinetti's lecture had cost that much, and the lowest-priced tickets had sold for 1s.; and whereas Pound's

audience had been deliberately "limited to FIFTY," Marinetti's may have reached 500. (Seating capacity at Bechstein Hall was 550.)⁴² More important, Marinetti's audience had become not just the people who attended his performance in Bechstein Hall but the millions who read about it in the *Daily Chronicle*, the *Morning Leader*, and the *Times*.

Nothing could have made plainer the value of a concerted polemical onslaught, the formation of a collective identity buttressed by theatricality and publicity. Sometime in March 1912—it may have been before Marinetti's lecture, though it was certainly *after* the outbreak of publicity surrounding the Futurist exhibition—Pound sent off the manuscript for his next book of poetry, *Ripostes*. At the end of the volume he included a brief statement that has since become famous as the first public reference to Imagism: "As for the future, *Les Imagistes*, the descendants of the forgotten school of 1909, have that in their keeping." The use of French, *Les Imagistes*, to designate the new "school" is an obvious echo of the linguistic practice that had led Dorothy Shakespear to describe her plans "to hear Marinetti lecture in French, about les Futuristes," just as Dorothy's practice was probably a consequence of Marinetti's own. As Marinetti did not speak English, he delivered all his lectures in French while in England; and because he also wrote the original versions for the early Futurist manifestos in French, at least in part because French was still the lingua franca of European intellectual exchange, it was natural to speak about him in French as well. It was also the French version of new manifestos that Marinetti routinely mailed to British critics and journalists, and although mass circulation dailies translated quotations into English, the intellectual and cultural weeklies usually cited the French directly. When Pound, therefore, first announces the creation of Imagism ("As for the future, *Les Imagistes* . . . have that in their keeping"), he uses a conjunction of terms ("future" and the name of a movement in French) that plainly signals their provenance.⁴³

Pound's subsequent steps toward art as public practice came in the wake of three events, all of them precipitating a collapse of the "courtly" structure of cultural production that had previously characterized Pound's milieu. In June 1912 Margaret Cravens committed suicide, leaving Pound without the financial support that had sustained him for two years and reinforced his aulic self-conception. In late October, the publishing firm that had guaranteed him one hundred pounds per year collapsed. Pound was back to where he had started, and it was not a matter he could easily forget: five hundred pounds per annum, his prospective mother-in-law advised him in September, was the minimum it would take for him to marry her daughter.⁴⁴ In late September, too, Pound

learned that Edward Marsh was assembling an anthology designed to present the recent work of younger poets as a collective project, the Georgians.⁴⁵ By December it had already become clear that the volume was going to be a remarkable success. Impelled by these events, Pound began to launch Imagism in a more systematic and serious way.

On 18 August and sometime in October he sent off poems by himself and H.D. to *Poetry* magazine, characterizing them as "Imagiste."⁴⁶ In December he wrote an essay that surveyed contemporary poetry in London—the essay was published in January 1913—and contained his second public reference to Imagism, a description that ran for two brief paragraphs. Imagism was "the youngest school here that has the nerve to call itself a school."⁴⁷ The aggressive tone was at odds with the tentative definitions that followed, a contradiction already apparent in the diction. For "school" was a term that Marinetti had used in his earliest writings on Futurism, in 1909, but had subsequently rejected for its associations with the taxonomies of academic art history, instead adopting the term "movement." Indeed, Pound's presentation of "Imagism" implicitly underscored its differences from Futurism. Imagism rejected Futurism's ethos of collective identity: a school was something more informal, more casual, more individualistic, the fortuitous outcome of "two or three young men agree[ing], more or less, to call certain things good." Imagism also shunned the kind of programmatic ambitions associated with Futurism: "a school does not mean in the least that one writes poetry to a theory." (Saying this, Pound was echoing contemporary reviewers who had complained that Futurist paintings were "rather a theoretic extension than a spontaneous development.")⁴⁸ Instead Pound stressed the purely technical nature of Imagism: "Their watchword was Precision" and they sought "to produce a good single line" or just "a good short" poem. They opposed only "interminable effusions." Yet who, after all, would want to defend interminable effusions? Imagism, in short, was a movement to end movements: informal, antitheoretical, absorbed in matters of writerly technique, and averse to more global programs that linked poetry to contemporary social transformations or posed questions about the status and functions of art. Though Imagism is commonly treated as the first avant-garde in Anglo-American literature, it was really something quite different—the first anti-avant-garde. And Pound's subsequent efforts to define Imagism only accentuated these features. In an essay published two months later, in March 1913, written by Pound though printed under the signature of F. S. Flint, Pound made the opposition of Imagism and Futurism explicit: "The *imagistes* admitted that they were contemporaries of the Post Impressionists and the Futurists;

but they had nothing in common with these schools. They had not published a manifesto. They were not a revolutionary school; their only endeavor was to write in accordance with the best tradition, as they found it in the best writers of all time,—in Sappho, Catullus, Villon." Accompanying this essay was another, this one signed by Pound, "A Few Don'ts By an Imagiste," a title implicitly in opposition to the genre of the manifesto.⁴⁹ It was a timid response to the challenges raised by the Futurist presence in London, and in a moment of candor in 1927, Pound himself recalled the creation of Imagism in the most mundane terms: "The name was invented to launch H.D. and Aldington before either had enough stuff for a volume."⁵⁰ The launching and marketing of a new product—was this all that was at stake in the creation of Imagism?

Formulating the question this way fails to acknowledge the complications and unexpected consequences that were entailed in this novel use of publicity, advertising, and spectacle in connection with culture, creating new pressures that became increasingly apparent in the course of Marinetti's last two visits to England, in late 1913 and early 1914. For Pound these visits were important because Marinetti was increasingly shifting the front of his activity from the visual arts to literature: in May 1912 he published the "Technical Manifesto of Futurist Literature," in August the "Response to Objections"; in June and November 1913 he issued the "Destruction of Syntax—Radio Imagination—Words-in-Freedom," and in October "The Variety Theater."⁵¹ English readers were kept abreast. In September 1913 the journal *Poetry and Drama*, edited by Harold Monro, devoted an entire issue to examining Futurism. (Its previous issue, notably, had devoted only a paragraph to Imagism.) The issue included a translation of "L'immaginazione senza fili," as well as almost thirty pages of poems by Aldo Palazzeschi, Paolo Buzzi, and Marinetti himself. And in a long editorial, Monro praised Marinetti warmly, hailing him for auguring a dissolution of every distinction between poetry and popular culture, art and life. Rhapsodizing about the sheer size of Futurism's audience—in Italy it had "gained the support of no less than 22,000 adherents"—Monro became positively breathless at the thought that *I poeti futuristi* (1912) had sold thirty-five thousand copies. This fact in itself, Monro said, constituted "Marinetti's most interesting attitude." Here, he declared, was poetry that was no longer written for "close and studious scrutiny by the eye," poetry "no longer . . . withheld from the people" by "educationalists," "intellectuals," or the commercial press, but poetry intended "for the ear," "for immediate and wide circulation," poetry "regaining some of its popular appeal." Single-handedly, Marinetti was restor-

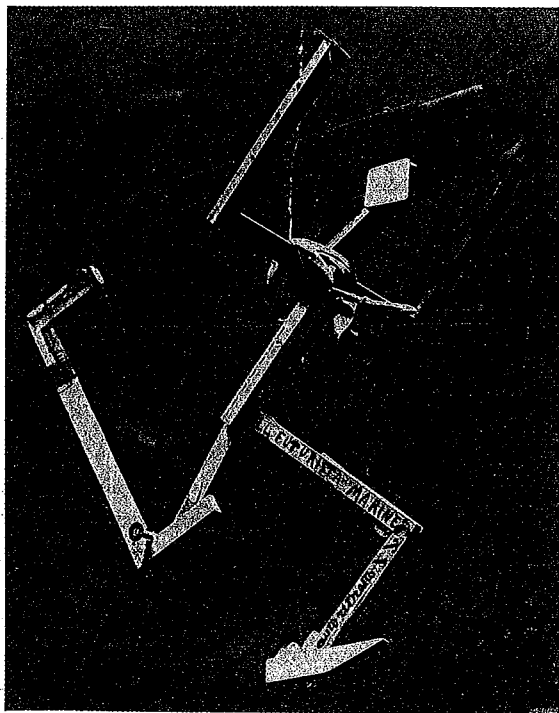
ing poetry to its status in an earlier era, an age when "the minstrel and the ballad-monger then represented our modern Northcliffe."⁵² Monro's reference to Northcliffe was telling: famously, Northcliffe in 1896 had founded the *Daily Mail*, a new kind of newspaper that stressed concise writing, attractive competitions, and alluring advertisements, developing a format that effectively blurred the distinction between news and entertainment; by 1902 its circulation topped one million, then the largest in the world. (Pound, throughout his voluminous correspondence, contemptuously referred to it as "the Dilly Mile.") Northcliffe was the embodiment of mass culture, and Monro's reference to him, in the context of his celebratory remarks on Marinetti, inadvertently signaled some of the tensions latent in the collapse of life and art that he wished to celebrate: for it suggested that there was no longer a meaningful distinction between poetry and the most ephemeral of commodities, the daily newspaper. The question that had first been posed by Sir Philip Burne-Jones—where was the boundary line of art?—had reared its head again. It would be more fully explored in the course of Marinetti's last two visits to London.

Monro's remarks prefaced Marinetti's third arrival in London by two months. Once again, for six days in November 1913, Marinetti gave daily lectures and readings that attracted substantial audiences and media attention. Now, however, Marinetti began to press his attack against elite bourgeois culture to new limits, assaulting the very principles that had once grounded his own thinking—principles that still grounded Pound's own. Already in the "Founding and Manifesto of Futurism" of 1909 Marinetti had urged that contemporary art be responsive to continuous change and innovation, emphasizing contemporaneity in a way that tended to blur the distinction between art and fashion; yet he had hesitated to draw the logical conclusion that art itself was not an eternal absolute.⁵³ To the contrary, as late as 1911 he could still charge that his critics feared him precisely because of his defense of art as an absolute: "Perhaps they saw, shining from our eyes, the glorious passion that we nurture for Art. [The capital *A* is Marinetti's own.] To art, in fact, which merits and which demands the sacrifice of the best, we give a love that is absolute."⁵⁴ But as early as the "Technical Manifesto" of mid-May 1912 he had begun to sound a new note: "Courageously let us set about making the 'ugly' in literature, and let us kill solemnity everywhere. Go away! don't listen to me with the air of great priests! Every day it is necessary to spit on the *Altar of Art!*"⁵⁵ And now, in the new lectures that he gave in late 1913, Marinetti pursued his conclusions to their ultimate consequences. He damned the sacred conception of art: "Art is not a religion," he declaimed on 17 November at the Poets' Club, "not something to

be worshipped with joined hands." Instead it "should express all the intensity of life—its beauty . . . its sordidness," and "the very complex of our life to-day." (Pound himself may have attended this lecture, as it is certain many of his friends did.)⁵⁶ Four days later, the *Daily Mail*—and no venue could have been more revealing—would publish Marinetti's manifesto "The Variety Theater," or "Le Music-Hall," with its intransigent vindication of a popular but critically despised cultural form. The music hall, wrote Marinetti, "is of course anti-academical, primitive, and ingenuous, and therefore all the more significant by reason of the unforeseen nature of all its fumbling efforts and the coarse simplicity of its resources. . . . [It] destroys all that is solemn, sacred, earnest, and pure in Art—with a big *A*."⁵⁷

When Marinetti returned to England six months later, in May and June 1914, he was given a chance to put his theories into effect. In June Marinetti was booked to appear at the Coliseum for a week, from Monday, 15 June, to Saturday, 21 June, twice daily. By now Marinetti had acquired an extraordinary stature in the life of the commercial press. Mass circulation weeklies such as the *Sketch* and the *Graphic* assiduously reported his doings and sayings. His mocking self-portrait, an assemblage of discarded pieces of wood attached to a wire brush, the bristles of which represented his hair, was featured on the front cover of the weekly *Sketch*. His views on "Futurist" clothes made headlines, and his every lecture was reported with warm good humor or respectful earnestness.⁵⁸ Major newspapers were even competing for advance news stories about the "Futurist Music," and three days before the premiere the *Pall Mall Gazette* featured a front-page story that was labeled a "'P.M.G.' Special" about the rehearsals.⁵⁹ It was a major event indeed: Marinetti had agreed to introduce Luigi Russolo and his notorious noise-tuners, or *intonarumori*. Marinetti was crossing the boundary into a realm of cultural practice in which "traditional art" had seldom been seen.

For the Coliseum was not just a music hall in the traditional sense. Its construction and organization had epitomized a set of new developments transforming the world of Edwardian entertainment. Its site on St. Martin's Lane had been selected by Oswald Stoll, the most successful of Edwardian theatrical entrepreneurs, precisely because it was directly visible from the exit of Charing Cross station, all but addressing the crowds of respectable, prosperous people who poured into the metropolis on a day's shopping excursion. Such people might be glad for an afternoon or evening's entertainment, Stoll had reasoned. They were "middle-class people for whom a visit to a serious play might seem too ambitious and a visit to a music-hall far too racy."⁶⁰ In seeking



10. F. T. Marinetti, *Self-Portrait* (1914). From the cover of the *Sketch*, 13 May 1914.

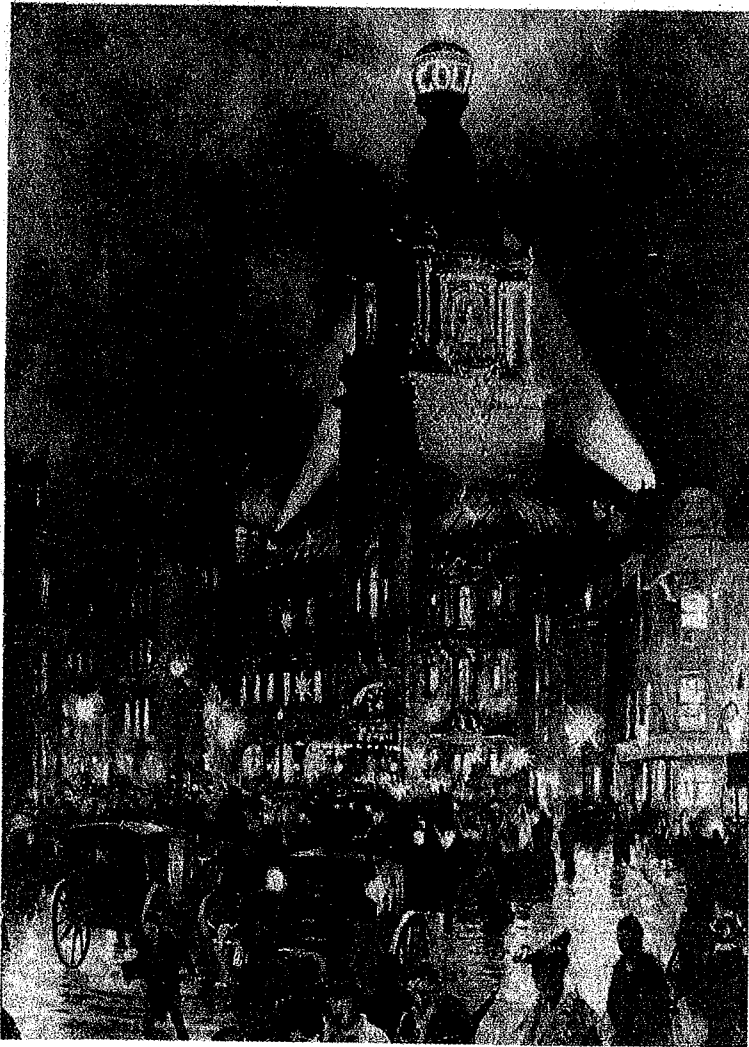
to please this audience, Stoll presented them a sanitized version of the music hall—a “Palace of Variety” that offered, in the words of its program, “the social advantages of the refined and elegant surroundings of a Club.”⁶¹ Marie Lloyd, one of the greatest music hall stars, was never invited to perform at the Coliseum: her racy lyrics and double entendres were too vulgar. Stoll’s theater was part of a wider trend that was changing the music hall from a form of entertainment rooted in the culture of the working and lower middle classes and instead assimilating it to the tastes of a middle class increasingly defined by consumerism. His Coliseum, which opened in 1904, was the biggest and most lavish music hall in London. Its seating capacity was nearly four thousand, its stage and proscenium were the largest ever built, and its architecture was impossible to ignore: the centerpiece was a massive tower that soared into the air, topped by



11. F. T. Marinetti (fifth from left) and Luigi Russolo (fourth from left), rehearsing “noise-tuners” for the Futurist concert of noises at the Coliseum, London, June 1914. Photograph from the *Sketch*, 17 June 1914.

eight cupids holding a rotating globe with the name COLISEUM in electric lights. Here was something to “to catch the attention of those prosperous shoppers.”⁶² Here was culture as consumption, art as entertainment, and here was the place where Marinetti would complete his last performance in England.

The show, paradoxically, was not successful. And contemporary observers understood the reasons immediately. Reviewing the premiere performance, the *Times* wrote: “Signor Marinetti rather mistook his audience yesterday afternoon, when he tried to deliver an academic exposition of Futurist principles at the Coliseum, and he had, in consequence, to put up with a rude reception from a gallery which seemed fully qualified to give him a lesson in his own ‘Art of Noises.’”⁶³ Marinetti indeed “mistook his audience,” ultimately in two different yet related ways. One was historical. Marinetti had badly misunderstood the nature of the music hall itself. His sense of the music hall derived largely from his experience in Italy, where it was still a vital, turbulent genre of urban popular culture, a hybrid form addressing a public still making the



12. The Coliseum, London, designed by Frank Matcham for Oswald Stoll, 1904.
Drawing by Charles W. Wyllie from the *Sphere*, 24 December 1904.

transition from a largely agrarian to a wholly urban way of life. It was a form that specifically spoke to the hybridized experience of people who had recently migrated to the metropolis, mingling motifs of the village carnival and more modern genres to treat the dislocations of urban experience. But in the more advanced industrial culture of England, where the wrenching process of urbanization had been more fully assimilated, the music hall was already a corpse that was experiencing a brief but spurious afterlife through its incorporation into the “Palace of Variety,” the new institution of an advancing consumer economy. Music hall would soon be swept away by the outbreak of World War I and the arrival of Hollywood cinema. In England, in other words, the music hall was no longer a hybrid creation of popular culture but a prototype of mass commodity culture.

Marinetti’s second mistake was theoretical. In the simplest terms, he failed to see that quotation and bricolage are strictly one-way streets. By this I mean that Marinetti’s effort to appropriate, legitimate, and transform a still illegitimate genre such as the music hall had the effect not of delegitimizing art, as he supposed, but of reaffirming its legitimacy, insofar as it fostered belief not in the value of this stake (for example, the music hall) or that stake (for example, classical theater) but in the value of the game in which all the stakes are assigned value at all.⁶⁴ More concretely, from a position within the already legitimate domain of art or high culture it was possible for Marinetti to appropriate and legitimate practices of mass culture; but from within the illegitimate domain of mass culture, the Coliseum itself, there was no theoretical ground of critical distancing by which to assimilate alien or heterogeneous cultural forms. What the *Times* reviewer termed an “academic exposition of Futurist principles” was precisely the kind of “serious” and self-reflective discourse that the Coliseum sought to exclude. And so it did. After fifteen minutes of Marinetti’s first lecture the curtain was unceremoniously lowered—there was a danger, the stage manager later claimed, that “people would start throwing things.” And for subsequent performances Stoll obliged Marinetti to include a gramophone playing records by Edward Elgar, the most philistine of all composers, allegedly “to bring a little melody into the act.”⁶⁵ Though Marinetti finished his run of one week, the Coliseum swiftly moved to compensate for the fiasco, bringing in as its next headliner George Robey, a performer almost as popular as Marie Lloyd. Marinetti’s effort to assimilate the concept of art to that of the commodity had failed.

If Imagism was an intellectual failure as an attempt to address the pressures brought to bear by the forms of cultural practice that Marinetti was introducing

in England, then it must have been doubly disappointing for Pound to find that his effort to assimilate those same forms should meet with a different lack of success. For if we take it that *Blast* did indeed incorporate the Futurist attack on high art—and tellingly, among its list of those to be “blasted” was “Lord Glenconner of Glen,” a name Pound surely included himself—or that it presented itself as a kind of graphic counterpart of music hall performance, then its lack of critical and public acceptance is revealing.⁶⁶ For contrary to what later critics have suggested, contemporary critics were neither angered nor provoked by *Blast*. They were simply bored, and not because *Blast* was an incomprehensible novelty, but because it was all too familiar. They said so, too, in contemporary reviews: “Almost all the pictures reproduced are (like the typesetting of the first pages), Futurist in origin, and nothing else. And as for the productions of the literary Vortices, these are not even so fresh as that. . . . All it really is is a feeble attempt at being clever. *Blast* is a flat affair. We haven’t a movement here, not even a mistaken one.” And in perhaps the most cutting words of all, the same reviewer remarked: “Mr. Pound used to be quite interesting when he was a remote passéist and wrote about the Provençal troubadours; but as a revolutionary I would rather have Signor Marinetti, who is at any rate a genuine hustler, whereas Mr. Pound assuming violence and ruthlessness is as unimpressive in his movements as a man who is trying to use someone else’s coat as a pair of trousers.”⁶⁷ *Blast* was indeed a dull affair, and the poems that Pound published in it are among the dreariest he ever produced. His attempt to address and provoke an audience through a programmatic polemical onslaught had proved a conspicuous failure. And not just in aesthetic but also in economic terms. When Wyndham Lewis later recalled the brief moment when he was the lion of London society as a result of *Blast*, he remembered how little it served him: “As a result of these sociable activities, I did not sell a single picture, it is superfluous to say.”⁶⁸

Initially, then, Marinetti’s practical and theoretical activities in London during 1912–1914 had two related effects on Pound and what has subsequently come to be termed the Anglo-American avant-garde. One was to provoke a reconfiguration of the relations among the institutions in which the discourse of art and poetry had been produced until then, forcing intellectuals and artists to come to terms with the role of new institutions of mass culture and assess their bearings on the place of art in a cultural marketplace being radically transformed. The other, in so doing, was to precipitate a permanent collapse of all distinctions between art and commodity, to effect a perceptible and irreversible

leveling of both within the single and amorphous category of the commodity. Further, by late 1914 it was clear that the attempts to respond to these dilemmas had proved failures, whether it was the rearguard restoration effort of Imagism or the imitative gesture of *Blast*. But if one could neither go back to reconstruct the aristocracy of the salon nor go forward to embrace the egalitarianism of the commodity, what solution was there? The answer, paradoxically, was to do a little of both at once: to reconstruct an aristocracy, but to do it within the world of the commodity—to accept, in other words, the status of art as a commodity, but simultaneously to transform it into a special kind of commodity, a rarity capable of sustaining investment value. Or, to reformulate this, the answer to the leveling effect precipitated by a consumer economy was to defer consumption into the future, to transform it into investment; which is to say, to encourage or even solicit the ephemeral seduction of the consumer economy, acknowledging the status of art as commodity, but to postpone and sublimate its consumption by turning it into an object of investment whose value will be realized only in the future. “Art,” as Pound would formulate it, becomes “news that stays news.”

More concretely, what had once been an aristocracy of patron-*salonniers* would now be replaced by an elite of patron-investors. For the Anglo-American avant-garde, the future lay in the new patronage provided by a small group of people such as John Quinn, Harriet Shaw Weaver, Scofield Thayer, and James Sibley Watson, Jr. The actualization of this new space within the commodity economy was achieved primarily through the new and unprecedented use of two institutions that had existed for some time but now became central to an emerging apparatus of cultural production: the little review and the limited edition, venues situated in a profoundly ambiguous social space, simultaneously sequestered and semi-withdrawn from the larger institution of publishing even while firmly embedded within the market economy. It was in the little reviews—among them the *Little Review*, the *Egoist*, and the *Dial*—that the principal masterpieces of the Anglo-American avant-garde would first be published. Likewise, their second appearance was almost uniformly in limited or deluxe editions of 200 copies (such as *Hugh Selwyn Mauberley*) or 254 copies (Eliot’s *Ara Vos Prec*), or 1,000 copies (*Ulysses*)—editions at the farthest possible remove from the 35,000 copies of *I poeti futuristi*. And in this new social space, the kind of publicization that had once been aimed at a mass audience along the lines pursued by Marinetti and imitated by *Blast* were no longer of use. Asked by Margaret Anderson in 1917 how best to announce his collaboration on the *Little Review*,

Pound now replied: "IF it is any use for adv[ertising]. purposes, you may state that a single copy of my first book has just fetched £8 (forty dollars)." Similarly, seven years later, when William Bird was drafting the prospectus for the first edition of *A Draft of XVI. Cantos*, Pound would urge the same argument: "Yr. best ad is the quiet statement that at auction recently a copy of Mr. P's [first book] 'A Lume Spento' published in 1908 at \$1.00 (one dollar) was sold for \$52.50."⁶⁹ These remarks, far from advancing assertions of intrinsic aesthetic value based on the presupposition of Art, offer straightforward claims about the performance record of investments within a commodity economy: by 1917 *A Lume Spento* had been increasing in value at a rate of more than 50 percent a year, by 1924 at 28 percent a year. The same, by implication, should now prove true of the *Little Review* or *A Draft of XVI. Cantos*. The reason to buy these was not necessarily to read them but to be able to sell them—perhaps at a substantial profit. Readers, in short, are giving way to an uneasy mixture of patron-investors, collectors, and speculators on the rare book market, all situated within a complex and highly unstable institutional space.

What the patron-investors provided with their generous subsidies and endowments was an institutional sphere that was momentarily immune to the pressures of a market economy, partially removed from the constraints of an expansive and expanding mass culture. In this dense new space of collectors and quasi-investors, large audiences were not a help but a hindrance. Consider only the case of the Modern Gallery, which was first opened in 1916 at 500 Fifth Avenue by Marius de Zayas, a minor artist and journalist previously associated with Alfred Stieglitz and the "291" Gallery.⁷⁰ The gallery's principal clients were Eugene and Agnes Meyer, Arthur B. Davies, Walter Arensberg, and John Quinn—few but fit. In 1920 alone Quinn purchased nearly \$24,000 worth of works from de Zayas, and even after returning two paintings in early 1921, the sum of his 1920 purchases totaled almost \$13,000.⁷¹ Translated into contemporary figures, this might fall somewhere between \$340,000 and \$390,000. Success, even survival, could depend on just such a nucleus of patron-investors, as de Zayas was told in 1919 by his French colleague, the Parisian dealer Charles Vignier, who was shaken when he learned that de Zayas was staging exhibitions that were drawing large crowds, with his gallery filled almost daily: "I feel very uneasy to learn that your Gallery is full every day. You are losing uselessly a precious strength by these vain chattering. I would rather hear that you have seen three clients in one week, of whom one has bought something."⁷² Vignier's remarks were perceptive. Ironically, de Zayas was ultimately forced to

close his gallery, not because he had failed to attract a large audience, but because he had succeeded in doing so. That was the dilemma of the avant-garde.

In responding to it by creating a distinction within the world of commodity culture whereby there is one set of cultural commodities whose value is exhausted in immediate consumption and another whose worth is deferred or sublated into the future as investment, modernism gained for itself—for an evanescent moment—a breathing space within the present, a space from which it could formulate its powerful critique of commodity capitalism, even as—and at the same time as—it mortgaged that critique in the future, mirroring the very system that it critiqued. But the consequences of this precarious compromise could not be forever deferred. For it was an inevitable outcome of this situation that the avant-garde's distaste for the dictates of the marketplace should ultimately be revealed as disingenuous precisely because, and insofar as, the works of the avant-garde began to command ever more significant prices within the larger open market. After that it was only a matter of time before the emergence of forms of art that were already "precommodified," art that ironically and even nostalgically acknowledges its own exchange function, art that finds its richest moments—in several senses—in the works of Andy Warhol. These are the *tristes tropiques* of late capitalism, known in their more naive form as "postmodernism."

CHAPTER 1: THE CREATION OF THE AVANT-GARDE

1. Peter Bürger, *Theory of the Avant-Garde*, trans. Michael Shaw (first edition in German, 1974; Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), 49.
2. For the Marxist view, see David Cottingham, "What the Papers Say: Politics and Ideology in Picasso's Collages of 1912," *Art Journal* 47, no. 4 (Winter 1988): 350–359, here 358. See also his "Cubism, Aestheticism, Modernism," in William Rubin, ed., *Picasso and Braque: Pioneering Cubism*, exhibition catalogue, 2 vols. (1989; New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1992), 2:58–72. For a defense of avant-garde practice, see Christine Poggi, *In Defiance of Painting* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 128, 129. For a wide-ranging collection of recent approaches to this issue, see James Naremore and Patrick Brantlinger, eds., *Modernity and Mass Culture* (London: Routledge, 1992); and for a discussion influential in criticism on the visual arts, Thomas Crow, "Modernism and Mass Culture," in Benjamin Buchloh, Serge Guilbaut, and David Solkin, eds., *Modernity and Modernity* (Halifax: Press of the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, 1983), 215–264. Crow argues that the social function of the avant-garde was to effect "a necessary brokerage between high and low [cultures]. In its selective appropriation from fringe mass culture, the avant-garde searches out areas of social practice which retain some vivid life in an increasingly administered and rationalized society" (253).
3. See, for example, Luciano De Maria, *La nascita dell'avanguardia: Saggi sul futurismo italiano* (Venice: Marsilio editori, 1986), the title of which announces his equation of the genesis of Futurism and the birth of the avant-garde. De Maria also mentions "l'avanguardia storica europea, di cui, a mio parere, il futurismo segna la nascita effettiva" (12); he urges that "Marinetti inventò, letteralmente, il prototipo dell'avanguardia storica" (15); and he notes, "Marinetti e compagni già gettavano le basi della prima autentica, codificata avanguardia europea" (31). An equally crucial role is assigned to Marinetti and Futurism by Marjorie Perloff in *The Futurist Moment* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986). And though Peter Bürger never mentions Futurism in his *Theory of the Avant-Garde*, he does place it alongside Dada and Surrealism as "eine der historischen Avantgardebewegungen" in his "Einleitung" to *Surrealismus* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1982), 6.
4. Both theses are forcefully argued by Marjorie Perloff in *The Poetics of Indeterminacy* (1981; reprint, Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1983), where she shows Pound as a crucial figure in "the other tradition," a turn away from a symbolist aesthetic to one of collage and juxtaposition.
5. "Ezra Pound: His Metric and Poetry," in T. S. Eliot, *To Criticize the Critic* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1965), 175. The essay was originally published anonymously as an independent volume by Alfred Knopf in 1917; see *TSEB*, 24, A2.
6. Eliot's arrival in London is announced in Pound to Harriet Monroe, 22 September 1914, cited in Humphrey Carpenter, *A Serious Character: The Life of Ezra Pound* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1988), 258; cf. Eliot to Conrad Aiken, 30 September 1914, in *LOTSE I*, 58–59.
7. Noel Stock, *The Life of Ezra Pound* (1970; reprint, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1974), 144. All subsequent quotations from Stock are also from this page.
8. James Wilhelm, *Ezra Pound in London and Paris: 1908–1925* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990), 93–94. All subsequent quotations from Wilhelm are also from these pages.
9. D. D. Paige, ed., *Selected Letters of Ezra Pound* (1950; reprint, New York: New Directions, 1971), hereafter abbreviated as *SL*. See Ezra Pound to Harriet Monroe, January 1915, 49. Paige transcribes: "I wish [Vachel] Lindsay all possible luck but we're not really pulling the same way, though we both pull against entrenched senility." He omits the sentence that follows: "In reality, he is of the race of Marinetti." See also the letter that follows, Ezra Pound to Harriet Monroe, March 1915, 55, again discussing Vachel Lindsay. Paige transcribes: "I don't say he copies Mennetti; but he is with him, and his work is futurist." The correct reading for both letters is given, albeit in translation, in the Italian edition of Pound's letters: Aldo Tagliaferri, ed., *Lettere, 1907–1958* (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1980), respectively 51 and 54.
10. A synthetic but approximate chronology—dates are given by the month only, rather than by the exact day—is given by Perloff, *The Futurist Moment*, 172–173, drawing on Cianci, "Futurism and the English Avant-Garde," and Ardizzone, "Bibliografia," both listed below in this note. Indispensable to the study of the relations between Pound and Marinetti are two bibliographies listing 240 primary sources that describe Marinetti's activities in England during 1910–1915: (1) Patrizia Ardizzone, "Il futurismo in Inghilterra: Bibliografia (1910–1915)," *Quaderno 9* (1979, special issue on *futurismo/vorticismo*): 91–115, hereafter abbreviated as "Bib.,"; and (2) Valerio Gioè, "Il futurismo in Inghilterra: Bibliografia (1910–1915)—Supplemento," *Quaderno 16* (1982): 76–83, hereafter abbreviated as "Bib. Supp.," Both bibliographies are poorly organized, mingling strictly bibliographical with historical entries, and together they contain hundreds of errors in the recording of titles, authors, journal names, and page references; moreover, both include publications that have little or nothing to do with Futurism but concern Vorticism. Even so, they remain indispensable.

Secondary studies on Pound and Marinetti are legion. See Niccolò Zapponi, "Odi e amori futuristi di Ezra Pound," *Studi americani* 18 (1972): 299–311; Niccolò Zapponi, "Dialoghi e scontri con la cultura italiana," chapter 2 in his *L'Italia di Ezra Pound* (Rome: Bulzoni editore, 1976), 77–140; Ulrich Weisstein, "Futurism in Germany and England: Two Flashes in the Pan," in *Revue des langues vivantes* 44 (1978): 467–497; Niccolò Zapponi, "Ezra Pound and Futurism," in Angela Jung and Guido Palandri, trans. and eds., *Italian Images of Ezra Pound* (Taipei, Taiwan: Mei Ya Publications, 1979), 128–138. See also the perceptive studies by Giovanni Cianci, "Futurismo e avanguardia inglese: Il primo Pound tra imagismo e vorticismo," *Quaderno 9* (1979, special issue on *futurismo/vorticismo*): 9–66; idem, "D. H. Lawrence e il futurismo/vorticismo," *Il verri*, series 6, no. 17 (1980): 80–99; idem, "Pound e il futurismo," *Rivista di studi anglo-americani* 1 (1981): 123–131; idem, "Futurism and the English Avant-Garde: Pound Between Imagism and Vorticism," *Arbeiten aus Anglistik und Amerikanistik* 6, no. 1 (1981): 3–39, an updated and slightly revised version of the essay that appeared in *Quaderno 9* (1979); and idem, "Catalizzazione futurista: La poetica del vorticismo," in Giovanni Cianci, ed., *Modernismo/Modernismi* (Milan: Casa editrice G. Principato, 1991), 156–174.

For subsequent studies, see Laurette Veza, "Marinetti et le vorticisme," in Jean-Claude

- Marcadé, ed., *Présence de F. T. Marinetti: Actes du colloque international tenu à l'UNESCO, 1976* (Lausanne: Editions l'âge d'homme, 1982), 277-286; Giovanni Cianci, "Pound and Futurism," in Bradford Morrow, ed., *Blast 3* (Santa Barbara, Calif.: Black Sparrow Press, 1984), 63-67; and William C. Wees, "Futurismo, vorticismo e 'mondo moderno,'" in Renzo De Felice, ed., *Futurismo, cultura e politica* (Turin: Fondazione Giovanni Agnelli, 1988), 439-452.
11. There was one brief report about Futurism in 1910, an article entitled "Futurist Venice" by Douglas Goldring, which appeared in *The Tramp* in August 1910, 487-488. This contained excerpts from "Contro venezia passatista" and "Fondazione e manifesto del futurismo" ("Bib.," B.1; "Bib. Supp.," D.1). Goldring was the editorial assistant for the *English Review*, a journal edited by Ford Madox Ford in 1908-1910 and the first important review to publish work by Ezra Pound, in March 1909. He was also personally acquainted with Pound and, though they were not especially close, they saw one another often in 1909 and early 1910. It is thus possible that Pound was aware of Goldring's report in *The Tramp*. Significantly, Pound's earliest mention of Marinetti is a reference to his manifesto "Contro venezia passatista," a reference that appears in the last paragraph of "Patria mia. III," *New Age* 11, no. 21 (19 September 1912): 491-492; reprinted in *EPPP* 1:79. The fact is significant because that is also the manifesto cited by Goldring in his essay in *The Tramp*. But by September 1912, when Pound wrote his essay, he could easily have obtained information about this manifesto from other sources.
12. On Sackville Street and its development in 1731, see F. H. W. Sheppard, ed., *Survey of London*, vol. 23, *The Parish of St. James Westminster*, part 2, *North of Piccadilly* (London: Athlone Press, University of London, 1963), 342-352, 360 for a detailed description of number 28 Sackville Street, and plate 128 for a 1958 photograph of it.
13. See "Artists of the Future: Weird Paintings Exhibited in Paris" (photographs of five paintings, with derogatory caption), *Daily Mirror* (London), 7 February 1912, II, cols. 1-3 ("Bib.," D.2); "Futurist Paintings" (illustrations with captions), *Sketch* (London), 14 February 1912, 166-167 ("Bib.," D.3); and G. Konody, "Futurism the Latest Art Sensation," *Illustrated London News*, 17 February 1912, 225 ("Bib.," D.4). Though published after 1 March 1912, see also "The New Crazy 'Exploding' Pictures by 'Art Anarchists'" (three photos accompanying article), *Illustrated London News*, 20 March 1912, reproduced in full in Pontus Hultén, ed., *Futurismo e futurismi* (Milan: Bompiani, 1986), 580; or in the American edition, *Futurism and Futurisms* (New York: Abbeville, 1986), 572. The article notes that "all Paris is crowding into their salon to see these strange paintings. It is the very newest expression of art, and Paris likes it."
14. Sir Philip Burne-Jones quoted in Max Rothschild, letter to the editor, dated 1 March 1912 and subtitled "Sir Philip Burne-Jones and the Futurists," *Pall Mall Gazette* (London), 4 March 1912, 8, col. 3.
15. Burne-Jones is challenged to defend his assertions by Max Rothschild in the letter cited in note 14. He replies in a letter to the editor of his own, dated 4 March 1912 and subtitled, "Sir Philip Burne-Jones and the Futurists," *Pall Mall Gazette*, 5 March 1912, 5, cols. 3-4.
16. See, for example, the headlines from the *Pall Mall Gazette* for 1 March 1912, I, col. 1, which read: "BLACK FRIDAY. / COAL WAR BEGUN / DESPERATE SITUATION / . . . RETURN TO CHAOS." See the cartoon in the same newspaper, 7, cols. 2-4.

17. See, for example, the headlines from the *Pall Mall Gazette* for 4 March 1912, I, col. 5, which read: "SUFFRAGISTS BREAK MORE WINDOWS / ATTACK ON DRAPERY SHOPS TO-DAY / HARRODS' STORES DAMAGED / POLICEMAN PULLED OFF HIS HORSE." Or 5 March 1912, I, col. 5: "SUFFRAGETTISM AND ITS RESULT. / WARMEST FRIENDS DISGUSTED / . . . COUNTRY ROUSED BY ROWDYISM."
18. See, for example, *Pall Mall Gazette*, 1 March 1912, 2, cols. 3-5, which includes a photograph of Severini's *The Pan-Pan Dance at the Monico* without comment but surrounded by headlines such as, "THE FIRST OUTRAGE. MINERS SMASH TRAIN WINDOWS." Or: "INDUSTRIAL CHAOS. Over a Million Men Out To-Day." For a different but useful reading of public response to the 1912 exhibition, see Rossella Caruso, "La mostra dei futuristi a Londra nel 1912: recensioni e commenti," *Ricerche di storia dell'arte* 45 (1991): 57-64.
19. The review is reprinted in Omar Pound and A. Walton Litz, eds., *Ezra Pound and Dorothy Shakespeare: Their Letters, 1909-1914* (New York: New Directions, 1984), 70.
20. On Pound's relations with Margaret Cravens see the introduction by Omar Pound and Robert Spoo, eds., in *Ezra Pound and Margaret Cravens: A Tragic Friendship, 1910-1912* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1988).
21. Arthur Marwick, *The Deluge* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1965), 23, citing Arthur Lyon Bowley, *The Division of the Product of Industry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1919), 18; and again Marwick, 20.
22. Pound to Henry Hope Shakespeare, 12 March 1912, in *Ezra Pound and Dorothy Shakespeare*, 87. As a point of comparison, Dorothy Shakespeare notes in March 1912 that Selwyn Image, the Slade Professor of Art at Oxford, was earning £400 per annum, also in *Ezra Pound and Dorothy Shakespeare*, 94.
23. Information on Pound's three lectures of 1912 is from *Ezra Pound and Dorothy Shakespeare*, 89, which reproduces a lecture program, also reproduced here.
24. On Queen Anne's Gate, see Montagu H. Cox and Philip Norman, eds., *The Survey of London*, vol. 10, *The Parish of St. Margaret, Westminster*, part 1 (London: London County Council, 1926), 78-81 and 101-103; on Queen Anne's Gate numbers 30 and 32, see 128-131, along with the accompanying plates. See also Dan Cruickshank, "Queen Anne's Gate," *Georgian Group Journal* 2 (1992): 56-67. On numbers 26-32, and number 34 in particular, see Department of the Environment, *List of Buildings of Special Architectural or Historic Interest: City of Westminster, Greater London*, part 5, *Streets Q-S* (London: National Monuments Record, Crown copyright, 1987), 1333-1337. The property and building at 34 Queen Anne's Gate were sold after the death of Edward Tennant in 1920 to Sir Harrison Hughes, who owned it until 1960, when it became the home of the St. Stephen's Constitutional Club, a club for members of the Conservative Party. I am grateful to Lance Mawbry of the St. Stephen's Partnership for kindly permitting me to tour the building.
25. See Simon Blow, *Broken Blood: The Rise and Fall of the Tennant Family* (London: Faber and Faber, 1987), 74-85.
26. See *ibid.*, 120-124; "In the Great World: Lord and Lady Glenconner," *Sketch*, 10 December 1913, 298.

27. See Blow, *Broken Blood*, 112–117. On Pamela Wyndham's parents and their house, Clouds, see the excellent study by Caroline Dakers, *Clouds: The Biography of a Country House* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993). Dakers also discusses Pamela in some detail, especially 160–176; she reproduces photographs and paintings of her on 124, 161, and 170. Pamela is perhaps best known to many people as the middle sitter of the three portrayed in John Singer Sargent's painting *The Wyndham Sisters*, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. For her brother's views on Romanticism, see George Wyndham, *The Springs of Romance in the Literature of Europe* (London: Macmillan, 1910). T. S. Eliot later wrote a damning review of George Wyndham's posthumously collected essays, *Essays in Romantic Literature* (London: Macmillan, 1919), which he titled "A Romantic Patrician," in the *Athenaeum*, 2 May 1919, 265–266. Pamela Tennant's publications consist of ten books: *The Book of Peace* (London: printed at the Chiswick Press, 1900), a collection of passages from mystical works paired with poems; *Village Notes, and Some Other Papers* (London: Heinemann, 1900), a collection of prose meditations on rural themes; *Windlestraw* (London: printed at the Chiswick Press, 1905), a collection of her own poems; *The Children and the Pictures* (London: Heinemann, 1907), a work of prose fiction; *White Wallet* (London: Unwin, 1912), an anthology of poems by others; *The Sayings of the Children* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1918), a short collection of observations that her children had made, which went through at least five editions by 1924; *The Significance of the Spritual World as Revealed to the Mind of Man in Symbols* (London: Friars printing association, 1918), a brief tract on spiritualism and mysticism, subjects that increasingly gripped her imagination after the death of her oldest son in World War I; *Edward Wyndham Tennant: A Memoir by His Mother* (New York: John Lane, 1919), her memoir of the same son; *The Earthen Vessel; A Volume Dealing with Spirit-Communication Received in the Form of Book-Tests* (London: privately printed, 1921); and *Shepherd's Crown* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1924), a short collection of essays, mostly concerning communications with "the other world." American libraries catalogue her works under the name Grey, because of her later marriage to Edward Grey in 1921; British, under Tennant.
28. Pamela Wyndham Tennant to her sister and brother, quoted in Blow, *Broken Blood*, 115, 116, 117.
29. On Wilsford Manor see Clive Aslet, *The Last Country Houses* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 245–255; and Gervase Jackson-Stops, "From Craft to Art: Detmar Blow's Wiltshire Houses," *Country Life*, no. 4637 (3 July 1986): 18–23. On the further career of Detmar Blow, see Simon Blow, "Blow-by-Blow Account of a Duke's Desertion" (a review of George Ridley, *Bend'Or, Duke of Westminster*), *Spectator*, no. 8220 (25 January 1986): 22–23.
30. Detmar Blow's plans for the building are preserved at the British Architectural Library, the Drawings Collection and Heinz Gallery, Detmar Blow Papers, Roll no. 32.
31. Members of the Tennant family published two catalogues. The first is assigned sometimes to Charles Tennant, sometimes to Morland C. Agnew, *Catalogue of the Pictures Forming the Collection of Sir Charles Tennant, Bart., of 40, Grosvenor Square, and The Glen, Innerleithen* (London: privately printed, 1896). The second and much smaller catalogue is ascribed sometimes to Edward Tennant and sometimes to Pamela Tennant; it records the thirty-seven pictures that were housed in "the private gallery": *Catalogue of Pictures in the Tennant Gallery, 34, Queen Ann's Gate, S.W., . . . Compiled From Various Sources by Various Hands* (London: privately printed, n.d. but 1910). The introduction to the catalogue, 5–12, is signed by Pamela Tennant. For further information on the Tennant collection, see also W. Roberts, "The Passing of the Tennant Collection," *Queen* 154 (18 October 1923), 470–471; and James Dugdale, "Sir Charles Tennant: The Story of a Victorian Collector," *Connoisseur* (September 1971), 3–15.
32. Joshua Reynolds's *Robert Mayne* is now in a private collection; Raeburn's *The Leslie Boy* is held in the Cincinnati Museum of Art; the location of Romney's *Portrait of Mrs. Inchbald* is not known; Reynolds's *Girl Crying* is in a private collection in England. For further information on *Girl Crying*, listed as *Doloré* in the two Tennant catalogues cited above, see Martin Postle, *Sir Joshua Reynolds: The Subject Pictures* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995). The portrait *Lady Diana Crosby* is now at the Huntington Museum in San Marino, California. Romney's *Elizabeth, Countess of Derby* is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Hogarth's *Peg Woffington* is in a private collection; Gainsborough's *Miss Hoppisley* is in the LaSalle College Art Gallery, Philadelphia; the location of Gainsborough's *The Ladies Erne and Dillon* is not known, nor is that of Ramsay's *Lady Erskine* or Hoppner's *Mrs. Gwynn*. The "private gallery" housed still other paintings that are not recorded in the few contemporary photographs that we have: Reynolds's *Miss Ridge* (Cincinnati Art Museum), his popular *The Fortune Tellers* (Huntington Museum, San Marino, Calif.), and *Collina* (Columbus Museum of Art, Columbus, Ohio); there was also one painting by Turner, *The Burning of the Houses of Parliament*, and Hoppner's ever popular *Frankland Sisters* (National Gallery, Washington). Other paintings in the house included Bonington's *Fishmarket by Boulogne* (now in the British Art Center, New Haven, Conn.) and *Shoreline in Picardy* (now in a private collection outside London), and Turner's famous *Approach to Venice* (now in the National Gallery, Washington). I am grateful to Professor David Manning of the University of Aberdeen for his generous help in locating Reynolds's portraits.
33. Dugdale, "Sir Charles Tennant," 11.
34. Philip Burne-Jones to Pamela Wyndham Tennant, 22 May 1905, quoted in Blow, *Broken Blood*, 130. Because his father had received several commissions from Pamela's parents, Philip Burne-Jones spent a considerable amount of time with the Wyndhams while he was young, and he may have had a youthful passion for Pamela's older sister, Madeline; see Dakers, *Clouds*, 79, 83, 90, 153, 176, 180, and 213. It should be noted that in 1898 he had been commissioned to paint a portrait of Hugo Charteris, Pamela's brother-in-law, and that he was also commissioned to paint portraits of her nephew, Perf Wyndham, and his wife Sibell, the heirs of Pamela's favorite brother, George. The poem that is quoted, "Envoy to Village Notes," is found in *Windlestraw*, 63.
35. A biographical sketch of Lady Low is given in Pound and Litz, eds., *Ezra Pound and Dorothy Shakespear*, 349, and there are frequent references to her in the letters from Dorothy Shakespear to Pound during 1911–1913. On 13 July 1911 Dorothy notes "the great and fast friendship between O. [Dorothy's mother, Olivia] and Lady Low"; on 2 September she urges Ezra to visit Lady Low in Dorset, saying, "She's a blessed woman with a brain. I am duly grateful for having met her." (Pound apparently did visit her). On 26

- September Dorothy terms her "our best [mutual friend] at present," and on 1 October Lady Low sends the Shakespears a cutting from the *Daily Mail* favorably reviewing Pound's *Canzoni*. See *Ezra Pound and Dorothy Shakespeare*, 35, 47, 52, 66, 69–70.
36. Ezra Pound to Homer Pound, unpublished letter, 14 March 1912, Beinecke Library, Yale University, NHYB, PP, Box 60, Folder 2669.
37. Ezra Pound, "Psychology and Troubadours," *Quest* 4, no. 1 (October 1912), 37–53; reprinted in *EPPP* 1:83–99, here, 86.
38. Dorothy Shakespeare to Pound, 19 March 1912, in *Ezra Pound and Dorothy Shakespeare*, 89–90.
39. "Futurist' Leader in London," *Daily Chronicle* (London), 20 March 1912, 1, col. 3 ("Bib.," C.3.a); "Futurism in London," *Morning Leader* (London), 21 March 1912, page not in source ("Bib.," C.3.a); and "Futurism in Literature and Art," *Times* (London), 21 March 1912, 2, col. 6 ("Bib.," C.3.c). See also Richard Cork, *Vorticism and Abstract Art in the First Machine Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 28.
40. "A nation of sycophants" and "the long-haired gentlemen" are from the *Daily Chronicle*, 20 March 1912, 1, col. 3; "Some of his audience" is from the article in the *Times*, 21 March 1912, 2, col. 6; and "wildly applauded his outspoken derision" is from a passage recollecting the lecture by Harold Monro in his "Varia," *Poetry and Drama* 1, no. 3 (September 1913), 263.
41. Letter from F. T. Marinetti to F. B. Pratella, 12 April 1912, in Maria Drudi Gambillo and Teresa Fiori, eds., *Archivi del futurismo*, 2 vols. (Rome: De Luca, 1959–1962), 1:237–238. Richard Cork, in his *Vorticism and Abstract Art in the First Machine Age*, 26, concludes, "It would be difficult to exaggerate the impetus which Lewis's yearning for revolt must now have been given by Futurism's first concerted onslaught on London."
42. Tickets for Marinetti's lecture were advertised in the *Times*, 19 March 1912, 1, col. 6, and in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, 19 March 1912, 4, col. 3. Both advertisements listed tickets in four price categories (10s. 6d., 5s., 2s. 6d., and 1s.), and tickets could be purchased at the box office of Bechstein Hall or at the Sackville Gallery. Information on seating capacity is from Ben Weinreb and Christopher Hibbert, *The London Encyclopaedia* (Bethesda, Maryland: Adler and Adler, 1986), 963 s.v. "Wigmore Hall" (the name was changed after World War I). However, one cannot assume that Marinetti attracted a full house. Recalling the Bechstein Hall lecture, in September 1913, Harold Monro described "the little Marinetti" speaking in "a huge empty hall," and at another point he noted that Marinetti spoke "to a handful of English." His account is at odds with the larger audience presupposed by the *Times* and the *Daily Chronicle*, but I may be in error in not giving sufficient weight to his testimony about the actual as opposed to the potential audience. See Harold Monro, "Varia," 263.
43. Ezra Pound, "Prefatory Note" to "The Complete Poetical Works of T. E. Hulme" (first published at the end of *Ripostes* in October 1912), in his *Personae* (New York: New Directions, revised edition 1990), 266. The chronological limits for the preparation of *Ripostes* are as follows. In an undated letter from March 1912, Pound informed his father: "The 'mss.' of 'Ripostes' has gone to publishers." The letter was evidently written sometime after 1 March, because Pound refers to the coal strike that began on that date, and not long before 19 March, since he also notes that he must "get my 'Arnaut' ready for

delivery" (Ezra Pound to Homer Pound, unpublished letter, March 1912, NHYB, PP 43). Most likely it was around 14 March, therefore, that Pound sent off the manuscript of *Ripostes*. It should not be assumed, however, that the original manuscript necessarily contained either the five poems by Hulme that Pound labeled "The Complete Poetical Works of T. E. Hulme," or the "Prefatory Note" that preceded them, with its mention of "les Imagistes." Since the poems and the note were printed at the very end of the volume, they may have been added after he sent off the manuscripts in mid-March. But how much later? Pound remained in London, apart from one-day excursions, from mid-March to the end of April. Probably on 1 May he left London for Paris, for Dorothy wrote to him on 3 May, "I wish I were in Paris" (*Ezra Pound and Dorothy Shakespeare*, 95). At first sight, this is the latest date when Pound could still have added the text of Hulme's poems, if not the prefatory note, for while in Paris he would have had difficulty securing a text of Hulme's works. Even so, he had still not received proofs. After his arrival in Paris around 1 or 2 May, Pound stayed with the pianist Walter Morse Rummel until 26 or 27 May (see *Ezra Pound and Margaret Cravens*, 110); he then left for a walking tour in southern France, suddenly returning to Paris on 11 June after learning of Margaret Cravens's suicide (*Ezra Pound and Margaret Cravens*, 122). The proofs for *Ripostes*, meanwhile, reached Dorothy Shakespeare in England on 12 June (*Ezra Pound and Dorothy Shakespeare*, 111), and she immediately forwarded them to Pound in Paris. On 16 June, while still in Paris and attending to affairs occasioned by Cravens's death, he wrote that he had "just corrected" them (*Ezra Pound and Dorothy Shakespeare*, 113). This date, then, would seem to have been the last when Pound might still have added the poems by Hulme, or, if they already formed part of the volume, his prefatory note to them. However, some evidence suggests that Pound received and corrected a second set of proofs for *Ripostes* some two months later, in mid-August 1912, after he had returned to London. In a letter dated [18] August 1912 to Harriet Monroe (*Selected Letters*, 9), Pound wrote, "the proofs of *Ripostes* are on my desk." If this letter is dated correctly by Paige, it can refer only to a second set of proofs, and in that case Pound could easily have added his prefatory note concerning "les Imagistes" as late as 18 August 1912. I suspect that this is indeed what happened, a suspicion partly corroborated by the chronology of his other references to Imagism. For in all of his extant correspondence, there is not a single reference to Imagism prior to this one in the letter of 18 August to Monroe. (The passage in question is quoted below.) It is also corroborated by an otherwise curious reference in the "Prefatory Note," in which Pound contrasts the "School of Images," which had supposedly led to the formation of Imagism, with more recent movements, noting that "its principles were not so interesting as those of the 'inherent dynamists' . . . yet they were probably sounder than those of a certain French school which attempted to dispense with verbs altogether." These are plainly satirical descriptions corresponding to no movement that actually existed, yet taken together the references to "dynamism" and the suppression of verbs seem to allude to the recent developments of Futurism, and in particular to Marinetti's prescription urging the elimination of all verbs except those in the infinitive, advocated in the "Technical Manifesto of Futurist Literature" published in May 1912 (F. T. Marinetti, "Manifesto tecnico della letteratura futurista," originally published in 1912 by the Direction of the Futurist Movement in Milan, as a leaflet dated 11 May; reprinted in Luciano

- De Maria, ed., *Teoria e invenzione futurista*, 2d ed. [Milan: Mondadori, 1983], 46–54). If so, it further corroborates a later date for the “Prefatory Note,” which would then have been added after the publication of the “Technical Manifesto.” That, in turn, preceded the death of Cravens by only a few weeks. In short, the available evidence suggests that Pound did not invent Imagism until mid-June or even mid-August 1912, only after the controversy surrounding the Futurists and after the death of Margaret Cravens, which in turn suggests that his creation of Imagism was, in good part, a response to both these events.
44. Olivia Shakespear to Ezra Pound, 13 September 1912, in *Ezra Pound and Dorothy Shakespear*, 153–154.
 45. See Christopher Hassall, *Edward Marsh: Patron of the Arts. A Biography* (London: Longman, 1959), 189–193. Hassall shows that Marsh came up with the idea for the Georgian anthology on 19 September 1912; that he presented it the next day to Harold Monro, editor of the *Poetry Review*, who approved; and that on 25 September he wrote several poets, including Pound, to solicit contributions. For Pound’s reply, see Hassall, *Edward Marsh*, 193.
 46. Ezra Pound to Harriet Monroe, 18 August 1912, *Selected Letters*, 10: “I send you all that I have on my desk—an over-elaborate post-Browning ‘Imagiste’ affair”; and Ezra Pound to Harriet Monroe, October 1913, *Selected Letters*, 11: “I’ve had luck again, and am sending you some *modern stuff* by an American, I say modern, for it is the laconic speech of the Imagistes, even if the subject is classic.” These appear to be Pound’s earliest references to Imagism in his extant correspondence, but as the dates in Paige’s edition are notoriously unreliable, one cannot be wholly confident in saying this.
 47. Ezra Pound, “Editorial Comment. Status Rerum,” dated 10 December 1912, *Poetry* 1, no. 4 (January 1913), 123–127; reprinted in *EPPP* 1:111–113; all quotations here are from 112.
 48. “Fine Art Gossip,” *Athenaeum*, no. 4402 (9 March 1912), 289–290, here 290.
 49. F. S. Flint (though actually drafted by Pound and merely rewritten by Flint), “Imagisme,” *Poetry* 1, no. 6 (March 1913), 198–200, reprinted in *EPPP* 1:119; and Ezra Pound, “A Few Don’ts By An Imagiste,” *Poetry* 1, no. 6 (March 1913), 200–206, reprinted in *EPPP* 1:120–122. I am grateful to Robert von Hallberg for helping to prompt my reconsideration of Imagism.
 50. Pound to Glenn Hughes, unpublished letter, 26 September 1927; Glenn Hughes Collection, Humanities Research Center, University of Texas.
 51. F. T. Marinetti, “Manifesto tecnico della letteratura futurista”; idem, “Risposte alle obiezioni,” originally published in 1912 by the Direction of the Futurist Movement in Milan as a leaflet entitled “Supplemento al manifesto tecnico della letteratura futurista,” dated 11 August, reprinted in *Teoria e invenzione futurista*, 55–62; idem, “Distruzione della sintassi—Immaginazione senza fili—Parole-in-libertà,” originally published in 1913 by the Direction of the Futurist Movement in Milan, dated 11 May, reprinted in *Teoria e invenzione futurista*, 65–80; idem, “Il teatro di varietà,” originally published in *Lacerba* 1, no. 19 (1 October 1913), reprinted in *Teoria e invenzione futurista*, 80–90.
 52. Harold Monro, “Varia,” *Poetry and Drama* 1, no. 3 (September 1913), 263–265.
 53. Marinetti assumes that art must respond to its milieu and that since the milieu of modernity is defined chiefly by rapid change, art itself must also change rapidly. The presupposition owes much to Baudelaire’s famous observation, “Modernity is the transient, the fleeting, the contingent; it is one half of art, the other being the eternal and immutable,” in “The Painter of Modern Life,” *Baudelaire: Selected Writings on Art and Artists*, trans. E. Charvet (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972), 403. Marinetti’s “Fondazione e manifesto del futurismo” was originally published in French in *Le Figaro* (Paris), 20 February 1909, and is reprinted in *Teoria e invenzione futurista*, 7–14.
 54. “Forse videro splendere nei nostri occhi la gloriosa passione che nutriamo per l’Arte. All’arte infatti, che merita ed esige il sacrificio dei migliori, noi diamo un amore assoluto” (F. T. Marinetti, “La Divina commedia è un verminaio di glossatori,” *Teoria e invenzione futurista*, 267); my translation.
 55. “Facciamo coraggiosamente il ‘brutto’ in letteratura, e uccidiamo dovunque la solennità. Via! non prendete di quest’arie di grandi sacerdoti, nell’ascoltarmi! Bisogna sputare ogni giorno sull’Altare dell’Arte!” (F. T. Marinetti, “Manifesto tecnico della letteratura futurista,” *Teoria e invenzione futurista*, 53–54); my translation.
 56. *Times*, 18 November 1913, 5, cols. 5–6. On 6 November 1913 Pound left London to stay with William Butler Yeats at Stone Cottage in Coleman’s Hatch (see Dorothy Shakespear to Ezra Pound, 5 November 1913, *Ezra Pound and Dorothy Shakespear*, 273). But on 14 November he announced, “I am coming up on Monday,” or 17 November, the date of Marinetti’s lecture (see Pound to Dorothy Shakespear, 14 November 1913, *Ezra Pound and Dorothy Shakespear*, 273). Marinetti’s lecture would surely have interested him: it was held at the Poets’ Club and its subject was “Futurism in Poetry.” Harold Monro attended the event and recalled it in his essay “The Origin of Futurism; Futurism and Ourselves,” *Poetry and Drama* 1, no. 4 (December 1913), 389–391, here 389. Richard Aldington also attended some of Marinetti’s lectures, most likely including this one; see Richard Aldington, “M. Marinetti’s Lectures,” *New Freewoman*, 1 December 1913, 226.
 57. F. T. Marinetti, “The Meaning of the Music Hall, By the Only Intelligible Futurist,” *Daily Mail* (London), 21 November 1913, 6, col. 4. The original reads: “Il Teatro di Varietà è naturalmente antiaccademico, primitivo e ingenuo, quindi più significativo per l’imprevisto delle sue ricerche e la semplicità dei suoi mezzi . . . distrugge il Solenne, il Sacro, il Serio, il Sublime dell’Arte coll’A maiuscolo” (F. T. Marinetti, “Il teatro di varietà,” *Teoria e invenzione futurista*, 86).
 58. *Sketch*, no. 1111 (13 May 1914), cover page. See, for example, “FUTURIST CLOTHES. Man’s Suit in Single Piece. ONE BUTTON,” *Pall Mall Gazette*, 28 May 1914, 2, col. 3. The *Sketch*, in a caption to its cover photograph, notes that Marinetti “has been lecturing to very interested audiences.”
 59. “Futurist Music: ‘Noisy Tuners’ at a Rehearsal; Cracklers and Roarers,” *Pall Mall Gazette*, 12 June 1914 (Friday), 1, col. 5.
 60. Felix Barker, *The House That Stoll Built: The Story of the Coliseum Theatre* (London: Frederick Muller, 1957), 11.
 61. Quoted in Victor Glasstone, *Victorian and Edwardian Theatres* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975), 116.
 62. Victor Glasstone, *The London Coliseum* (Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healy, 1980), 17.
 63. *Times*, 16 June 1914, 5, col. 4, “ART AND PRACTICE OF NOISE. Hostile Reception of Signor Marinetti.”

64. I adapt this observation from Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinctions* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), 569n.81.
65. Stage manager quoted in Barker, *The House That Stoll Built*, 186; see also Christopher R. W. Nevinson, *Paint and Prejudice* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1938), 83. I have synthesized Nevinson's account of Marinetti's first performance with Barker's, 183–186, though they differ in several details.
66. [Wyndham Lewis and Ezra Pound], "Manifesto," *Blast* 1 (July 1914; reprint, Santa Barbara, Calif.: Black Sparrow Press, 1981), 21.
67. Solomon Eagle [John Collings Squire], "Current Literature: Books in General," *New Statesman* 3, no. 65 (4 July 1914), 406. Compare "The Futurists," *New Statesman* 3, no. 66 (11 July 1914), 426: "One can forgive a new movement for anything except being tedious: *Blast* is as tedious as an imitation of George Robey by a curate without a sense of humour. . . . to make up of the pages of *Blast* a winding-sheet in which to wrap up Futurism for burial is to do an indignity to a genuine and living artistic movement. But, after all, what is Vorticism but Futurism in an English disguise—Futurism, we might call it, bottled in England, and bottled badly? . . . the two groups differ from each other not in their aims, but in their degrees of competence."
68. Wyndham Lewis, *Blasting and Bombardiering* (1937; reprint, New York: Riverrun Press, 1982), 47.
69. Ezra Pound to Margaret Anderson, 10 May 1917, in Thomas L. Scott and Melvin J. Friedman, eds., *Pound/Little Review: The Letters of Ezra Pound to Margaret Anderson*, 46; and Ezra Pound to William Bird, 7 May 1924; BIUL, Bird Papers.
70. "Our object in opening a new gallery is to do business not only to fight against dishonest commercialism but in order to support ourselves and make others able to support themselves." Marius de Zayas to Alfred Stieglitz, 27 August 1915; Beinecke Library, Yale University, Alfred Stieglitz Archive. See also Douglas Hyland, *Marius de Zayas: Conjuror of Souls* (Lawrence, Kansas: Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas, 1981), 46, which urges that de Zayas sought to make a gallery that "would be a commercial venture in a way that Stieglitz's had never been." Hyland presents an excellent account of the two galleries run by de Zayas on 46–52. See also Stephen E. Lewis, "The Modern Gallery and American Commodity Culture," *Modernism/Modernity* 4, no. 3 (September 1997): 67–91.
71. De Zayas's principal clients are given in Hyland, *Marius de Zayas*, 48. Quinn's purchases in 1920 are detailed by B. L. Reid, *The Man from New York: John Quinn and His Friends* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), 471–472.
72. Quoted in Hyland, *Marius de Zayas*, 50.

CHAPTER 2: CONSUMING INVESTMENTS

1. Sylvia Beach, *Shakespeare and Company* (1956; reprint, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1980), 45–76, 84–98.
2. Noel Riley Fitch, *Sylvia Beach and the Lost Generation* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1983), 105.
3. Robert Bertholf, *"Ulysses" at Buffalo: A Centenary Exhibition* (Buffalo: State University of New York Press, 1982), n.p., s.v. "Case 2."
4. Melissa Banta and Oscar A. Silverman, eds., *James Joyce's Letters to Sylvia Beach: 1921–1940* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), 211n.12.
5. Even so elegant a writer as Richard Ellmann must labor to instill a breath of life into so moribund a form: "André Gide brought in his subscription in person, Pound brought in the subscription of Yeats, Hemingway sent in his own enthusiastically. . . . Among those who replied [to the prospectus] were the son or nephew of Bela Kun, an Anglican bishop, a chief of the Irish revolutionary movement, and Winston Churchill." Ellmann, *James Joyce* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 506.
6. "The Battle of *Ulysses*" is the title of the chapter that recounts the story of the first edition in Fitch, *Sylvia Beach*, 65–92; "heroic efforts" is from A. Walton Litz, "Foreword," in Banta and Silverman, eds., *James Joyce's Letters to Sylvia Beach*, viii; the other quotations are from Bertholf, "Introduction," *"Ulysses" at Buffalo*, [1].
7. Banta and Silverman, eds., *James Joyce's Letters to Sylvia Beach*, 4.
8. The principal accounts are Beach, *Shakespeare and Company*, 45–76, 84–98; Ellmann, *James Joyce*, 499–526; Fitch, *Sylvia Beach*, 65–92; and *DMW*, 167–220.
9. *DMW*, 173. The Complete Press had refused to print the "Telemachus" episode in March 1918; the firm then consented to print the "Nestor" episode for the *Egoist* issue dated January–February 1919, but insisted on cutting material from the "Proteus" episode for the issue of March–April 1919 and finally refused to print any more. Weaver turned to the Pelican Press for subsequent issues, which contained parts of "Hades," "Scylla and Charybdis," and "Wandering Rocks," from July to December 1919. She then decided to close the *Egoist* as a serial. See *DMW*, 147, 155, 159, 163, 173–174.
10. John Rodker's nine publications in the *Little Review* were: "Night-Pieces," 4 (July 1917), 16–18; "Theatre Muêt," 4 (August 1917), 12–15; "Incidents in the Life of a Poet," 4 (January 1918), 31–35; "Notes on Novelists," 5 (August 1918), 53–56; "Books," 5 (September 1918), 47–50; "List of Books," 5 (November 1918), 31–33; "'Exiles': A Discussion of James Joyce's Play," 5 (January 1919), 20–22; "De Gourmont-Yank," 5 (March 1919), 29–32; and "A Barbarian," 6 (December 1919), 40–42.
11. Plans for the press were under way by 6 July 1919, when Ezra Pound wrote to John Quinn suggesting that "Joyce will perhaps have to be published by the Ovid Press. Thank God the press can at least publish the suppressed parts. It will mean a huge job for Rodker if he has to print the whole novel"; Pound, *SLPQ*, 177. Under the imprint of the Ovid Press, Rodker later issued three deluxe editions: Wyndham Lewis's portfolio *Fifteen Drawings* (January 1920), Eliot's *Ara Vos Prec* (February 1920), and Pound's *Hugh Selwyn Mauberley* (June 1920), all in limited editions of 250, 264, and 250 copies, respectively. On the portfolio by Lewis, see Omar Pound and Philip Grover, *Wyndham Lewis: A Descriptive Bibliography* (Folkestone, Kent: William Dawson and Sons, 1978), 73–74; Bradford Morrow and Bernard Lafourcade, *A Bibliography of the Writings of Wyndham Lewis* (Santa Barbara, Calif.: Black Sparrow Press, 1978), 38–39; and William Ransom, *Private Presses and Their Books* (New York: R. R. Bowker, 1929), 374. On the Eliot edition, see *TSEB*, 25–27; on the Pound edition, see *EPB*, 29–31. Rodker also reports, in his correspondence with Wallace Stevens, that he published an

**Institutions
of Modernism**

Literary Elites and
Public Culture

Lawrence Rainey

Yale University Press, 1998.

New Haven and London