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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

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Introduction

Usually the history of a little magazine', wrote Malcolm Cowley, 'is summarised in its format. The first issue consists, let us say, of sixty-four pages, with half tone illustrations, printed on coated paper. The second issue has sixty-four pages, illustrated with line cuts. The third has only forty-eight pages; the fourth has thirty-two, without illustrations; the fifth never appears.'¹ Cowley has in mind the short life of the magazine *Broom* during whose final days he served as a co-editor. *Broom* in fact lasted for twenty issues over the three years that it was published in turn in Rome, Berlin, and New York, but did in the end decline by stages in the way Cowley describes. He tells this tale with a light touch but all the same it highlights the serious economic and cultural plight of the 'little magazine': at once dogged by the costs of production, haunted by the threat of censorship, at loggerheads with more conventional publications, and at war with the philistinism of a prevailing business culture.

The beginning of this or other stories of other magazines would tell us why editors and sponsors embarked on this perilous course. They felt, of course, that they would make a difference; that a fight 'for purely aesthetic motives' or for 'a new sort of literature', as Cowley puts it, was worth the struggle, the quarrels, and penury. Magazines of this combative type—which Cyril Connolly termed 'dynamic' (directed 'like a commando course' against 'the enemy position')—shared this cultural ambition with the manifesto of which they were often also the vehicle, 'analogue or extension'.² Richard Ellmann once commented that 'Literary movements pass their infancy in inarticulate disaffection, but mature when they

¹ Malcolm Cowley, *Exile's Return: A Literary Odyssey of the 1920s* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1951), 188.

² Cyril Connolly, 'Little Magazines', [1960] in *The Evening Colonnade* (London: David Bruce and Watson, 1973), 414; Malcolm Bradbury and James McFarlane, 'Movements, Magazines and Manifestoes: The Succession from Naturalism', in *idem* (eds), *Modernism, 1890-1930* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1976), 192-205, esp. 203.

achieve a vocabulary.³ A manifesto is one way for a movement to shift from youthful grumblings to adulthood; starting a magazine in which to publish one's manifesto enables those mature reflections to reach, hopefully, a wider audience. Janet Lyon notes how the manifesto form is linked to a critique of modernity itself, and dates its rise to the late nineteenth century. As she observes:

In the decades following the revolutionary activities of the 1871 Commune, the manifesto emerged as the signature genre for avant-garde groups announcing the birth of artistic movements. The aesthetic coteries of the historical avant-garde—from symbolists to vorticists, from futurists to surrealists—adapted the manifesto's revolutionary discourse to signal their own radical departures from bourgeois artistic forms and practices.⁴

That most of these groups published magazines as well indicates the close ties between the defiance of the manifesto form and the vehicle for that defiance, the magazine. Ezra Pound confirmed this association in his important essay, 'Small Magazines', when he noted that a magazine must have a strong editorial policy of only two or three points and that he was in favour of 'a clear announcement of a program—any program. A review that can't announce a program probably doesn't know what it thinks or where it is going.'⁵ For Pound a magazine does not only publicize the manifestos of a movement, the magazine itself functions as a form of manifesto.

Together magazines and manifestos, along with related artistic activities and forms of independent production, belonged to the institutions that sustained and promoted modernism. Richard Sheppard, discussing German Expressionism, gives the examples of 'the café, the periodical, the back-room press, the reading evening, the little book'.⁶ Often these venues and outlets formed an urban network across which individual writers and artists moved or formed groups or associations. As such, in an active challenge to prevailing orthodoxies, they published new and experimental writing and visual art, announced a new movement and 'became the primary centres for establishing new taste' as Bradbury and McFarlane put it.⁷ Periodicals functioned as points of reference, debate, and transmission at the heart of an internally variegated and often internationally connected counter-cultural sphere, or what we describe below as a network of cultural formations. If they were doomed to flare and fade, powered by a sense of mission out of

³ Richard Ellmann, *Golden Codgers: Biographical Speculations* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 101.

⁴ Janet Lyon, *Manifestoes: Provocations of the Modern* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1999), 5. Also on manifestos see Martin Puchner, *Poetry of the Revolution: Marx, Manifestoes and the Avant-Gardes* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2006).

⁵ Ezra Pound, 'Small Magazines', *English Journal*, 19:9 (Nov. 1930), 703.

⁶ Richard Sheppard, 'German Expressionism', in Bradbury and McFarlane (eds), *Modernism*, 285.

⁷ Bradbury and McFarlane, 'Movements, Magazines and Manifestoes', 204.

all sensible proportion to their financial resources and readerships, magazines belonged to a nexus out of which an ongoing campaign for artistic, intellectual, and broadly political values were launched and launched again. This was, we might say, the dialogic matrix of modernism, at times expressed as an affinity, at times posed in frank opposition to the forms of technological and commercial modernity.

The role of periodicals along these lines—servicing new writing, introducing readers to new movements in the arts across different continents, engendering debate, disseminating ideas, and challenging settled assumptions—is now well recognized in modernist studies. Periodicals, as Peter Marks has pointed out, show us how the newness of modernist forms first came into the world in tentative, exploratory, and dynamic ways. They provide, he writes, 'unrivalled contemporary documentation of . . . ongoing literary developments, of rivalries and collaborations, of short-lived enthusiasms and failed projects and of rich, and illuminating work of lasting value' and as such question and historicize the later monumentalized curriculum of a few select and familiar names.⁸

That the formative role of magazines is not, however, an entirely new recognition is evident from the accounts of those such as Cowley and Connolly, Bradbury and MacFarlane, and the still standard bibliographical works by Hoffman et al. and Sullivan.⁹ For the most part, though, it would be fair to say that magazines have represented an unexplored place on the map, or more prosaically the library shelves and basement archives of modernism, rather than a new intellectual territory busy with students and researchers. Research has been carried out upon what remains a fairly limited range of Anglophone modernist magazines: British magazines such as *The Egoist*, *BLAST*, *The Criterion*, and *Scrutiny*; American magazines such

⁸ Peter Marks, 'Making the New: Literary Periodicals and the Construction of Modernism', *Precursors and Aftermaths: Literature in English 1914–1945*, 2:1 (2004), 37.

⁹ Frederick J. Hoffman, Charles Allen, and Carolyn F. Ulrich, *The Little Magazine: A History and a Bibliography* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947); Alvin Sullivan (ed.), *British Literary Magazines: The Victorian and Edwardian Age, 1837–1913* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1984) and *British Literary Magazines: The Modern Age, 1914–1984* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1986). See also Edward E. Chielens (ed.), *American Literary Magazines: The Twentieth Century* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1992). The following indicate a sporadic but long-term bibliographical interest in the field of broadly modern British magazines: F. W. Faxon, 'Ephemeral Bibelots', *Bulletin of Bibliography* 3 (1903–4); J. R. Tye, *Periodicals of the Nineties. A Checklist of Literary Periodicals Published in the British Isles at Longer than Fortnightly Intervals, 1890–1900* (Oxford: Occasional Publications no. 9, Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1974); Marion Sader (ed.), *Comprehensive Index to English-Language Little Magazines, 1890–1970, Series One*. 8 vols. (Millwood, NY: Kraus-Thomson, 1976). For comparable early studies of modern American magazines, see Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines. Volume V: Sketches of 21 Magazines, 1905–1930* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1968), and Elliott Anderson and Mary Kinzie (eds), *The Little Magazine in America: A Modern Documentary History* (New York: Pushcart Press, 1979).

as *Poetry*, *Little Review*, *Others*, and *The Dial*; and European ventures such as *Transatlantic Review* and *transition* have all warranted attention, some of it in the form of monographs upon specific magazines.¹⁰ Further commentary has focused on thematic clusters of magazines or on questions of gender and the role of editors, the character of magazines in particular periods, or in relation to location and geography.¹¹ But even if we feel we have some available knowledge of the ten magazines listed above, scholars of modernism are increasingly aware of the vast hinterland that remains unexplored. It is easy to name magazines of interest and significance about which relatively little is known: British magazines such as *Voices*, *Form*, *The Acorn*, *Coterie*, *The Apple*, *Venture*, *Seed*, and *Poetry and the People*. In relation to questions of gender and the role of editors the struggles of Dora Marsden and Harriet Shaw Weaver at *The New Freewoman/Egoist*, or Harriet Monroe and *Poetry* are reasonably familiar—but what do we know about the Mexican-born Idella Purnell Stone and her poetry magazine *Palms* (1923–30), or about *Epilogue*, the magazine edited by Laura Riding from Majorca in the 1930s? In terms of location the fact of publishing a modernist magazine in London in the first years of the twentieth century hardly bears comment. However, the different geographical inflections given to magazines published in Ireland (*Dana*, *Samhain*, *Beltaine*, *The Bell*, *Klaxon*), Scotland (*The Evergreen*, *The Modern Scot*, *Northern Review*), or Wales (*The Welsh Review*, *Wales*) have not been sufficiently studied as part of the story of modernism in Britain and Ireland. And to this picture of regional magazines we might add the expatriate publications *Epilogue*, once more, or Gordon Craig's *Mask*, edited from Florence. One of the aims of this volume, therefore, is to venture out into this hinterland of British and Irish periodicals, hoping not only to make readers more aware of this material, but also to stimulate future research into areas, including individual magazines we have

¹⁰ For studies of individual magazines see Nicholas Joost, *Scofield Thayer and The Dial: An Illustrated History* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1964); Douglas McMillan, *transition: The History of a Literary Era, 1927–1938* (London: Calder and Boyars, 1975); Francis Mulhern, *The Moment of Scrutiny* (London: New Left Books, 1979); Paul Edwards (ed.), *Blast: Vorticism 1914–1918* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000); Jason Harding, *The Criterion: Cultural Politics and Periodical Networks in Inter-war Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Suzanne W. Churchill, *The Little Magazine Others and the Renovation of Modern American Poetry* (Aldershot/Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006).

¹¹ On editors and gender see, for example, Ellen Williams, *Harriet Monroe and the Poetry Renaissance: The First Ten Years of Poetry* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1977); Jayne E. Marek, *Women Editing Modernism: 'Little' Magazines and Literary History* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1995); on periods, see A. T. Tolley, *British Literary Periodicals of World War II and Aftermath: A Critical History* (Kemptville, Canada: Golden Dog Press, 2007); and on regions, see Ken Norris, *The Little Magazine in Canada, 1925–1980* (Toronto: ECW Press, 1984); Adam McKible, *The Space and Place of Modernism: The Russian Revolution, Little Magazines and New York* (London/New York: Routledge, 2002).

not been able to consider here.¹² Subsequent volumes on magazines in North America (including Canada) and Europe will add to the further exploration of the field.

Materialist modernisms and periodical codes

Two recent changes in literary studies have had an impact upon the relative neglect of magazines and modernism. The first is the improved access to digitized versions of some magazines, made possible through the use of new technologies, such as has been pioneered by the Modernist Journals Project at Brown University and in which the present project is also engaged.¹³ As Sean Latham argues of modernist criticism in this new age of digital reproduction, such 'technologies... will alter fundamentally our conception of early twentieth-century journals and their place in our critical practices' with fully searchable digital texts removing some of the constraints surrounding access to the materials, thereby 'providing a scholarly technology uniquely suited to the study of the little magazines, one capable of opening new kinds of discursive and historical networks'.¹⁴

The second change follows from what can be termed the 'materialist turn' in modernist studies, which can be seen in the increased attention to questions of the text and historicity. George Bornstein, a proponent of this deepening of the textual criticism characteristic of contemporary literary studies, has argued, for example, for the importance of 'examining modernism in its original sites of production and the continually shifting physicality of its texts and transmissions'.¹⁵ As Bornstein demonstrates in his account of Marianne Moore's poetry, publication in magazines such as *The Egoist* or *Poetry* produces very different poetic texts, according to the

¹² Mainly for reasons of space we have been unable to include chapters on a number of magazines in the period covered. We were unable, for example, to include magazines such as Douglas Goldring's *The Tramp* (1910–11), Holbrook Jackson's *Today* (1917–24), A. R. Orage's *New English Weekly* (1932–49), Ronald Duncan's *Townsmen* (1938–45), or *Seven* (1938–40): all magazines with an interesting take on modernism and the modern. We also decided not to include *Wheels* (1916–21), the Sitwells' vehicle for modern poetry, since it had more of the character of an anthology (the first issue was subtitled 'An Anthology of Verse') than a magazine and hence was on a par with the Georgian and Imagist anthologies.

¹³ For the website of the Modernist Magazines Project see <http://modmags.cts.dmu.ac.uk/>. One notable and unresolved problem facing the digitization of magazines is the issue of copyright. For Brown's Modernist Journals Project see <http://dl.lib.brown.edu:8081/exist/mjp/index.xml>.

¹⁴ Sean Latham, 'New Age Scholarship: The Work of Criticism in the Age of Digital Reproduction', *New Literary History*, 35:3 (Summer 2004), 412–13. See also Sean Latham and Robert Scholes, 'The Rise of Periodical Studies', *PMLA*, 121:2 (March 2005), 517–31.

¹⁵ George Bornstein, *Material Modernisms: The Politics of the Page* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 1.

specific forms of layout employed by each magazine and the juxtaposition of material alongside the poem. Bornstein thus argues that an alteration in 'the bibliographic and contextual codes changes the meaning of the poem, even though the words remain the same.'¹⁶ Bornstein is here following the division proposed by Jerome McGann between the linguistic codes (the semiotics and semantics of the actual words) and the bibliographic codes of a text (such matters as 'typefaces, bindings, book prices, page format').¹⁷ A number of contributors to this volume analyse the bibliographic codes of specific magazines, emphasizing an important point made by McGann that in any text 'Meaning is transmitted through bibliographical as well as linguistic codes' and that these two signifying systems work together to generate the overall meaning of a text.¹⁸ The physical material of the magazine itself is, therefore, a crucial factor in understanding the texts and images found within its pages.

We can also make McGann's bibliographic codes more precise by discussing a particular subset, the *periodical codes* at play in any magazine, analysing a whole range of features including page layout, typefaces, price, size of volume (not all 'little' magazines are little in size), periodicity of publication (weekly, monthly, quarterly, irregular), use of illustrations (colour or monochrome, the forms of reproductive technology employed), use and placement of advertisements, quality of paper and binding, networks of distribution and sales, modes of financial support, payment practices towards contributors, editorial arrangements, or the type of material published (poetry, reviews, manifestos, editorials, illustrations, social and political comment, etc.). We can also distinguish between periodical codes internal to the design of a magazine (paper, typeface, layout, etc.) and those that constitute its external relations (distribution in a bookshop, support from patrons). However, it is often the *relationship* between internal and external periodical codes that is most significant. Advertisements, for example, constitute both internal and external codes, indicating, on the one hand, an external relationship to an imagined readership and a relationship to the world of commerce and commodities, while operating, on the other hand, in their placement on the page or position in the magazine as a whole, as part of the magazine's internal code. There is a world of difference between a magazine that only advertises bookshops or other publishers tucked away in the back pages, and the example from the front page of *The Adelphi* seen in Figure 1.

¹⁶ Bornstein, *Material Modernisms*, 99.


¹⁷ See Jerome McGann, *The Textual Condition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 13. See also D. F. McKenzie on the importance of the material forms of books in his *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

¹⁸ McGann, *Textual Condition*, 57, 67.

SEE THE NAME **Cadbury** ON EVERY PIECE OF CHOCOLATE

JANUARY, 1925 MONTHLY VOL. II NO. 1

The Adelphi




EDITED BY JOHN MIDDLETON MURRY

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Fig. 1. Cover of *The Adelphi* (Jan. 1925) and advertisements from *Rhythm* (1912-13)

The Adelphi was edited by John Middleton Murry in the 1920s and made abundant use of advertisements, ranging from 10 to 25 per cent of the total page contents.¹⁹ Not only the back and front inner pages but also the front and back covers were given over to adverts, and although many were for publishers and book-sellers, others were for department stores like Harvey Nichols and Debenhams. Also prominent on the front covers from 1923 to 1925 were advertisements for chocolates and typewriters, essential items, we might say, for all writers. However, an interesting comparison can be made with an earlier magazine edited by Murry, *Rhythm* (1911–13). The percentage of advertisements contained in *Rhythm* is, overall, less than that of *The Adelphi*. There are no adverts in the first two issues, and then only on three of the forty-two pages of the next issue. The change of publisher in 1912 saw a modest rise in the number of advertisements, now placed in the initial pages as well as towards the end of the magazine. Adverts never averaged more than around 10 per cent of the total, however, which either testifies to a reticence by the editors or, as seems more likely given the parlous state of Murry and his publisher's finances, an inability to attract more extensive custom.²⁰ The majority of the advertisements are for cultural products—publisher's lists, galleries, other magazines (*Poetry Review*, or the important Berlin magazine, *Der Sturm*, for example), or art suppliers (see Fig. 1). A number of adverts are from friends (the Parma Rooms was run by Ida Baker, under the name of 'Lesley Moore', who was a friend of Katherine Mansfield, a key contributor to *Rhythm* who indeed did have her hair scientifically combed) or professional colleagues (the Paris Ashnour Galleries run by Horace Holley, a friend of *Rhythm* artists, Anne Estelle Rice and J. D. Fergusson).

Comparing the periodical codes in this respect points up a significant difference between these two magazines. That Murry found adverts for a range of commodities more acceptable in the later *Adelphi* indicates how external relations to the economic realities of magazine publishing impinged upon it, altering the periodical codes displayed in the adverts, and thus changing the meanings of the magazine overall. Attention to these and other periodical codes interestingly returns us, assisted by a more robust analytical apparatus, to the claim made at the start of this Introduction by Malcolm Cowley that 'the history of a little magazine is summarised in its format'.

A further relevant aspect of the materialist turn in modernist studies concerns the question of historicity. In this volume Ann Ardis argues that modernist studies needs both to historicize the conventions of modern literary history and to distance itself 'from the interpretative and evaluative paradigms through which the study of early twentieth-century literature and art was institutionalized in the 1920s, '30s

¹⁹ For example, *Adelphi* 11:2 for 1924 has 90 pages, with around 10½ full pages devoted to adverts; 1:7 for 1923 has 110 pages in total, with 23 devoted to advertisements.

²⁰ Murry was almost bankrupt by the collapse of the paper on two occasions; see Anthony Alpers, *The Life of Katherine Mansfield* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), ch. 7 for details.

and beyond'. In particular, this recommends us to decentre, but not to dismiss, the works comprising the established modernist canon, to critique the terms of canon formation, and to resituate its authors and texts in the broader originary field which Ardis describes as 'the work of the modernist avant-garde, as published in its original material historical context(s)'.

The Modernist Magazine Project, of which this and two further volumes are a central part, was conceived much in this spirit. Our general aim has been to elaborate upon what Michael Levenson described as a 'micro-sociology of modernist innovation, within which small groups of artists were able to sustain their resolve... to create small flourishing communities'.²¹ 'Little magazines', as suggested above, were a key context and vehicle for such innovation, resolve, and expressions of community: a meeting point for both major and minor contributors to artistic modernism. To this end, the following chapters aim to illuminate the rich, miscellaneous contents of the magazines, examining the role of editors, sponsors, and patrons, and the relations between readers, advertisers, printers, censors, and an emerging mass press. These multiple relationships shaped both individual magazines and groups of magazines in the dialogic network of modern arts and ideas.

Modern, modernist, avant-garde

Such an historicizing and materialist approach brings its own interpretative strategies and agenda. Periodical study is well established in Victorian Studies but there is a thrill for many critics and scholars of modernism in entering a largely under-researched archive of original documents.²² It would be foolish, however, to suppose that this material yielded its significance to a supposedly objective gaze. There are questions at the outset, and only touched on above, of definition and method. First of all, the terminology of the 'modern', 'modernist', and the 'avant-garde' clearly shadows any recent research in the field.²³ In one commonly accepted move, the singular authority of the largely Anglo-American and male

²¹ Michael Levenson, 'Introduction', to Levenson (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Modernism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 6.

²² The Research Society for Victorian Periodicals (RSVP; <http://www.rs4vp.org>) has been in existence since 1968.

²³ See, amongst numerous studies, Matei Calinescu, *Five Faces of Modernity: Modernism, Avant-Garde, Decadence, Kitsch, Postmodernism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1987); Raymond Williams, *The Politics of Modernism: Against the New Conformists* (London: Verso, 1989); Peter Nicholls, *Modernisms: A Literary Guide* (London: Macmillan, 1995); and Hal Foster, Rosalind Krauss, Yve-Alain Boi, and Benjamin Buchloh, *Art since 1900: Modernism, Antimodernism, Postmodernism* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 2005). For a recent attempt to redefine and reactivate this field see two articles by Susan Stanford Friedman: 'Definitional Excursions: The Meanings of Modern/Modernity/Modernism', *Modernism/Modernity*, 8:3 (Sept. 2001), 493-513.

modernist canon has been placed 'under erasure'; that is to say, acknowledged as a institutionalized cultural phenomenon while at the same time dispersed into the settings and relationships out of which it emerged. The poststructuralist concept of 'difference' has been accordingly evoked to dispel the hierarchies of high and low and their associated vocabularies of elite or minority and mass or popular. The result of this cultural deconstruction, however, can seem to have merely replaced a former hierarchy with a flat plateau of newly expandable, rhizomatically branching modernisms. A pluralist recognition of different modernisms, that is to say, once it has questioned the selective attribution of cultural value bestowed upon an established orthodoxy, is prone to substitute a paradoxically undifferentiated plane of difference for distinctions of value. A more historicized and materialist deconstruction will seek to disclose how different modernisms are marked by the accents of gender, sexuality, ethnicity, and region, and, as indicated above, will investigate the relations between *artistic* forms, techniques, and strategies and prevailing social and *economic* conditions.²⁴

A further, suggestive position, adumbrated by Ann Ardis, would seek to retain the antagonism towards dominant forms and values associated with 'avant-garde cultural politics' and deploy the category of the 'modern' as a term encompassing both this combative impulse and an experimental but latterly 'normalized' modernism.²⁵ A similar distinction was drawn by Raymond Williams's proposal that we understand the largely 'retrospective' labels 'modernism' and the 'avant-garde' as designating, firstly, 'alternative, radically innovating experimental artists and writers' who 'proposed a new kind of art for a new kind of social and perceptual world' and, secondly, 'fully oppositional groups' aggressively determined on 'a breakthrough to the future' by way of a militant 'creativity which would revive and liberate humanity'.²⁶ This thinking has the double advantage of bringing a politicized investment and historicized self-consciousness to the conception of plural modernisms laid across a stratified, synchronic field of 'difference'. It enables us to recover both the energies of a range of internally harmonious *and* discordant

and 'Periodizing Modernism: Postcolonial Modernities and the Space/Time Borders of Modernist Studies', *Modernism/Modernity*, 13:3 (Sept. 2006), 425-43.

²⁴ See Jennifer Wicke's comment that 'Appreciation—valuing—enthusiasm must be rigorous, historical, aesthetically incisive, and politically aware all at once': 'Appreciation, Depreciation: Modernism's Speculative Bubble', *Modernism/Modernity*, 8:3 (Sept. 2001), 402. See also on these issues, inter alia, Michael North, *The Dialect of Modernism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994); Suzanne W. Churchill and Adam McKible (eds), *Little Magazines and Modernism* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007); Ann L. Ardis and Leslie W. Lewis, *Women's Experience of Modernity, 1875-1945* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003); and Robert Scholes, *Paradox of Modernism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006).

²⁵ Ann Ardis, 'The Dialogics of Modernism(s) in the *New Age*', *Modernism/Modernity*, 14:3 (Sept. 2007), 428 n. 6, 427 n. 4.

²⁶ Williams, *The Politics of Modernism*, 51.

'dialogic' voices and the specificities of a variegated material cultural history (the 'modern') in which they took part.

Periodical studies in this respect brings a new focus to these questions of analysis and the distinctions between 'modernism', the 'modern', and the 'avant-garde'. The words in our own series' title 'Modernist Magazines' would seem to opt for one term. While in itself this simplifies the complexity of usage, it oversees a reflection on this very category and serves to introduce a set of case studies of magazines which participated in the *making* of a 'modernist' cultural aesthetic and the institution of modernism. For this specific history the 'modern' is too capacious a term, and for this present British-based history, the 'avant-garde' makes too infrequent an appearance. We see this history, nonetheless, as a complex process built upon singular, joint, and opposed contributions expressing sometime avant-gardist, modern, anti-modern, and anti-modernist positions. Our judgement over what to count as a 'modernist magazine' has centred upon an understanding of the dominant character of a magazine, of how it contains sufficient material to constitute some version of modernism or significant discussion of modernism, or is closely related to other important contemporary cultural formations or attitudes towards the newness of social modernity. This project, it is useful to emphasize, is not about periodical culture per se, but about how modernism emerged in particular forms of periodical and how modernism itself impelled into being certain, very diverse, types of publication. A number of other types of periodicals and publications, including mass-market magazines, the mainstream press, and printers and small presses, also played a part in this.²⁷ Our survey is inevitably limited, therefore, but, we hope, sufficiently comprehensive and suggestive to inspire other studies.

Defining 'littleness'

If the term 'modernism' signals an indicative and not exclusive terrain, the companion term 'magazine' raises questions of its own. The starting point here is the subgenre of the 'little magazine', often thought to be short-lived, committed to experiment, in constant financial difficulties, and indifferent or directly opposed to commercial considerations. A description along these lines was sketched out in Hoffman, Allen, and Ulrich's *The Little Magazine*, published in 1947 and is still a

²⁷ For work on presses and printers see, for example, Jane Lidderdale and Mary Nicholson, *Dear Miss Weaver* (London: Faber and Faber, 1970); Laura Marcus, 'Virginia Woolf and the Hogarth Press', in Ian Willison, Warwick Gould, and Warren Chernaik (eds), *Modernist Writers and the Market Place* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1996), 124–50; James G. Nelson, *Elkin Mathews, Publisher to Yeats, Joyce, Pound* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989) and *The Early Nineties: A View from the Bodley Head* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971); and Mark Morrisson, *The Public Face of Modernism: Little Magazines, Audiences and Reception, 1905–1920* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2001).

common source of reference. Their account attributes two leading features to the corpus of 'little magazines'. Firstly, that they live 'a kind of private life... on the margins of culture' as 'sponsors of innovation', and have often 'raised defiantly the red flag of protest and rebellion against tradition and convention'.²⁸ Secondly, 'A little magazine is a magazine designed to print artistic work which for reasons of commercial expediency is not acceptable to the money-minded periodicals or presses.'²⁹ Such magazines are 'noncommercial by intent' and 'appeal only to a limited group, generally not more than a thousand persons'. In this respect 'little' does not refer to size, contents, or lack of payment to contributors, but 'designated... a limited group of intelligent readers'. The contributors to 'little magazines', at odds with convention and tradition, are therefore mirrored by a readership willing to learn about 'the particular schools of literature that the magazines represented'.³⁰

We might note that 'reasons of commercial expediency' and 'noncommercial intent' are not the same thing, and wonder whether a group of writers and artists on the margins is the same company who would mount, in Williams's description above of the avant-garde, a 'breakthrough to the future' of liberated humanity,³¹ but these are the kind of contradictions and compromises of rhetoric with economic and political reality in which the 'little magazine' was embedded. Dora Marsden, editor of the *New Freewoman/Egoist*, pointed to just such a contradiction when appealing for money from readers and supporters: 'The fact that practically all papers are sold below cost is the reason why the English Press has to be subsidised by advertiser or capitalist, and in consequence laid open to corruption.'³²

Another important aspect of Hoffman's definition of 'little' is the focus upon the readership as 'a limited group of *intelligent* readers' (emphasis added). This indicates the New Critical heritage behind Hoffman's volume and the influence of a related modernist critical orthodoxy. T. S. Eliot, for example, in his 1926 article, 'The Idea of a Literary Review', noted that a review's heterogeneous content should 'resolve into order' for the 'intelligent reader'. It will reach to the assumed 'interests of any intelligent person with literary taste' or 'the man of general culture'.³³ Recent work by Mark Morrisson has stressed a contrary tendency in certain modernist magazines, an impulse 'to enter into what we now call the public sphere, rather than to create magazines to cater to a small elite'.³⁴ Chapters in this volume on

²⁸ Hoffman, *The Little Magazine*, Preface, p. v.

²⁹ Ibid. 2.

³⁰ Ibid. 2-3.

³¹ Williams, *Politics of Modernism*, 51.

³² Dora Marsden, 'Circular', for the *New Freewoman*, 1913, British Library, ADD Ms 57355.

³³ T. S. Eliot, 'The Idea of a Literary Review', *New Criterion*, 4:1 (Jan. 1926), 2, 4.

³⁴ Morrisson, *The Public Face of Modernism*, 17. Another drawback with Hoffman's definition concerns the historiography of the term 'little magazine', which he suggests only starts during the First World War. This ignores earlier instances of its usage and, crucially, its roots in continental Europe. F. W. Faxon's guide to 'Ephemeral Bibelots' of 1903 makes much use of the term to describe

magazines such as *Time and Tide* or *New Writing* confirm Morrisson's insight that certain, though not all, publications, sought out more than a minority of intelligent readers.

A more recent definition by Churchill and McKible echoes, yet broadens, the features identified by Hoffman:

little magazines are non-commercial enterprises founded by individuals or small groups intent upon publishing the experimental works or radical opinions of untried, unpopular or under-represented writers. Defying mainstream tastes and conventions, some little magazines aim to uphold higher artistic and intellectual standards than their commercial counterparts, while others seek to challenge conventional political wisdom and practice.³⁵

Both Hoffman's account and this description would embrace modernist innovation and avant-garde cultural politics as distinguished above. In general, however, they both incline to the latter and indeed Hoffman had suggested that 'advance guard' might be a better name than 'little magazine'.³⁶

Many British and Irish magazines, it must be said, meet Churchill and McKible's description: amongst the most well known would be *BLAST*, *The Egoist*, and *Rhythm*. Most of the magazines discussed in this and future volumes are devoted to a conception of the new, even where a valued art and literature belongs to the past and is thought due for renewal: they struggle financially, and are, at their most successful, advocates of an adversarial minority cultural position who find a supportive, independently minded readership. At the same time, however, many key magazines like *The New Age*, *The Athenaeum*, and *Criterion* do not conform to the type delineated above. Some claim, or are given, different identities by the more neutral sounding 'periodical' or 'journal', some take on the more traditional subhead of 'quarterly' or 'weekly', and some present themselves as more popular 'papers' or as more highbrow and academic, 'literary' or 'critical

chapbooks and hundreds of other such publications before 1900. One clear European antecedent for the term is found in Remy de Gourmont's essay and bibliography of *Les Petites Revues*, published in a 1900 edition by the Bookshop of the *Mercure de France*.

³⁵ Adam McKible and Suzanne Churchill, 'Little Magazines and Modernism: An Introduction', *American Periodicals: A Journal of History, Criticism and Bibliography*, 15:1 (2005), 3.

³⁶ Hoffman, *Little Magazine*, 3. Of interest in this respect are the earlier accounts by Ezra Pound in his essay on 'Small Magazines' (1930) and William Carlos Williams's 'The Advance Guard Magazine', *Contact* (Feb. 1932, Second Series 1, no. 18), 86-90. Williams's essay comprises brief notes on a dozen or so American-based 'small magazines' motivated in their reaction to Europe and the national monthlies by 'a desire for conscious self expression' (87). Innovations in verse were, he says, 'to the forefront' (*ibid.*). Most magazines, however, in Williams's view, soon failed on one count or another. He ends interestingly with the comment that the "small magazine" ... represents the originality of our generation free of an economic burden' and the maxim that 'The measure of the intelligent citizen is the discretion with which he breaks the law' (89-90).

reviews'. Even as 'little magazines' a number are on occasion, by instinct, or on principle, more conservative in form and content (*New Numbers*); some have more stable subscription lists (*Century Guild Hobby Horse*) or large readerships (*New Writing*); others acquire the sponsorship of individuals, publishers, or institutions (*Egoist*, *Criterion*, *Close Up*, *Tyro*); many welcomed commercial advertising (*Life and Letters*, *Adelphi*) and some survived for a longer period than the stereotypical fugitive magazine (*The New Age*, *The Mask*). The 'little magazine' and companion small press, it should also be said, has survived longer than the cut-off point of the 1930s so often suggested in critical accounts, and even into the age of the Internet.³⁷

The 'little magazine' is, then, '[d]iverse in size, agenda and longevity' as Churchill and McKible put it.³⁸ This diversity and the internal tensions on occasion of format and content is brought out particularly well in Edward Bishop's attention to the 'bibliographic environment' or what we have termed the 'periodical codes' of a range of magazines from *The Yellow Book* and *The Savoy* to *The Criterion*. Thus, the controversial topics of the sex war, masturbation, and homosexuality discussed in Dora Marsden's *Freewoman* appear in a 'deeply conservative' format which claims a seriousness through its use of 'heavy titling and solid blocks of print' much like the *Times Literary Supplement*.³⁹ But as the more literary *Egoist*, known amongst other things for its publication of Joyce, the magazine dropped the subtitle 'an individualist review' and 'the heavy, barbed Latin Antique typeface' for 'the more slender and elegant Cason, with Garamond italics for the leading article'. In the end, under the editorship of Harriet Shaw Weaver and T. S. Eliot (as assistant editor), Bishop argues, it became 'more refined' in appearance and content, losing 'some of the punchy, bull-dog quality' of earlier editions.⁴⁰ The American *Little Review*, perhaps a more consistently cutting-edge publication and also known—and subject to legal censure—for its publication of Joyce, was pointedly amateur: 'the cover is not a cover, it is at first just a paste-on label or the table of contents in a colour patch stencil on to the flimsy paper, seldom centre exactly, and not bothered by the occasional bit of overspray at the sides.'⁴¹ It was committed to experiment

³⁷ The view of the short life of the 'little magazine' is summed up succinctly by Edward Bishop: 'The little magazine flourished for about forty years, from 1895 to 1935.' 'Re:covering Modernism—Format and Function in the Little Magazines', in Willison, Gould, and Chernaik (eds), *Modernist Writers and the Marketplace*, 287. But see David Miller and Richard Price, *British Poetry Magazines 1914–2000: A History and Bibliography of 'Little Magazines'* (London: British Library Publishing, 2006). A notable example of an Internet magazine is *Jacket* accessible on <http://jacketmagazine.com/00/home.shtml>. *Jacket* was established by John Tranter in 1997. It is committed, like many traditional 'little magazines', to new poetry and new poetry criticism but has no advertising, is distributed free to readers across the world, and makes all its back issues permanently available. *Jacket* uses the technology of the Internet, says Tranter, in terms reminiscent of an earlier avant-garde impulse, to pull capitalism 'inside out'.

³⁸ McKible and Churchill, 'Little Magazines', 3.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid. 307.

³⁹ Bishop, 'Re:covering Modernism', 300.

in the arts and provocatively declared its intention to make 'no compromise with the public taste'. At the same time, it welcomed advertising (for, amongst other things, Goodyear tyres, restaurants and tea-shops in Greenwich Village, or the prize-winning popular fiction *Diane of the Green Van*). Its periodical codes would seem to conflict with its uncompromising cultural politics, but in essence it simply used the economic means at hand for its own ends rather than be used by them. In Pierre Bourdieu's terms, in knowingly exploiting the meagre resources of 'economic capital' available to it, *The Little Review* accumulated significant 'symbolic value'.⁴² A third example, *Poetry* (Chicago) in Bishop's account, declared its conservatism in its 'black letter typeface with the initial capital letters set off in red' and 'the device (also in red) of a scroll and pen' on its title page.⁴³ Though under Ezra Pound's influence *Poetry* was the first to publish the Imagists, its editor Harriet Monroe was, to his lasting frustration, cautious about Eliot. It nevertheless enjoyed a degree of 'economic capital', through its Chicago backers and in the eyes of contributors, since it paid \$10 a page, whereas *The Little Review* paid nothing. Only with Eliot's *Criterion*—launched with the financial backing of Lady Rothermere and subsequently published at a loss by Faber and Gwyer—did economic and symbolic or cultural capital coincide. This was fitting, we might think, given Eliot's skill in achieving the best economic and cultural advantage in the publication of his *The Waste Land* in *The Dial*.⁴⁴

All of these magazines, whether more conservative or more radical, earned a reputation as supporters of 'modernism', whether in its more formally experimental or culturally combative modes. Some other magazines which included modern or new writers were not at all 'little magazines'. H. L. Mencken's *Smart Set*, for example, seems closer to mass-market American magazines such as *Vanity Fair* or *The New Yorker*, but included work by Conrad, Pound, Joyce, Lawrence, and Scott Fitzgerald. Other magazines, amongst those considered in this volume, such as *Form* or *The London Mercury* were non- or anti-modernist, though they were engaged in determining questions of literary, artistic, and moral value and in promoting a rival notion, for or against, of what it was to be modern. In the case of *The London Mercury*, seen by Middleton Murry as an arch-rival to his own *Adelphi* and fellow progressives, this meant that its editor J. C. Squire did regularly review and debate with tendencies he opposed. The non- or anti-modernist therefore gave definition to the modernist, just as the latter gave definition to the more radical avant-garde. Others attempted to blast both modernist and

⁴² Ibid. For this distinction in Bourdieu, see his *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993) and *The Rules of Art: Genesis and Structure of the Literary Field* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995).

⁴³ Bishop, 'Re:covering Modernism', 307.

⁴⁴ Ibid. 309–14. And see Lawrence Rainey, *Institutions of Modernism: Literary Elites and Public Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), ch. 3.

anti-modernist positions. One minor example is *The London Aphrodite* (1928-9), started by two Australians in London, Jack Lindsay and P. R. Stephensen, as a deliberate retort to *The London Mercury*. An initial manifesto, however, attacked both Squire's magazine and the camp he opposed: 'We stand for a point of view which equally outrages the modernist and the reactionary,' proclaimed the first issue.⁴⁵ Both camps, however, outlived the assault by the *Aphrodite*. The fuller picture, therefore, confirms the need to view magazines and the variety of tendencies comprising ideas of the modern as a lively congress of opinion and exchange rather than a flat segmented map or set of inflexible hierarchies. Clearly the juxtaposition Hoffman implies between the 'little' magazine and its larger rivals simply will not capture the nuanced distinctions evident in the periodical culture of modernism.

Equally complex is the distinction between the minority 'little magazine' and mainstream publications and their respective relations to dominant cultural attitudes, mores, and economies. It is a mistake clearly, given the above, to see this relation as a static binary opposition of distinct, homogenous areas. If mainstream or hegemonic culture, by definition, exercises power it does so for the most part by gaining consent and through strategies of exclusion, negotiation, or assimilation. Magazines in their turn, existing on the margins, and as part of a stratified counter or subaltern public sphere, contest, appropriate, and negotiate with this dominant realm. The chapters by Ardis, Dowson, and Morrisson, in particular, draw on Jürgen Habermas and others to explore the notion of the public and counter public sphere. We need a flexible and dialogic version of this distinction between spheres to understand the dynamic of the avant-garde and the relative stability, over time, of a 'normalized' modernism, overtaken, side-stepped, or made new again by its inheritors. We need to appreciate too the play of 'symbolic capital' accumulated by conspicuously non-commercial magazines against the hard-nosed economic capital which structures their very form and determines their survival. In addition we should note how 'symbolic capital' might accrue to a commercial publication that includes the avant-garde as a marker of its own 'being modern'.⁴⁶

Cultural formations

Discussion along these lines, informed by Habermas and Pierre Bourdieu, clearly assists us in framing the heterogeneous field of modernism in magazines. So too, we believe, does the work of Raymond Williams and his elaboration of the concepts of

⁴⁵ Jack Lindsay, cited in Earl G. Ingersoll, 'The *London Aphrodite*', in Sullivan, *British Literary Magazines*, 237.

⁴⁶ This aspect is seen in the publication or discussion of avant-garde figures such as Stein and Joyce in American mainstream magazines such as *Vanity Fair* or *The New Yorker*.

hegemony and formations.⁴⁷ Williams's distinction between 'dominant', 'residual', and 'emergent' cultural tendencies or practices has at the outset a flexibility that other more static identifications of the unitary character of cultural epochs or binary distinctions do not have. '[T]he complexity of culture', Williams writes, 'is to be found... in the dynamic interrelations at every point in the process, of historically varied and variable elements.'⁴⁸ The 'residual' he describes as that which 'has been effectively formed in the past, but it is still active in the cultural process, not only and often not at all as an element of the past, but as an effective element of the present'; 'emergent' emphasizes how 'new meanings and values, new practices, new relationships and kinds of relationship are continually being created'.⁴⁹ At the same time both the 'residual' and 'emergent' are defined in their variable relations with the dominant, itself responsive to change. Thus 'some part' or 'some version' of a residual cultural element 'will in most cases have had to be incorporated if the effective dominant culture is to make sense in these areas'.⁵⁰ Similarly, of the new meanings and practices associated with the 'emergent', Williams writes how 'it is exceptionally difficult to distinguish between those which are really elements of some new phase of the dominant culture... and those which are substantially alternative or oppositional to it, emergent in the strict sense, rather than merely novel.'⁵¹

Williams's model of a stratified cultural order in the process of change has a number of advantages for the study of periodical culture. In general, it offers a way of describing the relation of magazines to a hegemonic mainstream as an active and changing set of relationships, but also helps us identify 'residual' and 'emergent' emphases *within* single magazines or across the career of a changing title, group, or generation. Williams's terms therefore provide us with a cultural vocabulary, or the beginnings of a such a vocabulary, for describing, for example, the coexistence in *The English Review* of the established Thomas Hardy and Henry James along with the 'emergent' Pound and Wyndham Lewis; for situating the differences between the contemporaneous 'residual' features of *The Athenaeum* and the 'emergent' avant-gardist *BLAST*; for tracking the changes which took *Rhythm* from its experimental first phase of 'Bergsonian modernism' to its life as the more conventionally Georgian *Blue Review*; and for investigating the 'novel', 'alternative', or 'oppositional' features of the politically radical *Cambridge Left*, *Left Review*, and *Poetry and the People* in the 1930s, or of the several magazines edited by Scottish poet and polemicist C. M. Grieve (Hugh MacDiarmid). Many of these examples are taken up in the following chapters.

⁴⁷ See in particular Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977); *Culture* (London: Fontana, 1981); and 'The Bloomsbury Fraction', in *Problems in Materialism and Culture* (London: Verso, 1980).

⁴⁸ Williams, *Marxism and Literature*, 121.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* 122, 123.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 123.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

The second related term introduced by Williams is that of 'cultural formations'. The term is a useful one in that it serves to connect a general social history of culture to specific cultural productions, styles, and forms (such as the many 'movements' or 'isms' which appeared increasingly in the modern period). A cultural formation is a formal or informal association of individuals engaged in some nature of cultural production which in turn sets them in different relations with broader trends in society. Williams discusses three artistic groupings in detail in these terms: William Godwin and his Circle, the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, and Bloomsbury, and we can readily see how this description might apply to some of the magazines of the 1930s, as above, or to the critical movement associated with the magazine *Scrutiny* (see Chapter 35).⁵² The emphasis on the group and the companionship, collaboration, and friction across artistic debate and social identities this involves is crucial to our understanding of how magazines work and how they encapsulate dialogic features in modernism(s) at large.

Williams's discussion is suggestive, therefore, on a number of counts, particularly in its emphasis on the social relations of even relatively informal modes of cultural association and production. Even in Williams's main examples, however (the 'relatively simple' Pre-Raphaelites and the 'relatively complex' formation of Bloomsbury), he introduces a typology 'in bare outline' which remains at many points in need of elaboration and concrete demonstration.⁵³ One general issue concerns the variety and scale of cultural formations: guilds or professional associations; the loosely organized and short-lived independent groupings of friends and associates we often see with 'little magazines'; and 'Schools' or 'movements' such as Futurism or Surrealism. The most important and useful analytical guide across this wide field is the distinction Williams draws between a formation's *internal organization* as a group and its *external relations*, both proposed and actual, to other organizations and to society more broadly. 'Little magazines' often belong to the type of 'independent formations' whose internal organization is 'not based on formal membership, but organised around some *collective public manifestation*, such as an exhibition, a group press or periodical, or an explicit manifesto'.⁵⁴ This *collective* manifestation would distinguish those magazines produced by and representing a group agreed on a common literary or artistic taste or set of values, from a more individual production (one thinks of the difference between the cultural formation linked to *Scrutiny* and a magazine such as Lewis's *Enemy*). Not

⁵² See *Marxism and Literature*, 115-20; *Culture*, 56-86; and 'The Bloomsbury Fraction', 148-69. For a detailed analysis of this notion see David Peters Corbett and Andrew Thacker, 'Raymond Williams and Cultural Formations: Movements and Magazines', *Prose Studies* 16:2 (August 1993), 84-106. Francis Mulhern argues in his study of *Scrutiny* that magazines comprise a set of practices in a specific history bound to other histories in a general historical conjuncture. *Scrutiny* he sees 'not as an expression of a master-subject (Leavis) but as a play of many voices, within the ideological formation of which *Scrutiny* was the organizer and bearer'. *The Moment of Scrutiny* ('Preface', p. ix).

⁵³ Williams, *Culture*, 81-2.

⁵⁴ Ibid. 68.

all magazines, that is to say, embody a cultural formation. Sometimes, too, more than one manifestation (exhibition, press, periodical, manifesto) will be associated with a particular group (the Vorticists and *BLAST*); sometimes, indeed most often, a group will do no more than found a magazine, unaccompanied by other events or even by a manifesto.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, says Williams, a change occurred in the nature of certain cultural groups: some became not only internally structured as a 'working organization', but started to cohere around 'some much more general programme, including many or indeed all the arts, and often additionally, in relation to this, some very general cultural (and often "political") position'.⁵⁵ As examples he cites Futurism and Surrealism, groups working across various media, but also espousing general positions on the nature of society. At this point, the analysis of cultural formations, suggests Williams, requires us to attend not only to their internal organization but to their external relations to the wider world. He distinguishes between three types of such external relations: 'specializing' (which seek to support work in a particular medium or style); 'alternative' (which provide for forms of work excluded by present institutions); and 'oppositional' (which directly oppose existing institutions and the social and political conditions which uphold them).⁵⁶ All of these types can be explained by the increased diversity and specialization encouraged by a liberal market economy and associated class relations: either to occupy a niche position (specializing) or to set themselves against 'the practices and values of a "commercial" and "mechanical" civilisation' (alternative and oppositional).⁵⁷

Williams's emphasis is upon the social relations and public manifestation of forms of cultural production, of which magazines are but one example. Analysis of a wide range of magazines such as in the present volume demonstrates a landscape of perhaps more gradations than Williams's tripartite structure of specializing, alternative, and oppositional positions can easily capture. Some magazines can clearly be linked to fully formed cultural formations in which explicit positions are taken on the cultural or political issues (often found in the editorial statements and common in Left magazines of the 1930s); other magazines are linked to groups with an informal internal organization but who retreat from any active external relations to the wider world (Ricketts and *The Dial*; Graves and *The Owl*); in some others, such as *The Signature*, edited by Murry and Lawrence, the intended oppositional relations to the wider world (in this case the First World War) are neither truly shared nor executed: hampered both by the lack of a more coherent internal organization and by the magnitude of the ambition.

Williams refers to magazines as one kind of 'collective public manifestation' around which an informal group might organize itself. To study magazines more extensively, however, helps expand our understanding of the broad concept and

⁵⁵ Ibid. 69.

⁵⁶ Ibid. 70-1.

⁵⁷ Ibid. 73.

actuality of cultural formations. Firstly, it shows us how we need a vocabulary for the embryonic, modest, or limited examples as well as the 'simple' and 'complex' formations Williams identifies, where the latter have a more manifestly shared internal life and public profile. Secondly, it reveals how formations change over time: encompassing the often characteristic relations between magazines of imitation, rivalry, and competition or of their amalgamation, evolution, and decline. Part of this process and the character of the formation includes too the changing role of advertising and the fluctuation and segmentation of readerships and general relations of production.

What throughout is of interest is the relation between these 'internal' and 'external' worlds; between, in other terms employed in this volume, the counter-cultural or subaltern and the public sphere, for it is this which determines the well-formedness of a cultural formation and the position it takes as 'specializing', 'alternative', or 'oppositional'. These terms too, in practice, prove less compartmentalized than an abstract schema can easily comprehend, and are complicated also by the social relations of the group and the dominant social hierarchies of the broader society. Williams concentrates in this respect in his three most developed examples on social class and class 'fractions' to describe, for example, the, in some ways dissenting, in some ways conformist, position occupied by both the Pre-Raphaelites and Bloomsbury within and against a dominant English middle-class formation. However, the lesson of the magazines themselves emphasizes the importance of questions of gender, ethnicity, region, and nationality as well as social class, and these are factors brought out in subsequent chapters.

Williams does indeed comment, briefly and interestingly, on nationality and on the avant-garde in general as a 'paranational' formation.⁵⁸ This phenomenon he associates with immigration to the metropolis and with a metropolitan-based dissident artistic culture. Paranational 'avant-garde formations of this type', he writes, express a 'consciousness and practice ... developing in the directions of metropolitan and international significance beyond the nation-state and its provinces, and of a correspondingly high cultural mobility'.⁵⁹ This speaks to a contemporary critical agenda on 'transnationality' and 'cosmopolitanism' and alerts us to the mobility of individuals, ideas, movements, and magazines across national borders.⁶⁰ Some obvious examples come to mind: *The Little Review* which shifted from Chicago to New York and Paris, and the transatlantic magazines *Broom* and *Secession*, which migrated respectively across European sites (Rome, Berlin, Vienna, Berlin, Florence) and New York. The metropolitan scene of London conformed to some of the features Williams outlines, but the British situation generally did not produce mobile avant-garde movements or magazines of this type. Ford Madox Ford's

⁵⁸ Williams, *Culture*, 83–4.

⁵⁹ Ibid. 84.

⁶⁰ See, for an original approach to this theme, Rebecca L. Walkowitz, *Cosmopolitan Style: Modernism beyond the Nation* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007).

Transatlantic Review (considered in Volume 2 of this series) was edited from Paris, while *Close Up* was edited in Switzerland, printed in Dijon and then England, and networked through its various contacts across cinema cultures in Berlin, Moscow, Paris, New York, and London. Gordon Craig's *Mask* and Laura Riding's *Epilogue* were produced respectively in Florence and Majorca—away in fact from the major metropolitan centres. These were also, it has to be said, exceptions, which did not exhibit the literal mobility of some transatlantic and many 'paranational' European magazines. At the same time, many British-based writers and artists were very aware of European developments—from the 1880s onwards by way of the conduit of Paris—and this influenced the contents of magazines as different in other ways as *The Savoy*, *New Age*, and *Rhythm*. The design, editorial team, reviews, and advertising of the latter were also a clear indication of its international ambitions. Many magazines from the mid-1920s and in the 1930s, including *The Criterion*, *New Coterie*, *Close Up*, *European Quarterly*, and *New Writing*, were also consciously European or internationalist in their outlook and in their contributors. Throughout this history, too, Irish, Welsh, and Scottish magazines present a variously inflected relation to their own national cultures, to Europe, and to a dominant English modernism, calling on residual and emergent features to discover an alternative or oppositional stance.

The differences and similarities at the national and transnational level call for a geocultural analysis of the intricately dialogic and migratory character of modernism as an international or paranational formation. Williams's thoughts sketch a compelling perspective upon these criss-crossing networks. At the same time, as Williams reminds us, 'no full account of a formation can be given without attending to individual differences inside it.'⁶¹ Both the common and more specific or individual histories belong to the dramatic social, cultural, and economic narrative of twentieth-century modernity. We hope that the case histories of this and subsequent volumes will aid our understanding of both the material detail and dynamic relations of modernisms and modernity.

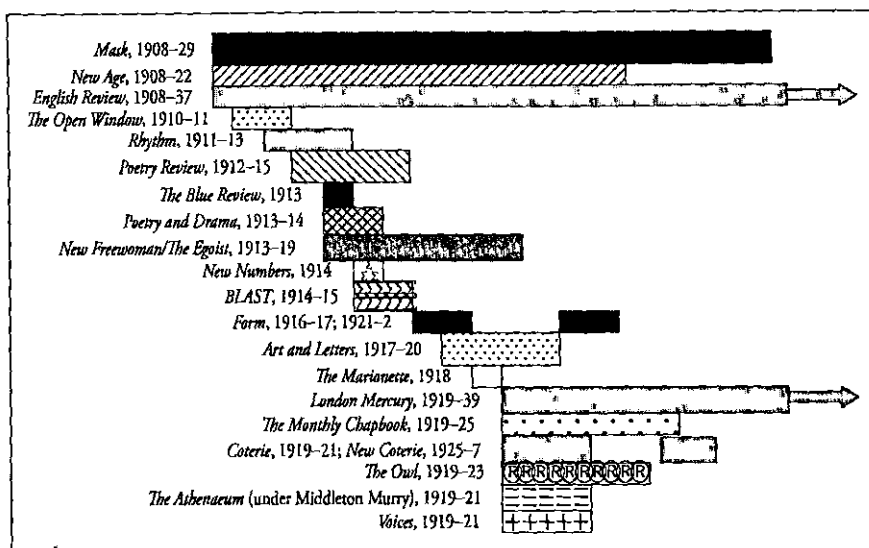
Methods and models

The very range and diversity of material discussed in this volume suggests how different critical methodologies might help analyse the different features of magazines. One suggestive method is presented by Franco Moretti's use of graphs, maps, and tables to analyse or 'model' an extensive literary field.⁶² Though we do not have

⁶¹ Ibid. 85.

⁶² See Franco Moretti, *Graphs, Maps, Trees: Abstract Models for Literary History* (London: Verso, 2005).

Table 1. Timeline for Selected Periodicals, 1908-19



the space here to fully explore such a model for the study of modernist magazines a few examples might suggest a direction for future work.

One fruitful analytic tool is provided by a timeline of magazines and we offer an abbreviated version of such a device here for magazines from 1908 to 1919—a period which saw the emergence of modernism in Britain, the impact of the war, and the changed post-war environment for culture (Table 1).

This timeline, first of all, illustrates the coexistence of magazines otherwise thought of separately. Sometimes, too, unexpected magazines come into view: the year 1914, for example, highlights the coexistence of *The New Age*, *Egoist*, and *BLAST*, but reminds us also of other magazines published at this time such as the *English Review*, *Poetry and Drama*, and *New Numbers*. In 1919 London witnessed the coexistence of the *Mercury*, *Art and Letters*, *Form*, *Chapbook*, *Coterie*, *The Owl*, and *Athenaeum*. This alerts us to a set of synchronic relations or possibilities, a sense of the range of magazines an individual writer or illustrator could contribute to at any one time. It also indicates clusters of magazines running concurrently with an awareness of each other, in an overlapping or complimentary relation, but frequently in a relation of rivalry and competition, even if this was sometimes cooked up to boost sales. Diachronic patterns also appear, indicating the comparatively short or long lives of particular magazines. The perspective a timeline offers helps us appreciate the longevity of certain 'little magazines', for example *The Mask*, as well as giving us a sense of the average life cycle of the short-lived magazine (2-3 years seeming to be a norm here). We see also how production

was interrupted before picking up again in the changed world of post-war society, confirming how 1919 was a key year in the emergence of new voices. Looking back, we might question too, on this evidence, whether 1910, that key modernist year for Virginia Woolf, was as significant as 1908 or 1913 for the emergence of modernist projects.

A second approach might focus attention on a very material detail such as the price of magazines (Table 2). A number of features are worth commenting upon here. As we can see from Table 2, 2s. and 6d. seems to become a fairly standard price for both quarterlies and monthlies. However, this drops in the 1930s to 1s. and 6d., reflecting both economic factors at play in the period and, in the case of left-leaning magazines, a commitment to making the publication more widely available. Price is, of course, conditioned primarily by economic necessities but in certain cases where a magazine was supported by private finance or patronage, the price could reflect other factors. The relative cheapness of *Poetry Review*, *New Age*, and *Egoist* (all 6d.), for example, indicates an attempt to gain a wider readership or help produce a counter public sphere to that of the mainstream press.

Magazines whose price stands out as expensive in comparison to the norm tell a different story. The relatively high price of *The Owl*, *Golden Hind*, *Arson*, and *Epilogue*, for example, though they were very different kinds of publication, reveals an allegiance to an older tradition of the luxury cultural commodity (compare the price of *The Dial*, *Hobby Horse*, or *Yellow Book*) or the 'Book Beautiful' tradition, which was uninterested in reaching a large readership. T. S. Eliot's choice of the relatively expensive price of 3s. and 6d. for *The Criterion*, a periodical supported by individual patronage, suggests an attempt to deliberately market the magazine as appealing to the 'intelligent reader', which, as we have seen, was the selective readership Eliot envisaged.

Models and statistical analyses such as this are only indicative, and much more could be made of data of this kind on, for example, subscriptions, readership, circulation, sales, advertisements, and patterns of geographical distribution. This is clearly a direction in which the study of periodical codes might usefully go.⁶³

Structure and periodization

The present volume is organized into ten groups of magazines in sections ranging from a discussion of changes in publishing and readership in the nineteenth century to the situation after the Second World War. The discussion embraces the early nineteenth-century quarterlies and the Irish periodical *The Bell* which closed in 1954. Two other magazines referred to here, *The Studio* and *Time and Tide*, went

⁶³ We hope to put a range of such data on the Modernist Magazines Project website in due course.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Table 2. Prices of Selected Periodicals, c.1850-1950

Title	Shillings	Pence	Year	Frequency
<i>The Germ</i>	1		1850	Monthly
<i>The Oxford and Cambridge Magazine</i>	1		1856	Monthly
<i>The Yellow Book</i>	5		1894	Quarterly
<i>The Savoy</i>	2	6	1896	Quarterly
<i>The Dome</i>	1		1897	Quarterly
<i>The Dial</i>	10		1889	Irregular
<i>The Pageant</i>	6		1896	Annual
<i>The Acorn</i>			1905	Annual
<i>The Evergreen</i>	5		1895	Irregular
<i>Beluaine</i>		3	1899	Irregular
<i>Sambain</i>		6	1901	Irregular
<i>Dana</i>		6	1904	Monthly
<i>The Green Sheaf</i>		13	1903	Monthly
<i>The Poetry Review</i>		6	1912	Monthly
<i>Poetry and Drama</i>	2	6	1913	Quarterly
<i>The New Age</i>		1	1907	Weekly
<i>The English Review</i>	2	6	1908	Monthly
<i>The London Mercury</i>	2	6	1919	Monthly
<i>The Freewoman</i>		3	1912	Semi-monthly
<i>The New Freewoman</i>		6	1913	Semi-monthly
<i>The Egoist</i>		6	1914	Semi-monthly
<i>BLAST</i>	2	6	1914	Annual
<i>Rhythm</i>	1		1911	Quarterly
<i>The Blue Review</i>	1		1913	Monthly
<i>The Criterion</i>	3	6	1922	Quarterly
<i>Athenaeum</i>		6	1919	Monthly
<i>The Adelphi</i>	1		1923	Monthly
<i>The Calendar of Modern Letters</i>	1	6	1925	Monthly
<i>The Monthly Chapbook</i>	1		1919	Monthly
<i>Voices</i>	1		1919	Monthly
<i>Life and Letters</i>	1		1928	Monthly
<i>Coterie</i>	2	6	1919	Quarterly
<i>The Owl</i>	10	6	1919	Irregular
<i>Art and Letters</i>	1		1917	Quarterly
<i>The Apple</i>	6		1920	Quarterly
<i>Close-Up</i>	1		1927	Monthly
<i>The Bermondsey Book</i>	2		1925	Quarterly
<i>Wheels</i>	2	6	1916	Annual
<i>The Tyro</i>	1	6	1921	Irregular
<i>The Enemy</i>	2	6	1927	Irregular
<i>Form</i>	4		1921	Monthly
<i>The Golden Hind</i>	6		1922	Quarterly
<i>The Decachord</i>	1		1924	Bi-monthly
<i>Experiment</i>	1	6	1928	Irregular
<i>Cambridge Left</i>		9	1933	3-a-year
<i>Left Review</i>		6	1934	Monthly
<i>European Quarterly</i>			1934	Quarterly
<i>Poetry and the People</i>		6	1940	Monthly
<i>New Verse</i>		6	1933	Bi-monthly
<i>Twentieth Century Verse</i>		6	1937	8-times-a-year
<i>New Writing</i>	6		1936	Irregular
<i>Contemporary Poetry and Prose</i>		6	1936	Monthly
<i>London Bulletin</i>	1		1938	Monthly
<i>Arson</i>	5		1942	One only

(cont.)

Table 2. *Continued*

Title	Shillings	Pence	Year	Frequency
<i>The Welsh Review</i>	1		1939	Monthly
<i>Wales</i>	1		1937	One only
<i>The Bell</i>	1		1940	Monthly
<i>Klaxon</i>	1		1923	One only
<i>Poetry Scotland</i>	4	6	1944	Irregular
<i>Northern Review</i>	1		1924	Monthly
<i>The Modern Scot</i>	2		1930	Quarterly
<i>Million: New Left Writing</i>	2		1943	Irregular
<i>Scottish Art and Letters</i>	5		1945	Quarterly
<i>Daylight</i>	7	6	1941	One only
<i>Scrutiny</i>	2	6	1932	Quarterly
<i>Horizon</i>	1		1940	Monthly
<i>Poetry London</i>	1	6	1939	Bi-monthly
<i>Now</i>	2		1945	Irregular
<i>Kingdom Come</i>	1	6	1939	Irregular
<i>Epilogue</i>	7	6	1935	Annual

on into the 1960s and 1970. Individual chapters on particular magazines, therefore, take us from the embryonic 'little magazine' *The Germ*, the organ for its short lifetime in 1850 of the Pre-Raphaelites, to the discussion in the final chapter of F. R. Leavis's *Scrutiny*, no longer a magazine of art and creative writing, but of criticism, which closed in 1953. This movement over a century from an artistic to a critical formation is symptomatic of the emergence, consolidation, and institutionalization of a version of predominantly literary modernism. It is a history of considerable variety, however, which at its end produced not only a canonical modernism but different claims on the relation of art, literature, and modernity. The individual chapters and the Part Introductions take up this history in detail but, in general, this is a story of the struggle to establish and maintain criteria of aesthetic and cultural value as a force in society from an embattled and combative position. While the magazines considered here were often opposed to the newness of modernity, conceived as a destructive force in the public realm of politics, mass society, and the economy, they defended and promulgated the new (which could mean a revaluation or re-instatement of the old or residual) in art and culture and saw this as the harbinger of some alternative order. Towards the end of the history considered here a more radical 'new modernism', drawing on the heritage of Romanticism and Surrealism, presented itself in Tambimuttu's *Poetry London*, just at a time when *Scrutiny* (and a generation of American magazines) had installed modernism in the academy. But *Scrutiny*, as well as the earlier *Calendar of Modern Letters* which had helped inspire it, along with the contemporary magazines *New Verse* and *Twentieth Century Literature* and more overtly political publications, had fought in their own terms for an independent and principled creative spirit against a moribund and amnesiac society. At every point a study of the magazines renders

a seemingly homogenous and linear history back into the miscellaneous initiatives, fluid mergers, contentious factions, and strongly alternative *partis pris* which have composed it, revealing a loosely assembled cultural tradition of critical thinking: fragile and transitory, but, by that very token, testimony to an attitude of dissent and artistic innovation which is of lasting value.