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Theo van Doesburg and Wyndham Lewis

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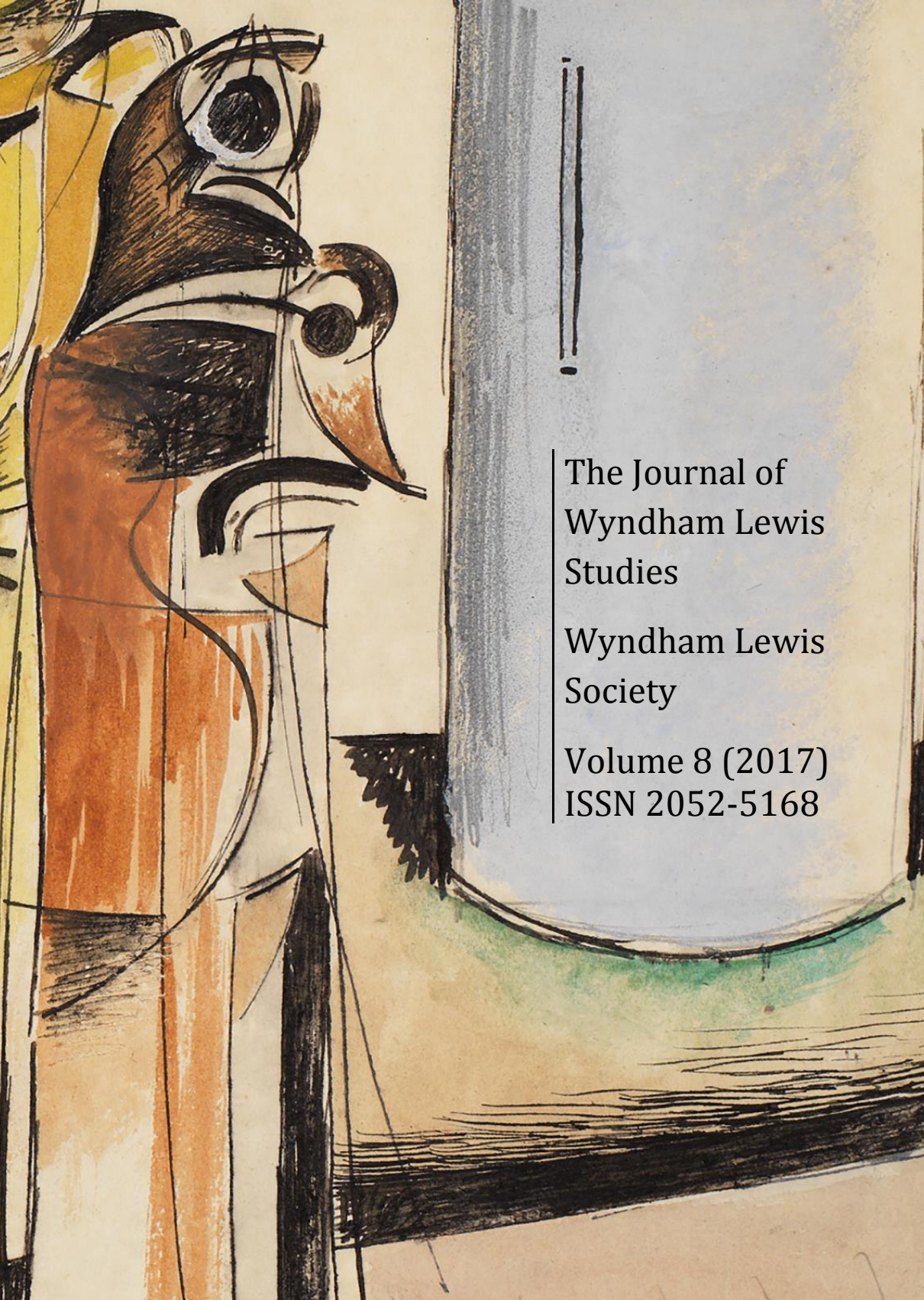
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Editorial

The prompt for this volume of *The Journal of Wyndham Lewis Studies* was the issuing of a Call for Papers on the theme of Lewis and periodicals. This theme came from the co-editors' interest in Lewis's multifaceted role as a journal editor (of *BLAST*, *The Tyro*, and *The Enemy*) and his many contributions to the journals and magazines of his time; and in the trend in modernist studies to situate early twentieth-century writers and artists in the periodical networks through which they forged alliances, contested the views and claims of their rivals, promoted their work, and established their literary-cultural credentials. Robert Scholes and Clifford Wulfman have suggested that because the journals Lewis edited were only short-lived affairs, 'we may assume that he had limitations as an editor that prevented his journals from reaching an audience that actually existed.'¹ Our position, by contrast, is not only that Lewis was a better and more successful editor than this remark implies, but also that Lewis reached his audiences through editing *and* contributing to journals, by being an active influence on, and beneficiary of, the magazine networks of his time.

Lewis's relationship to periodical culture was typically freighted with tensions and ironies. Temperamentally ill-equipped for teamwork, with *BLAST* he nonetheless founded one of the most important, albeit fleeting, collective enterprises of modernism. While dismissing the cottage industries of inter-war modernism as the 'afternoon tea-party of a perverse spinster', he co-operated with 'little magazine' culture when expedient, because this was the world in which he was most likely to find a relatively sympathetic audience. And this willingness to work with the pragmatic requirements of magazine publishing extended to a 'take with one hand, give with the other' approach to the realities of marketing and commerce, Lewis embracing the promotional ploys of late-Victorian and early twentieth-century advertising even as he found mischievous ways to hold them up tacitly for criticism, as Paige Reynolds has demonstrated.² Equally, despite his suspicion of state bureaucracy and the attempted popularization of high art, Lewis nonetheless became a contributor to the *Listener*, the house magazine of the BBC.

These ironies are neatly encapsulated by the placing of one of Lewis's last fictional works, 'Doppelganger: A Story', in *Encounter* (January 1954), a left-wing journal of politics and culture founded and edited by Stephen Spender. Although Spender's close associate, W. H. Auden, famously described Lewis as the 'lonely old volcano of the right', and Lewis had portrayed Spender as the dim-witted Dan Boleyn in his satire of perverse cultural spinsterdom, *The Apes of God* (1930), Lewis evidently embraced the opportunity to be published by *Encounter*, despite its financial sponsorship by the left-wing (if anti-Stalinist) organization, the Congress for Cultural Freedom.

'Doppelganger' would have appealed to such an audience, since it is a satire of the intellectual decline of Ezra Pound, Lewis's erstwhile co-conspirator on *BLAST* and the *Little Review*, whose more recent claim to cultural notoriety was his incarceration at the hands of the US government for fascist propagandizing amounting to treason. In this light, it would surely have tickled Lewis's taste for the absurd when *Encounter* was later exposed as a recipient of funding from the CIA, a revelation that forced Spender's resignation. If this incident demonstrates the often complex and internally contradictory cultural investments ingrained within periodical culture, these qualities also define Lewis's own character. Consequently, his engagement with key periodicals of the period offers a particularly instructive context through which to explore the cultural life of the man himself.

This brief survey of Lewis's involvement in the magazine and periodical cultures of his time corroborates Faith Binckes's claim that these artefacts 'offer an unrivalled resource through which to "make sense" of the modernist enterprise.'³ Binckes adds the important point that this superlative status 'is due to the insights [magazines] provide into the "cultural conflicts" – the dialogues, designations, and contingencies – through which a certain outline of modernism was shaped, rather than their ability to re-present our existing image' – or images – 'of the "movement" "in miniature".'⁴ Lewis's central role in those 'cultural conflicts', a term Binckes takes from Ann L. Ardis's *Modernism and Cultural Conflict, 1880-1922* (2002) is now unquestionable, but the full extent of Lewis's involvement in the magazine and periodical cultures of the early and mid twentieth century remains to be explored fully by scholars and cultural historians. Alongside two contributions on different aspects of Lewis's output, *JWLS* 2017 presents a cluster of four articles using periodicals to offer new perspectives on Lewis's life and work.

The issue commences with Jaron Murphy's "'This Picture Caused a Rumpus": Revisiting the T. S. Eliot Portrait's New Lease of Life at the Durban Art Gallery, South Africa', and Alan Munton's transcription of and commentary on Lionel Trilling's 1928 review of *The Childermass*. The story of how Lewis's 1938 portrait of T. S. Eliot was rejected by The Royal Academy is well known, but how and why it made its way to Durban Art Gallery shortly thereafter is less generally appreciated. Murphy takes us through the twists and turns of what happened in the months after the portrait was rejected and provides an overview of its official rehoming in Durban in December 1939. Anyone familiar with Munton's editorship of *The Wyndham Lewis Annual* will know his penchant for conserving and curating old Lewis scholarship; think, for example, of Munton's transcription of Page Smith's account of Lewis's *America and Cosmic Man* (published in *Wyndham Lewis Annual*, XII in 2005). On this occasion, Munton transcribes and comments on Trilling's predictably perceptive account of *The Childermass*. The account in question, written by a twenty-three-year-old Trilling, appeared in the *New York Evening Post* on 22 September 1928, and is reproduced in full below.

In different ways, Murphy's and Munton's contributions testify to the value of using periodicals as a basis for cultural-historical scholarship. Murphy's article relies on evidence about Lewis's 1938 Eliot portrait taken from *The Natal Mercury*, whereas Trilling's review of *The Childermass* demonstrates the transatlantic 'reach' that Lewis's writing enjoyed at the time. The four remaining articles presented here situate Lewis's work more directly in relation to specific periodical runs and networks. Sjoerd van Faassen's and Hans Renders's ground-breaking article 'Theo van Doesburg and Wyndham Lewis: An Aborted Attempt at Collaboration' reconstructs the connections established between Van Doesburg, Lewis, and the wider avant-garde scene of the period by tracking references in *De Stijl*, the journal founded by Van Doesburg in 1917. Kunio Shin takes a similar approach in his article 'The Work of Modern British Art in the Age of Colour Reproduction: Wyndham Lewis and C. R. W. Nevinson in *Colour*, 1914-1921', which examines the role played by *Colour* magazine in defining a distinctive attitude to modern art during and after the First World War. Lewis's relevance in both instances is comparative – he acts as a yardstick for how certain ideas of avant-gardism might be measured and substantiated in cultural-historical terms.

A comparative emphasis also informs Jason Parks's article on 'Wyndham Lewis, *The Enemy*, and "The Trouble of Translation"', which establishes a new way to read Lewis's late 1920s journal *The Enemy* in the

Editorial

context of debates about multilingualism, translation, and editorial practice. Reading Lewis in connection with the editor of *transition*, Eugène Jolas, Parks suggests that Lewis's editorship of *The Enemy* is defined by a simultaneous resistance to translation and engagement with 'ongoing interlingual, transatlantic/Euro-American dialogues over modern art, literature, and culture.' A different kind of 'translation' – this time, of the avant-garde into the broader concerns of periodical populism – sits at the core of Dominika Buchowska's article 'Inspiring Controversy, Debate, and Antagonism: Wyndham Lewis and *The New Age*', which examines not only how Lewis's contributions to that journal helped establish its cultural kudos, but also how Lewis's ideas were themselves part of the landscape that different contributors to the journal took to task.

All of these contributions are presented here as a way to commemorate the 60th anniversary of Lewis's death in 1957. They are also meant as another clutch of submissions to the ongoing debates about the dialogues, designations, and contingencies, to return to Binckes's formulation, from which modernism as understood in relation to magazine history now cannot be separated.

Given the correction in last year's volume related to the spelling of 'Macrob', readers of this edition of *JWLS* will be interested to see the word given more attention in Munton's article on Trilling, below.

As before, the co-editors of the journal thank the readers of *JWLS* for their patience and willingness to tolerate delays in its production. The journal is now co-edited by Zoe Gosling (University of Manchester, UK), Louise Kane (University of Central Florida, USA), Michael Shallcross (University of York, UK), and Nathan Waddell (University of Birmingham, UK), with James Hirst (University of Birmingham) joining us as Reviews Editor. The next three issues of *JWLS* will be themed along the following lines: 2018 on *Tarr*, to celebrate the 100th anniversary of its first publication in book form); 2019 on 'Lewis and the Post-War, 1919-1921'; and 2020 on 'Lewis and Controversy'. Nathan will be stepping down from co-editorial duties as of the 2020 issue, with Michael stepping down as of 2019. Replacement editors will need to be in position by these dates, so if you have a scholarly interest in Lewis, and a willingness to take part in producing the journal, please do get in touch.

Zoe Gosling (*University of Manchester, UK*)
Louise Kane (*University of Central Florida, USA*)
Michael Shallcross (*University of York, UK*)
Nathan Waddell (*University of Birmingham, UK*)

Notes

¹ Robert Scholes and Clifford Wulfman, *Modernism in the Magazines: An Introduction* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010), 147.

² See Paige Renolds “‘Chaos Invading Concept’: *BLAST* as a Native Theory of Promotional Culture’, *Twentieth-Century Literature*, 46.2 (Summer, 2000): 238-68.

³ Faith Binckes, *Modernism, Magazines, and the British Avant-Garde: Reading Rhythm, 1910-1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 7.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 7-8.

Theo van Doesburg and Wyndham Lewis: An Aborted Attempt at Collaboration

Sjoerd van Faassen and Hans Renders¹

When the critic, painter, architect, and poet Theo van Doesburg (pseudonym of C. E. M. Küpper, 1883-1931) set up the periodical *De Stijl* – the Dutch contribution to Constructivism – in 1917, he entered the world stage of the avant-garde.² At an unusually rapid pace, Van Doesburg established contacts, distributed manifestos, and provided a platform for many other innovative artists.³

With the English-language world, contact was cumbersome. At that time, the focus of Dutch artists was especially on developments in Germany and France. They were not very aware of what was happening across the Channel. Van Doesburg's attempt, enthusiastic at first, to establish himself in the United States, faltered after two half-baked exhibitions in The Little Review Gallery in New York in 1925 and 1926, a few contributions to *The Little Review*, and unsuccessful participations in both the *International Exhibition of Modern Art* in the Brooklyn Museum in 1926 and the *International Exposition New Systems of Architecture – New York 1927*, the so-called *Machine Age Exposition*. Time and time again, Van Doesburg took provisional agreements to be firm commitments, and was repeatedly left empty-handed.⁴ He had a ready supply of American contacts in Paris, especially thanks to the efforts of Tristan Tzara, but he lacked a similar intermediary in Great Britain. Van Doesburg was unfamiliar with the work of British artists, who for their part rarely mingled with their colleagues on the continent, although Wyndham Lewis – like many of Van Doesburg's Dutch colleagues – had been in correspondence with the Berlin art dealer Herwarth Walden, editor of the famous periodical *Der Sturm*, who was considered to be a pioneer of the avant-garde. But when Lewis visited the Sturm-Galerie in September 1921 he was not impressed by Walden: 'Walden and his pictures do not compare favourably, I think, with Paris dealers', he wrote to a friend; he declined an invitation to write about his visit to Walden for the *Daily Express* (*SSG* 234-5). He also dreaded a possible exhibition in Paris in Autumn 1922 at the Galerie L'Effort Moderne of Léonce Rosenberg –

the same venue that would hold the *De Stijl* exhibition in 1923, in which Van Doesburg and his friends presented their architectural work (*SSG* 240-41).⁵ Ships that pass in the night ...

That Van Doesburg's contacts with British artists were infrequent can be read between the lines in the columns of *De Stijl* and the Dadaist periodical *Mécano* (1922-1923), later edited by Van Doesburg. It also becomes clear there that Lewis briefly drew his attention. Van Doesburg had, at most, caught a glimpse of Vorticism at the beginning of the First World War from a few notices in the newspapers. He was probably unaware of the work of Lewis, Jacob Epstein, David Bomberg, Jessica Dismorr, Helen Saunders, Henri Gaudier-Breszka, Dorothy Shakespear, C. R. W. Nevinson, or Edward Wadsworth, which had hardly reached the Netherlands, though shortly before the end of the First World War an article about Nevinson did appear in the monthly *De Nieuwe Gids*.⁶ While Nevinson and Lewis had started out working together, Lewis had adopted a greater distance from him when Nevinson and F. T. Marinetti, the founder of Futurism, published a Futurist manifesto in *The Observer* in early June 1914 that Lewis could not agree with.⁷ The author of the article, J. R. van Stuwe Hzn, who lived in London, may also have been the anonymous correspondent of the daily *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* who, on 16 October 1916 and again on 12 April 1918, published a review of an exhibition of war art in London in which Nevinson was mentioned. In his article in *De Nieuwe Gids* about Nevinson, Stuwe sneered at 'the bloated Vorticism of Coyntham [*sic*] Lewis and Edward Wadsworth'.⁸ That Lewis was unknown in the Netherlands is obvious from the fact that his name is mangled.

Van Doesburg was probably equally unaware of the periodical *BLAST*, which had been established by Lewis (who was his senior by one year) and several others a month before the outbreak of the War. He was, moreover, not very proficient in the English language. When, for example, he later came into contact with Jane Heap, editor of *The Little Review*, and Katherine Dreier, organizer of the *International Exhibition of Modern Art* in New York, he corresponded with both Americans partly in German and partly in French. Van Doesburg's ignorance was not confined to Vorticism, but extended to all manifestations of modernism at that time. Modern art had established itself internationally but, in contrast to his later reputation, Van Doesburg was slow to pick up on developments abroad at the beginning of his career. At the outset of the First World War, Van Doesburg was drafted into the army. After his

discharge from military service in 1916 he befriended the young architect J. J. P. Oud. Together they were involved in setting up an art society, De Sphinx. However, Van Doesburg quickly distanced himself from that society because it was not ‘a group of young artists who together give shape to the spirit of the times in colour and form’, as he wrote in a review of their first exhibition: ‘In order to achieve this a *complete* purity of principles must exist; a *knowing* and *sensing* of the new spiritual needs of humanity in our time’.⁹

Van Doesburg found this ‘purity of principles’ in *De Stijl*. Through cooperation between various art forms, treated impartially, Van Doesburg hoped to contribute to a future, ideal society by means of a new language of art. In addition to Oud, the foundation of *De Stijl* was supported by the painters Piet Mondrian, Bart van der Leek, and Vilmos Huszár. ‘Fundamental contributors’ in the first issue also included, according to Van Doesburg, the architects Jan Wils and Robert van ’t Hoff, the Belgian sculptor Georges Vantongerloo and the Futurist painter Gino Severini. In the following year, the furniture maker and architect Gerrit Rietveld also joined the group.¹⁰ Van Doesburg and his staff members’ ideas were, at the outset, fairly harmonious, but gradually deep differences emerged, leading to arguments and alienation, not only between Van Doesburg and some of the earliest contributors, but also among the staff members themselves, particularly between the painters and the architects.

In the April 1919 issue of *De Stijl*, five months after the War had ended, Van Doesburg initiated the section ‘Rondblik’ [Survey], which was accompanied by a second section, ‘Ontvangen Boeken en Tijdschriften’ [Books and Periodicals Received], the following November. In these surveys, he tried to gain insight into developments abroad, with an emphasis on French and German publications. In the first instalment, he mentions, in addition to a few American publications, Edward Gordon Craig’s *A Living Theatre* (1913) and George Bernard Shaw’s *The Sanity of Art* (1895), a Dutch translation of which had appeared in 1910. The article betrays no awareness of pre-war revolutionary developments in English art, of which Lewis was a pacesetter.

The first member of *De Stijl* to come into contact with some of the Vorticists was Severini, who exhibited thirty paintings at the Marlborough Gallery in London in April 1913, with the support of the Dutch poet Dop Bles, like Severini living in Paris and a close friend of Mondrian. According to Severini’s recollections, on that occasion, he met, among

others, Epstein, Wadsworth, and Nevinson.¹¹ But there is also Van 't Hoff, who had lived in England and had become friends there with Bomberg.¹² Bomberg in fact claimed that it was due to mere chance that he was not 'one of the Founder Members of the "Stijl" Group'.¹³ That is, however, chronologically impossible: Van 't Hoff had only come into contact with *De Stijl* after the first issue had appeared. Bomberg himself claimed that he had declined an offer from Van 't Hoff to go with him to Leiden and join *De Stijl*.¹⁴ It is possible however that Bomberg became acquainted with Mondrian's work earlier, because it has been suggested that in March 1913, during a stay in Paris, Bomberg and Epstein saw the three works of Mondrian on display at the 29th Salon des Indépendants.¹⁵

When *De Stijl* was announced in the Dutch press, Pablo Picasso and the sculptor Alexander Archipenko – whom Lewis met during his visit to Berlin in 1921 – were mentioned as future contributors in addition to Severini, all of them Parisian contacts of Mondrian (see *SSG* 234). Despite Bomberg's claims, there was at that moment apparently no direct contact with British artists. In November 1918, a first manifesto of *De Stijl* appeared in four languages, including a translation in English. It was signed by Van Doesburg, the poet Antony Kok, Van 't Hoff, Mondrian, Huszár, and Wils. Logically, considering the common language, after the War Van Doesburg first peddled the ideas of *De Stijl* in Belgium, where modernism had already gained a tentative presence.¹⁶ He only expanded his working area to Germany and Central and Eastern Europe late in 1920, while he also regularly called in at Paris. All of his activities were directed toward enlarging his network.

In the summer of 1919, the British writer Douglas Goldring – who had been involved with *BLAST* – spent a few weeks in The Hague.¹⁷ Goldring visited several Dutch artists who were experimenting with 'abstract' art.¹⁸ Unfortunately, Goldring does not mention any names in his memoirs, but it is very likely that he met Van Doesburg and informed him about developments in the United Kingdom. At any rate, in November 1919, Van Doesburg gave an overview of the responses to the *Stijl* manifesto that had been published a year before, which had established *De Stijl* as an 'integrating part of the international art culture'.¹⁹ With respect to Great Britain, he mentioned the approval of *De Stijl* that Goldring had expressed on behalf of *BLAST*. His comment did not amount to more than a few words.²⁰ It is unknown if Goldring presented him with the two issues of *BLAST*. In September 1922, the Belgian Cubist painter Marthe ("Tour") Donas wrote to Van Doesburg to say that

she believed Goldring ‘has not made much progress with regard to modern art’.²¹ During a visit to Bomberg in London in 1919, Van ’t Hoff, in his turn, seems to have attempted to establish contact between ‘a pleiad of the advanced in Art and Literature’ and *De Stijl*. This attempt failed, and at the end of the meeting, Lewis, who was also present, concluded ‘that we had arrived at the blank page.’²²

Goldring’s expression of approval had another consequence in addition to the announcement in *De Stijl*. Back in England, he had seen to it that Lewis sent Van Doesburg a few recent publications, including his *The Caliph’s Design: Architects! Where is your Vortex?*, which had appeared in October 1919, as well as some issues of *The Daily Mirror*.²³ *The Caliph’s Design* – which Lewis considered to be a substitute for the never-published third issue of *BLAST* (see *WLA* 87) – would be mentioned in *De Stijl* in December among the books and periodicals received. Early in November 1919, Van Doesburg wrote to Oud enthusiastically: ‘What do you have to say about the English Futurist “Home”? It arrived along with a very interesting little book by Wyndham Lewis “Architects! Where is your Vortex!?”’, that the author sent me with some Mirrors and a poster.’²⁴

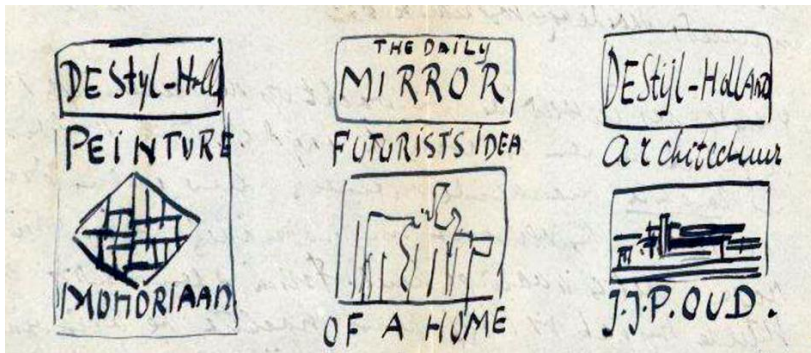


Fig. 1: Letter from Theo van Doesburg to J. J. P. Oud, 9 Nov. 1919. The Hague, RKD – Netherlands Institute of Art History, 0408.149.

It has been said that with *The Caliph’s Design* Lewis tried to connect with the manifestos of other revolutionary movements, like *De Stijl*.²⁵ There is no evidence, however, that he was aware of the views being promoted in that periodical. Van Doesburg only sent him an issue of his periodical in December 1920.²⁶ In the letter to Oud of 9 November 1919 concerning the publications he had received from Lewis, Van Doesburg wrote, with some enthusiasm, about that ‘English Futurist “Home”’ of which he had

seen a picture, probably in *The Daily Mirror*. Van Doesburg also wrote in his letter to Oud:

I read in Lewis's work a very fine article against the sky-scrapers and the city architecture of London. Lewis writes furiously against the architects and he says, among other things, that he wants to crush them all in a large pot, with a cover on it. The first artist-architect has not yet arrived in London. I hope to read it soon and have to respond to him sometime in *De Stijl*. I was bursting with eagerness to send Lewis your factory and almost sent him the drawing that I have of it. It's such a shame that we aren't closer, then we could directly exchange fresh, spontaneous ideas. Wouldn't it be possible, for example, to make a *bold* black and white drawing of the factory, a collotype of it in a large format, and to send these prints off into the world as if they were a manifesto! I'm very much in favour of the idea. The architecture here is still the best. All modern fellows will find your factory appealing. Think about this plan. It doesn't have to cost much. The English Futurist has also been wanting something similar, in terms of form, but it's entirely disharmonic. You should also see it as a counter-movement to all of the rubbish in England, where they're still stuck in the cozy: home.²⁷

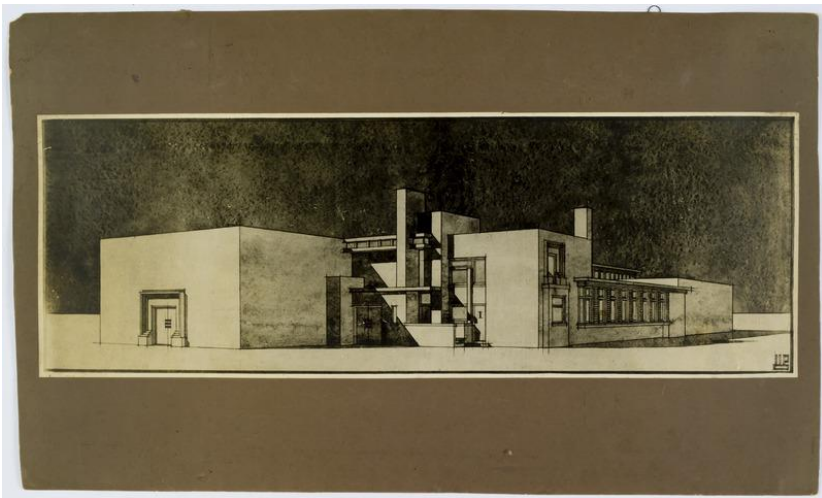


Fig. 2: J. J. P. Oud, Factory and warehouse in Purmerend, 1919-1920. Rotterdam, Het Nieuwe Instituut, OUDJ-fa 20.

Apparently, Van Doesburg saw Lewis as an ally in his contempt for English architecture. Van Doesburg considered Dutch architecture, and especially that of Oud (who had taken up a position as architect at the municipal housing department in Rotterdam in 1918), superior to the English and regarded his design for a factory and warehouse as supporting evidence for that view.²⁸ The propaganda action that he proposed, and in which Mondrian was welcomed to participate, was never undertaken. Van Doesburg's and Oud's interest in the material that Lewis had sent was not sudden. In August 1919, one of the Futurist Antonio Sant'Elia's, designs for *La Città Futurista* had been published as a supplement to *De Stijl*.²⁹ The commentary for this supplement was written by Van 't Hoff, who included in his piece most of Sant'Elia's Futurist architecture manifesto from 1914 in translation.³⁰ Years later, Van Doesburg described Sant'Elia's design in a book review as 'brilliant'.³¹ In January 1920, Oud, in turn, devoted attention to Mario Chiattone in *De Stijl*.³² The images of Sant'Elias's and Chiattone's designs were included in Van Doesburg's essay *Klassiek – Barok – Modern* (1920), together with designs by Frank Lloyd Wright and a few by Oud.³³

The response to *The Caliph's Design* promised by Van Doesburg in his letter to Oud was never published. Van Doesburg failed to see the parallels between *The Caliph's Design* and the architects Le Corbusier and Bruno Taut, probably out of ignorance.³⁴ Although he later had a kind of love-hate relationship with Le Corbusier, some of the latter's views were similar to those of Van Doesburg.³⁵ Taut also influenced Van Doesburg's opinions about colour. Van Doesburg met him for the first time in Berlin in 1920, where they had an exhaustive discussion addressing the question of the extent to which coloured surfaces could disrupt spatial effects.³⁶ Van Doesburg considered the houses built by Taut in Magdeburg 'an obtrusive, non-organic painting' leading to 'an effect destructive to architecture'.³⁷ He marked several passages in his copy of *The Caliph's Design*, but did not get beyond page 27.³⁸ At the first two paragraphs in the chapter 'Architecture' (CD 43), Van Doesburg wrote in the margin: 'Oud' and 'Wright' respectively. Beyond that, the notes do not seem to have relevance to his own views on architecture, with one possible exception: 'Set a rather poor artist down in a roadway, ask him to draw a street of houses in front of him. If the houses were of a good and significant build, he would be more likely to do a good and significant painting than if they were such clumsy, and stupid, lineless, massless, things as we invariably find ourselves in the midst of to-day' (CD 35-6).

He also marked a reference to the *Exhibition of French Art 1914-1919*, which could be seen from 9 August to 6 September 1919 in the Mansard Gallery in London.

Because of Goldring's visit and because he had received Lewis's publications, in mid-1920 Van Doesburg asked the Belgian painter Marthe Donas – the spouse of Archipenko – to make some inquiries in the London art world. Donas had taken part in the exhibition of French art in the summer of 1919, mentioned above. The initiative for this exhibition came from Osbert and Sacheverell Sitwell. While staying in London, Donas met the Sitwell brothers, who introduced her to Lewis, Epstein, Nevinson, and Goldring.³⁹ Goldring, in turn, was in the Netherlands once again in the early 1920s and also visited the editors of *De Stijl* during that stay, now with the explicit goal of 'creating a closer bond between the modern English and Dutch'.⁴⁰

In the years preceding the War, Van Doesburg did not participate in the Amsterdam art scene, where new developments were being closely monitored. It was only in the period just before the War that he developed a sensitivity to avant-garde artistic currents, although it was some time before he embraced them enthusiastically. This cautious beginning was harshly interrupted in early August 1914 by the outbreak of the First World War and Van Doesburg's mobilization.⁴¹ In late 1910, Mondrian, with whom Van Doesburg would only come into contact in November 1915, established the *Moderne Kunst Kring* [Modern Art Circle] together with a few other Dutch painters who were living in Paris, in an attempt to join in with what was happening there. In the autumn of 1911, Cubism was first presented in the Netherlands at an exhibition of the Modern Art Circle in the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam, where the work of the French precursors was also exhibited. Needless to say, in this phase of his life, Van Doesburg did not remotely qualify for membership of the Modern Art Circle, the most progressive artists' movement of the time.

Starting in mid-1912, Van Doesburg had begun to appear as an art critic in the free-floating weekly *Eenheid* [Unity]. His view at this time was that a true artist had to be 'a religious figure'.⁴² Late in 1912, he devoted attention to an exhibition of the Modern Art Circle in which work by contemporary French artists was also on display. He took advantage of the occasion to deploy a general view on contemporary art. In his review he considers Impressionism, Neo-Impressionism and Luminism – he does not even mention Futurism and Cubism – to have degenerated into

‘servitude to form’ at the cost of ‘meaning’, and calls the painters who were thought to belong to the movement ‘slaves to the *image*’: ‘We require of modern art that it makes our deepest feelings visible in a clear, monumental form. It does not, however, do that. [...] Art needs an *inner* strength: a soul.’⁴³

Although Cubism and Futurism are not yet mentioned in his review of the Modern Art Circle exhibition, they are mentioned in the text of the play ‘Opstanding’ [Resurrection] that Van Doesburg published in *Eenheid* in the spring of 1913. In the meantime, he had become acquainted with Guillaume Apollinaire’s *Les peintres cubistes* (1913). In the opinion of Van Doesburg’s main character, a painter, all of the movements from Impressionism up to and including Cubism and Futurism were looking for nothing more than beauty: ‘A hunt, an insane hunt for a shadow ... of which no one knows its being: Beauty.’⁴⁴ During the War, moreover, Van Doesburg had written the ‘*simultanéistische spel*’ (simultaneous play) *De stem uit de diepte* [The Voice from the Depths], which might have made him receptive to Lewis’s expressionist drama, *Enemy of the Stars* (1914). Van Doesburg’s choice for ‘soul’ over ‘beauty’ was, however, the complete opposite of *Enemy of the Stars*, which was inspired by Marinetti’s *La conquête des étoiles* (1909) and in which the character Arghol fights the humanism of his adversary Hanp.⁴⁵

Van Doesburg’s opinions about Futurism were also determined by his view that art is the mirror of the soul. In the course of 1912, an exhibition of Italian Futurism could be seen successively in a number of cities in the Netherlands. This exhibition comprised paintings from the collection of the Berlin art dealer, Herwarth Walden.⁴⁶ And in the same year an exhibition of the work of Wassily Kandinsky – one of the prophets of abstract art, whose work would be exhibited in London in March 1913 together with work by Lewis and other Vorticists (*SSG* 123) – was running in several Dutch cities. Van Doesburg devoted no attention to either of these exhibitions. Indeed, in August 1912 Van Doesburg announced a publication against Futurism because the movement promoted ‘criminal art’ with a ‘total contempt for humanity’ as its basis. He called Futurism an art movement that did not belong to painting but rather ‘a field of Pathology’.⁴⁷ In fact, not three months later, he published an argument intended to crush Futurism. In his view, it was backward, immoral, and even criminal: ‘We must therefore [...] consider this phenomenon a hindrance to the progress of humanity’.⁴⁸ It was not until four

years later that he would describe himself as receptive to the importance of Futurism.

At the time of his mobilization, Van Doesburg approached abstract art from a moral point of view, inspired by Tolstoy. Just before the War he had become acquainted with Kandinsky's *Über das Geistige in der Kunst* (1912) and was especially sympathetic to Kandinsky's plea for the 'spiritualisation' of painting.⁴⁹ In the following years his appreciation of Kandinsky went back and forth, culminating in a deferential six-part article in which he characterized Kandinsky as a great painter who had integrated 'Form' and 'Idea'.⁵⁰ At the close of his piece, he called Mondrian, Huszár, and Van der Leek Dutch examples of painters who epitomized the new ideas in painting. All three would be involved in founding *De Stijl* in 1917.

Inspired by Kandinsky, Van Doesburg gradually began to present himself as a proponent of modern art. Van Doesburg's appreciation for the -isms that were *en vogue* began to shift, and the speed with which this happened is striking. Van Doesburg seems to have sensed the spirit of the times perfectly and probably also saw Mondrian's Cubist paintings for the first time, which were being shown in The Hague in June 1914. Rather presumptuously and not entirely truthfully, he later wrote to Katherine Dreier to express frustration that his work was not present in the *International Exhibition of Modern Art* that she had organized: "The first abstract paintings were by Van der Leek and me. That was about 1915. Mondrian made at the time Picasso imitations and paintings with black stripes on a white background. Thanks to the council of Van der Leek and me he advanced to colours in a rectangular shape".⁵¹

Prior to the War, Van Doesburg's own work had been fairly traditional and figurative. It was not until around August 1914 that he produced the first painting representative of his new orientation: *Girl with Turban Buttercaps* (*Oeuvre Catalogue*: 393), 'an abstract composition, abstracted from the naturalistic form', as he called it, influenced by Kandinsky.⁵² The war years represented a turning point in his development as a painter. His new insights provided him with enough self-confidence to make his revised opinions known to the public with increasing flair.⁵³ His review of the exhibition of Mondrian, Jan Sluijters, Henri Le Fauconnier, Lodewijk Schelfhout, and Leo Gestel in the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam in 1915 is hereof an example.⁵⁴ His praise for Mondrian's

Composition 10 in Black and White (1915), which Van Doesburg saw at the exhibition, even brought the two painters into contact with each other. The first paintings in which Van Doesburg processed the influence of Cubism, such as *Composition I (Still Life)* (*Oeuvre Catalogue*: 470), date from after this conversation. Moreover, in early 1920 Van Doesburg became the Dutch representative of *La Section d'Or*, the group of French Cubist painters established in 1912 that had found new energy after the War.⁵⁵

In his early literary publications, Van Doesburg expresses himself above all as anti-militarist and anarchist. In September 1915, he wrote to a friend: 'I do not believe that the feeling for Beauty and Poetry can cohabit with barracks air and guns. If Marinetti, the leader of the Futurist movement, thinks that they can, then I say that he does not know what true art is made of.'⁵⁶ However, just as in the case of Kandinsky, Van Doesburg soon changed his view of Futurism from rejecting it to accepting it with open arms. In a number of articles, collected in 1917 as *De nieuwe beweging in de schilderkunst* [*The New Movement in Painting*], Van Doesburg changed his judgment and proposed that Futurism, especially due to Severini, 'has become an artistic expression of great artistic and culture-historical importance.'⁵⁷ In *Drie voordrachten over de nieuwe beeldende kunst* [*Three Lectures about the New Plastic Art*] from 1919, Van Doesburg also incorporated a lecture from late 1917 in which he was once again outspokenly positive about Futurism.⁵⁸

Nonetheless, rather than the visual arts or literature, what interested Van Doesburg in Lewis were his views on architecture. In the field of architecture, Van Doesburg considered himself to be the equal of Oud and others. He wrote, for example, in February 1921 that it was evident from an article by Le Corbusier 'that the concepts already developed starting in 1917 in "De Stijl" about architecture by J. J. P. Oud, Robt. van 't Hoff, v. Doesburg among others are now also beginning to break new ground in France.'⁵⁹ Shortly after Van Doesburg made the acquaintance of Oud, the latter had proposed that they should work together, in response to Van Doesburg's essay *De nieuwe beweging in de schilderkunst*. This collaboration immediately resulted in stained-glass windows, bric mosaic, tile floors, and colour designs by Van Doesburg for a number of Oud's architectural projects.⁶⁰ These were not the only projects that Van Doesburg was involved in. He also made a number of colour designs for interiors and exteriors for Wils, among others.⁶¹ In his view, his use of colour had to make it seem as if all architectural elements were disengaged

from each other. Most important, however, was his involvement in Oud's municipal housing scheme in the Rotterdam district, Spangen. In his first letter to Oud, Van Doesburg had exclaimed: 'It will come as no surprise to you then that I am eager to work with you. You can create a space, an atmosphere around our realised emotions that will do justice to our artistic expression; we can bring your emotion, realised in space and stone, to its full independence precisely by our representation in colour and form.'⁶²

On account of this project, Van Doesburg and Oud would come to disagree about the use of colour in architecture and about the division of responsibility between the visual artist and the architect. In the case of the first housing blocks (1918-20), the cooperation went smoothly and Van Doesburg showed that he had respect for Oud's design in his exterior and interior colour designs. With the next blocks (1919-20), however, Van Doesburg overplayed his hand.⁶³ After his initial enthusiasm, Oud had second thoughts. Oud considered Van Doesburg's encroachment an aestheticism that disturbed the functionality of his housing blocks. Van Doesburg saw that the collaboration was failing and felt as if he was being treated as an ordinary housepainter.⁶⁴ Van Doesburg may have been even more convinced of his abilities because between the two projects with Oud he became involved in an extensive building project in the town of Drachten in the north of the Netherlands, for which he made both interior and exterior colour designs. The architect of the project, C. R. de Boer, was far more docile than Oud and gave Van Doesburg a more or less free hand, because he looked up to him.⁶⁵

Van Doesburg's views about colour in architecture – for both interiors and exteriors – became radicalized, and he began to insist on an almost executive role for the visual artist. 'Colour is of extreme importance to the new architecture. It represents an intrinsic part of the material of expression. Colour renders *visible* the spatial effect for which the architect strives. It is in this way that colour makes architecture *complete* and becomes intrinsic to it', Van Doesburg wrote with reference to his collaboration with De Boer.⁶⁶ In this respect it is striking that in *The Caliph's Design*, as Lewis later recalled, the caliph demands not just a new city to be built overnight, but envisions that this city 'would have been white, and would have looked like sets for a movie about Babylon (designed, perhaps, by le Corbusier)' (RA 169).

Whereas Lewis argued in 'Plain Home Builder: Where is your Vorticist?' (1934) that Vorticism had been, 'in a sense, a *substitute of*

architecture for painting' (CHC 248), Van Doesburg believed that painting was primary. Early in 1920, Van Doesburg wrote in a letter to the Belgian art critic, Roger Avermaete, that 'painting is ahead of architecture'.⁶⁷ Van Doesburg once called his involvement in architecture his '*peinto-architecturales*' work.⁶⁸ His co-operation with De Boer probably gave him an impulse to portray himself more prominently as an architect.⁶⁹ In October 1923, he presented himself with confidence to the outside world when the exhibition *Les Architectes du Groupe 'De Stijl'*, organized by Van Doesburg, was held in the art dealer Léonce Rosenberg's Galerie L'Effort Moderne. On display were models of *Hôtel Particulier*, *Maison Particulière*, and *Maison d'Artiste* (1923) that Van Doesburg had designed with the young architect Cornelis van Eesteren.⁷⁰ It was no longer a question of the integration of the work of architects and other artists, but the development of an entirely new spatial concept with a centrifugal arrangement of coloured surfaces.

'It is not possible to rouse Holland to life. I am therefore directing my energy especially abroad', wrote Van Doesburg to Oud, late in April 1920.⁷¹ For that reason he went for a longer period to Berlin and Weimar at the end of 1920 through to the beginning of 1921, where he tried unsuccessfully to find work teaching at the Bauhaus. While in Germany, he was involved in the founding of the *Konstruktivistische Internationale Schöpferische Arbeitsgemeinschaft* [Constructivist International Creative Cooperative]. Subsequently, he attempted, with El Lissitzky and others, to establish the *Konstruktivistische Internationale* [Constructivist International]. Just as with *La Section d'Or*, there do not seem to have been any English artists involved in either group.

Early in 1921, however, Van Doesburg did make a significant attempt to draw England into his efforts to become involved in what was happening in the international avant-garde. Starting in January 1921, he published, irregularly, the column 'Revue der Avant-Garde' [Overview of the Avant-Garde] in the periodical *Het Getij* [*The Tide*], in which the leading young Dutch writers were united. Van Doesburg of course took advantage of the knowledge he had gained with his columns 'Rondblik' and 'Ontvangen Boeken en Tijdschriften' in *De Stijl*. In 'Revue der Avant-Garde', which ran until January 1922, he discussed, successively, France, Germany, Belgium, and Italy. He also tried to get foreign writers to provide a summary of the developments in their countries. The Belgian graphic artist Jos Leonard contributed a letter from Flanders a number of

times; the French Dadaist writer Renée Dunan did the same for France, and the German art critic F. M. Huebner for Germany. Van Doesburg's wish list included Austria (Anna Nussbaum), Italy (Mario Dessy), and Spain (Salvat Papaseit).

On the basis of a list of addresses that Van Doesburg made for this purpose, he seems to have thought of Lewis for England initially.⁷² At the beginning of December 1920, he sent him an invitation and immediately added an issue of *De Stijl*, but his letter did not reach Lewis in time.⁷³ For that reason, Van Doesburg tried Sacheverell Sitwell in early February 1921, about whom he had heard from Donas. The next day, however, he received Lewis's letter of acceptance, promising a frequent report on the 'literary happenings in this particularly stagnant city'.⁷⁴ Lewis considered himself to be 'in an excellent position to note the flickers of a painful returning consciousness' and was happy to write about it on a monthly basis.⁷⁵ When Van Doesburg then proposed that Sitwell and Lewis contribute alternatively, Lewis withdrew in favour of Sitwell. Van Doesburg had apparently sent Sitwell a copy of *De Stijl* too, because when the latter submitted his first contribution, he no longer referred to *Het Getij*, but tacitly transferred his contribution to *De Stijl* ('De Stizl'). Van Doesburg had no problem with this and *Het Getij* was pushed aside.⁷⁶ Concerning Lewis's offer to take over if Sitwell should fail to deliver, Van Doesburg clearly never responded.

In the announcement of the new periodical *Coterie* in *De Stijl*, Van Doesburg refers to the 'Cubist' Lewis as 'the witty author of "The Caliph's Design"' in which, among other things, the architects are urged to the radical destruction of the old order.⁷⁷ And in an informative article about architecture periodicals in *De Stijl*, he sarcastically attacks Oud, who had since fallen from grace, with Lewis's battle cry 'Architects! Where is your Vortex?', because he had betrayed 'what architects like van 't Hoff, Wils, Oud himself and other contributors to "De Stijl" (1917-1918) had proclaimed'.⁷⁸

Despite his enthusiasm for *The Caliph's Design*, Van Doesburg did not acquaint himself further with Lewis's work. Concerning Lewis's pre-war visual art, he did not say a thing. And it is an open question whether he knew that Lewis felt that 'the geometrics which had interested me so exclusively before' now seemed 'bleak and empty' (RA 129) and was inclined, after the war, to a more realistic art. Van Doesburg was probably also unaware of Lewis's novel *Tarr* (1918). And he apparently missed

Lewis's play *Enemy of the Stars*, which appeared in the first issue of *BLAST*, although it is now considered a key modernist text.⁷⁹ *Tarr*, too, ought to have been of interest to Van Doesburg, even if only because he himself had cautiously begun to write innovative prose in 1916.⁸⁰ Early in 1920, Mondrian, Kok, and Van Doesburg would publish a manifesto about literature in *De Stijl* in which one could read: 'the words placed neatly beneath one another, the barren *frontal* sentence structure in which the former realists expressed experiences unique to themselves are undisputably insufficient and impotent to express the collective experiences of our time'.⁸¹ The manifesto was followed in *De Stijl* by German and French translations, but revealingly enough, not an English one. In the period following the publication of the manifesto, Van Doesburg sought publicity with attention-drawing avant-gardist and typographically striking 'X-images' and other poems that he published under the name I.K. Bonset. He carefully kept the identity behind the pseudonym secret, but he did function as an intermediary when someone wanted to contact Bonset. In August 1920, Van Doesburg began to publish *Het andere gezicht* [*The Other Face*] – a series of aphoristic prose fragments – in *De Stijl* under the same pseudonym; he resumed the work in 1926, after an interval of several years, as *het andere gezicht: abstracte, sur-humanistische roman* [*the other face: abstract, sur-humanistic novel*].

In May 1921, under a second pseudonym, Aldo Camini, Van Doesburg began the essayist novel, *Caminoscopia: 'n Antiphylosofische levensbeschouwing zonder draad of systeem* [*Caminoscopia: An Anti-Philosophical View of Life Without Any Thread or System*] in *De Stijl*: 'in order to use the word in its solid and most elementary form, so that it continuously forms images, I was dependent on prose', he wrote in a retrospective.⁸² His literary products were accompanied by a series of programmatic essays. In one of them he wrote: 'In literature, people have in this way, in order to achieve an image-producing procedure, with the conquest of an "imagination dynamique", had first to destroy the notion of meaning of the word, the psychological significance and the technical syntax.'⁸³ This was more ambitious than Lewis, who later wrote that while writing *Tarr*, it became clear to him 'words and syntax were not susceptible of transformation into abstract terms, to which process the visual arts lent themselves quite readily' (RA 129). Shortly after Van Doesburg resumed *het andere gezicht*, Lewis rewrote *Tarr* in favour of a more general readership less accustomed to the modernistic idiom.⁸⁴ Analogously to the Neo-Plasticism (or 'Nieuwe Beelding' in Dutch) in painting, Van Doesburg saw

his literary texts as ‘*Nieuwe woordbeelding*’ (new word-plasticism).⁸⁵ Neither his poems nor his prose, nor even his theoretical essays appeared in book form during Van Doesburg’s life.

In the April issue of 1921, *De Stijl* announced receipt of Lewis’s new periodical, *The Tyro*. Although Lewis emphatically no longer identified himself as a Vorticist, he saw that periodical, just like *The Caliph’s Design*, as ‘another *Blast* [...]’. *The Tyro* (two numbers of which appeared) might be regarded as *Blasts* number four and five’ (*WLA* 87). In both publications, Lewis argued that culture should be the responsibility of radical artists who would exert influence on society with their ideas.⁸⁶ To that extent, they were in line with the ambitions of *De Stijl*. On the reverse of the back cover of the second issue of *The Tyro*, an advertisement appeared for *De Stijl* (‘The well-known Dutch review of radical art. All the avant garde activities of Holland gathered up in this paper’), on the same page as advertisements for Le Corbusier’s *L’Esprit Nouveau*, the London Poetry Bookshop, and a Parisian art dealer. Van Doesburg took a quotation from an essay that Lewis contributed to the second issue of *The Tyro* for his Dadaist periodical *Mécano*, which began to appear in February 1922: ‘The game of cricket or billiards is an ingenious test of our relative, but indeed quite clumsy and laughable, prowess. These games depend for their motive on the physical difficulties that our circumscribed extension and capacities entail. It is out of the discrepancy between *absolute* equilibrium, power, and so on, of which our mind is conscious, and the pitiable reality, that the stuff of these games is made. Art is cut out of a similar substance’ (*TY* 25).⁸⁷

With the promises of Sitwell and Lewis, Van Doesburg saw possibilities for his own work in England. In the autumn of 1922, he advised Maurits van Essche, his Belgian publisher at the time, to make contact with the Poetry Bookshop to establish an outlet for his (French language) *Classique – baroque – moderne* (1921).⁸⁸ Harold Monro, the owner of the bookshop and a friend of Goldring, had published the periodical *The Chapbook* since 1919, the appearance of which was faithfully announced in *De Stijl*. Monro was closely involved with Lewis and his circle.

Late in 1923, due to inflation in Germany, which had risen to an extreme level, Van Doesburg moved to Paris, the city that had become Mondrian’s permanent home in 1919. The receptivity to their ideas there was considerable. By embracing Dadaism, with which he had become

acquainted only late in 1919, Van Doesburg came into contact with Tristan Tzara, who introduced him to a number of important players in the Paris art world. But unlike Tzara, Van Doesburg remained on the sidelines of the circle of English-speaking expats in Paris, although he did make the closer acquaintance of the Americans Man Ray, Malcolm Cowley, Jane Heap, and Ezra Pound, who had arrived there by way of London.⁸⁹ The only person he became more closely involved with was the composer Georg Antheil, whom he had met previously in Berlin and who became a contributor to *De Stijl*.

Van Doesburg's ambitions in fact lay beyond Berlin, Paris, or London, because in mid-September 1921 he had already written to Oud: 'In fact it's no good anywhere in Europe. I'd most like to just go to *America*, once and for all.'⁹⁰ Despite his meetings with Goldring and the intervention of Donas, England remained *terra incognita* for Van Doesburg. In an important series of articles on attempts at innovation in architecture, published in the architecture periodical *Het Bouwbedrijf* [*The Construction Business*] beginning in October 1924, he discussed France, Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Soviet Russia, Italy, Spain, and Yugoslavia. Not a word about the United Kingdom.⁹¹ Theoretical texts by Van Doesburg appeared, in translation, in German, French, and numerous East and South European periodicals, but only in 1927 did he grace the English with a summary of recent Dutch innovative art in the small periodical *Ray*, edited by the painter-poet Sidney Hunt, who was above all Europe- and Cubist-oriented.⁹²

Van Doesburg's lack of further interest in his English brother-artists was probably the result of disappointment. In the announcement for *Coterie*, in which he had called Lewis such a 'witty writer', his judgment of England was uncompromising:

it would appear that the nationalistic-introverted individualism of the English renders large aesthetic activity impossible once and for all. After Douglas Goldring's visit to our Editorial board to establish a closer bond between the modern English and Dutch, we had expected activity directed more at collective development. This applies, by the way, not only to England ... The much-touted internationalism consists – we speak from experience – of little more than words. (The Dada family excepted.) The international

revolution in the politics of art – if we can call it that for once – is merely in its first stage and the platitude ‘international’ is usually intended to promote national interests.⁹³

Notes

¹ With thanks to Herman van Bergeijk and Hans Janssen. Translation: Kate Eaton.

² For *De Stijl* and the movement of the same name, see: Paul Overy, *De Stijl* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1991); Michael White, *De Stijl and Dutch Modernism* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2003); Hans Janssen and Michael White, *The Story of De Stijl: Mondrian to Van Doesburg* (New York: Abrams, 2011); and Sascha Bru, “‘The Will to Style’: The Dutch Contribution to the Avant-Garde”, in Peter Brooker *et al.* (eds), *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines – Volume III, Europe 1880-1940: Part I* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013): 293-306.

³ Gladys Fabre and Doris Wintgens Hötte (eds), *Van Doesburg and the International Avant-Garde: Constructing a New World* (London: Tate, 2009).

⁴ Sjoerd van Faassen and Hans Renders, ‘Theo van Doesburg en *The Little Review*: Een mislukt avontuur in Amerika’, *Eigenbouwer*, 2 (2014): 48-69.

⁵ See also Sascha Bru, ‘Lewis and the European Avant-Gardes’, in Tyrus Miller (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Wyndham Lewis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015): 19-31.

⁶ A. B. Loosjes-Terpstra, *Moderne kunst in Nederland 1900-1914* (Utrecht: Veen-Reflex, 2nd edition, 1987); Jan van Adrichem, *De ontvangst van de moderne kunst in Nederland 1910-2000: Picasso als pars pro toto* (Amsterdam: Prometheus, 2010).

⁷ Jeffrey Meyers, *The Enemy: A Biography of Wyndham Lewis* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980), 61-2.

⁸ J. R. van Stuwe Hzn, ‘Oorlogskunst’, *De Nieuwe Gids*, 33.6 (June 1918): 966-74, at 967.

⁹ ‘Daarvoor zou een *volstrekte* zuiverheid van beginsel moeten bestaan; een *kennen* en *in-voelen* van de nieuwe geestelijke behoeften der menschheid van onzen tijd.’ Theo van Doesburg, ‘Schilderkunst. Naar aanleiding der eerste tentoonstelling van de Leidsche Kunstclub “De Sphinx” te Leiden, 18-31 Jan. 1917’, *Eenheid*, 348 (3 February 1917).

¹⁰ Sjoerd van Faassen and Hans Renders, ‘Theo van Doesburg en de oprichting van *De Stijl*’, in Hans Janssen (ed.), *Piet Mondriaan and Bart van der Leek: De uitvinding van de nieuwe kunst: Laren 1916-1918* (Den Haag: Gemeentemuseum / Zwolle: WBooks 2016): 115-45.

¹¹ Gino Severini, *The Life of a Painter: The Autobiography of Gino Severini*, trans. Jennifer Franchina (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), 119.

¹² Dolf Broekhuizen (ed.), *Robert van 't Hoff: Architect of a New Society* (Rotterdam: NAI Publishers / Otterlo: Kröller-Müller Museum, 2010): 11-13.

¹³ William Lipke, *David Bomberg: A Critical Study of His Life and Work* (London: Evelyn, Adams & MacKay, 1967), 48.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 48-9; Richard Cork, *David Bomberg* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1987), 131-2.

¹⁵ Richard Cork, *Vorticism and Abstract Art in the First Machine Age – Volume 1: Origins and Development* (London: Gordon Frasier, 1976), 193. Mondrian's *Composition in Line and Color* (1913), now *Composition No. II*, mentioned by Cork was not exhibited at the exhibition; they were *The Tree (A)* (*Arbre*, 1913), *Composition No. VIII* (*Arbre en fleurs*, 1913), and *Composition No. XI* (*Femme*, 1913). See Hans Janssen, *Mondrian and Cubism: Paris 1912-1914* (London: Ridinghouse / The Hague: Gemeentemuseum, 2014), 39, and footnote 98.

¹⁶ August Hans den Boef and Sjoerd van Faassen, *Van De Stijl en Het Overzicht tot De Driehoek: Belgisch-Nederlandse netwerken in het modernistische interbellum* (Antwerpen-Apeldoorn: Garant, 2013), 27-56.

¹⁷ Douglas Goldring, *The Nineteen Twenties: A General Survey and Some Personal Memories* (London: Nicholson & Watson, 1945), 127.

¹⁸ Douglas Goldring, *Odd Man Out: The Autobiography of a 'Propaganda Novelist'* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1936), 243-4.

¹⁹ Bru, in 'Lewis and the European Avant-Gardes', only mentions a visit by Goldring to Van Doesburg in 1921. In 'Rondblik. Engeland', *De Stijl*, 4.2 (Febr. 1921): 27-9 the reception of *BLAST* is not mentioned, despite what Bru writes. In Van Doesburg's library, no copies of *BLAST* were found.

²⁰ Redactie [Theo van Doesburg], 'Overzichtelijke beschouwing bij de intrede van den derde jaargang', *De Stijl*, 3.1 (November 1919): 1-5, at 2.

²¹ 'Goldring n'a pas beaucoup évolué dans l'art moderne'. Letter Marthe Donas to Theo van Doesburg, 16 September 1920. Cited in Marguerite Tuijn, "'C'est donc partout la même chose", 'Marthe Donas verkent de Engelse kunstwereld voor Theo van Doesburg', *Jong Holland*, 15.1 (1999): 32-41, at 38.

²² Cork, *David Bomberg*, 131.

²³ For an earlier consideration of the contact between Lewis and Van Doesburg, see: Andrew Wilson, 'The Letters of Wyndham Lewis to Theo van Doesburg, 1921', *Enemy News*, 25 (1987): 14-22. We have not been able to determine which issue(s) of *The Daily Mirror* Lewis had sent or which issue(s) Van Doesburg was aiming at in his hereafter cited letter to J. J. P. Oud. See www.ukpressonline.co.uk and www.bl.uk/subjects/news-media.

This probably has to do with Lewis's futuristic painting of Lady Drogheda's dining room, which received extensive attention in March 1914 in *The Sketch* (4 March) and the *Illustrated London News* (7 March). See *SSG* 145-6. Just like other daily newspapers, *The Daily Mirror* distributed small posters, approximately 35x50 cm, of the front pages that could be hung up in the kiosks.

²⁴ 'Wat zeg je wel van dat engelsche futuristische "Home". Ik ontving het tegelijk met een heel interessant boekje van Wyndham Lewis "Architects! Where is your Vortex!?", dat de schrijver mij stuurde met eenige Mirror's en een straataffiche.' Letter Theo van Doesburg to J. J. P. Oud, 9 November 1919. The Hague, RKD – Netherlands Institute for Art History, 0408.149.

²⁵ Julian Hanna, "'With Expletive of Whirlwind": Wyndham Lewis and the Arrival of the Avant-Garde Manifesto in England, 1913-1922', *The Journal of Wyndham Lewis Studies*, 2 (2011): 23-44, at 32.

²⁶ Letter Wyndham Lewis to Theo van Doesburg, 6 Febr. 1921. The Hague, RKD – Netherlands Institute for Art History, 0408.862.

²⁷ 'Ik las in het werkje van Lewis een zeer prettig artikel tegen de sky-scrapers en de city-architectuur in London. Lewis gaat vreselijk te keer tegen de architecten en hij zegt o.m. dat hij ze allemaal wel in een groote pot zou willen stampen met den deksel er op. De eerste kunstenaar-architect in London moet nog komen. Ik hoop het spoedig wel te lezen en dan moet [ik] hem maar eens antwoorden in *De Stijl*. Ik popelde van verlangen om die Lewis jouw fabriek te sturen en had hem bijna die tekening, die ik er van heb gestuurd. Het is zoo jammer dat we niet dichter bij elkaar zitten, we konden dan directer frissche, spontane denkbeelden uit voeren. Zou het b.v. niet mogelijk zijn van de fabriek [een] sterke zwart-wit tekening te maken, daarvan lichtdrukken op groot formaat en deze afdrukken de wereld in te sturen bij wijze van manifestatie! Ik voel hier alles voor. De architectuur is hier nog 't best. Voor jouw fabriek zullen alle moderne lui voelen. Overweeg dit plan eens. Het kan met weinig kosten. Die engelsche futurist heeft ook zooiets gewild, wat den vorm betreft, maar het is geheel onharmonisch. Je moet het ook zien als contra beweging op de rotzooi in Engeland, waar ze nog vast zitten aan het knusse: home.' Letter Theo van Doesburg to J.J.P. Oud, 9 November 1919. The Hague, RKD – Netherlands Institute for Art History, 0408.149.

²⁸ Ed Taverne *et al.*, J. J. P. Oud, 1890-1863: *Poetic Functionalism: The Complete Works* (Rotterdam: NAI Publishers, 2001): no. 32. In his copy of *The Caliph's Design*, Van Doesburg saved a photo of Oud's design for the first housing blocks in Spangen.

²⁹ *Terraced house with external elevators* (1914) that was illustrated in Sant'Elia's *Manifesto dell'architettura futurista*. See Luciano Caramel and Alberto Longatti, *Sant'Elia: The Complete Works* (New York: Rizzoli, 1988), 252.

³⁰ Robt. van 't Hoff, 'Aanteekeningen bij Bijlage XX', *De Stijl*, 2.10 (August 1919): 114-16. For Sant'Elia's *Manifesto dell'architettura futurista* (July 1914), see Umbro Apollonio (ed.), *Futurist Manifestos* (New York: The Viking Press, 1973): 160-72.

³¹ Theo van Doesburg, 'Terrassenarchitectuur [Review of Richards Döcker, *Terrassentyp*]', *Het Bouwbedrijf*, 7.1 (3 January 1930): 18-20, at 18.

³² J. J. P. Oud, 'Architectonische beschouwingen bij Bijlage III', *De Stijl*, 3.3 (January 1920): 25-7. Chiattoné's radio-station and a corner solution for a housing complex illustrated Oud's article.

³³ Theo van Doesburg, *Klassiek – Barok – Modern* (Antwerpen: De Sikkel, 1920): nos. VII t/m/ XVI. A French translation of this text also appeared: *Classique – Baroque – Moderne* (Antwerpen: De Sikkel / Paris: Léonce Rosenberg, 1921).

³⁴ Respectively Andrzej Gąsiorek, "'Architecture or revolution'?: Le Corbusier and Wyndham Lewis', in Peter Brooker and Andrew Thacker (eds), *Geographies of Modernism: Literature, Culture, Spaces* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005): 136-45; and Kate Armond, 'Wyndham Lewis and the Parables of Expressionist Architecture', *Modernist Cultures*, 9.2 (Autumn 2004): 282-303.

³⁵ Theo van Doesburg, 'De taak der nieuwe architectuur', *Bouwkundig Weekblad*, 41.50 (11 December 1920): 278-80, 41.51 (18 December 1920): 281-5, and 42.1 (8 January 1921): 8-18; 'De beteekenis der mechanische esthetiek voor de architectuur en de andere vakken', *Bouwkundig Weekblad*, 42.25 (18 June 1921): 164-6, 42.28 (9 July 1921): 179-83 and 42.33 (13 August 1921): 219-21.

³⁶ Sjarel Ex, *Theo van Doesburg en het Bauhaus. De invloed van De Stijl in Duitsland en Midden-Europa* (Utrecht: Centraal Museum, 2000): 20-23.

³⁷ Theo van Doesburg, 'De beteekenis van de kleur in binnen- en buitenarchitectuur', *Bouwkundig Weekblad*, 44.21 (26 May 1923): 232-4, at 232. The English translation of this article in Joost Baljeu, *Theo van Doesburg* (New York: Macmillan, 1974): 137-40, at 137, simplifies the Dutch original.

³⁸ The Hague, RKD – Netherlands Institute for Art History, 0408.ARC/Does/Box VIII. The markings are reproduced in Wilson, 'The Letters of Wyndham Lewis to Theo van Doesburg, 1921', 22.

³⁹ Peter J. H. Pauwels, *Marthe Donas: A Woman Artist in the Avant-Garde* (Antwerp: Ludion, 2015), 113 and 131. The letter (in French) to Van Doesburg, of 16 September 1920, in which Donas reports on the contacts that she had made in England, is published in its entirety in Marguerite Tuijn, "'C'est donc partout la même chose": Marthe Donas verkent de Engelse kunstwereld voor Theo van Doesburg', *Jong Holland*, 15.1 (1999): 32-41, at 38-41.

⁴⁰ [Theo van Doesburg], 'Rondblik. Engeland', *De Stijl*, 4.2 (February 1921): 27-9, at 29.

⁴¹ A very summary, dated biography of Van Doesburg exists in English: Baljeu, *Theo van Doesburg*.

⁴² Theo van Doesburg, 'Proeve tot nieuwe kunstcritiek [5]: Religie en Kunst II', *Eenheid*, 116 (24 August 1912).

⁴³ 'Wij eischen van de moderne Kunst dat zij onze diepste gevoelens zichtbaar maakt in een klaren monumentalen vorm. Doch dat doet zij niet. [...] De kunst heeft een *innerlijke* kracht noodig: een ziel.' Theo van Doesburg, 'Over moderne kunst: Naar aanleiding van de tentoongestelde werken door de "Moderne Kunstkring"', in het Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam 1912', *Eenheid*, 129 (23 November 1912).

⁴⁴ 'Een jacht, een waanzinnige jacht achter een schaduw aan... waarvan niemand het wezen kent: de Schoonheid'. Theo van Doesburg, 'Opstanding: Een historisch gedachtenspel van Schoonheid en Liefde in één bedrijf', *Eenheid*, 147 (29 March 1913). The piece was published in three parts in *Eenheid*, 146 (22 March 1913), 147 (29 March 1913), and 148 (5 April 1913). In the English translation in H. Hedrick, 'New translations of Van Doesburg's writings', *The Structurist*, 9 (1969): 75-86, the second part is missing. See also Hannah L. Hedrick, *Theo van Doesburg: Propagandist and Practioner of the Avant-Garde, 1909-1923* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1980), 16-17.

⁴⁵ Andrzej Gąsiorek, *Wyndham Lewis and Modernism* (Tavistock: Northcote House, 2004), 17-19.

⁴⁶ In the spring of 1912, Walden had made room in his gallery Der Sturm for a travelling exhibition that the Futurists had organized. In March of that year, the exhibition had impressed London. See Lilli Weissweiler, *Futuristen auf Europa-Tournee: Zur Vorgeschichte, Konzeption und Rezeption der Ausstellungen futuristische Malerei (1911-1913)* (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2009), 139-52.

⁴⁷ Theo van Doesburg, 'Proeve tot nieuwe kunstcritiek [5]: Religie en Kunst II', *Eenheid*, 116 (24 August 1912).

⁴⁸ 'Daarom [...] moeten wij dit verschijnsel beschouwen als een belemmering in de voorwaartsche beweging der menschheid.' Theo van Doesburg, 'Futurisme', *Eenheid*, 127 (9 November 1912).

⁴⁹ Hans Renders and Sjoerd van Faassen, 'Ik zocht den dood en vond het Leven: een keerpunt in Tilburg. Theo van Doesburg 1914-1915', *Zacht Lawijd*, 13.3 (2014): 124-59, at 137-9.

⁵⁰ Theo van Doesburg, 'De ontwikkeling der moderne schilderkunst', *Eenheid*, 312 (27 May 1916), 315 (17 June), 316 (24 June), 319 (15 July), 320 (22 July), and 323 (12 August). The piece represents a return to a lecture originally delivered on 30 October 1915 and was later included in Theo van

Doesburg, *Drie voordrachten over de nieuwe beeldende kunst* (Amsterdam: Maatschappij voor Goede en Goedkoope Lectuur, 1919): 5-32, at 27 and 32.

⁵¹ 'Die erste abstracte Bilder (in Farbe) waren von mir und Benjamin [sic] Van der Leck. Das war um 1915. Mondriaan machte damals Picasso-imitationen und Schwarze Streifenbilder auf Weissen Grund. Durch die Beratung Van der Leck und mir ging er zu Farbe in rechteckigen Form über'. Letter Theo van Doesburg to Katherine Dreier, 5 May [1927]. New Haven: Yale University Library, Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, YCAL MSS 101, Box 11, Folder 300. See Katherine Dreier, *Modern Art* (New York: Société Anonyme, 1926), 48.

⁵² Théo van Doesburg, 'Schilderkunst: Van Kompositie tot contra-kompositie', *De Stijl* 7.73/74 (1926–1927 [May 1926]): 17-27, 17. For Van Doesburg's work, consult: *Theo van Doesburg: Oeuvre Catalogue*, ed. Els Hoek [et al.] (Utrecht: Centraal Museum / Otterlo: Kröller-Müller Museum, 2000), henceforth: *Oeuvre Catalogue*.

⁵³ Renders and Van Faassen, 'Ik zocht den dood en vond het Leven'.

⁵⁴ Theo van Doesburg, 'Kunstkritiek. Moderne kunst. Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam. Expositie Mondriaan, Leo Gestel, Sluifers [sic], Schelfhout, Le Fauconnier', *Eenheid*, 283 (6 November 1915). The section about Mondrian is in English translation in Baljeu, *Theo van Doesburg*, 105-7. Mondrian, Sluifers, and Schelfhout are among the founders of the Moderne Kunst Kring.

⁵⁵ Doris Wintgens Hötte, 'Van Doesburg Tackles the Continent: Passion, Drive & Calculation', in Fabre and Wintgens Hötte (eds), *Van Doesburg and the International Avant-Garde*: 10-19.

⁵⁶ 'Ik geloof niet dat het gevoel voor Schoonheid en Poëzie samen kan gaan met kazerne lucht en kanonnen. Als Marinetti de leider der Futuristen-beweging meent dat het wel kan, dan zeg ik dat hij niet weet waaruit echte kunst ontstaat.' Theo van Doesburg to Antony Kok, 8 September 1915. Cited in: Alied Ottevanger (ed.), *'De Stijl overal absolute leiding': De briefwisseling tussen Theo van Doesburg en Antony Kok* (Bussum: Thoth, 2008), 83.

⁵⁷ Theo van Doesburg, 'De nieuwe beweging in de schilderkunst [4]', *De Beweging*, 12.8 (August 1916). Cited in *De nieuwe beweging in de schilderkunst* (Delft: J. Waltman, 1917), 30.

⁵⁸ 'De stijl der toekomst', in Theo van Doesburg, *Drie voordrachten over de nieuwe beeldende kunst* (Amsterdam: Maatschappij voor Goede en Goedkoope Lectuur, 1919): 49-64, at 59-60.

⁵⁹ 'Rondblik. Frankrijk. – "L'Esprit Nouveau"', *De Stijl*, 4.2 (Febr. 1921): 29-31, at 30. Van Doesburg was reacting to Le Corbusier's 'Trois rappels à M. M. les architectes'.

⁶⁰ Mayor's residence in Broek in Waterland (1916-17), Villa Allegonda in Katwijk aan Zee (1916-17), and Holiday house De Vonk in Noordwijkerhout (1917-19). *Oeuvre Catalogue*: 500, 530, 569.

⁶¹ *Oeuvre Catalogue*: 554, 560, 610, 611, and 642.

⁶² 'Het zal U dus niet verwonderen dat ik eene samenwerking met U zeer begeer. Gij kunt om onze gerealiseerde ontroeringen een ruimte, een sfeer scheppen, die onze kunstuiting tot haar recht zal doen komen, wij kunnen uwe door ruimte en steen gerealiseerde ontroering tot haar volle zelfstandigheid brengen juist door onze kleurige en vormelijke verbeelding.' Letter Theo van Doesburg to J. J. P. Oud, 1 June 1916. Paris, Fondation Custodia, 1972-A.502.

⁶³ Ed Taverne *et al.*, *J. J. P. Oud, 1890-1963: Poetic Functionalist: The Complete Works* (Rotterdam: NAI Publishers, 2001): nos. 39 and 40. See also *Oeuvre Catalogue*: 631, 671.

⁶⁴ Concerning the breach between Van Doesburg and Oud that (temporarily) came to exist as a result of this, see Ed Taverne and Dolf Broekhuizen, 'De dissidente architecten: J. J. P. Oud, Jan Wils en Robert van 't Hoff', in Carel Blotkamp (ed.), *De vervoljaren van De Stijl 1922-1932* (Amsterdam / Antwerpen: L. J. Veen, 1996): 365-96, at 366-81.

⁶⁵ *Oeuvre Catalogue*: 670, 672.

⁶⁶ Theo van Doesburg, 'De beteekenis van de kleur in binnen- en buitenarchitectuur', *Bouwkundig Weekblad*, 44.21 (26 May 1923): 232-4, at 232. An English translation of the original that differs in some places from this one in Joost Baljeu, *Theo van Doesburg* (New York: Macmillan, 1974): 137-40, at 137.

⁶⁷ Letter Theo van Doesburg to Roger Avermaete, [Spring 1920]. Brussels, Archives et Musée de la Littérature, 4064-903.v. 'L'art monumental', that treated Oud's Vakantiehuis De Vonk, appeared in *Lumière*, 1.9 (April 1920): 142-3, and had appeared earlier under the title 'Aanteekeningen over monumentale kunst' in *De Stijl*, 2.1 (November 1918): 10-12.

⁶⁸ Letter Theo van Doesburg to Enrico Prampolini, 1 March 1921. Cited in: Marguerite Tuijn, *Mon cher ami... Lieber Does... Theo van Doesburg en de praktijk van de internationale avant-garde. Een beschouwing over de avant-garde in de jaren 1916-1930* (Amsterdam: Diss. Universiteit van Amsterdam, 2003), 293.

⁶⁹ For Van Doesburg's development as architect, see Cees Boekraad, 'Style and Anti-Style', in *Het Nieuwe Bouwen: Neo-Plasticism in Architecture. De Stijl* (Delft: Delft University Press / The Hague: Haags Gemeentemuseum, 1983): 50-79; and Alan Doig, *Theo van Doesburg. Painting into Architecture, Theory into Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

⁷⁰ See the reconstruction of this exhibition in Yves-Alain Bois and Bruno Reichlin (eds), *De Stijl et l'architecture en France* (Liège-Bruxelles: Pierre

Mardaga, 1985): 139-74. For Van Doesburg's and Van Eesteren's designs, see also *Oeuvre Catalogue*: 702.

⁷¹ 'Holland is absoluut niet tot nieuw leven te wekken. Ik richt mij dan ook speciaal tot het buitenland.' Letter Theo van Doesburg to J. J. P. Oud [late April 1920]. Paris, Fondation Custodia, 1972-A.618.

⁷² The Hague, RKD – Netherlands Institute for Art History, 0408.865.

⁷³ The Hague, RKD – Netherlands Institute for Art History, 0408.862 and 0408.864. Van Doesburg's correspondence with both Lewis and Sitwell is reproduced in its entirety in Wilson, 'The Letters of Wyndham Lewis to Theo van Doesburg, 1921', 18-21.

⁷⁴ Letter Wyndham Lewis to Theo van Doesburg, 6 Febr. 1921. The Hague, RKD – Netherlands Institute for Art History, 0408.864.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ 'Rondblik. Engeland — Our London Letter door Sacheverell Sitwell', *De Stijl*, 4.5 (June 1921): 76-9.

⁷⁷ 'Rondblik. Engeland', *De Stijl*, 4.2 (Febr. 1921): 27-9, at 29.

⁷⁸ 'Alphabetische informatie. Tijdschriften – boeken – artikelen enz.', *De Stijl* 6.8 ([September] 1924): 107-12, at 109-10.

⁷⁹ Gąsiorek, *Wyndham Lewis and Modernism*, 17.

⁸⁰ For Van Doesburg's literary work, see Hannah L. Hedrick, *Theo van Doesburg: Propagandist and Practioner of the Avant-Garde, 1909-1923* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1980) and *Oeuvre Catalogue*: 567-732.

⁸¹ '[D]e netjes onder elkaar geplaatste woorden, deze dorre *frontale* zinsbouw waarin de vroegere realisten hun tot zichzelf beperkte ervaringen uitdrukten, zijn ten eenenmale ontoereikend en onmachtig om de collectieve ervaringen van onzen tijd tot uitdrukking te brengen'. Theo van Doesburg, Piet Mondriaan en Antony Kok, 'Manifest II van "De Stijl" 1920, De literatuur', *De Stijl*, 3.6 (April 1920): 49-50. The typography of the citation has been adapted. Kok was not involved with the content of the manifesto.

⁸² '[O]m het woord in zijn vasten en meest elementairen vorm te gebruiken, zoodat het constant beeldt, was ik op het prosa aangewezen'. I.K. Bonset, 'Van het woord en de letterkunde 1917-1927', *De Stijl*, 7.79/84 (1927): 10-13, at 13.

⁸³ 'Zoo heeft men in de letterkunde, om het tot een beeldend procédé te brengen, met de verovering van een "imagination dynamique" allereerst de begripsvoorstelling van het woord, de psychologische beteekenis en de technische syntaxis moeten verwoesten.' Theo van Doesburg, 'De nieuwe woordbeelding [2]', *Het Getij*, 6.2 (Febr. 1921): 120-28, at 122.

⁸⁴ Lise Jaillant, *Cheap Modernism: Expanding Markets, Publishers' Series and the Avant-Garde* (Edinburgh: Edinburg University Press, 2017), 71-93.

⁸⁵ Amongst the Van Doesburg papers is the autograph of his collection of poems *Nieuwe woordbeeldingen (kubistische en expressionistische verzen) door I. K. Bonset (1913-1920)* [*New Word-Plasticisms (cubist and expressionist poems) by I. K. Bonset (1913-1920)*]. The Hague, RKD – Netherlands Institute for Art History, 0408.486; published as I. K. Bonset, *Nieuwe woordbeeldingen. De gedichten van Theo van Doesburg*, ed. K. Schippers (Amsterdam: Em. Querido, 1973). In these poems he practices the prescriptions of the ‘Manifest II van “De Stijl” 1920. De Literatuur’ [‘Manifest II of ‘De Stijl’ 1920. Literature’], *De Stijl*, 3.6 (April 1920): 49-50.

⁸⁶ Paul Jackson, *Great War Modernisms and ‘The New Age’ Magazine* (London: Continuum, 2012), 114.

⁸⁷ Reproduced in *Mécano* no. [2], ‘Blau, Blue, Bleu, Blauw’ ([June] 1922).

⁸⁸ Letter Theo van van Doesburg to Maurice van Essche, 25 October 1922. The Hague, RKD – Netherlands Institute for Art History, 006.117.

⁸⁹ Van Doesburg’s address appears in Pound’s undated notebook. New Haven, Yale University Library, Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, YCAL, Mss. William Bird Ezra Pound Papers, Series III, Personal Papers, Box, folder 129: 1, ‘Mr. Van Doesburg / Chez Mr. Mondrian / Rue de Pépart [sic] 26 (14ème)’ (e-mail Mauro Piccini, 9 January 2017). Considering the address given, Pound’s note must be from 1923, when Van Doesburg stayed with Mondrian in the Rue du Départ while waiting for his own studio. Pound arrived in Paris in mid-April and would remain there, with a few interruptions, until October 1924.

⁹⁰ ‘Feitelijk is het nergens goed in Europa. Ik zou het liefst maar ineens radicaal naar *America* gaan.’ Letter Theo van Doesburg to J. J. P. Oud, 12 September 1921. Paris, Fondation Custodia, 1972-A.555.

⁹¹ Theo van Doesburg, *On European Architecture: Complete Essays from Het Bouwbedrijf 1924-1931*, [ed. Cees Boekraad] (Basel etc.: Birkhäuser Verlag, 1990).

⁹² Theo van Doesburg, ‘The progress of the modern movement in Holland’, *Ray: Art Miscellany: Miscellany of Art, Poetry and Ideas* 1.2 (1927): 31-33. (In the American *The Little Review* 11.1 (Spring 1925): 47-51; resp. 56-59, Van Doesburg had published a similar summary earlier: ‘Evolution of Modern Architecture’, and ‘Literature of the Advance Guard in Holland’.) It would not be possible to see Van Doesburg’s work in England before the exhibition *Abstract and Concrete Art*, open from 10 to 27 May 1939, at the Guggenheim Jeune in London. The exhibition catalogue was published in *London Bulletin* 14 (1939).

⁹³ ‘t Schijnt wel dat het nationalistisch-eenzelvige individualisme der Engelschen een groote aesthetische activiteit ten eenenmale onmogelijk maakt. Na het bezoek van Douglas Goldring aan onze Redactie, met het doel

een inniger verband tusschen de moderne Engelschen en Hollanders te scheppen, hadden wij een meer op collectieve ontwikkeling gerichte activiteit verwacht. Dit geldt trouwens niet alleen Engeland.... Het hoog geroemde internationalisme bestaat — wij spreken hier uit ervaring — grootendeels nog maar uit woorden. (Uitgezonderd bij de familie Dada). De internationale rev. kunstpolitiek, — als we het zoo eens mogen betitelen, — verkeert nog maar in haar eerste stadium en de gemeen plaats “internationaal” moet meestal dienen om nationale belangen te behartigen.’ ‘Rondblik. Engeland’, *De Stijl*, 4.2 (Febr. 1921): 27-9, at 29.

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