

67. Much subsequent effort went into smuggling copies of it into the United States. Beach's role as the book's publisher lasted for a decade. Beach declined D.H. Lawrence's request that she publish *Lady Chatterley's Lover*. Privately, she referred to it as a 'sermon-on-the-mount – of Venus': Noel Riley Fitch, *Sylvia Beach and the Lost Generation: A History of Literary Paris in the Twenties and Thirties* (London: Penguin, 1985), p. 280.
68. Fitch, pp. 79, 82.
69. Robert McAlmon married Winifred Ellerman in New York in 1921. She was the lover of Hilda Doolittle (the poet H.D.). He said, in a 1921 letter to William Carlos Williams, 'The marriage is legal only, unromantic, and strictly an agreement': McAlmon and Boyle, p. 45.
70. Marianne Moore, *The Selected Letters of Marianne Moore* (London: Faber, 1998), p. 369.
71. Quentin Bell, *Bloomsbury Recalled* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), p. 158.
72. Gertrude Stein, *Paris France* (London: Brilliance, 1983), p. 111.
73. Benstock, p. 15.
74. Diana Souhami, *Gertrude and Alice* (London: Phoenix, 2000), p. 159.
75. Thomson, p. 179.
76. Souhami, *Gertrude and Alice*, p. 159.
77. Thomson, p. 175.
78. Gertrude Stein, *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1966), pp. 143, 110, 216, 236, 244, 256.
79. Cecil Beaton, *The Glass of Fashion: A Personal History of Fifty Years of Changing Tastes and the People Who Have Inspired Them* (New York: Rizzoli Ex Libris, 2014), p. 148.
80. James Merrill, *A Different Person: A Memoir* (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1994), pp. 74–75.
81. Alice B. Toklas, *The Alice B. Toklas Cookbook* (London: Folio Society, 1993), p. 256.
82. Charles Kaiser, *The Gay Metropolis* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1998), pp. 36–37.
83. Adrian Clark and Jeremy Dronfield, *Queer Saint: The Cultured Life of Peter Watson, Who Shook Twentieth-Century Art and Shocked High Society* (London: John Blake, 2015), p. 237.
84. Charles Henri Ford, *Water from a Bucket: A Diary, 1948–1957* (New York: Turtle Point, 2001), p. 52.
85. Gore Vidal, *Palimpsest: A Memoir* (London: Abacus, 1996), p. 178.
86. Jean Cocteau, *Past Tense: Volume II Diaries* (London: Methuen, 1990), p. 263.
87. Christopher Logue, *Prince Charming: A Memoir* (London: Faber, 1999), p. 158.
88. Raymond Queneau, *Zazie in the Metro* (London: Penguin, 2001), p. 122.
89. Angus Wilson, *Reflections in a Writer's Eye: Writings on Travel* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1986), p. 4.
90. James Baldwin, *Giovanni's Room* (London: Penguin, 2000), p. 30.
91. Baldwin, *Giovanni's Room* pp. 141–142.
92. James Baldwin, 'The Male Prison', in James Baldwin, *The Price of the Ticket: Collected Nonfiction, 1948–1985* (London: Michael Joseph, 1985), pp. 101–105; p. 104.
93. See James Campbell, *Talking at the Gates: A Life of James Baldwin* (London: Faber, 1991), p. 211.
94. James Campbell, p. 138.
95. Barry Miles, *The Beat Hotel: Ginsberg, Burroughs and Corso in Paris, 1957–1963* (London: Atlantic, 2001), p. 230. Much later, on 30 September 1973, when he heard of Auden's death, Ginsberg spent the afternoon weeping.
96. Miles, *The Beat Hotel*, pp. 66, 19, 24.
97. Harold Norse, *Memoirs of a Bastard Angel* (London: Bloomsbury, 1990), pp. 348–349.

Chapter 5: Germany and its Visitors

1. See Guido Glur, *Kunstlehre und Kunstanschauung des Georgekreises und die Aesthetik Oscar Wildes*, special issue of *Sprache und Dichtung* (Neue Folge Band 3), 1957. In his 1929 Preface to St.-John Perse's *Anabasis*, Hugo von Hofmannsthal traces another line of influence: 'New reflexes appear, visions of a violence barely tolerable to the eye; it is a road which leads from Rimbaud's *Bateau Ivre* to the earliest versions of Stefan George. Both share what the Romans describe with the word *incantatio* – the dark and violent self-enchancement induced by the magic of sound and rhythm': St.-John Perse, trans. T.S. Eliot, *Anabasis* (London: Faber, 1959), p. 85.
2. Impressive evidence of this active, systematic involvement in comradeship can be seen in a published portfolio of 175 black-and-white photographs of George's colleagues and disciples,

- including the Stauffenberg brothers (but not including Maximin). See Robert Boehringer, *Mein Bild von Stefan George* (München & Düsseldorf: Helmut Küpper vormals Georg Bondi, 1951).
3. Robert E. Norton, *Secret Germany: Stefan George and His Circle* (Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press, 2002), p. 475.
 4. E.K. Bennett, *Stefan George* (Cambridge: Bowes & Bowes, 1954), pp. 12–13.
 5. E.K. Bennett, p. 34. Mario Pensa makes a similar point: 'Evidentemente la donna non poteva rappresentare per George il tipo di perfezione umana. Al suo posto invece subentra l'uomo': Mario Pensa, *Stefan George: saggio critico* (Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli Editore, 1961), p. 182.
 6. Golo Mann, *Reminiscences and Reflections: Growing Up in Germany* (London: Faber, 1990), p. 165.
 7. George translated the sonnets of Shakespeare – as A.L. Rowse later put it, remounting one of his hobby-horses – 'under the mistaken impression, usual with homosexuals, that they are homosexual': A.L. Rowse, *Homosexuals in History: A Study of Ambivalence in Society, Literature and the Arts* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1977), p. 211.
 8. See Emmy Rosenfeld, *L'Italia nella poesia di Stefan George* (Milano: Malfasi Editore, 1948).
 9. See Norton, pp. 98–107.
 10. H.A. Hammelmann, *Hugo von Hofmannsthal* (London: Bowes & Bowes, 1957), p. 20.
 11. For an early response to George's homoerotic themes, see Peter Hamecher, 'Der männliche Eros im Werke Stefan Georges', *Jahrbuch für Sexuelle Zwischenstufen* 14, 1 (1914), pp. 10–23.
 12. Michael M. Metzger and Erika A. Metzger, *Stefan George* (New York: Twayne, 1972), pp. 35, 132.
 13. The earlier memoir, *My Years of Indiscretion*, lacks mention of Stefan George's homosexuality. It does, though, give an atmospheric sense of Scott's inability to fit in with the high seriousness of the hero-worshippers clustered around the poet. After he committed such indiscretions as saying 'I don't care for Beethoven' at the dinner table, 'altogether the Stefan George circle came to regard me as an unusually outspoken young man who lacked the much admired quality of reverence': Cyril Scott, *My Years of Indiscretion* (London: Mills & Boon, 1924), p. 44.
 14. Cyril Scott, *Bone of Contention: Life Story and Confessions* (London: Aquarian Press, 1969), pp. 103–104.
 15. Joachim Fest, *Plotting Hitler's Death: The German Resistance to Hitler, 1933–1945* (London: Phoenix, 1997), pp. 216, 240.
 16. Even so, Noel Annan has identified George's seriousness as being part of a broader European trend: 'The austere homosexual was to be found more on the Continent than in England: in Montherlant, Wittgenstein, and especially in the Stefan George Kreis in Germany. The spirit was fierce, even puritanical. Those possessed by it wanted to purify society, rid it of worldliness, shabbiness and equivocation and, while idealizing young men, to protect them from the corrupting influence of women': Noel Annan, *Our Age: Portrait of a Generation* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1990), p. 110.
 17. Ernst Morwitz, 'Stefan George', in Stefan George, *Poems* (New York: Schocken Books, 1967), pp. 9–36; p. 15, n.
 18. W.H. Auden and Chester Kallman, *Libretti and Other Dramatic Writings by W.H. Auden, 1939–1973* (London: Faber, 1993), p. 202. Auden, Kallman and Henze dedicated the opera to Hugo von Hofmannsthal. George Steiner takes a similar tone in his characterisation of the Kreis as 'George and his coven', in which homoeroticism 'turned histrionic': George Steiner, *Lessons of the Masters* (Cambridge, Mass. & London: Harvard University Press, 2003), pp. 121, 120. On Marsden Hartley's interest in George, see Jonathan Weinberg, *Speaking for Vice: Homosexuality in the Art of Charles Demuth, Marsden Hartley, and the First American Avant-Garde* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1993), pp. 149–151.
 19. Czesław Miłosz, *Native Realm: A Search for Self-Definition* (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1981), pp. 177, 178, 199–201.
 20. Leslie Mitchell, *Maurice Bowra: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 105, 106.
 21. Christopher Hassall, *Rupert Brooke: A Biography* (London: Faber, 1972), p. 253.
 22. John Lehmann, *In the Purely Pagan Sense* (London: GMP, 1985), p. 95.
 23. Ekbert Faas, *Young Robert Duncan: Portrait of the Poet as Homosexual in Society* (Santa Barbara, California: Black Sparrow, 1983), pp. 172–175, 225. Kantorowicz had written one of the George Kreis's more important texts, a life of the medieval emperor Frederick II. Such biographies by George's disciples had a particular purpose. As Peter Watson puts it, 'their

- intention was to highlight “great men”, especially those from more “heroic” ages, men who had by their will changed the course of events”: Peter Watson, *The German Genius: Europe’s Third Renaissance, the Second Scientific Revolution and the Twentieth Century* (London: Simon & Schuster, 2010), p. 574. As a Jew, Kantorowicz had been forced out of Germany and had made his way to Berkeley by way of Oxford.
24. Forster was scathing about George: ‘he had an intense personal experience which exalted his poetry but did not improve his judgement, and as a result of that experience the circle of friends hardened into a cult, and George almost assumed the airs of a priest. Domineering and humourless, he trained his young disciples and began to send them out into the world’: E.M. Forster, *Two Cheers for Democracy* (Harmondsworth: Middlesex: Penguin, 1965), p. 233.
 25. Dominique Fernandez, *A Hidden Love: Art and Homosexuality* (Munich: Prestel, 2002), p. 256.
 26. Graham Robb, *Strangers: Homosexual Love in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Picador, 2003), p. 132. He went there as a postgraduate student, aged 21, in 1846.
 27. Stefan Zweig, *Confusion: The Private Papers of Privy Councillor R Von D* (London: Pushkin, 2002), pp. 130–131.
 28. Keith Howes, *Outspoken: Keith Howes’ Gay News Interviews, 1976–83* (London: Cassell, 1995), p. 25.
 29. Alfred Döblin, *Berlin Alexanderplatz* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978), pp. 70–71, 72–73.
 30. John Henry Mackay, *The Hustler* (Boston: Alyson, 1985), pp. 99, 130–131. *Puppenjunge*, the term Mackay used for the title of his novel, means ‘doll-boy’. The actual term for a rent-boy was *puppenjunge*, ‘fart-boy’. The latter term is used within the novel, but not on its cover.
 31. Norman Page, *Auden and Isherwood: The Berlin Years* (London: Macmillan, 1998), p. 19. Christopher Isherwood, *Goodbye to Berlin* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1945), p. 119.
 32. Max Spohr was a publisher whose fiction list included Siegfried Moldau’s *Wahreit* (1906), Hans Waldau’s *Aus der Freundschaft sonnigsten Tagen* (1906), Konradin’s *Ein Jünger Platos* (1913) and Theo von Tempesta’s *Aus dem Liebesleben zweier Freunde* (1914). All of the firm’s publications adhered to the Hirschfeld theory of the Third Sex.
 33. Charlotte Wolff, *Magnus Hirschfeld: A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology* (London: Quartet, 1986), p. 33.
 34. Wolff, p. 366.
 35. Christopher Isherwood, *Christopher and His Kind, 1929–1939* (London: Eyre Methuen, 1977), p. 101.
 36. Wolff, p. 414.
 37. Nikos Kazantzakis, *Report to Greco* (London: Faber, 1973), p. 419.
 38. Elias Canetti, *The Torch in My Ear* (London: Granta, 1999), p. 299.
 39. Michael Davidson, *The World, The Flesh and Myself* (London: GMP, 1985), pp. 150, 151, 154. On the male gay scene in Berlin, see Florence Tamagne, *A History of Homosexuality in Europe: Berlin, London, Paris, 1919–1939* (New York: Algora, 2004), pp. 51–53. On the lesbian scene, see pp. 53–57. On mak prostitntima see pp. 58–61.
 40. Robert McAlmon and Kay Boyle, *Being Geniuses Together: 1920–1930* (London: Hogarth, 1984), pp. 97, 98.
 41. Michael De-la-Noy, *Eddy: The Life of Edward Sackville-West* (London: Arcadia, 1999), p. 117.
 42. James Lees-Milne, *Harold Nicolson: A Biography, Vol. 1, 1886–1929* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1980), p. 368.
 43. Rupert Hart-Davis, *Hugh Walpole: A Biography* (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1952), p. 256.
 44. Robin Gibson, *Glyn Philpot, 1884–1937: Edwardian Aesthete to Thirties Modernist* (London: National Portrait Gallery 1984), p. 27. Gibson’s rather overheated catalogue note to the painting itself reiterates the point and takes it further: ‘Nothing is known of what Philpot may have seen in the way of modern German art, but this grotesque scene of pre-war Berlin night life, which might have been culled from the pages of Isherwood, offers evidence of an acquaintance with [George] Grosz and [Otto] Dix ... Philpot was clearly shocked and disturbed by what he saw there ... [I]t is a vivid indictment of the decadence of the times. The dregs of society are observed as if in an icy blue goldfish-bowl, beneath a searing red inferno’ (p. 74). Why, one of them is even reading a book!
 45. Humphrey Carpenter, *W.H. Auden: A Biography* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1981), pp. 96–97.
 46. John Sutherland, *Stephen Spender: The Authorized Biography* (London: Viking, 2004), p. 83.

47. Isherwood, *Christopher and His Kind*, p. 10; Page, p. 41. On another occasion, reviewing Gerald Hamilton's *Mr Norris and I*, Isherwood wrote: 'One of my chief motives for wanting to visit Berlin was that an elderly relative had warned me against it, saying that it was the vilest place since Sodom': Christopher Isherwood, *Exhumations: Stories, Articles, Verses* (London: Methuen, 1966), p. 86. In the same review he wrote: 'The "wickedness" of Berlin's night-life was of a most pitiful kind; the kisses and embraces, as always, had price-tags attached to them, but here the prices were drastically reduced in the cut-throat competition of an overcrowded market. (I remember hearing of a boy who told a psychiatrist quite seriously that he was "homosexual – for economic reasons"!)' (pp. 86–87).
48. Isherwood, *Christopher and His Kind*, p. 23.
49. Lehmann, *Purely Pagan Sense*, pp. 44–46.
50. Isherwood, *Christopher and His Kind*, p. 29. He adds: 'Wasn't Berlin's famous "decadence" largely a commercial "line" which the Berliners had instinctively developed in their competition with Paris? Paris had long-since cornered the straight-girl market, so what was left for Berlin to offer its visitors but a masquerade of perversions?'
51. Isherwood, *Goodbye to Berlin*, p. 190. My italics. There is another of these tourist dives in Anthony Powell's novel *Agents and Patients* (1936). Maltravers leads a group of visitors through the side streets of the city until they come to a doorway 'by which stood a notice saying that this was the real Berlin'. Indeed, it says so in several languages. This is the first of several night-spots they visit. In the next, 'two business men in black-striped suits' are among the couples on the dance floor. Chipchase claims to be 'making observations for my new book on psychology'. He watches closely as Commander Venables is 'joined on one side by a tall blonde in evening dress, carrying an ostrich-feather fan, and on the other by a young person in a dinner-jacket with wavy dark curls and a precise little mouth'. These are Willi[e] and Fritz. But Maltravers has to point out to Mrs Mendoza that she has 'fallen into the common error of thinking that Fritz is the boy and Willie the girl'. More importantly, 'The Commodore seems to share your misapprehension': Anthony Powell, *Agents and Patients* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1961), pp. 130, 131, 133.
52. Count Harry Kessler, *The Diaries of a Cosmopolitan: 1918–1937* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1999), pp. 434–435.
53. Kessler, p. 428.
54. Catharine Savage, *Roger Martin du Gard* (New York: Twayne, 1986), pp. 448–449.
55. Savage, p. 452.
56. Isherwood, *Christopher and His Kind*, p. 20.
57. William Plomer, *At Home* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1961), p. 67.
58. In Athens, Plomer had an affair with a Greek sailor called Nicky. For a while he was more deliriously in love than at any other time in his life, and he thought Nicky was, too. But the sailor moved on to another (by his standards) rich foreigner, taking Plomer's savings with him. The shock of this betrayal remained with Plomer for the rest of his life, and he seems never to have fully regained his faith in love.
59. William Plomer, *Museum Pieces* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1961), pp. 8, 13, 72, 17, 20, 112, 48.
60. Plomer, *Museum Pieces*, p. 93.
61. Plomer, *Museum Pieces*, p. 102.
62. Plomer, *Museum Pieces*, pp. 102–103.
63. Plomer, *Museum Pieces*, p. 103.
64. Frances Spalding, *Duncan Grant: A Biography* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1997), p. 259.
65. Kenneth Clark, *Another Part of the Wood: A Self-Portrait* (London: Book Club Associates, 1974), p. 114.
66. Stephen Spender, *World Within World* (London: Readers' Union, 1953), p. 93.
67. Lytton Strachey, *The Letters of Lytton Strachey* (London: Viking, 2005), p. 637.
68. Stephen Spender, *The Thirties and After: Poetry, Politics, People (1933–75)* (London: Fontana, 1978), p. 105.
69. Spender, *Thirties and After*, p. 106. He adds, a few sentences later, 'The Germans had a reputation at that time of being homosexual, but I think it would be truer to say that they were bisexual, though there were of course a few of those zealots and martyrs who really hate women, whom one finds everywhere.' I shall return to Whitman in Chapter Nine.
70. Quoted in Charles Kaiser, *The Gay Metropolis, 1940–1996* (London: Phoenix, 1999), p. 210.
71. Franz Schulze, *Philip Johnson: Life and Work* (New York: Knopf, 1994), pp. 136, 164, 139.
72. Brenda Wineapple, *Genêt: A Biography of Janet Flanner* (London: Pandora, 1994), p. 149.

73. Gaia Servadio, *Luchino Visconti: A Biography* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1981), pp. 45, 47.
74. Once, when they were staying in Horst's house in Hammamet, Tunisia, they had a row about Horst's refusal to stand up during the broadcast of a news item about an Italian victory in Somalia.
75. Servadio, pp. 81–82.
76. Jean Genet, *Funeral Rites* (New York: Grove, 1969), p. 38. It was not uncommon for homophobic observers on both the Left and the Right to blame the liberties of Weimar Berlin for the restrictions and subjection that followed. Genet was being typically, knowingly contrary, by purveying such an argument from the subject-position of an openly man-loving man. Less forthcoming about his own sexuality, in one of his memoirs the English journalist Beverley Nichols breezily claimed that 'Such German as I can manage was picked up in the streets of Berlin and, of course, in bed, where at least one gets down to fundamentals.' He went to Berlin in 1936 but did not enjoy the experience. The Nazis' clean-up had not yet taken effect: 'My main reason for hating it was because everybody in the city, by which I mean every pair of arms and legs, was for sale.' From this understandable reaction against the social and sexual consequences of economic collapse, and looking back from the late 1970s, Nichols developed a theory that the widespread prostitution he had witnessed in the city was one of the major causes of the subsequent war: 'I imagine that in the entire history of civilisation there has never been such a sexual extravaganza as was presented by Berlin at the beginning of the last decade before the [Second World] war, and I have a feeling that this chaffering in young bodies was in no small degree responsible for the war itself. Not only that, but even the excesses of the war had their origins in what he had so disliked in Berlin: 'Some of the brutality [of the German troops], I believe had its origin in memories of the male brothels which sprang up in all the great German cities, with the tacit approval of Goebbels, who realised that they were not only a tourist attraction but also a convenient setting for espionage. The youth of Germany was getting its revenge.' Beverley Nichols, *The Unforgiving Minute: Some Confessions from Childhood to the Outbreak of the Second World War* (London: W.H. Allen, 1978), pp. 1, 227, 228.
77. Peter Parker, *Isherwood: A Life* (London: Picador, 2004), p. 665.
78. Isherwood discusses the different versions of Sally Bowles in Isherwood, *Christopher and His Kind*, pp. 51–54.
79. Berlin remained the mythic point of reference. Thus, reflecting on a post-war visit to Tokyo, Angus Wilson wrote: 'Defeat in war seems to have a rather peculiar effect on the "pleasure life" of a nation, and, as in Berlin of the nineteen-twenties, there are many rather strange "private shows" at which the unsuspecting inquisitive visitor may find himself': Angus Wilson, *Reflections in a Writer's Eye: Writings on Travel* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1986), p. 29. But Wilson gathered that by 1957, the time of writing, such places had been closed down.

Chapter 6: Frivolity to Seriousness

1. T.H. White, *The Age of Scandal* (London: Folio, 1993), p. 102.
2. Robert Graves and Alan Hodge, *The Long Week-End: A Social History of Great Britain, 1918–1939* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971), pp. 97–98.
3. Julian Symons, *The Thirties: A Dream Revolved* (London: Faber, 1975), pp. 40–41.
4. Jessica Mitford, *Hons and Rebels* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1962), p. 35.
5. There is an extended analysis of this generation in Martin Green, *Children of the Sun: A Narrative of 'Decadence' in England After 1918* (London: Pimlico, 1992). To the list of fictional characters we should add Lord Risley in E.M. Forster's *Maurice* (written in 1913–14, revised in the 1930s and late 1950s, but not published until 1971); and Donald Butterboy, a portrait of Brian Howard, in Wyndham Lewis' *The Roaring Queen* (finished in 1936 but suppressed as libellous and not published until 1973). One relatively feeble, late flaring of the pansy-aesthete is Denis Porson in Frederic Raphael's novel *The Glittering Prizes*. Soon after graduating, he is arrested at a party with some guardsmen and given two years. He later opens a pub restaurant. Raphael underlines the fictional origins of his novel by giving his central character Adam Morris *Brideshead Revisted* to read during his first year at Cambridge – see Frederic Raphael, *The Glittering Prizes* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1976), p. 36.
6. Cecil Beaton, *Ashcombe: The Story of a Fifteen-Year Lease* (Stanbridge, Wimborne, Dorset: The Dovecote Press, 1999), pp. 57, 32–33, 81.
7. Martin Green, *Children of the Sun*, pp. 158–159. Nothing could be further from the spirit of this internationalist modernity than that silly remark of John Betjeman's, 'Isn't abroad awful?':

