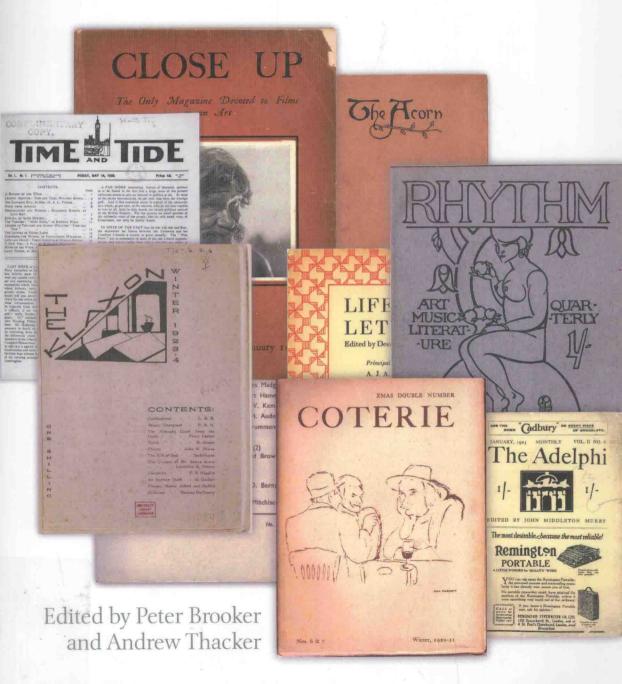
OXFORD

The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines

Volume I, Britain and Ireland 1880-1955



THE OXFORD CRITICAL AND CULTURAL HISTORY OF

Modernist Magazines

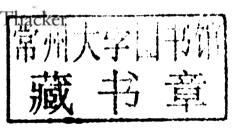
Volume I Britain and Ireland 1880–1955

EDITED BY

Peter Brooker

AND.

Andrew '





OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

Great Clarendon Street, Oxford 0x2 6DP

Oxford University Press is a department of the University of Oxford. It furthers the University's objective of excellence in research, scholarship, and education by publishing worldwide.

Oxford is a registered trade mark of Oxford University Press in the UK and in certain other countries

© Oxford University Press 2009

The moral rights of the author have been asserted

First published 2009 First published in paperback 2013

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, without the prior permission in writing of Oxford University Press, or as expressly permitted by law, by licence or under terms agreed with the appropriate reprographics rights organization. Enquiries concerning reproduction outside the scope of the above should be sent to the Rights Department,

Oxford University Press, at the address above

You must not circulate this work in any other form and you must impose this same condition on any acquirer

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data Data available Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data Data available

> ISBN 978-0-19-921115-9 (Hbk) ISBN 978-0-19-965429-1 (Pbk)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We would like to thank the AHRC for the award of a research grant to support the Project and members of the Advisory Board for their advice and guidance, especially David Peters Corbett and Frank Shovlin for assistance in compiling and completing this volume. Thanks are also due to the following who have invited us to present the overall project and our own work: the London Modernism Seminar, the Northern Modernism Seminar, the Centre for Modernist Studies at the University of Sussex, the Cultures of Modernism Group at Oxford Brookes, Benoît Tadié and Evanghélia Stead for invitations to speak at conferences in Paris, and Bob Scholes for organizing a roundtable on periodicals at the MSA Conference in Tulsa.

We particularly thank Stephen Rogers in his role as Research Assistant on the Project and for his invaluable editorial contribution to this volume, Federico Meschini for his expert technical support, and Victoria Kingham and Alice Wood for helping to organize the Modernist Atlantic Conference in 2007 at which a number of the following chapters were first presented.

Finally, thanks to Andrew McNeillie at OUP for so readily encouraging us to develop our original ideas into the current series.

Andrew Thacker also thanks the following for help, guidance, and support in a number of ways: Jacqueline Baker, Brad Evans, Scott McCracken, Jo McDonagh, Mark Morrisson, Peter Nicholls, Thomas Staley, Trevor Tolley, John Wood, and Tim Woods; thanks also to members of the Modernist Journals Project in the United States (Matt Huculak, Sean Latham, Bob Scholes, and Cliff Wulfman). A number of colleagues at De Montfort University, including Deborah Cartmell, Phil Cox, Jane Dowson, Peter Shillingsburg, Emma Watts, and Imelda Whelehan, have also helped. The late Julia Briggs was always a warm supporter of the project and it is sad that she will not be able to read this volume. In addition I express love and thanks, once more, to Moya Lloyd for all her invaluable help, and to Daniel for reminding me of a rich life outside of modernist magazines.

The editors wish to thank the following: The Society of Authors for permission to reproduce material from the Estate of John Middleton Murry; David Higham Associates for permission to quote from John Lehmann's *New Writing* (New Writing), 'Thrown to the Woolfs' (Weidenfeld and Nicholson) and 'The Whispering Gallery' (Longman Green and Co); Shakuntala Tambimuttu for permission to

quote from her father's letters; The Harry Ransom Center at the University of Texas at Austin for permission to quote from materials in their collection; and Heledd Hayes for permission to quote from the writings of Gwyn Jones. Material from the cover, contents, and of contributors' pages of *Epilogue*, edited by Laura (Riding) Jackson is reproduced courtesy of Cornell University Press.

We are also grateful for permission to include the following illustrations:

Perth and Kinross Council for the following works by J. D. Fergusson: *Rhythm* (1911), painting, University of Stirling; cover of *Rhythm* I: 1 (1911), drawing, Fergusson Gallery and Modernist Journals Project; *Les Eus* (1911–13), Hunterian Art Gallery; and *Rose Rhythm*, Private Collection; the cover of *The Owl* and *The Picnic* by Sir William Nicholson, © Desmond Banks; Bridgeman Art Library for the cover of *Coterie* by Nina Hamnett; The William Roberts Society for works by the artist appearing in *Coterie* and *New Coterie*; and the Edward Gordon Craig Estate for permission to publish images from *The Mask*.

Every effort has been made by the authors, editors, and publishers to secure permissions for all relevant works and images. If any have been missed, we will be happy to rectify the situation at the earliest opportunity.

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

ANN L. ARDIS, University of Delaware REBECCA BEASLEY, Birkbeck College, University of London Françoise Bort, University of Marne La Vallée LAUREL BRAKE, Birkbeck College, University of London PETER BROOKER, University of Sussex DAVID PETERS CORBETT, University of York CAIRNS CRAIG, University of Aberdeen ALEX DAVIS, University of Cork Marysa Demoor, University of Ghent JANE DOWSON, De Montfort University Paul Edwards, Bath Spa University ANDRZEJ GASIOREK, University of Birmingham JANE GOLDMAN, University of Glasgow KYRIAKI HADJIAFXENDI, University of Exeter JASON HARDING, University of Durham IMOGEN HART, Yale Center for British Art DOMINIC HIBBERD, Independent scholar CHRIS HOPKINS, Sheffield Hallam University J. MATTHEW HUCULAK, University of Tulsa Mark Jacobs, Nottingham Trent University James Keery, Fred Longworth High School, Manchester SEAN LATHAM, University of Tulsa JOHN LUCAS, Nottingham Trent University Laura Marcus, University of Edinburgh Peter Marks, University of Sydney SEAN MATTHEWS, University of Nottingham

SCOTT McCracken, University of Keele
ROD MENGHAM, Jesus College, Cambridge
MARK S. MORRISSON, Penn State University
JOHN PLUNKETT, University of Exeter
JEAN-MICHEL RABATÉ, University of Pennsylvania
STEPHEN ROGERS, University of Nottingham
FRANK SHOVLIN, University of Liverpool
STAN SMITH, Nottingham Trent University
OLGA TAXIDOU, University of Edinburgh
ANDREW THACKER, De Montfort University
MICHAEL WHITWORTH, Merton College, Oxford
CLIFF WULFMAN, Princeton University

CONTENTS

List of Illustrations and Tables		xii
List of Contributors		xvi
Consul I am desire		_
General Introduction		I
PETER BROOKER AND ANDREW THACKER		
Introduction		I
Materialist modernisms and periodical codes		5
Modern, modernist, avant-garde		9
Defining 'littleness'		II
Cultural formations		16
Methods and models		21
Structure and periodization		23
PART I. VICTORIAN PRECURS	ORS	
TAKT I. VIGTORATIV TREGORD	ORO	
Introduction		29
1. The Pre-history of the 'Little Magazine'		33
KYRIAKI HADJIAFXENDI AND JOHN PLUNKETT		
2. In the Beginning, There Was The Germ: The Pre-Ra	phaelites	
and 'Little Magazines'	6 1712 1	51
MARYSA DEMOOR		,-
PART II. <i>FIN DE SIÈCLE</i> VENTURES	(1884–1906)	
Introduction		69
3. Aestheticism and Decadence: The Yellow Book (1894-	-7) ,	
The Chameleon (1894), and The Savoy (1896)		76
LAUREL BRAKE		, -

viii CONTENTS

4. Symbolism in British 'Little Magazines': <i>The Dial</i> (1889–97), <i>The Pageant</i> (1896–7), and <i>The Dome</i> (1897–1900) DAVID PETERS CORBETT	101
5. 'The Arts and Crafts Movement': <i>The Century Guild Hobby Horse</i> (1884–94), <i>The Evergreen</i> (1895–7), and <i>The Acorn</i> (1905–6) IMOGEN HART	120
PART III. EARLY STATEMENTS (1899–1915)	
Introduction	145
6. Yeats and the Celtic Revival: Beltaine (1899–1900), Samhain	
(1901–8), <i>Dana</i> (1904–5), and <i>The Arrow</i> (1906–9) ALEX DAVIS	152
7. The New Poetry, Georgians and Others: <i>The Open Window</i> (1910–11), <i>The Poetry Review</i> (1912–15), <i>Poetry and Drama</i> (1913–14), and <i>New Numbers</i> (1914) DOMINIC HIBBERD	176
DARTHY TERANISTICALS	
PART IV. TRANSITIONS	
Introduction	100
8. Democracy and Modernism: The New Age under	199
A. R. Orage (1907–22) ANN L. ARDIS	205
9. Ford Madox Ford and <i>The English Review</i> (1908–37) CLIFF WULFMAN	226
10. The London Mercury (1919–39) and Other Moderns J. MATTHEW HUCULAK	240
PART V. INTERVENTIONS	
Introduction	263
11. Gender and Modernism: The Freewoman (1911–12),	
The New Freewoman (1913), and The Egoist (1914–19) JEAN-MICHEL RABATÉ	269

CONTENTS	ix
12. The 'Little Magazine' as Weapon: <i>BLAST</i> (1914–15) ANDRZEJ GASIOREK	290
13. Harmony, Discord, and Difference: <i>Rhythm</i> (1911–13), <i>The Blue Review</i> (1913), and <i>The Signature</i> (1915) PETER BROOKER	314
PART VI. EDITORS AND PROGRAMMES	
Introduction	339
14. The Idea of a Literary Review: T. S. Eliot and <i>The Criterion</i> JASON HARDING	346
15. Enemies of Cant: <i>The Athenaeum</i> (1919–21) and <i>The Adelphi</i> (1923–48) MICHAEL H. WHITWORTH	364
16. Standards of Criticism: <i>The Calendar of Modern Letters</i> (1925–7) JOHN LUCAS	389
17. The Cause of Poetry: Thomas Moult and <i>Voices</i> (1919–21), Harold Monro and <i>The Monthly Chapbook</i> (1919–25) MARK S. MORRISSON	405
 Desmond MacCarthy, Life and Letters (1928–35), and Bloomsbury Modernism JANE GOLDMAN 	428
PART VII. INTO THE 1920s: DISPERSAL AND DIFFERENCE	3
Introduction	455
19. Aftermath of War: Coterie (1919–21), New Coterie (1925–7),	
Robert Graves and <i>The Owl</i> (1919–23) ANDREW THACKER	462
20. Literature and the Visual Arts: <i>Art and Letters</i> (1917–20) and <i>The Apple</i> (1920–2) REBECCA BEASLEY	485
21. Cinema and Visual Culture: <i>Close Up</i> (1927–33)	505

22. Interventions in the Public Sphere: Time and Tide (1920–30)

530

and The Bermondsey Book (1923-30)

JANE DOWSON

23. Cultural Criticism at the Margins: Wyndham Lewis,	
The Tyro (1920–1), and The Enemy (1927–9) PAUL EDWARDS	552
24. Nostalgia and Reaction: Austin O. Spare and <i>Form</i> (1916–17, 1921–2), <i>The Golden Hind</i> (1922–4), and <i>The Decachord</i> (1924–31) STEPHEN ROGERS	570
PART VIII. COMMITMENT TO THE NEW	
Introduction	N age
25. Cambridge Magazines and Unfinished Business: Experiment	591
(1928–30), The Venture (1928–30), and Cambridge Left (1933–4) SCOTT MCCRACKEN	599
26. Art and Politics in the 1930s: <i>The European Quarterly</i> (1934–5), Left Review (1934–8), and Poetry and the People (1938–40) PETER MARKS	623
27. Poetry Then: Geoffrey Grigson and <i>New Verse</i> (1933–9), Julian Symons and <i>Twentieth Century Verse</i> (1937–9) STAN SMITH	647
28. A New Prose: John Lehmann and <i>New Writing</i> (1936–40) FRANÇOISE BORT	669
29. 'National papers please reprint': Surrealist Magazines in Britain: Contemporary Poetry and Prose (1936–7), London Bulletin (1938–40), and Arson: An Ardent Review (1942) ROD MENGHAM	688
PART IX. BEYOND THE METROPOLIS	
Introduction	707
30. Wales (1937–9), The Welsh Review (1939–40) CHRIS HOPKINS	714
31. From Revolution to Republic: Magazines, Modernism, and Modernity in Ireland: <i>The Klaxon</i> (1923), <i>The Irish Statesman</i> (1923–30), <i>The Dublin Magazine</i> (1923–58), <i>To-Morrow</i> (1924),	
Ireland To-Day (1936–8), and The Bell (1940–54) FRANK SHOVLIN	735

CONTENTS	X1

32. Modernism and National Identity in Scottish Magazines: The Evergreen (1895–7), Scottish Art and Letters (1944–50), The Scottish Chapbook (1922–3), The Northern Review (1924), The Scots Magazine (1924–), The Modern Scot (1930–6), Outlook (1936–7), and The Voice of Scotland (1938–9, 1945, 1955) CAIRNS CRAIG	759
33. A New 'Art of the Theatre': Gordon Craig's <i>The Mask</i> (1908–29) and <i>The Marionette</i> (1918–19) OLGA TAXIDOU	785
34. Modernism as 'Uninfected Discourse': Laura Riding, Epilogue (1935–7) and Focus (1935) MARK JACOBS	806
PART X. THE CALL TO CRITICISM AND MODERNIST DESTINIES	
Introduction	827
35. 'Say Not the Struggle Naught Availeth': Scrutiny (1932–53) SEAN MATTHEWS	833
36. Cyril Connolly's <i>Horizon</i> (1940–50) and the End of Modernism SEAN LATHAM	856
37. The Apocalyptic Poets, 'New Modernism', and 'The Progressive View of Art': <i>Poetry London</i> (1939–51) and <i>Indian Writing</i> (1940–2) JAMES KEERY	874
Bibliography Index	899 931

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Ι.	Cover of <i>The Adelphi</i> (Jan. 1925) and advertisements from <i>Rhythm</i>	
	(1912–13)	7
2.	Cover of The Germ (Jan. 1850)	53
3.	Cover of The Yellow Book (Oct. 1895)	78
4.	Cover of The Chameleon (1894)	79
5.	Advert for the publisher Leonard Smithers (c.1894)	80
6.	Cover of The Savoy (Jan. 1896)	82
7.	Cover of <i>The Dial</i> (1897)	104
8.	Cover of The Pageant (1896)	107
9.	Cover of <i>The Dome</i> (Lady Day, 1897)	114
10.	Inside cover of <i>The Dome</i> (Lady Day, 1897)	115
н.	Cover of <i>The Evergreen</i> (Winter, 1896–7)	121
12.	Cover of The Century Guild Hobby Horse (April 1884)	122
13.	Front cover of <i>The Acorn</i> (1905)	123
14.	Cover of <i>The Studio</i> (April 1893)	124
15.	Page 13 of The Century Guild Hobby Horse (April 1884)	128
16.	Page 151 of The Evergreen (Winter, 1896–7)	128
17.	Design by Aubrey Beardsley for J. M. Dent's Sir Thomas Malory, Le Morte D'Arthur (1893–4)	129
18.	Cover of <i>Beltaine</i> (Feb. 1900)	154
19.	Cover of Samhain (Dec. 1906)	161
20.	Cover of Dana (June 1904)	170
21.	Cover of <i>Open Window</i> (Feb. 1911)	178
22.	Cover of <i>Poetry Review</i> (Feb. 1912)	179
23.	Advertisement for the Poetry Bookshop from <i>Poetry and Drama</i>	
	(Mar. 1913)	187

	LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	xiii
24.	Cover of <i>Poetry and Drama</i> (Mar. 1913)	190
25.	Cover of New Numbers (Dec. 1914)	195
26.	Cover of <i>The New Age</i> (Feb. 1916)	207
27.	Cover of <i>The New Age</i> (May 1907)	209
28.	Advertisement from The New Age (Dec. 1908)	221
29.	Cover of The English Review (Dec. 1908)	227
30.	Advertisement, 'What to Read', from English Review (Dec. 1908)	232
31.	Cover of <i>The London Mercury</i> (Feb. 1925)	241
32.	Cartoon by Will Dyson, London Mercury, 1923	250
33.	Cartoon by Will Dyson, London Mercury, 1923	251
34.	Cover of The Freewoman (May 1912)	272
35.	Cover of The New Freewoman (June 1913)	276
36.	Cover of <i>The Egoist</i> (Nov. 1914)	282
37.	Cover of BLAST 1 (1914)	291
38.	Cover of BLAST 2 (1915)	295
39.	Cover of Rhythm by John Duncan Fergusson for Rhythm	
	(Summer, 1911)	318
40.	Cover of <i>The Blue Review</i> (May 1913)	319
41.	Cover of <i>The Signature</i> (Oct. 1915)	322
42.	John Duncan Fergusson, <i>Rhythm</i> 1911, oil on canvas, University of Stirling	327
43.	Anne Estelle Rice, <i>Schéhérazade</i> , in <i>Rhythm</i> , 1:1 (Summer 1911)	329
44.	John Duncan Fergusson, <i>Les Eus</i> , c.1911–13, oil on canvas, Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow. Fergusson Gallery, Perth and Kinross Council, Scotland	331
45.	Anne Estelle Rice, drawing, Rhythm, 1:4 (Spring 1912)	331
46.	John Duncan Fergusson, <i>Rose Rhythm, Kathleen Dillon</i> , 1916, private collection	333
47	Cover of <i>The Criterion</i> (Apr. 1925)	348
10.00	Cover of <i>The Athenaeum</i> (Feb. 1920)	
	Adverts, rear cover of <i>The Adelphi</i> (Jan. 1925)	365 381
	Cover of The Calendar of Modern Letters (Nov. 1925)	390
51.	Cover of <i>Voices</i> (Jan. 1919)	406

52.	Cover of The Monthly Chapbook (May 1923)	420
53.	Cover of Life and Letters (July 1928)	429
54.	Contents page of Life and Letters (Mar. 1932)	440
55.	Cover of The Owl no. 1 (May 1919) by William Nicholson	468
56.	The Picnic by William Nicholson, from The Owl (May 1919)	471
57.	Cover of Coterie, no. 6/7 (Winter 1920–I) by Nina Hamnett	474
58.	Cover of Coterie, no. 3 (Dec. 1919) by William Roberts	480
59.	Cover of New Coterie, no. 2 (Spring 1926) by William Roberts	481
60.	Cover of Art and Letters (Jan. 1918)	488
61.	Cover of The Apple (First Quarter, 1920)	496
62.	Cover of Close Up (Jan. 1929)	506
63.	Signed photograph of Sergei Eisenstein, Close Up (Jan. 1929)	524
64.	Picture of Paul Robeson in 'Borderline', Close Up (July 1930)	524
65.	Cover of Time and Tide (1920)	533
66.	Cover of The Bermondsey Book (Dec. 1928–Feb. 1929)	544
67.	Cover of The Tyro, no. 2 (1922)	558
68.	Cover of <i>The Enemy</i> , 3 (First Quarter, 1929)	560
69.	Cover of Form (Apr. 1916)	572
70.	Cover of The Golden Hind (Jan. 1923)	578
71.	Cover of The Decachord (May–June 1924)	583
72.	Cover of Experiment (Nov. 1929)	601
73.	Cover of Cambridge Left (Summer 1933)	603
74.	Cover of European Quarterly (Nov. 1934)	626
75.	Cover of Left Review (July 1936)	633
76.	Cover of <i>Poetry and the People</i> (Sept. 1938)	64
77.	Cover of New Verse (Jan. 1933)	648
78.	Cover of Twentieth Century Verse (Mar. 1938)	649
79.	Cover of New Writing (Spring 1936)	67
80.	Cover of Contemporary Poetry and Prose (July 1936)	690
81.	Cover of Arson: An Ardent Review (1942)	70
82.	. Cover of Wales (Autumn 1937)	719
83.	. Cover of The Welsh Review (Aug. 1939)	727

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	XV
84. Cover of <i>The Klaxon</i> (1923)	738
85. Title page of <i>The Klaxon</i> (1923)	739
86. 'Cinema' from <i>To-Morrow</i> (Sept. 1924)	743
87. Cover of Ireland To-day (Aug. 1936)	752
88. Cover of <i>The Bell</i> (Feb. 1945)	754
89. Cover of The Scottish Chapbook (June 1923)	766
90. Cover of Northern Review (Sept. 1924)	773
91. Cover of <i>The Modern Scot</i> (Apr. 1932)	774
92. Cover of Outlook (Apr. 1936)	778
93. Cover of The Mask (Jan. 1911)	786
94. Illustration for 'Mask of the Fool' by W. B. Yeats, designed by Gordon Craig, <i>The Mask</i> (Apr. 1911)	793
95. Announcements, The Mask (July 1911)	803
96. Isadora Duncan, <i>The Mask</i> (Aug. 1908)	804
97. Cover of <i>Epilogue</i> (Autumn 1935)	807
98. Alice in the Grotto by John Aldridge, in Epilogue, 2 (Summer 1936)	820
99. Cover of Scrutiny (June 1933)	834
100. Cover of <i>Horizon</i> (Feb. 1948)	860
101. Cover of <i>Poetry London</i> (Oct.–Nov. 1942)	875
102. Cover of Indian Writing (Spring 1940)	893
LIST OF TABLES	
1. Timeline for Selected Periodicals, 1908–19	2.2
2. Prices of Selected Periodicals, c.1850–1950	24
2	

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

PETER BROOKER AND ANDREW THACKER

Introduction

Sually 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.' 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'. 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 *eidem* (eds), *Modernism*, 1890–1930 (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1976), 192–205, esp. 203.