
FORUM

Intricacies of Globality: The P.E.N. Club's International Congresses 1923–1941

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ABSTRACTS

Der P.E.N. (Poets, Essayists, Novelists) Club wurde 1921 gegründet, um ein literarisches Netzwerk auf globaler Ebene zu etablieren. Die Zwischenkriegsjahre sind jedoch eine umstrittene Periode in Bezug auf seine globale Integration, und der P.E.N.-Club ist als hinter seinem Ideal der Globalität zurückbleibend dargestellt worden. Dieser Beitrag analysiert die jährlichen internationalen Kongresse des Vereins zwischen 1923 und 1941 und schlägt die Faktoren Veranstaltungsort und Repräsentation für die Analyse der Globalität internationaler Institutionen vor. Ich argumentiere, dass es dem P.E.N.-Club in den 1930er Jahren gelang, wirtschaftliche und ideologische Rückschläge gegen seine globalisierende Mission zu überwinden. Allein die Kriegszeit erwiesen sich als unüberwindbare Hürden für die Vernetzung internationaler Kulturvereinigungen wie des P.E.N.-Clubs.

The P.E.N. (Poets, Essayists, Novelists) Club was founded in 1921 to establish a literary network on a global scale. The interwar years, however, have been a debated period in regard to their global integration, and the P.E.N. Club has been portrayed as falling short of its ideal of globality. In analysing the association's annual international congresses between 1923 and 1941, this paper proposes the factors of venue and representation to be most expedient in analyses of international institutions' globality. I argue that the P.E.N. Club succeeded in overcoming economic and ideological backlashes to its globalising mission in the 1930s. Solely times of war proved to pose insurmountable hurdles to the interconnectedness of international cultural associations like the P.E.N. Club.

*If we had an International Dinner Club, with Centres in every capital city in the world, membership of one meaning membership of all, we should have a common meeting ground in every country for all writers.*¹

In 1921, Catherine Amy Dawson Scott, founder of the P.E.N. Club, wrote a letter to her daughter. In it, she emphasised the global structure she imagined of her soon-to-be-founded cultural NGO. The English writer initiated the first centre, the London P.E.N. Simultaneously serving as the international umbrella association – International P.E.N.² – it would organise annual international congresses with shifting venues in the years from 1923 to 1941. These congregations only ceased to be hosted as war annihilated all means of personal travel. The seventeen international congresses took place in a period of time that has been portrayed as falling short of Dawson Scott's ideal of globality.

The P.E.N. Club has so far not been subject to research regarding globalisation. Existing scholarship can be differentiated into three major phases.³ The first academic accounts on the P.E.N. were written in the 1980s. They resulted from an emerging interest for exile-experiences, particularly in German literary and social historical academia. Primarily covered were the German, Austrian, Czech and Polish Centres of the club which struggled most with exile.⁴ Since the late 1990s, research focused primarily on the politicization of the association in the 1930s.⁵ Some P.E.N. members saw themselves confronted with the threats of emerging fascist regimes, others were prone to fascist and nationalist ideology. Hitherto, almost all accounts assess the association through a national branch.⁶ In the 2010s, the association was (with some constraints) for the first time approached through a global historic lens by Megan Doherty. Subject of her dissertation was the association's internationalism.⁷ Doherty, however, avoided linking the association's in-

1 Catherine Amy Dawson Scott to Marjorie Watts (ca. August/September 1921), after: Marjorie Watts, P.E.N. The Early Years, London 1971, pp. 12–13.

2 Even though the International P.E.N. was separately organised with an own executive committee, it was composed of officials of the English P.E.N. until well into the 1970s. Megan Doherty, 'A guardian to Literature and its cousins: The early politics of the PEN Club', in: *Nederlandse Letterkunde* 16 (2011)3, p. 142.

3 For an elaborate list of works on the P.E.N. even beyond the here regarded period see Megan Doherty, P.E.N. International and its Republic of Letters 1921–1970, PhD thesis, Columbia University, New York 2011, pp. 13–15.

4 See, for instance: Werner Berthold/Brita Eckert (eds.), *Der deutsche PEN-Club im Exil 1933–1948. Eine Ausstellung der Deutschen Bibliothek, Frankfurt am Main 1980*; Klaus Amann, P.E.N.: Politik, Emigration, Nationalsozialismus. Ein österreichischer Schriftstellerclub, Vienna et al. 1984; William Abbey, 'Die Illusion genannt Deutscher PEN-Club. The PEN-German Group and the English Centre, 1933–1945', in: William Abbey (ed.), *Between Two Languages. German-speaking Exiles in Great Britain 1933–1945*, Stuttgart 1995, pp. 135–153.

5 Helmut Peitsch, 'No Politics'? Die Geschichte des deutschen PEN-Zentrums in London 1933–2002 (= *Schriften des Erich Maria Remarque-Archivs* 20), Göttingen 2006; Doherty, *A guardian to Literature*; Mateus Américo Gaiotto, *O XIV Congresso Internacional dos P.E.N. Clubes (1936): intelectuais, cultura e política no entre guerras*, in: *Aedos* 10 (2018) 23, pp. 238–257. Due to the politicisation, the P.E.N.'s globality could also be analysed from a political perspective. However, as the association stayed mostly apolitical until circa 1932, this paper does not put primary emphasis on its political connections and quarrels.

6 For instance: Predrag Palavestra, *History of the Serbian PEN*, Belgrade 2006; Mateus Américo Gaiotto, *O P.E.N. Clube do Brasil (1936–1954): a ero Cláudio de Souza*, unpublished diss., Universidade Estadual Paulista, São Paulo 2018; Andrea Orzoff, *Prague PEN and Central European Cultural Nationalism, 1924–1935*, in: *Nationalities Papers* 29 (2001) 2, pp. 243–265.

7 Doherty, *PEN International*. For other accounts on the P.E.N.'s internationality, see: Dorothee Bores, *Der Interna-*

ternationality to theories of globalisation. In addition, Doherty follows the standard periodisation of globalisation in analysing its effects on the P.E.N. in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s.⁸ In doing so, the P.E.N. is portrayed as affected by globalisation, rather than as a potential participant, and a phase of globalisation is implied to start in circa 1950:

By 1970 PEN had become global, transforming from a British club into an organization devoted to protecting freedom of expression and facilitating communication worldwide.⁹

In analysing the attendance of the early international congresses, this article contrastingly shows that the P.E.N. Club was far more global in its early years than previously assumed.

1. Gradual Establishment of Interconnectedness

1.1 Aversions Against Interconnecting Europe: London 1923

Founded in London, the association at the very beginning was exclusively European. On 1 May 1923, the P.E.N. Club's very first international congress took place in London. At the time, there were ten centres in existence, situated in England (London), the U.S.A. (New York), Belgium (Brussels), Catalonia (Barcelona), France (Paris), Italy (Rome), Holland, Norway (Oslo), Romania, and Sweden.¹⁰ New York was the first and at this juncture only branch outside Europe. However, there were more nations represented by the P.E.N. than its centres imply. In order to initiate the foundation of centres outside of England, John Galsworthy had invited several international writers as honourable members of the English P.E.N. Galsworthy, first president of the English and International P.E.N. and future Nobel laureate, could draw on the wide international network he had established before 1914. In 1921 and 1922 inter alia Georg Brandes (Denmark), Anatole France (France), Maxim Gorki (Russia), Knut Hamsun (Norway), Gerhart Hauptmann (Germany), Romain Rolland (France), Arthur Schnitzler (Austria), and Hermann Sudermann (Germany) received invitations – some of the most distinguished writers of their time.¹¹

The assembly brought together writers from twelve countries. The Holland Centre did not send delegates but writers from Czechoslovakia and Denmark were present.¹² The total attendance amounted to 164 persons.¹³ Despite the domination of English del-

tionale PEN. Gründungsgeschichte und Struktur einer Schriftstellervereinigung, in: Dorothee Bores/Sven Haneschek (eds.), *Handbuch PEN. Geschichte und Gegenwart der deutschsprachigen Zentren*, Berlin/Boston 2014, pp. 19–33.

8 Doherty, *PEN International*, pp. 305, 306, 362.

9 *Ibid.*, pp. 1–2.

10 All efforts are made to state the exact location of centres. However, the newly founded centres often did not possess premises and were loosely organised nationally or on a linguistic basis.

11 Watts, *P.E.N.*, pp. 18–19.

12 *Ibid.*, pp. 22–25.

13 For a copy of the seating chart and thus a list of all attending writers, see: Doherty, *PEN International*, p. 88.

legates, the very first international meeting connected representatives of most central European countries. In addition, some Eastern European writers and even few from North America attended.

Strikingly, no German representatives were present. At the time, a German branch had not yet been established, but there were two German authors associated with the organisation: the honorary members of the English P.E.N., Gerhart Hauptmann and Hermann Sudermann. In the run-up to the conference, Belgian writers protested against inviting Hauptmann, threatening the organisers with non-attendance.¹⁴ Nine years after the destruction of Leuven on 25 August 1914, the so-called “Rape of Belgium” was still vivid in their minds. Reservations were particularly strong as both Hauptmann and Sudermann had signed the infamous appeal “An die Kulturwelt” which was published on 4 October 1914. Having invited both Hauptmann and Sudermann as honourable members in 1922, Galsworthy himself chose to promote a reconciliatory stance. Nevertheless, the Belgians succeeded in making Galsworthy defer to their demand. In a letter to Stefan Zweig, the attending Romain Rolland emphasised his incomprehension:

*In his [Galsworthy’s; JB] place, I would have said to the Belgians: “The principle of P.E.N. is international without any restriction; you have accepted it, you must submit to it, or we will regretfully waive your presence”.*¹⁵

Romain Rolland’s very own presence triggered the absence of Anatole France. Unwilling to reconcile with Rolland’s pacifist and supposedly unpatriotic publications during war, he further refrained from offering Rolland membership of the French Centre.¹⁶ The ideological remnants of the war showed clearly – not only across borders but even within. Globality was still inconceivable. Nonetheless, the P.E.N. managed to unite a lot of Europe’s writers.

For the following year both the French and the New York Centres issued invitations. The French Centre was deemed to be not sufficiently organised, and it was decided to accept the New York invitation and console the French by conceding the third congress to them.¹⁷ The International P.E.N.’s top priority in the early state of the association’s existence was acting practically.

1.2 Alleged Globality and the Factor Representation: New York 1924

Compared to the first congress, the second international congress of the P.E.N. Club witnessed a soaring rise in professionalism and attendance. Taking place on 13–15 May

14 Thomas von Vegesack, *Sur l’histoire du P.E.N.-Club*, in: Gerd E. Hoffmann (ed.), *P.E.N. International*, Munich 1986, p. 359. “An die Kulturwelt” was an appeal by German writers and academics. It was intended to legitimise German warfare and relativize the destruction of Leuven and its library.

15 Romain Rolland to Stefan Zweig, s.d., in: Romain Rolland/Stefan Zweig, *Briefwechsel 1910–1940*, Berlin 1987, Vol. I, pp. 745–746 (translated from German).

16 Vegesack, *Sur l’histoire du P.E.N.-Club*, p. 360. Anatole France had previously been elected first president of the French P.E.N. See the seating chart in Doherty, *PEN International*, p. 88.

17 Watts, *Mrs Sappho*, p. 116.

1924, the congregation had extended its duration by two days. The number of nations represented increased by six, thus representatives of eighteen countries attended.¹⁸ Attendance in total almost doubled. The Annual Report of the English P.E.N. accounts that there were 300 people present at the formal dinner.¹⁹

Since 1923, further centres had been founded in Austria (Vienna) and Spain (Madrid), and new connections had been established to writers from Canada, Central America, and Asia. Already in the second year of holding congresses, the venue lay outside Europe. England (London), France (Paris), Spain (Madrid), Mexico, Canada, Romania, Russia, Norway (Oslo), Germany (Berlin), Denmark, Austria (Vienna), Sweden, Japan, Hungary, India, Belgium, and Czechoslovakia were represented at the assembly.²⁰ Regarding Europe, the absence of last year's participants Catalonia and Italy was compensated by the presence of Austrian and German writers. Mexican, Canadian, Japanese, and Indian writers provided for the attendance of literati from four continents.

Prima facie, this congregation seemed to be of almost fulfilled globality with minor restrictions. However, nations with no respective national centre were usually represented by merely one writer at the congresses. Without any institutional backing, these writers attended as individuals, not as proper delegates. In New York that applied to Canada, Russia, Japan and India – except for Mexico all present non-European countries.

Representation was a contentious issue for the P.E.N., particularly in the 1920s. Newly founded centres had to assert themselves in their countries' literary sphere in order to attract the respective literary prominence. The younger generation of writers were usually excluded from the prestigious association and tried to challenge the club's representativeness.²¹ Representation, therefore, is questionable in a twofold manner. Firstly, did attendees represent an institution? Secondly, even if so, was that institution representative for the respective national or linguistic literature? Furthermore, the question arises, how much emphasis is to be put upon the nation-state. Most centres were primarily national and leading officials like John Galsworthy repeatedly spoke out for a non-militant nationalism.²² Attendance of writers without a respective national centre occurred only exceptionally and depended on two factors: they either were honourable members of the London or hosting centre, or they were residents of the venue.

Indian and Japanese writers' presence, implying connections to the Global East, should therefore not be overvalued. Another four years would pass before the P.E.N. succeeded in reaching out to parts of Asia, namely China. The shift of venue across the Atlantic

18 Watts, P.E.N., pp. 27–28.

19 Report of the Activities of the P.E.N. Club For the Year 1923–1924, p. 4, Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center at the University of Texas at Austin (hereafter HRHRC).

20 Report of the Activities of the P.E.N. Club For the Year 1923–1924, p. 4, HRHRC; Writers of World to Convene here, in: *New York Times*, 11 May 1924, p. 61.

21 For instance, in Germany in 1926: Ernst Fischer, *Das Zentrum in der Weimarer Republik. Von der Gründung bis zur Auflösung unter nationalsozialistischer Herrschaft (1923–1933)*, in: Bores/Hanuschek (eds.), *Handbuch PEN*, pp. 83–84.

22 John Galsworthy, *Address to the P.E.N. Club (Brussels 1927), Kansas City 1939*. British Library CUP 501, d16.

meanwhile falsely suggested there might be congresses across the globe in the upcoming years. Out of 17 congresses, 15 would be held in Europe.

1.3 The Importance of Venue: Paris 1925

As agreed upon in London in 1923, the third international congress was held in Paris on 21–23 May 1925. With an attendance of 100 persons, the congress registered a significant decline. Writers from 22 nations attended, the traceable of which being England (London), France (Paris), Germany (Berlin), Austria (Vienna), Russia, Italy, Norway (Oslo), Spain (Madrid), Ireland, the U.S.A. (New York), and Mexico.²³

At the main dinner, the tables were arranged in the following manner: eight large tables respectively stood “under the sign of a great poet of the main countries”.²⁴ Those were England (John Galsworthy), Germany (Heinrich Mann), Ireland (James Joyce), Spain (Miguel de Unamuno), Italy (Luigi Pirandello), Russia (Aleksandr Kuprin), Mexico (Alfonso Reyes), and Norway (Johan Bojer).

Except for Mexico and Russia, all honoured authors and thus all “main countries” were central European. The lack of an actual Russian centre was no obstacle to paying tribute to Aleksandr Kuprin, who had lived in French exile in Paris since 1920. Similarly, Alfonso Reyes lived in Paris as diplomat between 1924 and 1927. Although a Mexican centre already existed, it did not send delegates from Mexico but was represented by a local resident of Paris.

The attendance of these two writers from outside Europe, therefore, was dependent on the venue. The P.E.N., at that time, did not yet tempt writers from across the world to make a journey. It rather succeeded in choosing the most eligible venues for its purpose. In bonding with foreign writers from, for instance, India, Japan, and Russia in the West, the International P.E.N. tried to attain global publicity.

To what extent, then, did the P.E.N. play an active role in globalising the writers’ sphere and in how far did it solely made use of existing global structures? In the early years, particularly in New York in 1924 and in Paris in 1925, the alleged globality of the congresses were due to the venues’ internationality and must therefore not be ascribed to the P.E.N.’s efforts. On a global level, some connections were established. By no means, however, can the first congresses be rated as globalising the literary sphere.

1.4 International Reintegration of Germany: Berlin 1926²⁵

In Paris, for the first time since 1914, an institutionally backed German delegation had been present at a cultural international congress.²⁶ German had been accepted as third official language for the congresses alongside English and French. In the course of two

23 PEN Clubs’ Congress. International Meeting in Paris, in: *The Times*, London, 23 May 1925.

24 Iwan Goll, *Der Kongreß der Pen-Clubs*, in: *Generalanzeiger Frankfurt*, 23 May 1925 (translated from German).

25 In comparison to other centres, the German speaking P.E.N.s have been disproportionately well studied. See for instance: Bores/Hanuschek (eds.), *Handbuch PEN*.

26 German writers Ludwig Stein and Alfred Kerr had attended the 1924 congress in New York. Yet, as the German

years the association's attitude towards Germany had changed remarkably and the P.E.N. agreed upon reassembling in Berlin.

Founder Catherine Amy Dawson Scott was aware of the pioneering connections the P.E.N. established:

Our coming, the coming of the representatives of 15 [actually 19²⁷; JB] nations, was important to Germany. She had suffered from the inability of the League of Nations to include her. Also, this was the first time since the war that there has been an international gathering of any sort in Berlin. Again, this was the first visit of the French as honoured guests.²⁸

As a compensating concession, the resentful Belgian Centre was granted the right to host the next congress. The P.E.N. Club had succeeded in reconciling major parts of the European writers' sphere. The broken ties between German and European (particularly Belgian and French) writers were to a degree recovered.

In Berlin, North America was represented by four and South America by three centres. Asian writers, however, had ceased to attend, which is further indication for the venue's importance. The P.E.N. had not yet reached the Global East and Berlin did not offer the same international infrastructure as New York and Paris. The European countries, in contrast, were almost completely represented by approximately 200 writers.²⁹ Although the association was still mainly European, it showed its ability to expand. In 1926, the P.E.N. Club enabled major border-crossing connections between writers of Europe. Beyond that, the association indicated a westward orientation that exceeded a narrow focus on the U.S.A. Moreover, the P.E.N. Club kept growing.

1.5 Determining a Global Purpose: Brussels 1927

The fifth international congress took place on 20–23 June 1927 in Brussels. This congress attained fame for a resolution which would serve as a blueprint for the 1948 charter of the association. Brought forward by the Norwegian, Belgian, German, and French delegations, the resolution was written to ensure that,

in the event of future wars, the P.E.N. Club would not cease its activities during hostilities, but would, on the contrary, do all in its power to maintain the interchange of ideas through art of all kinds.³⁰

The first paragraph went as follows: "Literature, national though it be in origin, knows no frontiers, and should remain common currency between nations in spite of political

branch was only founded in late 1924, the appearance of eight German delegates in Paris in 1925 indicated the official outwards orientation of the German literary sphere: Fischer, *Das Zentrum*, p. 79.

27 Marjorie Scott to Tring, Society of Authors, 5 October 1926, after: Doherty, *PEN International*, p. 87.

28 Catherine Amy Dawson Scott, s.d., after: Watts, *Mrs Sappho*, p. 145 (emphasis in original).

29 Annual Report of the Activities of the P.E.N. Club, October 1935–July 1926, p. 3, HRHRC.

30 Watts, *P.E.N.*, p. 34.

or international upheavals.”³¹ In the German press, the *Vossische Zeitung*, it was translated into an even more drastic version, which translates back to: “The literati recognise nations but not borders.”³² Differentiating in the subject, either writers or their product, both versions account for a profound literary globalism. The P.E.N.’s global purpose was undisputed.

The second paragraph reads: “In all circumstances then and particularly in time of war, works of art, the patrimony of humanity at large, should be left untouched by national or political passion.”³³ Periods of integration could eventually end, so the delegates feared. The P.E.N. was certain about the imminent end of globalisation through a second war. By passing the resolution, the P.E.N. not only articulated a global purpose for its activities. The awareness with which potential future events, namely war, were to be dealt with gives account of a systematic and sustainable concept of initiating interconnectedness. Of the 21 nations represented at the 1927 congress, only two were from outside Europe: Canada and the U.S.A. Central American, Southern American, and Asian countries were not represented.³⁴ After having covered large parts of Europe, the P.E.N.’s expansion continued in North America. Apart from several centres in Eastern Europe, two centres emerged in Canada (Montreal and Toronto).

1.6 British Stride Outside Europe: Oslo 1928

On 17–20 June 1928, the P.E.N. gathered in Oslo. The attendance amounted to 23 centres, each from a separate country. With the exception of Switzerland and the Spanish Madrid Centre, the European presence of the preceding year remained unchanged. The assembly’s composition shifted, however, due to delegations from the newly founded centres in Australia, Scotland, and South Africa.³⁵ These delegations, now backed by a centre, were able to properly represent their respective literature. For the first time, the P.E.N. welcomed amidst its members several actual delegations from across the globe. Attendees came from Africa, Australia, Europe, and North America. In total, 48 officials assembled.³⁶ Arne Kirdal, President of the hosting Oslo Centre, in his speech of welcome once more expressed the aim of the P.E.N. to be “that a contact is established between the writers of all nations.”³⁷

Yet, the extension to Australia, Scotland, South Africa, and absent Canada raised suspicion. Werner Marholz, official delegate of the German branch, brought in a resolution that aimed to reserve voting right during the congress exclusively for centres that had

31 P.E.N. News 6 (November 1927), p. 2.

32 F. L. Kunst, *Wissenschaft, Literatur. Der Pen-Club in Brüssel*, in: *Vossische Zeitung*, Berlin, 23 June 1927 (translated from German). In the original: “Die Literaten anerkennen Nationen, aber keine Grenzen.”

33 P.E.N. News 6 (November 1927), p. 2. The resolution was refreshed twice – in 1933 and 1934: Watts, Mrs Sappho, pp. 141, 146, 183, 193.

34 Writers Meet for Conference of P.E.N. Club, in: *Christian Science Monitor*, Boston, 18 June 1927; *Le Congrès des Pen-Club [sic]*, in: *Le Soir*, Brussels, 18 June 1927; *Le Congrès des Pen-Clubs*, in: *Le Soir*, Brussels, 21 June 1927.

35 P.E.N. News 13 (September 1928), p. 2.

36 *Ibid.*

37 *Ibid.*, pp. 2–3.

been present the year before. He feared inequality of representation for each distinct literature. In his eyes, these young centres were “merely derivatives of England.”³⁸ The congress was not able to find a pandering solution and thus left the issue to the International Executive Committee.

Marholz gave evidence of reappearing counter-globalising forces within the association. Nationalistic envy against British hegemony led him to deny the young centres’ representativeness. Marholz viewed literature as linguistically rather than nationally defined. Hence, he was able to speak out in favour of a Eurocentric association without getting in clear discordance with the P.E.N.’s global purpose. Nonetheless, England’s far reaching imperial bonds enabled further expansion of the association.

1.7 Globalising Efforts Bear Fruit: Vienna 1929

Taking place on 24–28 June 1929, the Vienna congress was the last congress unaffected by the Great Depression. Vienna hosted the by far most global congress to date. The P.E.N. News accounted for official delegates from 26 centres.³⁹ Furthermore, several honourable members of the English P.E.N. attended. Roman Roček, in his extensive work of more than 600 pages on the Austrian P.E.N.’s history, even accounts for 160 writers from 50 nations.⁴⁰ New centres had emerged in Eastern Europe and in China. The latter, however, did not send an official delegation.

Russian writers, on the contrary, were present at an international congress of the P.E.N. again for the first time since 1925. Since the German P.E.N. had ideologically moved right and National Socialism had found entrance into the P.E.N., the Austrian Centre laid particular emphasis on setting up a counterweight. A considerable Russian attendance should equilibrate the right-wing writers from Germany. In addition to the Russian honourable members of the English P.E.N., the Austrian Centre invited further Russian writers.⁴¹

Again, the right to vote proved subject of heated debate. As more and more centres were founded on a cultural-linguistic rather than a geographical basis, the national branches grew worried.⁴² Should these small outposts be allowed to possess a bigger influence than the European core? Nationalist tendencies had arisen in several centres, but particularly in the German P.E.N., which had started the debate about the right to vote in view of English hegemony. Yet again, the delicate issue was postponed.⁴³

38 Ibid, p. 3.

39 P.E.N. News 23 (September 1929), 4.

40 Roman Roček, *Glanz und Elend des P.E.N. Biographie eines literarischen Clubs*, Vienna et al. 2000, p. 78. Unfortunately, he does not state his sources. Amann rightfully criticizes Roček’s egocentric and sometimes unscientific writing style that derives from his thirty years of holding offices in the Austrian P.E.N.’s executive committee: Klaus Amann, *Der österreichische PEN-Club in den Jahren 1923–1955*, in: Bores/Hanuschek (eds.), *Handbuch PEN*, p. 481.

41 The P.E.N. Club, *Report to the English PEN*, 15 December 1928, HRHRC, after: Roček, *Glanz und Elend*, p. 77.

42 From 1927 onwards the P.E.N. changed its statutes to allow centres to form around cultural-linguistic particularities. Doherty, *Politics*, pp. 142–145.

43 P.E.N. News 23 (September 1929), p. 5.

By November of the same year, the International Executive Committee finally tried to arrange a compromise. All centres numbering at least 20 members should be allowed to send delegates and to vote.⁴⁴ As this number was readily manageable, the decision was essentially in favour of the smaller centres. The International Executive Committee had no choice but to push the German P.E.N. further away. The untenable alternative would have been stagnation of the association's expansion, as virtually no centre would have wanted to join in a subordinate role. Structurally, the prerequisites for further globalisation were fulfilled.

2. Economic and Ideological Backlashes

Doherty views 1931 as a distinct turning point in the P.E.N.'s history. She argues that the Holland conference was the last congress before the tremors of fascism and nationalism began to make the P.E.N. quiver.⁴⁵ However, the Stock Crash in 1929 had already shaken the association's globality in its core. The cultural sphere was, of course, strongly affected by economic ruptures.

2.1 Sharp Decrease of Attendance: Warsaw 1930

P.E.N.'s writers reassembled in Warsaw on 20–22 June 1930. For the first time, a Chinese delegate, Tse Hsiung Kuo, was present at one of P.E.N.'s international congresses. He was received "amid cheers".⁴⁶

Even though the Stock Crash had begun to take its toll, "lunches, dinners and other kinds of entertainment were provided with the lavishness typical of the whole congress".⁴⁷ Covering a significant part of the expenditures, the Polish P.E.N. succeeded in maintaining the luxurious standard the Brussels, Oslo, and Vienna congresses had set. Nevertheless, the precarious economic conditions of multiple centres clearly showed. The number of represented nations decreased almost by half. Only 26 countries were represented in Warsaw of which only three were from outside Europe: Canada, Palestine, and Argentina.⁴⁸ In comparison to 1929, the congress's difference in internationality was immense. For the first time, the P.E.N. gathered in an authoritarian country and thus revealed the P.E.N.'s strongest antagonist to nationalism, authoritarianism, and fascism: German writer and alleged communist Ernst Toller.⁴⁹ In the following years, he delivered speeches against Nazism during the 1932, 1933, and 1934 congresses. For starters, he, "in an im-

44 P.E.N. News 25 (November 1929), p. 3.

45 Doherty, *PEN International*, pp. 115, 117. Roček favoured the 1932 congress as encompassing milestone: Roček, *Glanz und Elend*, pp. 99–100.

46 P.E.N. News 33 (September 1930), p. 2.

47 *Ibid.*

48 P.E.N. News 33 (September 1930), pp. 3, 5.

49 Toller criticised Jozef Pilsudski in his account of the congress: Ernst Toller, *PEN-Kongreß in Polen*, in: *Die Weltbühne* 26 (1930) 2, p. 49; *New Act of Nazi Persecution. Eminent Authors Proscribed*, in: *The Times*, London, 26 August 1933, p. 7.

passioned speech, deplored the fact that Russia was not represented in the international P.E.N.”⁵⁰ However, there had been failed efforts to initiate a Russian centre and there would be more of such, particularly in 1934.⁵¹ Toller went on to write a deeply unfavourable account of the congress in *Die Weltbühne*. He particularly made a charge against Polish authoritarianism and the attendees’ apolitical speeches. Almost buried in all his criticism, Toller nevertheless admitted some achievements of the assembly in its effort to globalise the literary sphere:

*During these eight days, people from all over the world got to know each other, shook hands with comrades, talked to each other and learned about each other, visited a foreign country, sharpened their view, enriched their knowledge, deepened their negative or approving feelings.*⁵²

2.2 Economic Discordances: The Hague and Amsterdam 1931

The following congress was the numerically best attended to date: 350 writers got together in The Hague in 1931, of which fifty were German, forty-three English, Scottish and Irish, twelve French, and one Chinese.⁵³ The Chairman’s Annual Report of the Activities of the P.E.N. accounted for gradual success in the association’s effort to extend its scope beyond Europe and America. India and Japan would show “many hopeful signs of their conquest” and South Africa, Palestine, and China’s centres would flourish.⁵⁴ However, the founding of centres, in reality, had decelerated markedly and the progressing economic decline in 1931 started affecting the P.E.N. Superficially, the Holland Centre succeeded in depicting the country in overflowing prosperity.⁵⁵ Overwhelmed by a reception in the specially illuminated Amsterdam Rijksmuseum, boat tours and the like, accounts only marginally touched upon the business sessions. Nevertheless, the Bulgarian Centre forwarded a resolution asking the P.E.N. to initiate a fund for the smaller centres. As “the centres of small nations, deprived of resources, are prevented from enjoying the main advantages offered by the P.E.N. Club”, the fund should enable them to host foreign writers.⁵⁶ Furthermore, financial aid would allow them to attend dinners and congresses outside their home country. As with most delicate issues, it was passed on to the International Executive Committee that never initiated the fund. Unwilling to give monetary assistance, the greater centres retreated into the congresses’ opulence. The number of represented nations, in consequence, levelled off.

50 Hermon Ould, P.E.N. Congress in Poland, in: *The Manchester Guardian*, s.d., reprinted in: P.E.N. News 33 (September 1930), p. 3.

51 International Secretary Hermon Ould held a personal conversation with Josef Stalin. Watts, Mrs Sappho, pp. 117–118.

52 Toller, PEN-Kongreß, p. 51 (translated from German).

53 P.E.N. News 40 (September 1931), p. 3.

54 The Chairman’s Annual Report of the Activities of the P.E.N. 1931, HRHRC.

55 Doherty, PEN International, pp. 113–115.

56 P.E.N. News 40 (September 1931), p. 5 (translated from French).

2.3 Personal Dissensions Arise: Budapest 1932

In view of the serious economic situation in Hungary, the Secretary was asked to write privately to the Budapest Centre suggesting, tactfully, that the Congress, if it takes place at all, should be of an unostentatious character, and to convey the impression that if it were thought better to abandon the Congress until the financial situation improves, the reasons for the decision would be fully appreciated.⁵⁷

The economic situation continuously worsened and affected particularly the smaller centres. Yet, as in the preceding years the hosting centre was funded by the state. The new Secretary of the Budapest Centre, Jenő Mohacsi, declared his intention to proceed as planned and to hold the congress.⁵⁸ By March, the difficulties had seemingly smoothed out.⁵⁹ The Budapest Centre was even able to provide free travel throughout Hungary during the time the congress was held.⁶⁰ Admiral Miklós Horthy, Regent of Hungary, had expressed his support for the congress. Receiving the guests in the Royal Fortress, he provided the glamorous exuberance the attendees were accustomed to.

The entertainment was lavish but “delegates were well aware of the poverty and suppression that was all around them behind the festive front”.⁶¹ Similar to the Bulgarian Centre’s resolution from 1931, the Polish P.E.N. brought in a motion dealing with the small centres’ financial status. The Polish delegation proposed to hold regional assemblies between two or more centres in addition to the international congresses.⁶² These congresses on a smaller scale would have facilitated economically struggling centres to establish border-crossing literary connections. The resolution was unanimously passed and enthusiastically received. Regional assemblies were deemed particularly necessary, as “The annual international Congress gathers so many heterogeneous elements together that very little intimacy of understanding is possible [...]”.⁶³ An account that describes globalising activities and simultaneously takes them ad absurdum. However, as the troublesome upcoming years in Europe prevented smaller centres to organise regional assemblies, such were never held.

Interpersonally, the atmosphere proved difficult. The delegates’ affection for each other was on a low. There was a

general malaise among the various delegations. The French were detested because it was said they took it for granted that they alone were capable of providing leaders in discussion and in settling details of procedure. [...] The atmosphere of Nazi intrigue and politi-

57 Minutes of the English P.E.N. Executive Committee, 14 January 1932, p. 3, HRHRC.

58 Minutes of the English P.E.N. Executive Committee, 10 February 1932, p. 2, HRHRC.

59 Minutes of the English P.E.N. Executive Committee, 31 March 1932, p. 2, HRHRC.

60 Jenő Mohacsi to London P.E.N., 5 April 1932, after: P.E.N. News 47 (April 1932), p. 4.

61 Watts, Mrs Sappho, p. 178.

62 P.E.N. News 48 (June 1932), pp. 3–4; Edwin Muir, PEN Club Congress. Persecution of Authors, in: The Scotsman, Edinburgh, 30 May 1932, p. 8.

63 Ibid.

*cal conspiracy between Austrians and Germans was so thick that no one could miss it, and the smaller countries' delegations were resentful and apprehensive.*⁶⁴

Economic aggravations reached their zenith and ideological discordances emerged. Yet, it would take another year for them to convulse the P.E.N.

2.4 Cleansing of Anti-Globalising Forces: Dubrovnik 1933

Yugoslavia hosted the eleventh international congress in Dubrovnik on 25–28 May 1933. Out of all congresses, this one is the by far most intensely researched.⁶⁵ It might well be the most discussed event in all of P.E.N.'s history. Scholars paid particular attention to the association's politicisation which was mostly traced back to the Dubrovnik gathering. Examining the congress with regard to globalisation likewise suggests a break in the association's history.

Similarly to the congresses of 1930 and 1931, the number of attending countries stagnated at 26, represented by 28 centres.⁶⁶ The personal attendance, however, rose to a new high of almost 400 people.⁶⁷ England, as per usual, sent the greatest delegation, consisting of 40 writers.⁶⁸ Since 1931, centres had only been founded in Bolivia and Switzerland (Zurich and Basel). The P.E.N.'s expansion of the 1920s almost ground to a halt. While there were centres present from outside Europe, for instance from South Africa and the U.S.A., the congress evolved exclusively around the rise of National Socialism in the middle of Europe and particularly around the Nazi Book Burnings in German university towns. The German P.E.N. only sent four delegates. Its membership had greatly changed due to enforced and voluntary conformity.⁶⁹

In the course of the congress, the German delegation was confronted with their conduct regarding the Book Burnings and the exclusion of communist, Jewish and other non-confirmative members, including the now exiled Ernst Toller.⁷⁰ Instead of answering to the accusations, the Germans left the chamber. Austrian, Dutch, and Swiss delegates joined them.⁷¹ The eleventh international congress initiated the dissolution of the German Centre. After Hitler had announced the withdrawal from the League of Nations on 14 October 1933, the German P.E.N. dissolved on 18 November.⁷²

64 Willar Muir, *Belonging. A Memoir*, London 1968, after: Watts, Mrs Sappho, p. 178.

65 See, for instance, Fischer, *Das Zentrum*, pp. 111–117; Helmut Peitsch, *Versuchte Gleichschaltung durch das NS-Regime, die Auflösung und Flucht ins Exil (1933–1945)*, in: Bores/Hanuschek (eds.), *Handbuch PEN*, pp. 137–139; Amann, *Der österreichische PEN*, pp. 487–492; Roček, *Glanz und Elend*, pp. 121–133; Watts, Mrs Sappho, pp. 183–186.

66 German protest at P.E.N. Congress, in: *The Times*, London, 29 May 1933, p. 13; Amann, *P.E.N.*, p. 29.

67 World P.E.N. Conference, in: *The Manchester Guardian*, s.d., reprinted in: *P.E.N. News* 56 (June 1933), p. 6.

68 *P.E.N. News* 55 (May 1933), p. 3.

69 Peitsch, *Gleichschaltung*, pp. 133–136.

70 The Hebrew P.E.N. Club was not present at the congress but sent a letter condemning Germany's politics against her Jewish citizens. The Hebrew P.E.N. Club to 11th International Congress of P.E.N. Clubs, 18 May 1933, HRHRC.

71 Fischer, *Das Zentrum*, p. 116.

72 *Ibid.*, pp. 120–121.

Roček, regarding the aftermath of the congress, speaks of a “refreshing thunderstorm”⁷³ that cleansed the association of its National Socialistic members. By ridding itself of its autarkic elements, the P.E.N. enabled the upcoming congresses to break through the global low of the early 1930s. The association suffered a backlash, but it did not crack in face of the annihilation of free international literature in Germany.

3. Globality Against the Odds

3.1 Reaching Out Across the Globe: Edinburgh and Glasgow 1934

The “refreshing thunderstorm” left behind a field of buds. By 17–22 June 1934, centres had emerged in New Zealand and Egypt, both of which sent delegates to the congress. While the attendance of 400 writers was equal to the preceding year, the national representation took a leap. Numbers slowly approached the tremendously well attended congress in Vienna in 1929 again. Present centres from outside Europe were *inter alia* New Zealand and Egypt, Canada, South Africa, the U.S.A., Argentina, China, and India.⁷⁴ For the first time, all continents were represented. Progressing alleviation of economic troubles enabled numerous centres to send delegations again. Romania, for instance, had been absent for several years and even the Austrian P.E.N. managed to send a delegation, despite facing a time of great political insecurity.

In face of Nazism, the International P.E.N. became particularly keen to ensure a broad international representation of the association. The London Centre tried to resuscitate the inactive Irish Centre before the congress took place, in order to enable their attendance. International President Herbert George Wells offered to provide 20 pounds of travelling expenses for a representative German writer.⁷⁵ Furthermore, Wells, in his presidential address, announced that he would visit Russia in order to gauge the possible founding of a centre: “There has been a considerable change in Russia; Russia is looking West again.”⁷⁶ Finally, a new centre was formed in London, setting an example for years to come. In lieu of the vanished German P.E.N., the London Centre had not only endorsed but most actively contrived the formation of a centre for German émigrés – the “German P.E.N. in Exile”.⁷⁷

Scotland hosted a markedly global congress which profited from the venue, as the British Isles were very well connected and most of Europe was still passable. Furthermore, the London Centre had made enormous efforts to extend the P.E.N.’s outreach. Yet, the

73 Roček, *Glanz und Elend*, p. 139.

74 Noted Writers Meet in Edinburgh, in: *Aberdeen Press and Journal*, 18 June 1934, p. 7; P.E.N. News 65 (September 1934), pp. 3–4.

75 Minutes of the English P.E.N. Executive Committee, 29 May 1934, pp. 3, 5, HRHRC.

76 Mr. H. G. Wells on Europe Today, in: *Gloucester Citizen*, 18 June 1934, p. 6. Wells’ endeavours finally failed but he even presented his plan of expanding the P.E.N. to Josef Stalin: Stalin spricht mit H. G. Wells. Niederschrift d. Unterredung vom Juli 1934 in Moskau, 32–33, after: Berthold/Eckert (eds.), *Der deutsche PEN-Club*, p. 114.

77 P.E.N. News 65 (September 1934), p. 3.

period of exiles had begun. The next congress, the delegates agreed upon, would take place in Barcelona.

3.2 Globality Inhibited by Venue: Barcelona 1935

In contrast to Scotland, Barcelona turned out to be a distinctively bad choice of venue. The congress took place on 20–25 May 1935, therefore only seven months after the Revolution of October 1934 had shaken Catalonia.

[...] *the Baccelona [sic!] Congress might well have been abandoned. Some of its [the Catalanian P.E.N.'s; JB] leading members were not long out of prison. Police of one description or another were everywhere and at the opening session of the Congress a Government agent in plain clothes graced the platform.*⁷⁸

Numerically, the congress's attendance decreased vastly in comparison to the preceding year. Delegates from 28 centres made the journey to Barcelona. Some of the present centres were Italy (Rome), the German P.E.N. in Exile (London), England (London), Scotland, France (Paris), Belgium (Flemish, Brussels), U.S.A. (New York), Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Hungary, the Yiddish Centre, Argentina, Sweden, Holland, India, and China (Shanghai).⁷⁹ While the Hebrew, Austrian, and Polish Centres were absent, the Indian, Chinese, and Argentine branches began to stand out due to frequent presence.

A defeatist speech of International President Wells including the announcement of his retreat depressed the spirits.⁸⁰ Furthermore, the exiles' situation deteriorated continuously, and their number gradually rose.⁸¹ The P.E.N. was portrayed to be in a crisis.⁸² This evaluation, however, did not do justice to the association's structural development. New centres had emerged in Chile (Santiago) and Japan. The general potential to hold global gatherings had increased. The Barcelona congress in cause of multiple national upheavals, for instance, in Austria, Poland, and Spain itself, only partly succeeded in putting this potential into effect.

3.3 Integrating South America: Buenos Aires 1936

Regarding the venue of the 1936 congress in Buenos Aires, the English Executive Committee was in particular sorrow. The main concern was that "matters of vital importance" would be disposed of as "in the nature of things a small attendance was to be expected".⁸³ Buenos Aires should become the biggest and most global congress to date.

78 Future of P.E.N. The Congress at Barcelona, in: *The Scotsman*, Edinburgh, 29 May 1935, p. 15.

79 Gunnar Leistikow, *Am Krankenlager des Pen-Clubs*, in: *Die neue Weltbühne*, Prague/Zurich/Paris, 31 (30 May 1935) 22, pp. 698–699; after: Berthold/Eckert (eds.), *Der deutsche PEN-Club*, pp. 137–138.

80 H. G. Wells, Speech at the XIV International Congress of the P.E.N., in: *P.E.N. News* 72 (June 1935), p. 5.

81 Heinrich Mann, for instance, was afraid not to be let back into France if he would leave for Spain. As Ernst Toller, Lion Feuchtwanger, and other German exiles were unable to attend, only Klaus Mann was present. Future of P.E.N. The Congress at Barcelona, in: *The Scotsman*, Edinburgh, 29 May 1935, p. 15.

82 Leistikow, *Am Krankenlager*, pp. 698–699.

83 Minutes of the English P.E.N. Executive Committee, 1 May 1935, p. 4, HRHRC.

Since the delegates' travelling expenses were borne by the Argentine Government, the centres were completely relieved from the economic burden of sending delegations.⁸⁴ Except for the Vienna congress in 1929, Buenos Aires hosted the globally most representative congress until after the Second World War.⁸⁵ Multiple centres from South and Central America (Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Mexico, and Uruguay), North America (Canada, USA), Asia (India, Iraq, Japan, Palestine), Australia (Australia and New Zealand), and Europe were present. The sole missing centres were South Africa and China. In total, 86 official delegates attended.⁸⁶

For the first time since the 1924 congress had been held in New York, the P.E.N. hosted its annual gathering outside Europe. By hosting the congress in Argentina, the association succeeded to plant its seeds in South America: Brazilian, Colombian, and Uruguayan Centres emerged the same year. Brazilian scholar Mateus Américo Gaiotto recently examined the Buenos Aires congress in regard to the traditional question of the politicisation of the P.E.N. Gaiotto briefly touches upon globalisation and Eurocentrism:

*By taking, as an example, some of the reports that circulated in the Brazilian press at that time, one can see the prominence given only to European figures in the midst of an event of international proportions, signalling the Eurocentric imaginary.*⁸⁷

Europe, as at every single congress the P.E.N. had held, was by far best represented. Buenos Aires, however, hosted one of only three congresses that succeeded in overcoming a general Eurocentrism – the other two being Scotland in 1934 and Paris in 1937. Brazilian journals reported on a global congress in Argentina with attention to European writers, for instance Austrian Stefan Zweig and Italian Filippo Tommaso Marinetti.⁸⁸ If one considers this Eurocentric, it is a profoundly globalised Eurocentrism.

3.4 Globality Supported by Venue: Paris 1937

The 1937 congress was originally supposed to take place in Rome but changed venue. In response to the initiation of the Rome-Berlin Axis on 25 October 1936, the International Executive Committee on 3 November decided to relocate the congress to Paris.⁸⁹ Temporarily, Stockholm was considered an option. Paris, however, provided a far more eligible infrastructure for hosting a congress rather spontaneously.⁹⁰ Delegates from 47 centres representing 40 countries were present at a time during which

84 Minutes of the English P.E.N. Executive Committee, 23 October 1935, p. 3, HRHRC; Peitsch, Politics, pp. 63–64.

85 P.E.N. News 82 (October 1936), p. 2.

86 Gaiotto, Congresso, pp. 244–246.

87 Ibid. Translated from Portuguese.

88 Correio de Manhã, Rio de Janeiro, 21 September 1926, p. 3, after: Gaiotto, Congresso, p. 248.

89 PEN News 86 (February 1937), p. 2; Rudolf Olden to Herwarth Walden, 23 April 1937, after: Robert Hodonyi, Rudolf Olden – Herwarth Walden. Briefwechsel 1937–1939, in: Sylvia Asmus/Brita Eckert (eds.), Rudolf Olden. Journalist gegen Hitler – Anwalt der Republik. Eine Ausstellung des Deutschen Exilarchivs 1933–1945 der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek Frankfurt am Main, 26. März–28. Juli 2010, Leipzig et al. 2010, p. 139; Minutes of the English P.E.N. Executive Committee, 3 November 1936, pp. 3–4, HRHRC.

90 Nevertheless, the P.E.N. was brought in a predicament. English and International P.E.N.'s Secretary Hermon Ould

the P.E.N. had centres in 42 countries.⁹¹ Paris was inhabited by thousands of foreigners. Alongside Francophiles voluntarily living in Paris, a great many exiled from Germany, Spain, and Russia resided in the French capital. Contrary to 1925, the P.E.N. did not benefit from the local residents only. Most centres were now able to send delegates anywhere in the world. Argentina, Brazil, Chile, China, Colombia, Egypt, Iceland, India, Japan, Mexico, Palestine, and the U.S.A. represented the non-European literary world. In addition, South Africa made its comeback on the international stage and Greece, for the first time, was represented. Members of the Barcelona and Madrid Centres attended as well, although both cities had suffered immensely from the Spanish Civil War.⁹² In addition to the French delegation, more than 350 foreign guests assembled.⁹³ The P.E.N. witnessed its last global congress before the end of war. Franco had already initiated the era of armed clashes on European soil. This congress, however, still remained mainly unaffected by the upheavals in Spain.⁹⁴

4. Globalisation's Abrupt Disintegration

Within only a single year, political quarrels and armed conflicts had emerged and escalated all over the world: Spain remained in the midst of a civil war, Germany had annexed Austria in March, Japan had attacked China without declaring war on 7 July. Consequentially, the Vienna Centre was resolved by Nazi officials, the Madrid Centre ceased to exist, and the Chinese Centre, in face of Japanese invasion, was moved from Shanghai to Hong Kong.⁹⁵ The 1938 congress in Prague was an exclusively European congress that evolved solely around the German threat to Czechoslovakia. The congresses of 1939 and 1940 could not take place. In 1941, writers from 32 countries assembled in London. Yet, the 1941 congress did not assemble writers from across the globe but from across London. Only two writers from the U.S.A. were not residents of the city.⁹⁶ War annihilated the association's ability to further globalise the writers' sphere.

Conclusion

After its first congress in 1923, the P.E.N. Club established an astonishingly wide outreach in merely a couple of years. The club began to connect the European writers'

personally went to Paris in April to help prepare the congress: Minutes of the English P.E.N. Executive Committee, 28 April 1937, p. 4, HRHRC.

91 Fédération internationale des P.E.N. Clubs, XV^e congrès international de la Fédération P.E.N. Paris, 20–27 Juin 1937, pp. 14, 20.

92 Madrid regularly suffered air raids and Barcelona had been ravaged by fights during the May Days. The Civil War already went on for a year. Nevertheless, the Madrid and Barcelona centres had so far been able to persist.

93 Berthold/Eckert (eds.), *Der deutsche PEN-Club*, p. 162.

94 At any rate its globality. Resolutions were passed in solidarity for the Spanish people – indifferent of their political stance. P.E.N. News 90 (July 1937), p. 4.

95 R. A. Wilford, *The PEN Club, 1930–50*, in: *Journal of Contemporary History* 14 (1979) 1, pp. 103–104.

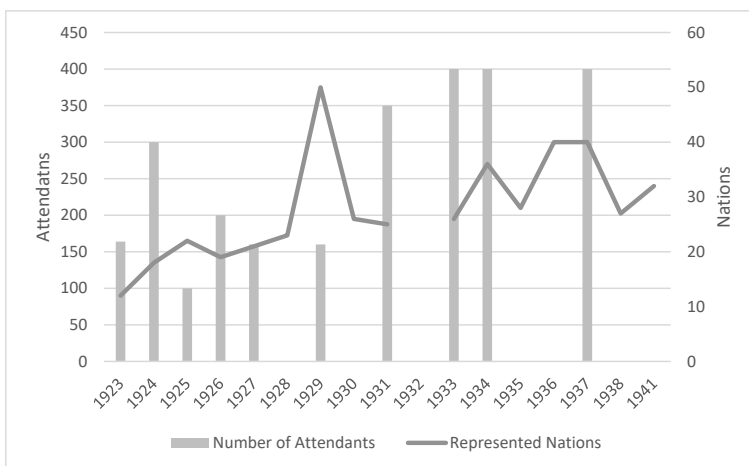
96 Storm Jameson, *The Stranger*, in: *Storm Jameson, The Writer's Situation and Other Essays*, London 1950, p. 118.

sphere, but its influence quickly spilled over the Atlantic. The U.S.A. and Canada became persistent members of the association. Until 1929, the P.E.N. continually grew and set up outposts across the world. The Great Depression, however, decelerated the International P.E.N.'s globalising activities. Strikingly, the P.E.N. overcame the 1930s' obstacles to globalisation and organised its most global congresses in 1934, 1936, and 1937. With the outbreak of war, its globalising efforts completely ceased.

Intriguingly, the P.E.N., succeeded in transforming its Eurocentric internationality into globality in Europe as well as outside. The question remains; did the P.E.N. globalise the writers' sphere? Arguably, not. The association was too exclusive to be viewed as a general representative board of the world's literati. However, did the P.E.N. provide a global space for writers? Arguably, yes. Furthermore, the association enjoyed a vast amount of publicity. Its globalising achievements reached a broader audience than its members. The P.E.N., from 1934 to 1937, built an illustrious circle of established writers from across the globe and shone bright into the political sphere.

Simultaneously, the association underwent its very own politicisation. Fascism as well as anti-fascism arose among the ranks of the P.E.N.'s members. Yet, an alleged correlation would be misleading. The association was not an anti-fascist political organisation and its interim globality did not ground upon a common enemy.⁹⁷ From the very beginning onward, Catherine Amy Dawson Scott had announced the association's purpose to establish connections by operating on a global level. Independent of its political alignment, the P.E.N. did so in both the 1920s and the 1930s. Solely times of war proved to be devastating to the global interconnectedness of writers.

Table I: Statistics of Personal and National Attendance



97 Fascist currents were present during the entire 1930s. The Italian delegation, for instance, used the 1936 congress exclusively to promote fascism: Celia de Aldama Ordóñez, 1936. *La pluma y la espada*. Marinetti, Puccini y Ungaretti en el PEN Club argentino, in: *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* 76 (2019) 1, pp. 329–356.