Transatlantic Intellectual Networks, 1914-1964

Transatlantic Intellectual Networks, 1914-1964

Edited by

Hans Bak and Céline Mansanti

Cambridge
Scholars
Publishing

Transatlantic Intellectual Networks, 1914-1964

Edited by Hans Bak and Céline Mansanti

This book first published 2019

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

Lady Stephenson Library, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE6 2PA, UK

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN (10): 1-5275-3974-1
ISBN (13): 978-1-5275-3974-7

CONTENTS

IN MEMORIAM
ANNE OLLIVIER-MELLIOS
(1964-2016)

The idea for this book originated with the late Anne Ollivier-Mellios. Its central focus – a critical study and revaluation of the significance of transatlantic intellectual networks from the beginning of the twentieth century, through the interbellum, to the early 1960s – exfoliated from her fascination with the role and function of critical intellectuals within U.S. culture and society from the Gilded Age to the Second World War. This fascination had marked her earlier work in U.S. cultural and intellectual historiography, as she made her way up in the French academic system to become professor of American Studies at Université Lumière-Lyon 2, France. Anne's scholarship, marked by an interdisciplinary conjunction of social, intellectual, literary, cultural and historical approaches, encompassed, among others, comparative studies of radical and feminist intellectuals of the World War I years and the 1960s, a critical examination of American and European PEN clubs, and a comparative examination of intellectuals' attitudes to the 1898 Spanish-American War and the 2003 War in Iraq.

Building on this earlier work, Anne went on to develop a passionate interest in exploring dialogues and interactions between U.S. and European intellectuals, in particular as manifested through intellectual networks and periodicals in twentieth-century culture and society. The idea for this book concretely evolved from several symposia organized or co-organized by Anne, in which she brought together scholars in American history and American Studies from across Europe and the United States, to test out the possibilities of approaching such issues from a transnational perspective: a workshop on "The U.S. as a Cultural Fountain of Youth? American and Foreign Intellectuals' Visions of Art and Culture in the U.S. in the 20th Century" at the 2010 biennial conference of the European Association for American Studies in Dublin; a colloquium held in March 2011 at her then academic home Université Paris 13 on "Réseaux intellectuels: approches et méthodes" [Intellectual Networks: Approaches and Methods]; and a workshop entitled "Reciprocity, Exchange and Compensation: Global Modernisms and the Making of Literary Capitals in Europe and the Americas," at the American

Comparative Literature Association conference at New York University in March 2014. Seven contributors to the present volume participated in one or more of these workshops; others were especially invited to contribute essays to the book. Sadly, Anne herself did not live to see its publication. She passed away in early November 2016. All who knew and worked with her cherish the memory of a vibrant, energetic, and conscientious scholar in American history and American Studies, who made the highest academic demands of herself, and who delighted in bringing together fellow Americanists from near and far, to engage in productive and stimulating intellectual networking and – following the example of Waldo Frank, the author she was working on when illness hit – to foster the actual practice of building a transnational discourse of community. This book is respectfully and lovingly dedicated to her memory.

Hans Bak & Céline Mansanti

INTRODUCTION: TRANSATLANTIC INTELLECTUAL NETWORKS, 1914-1964

HANS BAK

Towards a Transnational Reading of Transatlantic Relations

In the last twenty years few developments in the field of American historical, literary and cultural studies have been as exciting, innovative and promising as the much-vaunted "transnational turn" – Lawrence Buell in 2009 even credited it with causing an "unprecedented commotion in the field."[1] The tendency to look beyond the social, political, cultural, linguistic and territorial borders of the United States – to think "outside the box" of the nation-state – from the 1990s on gave important new impulses to "hemispheric" and "international" American Studies. In the field of history, likewise, a 2000 report issued by the Organization of American Historians declared the time had come for historians to focus less on "national histories" and more on the connections between nations, people and ideas, i.e. on "the relational aspects of historical phenomena."[2] In 2002 Thomas Bender, in *Rethinking American History in a Global Age*, compellingly challenged historians to "rethink" history from a transnational perspective.[3] In particular since 9/11, critics of U.S. cultural, political and economic imperialism have challenged the focus on the nation-state and argued for a broader, international, comparative perspective, in which U.S.

---

[1] Lawrence Buell, "New Directions in (Transnational) American Literary Studies," *Contemporary Foreign Literature* 1 (2009), 20.

[2] "The LaPietra Report: A Report to the Profession," The Organization of American Historians/ New York University Project on Internationalizing History, 2000. http://www.oah.org/about/reports/reports-statements/the-lapietra-report-a-report-to-the-profession/

[3] Thomas Bender, *Rethinking American History in a Global Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

exceptionalism came to seem less uniquely defining and the focus shifted to the determining role of cross-border factors and flows of people, cultures, and ideas. In 2004 Shelley Fisher Fishkin, in her inaugural address as President of the American Studies Association, flamboyantly proclaimed the "transnational turn" as the new paradigm in American Studies. Since then, the "transnational turn" has been theorized by many on both sides of the Atlantic – Donald Pease, Amy Kaplan, John Carlos Rowe and Paul Jay in the U.S.; Paul Giles, Winfried Fluck and Reingard M. Nischik in Europe; Winfried Siemerling in Canada – and, with the appearance in 2017 of *The Cambridge Companion to Transnational American Literature*, it may be said to have been institutionalized in the literary field.

Over the past two decades the "transnational turn" has become an umbrella term covering a multiplicity of approaches, methods, disciplines and types of scholarship, a variety also reflected in the essays in this volume, which range from intellectual, social, political, cultural, literary and art history, to periodical studies, reception studies, travel diaries and transnational life writing, to name just a few. Transnational American Studies, then, is best understood as a many-windowed house, the impact of which reaches beyond the present into a revision of the past. Central to its concerns is the circulation of texts, authors, magazines and ideas between cultures and continents, or within transnational "contact zones."[4] Here the theoretical influence of Stephen Greenblatt's *Cultural Mobility: A Manifesto* (2010) looms large. His book in effect serves as a methodological blueprint for the new transnational approach, in particular in its contention that transnational mobility – and concomitant processes of migration, transculturation, and intercultural hybridization – is not a recent or contemporary phenomenon, but effectively of all times. As with the multiculturalization of American (literary) history in the 1980s and 1990s, the "transnational turn" encompasses a re-reading and re-vision of the past. Old and sometimes forgotten texts, authors and magazines receive new resonance and meaning, are resuscitated and revalorized. Thus, under the aegis of the "transnational turn" Melville's early travel books – *Typee* (1846) and *Omoo* (1847) – are not so much seen as exotic, romantic stories of "the man who lived and loved among the cannibals" on islands in the Pacific, but as books offering a poignant critique of U.S. imperialist expansion and an abrasive comparative inquiry into the ethical and humanitarian value of Christian "civilization" and the "primitive" cultures of islands on the Pacific. Melville's *Benito Cereno* (1856), likewise, is

[4] Cf Mary Louise Pratt, "Arts of the Contact Zone," *Profession* (1991), 33-40.

revalorized as a pioneering transnational critique of the transcontinental role in the slave trade of both the "old" European and the "new" American world. And Mark Twain is no longer primarily seen as the favorite humorist of a white American middle class, but re-viewed as a razor sharp critic of U.S. imperialism on the Philippines.

For self-evident reasons, in European American Studies the trans-Atlantic relation has been studied most intensely.[5] But here, too, as the essays in this volume testify, we see a shift of emphasis: from studies on the influence, transmission and reception of North-American culture in Europe, to studies that emphasize interaction, dialogue and reciprocity of transcultural and transcontinental contact, or that expand the trans-Atlantic to include Central and Latin America.

As Malcolm Bradbury beautifully demonstrated in *Dangerous Pilgrimages: Transatlantic Mythologies and the Novel* (1995), the history of the American novel, both formally and thematically, has been deeply embedded in the transatlantic traffic of fantasies and ideas, the reciprocal exchange of myths and projections, dreams and images: "the barter of myths and illusions: American Dreams, American Nightmares, European Fantasies."[6] Many nineteenth- and twentieth-century American writers and intellectuals either spent long periods of time in Europe, or cultivated and maintained close intellectual ties with European contemporaries: for most of them, at least until the 1960s, Europe was "the other" against which "America" defined itself – and vice versa: America and Europe were locked to each other in reciprocal imaginings. They looked at each other and saw in the mirror of the other a distorted self-image: this is what Bradbury calls the "transatlantic refraction."[7]

Reminding us that "America was invented before it was discovered," Rob Kroes, likewise, has poignantly diagnosed the "repertoires of projection" that governed European imaginings of "America" from before Europeans set foot on North-American shores into the twentieth century.[8]

---

[5] See, for example, Malcolm Bradbury, *Dangerous Pilgrimages: Transatlantic Mythologies and the Novel* (1995), Rob Kroes, *If You've Seen One, You've Seen the Mall: Europeans and American Mass Culture* (1996), and Maurizio Vaudagna, ed., *The Place of Europe in American History: Twentieth-Century Perspectives* (2007).

[6] Bradbury, *Dangerous Pilgrimages*, 1.

[7] Ibid., 2.

[8] Rob Kroes, "American Culture in European Metaphors," in: *If You've Seen One, You've Seen the Mall: Europeans and American Mass Culture* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1996), 1, 6.

> Europeans have woven America into a web of images of their own making. Meanings have become attached to America that truly belong to a European history of critical self-reflection. America has become a constituent element of the history of European ideas. Rarely, therefore, are Europeans able to approach America free of all preconceived ideas. It is always themselves that they are likely to see reflected there. They are apt to see the country as an unsettling counterpoint to their own cultural conventions and to translate the "otherness" of America into contrasts that more often than not tend to reflect America in much the same way a distorting mirror would. […] Always America is molded and made subservient to the purposes of a European discourse, to European categories and preoccupations. America becomes a construct of the European mind.[9]

If Europeans have tended to use "America" as the projection screen of their own dreams and fantasies, fears and anxieties, Americans – as Kroes advances – have negotiated European culture with a singular disrespect for organic cultural unity or cohesion: in "a spirit of blithe bricolage" and with a (to a European observer) daunting sense of "eclectic freedom" Americans have tended to disassemble European culture into its constituent parts, then reassembled them into new "American" cultural entities which Europeans subsequently judged as culturally deficient and a violation of cultural cohesion and integrity.[10]

These dynamics of transatlantic cultural and intellectual traffic have remained central to, even as they have been revised and expanded under the aegis of, the "transnational turn." In the early twentieth century, the "transatlantic mythology" diagnosed by Malcolm Bradbury was perpetuated by the modernist American expatriates – Eliot, Pound, Stein – and the younger "lost generation" (Hemingway, Dos Passos, Malcolm Cowley), for whom especially Europe was the benchmark and gauge of the new and the modern: for the literary exiles of the "lost generation" – voluntary migrants, who turned their backs on puritan and materialist America with the youthful élan of hedonists and explorers – the rediscovery and re-appreciation of the aesthetic and literary potential of "modern" America came through the interaction with "old" Europe. It was Malcolm Cowley's generation, as he famously put it in *Exile's Return*, which from America dreamed of "a pilgrimage to Holy Land," a self-chosen exile in the transnational literary paradise of France:

[9] Ibid., 40.
[10] Ibid., 32-35.

> France was the birthplace of our creed. It was in France that poets had labored for days over a single stanza, while bailiffs hammered at the door; in France that novelists like Gourmont had lived as anchorites, while imagining seductions more golden and mistresses more harmoniously yielding than life could ever reproduce; in France that Flaubert had described "the quant mania of passing one's life wearing oneself out over words," and had transformed the mania into a religion.[11]

But looking back to America from the old European world, from a terrace in Montparnasse, from Berlin or Vienna, these "passionate pilgrims" (to borrow a phrase from older expatriate Henry James) rediscovered "America": "We had come three thousand miles in search of Europe and had found America, in a vision half-remembered, half-falsified and romanced,"[12] and so soon dreamed of an "exile's return:"

> Standing as it were on the Tour Eiffel, they looked westward across the wheatfields of Beauce and the rain-drenched little hills of Brittany, until somewhere in the mist they saw the country of their childhood, which should henceforth be the country of their art. American themes, like other themes, had exactly the dignity that talent could lend them.[13]

Cowley's case illustrates, as Jessica Berman has aptly reminded us, that "US modernism has always been transnational."[14] American literary modernism was marked by a spirit of international cosmopolitanism: the avant-garde magazine *Broom: An International Magazine of the Arts* (1921-1924) was edited, partly under Cowley's editorial supervision, from Rome, Berlin and New York, and published not only American but French, Spanish, German, Italian and – albeit less frequently – Latin-American and African authors and artists.

But for all the seemingly effortless crossings and recrossings of national and continental borders, for Cowley and his contemporaries the transnational mostly played itself out within Euro-American transatlantic boundaries, and *Exile's Return* emphasized the effects of a "return" from the international to the national or local: in the last analysis Cowley and his contemporaries found their salvation in promoting the international

---

[11] Malcolm Cowley, *Exile's Return: A Literary Odyssey of the 1920s* (New York: Viking Press, 1951), 102.
[12] Ibid., 83.
[13] Ibid., 96.
[14] Jessica Berman, "Transnational Modernisms," in: *The Cambridge Companion to Transnational American Literature*, edited by Yogita Goyal (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 107.

status and recognition of a specifically national American literature and literary tradition.

The new "transnational optic"[15] views American modernism emphatically in an extended geographical perspective, as "deeply entangled with global crosscurrents,"[16] as interacting with writers, intellectuals, periodicals, publishers and networks in Latin America, the Caribbean, Africa and Asia. From this perspective (as in the essays by Anne Ollivier-Mellios and Priscilla Archibald), new value is given to a long neglected author like Waldo Frank who – fluent in Spanish and English – was centrally concerned with the interaction of Euro-American modernism and Latin American culture. In a similar vein Harvard historian Nancy F. Cott has poignantly compared the transatlantic peregrinations of Malcolm Cowley, which prompted the influential and canonical interpretation of the "lost generation" in *Exile's Return* (1934; revised edition, 1951), with Vincent Sheean's *Personal History* (1935), a best-seller at the time of publication but subsequently virtually forgotten, which offers an account of the author's "youthful search for self-definition amid contending global possibilities [which] led him to Geneva, Rome, Morocco, Persia, Berlin, London, Palestine, China, and Russia before he was thirty."[17] By placing Cowley's account in a transnational, comparative perspective Cott throws new light on the limitations of Cowley's transatlantic internationalism and shows how "the self-conscious, open-ended engagement with world affairs"[18] of Vincent Sheean offers a much broader and perhaps more representative image of "the youthful internationalism undertaken by their generation in a postwar era of broken empires, new nations, accelerated diasporas, and mounting individual statelessness."[19]

The transnational optic, then, has led to a revaluation, revision and recalibration of the phenomenon of modernist transatlantic migration, as is illuminated by Frank Mehring's *The Democratic Gap: Transcultural Confrontations of German Immigrants and the Promise of American Democracy* (2014). Mehring's book revises our understanding of the migration of especially German immigrants to the democratic paradise of "America" by shifting the traditional focus on assimilation and adaptation to confrontation with the deficiencies and darker underside of the American dream: slavery, genocide, racial and ethnic discrimination,

[15] Ibid., 116.
[16] Ibid., 107.
[17] Nancy F. Cott, "Revisiting the Transatlantic 1920s: Vincent Sheean vs. Malcolm Cowley," *The American Historical Review* 118 (1,1) (February 2013), 47.
[18] Ibid., 50.
[19] Ibid., 48.

racism, the tensions of cultural pluralism and diversity. By giving central importance to the confrontation of German immigrants and African Americans (Kurt Weill and Langston Hughes, Hannah Arendt and Toni Morrison) Mehring throws new transcultural light on our understanding of migration and American identity. The same holds for Mehring's essay, in the present volume, on the German artist-illustrator Winold Reiss, famous for his portraits of Harlem Renaissance writers and artists like Langston Hughes, Alain Locke and Zora Neale Hurston. In a travel diary Reiss reported on his peregrinations of Mexico and his meetings with (and portraits of) indigenous peoples and cultures in Central and North America. Mehring's essay discloses new intercultural and transnational connections between the European-inspired modernism as understood by Cowley's cohort and the new realities of cultural, racial and ethnic pluralism in 1920s America. Mehring's trilingual edition (German, Spanish, English) of Reiss's Mexican travel diary[20] in itself stands as a fine example of the new Transnational American Studies scholarship.

Towards a Transnational Reading of Intellectual Networks, 1914-1964

Following Anne Ollivier-Mellios's original idea for this book, the twelve essays presented here offer new "transnational" perspectives and reassessments in transatlantic intellectual historiography. They explore the special role of American and European intellectuals as agents of transatlantic cultural transfer, and examine the places, institutions and instruments though which intellectuals gathered and communicated across oceans and borders, in the half century between 1914 and 1964. These temporal brackets are to be understood as symbolic rather than literal markers of important watershed moments in U.S. history and concomitant European perceptions of "America." Besides the outbreak of "the European War," as Americans were wont to call it at the time, 1914 signals the upsurge of U.S. internationalism under Wilsonian idealism, the start of an era when the U.S. strongly manifested itself in an active and equal role as the bold inspirer and architect of a new world order of peace, freedom and international cooperation through initiatives like The League of Nations, and European intellectuals found themselves jockeying for position in

[20] Frank Mehring, ed., *The Mexico Diary: Winold Reiss between Vogue Mexico and Harlem Renaissance*. An Illustrated Trilingual Edition with Commentary and Musical Interpretation (Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier/Tempe AZ: Bilingual Press, 2016).

their attempts to weigh the political, economic and cultural impact of this new player's presence on the global scene. 1964 in several ways marks the threshold of transition to a different era: one year after the death of John F. Kennedy and Martin Luther King's March on Washington, 1964 saw the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, signaling the escalation of U.S. military involvement in the Vietnam War, as well as the passing of the landmark Civil Rights Act, outlawing discrimination on the basis of race, sex or religion, and formally putting an end to segregation. As the turbulences of the 1960s erupted in fuller force on both sides of the Atlantic, the realities of domestic racial conflict and international warfare irreparably dented the image of "America" as benevolent protector of freedom, peace and democracy which had governed European perceptions in the interbellum and the immediate postwar era. In the words of Anne Ollivier-Mellios, around 1964 "a particular type of fascination with America on the part of European intellectuals came to an end."[21]

In re-examining "the way American intellectuals' vision influenced foreign intellectuals' perception of American culture and intellectual life and how, conversely, foreign intellectuals sometimes helped to shape the Americans' vision of their own country,"[22] the essays in this book build on the insights of pioneering scholars like Rob Kroes and Richard Pells, both of whom have argued that the dynamics of transatlantic cultural transfer in the period between 1914 and 1964 need to be understood not as one-sided, but as reciprocal or even multi-directional.[23] This insight into the reciprocity and multi-directionality of transatlantic cultural influence – not only in the transmission of mass culture but in the transatlantic circulation of intellectuals' visions and ideas – is an important premise of the present book.

As Anne Ollivier-Mellios observed in her original proposal, in seeking to understand this dynamics of multi-directional cultural transfer it is crucial to recognize and examine the role of intellectual networks:

---

[21] Anne Ollivier-Mellios, manuscript of original book proposal "Transatlantic Intellectual Networks from the early 20th Century to the 1960s," 1 (unpublished, 2015).

[22] Idem.

[23] Cf. Kroes, *If You've Seen One, You've Seen the Mall*, especially chapter 1, "American Culture in European Metaphors" and chapter 9, "Americanization: What Are We Talking About;" Richard Pells, *Not Like Us: How Europeans Have Loved, Hated, and Transformed American Culture Since World War II* (New York: Basic Books/Harper Collins, 1997), and *Modernist America: Art, Music, Movies, and the Global Impact of American Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011).

> [A]s intellectuals are the major agents of cultural transfers, thanks to their travel but also to their publications in foreign magazines and their translations of foreign literature, one should look closely at the way they contributed to cultural exchanges and to the construction of transatlantic intellectual networks. As this book aims to demonstrate, the study of transatlantic intellectual networks throws important new light on how ideas 'traveled' across borders. More generally it aims to illuminate how U.S. culture was perceived and understood by Europeans and how American intellectuals envisioned "Europe," in reciprocal dialogue and interaction with each other. An intellectual network can be more or less formally organized; thus several individuals may gather around a central intellectual figure or 'mentor', or may cluster together around a magazine or salon, or associate on the basis of a common literary or political platform. In the 1920s well-known American intellectuals such as Malcolm Cowley, John Dos Passos or Waldo Frank spent a great deal of time in Europe, and, as often as not, established elaborate contacts with their European counterparts. They often willfully set out to forge transatlantic intellectual circles or networks, fostering cooperation between intellectuals and contributing to cultural exchanges through the founding of transatlantic magazines, translations of novels, mediations with publishers overseas, membership in international organizations, or simply created loose forms of communication, as in epistolary friendships between European and American writers.[24]

The focus of the present book, then, is on transatlantic "networks" and the agents or instruments of culture through which such networks become operative: magazines and periodicals; salons, cafés, clubs; publishing houses; international book fairs; agents, translators, and mediators; associations or parties. As several essays in this volume illuminate, magazines especially form productive transnational sites of cultural, literary, intellectual exchange, circulation and interaction. Between 1914 and 1964 magazines like *The Seven Arts, Sur, Contact, transition, New Masses, Survey Graphic, Amauta, La Nouvelle Revue française, Europe, Encounter, Evergreen Review* were crucial instruments for building bridges and a sense of community across geographical, national or political barriers or boundaries. In addition, several contributions to this volume highlight the indispensable but often barely visible role of agents, editors, publishers and translators as transnational cultural and intellectual mediators, or explore the crucial stimulus of transatlantic personal friendships, either in the flesh or through epistolary contacts (this, after all, was the age in which writing letters was the principal means of transatlantic communication) – as between the American Waldo Frank and

[24] Ollivier-Mellios, original book proposal, 2.

Peruvian José Carlos Mariátegui and Argentinian Victoria Ocampo; between Jean-Paul Sartre and Richard Wright; between Simone de Beauvoir and Nelson Algren; between the Dutch Frederik van Eeden and Upton Sinclair; between Irving Kristol and the British poet and editor Stephen Spender; between Fred Jordan and the German Walter Höllerer; between Willa Cather and Czech President Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk, Robinson Jeffers and the Czech poet and translator Kamil Bednář.

Structure and Contents

For the sake of clarity and convenience, the twelve essays of this book have been grouped under four distinct yet convergent headings, each of them fully responsive to the new insights and opportunities suggested by a transnational approach. A first section highlights the shift within the study of transatlantic relations from a predominant concern with European-U.S. relations to a multidirectional, triangular exploration of cultural, political and intellectual relations between Europe, the United States, and Central/Latin America, as exemplified in the transnational careers of Waldo Frank and Winold Reiss. A second section offers new insights into the complex processes of reciprocal reflection and distortion – what Malcolm Bradbury called the "transatlantic refraction" – by highlighting the role of magazines, publishers, and translators as instruments and agents of transnational literary, cultural and political transfer and circulation. A third section offers reassessments of the role played by key individuals – Randolph Bourne, Simone de Beauvoir and Howard Zinn – in developing a transnational, cosmopolitan perspective; it also reconsiders the Franco-American cross-racial literary friendship of Jean-Paul Sartre and Richard Wright from within a broader, transnational perspective on race. A fourth section revisits the dynamics of the reception and transmission of images of America and American culture in Europe, by examining the ways in which Dutch and Czech readers, writers, critics and intellectuals have negotiated "Amerika" and American literature through the turbulent changes of the first half of the twentieth century, as the United States was manifesting itself as a powerful global player, in economics, politics and culture.

Part I: Triangular Transactions: from Transatlantic to Trans-American

In the opening essay **Anne Ollivier-Mellios** resuscitates the unduly forgotten figure of Waldo Frank (1889-1967) and gives him a central place

as an intellectual force in the forging of a 20th-century transatlantic intellectual network. She shows how Frank, committed to regenerating what he felt was a flagging U.S. culture, drew inspiration from his many and variegated contacts with French intellectuals to foster his ideal of a transatlantic "community of discourse" that could form the foundation of a cosmopolitan network of minds in which the intellectual's cultural and civic role could be realized. She demonstrates how Frank found inspiration, and a model, for his dream of regenerating American culture in French intellectual life through his contacts with Romain Rolland, Jacques Copeau and Gaston Gallimard, one of the founders of *La Nouvelle Revue française* (*NRF*), Benjamin Crémieux (the editor of *Europe*), Léon Bazalgette, Jean-Richard Bloch, and André Gide. Working with Randolph Bourne, Van Wyck Brooks and James Oppenheim on the short-lived but influential *Seven Arts* (1916-1917) Frank, encouraged by Rolland, made sure to dedicate the magazine to the forging of transcultural dialogue, and published a wide range of international writers, among them French, Irish, Indian, Japanese and Lebanese authors. While he remained persuaded, with Brooks, that "our intercourse with Europe" was inevitably central to the flourishing of a mature and independent American culture, in the immediate postwar years Frank embraced the French as "the true genius people of Europe" and was eager to have his works published in French translation, both for economic and symbolic capital, and as a means of counteracting the intellectual's isolation in consumerist America through establishing transcultural cooperation, dialogue and community, a French-inspired transatlantic network of artists, intellectuals, publishers, and translators.

Ollivier-Mellios examines the transatlantic network of contacts that could realize Frank's ideal of a "community of discourse" as manifested during the interbellum in such periodicals as *The Modern Quarterly*, *The New Masses* and *The New Republic* in the U.S., and *NRF* and *Europe* in France – magazines that functioned not only as social meeting places but also as transatlantic forums of ideas. Committed to both art and social change, Frank sought to perpetuate the spirit of *The Seven Arts* in the newly launched *New Masses*, and throughout the Depression-ridden 1930s struggled – with other U.S. writers and intellectuals – to reconcile politics and aesthetics. In those years he found his desired community of discourse at least momentarily in the radical movement, which led him to travel to Russia and to speak at international writers' conferences in Paris and Mexico.

Though Frank's symbolic capital as an influential intellectual waned after World War II, Ollivier-Mellios shows how even after 1945 he

actively championed – and continued to play a leading role in – the establishment of a transatlantic community which encompassed intellectuals in the U.S., Europe as well as Latin America, hoping to create "a transnational discourse straddling the Atlantic in multiple directions." Through his participation in numerous international forums and associations, as well as through his public writings, he continued to function "at the heart of an international, transatlantic intellectual network" which encompassed leading intellectuals in both the U.S. and France, as they strove to envision the role of intellectuals in ensuring the future of democracy and the defense of liberty in a reconstructed Europe and the West at large. Frank, also, uniquely acted as a cultural and intellectual mediator, not only between Europe and the U.S. but – extending the transatlantic network – between Europe, North and South America. Convinced that social change was inextricably tied to spiritual regeneration, Frank corresponded with intellectuals of various faiths and cultures (Maritain, Kallen, Niebuhr) and, through a magazine like Victoria Ocampo's *Sur* hoped to expand the ideal of a discourse of community committed to creation of new values into that of an Atlantic culture straddling Europe as well as North and South America.

Bridging the fields of American and Latin American Studies, **Priscilla Archibald** explores the manifold tensions between the nationalist orientation, both cultural and political, in the Americas during the interbellum, and the simultaneous impetus towards transnational cultural and intellectual exchange. If for both North and South American intellectuals Europe, in particular Paris, was a compass and a beacon, Archibald argues how an often under-studied trans-American exchange coexisted with the dynamics of transatlantic cultural transfer, so that in effect transcultural transfer between North America, Latin America and Europe needs to be understood as reciprocal in a triangular rather than bilateral sense. Archibald's contribution focuses on the relationship of the U.S. writer Waldo Frank, an enthusiastic theorist of Pan-Americanism, with Peruvian Marxist José Carlos Mariátegui and with Argentine woman of letters Victoria Ocampo, to explore the commonalities as well as divergences – of class, gender and nationality – of these trans-American actors.

In the 1920s and 1930s Waldo Frank was widely regarded both in Europe and the Americas as one of the leading public intellectuals and most influential cultural critics of his day; indeed, as Archibald poignantly notes, he "remained a respected figure in Latin America long after he had disappeared from intellectual circles in the United States." Frank's cultural and spiritual philosophy was rooted in a fascination with Spain and Spanish America, so that for him Pan-Hispanism and Pan-Americanism

were continuous. In the first part of her essay Archibald focuses on the unique, mostly epistolary relationship between Frank and Mariátegui, which developed into an active friendship and collaboration, both writers promoting each other's works in their respective home cultures, through criticism and translation. Both also were editors of influential magazines, *The Seven Arts* and *Amauta*, and progressive political actors in their respective cultures, sharing a commitment to revolutionary idealism despite radical differences, Frank being an "unapologetic metaphysician," Mariátegui a "rigorous materialist." Both, however, as Archibald demonstrates, were committed to assessing the importance of Europe and its cultural traditions for the "creation of a true America," a dimension often under-recognized in Mariátegui's case. For Mariátegui as much as for Frank, "Americanist self-definitions took shape in tension with Europe." For both the "discovery" of America took place through Europe, a transatlantic "mirroring process" which, as their letters to each other testify, became a generative "trans-American praxis."

Probing into the scope and nature of Frank's unique popularity with the Latin American intellectual community, Archibald reads Frank's hopes for the spiritual redemption that could come from a unification of the two Americas as "a decolonizing gesture:" harshly critical of the materialist and utilitarian culture of the U.S., he recognized Latin America as "a global protagonist of cultural redemption." As Archibald compellingly shows in the second half of her essay, such a vision also inspired Frank's alliance with Victoria Ocampo, a long, fruitful and conflicted relationship that survived despite their ideological, social and political divergences. Ocampo, who hailed from prominent aristocratic circles, moved in a large network of contacts among European intellectuals, artists and composers, and was an influential patron of the arts and mediator of European modernism in her native Argentina. As had his relationship with Mariátegui, Frank's friendship with Ocampo also reflected what Archibald calls "the inherently conflictive condition of the American transatlantic intellectual" – exiled from Europe in America, exiled from America in Europe. For Frank, Pan-Americanism could offer an antidote to such a reciprocal sense of exile, to be realized in a trans-American community of artists and intellectuals.

At Frank's instigation, Ocampo started the magazine *Sur*, which she directed for most of the years 1931-1970, transforming it into a launching pad for numerous Latin American writers and a significant transatlantic cultural forum, a platform where writers and intellectuals, both European and American, could communicate across national boundaries. Governed by an ostensibly non-political policy of Personalism, *Sur* – as Archibald

contends – was conceived as "Ocampo's resolution to the transatlantic paradox," a "bridge" between Europe and the Americas. She also shows how embracing internationalism (especially the culture of France and Britain) was a way of enacting Argentine cultural independence from Spain. *Sur*'s selective internationalism thus also was a way of affirming and defining national culture, and its ostensible cosmopolitanism effectively a reprise of a nineteenth-century mode of internationalism. By then, indeed, the magazine had departed far from the Pan-American forum Frank had originally envisioned, and Ocampo and *Sur* became, as Archibald shows, "lightning rods for Americanist self-definitions." Her essay trenchantly demonstrates how what she calls "the transatlantic paradox" was governed by competing and conflicting visions, ideologies and commitments, which clashed, intersected and invigorated each other into a productive transnational cultural and intellectual network.

Frank Mehring expounds a transcultural perspective on the Harlem Renaissance by focusing on the underappreciated commercial artwork of German immigrant Winold Reiss, whose visual representations of African-American writers and intellectuals were a stellar feature of iconic publications such as *The New Negro* and *Survey Graphic* magazine's special issue on Harlem (both 1925). Tracing the international networks and transcultural experience which informed Reiss's visual approach to the Harlem Renaissance, Mehring makes visible how the Harlem Renaissance was effectively embedded in the dynamics of what Stephen Greenblatt called "cultural mobility:" transatlantic and trans-American cultural flows, aesthetic translations, mediations and networks. He demonstrates how Reiss's perspective on the U.S. in effect was transformed through the conjunction of three perspectives: his German background, his first-hand experiences of the U.S., and his Mexican travels. Reiss's artistic vision thus became the product of a triangular mirroring process, a transnational conjunction of Europe, North and South America.

As Mehring argues, Reiss's iconic portraits of African-American writers – as well as members of indigenous and ethnic minorities in the U.S. and Mexico – were mediated through the triple register of European artistic practices (German symbolism, decorative arts, art nouveau, and folk art); his visits to North American Indian reservations; and his transformative travels through Mexico in 1920. The latter, as Mehring argues in an analysis of Reiss's Mexican travel diary, were an epiphany for the German-American artist: "It prepared him to critically engage with issues of racial segregation and African-American recognition, and to come to terms with his own disillusionment regarding the promise of

American democracy." In addition, it helps us understand how the aesthetics of a black modernism were mediated through Mexican art, folklore, religiosity, and the history of the *mestizaje*, in particular in the transnational crucible of New York in the 1920s. As Mehring persuasively shows, Reiss's discovery of the "affinities between the renaissance of spirit and cultural rediscovery in the bohemian circles of Mexico and Harlem" (evidenced, for example in his friendship with Mexican artist Covarrubias and American writer Katherine Anne Porter) helps us to re-understand the Harlem Renaissance as a dynamic transnational space of intercultural encounters and productive artistic exchanges between artists from North, Central and South America as well as European immigrant-artists like Reiss.

Taking his cue from Greenblatt's manifesto *Cultural Mobility*, Mehring presents Reiss as a transnational "cultural interlocutor" and "mobilizer" who can be understood as "an agent, go-between, translator, and intermediator." Reiss's *Mexico Diary* thus reveals how "processes of intercultural translation and moments of transcultural confrontations" shaped Reiss's understanding of the Harlem Renaissance: he effectively discovered the aesthetic potential of African-American art – and multicultural America at large – through a Mexican lens, inflected by German folk art. In a detailed analysis of Reiss's diary, Mehring shows how his Mexican trip proved redemptive for Reiss, in a personal and professional sense: it helped him regain a sense of belonging and spiritual rejuvenation, and it enabled him to critically and creatively (re)discover "America" – and the American democratic promise – in all of its stunning and conflicted cultural, ethnic and religious pluralism.

Part II: Of Magazines and Mediators: Transatlantic Reflections, Refractions, Reciprocities

Céline Mansanti re-examines transatlantic intellectual networks with a focus on (mostly "little") magazines as platforms for transatlantic exchange. In reconsidering the relationship between American modernism and transatlanticism she emphasizes reciprocity of cross-cultural interactions, and posits that the traditional distinction between "homemade" American modernism and European cosmopolitan modernism is no longer tenable. She argues that the distinction obscures crucial tensions and ambiguities within the "domestic" avant-garde and demonstrates that a sense of the "poverty" or "inferiority" of American culture vis-à-vis a dominant European culture prevailed on both sides of the Atlantic, with French intellectuals often remaining indifferent to U.S. culture and most

criticism of U.S. culture coming from Americans. As Mansanti reminds us, anti-European sentiment of Americans was often marked by masculinist, even homophobic touches, and even an early study of transatlantic modernism such as Edmund Wilson's *Axel's Castle* (1931) evinced a Eurocentric predilection.

Mansanti insightfully complicates current binaries such as "high" European versus "low" American modernism; expatriates/internationalists versus localists; highbrow versus middlebrow or mainstream perceptions of modernism; and the historical or aesthetic avant-garde of the 1920s versus the political avant-garde of the 1930s. In particular the period of cultural and economic crisis from the late 1920s into the mid 1930s emerges from her revisionary account as a time of contradictions and ambivalences that deeply affected the attitudes to modernism on both sides of the Atlantic. In the second part of her essay she discusses three responses to Europe's perceived cultural domination: (a) the exhaustion of the European historical avant-gardes; (b) American appeals to resist European cultural domination; and (c) American rewritings of European avant-gardes (in particular the genesis of an American surrealism). She demonstrates that positive responses could coexist with more negative ones, thus complicating our understanding of the interactions between transatlanticism and (American) modernism, and exemplifying "the transatlantic, interdisciplinary dialogue of high modernism and popular culture."

Aurélie Godet examines the role periodicals have played (and continue to play) in the construction of post-World War II transnational intellectual networks by focusing on the crucial early years of *Encounter* (1953-1958), a Cold War magazine launched by the Congress for Cultural Freedom as part of a larger cultural diplomacy effort aimed to counter the influence of communism on European intellectuals. Utilizing archival sources, she scrutinizes the editorial partnership of the American Irving Kristol and the British Stephen Spender, and argues that, despite the later revelations of the magazine's sponsorship (and possible control) by the C.I.A., the idiosyncratic Anglo-American editorial duo (temporarily joined by Dwight Macdonald) effectively set out to create an influential transatlantic forum for debating anti-Communism as well as "vital-center liberalism" and end-of-ideology thinking, thereby laying the groundwork for the rise of neo-conservatism in the U.S. and paving the way for the later Reagan/Thatcher and Bush/Blair partnerships.

Based in London, but targeting a broadly international audience of Anglophone intellectuals in the United States, Asia, India, and even Scandinavia, *Encounter* thus reflected a cosmopolitan perspective and

hoped to bend a perceived pernicious neutralism towards a more firmly articulated anti-Communism. For all their personal and temperamental differences, Kristol and Spender managed to marshal an impressive roster of transatlantic contributors – writers, poets, critics, intellectuals, and experts in foreign policy, sociology and economics from both the U.K. and the U.S. – to make it seem, as Godet writes, "as if a real transatlantic intellectual community was in the making," including "ecumenical dinners" and an aura of mutual admiration. Godet persuasively demonstrates that the Anglo-American "special relationship" which was thus fostered was not impervious to mutual cultural prejudice, condescension and transatlantic misunderstanding, yet she also shows how such misalliances were made subservient to the larger transnational cause of battling communism and the perceived necessity of Americanizing Britain. As a result, *Encounter* was perceived in Britain as "a Yankee Trojan horse" (a vehicle of U.S. imperialism in disguise) and an illustration of American cultural and intellectual vulgarity, and in America as the voice of British snobbism and a *passé* British modernism. As Godet splendidly illuminates, however, *Encounter* in effect enacted a "two-way flow of ideas" – illustrating both the impact of American-born concepts such as vital-center liberalism and end-of-ideology thinking on the British intellectual landscape, and vice versa the influence of (conservative) British political thought and modernist art on U.S. intellectuals, thus highlighting the dynamics of hybridity and circulation governing the transatlantic network of *Encounter* and its role as an agent of transnational cultural transfer.

Maarten van Gageldonk examines the way in which the American avant-garde publishing house Grove Press, conjointly with its in-house magazine *Evergreen Review*, mediated postwar contemporary German-language literature in the Cold War years of the 1950s and 1960s. He argues how both in the magazine and through its book publications, Grove in effect presented a specific image of German literature to its American readers, functioning as both a filter and a catalyst. He addresses the question which cultural resources and network connections Grove Press had at its disposal to acquire new authors in the German-speaking countries, find the right translators for them and market their work in the United States, and how such network connections changed, as Grove found itself forced to move from the avant-garde periphery into the commercial mainstream.

Drawing on theoretical works by Pierre Bourdieu, Pascale Casanova and Bruno Latour, Gageldonk provocatively argues for a new understanding of the nature and function of "networks." His essay persuasively demonstrates how not only human beings (editors, publishers, agents,

translators) function as "actors" in the field of cultural production, but likewise institutions subjected to the exigencies of the marketplace (publishing companies, magazines, book fairs) and even, as Latour advanced, "material objects" (translations, performances of plays as opposed to published texts). Gageldonk likewise emphasizes that transatlantic cultural transfer between the two cultural spheres of "America" and German-language Europe in effect took place in both directions, being "inherently reciprocal." Following theorists of cultural mobility and hybridization, like Stephen Greenblatt and Mary Louise Pratt, Gageldonk thus advances that magazines like *Evergreen Review* need to be examined as cultural "contact zones," platforms for transatlantic exchange and networking.

With cultural transfer being complicated by the mnemonic resonance of Germany's Nazi past as well as its strong tradition of romanticism, Gageldonk illuminates the role played by U.S.-based émigré editors and Germany-based agents, scouts and institutions in Grove's intellectual and literary network. Thus, he highlights the crucial role played by editor Fred Jordan in fostering Grove's interest in German, Austrian and Swiss literature, and marks the dynamics of reciprocal cultural transfer between the German magazine *Akzente* and the American *Evergreen Review*, making for a transatlantic cross-fertilization both in terms of editorial vision and contents. He also discusses the pivotal position in the transatlantic publishers' network of the Frankfurter Buchmesse, both in the trading of licenses and the promotion of American writers in Germany – and vice versa.

Drawing on a close examination of the Grove press records at Syracuse University, Gageldonk focuses on the genesis and effect of *Evergreen*'s special issue on postwar German literature as his principal case study. He places the issue in the larger context of the American reception of German literature, and illuminates the degree to which the issue's making was subject to the practical and economic exigencies of the marketplace, and to the opportunities offered – and the limitations imposed – by Grove's transatlantic network, in particular the close American-German editorial relationship between Fred Jordan and Walter Höllerer. Gageldonk also poignantly registers how – considered as a mode of transatlantic cultural transfer – translating a work of fiction from one language into another by definition and by (marketing) necessity also becomes an act of cultural mediation and adaptation. With regard to the cultural transfer of German drama to the U.S. Gageldonk interestingly differentiates between the reception of a play's stage performance and that of the published Grove text. As with fiction, translating drama became an act of cultural mediation,

as when Brecht's (post)modernist *Verfremdungseffekt* disappeared in its translation into a mode of American melodrama acceptable – and sellable – in the McCarthy era, while in print Brecht was on his way to become a cult-figure of the political avant-garde.

Part III: Looking at Europe, Looking at America: Transnational Reconsiderations

Randolph Bourne was perhaps the most astute and influential thinker in a network of young American intellectuals who were both committed to cultural nationalism yet profoundly aware of European ideas, and who developed a transatlantic form of cultural criticism in the years before and during World War I, as exemplified especially in the magazine *The Seven Arts* (1916-1917). **Eric Sandeen** uses the centenary year (2018) of Bourne's early death as a challenging occasion both to pay tribute to Bourne's lasting influence – in areas ranging from multiculturalism to anti-war critique to disability studies – and to critically revisit the notion of "Trans-National" America, which Bourne developed in antithesis to the American melting-pot ideology and in response to the rising nationalisms that he held accountable for the Great War. Placing Bourne's transnationalism in the context of Thomas Bender's call – in *Rethinking American History in a Global Age* (2002) – to move beyond the nation-state as a unit of cultural and historical analysis, Sandeen offers important reconsiderations of two of Bourne's seminal essays – "Trans-National America" and "The Jew and Trans-National America" (both from 1916). He demonstrates that Bourne, thinking from the international networks of ideas and flows of immigrants back and forth across the Atlantic cultural, political and intellectual space, "brought into focus models of American culture that appeared to be oxymorons: a transnational nation, a national cosmopolitanism." For Bourne, indeed, the future of American cultural nationalism was predicated on a mode of transnational cosmopolitanism that could transcend the strictures of race and national identity.

Following recent calls for a transnational approach to literary, cultural and intellectual history by scholars such as Paul Giles, Thomas Bender and Richard Pells, **Laurence Cossu-Beaumont** examines the encounter and interaction of the community of African-American and African expatriates with French existentialist intellectuals in post-World War II Paris as a case study of the dynamics marking transatlantic intellectual networks in the early Cold War years, both in terms of personal contacts and in terms of the publication and circulation of texts. Reckoning with the dynamics of transatlantic cultural transfer as theorized by Rob Kroes, she interrogates

these complex relations between French intellectuals and African-American artists not as a "one way" process but as a multi-directional process of mutual negotiation, influence and interaction. As she argues, in postwar Paris African Americans were able to experience and understand the "American dilemma" (Gunnar Myrdal) of racial segregation in a new transnational space, an international perspective which gave greater visibility and renewed meaning to the discussion of race in America, and helped pave the way for both the American Civil Rights Movement and the postcolonial struggles of subsequent decades. Simultaneously, as Cossu-Beaumont demonstrates, it raised controversy within France itself, where the debate both reflected and refracted the political debate that had taken place earlier in the U.S. Thus, as she shows, a transnational approach may "open up the narrow restraints of national intellectual, cultural and political history" and introduce new complexities in our understanding of the French-American relationship and the transatlantic conversation about race.

Focusing on the French existentialist and *engagé* writer Jean-Paul Sartre and African-American expatriate writer Richard Wright she offers an in-depth examination of their friendship and intellectual, political and literary kinship, as an example of reciprocal transatlantic dialogue and interaction. She places their relationship within the larger context of the "multifaceted nexus" of contacts between French, African-American and African writers and intellectuals as it emerges from a study of the back issues of 1940s French newspapers and periodicals. Her essay thus not only offers corrective nuances to our understanding of the impact of French existentialism on Wright, but also places the longstanding French fascination and repulsion with "America" in a broader, more complicated, transnational context. Last but not least, extrapolating from Paul Gilroy's conceptualizing of a "Black Atlantic," she suggests how new opportunities for scholarship could come from "a renewed focus on race in the context of transatlantic studies" – one that would expand the European-American axis of debate to include the thought and writings of African and Caribbean intellectuals from former French colonies. By viewing the issue of race in a larger dialogic and transcultural, indeed global perspective, such scholarship might illuminate the "emanation of a network spreading across continents to address the oppression of racial minorities world-wide," and in turn affect the understanding of race both in France and the United States. As Cossu-Beaumont persuasively shows, the transatlantic network emanating from the Sartre-Wright relationship carried the germs of watershed moments – both in French postcolonial history and the

American Civil Rights Movement – that were to internationalize issues previously deemed national and thus to alter historiography as well.

Babs Boter examines Simone de Beauvoir's travel diary of her 1947 trip to the U.S. In a close-reading analysis she demonstrates the various rhetorical strategies used by Beauvoir to give herself agency and autonomy as a narrator vis-à-vis her various tour guides (Richard Wright, Nelson Algren), friends (Jean-Paul Sartre) and travel companions (Natalie Sorokine). Boter argues that, contrary to Mary McCarthy's claim, Beauvoir in looking at America does not wear "futuristic" "metaphorical goggles" but carries an internalized historical repertoire of images and legends with her, through which she reads, imagines and experiences "America." Drawing on postcolonial and travel-writing theory (Carl Thompson, Dean MacCannell, Stephen Clark, Sara Ahmed) Boter defines the particular historical and intellectual forces that shaped Beauvoir's cosmopolitan lens and the ways in which her interactions with French and American "tour guides" determine the dynamics of her transatlantic perceptions. She casts new light on the notion of "self-fashioning," and the role played by mediation, association, intervention, and cultural or historical comparisons in her various strategies of self-representation. In conclusion Boter examines the degree to which Beauvoir is able to rise above mere cultural and historical comparisons or parallels to a transnational and trans-historical perspective, and escape nationally defined and thus limiting cultural identities. Boter thus offers a critical perspective on Beauvoir's "self-presentation as a true cosmopolitan – an adventurous, open-minded and transnational intellectual and world traveler."

Ambre Ivol examines why and how Howard Zinn's controversial mode of radical historiography has had specific resonance among 21st-century French historiographers. She traces this back to Zinn's involvement, as a bombardier in the U.S. Air Force, in the liberation of the Gironde coastal area around Royan, in April 1945. Drawing on personal correspondence as well as extensive archival research in both France and the U.S., Ivol dispassionately and meticulously weighs the merits – in terms of historical accuracy and ideological aims – of Zinn's account (partly memoirist and autobiographical) of the controversial bombing of Royan, reputedly the first time (or one of the earliest times) when napalm was used during World War II, by viewing it from a transatlantic perspective. She considers how Zinn's involvement in the anti-Vietnam war movement in the 1960s – as well as his travels to Japan, North Vietnam, and France – gave new meaning and purpose to his own recollections of his participation in the bombing of Royan, and measures it

against the collective historiography of the liberation of France by French scholars, thus demonstrating that Zinn's transnational connection with France reverberated throughout his long career as a radical historiographer and hence "constitutes a significant part of his identity as a scholar-activist" and "trajectory as a public intellectual." Ivol also demonstrates how Zinn's research on the local history of Royan has contributed significantly to a larger, national French narrative about the liberation of France, thus exemplifying the crucial function of transnational networking and archival research in collaborative cross-national historiography.

Part IV: Dynamics of Reception and Transmission: "Amerika" and American Literature in the Netherlands and the Czech Republic

In a wide-ranging survey **Hans Bak** offers a critical review of the ambivalent and often contradictory ways in which Dutch writers, critics and intellectuals responded to "America" (viewed symbolically as idea, myth or symbol as much as political entity) and American literature in the period 1908-1948. As he argues, Dutch writers' attitudes before 1940 "ran the full gamut from fervent adulation and ecstatic espousal to ambivalence to sharp rejection" – "Amerika" in effect serving as a projection screen for their hopes and anxieties for the future of "Europe." To what extent, he wonders, did this dynamics of response change after World War II? Were Dutch writers able to move "beyond ambivalence" as between 1908 and 1948 they faced the change in America's position from peripheral to central to dominant in global affairs? To what extent did their intellectual response to America's perceived cultural, social, racial or political deficiencies correlate with the critical response to American literature? Was it possible to simultaneously "reject" America and embrace its literature?

In the first part of his essay Bak examines the critical and intellectual response to "America" of four Dutch writers – novelist, psychotherapist and social reformer Frederik van Eeden, who maintained a transatlantic friendship-in-letters with his American soulmate Upton Sinclair; Flemish author, historian and diplomat Marnix Gijsen; virulent anti-Americanist literary critic Menno Ter Braak; and Communist writer, editor and critic Theun de Vries – each of whose writings about America manifested a transnational dynamics of acceptance and resistance, as they variously sought to measure America by European, and Europe by American standards.